SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES

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Résumés des communications

(par ordre alphabétique)

SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES | CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

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Abstracts of Papers

(in alphabetical order)

Meagan Ayer
Dickinson College
Session/Séance 5

"Here, There, and Yonder: The Politics of Refugee Resettlement in Ancient Greece"

Warfare in ancient Greece was a constant, seasonal reality which regularly led to the capture or destruction of numerous *poleis*. While the inhabitants of these cities would generally be sold into slavery or exposed to *andrapodismos* (or in some cases both), occasionally a group of survivors might escape the carnage and seek asylum in another city. However, these refugees, even when granted asylum, were routinely resettled outside of the asylum-granting *polis*, usually on the periphery of the host city's territory. This decision to resettle refugee populations on the periphery was undoubtedly influenced by both domestic and military considerations; *poleis* were relieved of the burden of care for the refugees and gained *de facto* garrisons in their hinterlands. However, an analysis of exactly *where* refugee settlements were located might reveal valuable information about a *polis*' hierarchy of concerns.

This paper will focus particularly on Sparta's resettlement of Nauplian (Paus. 4.24.4) and Asinaian (Paus. 4.34.9, Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 383) refugees during the Archaic period, in addition to the resettlement of Messenian and Plataian (Diod. 12.76, Thuc. 5.32) refugees by Athens and Aiginetan refugees by Sparta in the fifth century (Thuc. 2.27).

The geographical distribution of refugee settlements by their host city will be examined to determine whether the choice of locale for refugee settlements might illuminate a given city's domestic or military priorities. Some of the questions that will be asked include: what factors influenced the selection of one site over another for refugee resettlement? Were refugees resettled on land firmly within the hegemony of the asylum-granting city, or in contested regions? Were the sites of refugee resettlements new foundations or pre-existing towns and cities? If refugees were acting as military garrisons, do the locations of refugee settlements reveal an offensive or defensive military strategy? Finally, what patterns, if any, can be discerned from the distribution of refugee settlements by Sparta and Athens over time?

Patrick Baker
Université Laval
Session/Séance 1

"'A marble with inscription from Xanthus": Reconsidering the provenance of a stone"

Au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle, à la faveur des travaux d'exploration qui se multipliaient, les Musées européens virent leur collection d'objets s'accroître, au point, dans certains cas connus, d'initier des travaux d'agrandissement afin de recevoir et d'exposer pour le grand public, ces curiosités arrivant de l'Orient méditerranéen.
L'exploration du site de Xanthos (Lycie) par Sir Charles Fellows (1838-1843) fut ainsi l'occasion pour le British Museum d'inaugurer de nouvelles salles, qu'il est encore

aujourd'hui possible de visiter. Parmi les vestiges rapportés, des pierres inscrites figuraient au catalogue. L'une d'elles, pour des raisons qui ne sont pas complètement éclaircies, s'est retrouvée au Liverpool Royal Institution, où elle demeura jusqu'à ce qu'une partie des collections de l'Institution soit transférée à l'Université. Peu étudiée, la pierre, qui porte trois textes d'époque hellénistique, a tout de même fait l'objet d'une lecture complète et d'une édition par Henry Arderne Ormerod, en 1914, alors qu'il était lui-même professeur d'histoire ancienne à l'University of Liverpool (quelques éditions partielles et peu satisfaisantes avaient précédé celle-ci). Quelques années plus tard, en 1920, Ernst Kalinka intégrait sans les revoir les trois textes au fascicule 1 du volume 2 des *Tituli Asiae Minoris* portant, en partie, sur les inscriptions de Xanthos et du Létôon (*TAM* II, 1, 261 a, b et c). De nombreuses fois cités, ces documents sont, depuis près d'un siècle, considérés comme xanthiens. Il est vrai que la provenance de la pierre ainsi que les informations propres au texte (contenu, prosopographie) ne permettent pas *a priori* de remettre cela en question.

Or, en décembre 2012, l'auteur a effectué un séjour de recherche à Liverpool, au Garstang Museum of Archaeology de l'Université, pour revoir cette pierre qui n'avait, depuis sa lecture par Ormerod, jamais été revue. Il appert que des éléments nouveaux permettent maintenant de contester avec quelque assurance l'origine xanthienne. Cette communication se présente comme un exercice de méthode en histoire et épigraphie, invitant à toujours reconsidérer la *communis opinio* par l'autopsie des sources.

Emilia Barbiero
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 11

"Plautine Metamorphosis of a Shape-Shifter: From Hesiod's Mestra to the *Persa*'s *Virgo*"

In Plautus' *Persa*, the *servus* Toxilus stages a theatrical trick to get the money he needs to buy his girlfriend from the pimp, Dordalus. He forces the parasite, Saturio, to disguise his freeborn daughter as a captive and "sell" her to the *leno*, threatening to otherwise withhold an invitation to dinner. Despite her protests, the girl, known only as *virgo,* is "sold" and then "reclaimed" by her father to cheat Dordalus out of his cash. As Bömer (1977) and Nesselrath (1985) have observed, this scenario resembles the myth about Erysichthon of Thessaly, who, cursed by Demeter with eternal hunger, pretends to sell his daughter Mestra into marriage to satiate his voracity. The full extent of Plautus' use of this Greek story, however, has gone unnoticed. Through a close reading of *Persa* vv.329- 399, my paper argues that Plautus has created a composite of imitation and inversion of the Erysichthon myth. I suggest that the Latin playwright has modeled this parasite and his daughter upon the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* (fr.43a), signaling his engagement with the Greek text via a bilingual pun. Finally, I propose that the *Persa*'s parody of the Erysichthon myth may have, in turn, influenced Ovid's version in the *Metamorphoses* (8.738-878).

First, I observe that beyond the basic premise of hungry

fathers selling their daughters, the Plautine scenario contains a series of parallels to the narrative of the Erysichthon story in the *Ehoiai*, details neatly adapted for the *Persa*'s metatheatrical "play-within-the- play". The girls are "sold" by trickery (Erysichthon seems to deceptively contrive the marriage - a)pa&]thse, v.18), and they themselves are characterized as aptly cunning (Mestra is called pukina_ fresi&, v.9 and polu&idriv, v.57, and characters repeatedly remark upon the *virgo*'s *calliditas*, v.622, 153, 609, 674-675). Further, both maidens flee these circumstances using a disguise, although Plautus has reserved the motif: whereas Mestra takes on a new form to flee from her marriage, the Plautine *virgo* is sold *incognita* and removes her foreign costume to escape Dordalus.

Next, I elucidate an etymological pun in the *Persa* that evinces Plautus' dependence upon the *Ehoiai*. The names of these two hungry fathers are both *sprechende Namen* pertaining to their appetites, ironically inverted: in the Mestra-*ehoie*, Erysichthon is also called Ai!qwn after his burning hunger, and the name of Plautus' hungry *pater*, Saturio, "speaks" of the parasite's full belly by playing upon the Latin adjective *satur*, "full". I propose that the Plautine parasite's name might simultaneously imply Ai!qwn, and thereby the model text, through a bilingual word play: might the Latin word for burning, *uro, urere*, be lurking in "Sat**ur**io"?

Finally, I reflect upon corresponding elements in Ovid's later rendition of the Erysichthon myth, which suggest that the Augustan poet may be alluding to Plautus' parodic

treatment. Ovid's Mestra opposes her sale, like Plautus' *virgo*, to a *dominus*, escaping his clutches through disguise. Like Dordalus, Ovid's *ancilla*-purchaser is left thoroughly *elusus* (*Met.*8.870)– the deceived victim of a comedy-style ruse.

By revealing Plautus' reliance upon and reference to the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* in his portrait of the *Persa*'s father-daughter pair, this paper serves to further reveal the playwright's engagement with the Greek literary tradition, a possibility that scholarship has only recently begun to reckon with. Moreover, it elucidates a previously unnoticed allusion to the *Persa* in Ovid.

Charles Bartlett
Harvard University
Session/Séance 4

"Roman Strategy in the Eastern Mediterreanean Following Apameia"

The progression of Rome's eventual dominance of the eastern Mediterranean is a familiar story: the expulsion of two Seleucid kings and the defeat of Macedon, the subjugation of mainland Greece, the bequest of Attalus III, the defeat of Mithridates, and the final reorganization of the Levant, among other developments, are well known. This story is of course situated within larger discussions of Roman state expansion across the entire Mediterranean and to an appreciable distance from the coast as well. While it seemed to some, namely the proponents of defensive imperialism,

that Rome undertook this process unwillingly, others have claimed that Rome went to war deliberately and often sought out conflict. In light of the debate comprising the different gradations of these positions, this paper seeks to examine Rome's conduct in the eastern Mediterranean in the 180s BC. This is undertaken on the contention that models of state expansion and interaction from political science and comparative historical circumstances can do much to account for the complexity often lacking in deductive applications of positions within this debate. Such an approach has of course been taken on the scale of the whole Mediterranean or the better part of a century by Arthur Eckstein, Paul Burton, and others. Accepting many of the caveats these scholars raise for the use of such analytical tools, I believe that several models can be applied fruitfully to an investigation of the size outlined here. Specifically, the Realist concept of offshore balancing, in which a power with interest in a region uses proxies to moderate most affairs and intervenes only at times of crisis, seems quite appropriate in the context of Rome's engagement with the eastern Mediterranean in the 180s BC. To this analysis will be juxtaposed Roman action in the western Mediterranean at the same time, in an effort to complicate the application of theories of Roman imperialism that have in the past been argued too generally.

Ilaria Battiloro and Yun Han Hsu
Mount Allison University
Session/Séance 11

"Mortuary Practices and Gender Dynamics in Ancient Lucania: A New Perspective on Ancient Practices"

This paper seeks to provide new insight in identifying how Lucanian society was structured, with specific emphasis on the social role assumed by high ranked women. In particular, this research explores the social implications of communal banquet and symposion practice that the Italic populations borrowed from the Greek people living on the coastal poleis. Broadly speaking, in current literature on the Lucanian world there is a wide acceptance of a clear-cut division of roles between the male and the female components of Lucanian society, men being the protagonists of social and political life, and females being confined within domestic boundaries. Consistent with this view, scholars often take for granted that Lucanian women, like Greek women, were either excluded from communal convivial practices or participated in them with a marginal role.

This research addresses the question of whether and to what extent this gender dichotomy may be considered applicable to Lucanian society, and aims to overcome the preconceptions held by examining a group of sample tombs from some Lucanian necropolises. In particular, attention will be drawn to select female burials that display grave goods referring to the practice of sacrifice-banquet-symposion. What is the meaning behind the presence of

these objects in female tombs? Do they testify to women's participation to convivial practices which, in the Greek world, were considered exclusively male? If yes, what type of social implication would this practice entail? In order to address these questions, we will look at the recurrence of sympotic objects and banquet tools in female burials, at the association of grave goods of different types within the same tomb, and at the socio-economic role of the deceased.

Riccardo Bertolazzi
University of Calgary
Session/Séance 3

"A Woman Apart: the Rising of Julia Domna's Influence"

Julia Domna's prominence at the highest levels of power is certainly one of the most long-lived among the imperial women in Roman history. In fact, she was constantly present at the side of two consecutive emperors, namely Septimius Severus (AD 193-211) and Caracalla (AD 211-217). Nevertheless, during her twenty four years of life at the imperial court she went through different political circumstances and was directly engaged in the struggles for power that involved several members of the dynasty. Without doubt she started to exercise a considerable influence already in the first phases of Severus' rule. In fact, she probably had some responsibilities for her husband's decision to consolidate his power throughout the establishment of a dynasty. Later, the rise of Plautianus does not seem to have undermined irreparably her position at court, as demonstrated by her constant presence in public

life. After Plautianus' death, she continued to be at the side of Severus, remaining also close to the most important political events. For this reason, after Severus' passing the Senate looked at her as the real continuator of the dynasty, since she seemed probably the only one who was able to exercise a strong control over her sons. At any rate, during the sole reign of Caracalla her role changed significantly. Although the killing of Geta may have damaged considerably the personal relationship between mother and son, the influence of Julia Domna not only was preserved, but even strengthened. This is demonstrated by the exceptional honors bestowed on her all over the empire, but most of all by the impression that she left on her contemporaries. Both the epigraphic evidence and the account of Dio prove that she was actually considered the co-ruler of Caracalla, whose young age and harsh temperament required evidently a resolute leading figure. In order to better understand the nature of this shift, this paper will try to provide a comprehensive overview of the most significant sources concerning Domna's position and public image throughout the reigns of both Severus and Caracalla.

Pierre Bonnechere
Université de Montréal
Session/Séance 7

"Governing safely." The oracle of Dodona and *Atheniaiôn politeia* , 43, 4

At the end of the fifth century during the fourth century, the *poleis* and *koina* who question the oracle of Dodona

regularly use a vague formulation on the excellence of their government on crops and general security (1, 2 and 6A Lhôte). But this formulation also leads straight to a well-known passage of the *Constitution of Athens* pseudo-Aristotle, which deals with the duties of prytanes in shaping the agenda of meetings. This Aristotelian passage has been taken in a very technical sense policy: there he embezzlement judges, danger or risk to supply the border? The parallel between this text and the slats of Dodona forced to revise this conclusion too precise, without in any way denying the direct policy impact *Constitution of Athens* , and reopen on this customs of oracular consultation Greek states: if they are managing day to day technical side, they also had the responsibility of a wider policy management for which they needed the downstream oracular god. We also take the opportunity to discuss the meaning of the *Asphaleia* mentioned in three dodonéennes lamellae under other oracular responses from Delphi and Didyma, and a recently proposed an inscription Caunos replay.

Konstantin Boshnakov
George Brown College
Session/Séance 1

"Contextualizing Recently Discovered Tomb Inscriptions in Hellenistic Thrace (3rd century B.C.)"

Seventy years have passed since the accidental discovery of the Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak. The place is located in the heart of Bulgaria, in the fertile valley of the ancient Tonzos River. The tomb is part of a large necropolis stretching north

and north-east of Seuthopolis, the residence of its founder Seuthes III, king of the Odrysae (ca. 330 – ca. 290 B.C.), a worthy adversary of Lysimachus.

For decades only the unique 3rd century B.C. polychrome and multifigural frescoes of Kazanlak has been in the focus of attention of archaeologists as well as art and architecture historians. However, it was never tested for inscriptions.

In 2008, the author of this paper conducted a test by means of both routine and UV-photography. Though hard to see and harder still to photograph, at the wavelength of 372 nanometers, it was possible to achieve a better contrast of some strings of letters of two painted inscriptions located in the so-called "Charioteer Frieze", the worst preserved part of the vaulted chamber. In result, the vestigial lettering of the two dipinti can be made out as follows: 1. ΚΟΖΙΜΑCΗC//ΕΖΩΓΡΑΦΗCΕΝ and 2. CΕΥΘ//ΟΥ ΡΟΙΓΟC. Whereas the name of Rhoigos was known to scholars only from two coins, we do not have his patronomic and the painter's name from any other source. The extremely rare name of Kozimases can be, however, put in a hypothetical connection with another 3rd century B.C. inscription, a small graffito from the Thracian Tomb of Alexandrovo (discovered in 2000), reading ΚΟΖΙΜΑCΗC//ΧΡΗCΤΟC, with a skillfully rendered left profile of a young man beneath it.

The two Kozimases-inscriptions together yielded a tantalizing task for scholars. This study takes aim at shedding more light on the specific political, social, sepulchral, and artistic contexts of Greek inscriptions in Early Hellenistic

Thrace by drawing upon parallels from other parts of the Hellenistic world, including ancient Macedonia, Scythia, Palestine, and Egypt.
The research project has been conducted with the express permission of the Bulgarian Ministry of Culture, and supported by the National Research Fund of Bulgaria, Faculty of History of the University of Sofia, and the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation.

Elsa Bouchard
Université de Montréal
Session/Séance 2

"Aphrodite φιλομμμειδής (Hes. *Theog*. 200)"

Le récit hésiodique de la naissance d'Aphrodite (*Théogonie* 188-200) contient une série d'éty- mologies du nom de la déesse et de quelques-unes de ses épithètes traditionnelles, soit Κυθερεια, Κυπρογενής et φιλομμμειδής. Dans cette communication je me pencherai sur la dernière de ces épithètes, dont la signification n'a pas été suffisamment éclairée par les commen- tateurs d'Hésiode. Non seulement le terme réfère aux parties génitales (μμήδεα) d'Ouranos dont Aphrodite est issue, mais il fait aussi allusion à la ruse (μμήδεα) de Cronos qui donne lieu à la castration de son père. Cette double étymologie est appropriée puisque Aphrodite est associée aussi bien à la ruse qu'au désir sexuel chez Hésiode, et parce qu'elle illustre la technique éty- mologique dont se sert souvent le poète.

Denis Brault
Loyola High Schools
Session/Séance 4

"Latin and Ancient Greek in Bilingual Montreal: Cours offerts par La Fondation Humanitas au grand public"

This presentation will be a bilingual presentation (freely moving from English to French and vice versa – not a translation of the text from one language to the other).
I will trace the history of the bilingual outreach program of Latin and Ancient Greek courses offered by La Fondation Humanitas for the past twelve summers (since 2002) and describe the extended program of evening courses offered in Fall and Winter Session/Séances which recently began in September 2013.
Mention will be made of the varied background of men and women who have taken these courses as well as the motivation which prompted them to enrol in them. I will also outline the various courses offered as well as the immersion method used to teach the program.

A brief history of La Fondation Humanitas will be given, including its mission and the other programs in place to promote classical studies in Quebec, especially the public reading series in Montreal and Quebec, which features the reading of texts from ancient authors in French and English.

The ups and downs of providing publicity for the program (La Fondation Humanitas is a not-for-profit organization) will

be presented, as well as occasions when various media featured reports on the program.

Cette intervention sera une présentation bilingue (allant de l'anglais au français et du français à l'anglais – et non une traduction du texte d'une langue à l'autre).

Je tracerai un bilan du programme bilingue pour grand public des cours de latin et de grec ancien offerts par La Fondation Humanitas pendant les douze derniers étés (depuis 2002) et je décrirai le nouveau programme des cours en soirée offert durant les Session/Séances d'automne et d'hiver, qui a été mis sur pied dernièrement (en septembre 2013).

Je parlerai de la formation et des milieux variés des hommes et des femmes qui ont participé à ces cours, ainsi que de la motivation qui les a poussés à s'y inscrire. Je vais décrire les différents cours qui sont offerts, ainsi que la méthode d'immersion utilisée dans l'enseignement du programme.

Une histoire brève de La Fondation Humanitas sera présentée, qui comprendra une description de sa mission et des autres programmes mis en place pour promouvoir les études anciennes au Québec, spécialement la série de lectures publiques à Montréal et à Québec qui présente la lecture des textes des auteurs anciens en français et en anglais.

J'adresserai les hauts et les bas de nos efforts à fournir une publicité pour ce programme (La Fondation Humanitas étant

un organisme à but non-lucratif, et je ferai mention des occasions où les médias ont fait des reportages sur nos programmes.

Jorge Bravo
University of Maryland, College Park
Session/Séance 3

"Fabricating Identity in the Telephos Frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon"

Although the Telephos Frieze from the inner court of the Great Altar of Pergamon is fragmentary, its subject is certain: It portrays the story of the hero Telephos, his mother Auge, and their journeys to Mysia. The Frieze begins with the circumstances of Auge's motherhood and culminates in the foundation of Pergamon and the heroization of Telephos as the city's founding hero. While some scholars have noted in passing the colonial aspect of the Frieze, a more detailed investigation of the colonial elements of the frieze has been lacking: How does the Telephos Frieze discuss the colonial origins of Pergamon and Pergamon's identity as both a Greek city and a royal capital? A key consideration is that the story of the foundation of Pergamon by Telephos is a fiction, irreconcilable with the historical facts of Pergamon's origins. Nevertheless, this fictional account is consistent with the contemporary beliefs of the people of Pergamon regarding their origins, as we are able to deduce from ancient literary and epigraphic references. Why then did the Attalids choose to perpetuate this fictional colonial account in the sculptural program of

the Telephos frieze?

The answer lies precisely in the traditional nature of the colonial discourse. Close analysis of the surviving panels of the Telephos Frieze reveals that the Frieze draws upon a traditional form of colonial discourse which developed in the Archaic and Classical periods. Carol Dougherty (*The Poetics of Colonization*, 1993) has defined and treated in detail the components of colonial discourse as represented in classical literature. Allowing for minor variations from colony to colony, the basic narrative pattern of colonial discourse involves some kind of crisis, a Delphic consultation, the colonial foundation, and a resolution. Moreover, the elements of the colonial narrative pattern are tied to three basic cultural metaphors: purification, linguistic interpretation (oracles, puns, and other forms of wordplay), and marriage. A final, important element is the establishment of cults, particularly the cult of the founding hero. All the elements of this traditional form of colonial discourse can be shown to permeate the Telephos frieze.

By casting the origins of Pergamon in a traditional narrative form and representing the city as a traditional Greek colony, the Attalids were promoting their capital city's Greek identity. Furthermore, the focus which the traditional narrative places on the individual hero Telephos reinforced the royal prerogatives of the Attalids, who claimed descent from Telephos. Simultaneously, however, the frieze can be seen to insert a non-Greek perspective into its discourse by including figures in Phrygian dress, Telephos' Amazon wife, and the episode of the wounding of Telephos at the hands of

the Greeks. Accordingly, whether intended by the Attalids or not, the frieze also acknowledges the kingdom's more complex identity that combined a mixed Greek and native population.

Adriana Brook
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 6

"Ritual Structure, Narrative Structure:
The Poetics of Progression in Sophocles' *Ajax*"

Ritual offers a versatile poetic tool for the tragedian because it shares many attributes with drama itself. In this paper, I will explore in particular the way in which ritual and drama both follow a predictable progression, allowing the playwright to use ritual structures to influence a tragic audience's experience of a play. Using Aristotle's *Poetics* and van Gennep's *Rites of Passage*, I will show that both tragedy and ritual can be understood as having a corresponding tripartite structure. Aristotle's beginning, middle and end, organized around a central *anagnorisis* and *peripeteia*, correspond to van Gennep's preliminary, liminal and postliminal phases, organized around a central ritual transition. My principal claim will be that ritual structure, and any deviations from the norm the poet chooses to incorporate into that structure, affect an audience's expectations of a play's narrative progression as well as its reception of the characters implicated. Focusing on Sophocles' *Ajax*, I will show how the three main sections of the narrative, each focusing on a central ritual action, depict

the ritual process in reverse, creating tension with the forward-moving dramatic narrative. The rituals of the play are progressively less complete and, as a result, the audience knows less and less about Ajax's ritual status and his relationship to the Greek community as the play goes on. The conflict between ritual and dramatic structure undermines the sense of closure that many, notably Segal, argue is provided by the proposed burial rites for Ajax at the end of the play. By recognizing that the ritual progression is inverted in the macro-structure of the play, it is possible to better understand the ambivalence of the conclusion of the *Ajax*, particularly the hero's failure to reintegrate into the Greek community.

Christer Bruun
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 9

"Water Distribution in Rome: Searching for Frontinus' Enigmatic *calix*"

In Trevor Hodge's masterful *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply* (1992, 2002) practically every page reveals how he in his scholarship combined archaeological evidence, a deep understanding of ancient technology, and information derived from literary sources, in particular Frontinus' *De aquaeductu urbis Romae*. Well-chosen photos, drawings, and other illustrations have made the book a must-have for anyone studying Roman water supply.

In one detail, however, the situation is somewhat different. On several occasions Frontinus refers to an object he calls a *calix* (translated as "adjutage" (p. 110) or "supply pipe" (p. 3) by Hodge, and as "bronze fitting" by R.H. Rodgers in his 2005 translation of *De aq*. in *JRA* 18). Frontinus describes the *calix* as being necessary when a private consumer connects his/her private conduit to a public cistern: the *calix* is made of bronze (which cannot easily be deformed) and it is affixed to the wall of the cistern, while a lead conduit (*fistula*) is connected to the *calix* and will transport the water to its destination (*aq*. 36.3). The description is clear enough and a drawing is presented on p. 295 (following earlier scholarship).

The problem here is that no *calix* has ever been found, neither *in situ* nor in any other context, and thus modern illustrations of the use and function of the *calix* are not grounded in practical archaeological observations.

There has been a discussion of the Frontinian *calix* for some time now, although not every scholar in the field has taken notion. This paper will survey the suggestions for Frontinian *calices* that scholars have presented, none of which have yet been convincingly shown to be *calices*. Among the arguments presented in "defense" of Frontinus is one that points to the great loss of ancient metal objects: bronze was particularly valuable and much sought after by scavengers. Yet countless objects of bronze have survived from Roman antiquity and it is difficult to explain why precisely the Frontinian *calices* would have disappeared so completely.

To discuss whether *calices* were in fact used by the *cura aquarum* at Rome (we cannot automatically assume that the system of water management in the capital would have been adopted unaltered everywhere) may seem like splitting hairs: after all, the distribution network functioned for centuries and the *calix* seems like a sensible implement. However, my discussion of the evidence for the *calix* (or lack thereof) belongs in a wider context: I am concerned with the overall nature of Frontinus' literary work. The issue is to what extent the *De aquaeductu* contains not just descriptive sections, but also prescriptive ones. A case can be made that certain parts of the content reflect more of an ideal than actual reality. It is obviously also possible that the use of the bronze *calix* was mandatory for only a short period, and that therefore no objects survive, which again would mean that Frontinus' work should not be taken as the general rule for how to organize urban water distribution.

Jonathan Burgess
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 5

"*Homeland* and the *Odyssey*"

The television series *Homeland* has received much attention, with critical acclaim for its first season, at least (implausible plot twists in subsequent two seasons have been met with increasing impatience). What has not been noticed is the degree to which the show parallels key themes of the *Odyssey*. Comparison of the television series to the Homeric

epic serves to clarify the presences of these themes in both artistic creations, as well as suggest the resonance of ancient myth in the contemporary world. The correspondence is close enough that conscious reception may be suspected. Reception of the ancient world is a thriving trend in Classical studies, and the *Odyssey* has been especially influential down through the ages (see E. Hall, *The Return of Ulysses,* for a survey of reception of the *Odyssey*, including in popular media). Sometimes discernment of what is reception and what is merely coincidental is difficult. S. Goldhill has examined the issue well ("*Naked* and *O Brother Where Art Thou*? The Politics and Poetics of Epic Cinema," In B. Graziosi and E. Greenwood (eds.) *Homer in the Twentieth Century*), though it is his unconvincing argument that the film *Naked* is a version the Homeric epic that best underscores the uncertainty of reception studies. In my discussion I will raise the possibility of *Homeland*'s reception of the *Odyssey* but I will not insist upon it; nor do I see reception as essential for the profit to be gained by comparison of the two.

The general correspondences are undeniable. Both the *Odyssey* and *Homeland* feature a protagonist returning home from war, in both cases after having gone missing for eight years (a close accounting of time in the *Odyssey* demonstrates that Odysseus' return is actually not ten years long). Odysseus returns home from the Trojan War to find his wife wooed by suitors who presume that he is dead; Brody returns home from the Iraq War to discover his wife romantically involved with his best friend from the army, Mike, who has begun to speak of marriage. A plurality of "suitors" in *Homeland* is even raised when another army

buddy asserts that all the army buddies desired to "bend [Brody's wife] over the kitchen sink." Both protagonists have stronger relationships with a child on the verge of adulthood; whereas Odysseus finds in Telemachus his most trusted ally, Brody connects best with his daughter Dana. And though both returning protagonists succeed in displacing their rivals, they also turn out to be a threat to their homeland. Brainwashed by his captors, Brody initially plans to carry out a suicide bombing in order to take out the Vice-President and other government officials; by slaughtering the suitors indiscriminately Odysseus essentially wipes out a generation of aristocratic leaders in the area of the Ionian Islands. Of course, the Homeric epic goes out of its way to justify the slaughter, but current against-the-grain analyses (e.g., C. Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus*; M. Buchan, *The Limits of Heroism*, among others) have demonstrated convincingly how strained the justification is. By not going through with the suicide bombing, Brody arguably becomes a more sympathetic character.

Homeland gives equal billing to Carrie Matheson as the bipolar CIA agent who perceptively mistrusts the returning Brody but then becomes his firmest supporter as well as lover. Her characterization as a smart and alluring enabler makes her readily comparable to Circe. As for Brody's wife, she tends to be ineffectively passive, much like Penelope. Feminist studies of the *Odyssey* (M. A. Katz, *Penelope's Renown*; L. E. Doherty, *Siren Songs*; N. Felson-Rubin, *Regarding Penelope*) have done much to rehabilitate the character, but arguably her Homeric characterization has

restricted her traditional wiliness to a great degree. And the break-down of Brody's marriage and his continuing post-return journeys abroad are comparable to the *Telegony*'s narrative of Odysseus' post-return journeying, including the acquisition of a second wife. In this poem Penelope herself ends up with Telegonus as a husband, and lives with him apart from Ithaca. *Homeland* and the Cyclic poem are thus harmonious in their deconstruction of the normative ideology of home and family that is present in the *Odyssey*.

A comparison of *Homeland* and the *Odyssey* thus demonstrates that they correspond in major ways: in plot, in characterization, and in major themes. Of course, there are major differences, especially as *Homeland* follows an increasingly convoluted plot in its later seasons. But the modern story effectively situates Odyssean elements into a current setting, one with global-wide conflict between religious and political systems and deep tensions within families unable to cope with the stress of modern lifestyles. If *Homeland* is indeed an example of reception of the *Odyssey*, it well matches the transformative, contemporizing nature of such examples as Derek Walcott's *The Odyssey. A Stage Version*, Margaret Atwood's *Penelopiad*, and the Coen brothers' *O Brother Where Art Thou?* And like all successful transformative examples of reception, *Homeland* makes us re-examine aspects of the *Odyssey* that may otherwise be overlooked.

Odessa Cadieux-Rey
University of Western Ontario
Session/Séance 2

"The Exchange of Women in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*: the marriage of Persephone and Demeter's 'Cretan lie'."
This paper offers a reading of the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* as a narrative that both illustrates and problematises the exchange of women. The poem frames the abduction of Persephone as a transaction between Zeus and Hades, rulers representing separate divine communities, and so appears to be presenting elements of exogamous marriage projected into the divine sphere. On the other hand, it relegates the male transactors to the periphery of the narrative and places the female characters, in particular the mother, at the centre. This feature allows the poem to expose not only the psychological effects that commodification has for the woman involved but also the essential instability of a system that exchanges women, 'signifying signifiers' whose 'commodification' is exposed as neither necessary nor natural as a cultural practice. The exchange of women in Greek literature and society has been the subject of a number of recent studies (Lyons 2012; Ormand 1999; Rabinowitz 1993; Wohl 1998), and although scholars have recognised the marriage of Persephone and Hades as an exchange (e.g. Foley 1994: 104ff), there is not yet a reading of the *Hymn* that interprets it specifically from the perspective of female commodification and exchange. As an interpretative aid, I turn to anthropology and feminist theory. Claude Lévi-Strauss' *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969 [1949]), in which he identifies marriage as the

archetypal exchange making the transition from nature to culture possible, supports an interpretation of the *Hymn* on its most basic level as a marriage exchange. However, his structuralist model of reciprocity and marriage ceases to be useful as the poem continues to challenge those very ideologies. In order to elucidate the *Hymn*'s feminine perspective, I apply the philosophy of Luce Irigaray, who critiques Lévi-Strauss in her essay "Women on the Market" (1985 [1977]) and poses questions about gender and reciprocity throughout her work that are pertinent to those raised by the *Hymn.* Reading the *Hymn* through the lens of theories of reciprocity and gender, I demonstrate how it problematises the exchange of women through a close reading of the 'Cretan lie' that Demeter fabricates when she arrives in Eleusis (*Dem.* 118-137). In this lie-like-the-truth, a device familiar from the *Odyssey,* Demeter appropriates her daughter's experience. In describing her alleged capture by pirates, another form of female commodification, Demeter's vocabulary echoes the language used by the narrator and in the speech of other players to describe Persephone's experience of marriage: for example, Demeter is taken "against her will by violence and necessity" (*ouk ethelousa biē d' aekousan anagkē*, 124), while Persephone is also described as "unwilling" (*aekazomenēn*, 30; cp. 19, 72, 344, 432) and "suffering violence" (*biazomēnes*, 67). Furthermore, Demeter's lie employs the masculine language of reciprocity (*timēs,* 132; see e.g. Nagy 1999; Scodel 2008; Van Wees 1992; Wilson 2002) and, as I argue, stakes a claim to a woman's own subjectivity in the transaction between men. This close reading of the 'Cretan lie' helps us to appreciate how the *Hymn to Demeter* as a whole gives

agency and speech to the female subject, releasing her from her customary position as object.

Beaudoin Caron
Université de Montréal
Session/Séance 10

"Le Sarcophage de Granby / The Granby Sarcophagus"

A l'été 2003, les media ont fait grand cas pendant quelques jours d'un sarcophage romain, transformé en fontaine au parc Pelletier à Granby et malheureusement abîmé par un séjour de 49 ans en plein air. Restauré en 2003, il fut retiré du parc, mis en sécurité dans un coffre de bois et quelque peu oublié depuis.

Ce sarcophage a fait partie de la collection de John Temple-Leader (1810-1903), conservée au XIX^{ème} siècle dans son Castello Vincigliata près de Florence en Italie. Il s'est beaucoup promené depuis. Il est orné de Tritons et de Néréides flanquant une *tabula ansata* et remonte au milieu du II^{ème} siècle de notre ère. Il a été réutilisé au IV^{ème} siècle lorsqu'on a effacé la première inscription pour en graver une autre. Au XIV^{ème} siècle, les deux extrémités et un des longs côtés ont été (re)taillés. Cette présentation vise à revenir sur l'histoire quelque peu mouvementée de ce remarquable sarcophage et faire le point sur le sens de son iconographie antique.

In the summer of 2003, much kerfuffle was made for a few days by the media about a Roman sarcophagus, displayed as a fountain in the Pelletier park in Granby (Qc) and unfortunately damaged by 49 winters. Restored that same year, it was removed from the park, crated and somewhat forgotten since.

This mid-second century AD sarcophagus was once part of the collection constituted by John Temple-Leader (1810-1903) and kept in his Castello Vincigliata near Florence, Italy. It bounced around quite a bit before reaching Granby. It bears a marine scene of Nereids and Tritons on either side of a *tabula ansata*. It was reused in the 4th century when the original inscription was polished away to make room for a new one and again in the 14th century. One of the long sides and both short ones were (re)cut at that time. This paper will go over the chequered story of this interesting object and the meaning of its iconography on the Roman side.

Guy Chamberland
Thorneloe University at Laurentian
Session/Séance 11

"On an Inscription from Cius (Lower Moesia): A Revised Reading and its Consequences on Late Imperial History"

In spite of its fragmentary state, an inscription from the Roman fort of Cius in Lower Moesia (on the site of the modern village of Gîrliciu in Romania) contributes quite significantly to our understanding of the hostilities between the Romans and Goths during the reign of Valens (364–378)

in the eastern-Danube *limes* area (*CIL* III 7494 = *ILS* 770 + p. CLXXII). On the third line, however, an alternate reading should be taken into consideration that would have consequences for the date of the monument itself (378 rather than 368, as is widely accepted since Mommsen's detailed study in *Hermes* 17, 1882, 523–544) and the events it alludes to. In addition, the proposed revision would contribute new data on the late imperial quinquennial *vota* and accompanying celebrations: *quinquennalia*, *decennalia*, etc.

Matthew Clark
York University
Session/Séance 7

"Pre-Olympian Gods in Pausanias' *Description of Greece*"

This paper is part of a larger project on myth in Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. The goal of the larger project is to explore in depth what the traditions of Greek myth meant to an educated traveler in the second century CE. The specific topic of this paper is the pre-Olympian gods in Pausanias, in particular Gaia, Ouranos, Kronos, Rhea, and Prometheus. These gods are most familiar to us through Hesiod's *Theogony*, but references in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* show that they were still part of the later Greek traditions of myth and ritual. (Pausanias refers to Hesiod about twenty times and specifically mentions Hesiod's creation story at IX.27.2,5.)

Gaia is perhaps a special case, because of her role in myths of autochthony; she is the mother of Erichthonios (I.2.6), Triptolemos (I.14.2), Anax (I.35.5), and Phylos (IV.1.5); but she also received cult in several places (Phlya (I.31.4); Patrai (VII.21.4); Gaios (VII.25.8); Athens (I.22.3); Tegea (VII.49.8); Sparta (III.11.9 and III.12.8); and Olympia (V.14.10, cf. X.5.3 and X6.3); altogether Pausanias mentions her more than a dozen times. Ouranos, however, is mentioned only twice: at IX.29.4 he is reputed to be the father of the "elder Muses", while at VII.23.4 there is a headland called "The Hook" where some say Kronos threw the hook with which he castrated his father.

Kronos and Rhea are often mentioned together, particular with reference to local versions of the birth of Zeus: Olympia (V.7.10), Methydrion (VIII.36.2–3), Phigalia (VIII.41.2), and Amathous in Cyprus (IX.41.3). Pausanias also mentions the story that Kronos wrestled with Zeus as an etiology of the Olympics (V.7.6 and VIII.2.2; see also V.7.10) but once also with reference to the birth of Poseidon, in a story with obvious parallels to the story of the birth of Zeus. Pausanias also relates an interesting Arcadian story about the birth of Poseidon which is clearly parallel to the story of the birth of Zeus (VIII.8.2-3).

The only other pre-Olympian god who receives much attention is Prometheus, who is mentioned half a dozen times; there is an altar to Prometheus in the Academy from which torch races begin (I.30.2); the Argives claim that Phoroneus rather than Prometheus gave fire to humans (II.19.5); there are rival stories about the tomb of

Prometheus (II.19.7); at Olympia V.11.2 there is a painting of Prometheus in chains by Panaios; near Panopeus there is a statue which may or may not be a statue of Prometheus (X.4.3). Pandora is mentioned only once, as represented on the plinth of the Parthenon Athena (I.24.7), and there is no reference to the sacrifice at Mykone.

A few other older deities receive brief mention; for instance, at I.28.6 Pausanias mentions the Furies, at VIII.18.1 he mentions Styx, and at VIII.21.3 Pausanias reports that Olen in a hymn says that Eileithuia is older than Kronos, and he notes a number of shrines to her.

The traditions of the pre-Olympian gods were still a part of the mythic tradition in Pausanias' time, but they are much less prominent than the stories of the Olympians or of the heroes; moreover, the most mentioned story of the pre-Olympian period is the story of the birth of Zeus, which eventually established the Olympian period.

Kate Cooper
Royal Ontario Museum
Session/Séance 9

"When is a Forgery not a Forgery?"

Suspected forgeries of ancient material are a common problem, particularly for museums where many antiquities lack known archaeological contexts. Although rarely discussed, the investigation into these problematic objects – why they were created and acquired, and how they have

influenced the modern perception of the past – is an important area of study. In this paper I focus on an object from the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) to examine what scientific analysis can (and cannot) resolve about the issue of authenticity. I consider how modern forgeries have affected our understanding of the past, and what they may reveal about modern attitudes to that past.

In 1931 the ROM bought a small ivory figurine thought to come from Minoan Crete. The figurine had no attested archaeological findspot, but was authenticated by Sir Arthur Evans, who named it 'Our Lady of Sports', believing it represented the goddess of those bull leapers depicted in the frescoes of Knossos. The 'goddess' became an icon of the ROM's collection for more than 70 years, and featured in many publications on the Aegean Bronze Age. However, the figurine is now generally believed to be a fake, created by Cretan craftsmen in the early 20th century to meet the demand for Bronze Age objects, and modelled on Evans' preconceived notions of Minoan society. The authenticity of the ROM 'goddess', and that of several ivory Minoan figurines in other museums, had been suspected for decades, but it was publications by Kenneth Lapatin, culminating in *The Mysteries of the Snake Goddess* (Boston: 2002), which finally made those suspicions public. Several museums, were prompted to address the presentation of these 'Minoan' artefacts, and by 2005 the ROM 'goddess' was relegated to the storeroom. It is clear from Lapatin's work that while there are many reasons to doubt the authenticity of these ivory figurines, these is little conclusive evidence to definitively date them. To explore this issue I,

and ROM conservator Julia Fenn, have re-examined the ROM 'goddess' and her fascinating story.

Altay Coşkun
University of Waterloo
Session/Séance 5

"Histoire par les noms in Ancient Galatia"

For the two centuries following the Galatian occupation of central Anatolia after 278 BC, only a few nearly exclusively Celtic names of tribal or mercenary leaders have been transmitted. In the 1st century BC, the first examples of Anatolian names re-emerge in our evidence, and a few Greco-Macedonian ones alongside with them. By the beginning of the 2nd century AD, Roman names prevailed among Galatian aristocrats. Complementary to these general trends, this study also looks at the Phrygian and Celtic traditions that were sometimes hidden behind Greek or Roman facades: the extent of such complex naming practices reveals the compatibility of embracing Hellenism or Romanness with an awareness of the Galatian or Phrygian cultural heritage still in the 2nd century. Such local peculiarities faded away in the 3rd century with the completion of Roman franchise and the spread of Christian names. This paper will explore in how far personal names, combined with the remaining evidence, which is highly fragmentary or (for ideological reasons) distorted, reflect demographic developments, processes of interculturation, political changes and the gradual modification of ethnic

identities. (Cf. Coşkun, in Gephyra 12, 2012, 51-68; in ZPE 183, 2013, 171-184; in Naming in Anatolia, ed. by R. Parker, Oxford 2013, 79-106)

Allan Daoust
Thorneloe University at Laurentian
Session/Séance 10

"Hidden Complexity: The Iconography of Metal-Working Scenes and the Archaeology of the Roman Forge"

The Roman Empire had an almost insatiable appetite for iron in the form of finished products, with manufactured iron goods intersecting with virtually every facet of the average Roman's life, from clothing to housing, from work to entertainment, from the domestic to the military. Despite the obvious importance of iron-working and the blacksmith within daily life, the number of blacksmithing workshops or forges within the archaeological record of the Roman Empire is remarkably small. As a result, physical evidence for the material contents of the Roman forge is not provided by archaeological sources, which in turn forces researchers to find alternate sources which may demonstrate the layout and use of iron-working tools and materials within the blacksmith's workshop.

Fortunately, the dynamism of the blacksmith toiling at the forge was a popular theme within Roman art, with depictions of the iron-working process being found upon funerary reliefs, wall paintings, and even in graffiti. These depictions of the blacksmith at work provide a consistent

portrayal of materials required for the production of iron goods and their positioning within the workshop environment. Yet the consistency of these depictions also presents a series of potential problems for researchers interested in the nature of Roman blacksmithing. From locksmiths to knifesmiths to bronzesmiths, all are portrayed utilizing the same materials within their respective forges, all of which are depicted with the same overall layout. The Roman forge is presented with a singular layout, irrespective of the specializations being engaged in by the craftsmen working within it. Ultimately, this suggests that Roman blacksmiths were not differentiated or specialized by the equipment utilized within the forge, but rather by the products which they created.

Carina de Klerk
McGill University
Session/Séance 4

"The Impact and Potential of the University Classics Play"

The Oxford Classical Drama Society puts on the Oxford Greek Play, either an Ancient Greek tragedy or comedy, once every three years, for the past 130 years. The Barnard Columbia Ancient Drama Group produces the Annual Greek/Latin Play, *in* Greek or Latin, with translations supplied through over-head projection. The McGill Classics Play is in its fourth year and, so far having staged only Greek tragedies, is producing their first Greek Comedy in 2014, the *Lysistrata*.
In this paper, I examine the impact and potential of the university Classics play. Focusing on the universities in North

America and the United Kingdom which currently have Classics play programs, I consider and compare the infrastructure of those programs. Points of comparison cover both bureaucratic and artistic matters, including: management, funding, event planning, direction, text strategies (original language or translation), and degree and diversity of student involvement. The objective behind collating these programs is not only to see how they work differently or similarly but what works and where existing programs can grow and how new initiatives can develop, based on the very potential offered by other programs.

Comparing different Classics play programs is less hazardous than measuring the impact of those programs. For I do not in any way want to suggest that Classics play programs must justify why they are worthwhile, worth the resources it takes to support them. Nevertheless, I believe that it is important to show what kind of impact these programs can have in universities, for the purpose of encouraging new Classics play initiatives. With this goal in mind, I plan on assessing this impact in the place where it matters most, with the students. And I will be doing so through surveying the past and present student participants of one program, the McGill Classics Play.

U.S. Dhuga
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
Session/Séance 3

"A Red (Herakleitean) Herring: Pythagoreanism in T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets*"

No writer writing in English has done so much to popularize Presocratic thought as T. S. Eliot. Whether Eliot alludes at all in *Four Quartets* (1943) to Herakleitos is hardly questionable, for the epigraphs to the first quartet, *Burnt Norton* (1935), comprise two fragments of Herakleitos with explicit citation: τοῦ λόγου δ' ἐόντος ξυνοῦ ζώουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἔχοντες φρόνησιν (B2), and ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὠυτή (B60). Questionable, however, is whether Eliot's allusion to Herakleitos constitutes mere "scaffolding such as went to the building" or philosophically (in)forms "part of the building" of the poetry. Since the publication of *Four Quartets* qua quartets in 1943—*Burnt Norton* was published separately in 1935—scholars of Eliot set themselves forthwith to hunting Herakleitos in Eliot *tout court*.

But Eliot, notoriously arch-allusive since *The Waste Land* (1922), has set down a red herring. The thought of *Four Quartets*, I argue, is not so much Herakleitean as it is entrenched in Pythagoreanizing cosmology—focusing on a mediating *meson*—intertwined with Augustine's early acceptance and later rejection of Pythagorean and Platonic reminiscence. Assiduous guardianship of Eliot's literary estate until 2019 has problematized study of his (so-called Presocratic) late period. Drawing upon my access to a

selection of Eliot's private manuscripts, I present in this paper a more robust reading of *Four Quartets* than can be achieved by privileging the poetry's Herakleitean strains alone.

Jitse Dijkstra
University of Ottawa
Session/Séance 8

"The Khnum Temple Graffiti Project: Preliminary Results"

One of the most imposing temples in southern Egypt is the Middle Kingdom temple dedicated to the ram-headed god Khnum of Elephantine. For most of its history, Elephantine had been the main regional centre until it was surpassed by Philae and its Isis cult in the Graeco-Roman period. Nonetheless, the Khnum temple retained much of its glory throughout this period, as appears first and foremost from the monumental forecourt and terraces on the Nile that were built in front of the temple in the Roman period. The forecourt formed a *forum*-like open space lined with huge statues of Egyptian gods alongside Roman emperors and was accessible to both priests and laymen, at least during festivals. Their activities are witnessed by the many graffiti that have been carved in the pavement, often for religious reasons.

In March 2013, an epigraphical campaign was conducted under the aegis of the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt and the German

Archaeological Institute in which all 195 graffiti on the Khnum temple forecourt, consisting of both texts (mostly in Greek) and figures (such as feet, boats and sacred animals), were recorded for the first time. In this paper, the preliminary results of this project will be presented, focusing especially on what we can learn from these graffiti about the use of the forecourt and the visitors to the temple in the Roman period.

Fanny Dolansky
Brock University
Session/Séance 3

"Disasters and their Impacts on Roman Families"

Disasters were common occurrences in the Roman world whether as natural events such as earthquakes and floods, or man-made crises including wars and rebellions. The Tiber routinely flooded; severe food shortages were as frequent as one year in five (Garnsey 1990: 127); and much of the Mediterranean region was very active seismically leading to earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tsunamis. Questionable construction materials and lax regulations, as well as overcrowding, left urban centers such as Rome susceptible to deadly fires and building collapses, and vulnerable in the face of epidemics (Yavetz 1958; Scobie 1986; Oleson 2011). The Romans were also almost continuously engaged in war, and though catastrophic defeats such as those at Lake Trasimene, Cannae, and the Teutoburg Forest were comparatively rare, these were devastating losses nonetheless with lasting psychological and demographic

effects. When reporting natural disasters, ancient authors tend to concentrate on the phenomena that caused these events, the extent of physical damage that ensued (Newbold 1982), and the relief offered by imperial aid (Mitchell 1987: 345-352; Toner 2013: 45-66). Yet ordinary citizens, both individuals and families, must have been affected in concrete ways: did ancient authors care about their plight and if so, what consequences did they see disasters having on the basic units of society?

Despite an apparent emphasis on public impacts, disaster narratives reflect a keen awareness of the very human dimension to these tragedies, and highlight ways in which people and relationships were profoundly affected. Careful reading of literary accounts reveals that infrastructure and institutions were not the sole concerns, as authors were interested in society's most vulnerable members – namely women, children, and the elderly – who were simultaneously the greatest victims and perhaps least likely survivors of these calamities. Close study of scenes that celebrate decisive Roman victories, such as those which decorate the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius or the Portonaccio sarcophagus (Beard 2000; Uzzi 2005: 120-141; Ferris 2009), add further to our understanding of the Romans' appreciation for the devastating effects disasters could inflict on families, effects Romans knew they could suffer just as easily as their enemies if a battle's outcome were not favourable. While recent scholarship has drawn attention to studying disasters individually and collectively, their impact on family life has not yet been a specific focus. Since these events occurred regularly enough that most

families could reasonably expect to experience one in their lifetime, if not more, consideration of how they shaped families and their fortunes seems warranted. Drawing on a diverse body of ancient literary, epigraphic, and art historical evidence, combined with insights from comparative studies of historical disasters, this paper examines the impacts of disasters on Roman families, and argues for a number of serious and often interrelated consequences including trauma, loss, displacement, and permanent disruption of normal routines.

Stamatia Dova
Hellenic College
Session/Séance 9

“Lucian’s Thucydides: Intention, Intertext, and the *Telos* of History”

Lucian's treatise *On Writing History* has attracted the attention of recent scholarship as an ancient source on Lucius Verus' Parthian War and its contemporary historiographical methodology (Kemezis 2010, Ligota 2007). This paper examines Lucian's reception of Thucydides in *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* with particular emphasis on the essay's references to myth and fiction. Examining the meaning and function of the term "τὸ μυθῶδες" in both authors, I argue that Lucian's authorial intention is to use Thucydides as intertext for the multiple audiences he is trying to reach through his essay.

As Christopher Jones has shown, Lucian's essay *Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν* serves the dual purpose of *enkomion* and satire (Jones 1986); Lucian's praise for Lucius Verus is artfully concealed in his parody of contemporary historians who composed exaggerated accounts of the Parthian War. His satirical view of their failure to emulate the masterpieces of Greek historiography reveals his own appreciation of Thucydides (15.1, 19.1, 26.6), whom he considers the inventor of historical ethics (42.1-12, 54.6). As a model historian, according to Lucian, Thucydides is also responsible for drawing the distinction between myth and history (39, 42), a binary opposition that manifests itself as the inherent contrast between eulogistic oratory and historiography or poetry and prose (7.8-23, 8.1, 26, 9.9, 22.1, 39.7-40.6). Lucian's essay, however, provides its multiple audiences with the very proof that the polarities between *epainos* and *historia* can be negotiated by means of political understanding and power of expression (9.1-2, 34.1-6, *Salt.* 36.1-15); these multiple audiences include the emperor Lucius Verus, the intellectual elite of his time, and the readers of future generations, who will be called upon to discern and evaluate the true meaning of the work (10.8, 14.2, 61.1-9, 62.2).

As a literary theorist, Lucian is deeply concerned with authorial intention and intertextual allusion. His intention to praise the emperor without compromising his own historiographical principles leads him to produce a potent *recusatio*, full of erudition and originality. Thucydides is prominently featured in this essay, not only as a paragon of historiographical virtue, but also as the canon for the

separation of myth from history. As Stewart Flory has shown (Flory, 1990), Thucydides' own authorial intention regarding the term "τὸ μυθῶδες" in 1.22.4 was a *recusatio* to include in his work "stories which exaggerate and celebrate the glories of war" (Flory, 1990, 194). Lucian, I argue, has internalized this nuance, and employs it to set the tone for his discourse on the rules and aims of historiography. His view that myth and storytelling are incompatible with sound historiography echoes Thucydides' statement on the usefulness of history as a means of education for future generations, who, faced with a similar situation, would consult the historical records of the past and address the issues at hand successfully (*Th.* 1.22.4, *Hist. Conscr.* 42.1-12). Lucian's (and Thucydides') aversion to "τὸ μυθῶδες" combines literary theory and practice in the context of the dialogue between what is useful (τὸ χρήσιμον) and what is pleasing (τὸ τερπνόν) in historiographical writing (9.7-14). This applied intertextuality fulfills Lucian's authorial intention to produce a multi-faceted work, capable of appealing to an equally varied audience.

Susan Dunning
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 8

“Establishing Dynasty: Officiating the *Ludi Saeculares* of Augustus and Severus”

It is commonly asserted that celebrations of the Ludi Saeculares (or “Secular Games”) at Rome allowed emperors important opportunities to establish the authority of their

dynasties, especially because the emperors and their families took central roles in the religious performances of the Games (cf. Gagé 1934, Birley 1988, Rantala 2013). Yet these studies do not give adequate attention to the complexities of how imperial officiating of sacrifices, prayers, and other religious rituals in these Games differed in each period, and might be assigned to individuals outside of the emperor's family. In this paper, I will discuss the oversight of ritual elements of the Ludi Saeculares held by Augustus in 17 BCE and by Septimius Severus in 204 CE. Although Severus took pains to emulate the Augustan Games in order to legitimize his own celebration, the roles of the emperor, his family, and other individuals in his Games depart at times from the Augustan model.

Augustus's role in his Games of 17 BCE set the precedent for all future celebrations, in that he officiated at all of the main sacrifices. He alone offered the nocturnal sacrifices at the Tarentum, while his heir Agrippa joined him for the daytime rites. But aside from this, we do not know for certain if other members of his family participated in the rites. Some have suggested that Livia led 110 *matronae* in performing a *sellisternium* (Cooley 2007, Rantala 2013). Other individuals assisted in the Games and were commemorated: for example, we know from the Augustan *Acta* the names of the *quindecimuiri* who helped to organize the Games and distributed *suffimenta* to the people before the start of the celebration. One member of the college, Potitus Valerius Messalla, was given the minor role of dismissing leapers-on-horseback. An examination of Augustus's coins from that year reveals that only the reverses of two types potentially

show Augustus taking the lead in a performance, and in one case, he is accompanied by a *ludio* or herald who announced the Games.

Septimius Severus gave greater prominence to his family in his Secular Games, from the evidence of the *Acta* of his Games and numerous coins from 204 CE. For example, Caracalla and Geta joined Severus in leading the opening prayers, and the *Acta* state that Julia Domna led the *matronae* in offering a *sellisternium.* Not only do coin reverses depict the emperor sacrificing at the Tarentum, but the empress also and her sons appear together on coins celebrating the continuation of the Severan dynasty into the new *saeculum.* But Severus did assign a rite of purification to a non-relative, the *magister* of the *quindecimuiri*, and his *Acta*, unlike those of Augustus, record the names of the *matronae* and children who participated in the ceremonies. Thus, the centrality of the Severan family to the celebration of the Ludi Saeculares must be balanced by an appreciation for instances in which the emperor showed favour to individuals outside of his family by granting them roles in these highly publicized religious performances.

Nancy Duval
Université de Montréal
Session/Séance 7

"La dualité entre les sources littéraires et papyrologiques dans les sortes (ou oracles par tirage au sort)"

La découverte des lamelles épigraphiques de Dodone et leur

édition partielle en 2006 ont marqué un tournant dans la recherche mantique puisqu'elles démentent sans appel le portrait quasi- mythique de la divination inspirée, telle que pratiquée à Delphes, un portrait idéalisé qui était basé sur les seules sources littéraires. Une autre branche de la divination, la rhapsodomancie, présente elle aussi pareille dualité entre, d'une part, les sources littéraires, moins directes et plus tardives, et les documents papyrologiques qu'on utilisait lors des consultations oraculaires elles-mêmes. La rhapsodomancie est une forme de divination qui choisit, en guise de prédictions, des phrases détachées, rencontrées au hasard dans des livres inspirés, notamment les poésies d'Homère (les sortes Homericae) et de Virgile (les sortes Vergilianae). Alors que les sortes Homericae nous sont connus par les seuls papyri qui en énoncent les prédictions, les sortes Vergilianae ont pour unique témoignage l'Histoire Auguste qui y recourt à sept reprises. Or, les deux portraits offerts s'opposent fondamentalement. L'étude comparative de ces deux systèmes vient renforcer l'importance de privilégier les preuves épigraphiques et papyrologiques par rapport aux textes littéraires qui sont trop souvent, sinon presque toujours, écrits en fonction de lieux communs (topoi littéraires). C'est pourtant à ces derniers qu'a toujours été accordée la primauté au mépris total des plus élémentaires règles de l'interprétation historique. Alors que, dans les recherches sur la divination ancienne, l'heure est aujourd'hui aux bilans et à la reconsidération d'idées longtemps prises pour acquises, l'étude comparative des sortes Homericae et des sortes Vergilianae vient confirmer une dangeureuse tendance qui se doit d'être considérée dans toutes les études modernes

portant sur la divination en général.

Jonathan Edmondson
York University
Session/Séance 11

"Votive dedications from the rural sanctuary of Endovellicus in Roman Lusitania"

Since its discovery in the sixteenth century the sanctuary of the local god Endovellicus at São Miguel da Mota (Terena, Alandroal) in eastern Portugal has yielded a rich array of votive altars, plaques, pedestals and inscribed statues and statuettes, one of the largest assemblages known from any local shrine in the western Roman Empire. The majority of these were uncovered in excavations by the leading Portuguese archaeologist José Leite de Vasconcelos (1858–1941) in the 1890s and 1900s, although excavations since 2002 conducted by a joint Portuguese-German team under the direction of Carlos Fabião and Amílcar Guerra (Universidade de Lisboa) and Thomas Schattner (DAI-Madrid) have resulted in further new finds. This paper addresses two main issues raised by the surviving votive offerings. It first provides a detailed analysis of the social rank of devotees of the god attested at the sanctuary, who ranged from men of Roman equestrian status to soldiers to Roman citizens and peregrines, including slaves. It then examines the form and style of the inscribed dedications to explore the question of the nature of the epigraphic workshops that served the rural sanctuary. It is shown that many of the dedications bear a close affinity to funerary and

votive monuments produced at Augusta Emerita (Mérida), 100 km east of the sanctuary, while others are very distinct from Emeritan products, showing a closer relationship to monuments produced at Ebora (Évora), 50 km south-west of São Miguel da Mota. The cultural implications of this are explored in the concluding part of the paper.

Simeon David Ehrlich
Stanford University
Session/Séance 1

"City Description in Herodotus and Greek Attitudes to Urban Planning"

Herodotus' descriptions of foreign cities inform our understanding of Greek attitudes to urban planning. By studying how Herodotus describes cities and what information he elects to include, we gain a sense of Greek priorities in spatial organization. For a foreign city to merit description, it would either have to be seen as a paradigm for Greeks to emulate or vastly different from Greek expectations of urban form. In either case, the description would have to be set in terms that captured the way in which Greeks conceived of spatial organization.

My premise is that the Greeks had specific shared cultural notions of spatial organization. This is to be expected, given other aspects of their shared culture: language, deities, art forms, etc. Though slight regional variations presented, there were general cultural paradigms. Regarding urban organization, the "Hippodamian" plan is commonly cited as

the defining characteristic of the planned Greek city. Despite variances in the specific dimensions of streets and blocks in individual cities, orthogonal grid planning was indeed practiced by the Greeks over a span of many centuries and throughout the Hellenic world. The archaeological record attests to this manner of spatial organization; the written record offers less material. In the absence of a surviving technical treatise on Greek urban planning, we must look elsewhere to capture Greek attitudes to urban spatial organization.

Herodotus offers detailed plans of two Persian capitals: at I.98 he describes the seven concentric circles of Ecbatana; at I.178-186 he describes the gridded square of Babylon. Though he refers to cities constantly throughout the *Histories*, he tends to describe specific buildings within the cities, rather than giving an overall impression of their plans. That he gives such detail in these two instances shows that he counts these cities among the ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά … τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι. The manner of Herodotus' descriptions here informs us on how Greeks conceived of urban space. The details he includes show us what Greeks considered the defining characteristics of a city. The language he uses conveys a sense that Greeks defined the world in geometric terms.

This paper uses Herodotus' descriptions as a proxy through which to understand Greek conceptions of the city. It indicates why these particular cities were singled out for detailed description. It discerns spatial-organizational priorities held by the Greeks, as evidenced by the

highlighted aspects of the plans of Babylon and Ecbatana. Finally, it comments on how well Herodotus' descriptions correlate to archaeological evidence and whether this affects what we read into his digressions on urban form.

Megan Falconer
University of Calgary
Session/Séance 5

"Medism: Political Betrayal or Survival Tactic?"

When the Persians began taking Greek territory, several *poleis* simply defected, joining Persia and her empire rather than face down the vastly superior numbers and resources available to the enemy. The name applied to this by our sources is Medism. The term μήδισμος becomes increasingly prevalent in the fourth century orators; from indicating betrayal to the Persian side during the fifth century Greek war with Persia (as shown in Herodotus) the term μηδισμος, and its corresponding verb μηδίζω adopted a more accusatory and politically charged meaning. Of all the *poleis* guilty of betraying their fellow Greeks, Thebes in particular receives the most notoriety for her defection to Persia, to the extent of defending this decision half a century later during the Peloponnesian War. Is it simply the fluctuating hostilities between Athens and Thebes seen so often in literature behind this chronic reminder? Or is there something more behind this accusation and its lingering stench? Is Athens not as guilty of befriending Persia as any other Greek *polis*? This paper will attempt to address the question of exactly how realistic the political allegations of

Medism in the fourth century orations were and whether the accusation was strictly a political smear or contained a deeper cultural level.

Rodney Fitzsimons
Trent University
Session/Séance 2

"Building a State One Stone at a Time: Architectural Energetics and Early State Formation in the Bronze Age Argolid"

Prior to the appearance of the first palaces at Mycenae in the 15th century B.C., the most impressive architectural manifestation of elite authority in the Argolid was not the palace or the house, but rather the tomb, specifically the shaft grave and the tholos tomb. While the funerary data supplied by these burials have long served as the primary means by which the study of Early Mycenaean state formation has been approached, such studies focus almost exclusively on the grave goods themselves, rather than the tombs that housed them. This paper seeks to address this lacuna by applying an energetics approach to the funerary landscape, an approach that posits that the quantity of labour expended upon any particular architectural project correlates with the socio-political complexity of the society that produced it. Since one aspect of socio-political power is defined by differential access to labour resources, the values thus generated serve as quantifiable and easily comparable measures of the power of those groups responsible for their undertaking. This approach injects a new, yet rarely

considered dimension to current discussions of “wealth” and “status” and offers new insight into the nature of the socio-political transformations that transpired during the Early Mycenaean Period.

Tyler Flatt
Harvard University
Session/Séance 1

“*ἀνὴρ πολυπλανής* : Geography and the Odyssean Tradition in Polybius”

Polybius’ allusions to Homer, and to Odysseus in particular, have often been dismissively attributed to “romantic imagination” in studies of the historian’s purpose and method. This tendency to analyze Polybius’ ‘Homeric’ passages in emotional terms, minimizing their historiographical significance, has obscured a key facet of the historian’s self-characterization. Polybius’ meticulously rationalizing approach to Homeric geography, via Odysseus—the prototypical *anēr pragmatikos*, and thus a type for Polybius himself—indicates a more serious engagement with the Greek intellectual tradition than has hitherto been recognized.

Rather than merely revealing an entertaining aspect of Polybius’ psychology, the Odyssean theme in the *Histories* suggestively connects the worldly statesman to the spirit and accomplishments of the *periplus* narratives pioneered by Hecataeus, Scylax, Pytheas and others. Verbal parallels between the *Histories*, the *Odyssey*, and Polybius’ epitaph

(bestowed by the Megalopolitans) hint at a shared vision of the historian's identity which blurs together the making and writing of history. On the foundation of this identity, Polybius constructs a geographical perspective which is uniquely his, fusing Greek intellectual and cultural prestige with the benefits of Roman hegemony. He thus creates a view of the *oecumene* that is neither ultimately Roman (*pace* Walbank) nor Greek, but instead reflects the careful compromise which was so characteristic of Polybius' own life.

Judith Fletcher
Wilfrid Laurier University
Session/Séance 8

"Comic Violence: The Force of Law in Aristophanes' *Clouds* and *Ecclesiazusae*"

Violence is often a key element of Aristophanes' humour as Kaimio has recognized, but unacknowledged is how the comic representation of aggression can provoke important questions about relationships between force and law. This paper examines how Aristophanes evinces fundamental concerns about the authority of law and its problematic dependence on force, a question that occupied Aristophanes' contemporaries and continues to exercise present-day legal theorists. Cover, for example, has pondered how law occasions "the imposition of violence upon others," and constitutes "justifications for violence." Derrida asks how we distinguish between a force that "can be deemed legitimate" and "the violence that one always

deems unjust?" These questions shape my analysis of how two Aristophanic comedies interrogate the paradox of law's ambiguous and frequently contradictory reliance on force.

In *Clouds* a citizen youth proposes a decree that legalizes father-beating couched in the official language of the legislative assembly. The youth insists that his recourse to violence would be a form of justice (*to dikaion*), a repayment for disciplinary beatings of his childhood. His new law would invert and co-opt the rights of Athenian fathers to use force on their children. In another comic inversion *Ecclesiazusae* imagines a government taken over by women whose decree abolishes the courts and establishes a form of sexual communism. The play ends with three hags (each brandishing a copy of the decree) fighting over the favors of a terrified youth whose attempts to invoke obsolete legal procedures only emphasize that force has replaced law: the women's aggression coupled with their invocation of justice (*to dikaion*) epitomizes a conjunction of violence and law. Beneath the humour, I argue, the plays invite us to consider legally sanctioned violence and its place in systems of justice.

Pascale Fleury
Université Laval
Session/Séance 7

"Hiérarchie des arts chez Julius Victor"

Julius Victor, auteur d'un manuel de rhétorique du IVe siècle de notre ère, lorsqu'il traite des arguments inhérents à l'art

et dépendants de la qualité des conditions matérielles, utilise un exemple pour le moins étonnant : « Ainsi, nous louons l'art de la musique parce que son matériel est la voix et la mélodie ; nous méprisons l'orateur parce que son matériel est les procès, les disputes, les témoignages, les condamnations » ()p. 34, l. 20-25 Giomini). Les comparaisons entre la musique et la rhétorique sont nombreuses dans les traités antiques et servent généralement à parler du rythme ou de l'elocutio. La particularité de la remarque de Julius Victor se situe à deux niveaux : d'une part, le théoricien établit une hiérarchie des arts, les uns étant honnêtes, les autres honteux, qui ne reproduit pas la division traditionnelle entre arts vulgaires et arts libéraux, le plus souvent délimités par le critère du recours à l'effort physique ; d'autre part, même si l'affirmation n'est qu'un exemple pour illustrer une catégorie d'arguments, la dévaluation de la tâche de l'orateur semble déplacer dans un manuel qui vise à former cet orateur. Remarquons par ailleurs que l'exemple donné ne reproduit pas un parallélisme strict, car dans l'un des membres de la comparaison, c'est la discipline qui est envisagée, la musique, alors que dans l'autre c'est l'agent, l'orateur. Dans cette communication, nous tenterons d'élucider les raisons qui expliquent une telle hiérarchie des arts et d'émettre quelques hypothèses sur la façon d'envisager et d'enseigner la rhétorique au IVe siècle.

Jane Francis and Diane Seidler
Concordia University
Session/Séance 8

"Ceramic Lamps in the Province of *Crete et Cyrenaica*: the Evidence from Skoteino Cave"

The province of *Creta et Cyrenaica* was formed by Rome in the first century BC and remains a political, economic, and interpretive oddity today. Despite the proximity of the two areas and thus ample opportunities for close relations, Crete and Cyrenaica remained independent, and concentrated or long-term connections between the two are difficult to identify in the archaeological record. An exception seems to be in the exchange and manufacture of ceramic lamps. Lamps of a common style have been identified at Berenice, in Cyrenaica (Bailey 1985) and also at several Cretan sites, such as the Idaean Cave (Sapouna 1998), Phaistos (Mercando 1978), Kommos (Hayes 2000), and Knossos (Catling and Catling 1992) but the origins of these lamps remain unknown; both areas claim originating workshops as also does Italy (Sapouna 1998, Chevrollier, forthcoming). Also problematic is the limited nature of Cretan evidence, in which lamps are often published sporadically as stray finds. The largest published assemblages come so far from the Idaean Cave (Sapouna) and Knossos (Catling and Catling 1992).

Added to this corpus and therefore able to be considered alongside the Cyrenaican evidence, is a collection of nearly 1800 lamp fragments from Skoteino Cave in north-central

Crete. Excavated in 1962 by Costas Davaras, the material from this cave is now being studied through the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, under the direction of Drs. Loeta Tyree and Athanasia Kanta. These lamps can illuminate further the history of Roman Crete, and in particular its trade relationship with the other half of its Roman province.

This paper presents the lamps from Skoteino Cave in the context of production and exchange between Crete and Cyrenaica. It considers the shape of the lamps, their discus motifs and other decoration, and their ceramic fabrics to understand how these lamps fit both within known standards for lamps found on Crete (including those thought to have been made there), but also within the traditions of lamps excavated from Berenice.

François Gauthier
McGill University
Session/Séance 10

"'The *Romans* are the *greediest* nation on earth": War and Material Benefit for Soldiers in the Roman Republic"

"La république ayant des chefs qui changeaient tous les ans, et qui cherchaient à signaler leur magistrature pour en obtenir de nouvelles, il n'y avait pas un moment de perdu pour l'ambition; ils engageaient le sénat à proposer au peuple la guerre, et lui montraient tous les jours de nouveaux ennemis […] Or la guerre était presque toujours

agréable au peuple, parce que, par la sage distribution du butin, on avait trouvé le moyen de la lui rendre utile […]"
-Montesquieu, C*onsidérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, chapter one (1734).

The prevailing view on Roman expansion today was greatly influenced by William Harris' seminal *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 BC* (1979). Harris argued that economic benefits were the most important factors in motivating Romans to go to war. Wars were indeed lucrative for the Roman aristocracy. Members of the elite deployed great efforts to display the plunder acquired in war through triumphs, offerings, and handouts. It is often believed that even common soldiers greatly profited from war as well. This belief largely rests on the account of Polybius who provides a very egalitarian picture of Roman looting procedure. According to the Greek historian, every soldier would receive an equal share of plunder. This way of dividing booty ensured that Roman citizens would almost always support declarations of war. The aim of this paper is to show that Polybius' model is an idealization of reality and that the Roman state and its generals usually acquired the great majority of war spoils. Moreover the idea that material rewards systematically pushed the Roman people to declare war overlooks the decision-making power and social composition of the so-called popular assemblies.

Michele George
McMaster University
Session/Séance 6

"'*Respice post te, hominem te esse momento*': the *Servus Publicus* in the Roman Triumph"

Several ancient sources mention the *servus publicus*, a public slave who crowned the victorious general in the triumphal parade, riding with him but standing behind him in his festive *quadriga*. Yet on the plethora of extant triumphal scenes in imperial art it is the personification of Victory, not a public slave, who is shown crowning the emperor. In this paper I shall review the evidence for this phantom figure in Roman history, discussing the written sources as well as the two extant images of the *servus publicus*: on one of the Boscoreale cups and on a relief from Palestrina. I shall outline the role of the *servus publicus*, focusing on i) the gap between practice and its representation in visual culture, and ii) the symbolism of the juxtaposition of power and powerlessness in the public performance of Roman *virtus*.

Allison Glazebrook
Brock University
Session/Séance 2

"Prostitution and Sexual Violence in Classical Athens"

The plot of Menander's *Epitrepontes* depends on a rape that happened at an Athenian festival, the Tauropolia. This incidence of rape has two versions: the rape of a young

citizen girl and the rape of a young slave prostitute. Interestingly, it is a slave prostitute who relates both versions. In the first instance, Habrotonon tells a fellow slave about the rape of a young female citizen (485-90). She paints the young girl after the rape as weeping (*klaousa*) and tearing her hair in distress (*tillous'heautēs tas trichas*) and describes her beautiful and expensive clothes as utterly ruined and in tatters (*hrakos*). The description is vivid, but suggests an attempt at resistance and conveys the distress of the young girl from this sexual encounter. Shortly thereafter, Habrotonon retells the rape from the perspective of a prostitute, making herself the victim (526-30). In this account, Habrotonon still maintains a status as parthenos (517), which, like Pamphile, she claims she was at the time of the Tauropolia. She explains that once the rapist, who happens to be her "lover" Charisios, recognizes her as his victim from the fact that she is in posSession/Séance of his ring, she will tell him how bold (*anaidēs*) and reckless (*itamos*) he was, how he threw her down so violently (*hōs sphodra*), wrecking her clothes in the process. In her comments to Onesimos, her fellow slave, Habrotonon notes that these expressions are intended to flatter her rapist (526). In this version, it is now a prostitute who was forced and in this case the distress of the experience is largely absent. In fact, Habrotonon pretends she is impressed with his prowess and even enjoyed the encounter. The diverging accounts suggest a different attitude toward the experiences of prostitutes compared to citizen women. The prostitute accepts anyone for sex, unlike the citizen girl, and consequently the prostitute's experience of sexual encounters, no matter the form, is expected to be welcome.

Through an examination and comparison of rape scenes in New Comedy and Attic Oratory, notably Neaira in [Demosthenes] 59.33, I explore the construction of violence surrounding prostitution.

Mark Golden
University of Winnipeg
Session/Séance 9

"A. Trevor Hodge as a Public Intellectual"

When A. Trevor Hodge died on February 16, 2012, his passing was observed by the *Globe and Mail* in a way that today is fairly unusual for a professional classicist. Almost a full page was dedicated to his obituary in the Tuesday 10 April 2012 issue of the newspaper. The tribute to Trevor Hodge was no coincidence, since for many years he had had a national presence in Canada as a commentator on current events and as something of a public intellectual.

It is the purpose of this presentation to shed light on this aspect of Hodge's activity. The topic is in itself interesting, and analyzing these public writings and other interventions will contribute to a fuller understanding of his person. Above all it is important, and hopefully inspiring, to highlight how it was (and perhaps still is) possible for a trained classicist to take part in the public debate of this country, in a world where a serious public debate is being stifled by an ever increasing media attention on "celebrities", who rarely have much to say.

This presentation will set out from the more than one hundred letters written by Trevor Hodge to various newspaper editors, mostly at the *Globe and Mail*, Canada's leading national paper, but also at the *Ottawa Citizen*, during the period 1979-2012. In addition, I will evaluate his witty and award-winning contributions to CBC Radio's *Court of Ideas* program hosted by Lister Sinclair. In this program, he and co-host Sinclair presented dramatized testimonials in which persons taken from ancient history appealed the "verdict of history" in something which was not quite counterfactual history, but certainly worked with the information contained in the traditional accounts in a refreshing way. Among the main characters in these programs one finds Sappho, Cleopatra, and Pontius Pilate.

Thomas Goud
University of New Brunswick, St. John
Session/Séance 9

"*Sine ira et studio*? Josephus, Titus, and the history of living emperors"
The presentation of Titus in the *Bellum Judaicum* has long attracted attention and was generally regarded as especially flattering of the emperor. Recently, there have been voices of dissent, suggesting that Josephus wrote much more ironically than may have been suspected. Failings in Titus's generalship have been adduced as evidence for a negative assessment of Titus. In addition, subtle, rhetorically-influenced readings seek to present an author who chafed under Roman overlordship at the very time that he enjoyed many of its benefits.

There are three useful points of comparison and context:

1. Velleius Paterculus's presentation of Tiberius: Velleius's picture of Tiberius can hardly be construed as ironic; rather, it provides a clear example of the type of history written by a senator who remembered fondly serving with the emperor in his early and successful military campaigns. While the work may cloy modern tastes, panegyric was the lifeblood of imperial speeches and much poetry.

2. The panegyrical tradition on Germanicus: The tradition on Germanicus which lies behind Suetonius, Cassius Dio, and Josephus is pure panegyric, but Tacitus does allow for a less positive construction. It is instructive to compare the modern critiques of Titus and Germanicus as generals and how those failings fit into the otherwise flattering traditions about the two men.

3. The general problem of writing history about living emperors: In the *Annals*, Tacitus clearly delineates the problem of writing history about living emperors. What then ought we to make of the works of those who attempted to do so?

These three approaches to the problem shed further light on the degree to which Josephus may be seen as writing veiled and ironic invective, or open panegyric; to paraphrase Tacitus, whether he was writing *ira aut studio*.

Dina Guth
University of Manitoba
Session/Séance 5

"Tyranny and Persia in Archaic Miletus"

The history of Miletus in the sixth century BCE remains murky despite a plethora of evidence from literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources. Especially puzzling is the method by which Persia subsumed Miletus into its empire and Histiaeus' rise to power as tyrant. The proposed paper will argue that these two events should be connected. Histiaeus owed his tyranny to Persia, with whose help he was able to take control of the polis during the 420s. This conclusion has important implications for the study of Herodotus and the relationship between Persia and Ionian tyranny.

Recent scholarship on Milesian history has argued that Miletus was conquered by Croesus. Miletus would thus have come under the rule of Persia, along with the rest of Ionia, when Cyrus captured Lydia c. 547 BCE. Yet this view is difficult to align with Herodotus' narrative. Herodotus distinguishes between Miletus' peaceful relationship with Persia and that of the other Ionians, who revolted at this time (Hdt. 1.141-143). Another, previously unnoticed piece of evidence from Herodotus points to a later date for Persia's conquest of Miletus. During his narrative of Polycrates' tyranny, Herodotus notes that Polycrates was able to conquer Lesbos because the Lesbians had sent an expedition to help Miletus (c. 530-522 BCE) (Hdt. 3.39).

There is no obvious reason given either here or elsewhere for why Miletus would need military support at this time. I suggest that this Lesbian contingent has gone to help the Milesians against a Persian attack.

Placing the Persian conquest of Miletus in the 520s would also help explain the rise of Histiaeus. Despite Histiaeus' vacillating allegiances during the Ionian revolt, his links to Persian power are evident in Herodotus' narrative (Hdt.4.137-141; 5.11; 5.23-25). As well, Histiaeus' family can be tied to the Temple of Apollo at Branchidae (Milet I 3, 122), which seems to have consistently sided with the Persians during this period (Hdt. 5.36; Strabo 14.1.5). Why might Herodotus have chosen to suppress such an important narrative in the history of Miletus, one of the biggest and most powerful poleis in Asia Minor and, further, a critical actor in his Histories? His silence may be due to the inconvenience of Miletus' fall for his account of the Ionian revolt, wherein a prosperous Miletus suffers a classically Herodotean reversal of fortune.

Carolin Hahnemann
Kenyon College
Session/Séance 3

"'And Hector died like everyone else": Alice Oswald's Use of the *Iliad* in *Memorial*"

On this side of the Atlantic, the publication of Alice Oswald's "Memorial" has met with a mixed reception: while Michael Lista of *The National Post* "can't recommend [it] highly

enough", the reviews by Peter Green for *The New Republic* and by William Logan for *The New York Times* were rather negative. In my opinion, the poem richly rewards attention, especially from readers who are trained in the Classics.

Memorial is a continuous poem that can be divided into three parts: (A) a litany of the names of 214 casualties from the *Iliad* (pp. 1-8); (B) an alternation of biographical vignettes of these casualties interspersed with similes inspired by the *Iliad* (pp. 9-69); (C) an uninterrupted sequence of 11 such similes (pp. 70-81). Thus the poem is woven from two strands of material; in this talk I focus on the one composed of names and biographies.

First, I establish the basic principles according to which the names have been selected and organized: they belong to men, both Greek and Trojan, whose deaths occur within the narrative of the *Iliad* listed in chronological order of their deaths. Then, I discuss three exceptions to this rule: (1) Protesilaus, who died long before the onset of the narrative, (2) Pedasus, who is not a man but a horse, (3) the inconsistent spelling, "misspelling" and omission of numerous names. Each of these exceptions serves as an illustration of one of the poem's defining characteristics: the prominent role Oswald accords women, the erasure of the distinction between friend and foe, and her evocation of the *Iliad* as a Proustian "fixed place, contemporaneous with different years". (Since Proust in the same passage states that access to such a place requires "excavation", this connection also sheds light on the poem's original title, *Memorial. An Excavation of the* Iliad. William Logan mistook

the term as a confession on the part of the poet to "cheeky strip-mining of the ancient epic".) Throughout the talk I compare the features of *Memorial* under discussion to the practice on physical war memorials, including the Athenian casualty lists, the Arc de Triomphe, post-WWI military cemeteries, the *USS Arizona* memorial in Pearl Harbor, the Vietnam Veterans and WW2 memorials in Washington, D.C., and Chris Burden's "Other Vietnam Memorial".

Bradley Hald
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 2

"A Programmatic Reading of Ovid's *Amores* 2.19"

In her 1997 book Barbara Weiden Boyd remarks on *Amores* 2.19, "It would be more usual to find a poem like the explicitly programmatic 2.18 at the end of the book" (194). She voices a discomfort with 2.19's appropriateness as a closural poem that has been widespread in Ovidian scholarship (cf., e.g., McKeown 1987, Booth 1991). In this paper I propose a reading of elegy 2.19 that elucidates the programmatic and closural elements that have been supposed to be lacking in the poem so placed at book's end, and I show how the poem 'belongs' where it appears in the collection.

Unlike elegy 2.18, which mentions the tragedy *Medea*, individual *epistulae Heroidum*, and the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid in *Amores* 2.19 does not refer explicitly to any of his previous or forthcoming poetic work. Instead, I argue, Ovid uses 2.19

to outline a portion of the skeletal framework of the elegiac genre itself. He writes the elegy, as it were, with one eye on the dramatic plot of the *Amores*, and the other on the narrative substructure of Roman elegy. The scenarios Ovid presents in the poem at once recapitulate specific thematic and plot points from the first two books of his "erotic novel" (Holzberg 2002), while at the same time they represent conventional motifs that are generically central to Roman elegy (cf. Griffin 1985, James 2012). We see the conniving and deceitful *puella* (11-14), the *exclusus amator* (39-40, 54), the crafty maidservant (42), the lover's anxiety and sleepless nights (56), all of which are tropes not only familiar from the preceding *Amores* themselves, but also conventional within the elegiac tradition.

The perpetuation of such scenarios, driven by the obstinacy of the *puella's* guardian, are the typical difficulties which the elegiac poet bemoans. Yet Ovid implores the guardian to persist in making the life of his *amator* difficult. In this paper I contend that Ovid's apparently paradoxical appeal represents a metatextual plea for the poetic material of further elegiac composition. In *Amores* 2.19 Ovid recognizes the central dramatic conflict that drives the elegiac genre, without which the poetry lacks impetus. An unguarded *puella* has no place within elegiac poetry, and unobstructed access to her cannot provide useful poetic material to the elegiac poet. Ovid's expression of desire for obstruction and difficulty is not simply a perverse, neurotic craving, as it has been interpreted by some critics (cf. Arkins 1990, Booth 1991). Rather, it is the poet's very ability and desire to continue writing elegies that are at stake in the poem, just as

they had been in the explicitly programmatic poems preceding 2.19 (cf. 1.1, 1.15, 2.1, 2.18), and just as will be the case in those that follow in book 3 (cf. 3.1, 3.15).

Craig Hardiman
University of Waterloo
Session/Séance 7

“Sense/Perception/Experience and the Ancient Viewer of Hellenistic Sculpture”

Of late, the "senses" have become an important and emerging area of scholarly research in the field of Classical Studies. M. Bradley's "Smell and the Ancient Senses" (2013) and S. Butler's "Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses" (2013) are but two of the major works recently published or currently in production. Whether focused on individual senses, such as the sense of smell, or on communal sensual experiences (synaesthesia) using all the senses, these studies illustrate new and exciting realms of understanding an underappreciated aspect of the Classical landscape - the way in which people perceived their surroundings through their senses.

Allied to this scholarly approach are the ways in which modern neuroscience is being applied to an understanding of how these senses are used in the creation of perception and meaning. This is especially true of the sense of sight and the so-called visual brain. Examining neurological phenomena such as neural plasticity and neural mirroring is at the cutting edge of art historical research into both the creative process

and the ways in which people perceive art. J. Onians's "Neuroarthistory: From Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki" (2007) explores this topic by coalescing a series of texts from authors into a continuous narrative of "art history", writings that show some understanding of the roles sense and perception play in an understanding of art from antiquity to the present. This then illuminates what one may call "neuroarthistory" or indeed "neuroaesthetics", as many of the processes directly impact on what we consider good, beautiful, pleasing or even off-putting on a biological, as well as a cultural level.

This paper (part of a larger study) will examine fourth century and Hellenistic texts to illuminate the way in which they reveal ancient Greek perceptions of cognition and sense-awareness and then juxtapose this with an exploration of ancient Greek statues and the way in which individuals experienced these works from a sense-aesthetic perspective.

Shane Hawkins
Carleton University
Session/Séance 10

"Archilochus 39W ἀποσκολύπτειν and Catullus 58.5 *glubit*"

Archilochus fr. 39 West (= Athenaeus 122b) is often, though not universally, understood *sensu obsceno* to refer to the process of *retractio praeputii*: τὸ πάντα ἄνδρ' ἀποσκολύπτειν 'to skin every man.' This paper will argue that the obscene interpretation of the fragment is essentially

correct, but that the line also works on another, hitherto unrecognized, level.

The paper falls into two sections. First, the obscene interpretation of fragment 39 is supported by a better understanding of the context in which it appears in Athenaeus, by a re-examination of several glosses that comment on the word ἀποσκολύπτειν, by a somewhat recent linguistic analysis of ἀποσκολύπτειν (Vine 1999), and by a comparison of related forms in Greek comedy.

Second, it is argued that there is a recollection of this moment in Catullus's *glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes* (58.5). The two passages were compared as early as Jacobs 1798, and recently Hutchinson 2012 has argued that there are several conscious allusions to Archilochus in the final poems of the so-called polymetria of Catullus (poems 1-60). What has not been previously noted is that both ἀποσκολύπτειν and *glubit* employ the same complex wordplay. The word *glubit* in Catullus is double-edged; it indicates that Lesbia was 'fleecing' her lovers—taking their money and leaving them with nothing—but also 'skinning' them or performing a degrading sexual act in the back alleys (Muse 2009). The same *double entendre* appears to have been employed by Archilochus; not only is the fragment one of the vulgar remarks (πονηρῶς εἰρημένα) adduced by Athenaeus, but, if we suppose that it also refers to a woman taking advantage of her lovers, the subject of the fragment will then also coincide with the other examples in the passage, all of which concern duplicity and ill-gotten profit.

Some additional support for this idea may be found in the fact that Catullus makes an elaborate accusation against Lesbia of the same kind of sexual conduct in poem 60, where he refers to her as Scylla and puns on the obscene meaning of σκύλλειν 'to peel'/'to pull back the foreskin' (Hawkins 2014), a word that shares its root with Archilochus's ἀποσκολύπτειν.

Victoria Haykin
McMaster University
Session/Séance 7

"Art Imitated Art: A Literary Analysis of the Meleagrian Dawn Epigram (*AP* 5.172, 5.173; 12.137)"

The three erotic dawn epigrams of Meleager, preserved for us at AP 5.172, 5.173, and 12.137, provide an important opportunity to further scholarly understanding of the Hellenistic love epigram. Although incomprehensively discussed in current scholarship, it has often been assumed that AP 5.172 and 5.173 form a sequential literary couplet. Both epigrams are clearly linked by a common theme. The great danger, however, lies in the underlying assumption that the epigrams of AP have been preserved chronologically, when in fact they are grouped by subject matter. Moreover, the Hellenistic fascination with constant variatio means that Meleager set for himself all three (extant) dawn poems as an exercise in intellectual self-referentiality. Thus, I intend to tackle questions of intratextuality in order to unravel a possible literary progression.

The constituent elements of the dawn epigram ought not to be overlooked. Therefore, I will first establish a rudimentary thematic template for the Meleagrian dawn epigram. The poem always opens with a direct address to Dawn (Ὄρθρος) or her heralds (ὀρθροβόας). Dawn is consistently anthropomorphized and chastised for her unwelcome intrusion (AP 5.173.3f.). The lover, who gives voice to these complaints, then longs for Dawn's retreat (5.172.3: "εἴθε...Ἔσπερος εἴης") or, alternatively, threateningly curses her ascent (12.137.6: "ἔσχατα γηρύσῃ ταῦτα τὰ πικρὰ μέλη"). In the following part of my paper, the ramifications of this schema will be explored in greater detail (i.e. how these elements are treated within each epigram).

Then, having undertaken a line-by-line analysis, I will examine the ways in which Meleager varies specific elements epigram-by-epigram in order to provide a literary framework within which to tentatively propose a working chronology. This in turn will facilitate a deeper understanding of how the Hellenistic epigrammatists partake in these so-called poetic "parlour games", and how the Hellenistic dawn epigram develops specifically under Meleager's authorship. Moreover, having laid down a stylistic chronology, I intend to discuss each epigram, not in the order in which they appear within the anthology, but in the order in which they were most likely composed. This will allow the modern reader to more fully experience the evolution of the Meleagrian dawn poem as well as the way in which Meleager purposefully redeploys certain stylistic and linguistic elements within each epigram. When

considered in tandem with the abovementioned generic template, I aim to provide a full and detailed critical analysis of the Meleagrian dawn epigram.

Tanya Henderson
MacEwan University
Session/Séance 11

"A Comparative Analysis of Etruscan and Roman Bedrooms"

The bedroom is considered to be one of the more private and intimate rooms in domestic structures. A cursory examination of the plans of Etruscan domestic structures in comparison to contemporary Roman domestic structures in central Italy does not reveal any incongruities in the spatial patterning of bedrooms in relation to the central courtyard area. Closer inspection however, discloses an extra level of separation obscuring rooms identified as bedrooms from the central courtyard in Etruscan houses, a phenomenon not identifiable in their Roman counterparts. An examination of how bedrooms are accessed from central courtyards in Etruscan domestic architecture from the Iron Age to the early 1st century BCE focusing on the Etruscan sites of San Giovenale, Marzabotto, Murlo, and Aquarossa demonstrates that the Etruscans continued to build upon a tendency, beginning in the late 6th century BCE, with establishing boundaries. This tendency extended to the establishment of boundaries within domestic structures and the separation of rooms for individual use from communal areas. A comparison with contemporary Roman domestic architecture in Central Italy demonstrates that this is a

uniquely Etruscan approach to the organization of domestic space and a clear indication of the how social interaction is controlled by architectural spaces.

Bronwyn Hopwood
University of New England
Session/Séance 3

"The Case of Licinia's Inheritance"

In 169 BC the *lex Voconia* prohibited anyone registered in the first census class from instituting a woman as *heres*. Yet it is widely believed that in 130 BC Publius Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus, the richest man in Rome, bequeathed his entire estate of one hundred million sesterces to his daughter, Licinia, wife of the controversial tribune Gaius Sempronius Gracchus (Cicero *De Republica* 3.17). How did Licinia receive such a vast fortune when other women were being prevented by the *lex Voconia* from receiving what they had previously expected to inherit? How did Mucianus manage to evade the *lex Voconia* when men like L. Furius Philus were prevented from bequeathing much smaller patrimonies to their daughters? And what does this case reveal about the *lex Voconia*?

Del John Houle
University of Waterloo
Session/Séance 5

"Soldiers and Hellenism in the Third-Century Seleucid Military"

The relative absence of Syrians in Polybius‟ and Appian‟s descriptions of the Seleucid military is conspicuous, and has led some to the conclusion that they were never included in the Seleucid army at all. It is the object of this study to suggest a different possibility. Building upon Cohen‟s studies of the Seleucid colonies (1978; 1995; 2013), especially those founded in Asia Minor, as well as his treatment of Hellenistic military associations (koina), this paper will argue that while these associations appear to have assumed a single ethnic label (including "Macedonians", "Galatians", and "Thracians"), they eventually came to be composed of active military personnel from multiple ethnicities. As such, this paper will not only present the Seleucid military as a vehicle for Hellenization, but also attempt to account for the role of the "missing" ethnicities in our ancient sources; it will argue that the "Macedonian" Seleucid soldiers referred to by our ancient sources may actually represent an ethnically heterogeneous group.

Thomas Hubbard
University of Texas (Austin)
Session/Séance 2

"The Good Old Days: Pederastic Nostalgia in Ancient Greece"

One finds as a recurrent theme in Greek pederastic literature the idea that the pursuit of boys in the present age is more difficult or meretricious than in the past, when a more ideal form of pederasty is imagined as prevalent and boys were responsive to the right kind of guidance from lovers. This topos becomes imbricated not only in the conventional rhetoric of a lost Golden Age, but also in theories of cultural decline due to monetization or loss of elite moral values.

I shall begin with a close analysis of the agon in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (949-1113), where the old-fashioned Greater Logos praises the well-behaved schoolboys of earlier generations in contrast to the effeminate and manipulative boys of the present day. Similarly, Pausanias in Plato's *Symposium* contrasts a more ancient Aphrodite based on pederastic mentorship and love of character with the newer Aphrodite oriented to mere physical pleasure, which has brought boy-love into disrepute. Already in the 470s, Pindar (*Isthmian* 2.1-11) laments the days of writing love poems to boys as past, in the face of the money-based culture of commissioned poetry. Even earlier, Theognis' poems addressed to his beloved Cyrnus repeatedly warn the boy against association with the wrong kind of men, who may be assumed to be identical with the newly prominent

mercantile classes he elsewhere attacks; we see here the response of an aristocratic culture of pederastic education to the threats of cultural change due to money and newly acquired wealth. Callimachus' *Iamb* 3 censures his own era as one based on wealth rather than virtue, citing as an example the meretricious behavior of the boy Euthydemus; the same theme surfaces in *Epigram* 7 G-P. Theocritus 12.10-24 uses archaizing terminology to fantasize about a reciprocated love so unusual that it will itself become an admired legend for future generations; it is significant that the one truly mutual and appropriately pedagogical relationship in Theocritus' poetry is placed in the distant heroic past (Hylas and Heracles in *Idyll* 13). Legendary couples like Harmodius and Aristogeiton or Achilles and Patroclus are utilized as topoi of contrast to the corrupt mores of the present (see Aeschines 1.132-53).

Greek pederastic poetry reveals an acute sense of temporality both in its reflections on the evanescence of the young beloved's beauty and its bitter recognition of the even crueler ravages of time upon the lover's own plausibility. Psychological and criminological study of contemporary minor-attracted adults finds a similar obSession/Séance with recovering or reenacting one's own childhood, which is often imagined as a time of guilt-free sexual play liberated from the constraints of adult morality. To that extent, there is a profound nostalgia inherent in the very nature of pederastic desire, which Greek literature projects onto the level of cultural reflection about a Golden Age of pure love (carnal, but innocent). Interestingly, Greek pederasty itself is appropriated as a focus of cultural

nostalgia by Victorian sex radicals like John Addington Symonds and the Uranian poets.

Bryan Hudak
Wayne State
Session/Séance 1

"Ephorus' Cyme: a Paradoxical Meeting of Local and Universal History"

This paper will discuss the local history which Ephorus of Cyme (*FGrH* 70) wrote concerning his homeland in Asia Minor. It will conclude that this work, the *Epichorios Logos*, prepared content that the author would assimilate into his universal *Histories*. In doing so, the historian needed to alter the structure from a chronography to the topical format that characterized his universal description of the Hellenic world, a historiographical development credited to Ephorus (70 T 7=Polyb. 5.33.2). Thus, we will find that the historical perspective of the *Epichorios Logos* guides the narrative present in Ephorus' fragments.

The intermingling of the local and universal must profoundly influence our views of the development of local history as a genre. Jacoby's traditional argument states that Herodotus' work necessitated the writing of local histories (Jacoby, 1949). Conversely, more recent opposition has persuasively demonstrated that preexisting local traditions influenced Herodotus' panhellenic text (Fowler, 1996).

Likewise, it is clear that his arrangement of local affairs would induce Ephorus to conceive the structure of universal history. The majority of fragments from the *Epichorios Logos* discuss Homer and Hesiod, both of whom Ephorus placed in Cyme (70 FF 1, 99). It is apparent from these entries that the *Epichorios Logos* was written in a chronographical format based on a genealogical model. While appropriate for his local history, the annalistic method would prove too cumbersome for a work of universal scope. Ephorus' evolution to a format written "*kata genos*" follows less successful efforts to organize local Greek histories in a synchronic arrangement (Möller, 2007). It is here, not in Isocrates' panhellenism, that we find the genesis of universal history.

While abandoning its format, the material and viewpoint given in Ephorus' work on Cyme nonetheless profoundly influenced the selection of content in his unfinished *Histories*. There is a definite crossover of material from the *Epichorios Logos* into his universal history, despite arguments to the contrary (Samuel, 1968). Ephorus' forthright sense of local patriotism in the *Histories* has proven an object of curiosity, and even amusement, to readers both ancient and modern (Strabo 13.3.6; Schwartz, 1907). Indeed, the historian's attachment to his native land would affect his historical perspectives on Athenian, Spartan, and Persian maneuvers in Asia Minor in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Rather than a panhellenic bias, it would in fact be Ephorus' local perspective that determined the course of his *Histories*.

Angela Hug
York University
Session/Séance 1

"Strike her womb!": Tyranny and Fertility in Seneca *Controversiae* 2.5

Studying fertility in Ancient Roman society brings with it myriad challenges: the evidence is often anecdotal and mentioned only in passing, and reconstructing women's lived experiences is impossible as the surviving sources were written by élite men. This paper attempts to overcome these difficulties through a close analysis of Roman élite ideas concerning *fecunditas* and *sterilitas*, and their relationship to the state, as seen in the rhetorical arguments of one particular declamation: Seneca *Controversiae* 2.5.

The declamations have been much-maligned even in antiquity (e.g., Tac. *Dial.* 35), dismissed as meaningless rhetorical exercises, full of oratorical flights of fancy and unbelievable situations but otherwise empty of substance. More recent scholarship, however, has sought to rehabilitate their reputation and their usefulness in our study of Roman culture and society (e.g., Beard 1993; Bloomer 1997). Other studies (e.g., Gleason 1995, Gunderson 2003 and Pagán 2007-8) have shown that the declamations can both champion and challenge accepted cultural beliefs and values.

In this paper I subscribe to this more optimistic view in my analysis of the treatment of *fecunditas* in Seneca

Controversiae 2.5. The paper begins with an analysis of the elements concerning *fecunditas* found in *Controversiae* 2.5. Like many other examples its theme is outlandish: a wife is tortured by a tyrant but refuses to reveal her husband's plans to assassinate him. Later the husband succeeds in killing the tyrant, and then divorces his wife after five years of marriage, claiming she is infertile. The wife brings an action against her former husband on the grounds of ingratitude, which serves as the starting point for the speakers' arguments. Despite its fanciful theme, stereotypical characters, and fictional laws, however, *Controversiae* 2.5 does not operate outside of expected Roman social norms. Indeed, it overwhelmingly concurs with the prevailing ideas about Roman élite fertility.

In the orators' arguments excerpted by Seneca we find a concentrated discussion of almost every major issue concerning fertility: who bears responsibility for conception (2.5.14); the control women were said to hold over their ability to conceive (2.5.1-2); the right of a husband to divorce a supposedly infertile wife (2.5.7, 16); and the conflict inherent in the perceived dual role of women as bearers of children both for their husbands and for the state (2.5.4, 13). *Controversiae* 2.5 neatly summarizes the Roman male élite perspective on *fecunditas* that is so often only alluded to by other authors and thus should be recognized as an important source of evidence on this topic.

The second half of the paper focuses on the relationship between tyranny and infertility found in *Controversiae* 2.5 (e.g., 2.5.1, 5-7, 13). I argue that the link between the

tyrant's actions and the wife's later inability to bear children can be used to shed light on both the recurrent *topos* in Roman literature that men and women refused to raise children in the time of a tyrant (e.g., Sen. *Clem.* 1.13.5; Plin. *Pan.* 26.5-27.4), and the hostile source traditions that accuse tyrannical men of using infertility as an excuse to divorce otherwise faultless wives (e.g., Plut. *Sull*. 6.11; Tac. *Ann.* 14.60, 63; Cass. Dio 59.23.7-8). These claims served two main literary purposes. First, claiming that an emperor's actions affected the birth rate of Roman citizens was one more way for the ancient authors to praise or condemn their *princeps*. Second, these claims contributed to, and encouraged, a more general male anxiety concerning women's supposed control over reproduction, an anxiety that formed a common thread in texts written in the last century BCE and first century CE.

Alison Keith
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 5

"Vergilian Underworlds in Ovid"

As numerous commentators and critics, from antiquity to the present day have observed, Ovid's familiarity with Vergil's poetry is apparent in every line of his oeuvre, starting with *Amores* 1.1.1 (*arma graui numero* ~ *arma uirumque cano*, *Aen.* 1.1; cf. McKeown 1989). An interest in *Aeneid* 6 more particularly, and in Vergil's mysterious underworld, emerges already in the *Amores* with Corinna's entrance into the collection at *Am.* 1.5.3-6 (McKeown 1989), but sustained interest in *Aeneid* 6 comes into focus

somewhat later in Ovid's career, perhaps most notably in the *Ars*, where Ovid transforms the Sybil's portentous observation about the difficulty of making a return journey from the grim halls of Death (*hoc opus, hic labor est*, *Aen.* 6.129) into a ludic comment on the desirability of gaining access to the mistress' bed without first buying her a gift (*hoc opus, hic labor est, primo sine munere iungi*, *Ars* 1.453; cf. Hollis 1978). This paper examines Ovid's appropriations of the machinery of the Vergilian underworld in *Aeneid* 6 in three distinct phases over the course of his career: from the early ludic allusions in the erotic elegiac works of his youth (Hollis 1978; McKeown; Sharrock); through the more sustained, and perhaps more lofty (though often still parodic), use of Vergil's underworld machinery at several points in the *Metamorphoses* (Anderson; Barchies and Rosati; Burrow; Hardie; Hollis 1970); to the references in his exile poetry, where Ovid's evocations of the Vergilian underworld align his portentous atmospherics with a properly sombre tone (Williams).

Benjamin Kelly
York University
Session/Séance 6
"Obtaining the *ius trium liberorum*: *FIRA* III 27 Reconsidered"

FIRA III 27 is a petition from AD 263 submitted to the governor by a certain Aurelia Thaisous. Like the *editio princeps*, recent discussions have described it as an 'application' for the *ius trium liberorum*; it has also been seen as evidence that women who bore three children still had to petition for this right (Gardner, *Women in Roman Law*

and Society [1986], 20; Evans-Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire*... [2002], 38). Such a requirement would have limited the social impact of the *ius trium liberorum*, since not all women would have had the opportunity to submit a petition. But another interpretation was advanced in the distant past: that the petitioner's aim was to evidence an existing right (Burger, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 39 [1921], 303-6; Roos, *Mnemosyne* 51 [1923], 418-20).

The first part of this paper argues that the almost forgotten suggestion of Burger and Roos should be resurrected. Their basic observation – that the language of the document asks for the registration of the petition, not for the grant of the right – is unimpeachable. Moreover, the paper adds two further arguments against the notion that women were compelled to petition if they wanted to exercise this right: (a) the requirement under the *lex Aelia Sentia* and the *lex Papia Poppaea* to register citizen births meant that the authorities already had a mechanism designed to establish how many children a woman had borne; and (b) the surviving juristic texts always speak as if the *ius trium liberorum* is the automatic result of the birth of a third child (e.g. *Tit.Ulp.* 16; Paul. *Sent.* 4.9.9).

The second part of the paper goes beyond Burger and Roos and offers a reconstruction of how this strange document – which is not paralleled in any other of the hundreds of published petitions from the Roman empire – came into existence. The last of the known 'birth certificates' (i.e. *tabulae professionum liberorum natorum*) dates to AD 242

(*FIRA* III 1), and various imperial rescripts suggest that in the mid-third century, the birth declaration system was in disrepair (*FIRA* I 90; *CJ* 4.21.6; 5.4.9; 7.16.15). The difficulties faced by Aurelia Thaisous in registering her children could also have been increased thanks to the attempt in AD 262 by then-governor of the province to usurp Gallienus (*Epit. de Caes.* 32; SHA *Gall.* 4; *Tyr.Trig.* 22). In a separate development, there was a brief period beginning in the mid-third century in which some people petitioned higher provincial authorities not to request a remedy, but to register a factual claim for use in future litigation (e.g. *SB* XX 15036; XXII 15608). In view of all of this, *FIRA* III 27 is best seen as an ingenious use of a somewhat rare legal procedure to cope with a rupture in the usual administrative routines. Aurelia Thaisous foresaw problems in evidencing the fact that she had borne three children (especially, perhaps, if one or more of them died in childhood); she therefore used a petition to create lasting testimony to her fecundity.

Brahm Kleinman
Princeton University
Session/Séance 1

"The Ethnic and Political Discourse of Polybius' Attitudes towards Mercenaries"

Arthur Eckstein, in the only recent analysis of mercenaries (μισθοφόροι) in the *Histories* of Polybius as a whole, includes them among other threats to the social order of the historian's world, such as barbarians, the mob and women (Eckstein 1995, 118-160, especially 125-129). According to

this argument, Polybius' overall conceptualization of mercenaries as barbarian Libyans, Thracians and Gauls affected his views. As such, Polybius presents μισθοφόροι as being more likely than other soldiers to be undisciplined, betray their employers and engage in behavior that was contrary to law and similar to that of wild beasts.

In my presentation, I will not dispute many features of this analysis, nor will I deny that Polybius' often frames his discussions of mercenaries in negative terms for both moral and pragmatic reasons. Yet my paper will challenge several assumptions that Eckstein and other scholars have made by exploring some of the nuances and contradictions of Polybius' attitudes toward mercenaries. First, my paper will analyze Polybius' discussion of the causes of the Carthaginian Mercenary War of c. 240 B.C., which has often been used as evidence for Polybius' general view of mercenaries. I hope to show that Polybius attributes the tensions between Carthage's μισθοφόροι and their employers to the Carthaginian's suspicion and treatment of their mercenaries as well as to the mercenaries' behaviour. Polybius' attitudes towards mercenaries cannot be summed up by this one episode, however. Polybius' judgments of individual mercenaries and mercenary armies are informed by his ethnic and political assumptions and therefore change throughout the text. Analyzing a series of Polybian mercenary episodes and his more theoretical comparison of the Roman and Carthaginian armies in book six, I will show that variety of factors could affect the disposition of mercenaries. These factors might include their ethnic background, the overall ethnic composition of the army they

were fighting for, the character and training of the mercenary leaders, the competence of their commanders and the type of state employing them. Some more specific conclusions of my paper include that Polybius' moral treatment of Greek mercenaries who were trained in a *polis* is more positive than his discussions of mercenaries of other ethnicities, and that throughout his narrative he is warier of mercenaries employed by cities and leagues rather than those used by kings and tyrants.

Jayne Knight
University of British Columbia
Session/Séance 10

"Anger and Roman Kingship Theory in the Early Empire"
With the establishment of the principate, Romans had to reconcile their longstanding cultural distaste for the word *rex* with the reality of the new autocracy. Roman writers living during this transitional time and those who reflected on it afterwards contemplated this new form of government and its implications and they isolated qualities that they considered important for a leader to possess. Roman concern with virtue and moral character in figures of power was not new, but the creation of an office endowed with absolute power generated increased engagement with modes of kingship theory. This paper investigates the evidence for emotional conduct as a criterion in the evaluation of a Roman autocrat, and in particular the significance of his relationship with anger. This topic has been neglected in scholarship.

Theorizing kingship was a Greek enterprise, and few Roman texts can be considered works of pure kingship theory, but many visit issues of power and morality. This paper presents case studies drawn from two primary genres: panegyric and historiography. Seneca's *De Clementia* and Pliny's *Panegyricus* reveal what their authors considered desirable qualities and behavior for an absolute ruler, as there is a strong protreptic element in these formal displays of praise. Historians Tacitus (*Annales*) and Suetonius (*De Vita Caesarum*) engage in their own variety of kingship theory by describing the attributes of past emperors and commenting on their successes and failures. This paper considers what these works communicate about imperial anger and addresses the following questions: How were emperors advised to use anger by their contemporaries? How did an emperor's use or abuse of anger affect his historical representation? Why was anger in particular significant to Roman thought on kingship?

A superficial reading of the sources could lead to the assumption that anger was considered a wholly negative imperial trait, but this paper proposes that the status of *ira* in Roman thought on leadership was more complex than that. From Romulus to Brutus to Caesar, great Romans were characterized by their ability to use and manage anger to their advantage. Infamous Romans were likewise distinguished by their inappropriate use of anger. This paper demonstrates how this distinctly Roman tradition of pragmatic employment of anger by figures of power continued into the principate.

George Kovacs
Trent University
Session/Séance 11

"The Dramaturgical Value of the *Mēchanē* in Fifth-Century Theatre"

The history and legacy of the *mēchanē*, the crane used to elevate actors in fifth- century Athenian theatre for supernatural effect, are curious. Our evidence suggests that, despite the well-known literary trope of the *deus ex machina*, the *mēchanē* as stage device was short lived (a quarter-century at most), and sparingly used even within that time. Paradoxically, the *mēchanē* was used to generate some remarkably complex theatrical scenarios (such as the multiple registers of space at Euripides' *Orestes* 1625-93) and yet became, in the literary sources of the fourth century, a byword for lazy writing (Plato *Cratylos* 425d, Aristotle *Poetics* 1454b). And, while Aristophanes could guarantee a laugh with its use (usually in parody of Euripidean stagecraft), to judge from the evidence of *phlyax* vases, the *mēchanē* does not appear to have traveled to southern Italy for the resurgence of Athenian theatre there (though two Medea vases attributed to the Policoro Painter by Taplin 2007: 123, raise some interesting questions of staging). This paper will consider the *mēchanē* from a performance perspective to determine the impact it had on Greek tragedy and comedy of the late fifth century. Like the *skēnē* doors or the *thumelē*, the *mēchanē* creates fixed points of focus in the staging area that can direct, or misdirect, audience expectation. It extends the polarized dichotomies of

inside/outside, left/right of the planar acting space, and the associations made within the dramatic world (for example, as Medea travels from the 'Corinth' side to the 'Athens' side of the acting space). Finally, close analysis of tragic scenes *ex machina* suggest that some of Euripides' characteristic mythographic innovations may be dictated, in part, by a desire to better accommodate the *mēchanē* and the related expectations of the audience.

James Kruck
University of Western Ontario
Session/Séance 8

"Stoic Authority in the Library of Lucullus: Cicero and Cato in *De Finibus* 3-4"

In the opening of the third book of *De Finibus* Cicero finds Cato nestled in the library of Lucullus, surrounded by many books on Stoicism (*multis circumfusum Stoicorum libris,* 3.7). Cicero reinforces the notion that there is an abundance of books when he describes Cato as consuming a vast supply of books (*quo magis tum in summo otio maximaque copia quasi helluari libris…uidebatur*, 3.7). Recent scholarly discussion on the scene has recognized the oddity of the scene: Stephanie Ann Frampton (2014) argues that the library of a Roman villa is more suitable for storage than it is for philosophical study and discussion and observes that Cicero appears to make fun of Cato for reading in the storage room rather than taking the books out of the room as Cicero planned to do (*ueni ut auferrem* [*commentarios Aristotelios*]*,* 3.10).

Yet if the room is an odd setting for philosophical study and discussion, why do Cicero and Cato not leave the room for their dialogue on Stoic philosophy? Johnson (2013: 357) suggests that Cicero deliberately constructs the scene in the library to boast of his access to a privileged resource. I argue that Cicero uses the setting to validate his position in recognition that there are some who are sceptical of the need for his philosophical writing: Cicero begins the *De Finibus* in a defensive stance, acknowledging his awareness that his work will encounter resistance among those who dislike philosophy, those who wish Cicero would write on different subjects, and those who prefer simply to read the Greek texts (1.1). Rather than depicting the men strolling among the walkways, Cicero keeps his interlocutors in a small room with only two chairs for furnishing, surrounded by an audience composed of authoritative Stoic documents that with their presence lend their *auctoritas* to the discussion and Cicero's position as a translator.

Marie-Claude L'Archer
Ottawa University
Session/Séance 7

"Représentation des Juifs dans l'enseignement aux catéchumènes chez Quodvultdeus de Carthage"

Les Juifs sont l'un des thèmes récurrents chez les auteurs ecclésiastiques de l'Antiquité tardive, et Quodvultdeus de Carthage ne fait pas exception. Me fondant sur les prémisses établies par Raul Gonzales Salinero dans son article « The

Anti-Judaism of Quodvultdeus in the Vandal and Catholic Context of the 5th Century in North-Africa », je démontrerai la manière unique qu'avait Quodvultdeus de représenter les Juifs dans ses *Homélies sur le credo.* Grâce à ces sermons destinés aux catéchumènes qui allaient être baptisés lors de la célébration annuelle de Pâques à Carthage, l'évêque mettait en garde contre les Juifs, grâce à une variation de son cru sur l'incontournable accusation de déicide.

À travers une analyse discursive des *Homélies sur le credo,* je démontrerai de quelle manière Quodvultdeus représentait les Juifs, par le biais d'une réécriture personnelle du récit biblique de l'assassinat des nourrissons juifs par Hérode. Une comparaison entre le texte de ces trois homélies mettra en lumière comment Quodvultdeus remaniait le rôle des personnages de l'histoire (Hérode, les Juifs, Jésus et les enfants) afin de construire rhétoriquement la culpabilité des Juifs dans la mort du Christ. Je positionnerai mes conclusions vis-à-vis des principaux courants d'interprétation sur la littérature *contra Iudaeos*, soient ceux d'Adolf Von Harnack, Marcel Simon et Berhnard Blumenkranz et appliquerai mes observations au contexte historique de Quodvultdeus, afin de clarifier ce que cette analyse révèle sur les relations entre les chrétiens et les Juifs dans la Carthage du Ve siècle.

Lukas Lemcke
University of Cologne
Session/Séance 5

"Measuring Roman Power in Late Antique Minor: the Case of Cappadocia"

Fergus Millar‟s often praised and frequently criticized monograph on the Emperor in the Roman World (1977) has greatly stimulated the debate surrounding the Roman art of government. The rising interest in late antique studies has extended this discussion into the reign of Diocletian and beyond, and numerous monographs have since appeared illuminating both functional and theoretical aspects of Roman rule. Whichever angles of investigation scholars have chosen to pursue, their discussions are firmly embedded in an understanding of the late Roman state as authoritarian. However, such labeling is imprecise, and thus obfuscates that which it seeks to illuminate: the character of Roman government. This paper is an attempt to obviate this effect by moving the discourse surrounding the regime authority of the later Roman Empire onto firmer ground. In a case study focusing on Cappadocia, it seeks to evaluate late Roman governance on the provincial level using the Polity IV model (M.G. Marshall et al.: Polity IV Project: Political Regime, Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2012, 2012). With data gained through primary evidence as well as scholarship on the administrative history of Cappadocia (e.g., S. Métivier: La Cappadoce (IVe - VIe siècle), 2005) and Roman government (e.g., C.M. Kelly, Ruling the Later Roman Empire, 2004), the administrative leadership of the province is awarded scores

according to indicators provided through the Polity IV model. This evaluation results in an overall polity score, which can be used for comparative analysis to give historians a more precise understanding of the governing authority of late Roman provincial government in Asia Minor from a modern perspective.

Tommaso Leoni
York University
Session/Séance 8

"*Pegmata* in Martial's *Liber spectaculorum* (2.2)"

Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via is one of the most problematic and controversial lines of Martial's *Book on the Spectacles* (2.2). Historians, philologists, and topographers alike have tried to offer a reasonable explanation for this enigmatic reference to lofty *pegmata* rising in the middle of the road. Platner and Ashby, Kathleen Coleman, and Fergus Millar have interpreted the line as an allusion to scaffolding for the construction of the still extant Arcus divi Titi on the Palatine Hill. Theoretically, the lost Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus (inaugurated in 81 CE) may also be relevant here. Other scholars (e.g., L. Friedlaender, A. Boëthius, U. Carratello, and F. Della Corte) believe that with the word *pegmata* Martial may have hinted at all sorts of theatrical machines and movable mechanical devices – contraptions temporarily stored in the *vestibulum* of the Domus Aurea and available to be utilised as stage equipment in the shows of the nearby Flavian amphitheatre. Yet none of the manifold hypotheses proposed thus far to account for *Spect.*

2.2 has proven to be fully persuasive. The only element that seems fairly certain is that the *pegmata* at issue are best understood as scaffolds being erected in the area of the Golden House. Therefore a different possibility should perhaps be entertained: Martial may simply have included a colourful line to symbolise in a rhetorical fashion the rapid growth of the new Flavian Rome.

Florence Liard
Université Catholique de Louvain
Session/Séance 2

"Malia, une plaque-tournante des échanges en Crète à la fin du Bronze Récent?"

Ma contribution vise à faire le point sur les résultats de l'analyse pétrographique de céramiques que je mène à Malia, un ancien site palatial de Crète Nord-centrale pour lequel un habitat domestique, et peut-être une certaine forme d'administration mycénienne, sont reconnus pour la fin du Bronze Récent. Les données pétrographiques révèlent l'existence en ce site de l'île d'une multiplicité inégalée dans les réseaux d'échanges et d'importations. Ma recherche doctorale fait partie intégrante du projet de recherche SArPedon de l'Ecole Belge d'Athènes. Elle est financée par le Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique belge, et soutenue par l'Ecole Française d'Athènes.

Mon analyse se focalise sur les périodes Palatiale Finale et Postpalatiale de développement des sociétés crétoises. Ces deux phases successives sont considérées dans l'étude

comme antinomiques, puisqu'elles voient respectivement l'implantation d'un système mycénien d'administration centralisante à Cnossos (1450-1370 av. J.-C.), puis la dislocation de ce pouvoir et la réorganisation des communautés de l'île aux échelles régionale et locale (1370-1200 av. J.-C.). Ces bouleversements sociaux, politiques et culturels sans précédents font suite à une organisation minoenne multi-palatiale de l'île qui avait prédominé tout au long de l'Âge du Bronze. Les céramiques échantillonnées proviennent du Quartier N, une zone d'habitat qui se développe à Malia après la chute de son pouvoir palatial régional (1450 av. J.-C.). Elles englobent un vaste éventail de formes fonctionnelles en pâtes semi-fines et grossières. Après une introduction au contexte archéologique, historique et environnemental de la plaine de Malia, mon exposé se concentrera sur la trentaine de groupes pétrographiques que j'ai identifiés au microscope polarisant parmi les poteries échantillonnées. Pour ces groupes, les caractéristiques de composition et de texture minérales seront expliquées en termes de choix de matériaux, de technologies potières, et de provenance locale, régionale ou extra- régionale des vases. Mises en relation à la typologie et au contexte de découverte des objets, ces caractéristiques contribueront aussi à identifier des savoir-faire d'ateliers de différents points de la Crète, et à reconstruire les modes de production et les tendances de consommation des céramiques qui sont propres à Malia.

Mon but est de rendre compte de la diversité des pratiques quotidiennes liées aux poteries sur le site de Malia, et la façon dont elles s'insèrent dans les politiques de production

et d'échange de biens durant les trois siècles qui marquent la fin de l'Âge du Bronze en Crète. Une complexité tout à fait surprenante et nouvelle semble naître à Malia après la disparition de son pouvoir palatial minoen, et avant l'incorporation de l'île à un monde grec. Ce cas d'étude contribuera à définir les périodes Palatiale Finale et Postpalatiale en Crète comme des phases majeures d'acculturation et de transition entre Âge du Bronze et Âge du Fer.

Ephraim Lytle
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 6

"Vertical Integration and the Ancient Greek Economy: the Case of Chaerephilos & Sons"

Recent discussions of the Roman economy have focused on an important phenomenon of vertical integration (and also disintegration), the process whereby, usually through the activity of complex social organizations or 'firms', a single entity controls every step in not only a product's supply chain and production but also in its distribution and sale (Silver 2009; Broekaert 2012; Silver 2013). Scholars interested in the ancient Greek economy have paid little attention to this phenomenon, and for good reasons: although in Classical *poleis* such as Athens there existed abundant horizontal specialization (a diversity of trades to match the diversity of needs), chains of production were short and the need for vertical specialization was limited (Harris 2002; Bresson 2007). At the same time, social and

political institutions and the scale and organization of production and trade gave limited scope to firms, while the rate of innovation itself was low. Finally, integration is most often followed by a related process of disintegration, whereby vertical integration is replaced by vertical specialization, because specialized producers can provide goods and services more efficiently than vertically integrated firms. For the Greek economy, even where innovation occurred the relative dearth of data would make it difficult to detect short-lived vertical integration.

Nevertheless, in this paper I argue that there are exceptions to this general portrait and that a likely example can be found in the curious case of Chaerephilos and his sons, attested at Athens in the fourth century as having achieved citizenship and considerable social status through wealth somehow derived from the saltfish trade (*PA* 15187; Davies *APF*: 566-568). This evidence has presented a lasting conundrum to scholars of Athenian social and economic history, who frequently note that the wealth and social status enjoyed by Chaerephilos and his sons finds no parallels in our evidence either for retailers or even for importers or merchants more generally (e.g., Davies *APF*; Erxleben 1974; Reed 2003; Engen 2010). But comparative evidence suggests that the unique risks, barriers to entry and transaction costs associated with saltfish production frequently encourage vertical integration. Vertical integration is especially well attested, for example, in our early modern Mediterranean comparative evidence for the production of salted and otherwise preserved tuna. In certain cases vertically integrated firms endured for

centuries (Doumenge 1998). It is likely no coincidence that during the Roman period a wide range of archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence allows us to reconstruct a certain degree of vertical integration in saltfish and *garum* production (Ellis 2011; Silver 2013). And in fact careful attention to Athenian literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that Chaerephilos & Sons were neither retailers nor importers of saltfish, at least in any narrow sense, but ran a vertically integrated firm that owned interests both in the Black Sea and at Athens and controlled every step in the production, marketing and trade of a branded product.

John MacCormick
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 4

"Les Muses de la patience : la thérapie de la colère chez Marc-Aurèle"

Cette présentation, qui fait partie d'un projet de recherche au doctorat sur la responsabilité morale dans la philosophie ancienne, contemplera la manière dont Marc-Aurèle réfléchit sur l'injustice des autres dans le but d'effectuer la thérapie de sa propre colère, et surtout le chapitre 11.18, qui se présente dans la forme de neuf κεφάλαια ou points principaux comparables aux dons des neuf Muses, ainsi qu'un dixième qui soit le don d'Apollon. Dès la première phrase du chapitre, Marc-Aurèle se place en relation intime avec tous les êtres humains, y compris les plus injustes, et procède en imaginant l'état d'esprit des malfaiteurs pour aboutir, avec le neuvième don, à se figurer l'attitude qu'il

doit adopter envers ses congénères errants. En mettant l'emphase, dans ce chapitre comme dans plusieurs autres (*e.g.* 2.1, 7.22), sur le ressemblance entre lui et le pécheur, le philosophe-empereur souligne la dimension interpersonnelle de sa réponse au mal commis par les autres, ce qui est, selon mon argument, d'importance majeure à la compréhension du problème philosophique de la responsabilité morale.

Croyant, comme Socrate, que nul n'est volontairement méchant, Marc-Aurèle tente de comprendre les actions des autres dans un esprit de bienveillance, et se recommande la correction ferme, mais charitable et affectionnée, comme la meilleure réaction à l'injustice involontaire (*cf.* 7.3, Épictète, *Entretiens* 1.28.4 *sqq.*). Tout en explorant l'héritage socratique et stoïcien de sa position, ma présentation vise à soutenir la thèse que Marc-Aurèle ne cherche pas à excuser les malfaiteurs, pourtant qu'en réfléchissant aux causes de leur injustice, il tente de conditionner la réponse qu'il leur dirige afin qu'elle soit la plus rationnelle possible.

Tzveta Manolova
Oxford University
Session/Séance 2

"Homeric heroes in the making? Lefkandi and the Tyrian connection"

The discovery of the Toumba building at Lefkandi and its double burial opened a new chapter on the role and importance of maritime networks between the Aegean and

the Levant in the mid 10th century B.C. This remarkable burial served as a twofold act of foundation – as a benchmark that was emulated by the elites buried at the Toumba cemetery which developed around it, and as a first phase of intensification of interregional connections which was to expand in the following decades. While Lefkandi represents the western receptor of the network and has been extensively explored, the same could not be said for the eastern end of the connection, with prominent Levantine sites having had no or minimal archaeological investigation. This gap however has been rapidly transforming in recent years with active excavations at Tyre, Sidon, Tell Kazel and Tell Dor.

It is precisely around the time of the Toumba building that the first Euboean imports appear at Tyre, while written sources describe it as a key period of Tyrian efflorescence and expansion under Hiram I. Both sites were thus undergoing important changes and were clearly connected, but it is only with the excavations at Tyre's main cemetery of Al Bass that it has become possible for the first time to compare and discuss their sociopolitical structure in archaeological terms. At present the two settlements boast extensively excavated cemeteries of similar size– 302 (Lefkandi) vs. 278 (Tyre) burials – and thus provide a unique possibility for comparison. I propose to examine the funerary evidence as a means to offer hypotheses about the nature and mechanics of their interaction, from the mid 10th to the mid 9th century. From there I will examine the actors responsible for expanding and solidifying this maritime network and propose the social network theory concept of

'weak ties' as the most appropriate way to understand them.

Hugh Mason
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 4

"Imagining Daphnis' Bath"

In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.13.1, Daphnis cleans up after falling into a pit. The sight of his naked body while bathing that arouses sexual feelings in Chloe for the first time. The bath takes place in the cave-shrine of the Nymphs where Chloe was found (1.4). In that passage, the water is described as "bubbling up" (ἀναβλύζον), which suggests a typical spring with water "springing" from the earth. But in 1.13, Daphnis is described as "standing by" (προσστάς) the spring, and the whole bathing experience reads more like a shower.

Those who have pictured/imagined the scene, such as Marc Chagall, have portrayed the water flowing down, as in a waterfall; this is also how the bath is portrayed in Orestes Laskos' 1931 film (at about 2:01). The Mytilenean poet Crinagoras (*AP* 6, 253) also describes Caves of the Nymphs where water comes down from a crag, as in a waterfall: Σπήλυγγες Νυμφῶν εὐπίδακες, αἱ τόσον ὕδωρ εἴβουσαι/ σκολιοῦ τοῦδε κατὰ πρεόνος.

There are many waterfalls on Lesvos, the subject of an article by the local scholar Makis Axiotis (2002), and

frequently illustrated on Lesvian sites on Facebook. The Πήγες Πέσσας, near Pyrrha/Achladeri, show that Longus's term πήγη can be legitimately attached to a waterfall.

Laskos portrayed the bath scene at a waterfall near Agiasos, called Ανερα(γ)ίδα, to the Modern Greek word for a Nymph (derived from Νηρηίς, but no longer associated with the sea alone) Although though the assocaiation with Nymphs is attractive, Agiasos is in the centre of the island, and the narrative of *Daphnis and Chloe* is set close to the sea.

I propose that Longus imagined the bath to take place in the waterfall in the Λάκκος Μαν' Κάτσας, where the Aspropotamos river falls into a small ravine, located at 39° 16.592 N, 26° 21.573E, in the wide valley behind the Makriyialos beach. At about 35km (200 stades) from Mytilene (Daphnis and Chloe 1,2), Man' Katsa is in an area where some have chosen to locate Longus' narrative (Mason 1979).

Local folklore (Anagnostes 1850, Tzoannou 1975) associates the waterfall and ravine with a story of a woman who seduces young men and then throws them into the ravine, which will remind some readers of Longus' predatory Lykainion (3.16-20).

Kathryn Mattison
McMaster University
Session/Séance 6

"The wife and the concubine in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae.*"

As Webster (1936) has noted, there is a contrast between Deianeira in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, as Deianeira unintentionally accomplishes what Clytemnestra plots for years. There are significant differences between them; none more obvious than their behaviour after the death of their husbands. While Clytemnestra rejoices, Deianeira does not even wait for Heracles to succumb to his injuries before killing herself. Most significant, however, is the way in which the two women interact with the concubine their husbands bring home. Clytemnestra attempts to get Cassandra into the house, but is distracted by her larger plan and quickly abandons the Trojan princess. Deianeira, on the other hand, first picks Iole out of the line of newly-arrived slaves and bewails the fate of the noble-looking woman. When she learns who Iole is and why she has arrived in Trachis, Deianeira then laments her own fortune. In this paper, I suggest that this interaction between wife and concubine is key because it occurs in both cases right before the death or fatal wounding of the husband and informs the way the husband's character can be interpreted. While both women are decried in the aftermath of their actions, Clytemnestra by the Chorus and Deianeira by Heracles, I argue that the scene with the concubine is crucial in guiding the audience's

interpretation. The hurried unfeeling way in which Clytemnestra speaks to Cassandra confirms much of what the chorus says of her in the aftermath of Agamemnon's death, whereas Deianeira's empathetic treatment of Iole creates a strongly sympathetic background against which to judge Heracles' harsh words. This foundation allows me to argue that the women's character is fundamental in establishing the men's gender roles. In both of these cases, I argue that the women act not as foils but as mirrors of their husbands, with Clytemnestra reflecting the masculinity of Agamemnon, and Deianeira reflecting the effeminacy of Heracles.

Alex McAuley
McGill University
Session/Séance 4

"Arch-Traitor or Advocate? The Attalids and Asia Minor after Apameia"

The Peace of Apameia in 188 B.C. was, by most accounts, the beginning of the end: Seleucid hegemony in Asia Minor collapsed along with the independent aspirations of local Greek dynasts, eclipsed by the dawn of Roman influence in the region. Eumenes of Pergamon and his Attalid relatives have long been held to be the principal brokers of this Roman hegemony, and the judgement of contemporary historians has hardly been favourable. Hansen (1947, 92) declared that after Apameia, 'Eumenes had hardly more than a semblance of power,' while Tarn & Griffith put it rather unsubtly when they declare 'to the nationally minded

Greeks, Eumenes was Judas, the arch-traitor to Hellenism' (quoted in McShane 1964, 200). The Attalids have been blamed for instigate Rome's break with the Seleucid dynasty, and for reorganizing the channels of power in Anatolia to align more neatly with Roman interests. But more recently we have come to question the tangible impact of the Peace of Apameia on the local affairs of the Eastern Mediterranean, and this paper aims to reconsider the Attalids as an illustrative case study. Was Attalid intervention in the affairs (local, dynastic, military) of the Anatolian Greeks purely in service of Roman interests, or is there a more nuanced foreign policy at work? Through considering Attalid interaction with the local dynasts of Pontus and Cappadocia and the Greek cities of the Ionian coast, I aim to show that the Attalids played a more delicate political game in which Rome certainly lay in the background, but Roman interests were often overshadowed by the more pressing concerns of an emergent regional network of power.

Sarah McCallum
Harvard University
Session/Séance 1

"*Non Dido, sed Anna*: The Anna-Aeneas Tradition in Vergil (*A*. 4) and Ovid (*Fast*. 3)"

In the hands of Vergil, the tale of Aeneas' erotic entanglement with Dido becomes an integral chapter in the hero's post-Iliadic wanderings. The passionate love affair and its grave consequences are crucial to the narrative

trajectory, aesthetic fabric, and emotional impact of the *Aeneid*. Though readers of Vergil can scarcely imagine the story without the relationship of Aeneas and Dido, an alternative tradition existed in which their love was noticeably absent. According to Servius, Varro recounts a different version of the tale in which Dido's sister Anna plays the role of Aeneas' impassioned and self-destructive lover (*Varro ait non Didonem, sed Annam amore Aeneae impulsam se supra rogum interemisse*, Serv. *ad A*. 4.682; *sane sciendum Varronem dicere, Aeneam ab Anna amatum*, Serv. *ad A*. 5.4).

In this paper, I will explore the reception of the alternative Anna-Aeneas tradition within Vergil's account of the erotic affair of Dido and Aeneas (*Aeneid* 4) and the Ovidian aetiology for Anna Perenna, a minor deity associated with Dido's sister Anna (*Fasti* 3). A comprehensive philological and intertextual analysis will support two main arguments. First, I will synthesize existing scholarship (Austin, 1955; Barrett, 1970; Barchiesi, 1997) and new evidence to confirm that Vergil allusively acknowledges the Anna-Aeneas tradition through the dialogic exchanges between Dido and her sister in *Aeneid* 4. When Dido asks Anna to speak to Aeneas on her behalf (*A*. 4.420-423), she says that her sister shares an unparalleled intimacy with the Trojan hero that is otherwise absent from Vergil's story. Rather than a problematic incongruity, Dido's statement may be seen as a subtle reference to the alternative tradition in which Anna played the role of Aeneas' lover. As Anna reacts to Dido's mortal wound (*A*. 4.672-692), she takes on the demeanor, appearance, and devastation of her sister. Indeed, the lines

become so blurred that Anna virtually shares in Dido's death, rehearsing her own suicide found in the alternative tradition.

I will then proceed to a comparative analysis of key passages from *Aeneid* 4 and *Fasti* 3 to show that Ovid responds to Vergil's 'literary love triangle' between Dido, Anna, and Aeneas. I will focus in particular on Ovid's account of renewed contact between Anna and Aeneas after the fall of Carthage. Ovid conflates the Vergilian figures of Dido and Anna into a new love triangle featuring Anna, Lavinia, and Aeneas. In a second aetiology, Anna Perenna tricks Mars by taking the place of his desired bride Minerva. I will suggest that Ovid playfully alludes to both the alternative Anna-Aeneas tradition and the Vergilian Anna in this tale of passion, deceit, and mistaken identity.

Robert McCutcheon
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 5

"The More Things Change: Imperialism, Post-Colonialism, and Roman Britain in *The Eagle*"

In this paper I explore how *The Eagle*, a 2011 film directed by Kevin MacDonald, discourses on the topics of imperialism and post-colonial cultural identity in its treatment of Roman Britain. I argue that while this film appears to offer an explicit critique of Roman imperialism (qua imperialism writ large), its depiction of the native British population actually serves to endorse cultural changes inaugurated by imperial

subjugation and colonization.

A film set in Roman Britain is a ready site for two separate discourses on imperialism. From *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1913) to *Gladiator* (2000), films depicting Roman antiquity have consistently served as a means by which contemporary societies have negotiated their anxieties concerning imperialism and their relationships with contemporary empires (cf. Wyke, Fitzgerald, Malamud and Solomon). Similarly, perceptions of Roman Britain have been tied to modern imperialist projects. Particularly, the belief that Roman conquest of Britain "civilized" this island enabled the British Empire to claim ideological justification for its own acts of occupation and colonization (Hingley).

The Eagle dramatizes the collision of cultures in a colonial environment by focusing on the fraught relationship between M. Flavius Aquila, a Roman officer, and Esca, his British slave, during their quest to recover the eponymous standard lost by Aquila's father north of Hadrian's Wall. This film would seemingly present a critical view of Roman imperialism. The cruelty and oppressiveness of Roman rule is emphasized on multiple occasions, both in actions and in angry comments by Esca. Moreover, the film rejects the formal characteristics of the historical epic and thus certain ideological entailments (primarily, imperialism and colonialism) which this genre tends to validate (Sobchack). In particular, this film avoids glorifying the Roman Empire by indulging in large-scale battle scenes or by showcasing monumental Roman architecture. Finally, *The Eagle* underscores the foreign domination of Britain by inviting

comparisons to the current geopolitical reality of American hegemony through a reversal of the traditional typology of accents found in “sword and sandal” films. Roman characters have American accents (even when portrayed by British actors), while characters identified as ethnically British speak with various British accents.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the dim view that it takes with regard to imperialism, this film portrays the cultural effects of Roman rule largely in a positive light. Almost every ethnically British character is portrayed as uneducated and savage, a theme which reaches its apex when Aquila and Esca encounter the possibly cannibalistic Seal People who live in northern Scotland, farthest from Roman rule. In contrast, Esca, who was raised in a Roman household, is indistinguishable in manner and demeanor from other “civilized” (i.e., Roman) characters despite his hostility to Roman occupation. In this way, the character of Esca displays the hybridity and complexity of cultural identity which both postcolonial theory (Bhabha) and more recent scholarship on cultural development in the Roman provinces emphasize (Webster; Mattingly). I contend that ultimately the oppositions which this film sets up between pre-colonial and post-colonial, Briton and Roman Briton, and savage and civilized undermine any critique which this film presents concerning imperialism.

Siobhán McElduff
University of British Columbia
Session/Séance 5

"From *A Wandering Trojan Prince* to Uclopeus, Hero of Troy: Ballads and Popular Classics in 18th and 19th Century England and Ireland"

This paper will explore the popular reception of classics in the 18th and 19th centuries by investigating the tradition of classical ballads in England and Ireland, with a particular focus on their audiences among the labouring and lower classes. It will begin by looking at the English black letter and 18th century ballad tradition and its use of classical mythology, including its reworking of the *Aeneid* into a story of a nefarious and duplicitous wandering Trojan prince and of the *Oedipus* into a tale of a anonymous Greek king. It will then move to an examination of the Irish tradition and its penchant for inserting as many classical referents as possible into patriotic and love ballads, even if, as in the case of Uclopeos (Odysseus), the ballad writer or setter had only a vague grasp of classical mythology or spelling. The paper will conclude by discussing the marketing of these ballads, their costs, distribution, variations, and how they provide us with a new direction for understanding the reach and differing appeal of classics and classical mythology among different economic groups, regions, and classes during this period.

Gwynaeth McIntyre
University of British Columbia
Session/Séance 10

"Keeping the army in line: Germanicus, the army, and the *SC de Gn. Pisone Patre*"

In 19 C.E., while on campaign to reorganize the Eastern provinces, Germanicus, the adopted son and heir apparent of Tiberius, became ill and died. The governor of Syria, Gnaeus Piso, was suspected of poisoning the imperial prince and was charged with his murder. Although Piso committed suicide before a verdict was announced, the *senatus consultum* was published and copies of the decree were set up in various locations throughout the empire. This decree highlights the position of Tiberius and the language with which the imperial house was promoted throughout the empire.

This paper analyzes the development of the language of power and loyalty within military contexts through a case study of two presentations of the events surrounding the death of Germanicus. Tacitus recounts the events leading up to Germanicus' death and the suspicions of Piso's involvement (*Annals* 2.69-72) as well as the actions of the legions following the news of Germanicus' death (*Annals* 2.76-81). Tacitus's narrative presents the disloyalty of the legions, the support given to Piso, and Piso's attempt at gaining control of the East. On the other hand, the language presented in the *senatus consultum* reflects a different style of narrative. Although the inscription bears witness to the

fact that Piso tries both to gain the loyalty of the soldiers (369-374) and to reenter Syria after Germanicus' death (362-369), the senate praises the soldiers for refusing to join Piso and for their continued loyalty to the *domus augusta* (476-482). By comparing these two narratives of the events, this paper argues that it is through the treatment of Germanicus' death and the praise of the legions' loyalty to the *domus augusta* by the senate (under the guidance of Tiberius) that the new power structure headed by the imperial family was developed and promoted. Expanding on the recent work of Lott and previous work analyzing the connection between Tacitus' narrative and the *SC de Gn. Pisone Patre,* this paper highlights the importance of the army for this new power structure. Tiberius' involvement in the crafting of this narrative further demonstrates the ways in which loyalty and devotion to the imperial house were presented as the only way to ensure the continued peace and prosperity of the empire.

Aven McMaster
Thorneloe University at Laurentian
Session/Séance 1

The purple cloak worn by Aeneas when Mercury comes to him in Book 4 of the Aeneid (4.261-4) has long been recognised as significant. Its purple colour, the gold on it, and the fact that it is a gift from Dido are all important, both in themselves and as allusions to many other cloaks or to characters who give, receive, or wear similar garments (including most prominently Jason in Apollonius' Argonautica). There are more threads to be teased out of

the fabric of this passage, however, that connect the cloak, and Aeneas and Dido, to even more literary predecessors and ideological indicators. In this paper I trace those connections, focussing on the detail that Dido wove the cloak herself, evoking the duties of a Roman matron (e.g. Livia making Augustus' clothing, Suet. Div. Aug. 73) but in a problematic context. At the same time I consider the passage within the larger context of gift-giving in the Dido episode and in the epic as a whole, in particular the connections to elegy and the gifts of an elegiac lover, in order to further explicate the allusive and generic complexity of the cloak, and its significance for the characterisation of Aeneas.

Carol Merriam
Brock University
Session/Séance 8

"Putting Gallus in his Place: The "Gallus" References in Properties, Book I"

Much of our knowledge about the works of the poet Gaius Cornelius Gallus (70-27 BCE), reportedly a major influence in the development of the Latin Elegy, relies upon testimonia by commentators, grammarians, and other poets. Among the testimonia, those in the corpus of Propertius stand out for both the frequency and the variety of the uses of the name "Gallus".

Of Propertius' seven uses of the name "Gallus", the five in his first book have generated the most speculation and

comment. Interpretive strategies have included attempts to identify each Gallus as a different, and real, individual, casual dismissal of each as an invented character with, coincidentally, the name of an originator of the genre, and arguments that each appearance of a Gallus constitutes an allusion to a specific poem or passage by Cornelius Gallus.

I argue that the first four references to Gallus in the first book of Propertius are indeed to Cornelius Gallus, but not to Gallus as the historical figure. Rather, the references are to the elegiac character, the lover-poet persona that Gallus would have created for his own four books of Amores. By referring to Gallus' lover-poet persona, and using that persona as a flexible character in his own first book of elegies, Propertius seeks to claim a place in the world of elegy and, ultimately, gain primacy in the genre. The main avenue by which he accomplishes this is by repeatedly placing the Gallus character in situations in which he must learn from Propertius about love and poetry.

Elegy 1.21, in which the Gallus character used is a Perusine dying on an exposed hillside after escaping from Caesar, is the exception to this consistent portrayal. It represents an intrusion by reality into the imagined world of elegy. But this dying Gallus can indeed be reconciled with the previous references in Book 1 via a close look at the tone and significance of the circumstances portrayed, and the language used in this depiction. The identification of this Gallus figure, along with the other Gallus characters in Propertius' first book, could lead to a reconsideration of the publication date of the Monobiblos.

Peter Miller
Mount Allison University
Session/Séance 4

"Identity and Ideology in Greek Atheletic Verse"

The heraldic angelia actualized victory for a Greek athlete (Wolicki 2002: 74); while the phyllobolia and coronation were important in the aftermath of the event, the announcement of the victorious athlete's name, father's name, event, age-category, and polis was the realization of success, and the basis for memorialization. In this context, the primary importance of the angelia to epinician and athletic epigram is hardly surprising; as scholars have pointed out, the angelia is the generic kernel of athletic verse, whether because of the re-presentation of ritual (Day 2010: 199-202), the importance of re-integrating the victor into family and community (Kurke 1991: 5-6), or as the basis for, in Pindar's case especially, poetic structure (Schadewaldt 1966: 16; Nash 1990: 15). Scholarship, however, has proceeded as if the angelia were transparently preserved in epinician and epigram, despite the ideological underpinnings inherent in athletic representation from its outset (e.g., the naming of chariot owner as victor, rather than charioteer: Nicholson 2005). In this paper, I argue for an ideological understanding of the angelia, and I stress that epinician and epigram do not unequivocally reflect the proclamation; rather, they appropriate the efficacy of the angelia – a powerful speech-act – as part of their program of athletic praise. The influence of the angelia specifies a particularly circumscribed athletic identity (in contrast to identities

claimed in, for example, funerary epigrams), which could be manipulated for political, poetic, and ideological reasons (e.g., Kimon's permitting of Peisistratos "to be proclaimed victor": Hdt. 6.103.2; Hieron proclaimed as Aitnaian: Pind. P. 1.29-33). As such, this paper claims a space for discursive identity in the understanding and interpretation of athletic verse of all types, and contributes to the increasing attention to ideology in studies of ancient athletics.

David Mirhady
Simon Fraser University
Session/Séance 7

"Just *Problemata*"

Book 29 of the Aristotelian *Problems*, which concern justice and injustice, have garnered scarcely any scholarship. The most recent translator, Robert Mayhew in the Loeb series, asserts that it takes its starting point from Aristotle's thinking in ethics, politics, and rhetoric and from Athenian law. But in both regards he is probably incorrect. Precise correspondences between this book and Aristotle's writings, as well as our evidence for Athenian law, are not to be found. The author seems instead to have taken pains to detemporize and delocalize the questions, so while they may have had their genesis even in a time somewhat earlier than Aristotle, their discussion seems to have developed over generations, even into the Roman period, more within sophists' classrooms than any philosophical school or historical judicial context.

Jack Mitchell
Dalhousie University
Session/Séance 4

"Metrical shape in the lemmata of the Venetus A codex: the last stand of performance in Greek scholarship?"

Alongside the Townley codex in the British Library, the Venetus A codex in the Marciana is celebrated for preserving the so-called *scholia maiora* to the *Iliad*, monumentally edited by H. Erbse in 1969-1977. Published in black-and-white facsimile by Comparetti in 1901, the Venetus A was digitally photographed by the Homer Multitext Project in 2007 and the resulting high-resolution colour images published online, allowing today's scholar's unparalleled access to the physical manuscript. In my paper, I exploit the availability of these images to argue that the Venetus A, which dates from the 10th century, represents a unique overlap of two (or more) systems of reference as between canonical text and commentary. The uniqueness results not principally from the content of the scholia but from their physical relationship to the text. The first system is that of the well known *signes de renvoie* used in the Townley codex and later codices with scholia, whereby letters (black in the Venetus A, bright red in later codices) coordinate each scholion with its object. The second system is unique to the Venetus A: the abbreviation of the lemmata (which introduce most scholia) to metrical segments of the hexameter, often employed without regard to the meaning of the words that compose the lemma. This, I suggest, is the continuation of a basically 'aural' approach to scholarship,

consonant with the attested habit of some ancient scholars of listening to the performed text and with the use of full-line lemmata in ancient commentaries surviving in papyrus. This would make the Venetus A codex both the last stand, as it were, of a performance-based relationship between canonical text and commentary *and* the new birth (as far as surviving codices can attest) of a visual relationship between the two, in the form of the *signes de renvoie*.

Janey Mowat
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 10

"Between *polis* and *oikos*: Neighbours in Dem. 55 and Lys. 7"

Neighbours occupied a remarkable position in the private-public spectrum of democratic Athenian society: though they were outsiders with no official ties to the *oikos*, their proximity granted them a degree of access to one's private life which would otherwise have been unthinkable. Within the realm of forensic oratory, the ambiguous nature of the neighbour's relationship with the *oikos* affords them significant rhetorical flexibility. As outsiders looking in, they provide an important ideological link between the private and public spheres. Indeed, neighbours as a group often stand as proxies for the *demos* in the forensic speeches, acting privately in a manner that the orator hopes the jury will mirror publicly in the courtroom.

In two particularly compelling speeches, Demosthenes 55: *Against Kallikles* and Lysias 7: *On the Olive Stump,* the

speechwriters manipulate common notions about neighbours and neighbourliness to negotiate the relation between public and private. Both speeches contest the public relevance of disputes regarding the speakers' own private property, and they use the actions (and inaction) of their neighbours to suggest the jury's ideal response.

Throughout Dem. 55, the speaker models the ideal neighbourly behaviour, and emphasises the ways in which his opponent, Kallikles, falls short. Kallikles has accused the speaker of altering the course of a public waterway. The speaker attributes the charge to sheer meddlesomeness: after all, he notes, none of his other neighbors has complained. In this case, a simple balance between one's own self-interest and the appreciation of the community's needs is emphasised. It is wrong to meddle when a neighbour is acting within his rights, we are meant to understand. By establishing Kallikles as the bad neighbour in an otherwise functional community, the speaker is privileging his own property rights – and his own self-interest – over those of his opponent. In contrasting the overly self-interested Kallikles unfavourably against the balanced behaviour of his neighbours, the speaker sets his opponent against the good of the *polis*.

Like Dem. 55, Lys. 7 addresses public interest in private property, and the speaker again proclaims his innocence by pointing to the indifference of his neighbours.. Addressing the accusation that he removed one of the city's sacred olive trees from his property, the speaker appeals to the inaction of his neighbours as proof of his innocence; surely, had they

seen him removing it, they would have objected. However, this key element of the speaker's rhetorical strategy is deeply flawed: though his case rests upon the notion of the all-seeing gaze of neighbourhood, no neighbours are called as witnesses for either party. Instead, the good (non-intrusive) neighbour proves to be as much a rhetorical fiction as the bad (meddlesome) neighbour.

By examining the role of neighbours in these two speeches, my paper shows how the rhetoric of neighbourliness negotiates and articulates the complex interaction between private and public in Athenian society.

Ilse Mueller
Nipissing University
Session/Séance 6

"Slaves as Instruments of Social Control in Roman Society"

By the late Republican period, slaves were present in almost every aspect of Roman society both in the private and public spheres. The houses of the wealthy were often filled with large numbers of slaves, and the majority of humble Roman households would have at least one or a few slaves.

Virginia Hunter in *Policing Athens* includes a chapter in which she examines the presence of slaves in the Athenian household as a form of social control. She observed that slaves had extensive knowledge about their owners. They knew about their owners' activities inside the household and in public, and they knew the details of their owners' financial

circumstances. They also had detailed knowledge about the relationships inside the household such as the parentage of children and extramarital affairs of their owners. Although in contrast to Classical Athens, where slaves were permitted to give evidence against their masters, Roman law prohibited the testimony of slaves, with the exception of cases of incest, treason, or adultery, the intimate knowledge Roman slaves had of their owners' lives and activities, nevertheless served as a means to enforce social conformity and norms of behaviour. In times of civil wars and under 'bad' emperors, moreover, slaves' intimate knowledge of their owners' affairs was often exploited to eliminate political opponents or personal enemies. This paper examines the role of slaves as instruments of social control and its implications for the slave-owning class.

Robin Nadeau
Thorneloe University at Laurentian
Session/Séance 11

"Choisir les bons aliments selon Plutarque et Pline l'Ancien"

Dans une perspective d'anthropologie des savoirs et du goût, je me propose d'étudier la transmission des conseils alimentaires dans les œuvres de Plutarque et Pline l'Ancien. Adoptant une perspective comparative, je propose d'examiner la nature des conseils apparaissant dans leurs œuvres respectives, les différences entre les deux corpus et les raisons qui peuvent expliquer les disparités en matière de conseils en matière alimentaire.

Deux aspects seront particulièrement développés : la transmission des savoirs et les modèles alimentaires.

Je propose également de distinguer les préceptes de santé et les connaissances proprement grecques ou romaines et les préférences culturelles, dans le domaine de l'alimentation.

Jaclyn Neel
York University
Session/Séance 8

"Tarpeia and Barbarians at the Basilica Aemilia"

The pictorial program of the Basilica Aemilia is typically understood within an early Au- gustan context, focusing on key myths of the early city to promote the newly peaceful Rome. Among the recognized scenes are a city foundation, the rape of the Sabine women, and the burial of the traitor Tarpeia by Sabine soldiers. These latter scenes are often interpreted as relating to the Augustan moral reforms (e.g., Kleiner 1992; Albertson 1990). In this paper, I argue that the Tarpeia frieze of the Basilica Aemilia refers obliquely to contemporary Roman military campaigns.

That the subject of frieze was Tarpeia has gone largely unquestioned since it was recog- nized by Bartoli (1950; cf. Arya 2000). Iconographic parallels to two coins, one Republican (*RRC* 344/2a-c) and one Augustan (*RIC* I^2 Aug. 299), as well as similarities with the literary ac- counts of Tarpeia as either a traitor or a hero in Livy (1.11), Propertius

(4.4), and others strongly reinforce the identification. Despite this widespread agreement, however, questions remain about the appearance of Tarpeia on this monument. Other identifiable scenes show periods of Rome's growth; although Tarpeia's death ultimately leads to benefits for Rome, this panel memorializes a moment of defeat. I argue that the difference in hairstyle between the coins and the frieze offers an explanation. The Basilica Aemilia depicts Tarpeia with cropped hair, while the coins show Tarpeia's hair streaming long and unbound. This cropped hair suggests a non-Roman model for Tarpeia's appearance, and I argue for a polyvalent reading of Tarpeia as both barbarian and Roman.

Uncertainty about the date of the frieze problematizes attempts to tie the Tarpeia scene to a particular event. A recent study by Lipps, however, suggests a lower dating for the Basilica pro- gram as a whole (2011). Using Lipps' chronology, I argue that Augustan moral legislation was no longer relevant by the time of the friezes' creation, and that Tarpeia instead acts as a reminder of military threats in Pannonia and Germany. These campaigns, involving the Aemilian gens, suggest that the sculptural program of early imperial monuments was driven by the interests of elite families as well as the Julio-Claudian household.

Milorad Nikolic
Memorial University
Session/Séance 9

"ὕδωρ ἐκ Διός? Rainwater Harvesting in the Roman World"

This paper combines two research interests of the late Professor Hodge – roofs and water supply – and assess the potential for rainwater harvesting from roofs in antiquity. A marked shift is discernible from the ancient Greeks to the Romans in the perception of rainwater. While to the Greeks it was a gift from the gods, the more pragmatic Romans perceived it as a problem, at least judging by the written evidence. With few exceptions, most contexts in Roman literature speak of rain as a damaging phenomenon to be avoided, warded off, and its excess drained. The agency of rain in battle gives it a threatening, uncontrollable, almost animate quality. It takes sides. Direct use of rainwater is only of secondary importance in Roman technical literature. In book 8.2 of *de architectura*, Vitruvius writes about rain in the context of the hydrological cycle, but not as a source of water for direct use.

In particular Sex. Iulius Frontinus, the author of the *De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, otherwise so careful about recording the water supply of Rome in minute detail, is conspicuously silent about rainwater. Evidence for its use is mainly archaeological in the form of numerous surviving cisterns and rare in the form of inscriptions such as the famous inscription of the *astynomoi* from Pergamon that mandates the maintenance of private cisterns in spite of

abundant water available from aqueducts. The reason for this apparent bias in our literary sources in favour of aqueducts is evident. Aqueducts were a source of prestige, a symbol of wealth and dominance, a metaphor for the power of Rome and its representatives. Small-scale domestic rainwater cisterns were taken for granted. They were built and maintained at the grass-root level of society and, therefore, received only fleeting attention in literary works—a bias that is reflected in the research interest of modern scholars. Aqueducts are spectacular and arouse our interest, while the more pedestrian cisterns seem drab in comparison. The examples of Pergamon and of many cities such as Roman London, which never had an aqueduct, and the ubiquity of cisterns as physical manifestations of this technique show, however, that rainwater harvesting as an alternative form of water collection played a significant role in the Roman period, surely more than we commonly assume.

This paper will assess the potential for rainwater harvesting in various regions of the Roman Empire and place it in the context of overall water supply in the Roman world.

John Peter Oleson
University of Victoria
Session/Séance 9

"The Water-Supply System at Nabataean, Roman, and Modern Hawara: Local Adaptations of the Regional 'Technological Shelf'"

A. T. Hodge set a high standard for the analysis of water-supply systems in their social and technological context. This paper is dedicated to his memory, and it reflects some of his approaches. Twenty years of survey and excavation by the author at the site of Humayma (ancient Hawara) allowed detailed reconstruction of the water-supply system that supported this isolated settlement in the hyper-arid Hisma desert of Southern Jordan. Complete analysis of these data for the final publication of the excavations has made possible a new evaluation of the historical and technological context of the Nabataean and Roman phases of the regional water-supply system. Some aspects of the system at Nabataean Hawara had precedents in the technologies of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements in the region, while others can be traced to developments in the Hellenistic Aegean. The arid island trade centre of Delos was particularly important influence. Small changes in the water-supply system of Hawara after the Roman conquest of the Nabataean kingdom in A.D. 106 are intimately connected with Roman hydraulic technology. Nevertheless, the closest parallels for the overall flavour of the Hawara system are strictly regional: the Nabataean water-supply systems at Petra and Iram. The reasons for these similarities depend

above all on topography and hydrology, but other historical, cultural, and technological factors were also at work. It is interesting that no new water sources or management techniques were instituted in the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods. Even in the twentieth century the local Bedouin largely restricted their water-supply strategy to renovation of the Nabataean structures. In recent years delivery of ground water from outside the catchment area has resumed, by means of tanker trucks rather than through an aqueduct. A major pipeline carrying water from the Disi fossil aquifer up to Amman was built across the territory of Hawara in the first decade of the twenty-first century, but totally ignores the now-abandoned site.

Kelly Olson
University of Western Ontario
Session/Séance 7

"The Roman Toga: Cognition, Performance, Memory"

Arguably the most important item of dress in Roman antiquity for citizen males was the toga, a garment which enjoyed a long lifespan and numerous changes in size and draping. Under the emperor Augustus, the toga became more voluminous, and differed in manner of draping: the *sinus* (overfold) appeared, and the *umbo* (knot); an additional characteristic of this toga was an excess of material which could be drawn over the head in a religious sacrifice. The Augustan toga represented the peace, prosperity, abundance, and spiritual recovery that Augustus was so anxious to have associated with his reign, by the very

method of its construction. The plentiful material needed for this toga meant that the garment was costly, as fabric was expensive in antiquity, symbolizing the increased wealth and prosperity supposedly enjoyed under Augustus (the late Republican toga had been skimpy by contrast). Over the next century or so, the toga became shorter, and its method of draping different; a move away from the abundant Augustan toga.

But the Antonine emperors (138-192 CE) revived this voluminous early imperial toga, in an attempt to legitimate their reign through a resurrection of Augustan cultural and political ideologies. A fashion archaism that was a gesture toward the renaissance of Augustan peace and prosperity, it invoked the past as a way of reading the present. The Augustan toga thus had its own authority, its own self-perpetuating emblematic and emotive force, and was an essential tool in the performance of social memory.

Valérie Pageau
Université Laval
Session/Séance 11

"L'Eloquence et les Qualités du Bon Empereur: La Vision des Historiens du IVe Siècle"

Dans le cadre de cette communication, nous nous intéressons aux historiens latins du IV^{e} siècle et à leur perception de l'éloquence comme qualité constitutive de la figure du bon prince. Nous nous attacherons plus précisément à l'*Histoire Auguste*, aux *Histoires* d'Ammien

Marcellin et aux *Césars* d'Aurélius Victor, qui présentent chacun une vision particulière du rôle que doit jouer l'éloquence aux côtés des autres qualités normalement exigées de la part d'un empereur. Parmi ces caractéristiques, on trouve entre autres – ce compte ne se veut aucunement exhaustif – les talents pour les autres disciplines libérales, comme la poésie et la philosophie, les bonnes mœurs ainsi que l'habileté guerrière.

Du côté des *artes liberales*, l'éloquence est parfois désignée par rapport à l'ensemble dont elle fait partie, d'autres fois en association ou en opposition avec ses disciplines sœurs que sont la philosophie et la poésie. Dans l'*Histoire Auguste* et chez Aurélius Victor, l'éloquence est surtout présentée comme un élément des études libérales de même valeur que les autres ; chez Ammien, on trouve une certaine opposition entre poésie et rhétorique (XXI, XVI, 4) et entre philosophie et rhétorique (XVI, 5, 7), qui permet de déceler l'importance que revêt l'éloquence au sein de toutes ces études. En ce qui le concerne, le lien entre l'éloquence d'un empereur et ses bonnes mœurs est habituellement présenté comme un rapport d'adéquation (Ammien Marcellin, XVI, 5, 7 ; *Histoire Auguste*, *Vie des 3 Gordiens* V, 3 ; *Vie de Carus, Carin et Numérien* VII, 1 ; Aurélius Victor 9, 1 ; 39, 13). Aurélius Victor expose par ailleurs une idée qui saura retenir notre attention un peu plus longtemps : selon son analyse, l'éloquence – ou la culture – d'un prince peut faire oublier ses faiblesses morales si celles-ci ne se manifestent pas en vices trop démesurés (8, 7-8 ; 20, 1-5). Cette croyance a assurément une grande incidence sur sa façon de juger si un empereur fut bon ou mauvais. Nous terminerons cet exposé

en nous attachant aux talents militaires, qui sont d'une nécessité indéniable chez un empereur, surtout au IV^{e} siècle. À l'époque où le Sénat n'a plus de pouvoir décisionnel et où les empereurs sont proclamés par les soldats, l'empereur ne peut se permettre d'être un mauvais guerrier : or, peut-il à la fois être guerrier et orateur ? Notre lecture d'Ammien Marcellin, d'Aurélius Victor et de l'*Histoire Auguste* laisse croire que non.

L'étude des rapports entre l'éloquence et les qualités du bon empereur permettra non seulement de préciser les éléments qui doivent être réunis dans la figure de l'empereur idéal, mais surtout de mieux connaître la place de l'éloquence au sein du portrait de l'empereur dans les dernières décennies de l'empire. Peu étudiée par les universitaires modernes, la rhétorique de l'Antiquité tardive se trouve à la charnière de la période de la multiplication des fonctionnaires de l'état et de la fin de l'empire. En raison des particularités de son époque comme de la vitalité de ses auteurs et orateurs, nous sommes d'avis que la rhétorique latine tardive doit encore être examinée de plus près : c'est ce que notre communication vise à encourager.

Maria Papadopoulou
Greek Ministry of Education
Session/Séance 11

"Competing for a place in public space: Theodorus the Atheist versus Hipparchia"

There is a noble side to competition, but there is also a dark side to it, its by-products being hostility, bitterness, resentment and envy. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why some feminists oppose the idea of women engaging in competition, as male and irreconcilably dichotomic. They maintain that winning and losing are mutually exclusive and leave no middle ground for collaboration.

In his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* Diogenes Laërtius recounts the well-known anecdote of the argument (*agōn*) between Hipparchia, the cynic philosopher and Theodorus the Atheist. While at a symposium, a space normally not open to respectable women, she engaged in an argument with Theodorus. The argument culminated in the following syllogism "If it is not wrong for Theodorus to do a particular act, then it is not wrong for Hipparchia to do it. If Theodorus slaps himself he does nothing wrong, therefore if Hipparchia slaps Theodorus she does nothing wrong either". Realizing that he had been beaten at his own game, he tried to expose her body to the eyes of all present by pulling up her *himation*. She did not lose her temper and remained calm and sure of herself.

While Theodorus was competing for not losing face, Hipparchia was competing for women's place in the public sphere. Refusing to be ensnared in domesticity, like most women of her time, she both challenged the masculinity of philosophy and won a competition in rhetoric and logic (*agön logōn*). If we trust Diogenes' account, narrating this story through his male lens and writing for a male audience, women can be competitive, and can be winners of competitions even in a patriarchal world. The main thrust of this paper is that Hipparchia's pre-feminist approach to competition can help formulate an alternative ideology of competition for women competing with men in antiquity.

Germain Payen
Université Laval
Session/Séance 4

"La guerre d'Eumène II et ses alliés contre Pharnace (182-179 a.C.). Problèmes et lectures géopolitiques des suites du traité d'Apamée"

Les dix années qui suivirent le traité d'Apamée (188 a.C.) virent l'Anatolie secouée par deux conflits qui mirent à l'épreuve le nouvel ordre régional dicté par Rome et défendu par le roi attalide Eumène II. La seconde guerre (182-179 a.C.) mit aux prises deux systèmes d'alliances, regroupant notamment les dynastes attalide, bithynien et cappadocien, d'une part, pontique et d'Arménie Mineure, d'autre part. Ce conflit et sa résolution soulignent certains aspects importants du nouvel ordre géopolitique en

formation dans la région anatolienne au début du II^{e} siècle avant notre ère.

Cet épisode est connu, bien qu'imparfaitement, grâce à certains passages de Polybe, qui évoque quelques épisodes militaires et le traité de paix conclu en 179 (Polybe 25. 2). Malgré les lacunes et les incertitudes laissées par les sources disponibles, il semble que cet épisode historique fut l'occasion d'importantes évolutions et de quelques clarifications sur le plan diplomatique. En effet, il permit à certaines dynasties et à d'autres puissances de s'affirmer comme actrices politiques reconnues sur la scène anatolienne, tout en établissant la conduite romaine telle qu'elle demeura ensuite pendant plusieurs décennies. C'est le début d'une implication poussée des rois du Pont dans la scène géopolitique anatolienne, et la confirmation de la prééminence attalide sur la politique régionale. Rome, de son côté, brille par sa discrétion et n'intervient que très timidement sur le plan diplomatique.

Dans ce cadre général, certains aspects soulevés par la guerre de 182-179 ne manquent pas de faire difficulté. Ainsi, les cas du royaume arménien impliqué aux côtés de Pharnace et le sort réservé à la Galatie continuent de poser des problèmes d'interprétation : il y a encore des débats sur la place de ces régions dans l'ordre géopolitique anatolien à cette époque, et le passage de Polybe peut être sujet à diverses interprétations. Des régions et des puissances évoquées dans le traité de paix laissent supposer que l'espace du conflit dépassait l'Anatolie pour englober une large partie des côtes de la mer Noire, ce que ne laisse pas

transparaître le reste du récit. Enfin, un document épigraphique doit être évoqué : celui de l'alliance conclue entre Pharnace du Pont et la cité de Chersonèse pontique (*IOSPE* I², 402) ; selon le choix dans la datation débattue de cette inscription, le rôle de Rome dans la géopolitique anatolienne et pontique en 179 peut prendre des visages très différents.

Martin Perron
Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée
Session/Séance 9

"Les Centres Producteurs à L'Origine de la Circulation des Coupes Ioniennes à Thasos: Une Approche Archéométrique"

Les coupes ioniennes représentent l'une des catégories de vases à boire les plus répandues dans le monde grec archaïque. Entre le milieu du VII^{e} et la fin du VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C., leur distribution couvre l'ensemble des bassins de la Méditerranée et de la mer Noire. L'origine de la production est communément attribuée aux cités côtières de la Grèce de l'Est, mais des ateliers d'imitation sont également connus en plusieurs autres points de la Méditerranée. Entre 1959 et 1985, les fouilles archéologiques menées à l'Artémision de Thasos par l'École française d'Athènes ont livré plus de 2000 fragments de vases identifiés à des coupes ioniennes. L'étude récente du mobilier a permis de relever de nombreuses variantes typologiques et stylistiques dont la plupart sont à mettre en relation avec les cinq grandes catégories de coupes établies par François Villard et George Vallet (*MEFRA* 1955). L'examen visuel des pâtes réalisé sur le

matériel a quant à lui permis l'identification de plusieurs groupes d'argiles dont les caractéristiques pointent vers la participation de plusieurs ateliers à la production et à la distribution des coupes. Dans le cadre de cet exposé, nous nous intéresserons à l'origine des ateliers responsables de la production et de la circulation des coupes ioniennes mises au jour à l'Artémision de Thasos. L'objectif de notre enquête sera de quantifier le nombre d'ateliers représentés parmi les trouvailles du sanctuaire et de déterminer, au moyen d'analyses physico-chimiques en laboratoire, leur provenance. Cette approche visera en outre à documenter les circuits d'échanges qui alimentent l'île du milieu du VII^{e} à la fin du VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C. et à identifier les changements survenus dans les réseaux d'approvisionnement. Au final, notre projet vise à saisir une partie des interactions économiques et culturelles qui ont lié l'Asie Mineure et le nord de l'Égée au cours de la période archaïque. En guise de conclusion, nous aborderons quelques aspects méthodologiques en lien avec l'analyse des céramiques en laboratoire dont l'approche n'est guère dépourvue de limites et d'obstacles.

Jonathan Perry
University of South Florida, Sarasota Manatee
Session/Séance 8

'Except for those of ancient foundation': Revisiting Numa's *Collegia*"

For a forthcoming Oxford handbook on 'Roman Law and Society', I am again researching the legal underpinnings and

shifting positions of the Roman *fenomeno associativo*. The logical place to begin this sort of survey is Numa's supposed creation of *collegia*, at least as claimed in Plutarch's *Numa* 17. Revisiting Emilio Gabba's famous *JRS* article on the matter in 1984 ('The *Collegia* of Numa: Problems of Method and Political Ideas'), I hope to amplify and extend his argumentation, linking the figure of Numa even more specifically with that of Julius Caesar. This paper concludes that the crediting of Numa with collegial origins came about as the result of a *Lex Julia de collegiis* in 46 BCE, the existence and scope of which have been much debated.

Gabba noticed that neither Cicero nor his contemporaries attributed the foundation of *collegia* to Numa and that there was an alternative tradition, appearing in Florus and according to which Servius Tullius formed *collegia* as a supplement to his census classes. Gabba made a compelling argument for the linking of Numa to the *collegia* 'in the course of the political struggles revolving around the abolition of the *collegia* in the course of the first century' BCE. However, more points could be made in the specific context of Julius Caesar's law, mentioned briefly in Suetonius' life (ch. 42). Among these is the notion that Caesar banned all associations except those that were the most 'ancient', encouraging a quest to locate the licencing of *collegia* within the earliest stages of Roman history, and ideally within the early regal period. Gabba developed a complex political parallel between the appointment of Numa as king and the 'present … factional strife' in the first century, but he did not draw the parallels as closely as he

might between Numa's reign and Caesar's constitutional position in the 40s.

More significantly, Gabba did not take into account the *religious* aspects that attached to Roman associative behaviour, from its earliest stages, and he overlooked the connections between Numa and Caesar in this respect. As religious reformers, most familiarly but not only of the calendar, the two figures were easily conflated in the imagination of the mid-first century. With more enhancement, the notion that Numa was evoked in the debate over the law in 46 would strengthen Gabba's observation that 'early Roman political [and religious?] history' was 'reconstructed', 'along the lines familiar from the political development and the ideological battles of a later age….'

Mariapia Pietropaolo
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 2

"The Aesthetics of Abortion in Ovid's *Amores*"

In a radically anti-elegiac variation of the topos of the sick *puella*, in 2.13 Ovid writes that Corinna is ill because she has had an abortion. When she finds herself pregnant, the Ovidian *puella* subjects herself to an abortion in order to re-establish the elegiac situation. Elegiac love is rooted in physicality and may be said to court the risk of its own negation, since pregnancy would mark the end of the elegiac role that the *puella* plays and the end of Ovidian erotic elegy

itself. It follows that a certain openness to the possibility of an abortion, however grotesque its poetic contemplation may be, is an essential aspect of the *puella qua* elegiac beloved. In *Amores* 2.14 Ovid describes the abortion by means of a graphic image as an act of self-wounding performed in order to re-establish a lapsed elegiac situation. Since Corinna pursues an abortion in order to restore herself to the role of the beloved in an elegiac scenario, the grotesque enters deeply into the genre despite its anti-elegiac nature. Abortion is thus allowed to appear as if intruding into the elegiac world, and disrupting its sense of refinement with a jolt of grotesque aesthetics. In this paper I argue that, as an example of grotesque aesthetics, Ovid's poetic treatment of abortion in *Amores* 2.13 and 2.14 represents an internal anti-elegiac sentiment, an aspect of the unstable and destabilizing logic of the genre. The grotesque and the sense of intrusion that accompanies its appearance in elegy are themselves products of the logic of elegy, as is the tension into which the logic itself appears to be thrown in the course of our interpretive act and in the course of our appreciation of the poetry.

Randall Pogorzelski
University of Western Ontario
Session/Séance 1

"Roman World Conquest in Senecan Tragedy"

The question of Roman world conquest is a significant and unresolved issue in Senecan tragedy. The tragedies address this question by means of mythological figures of

exploration and conquest, especially Hercules, Bacchus, and Cupid. Hercules and Bacchus had a long history of such use, reaching at least as far back as Athenian tragedy, where Herakles is a western geographical power in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* and Dionysos is an eastern geographical power in Euripides' *Bacchae*. Cupid, however, is a relatively new addition to the tradition of geographical exploration and military civilization. Drawing on the Roman Republican tradition of Venus Victrix and the Roman Elegiac tradition of *militia amoris*, Cupid as a world-conquering power in Seneca's *Phaedra* unites the western conquest of Hercules and the eastern conquest of Bacchus, allowing Seneca to raise and problematize the prospect of a Roman world empire.

In 1976, Miriam Griffin argued that one of the greatest difficulties in historical research on Seneca as a politician is that he reveals very little of his thoughts on political policy in his philosophical writing. She expressed particular surprise and frustration at the lack of insight into Seneca's thoughts on Roman conquest and governance of the empire (222). Griffin was right, but that has not prevented subsequent scholarship from successfully analyzing Seneca's approach to the empire and its geography in his philosophy. Gareth Williams, for example, has recently attempted to understand Seneca's philosophical thought on the empire in its own right rather than attempting to uncover the practical policies of Seneca lurking behind his philosophy. This presentation follows Williams' example by understanding Seneca's tragic worldview as a discrete subject, while at the same time

drawing comparative evidence from Seneca's philosophical and political activity.

Although a complete picture of Seneca's treatment of Rome's empire is not possible in a short conference presentation, a brief analysis of three choral passages, namely the second ode of the *Hercules Furens* (on Hercules), the second ode of the *Oedipus* (on Bacchus), and the first ode of the *Phaedra* (on Cupid), will suffice to introduce the problem. Senecan tragedy does not provide us with information about imperial policy, but it shows us an elite Roman of the early Empire struggling to come to terms with Rome's place in the world.

Vernon Provencal
Acadia University
Session/Séance 3

"Socrates as 'Dionysus in Plato's *Symposium*"

It is Alcibiades, of course, who is normally associated with Dionysus in Plato's *Symposium*, and for good reason. Self-crowned with a Bacchic wreath when he bursts in upon Agathon's dinner party intoxicated by Dionysian revelry, Alcibiades appears to *represent himself* as at least *playing* the role of Dionysus, divine patron of theater and symposium. But this paper will ask the audience to consider the implications of interpreting Alcibiades' subsequent encomium to Socrates, whom he crowns with Bacchic ribands, as humbly honoring Socrates as the new, true, Dionysus and philosophy as the new, true, Bacchic *mania*.

From this corrected perspective, the sobriety of a symposium given over to philosophic speeches culminating in Socrates' account of the philosophical ascent of the soul to communion with the divine reveals itself as the new, true, Dionysian mysteries, and the dialogue as a whole to be about the Dionysian power of philosophy. Alcibiades' fanatical attraction to Socrates matches that of a Bacchant's fanatical devotion to Dionysus (not unlike a converted Pentheus), his characterization of Socrates as a satyr and a Silenus who appears human on the outside but is really a god within, equally fits the model of a Socratic Dionysus. Alcibiades' identification of Socrates as Dionysus also makes perfect sense of the conclusion of the dialogue, with Socrates presiding over a dialogue with Agathon and Aristophanes as the new, true Dionysian patron of the theatre. Finally, allowing for Alcibiades' identification of Socrates as the new and true Dionysus effectively displaces the heuristic model of Nietzschean conflict between an Apollonian Socrates and Dionysian Alcibiades with a Platonic model of reconciliation and integration of the Dionysian and Apollonian, tragic and comic, in the soul's philosophic embrace of the divine.

Melanie Racette-Campbell
Concordia University
Session/Séance 4

"The Augustan Crisis of Masculinity and the Transformation of Priapus by Horace and Tibullus"

This paper examines the transformation of the tropes and

imagery of the Priapea in the Priapus poems of Horace (Satires 1.8) and Tibullus (1.4). I shall argue that both poets deflect attention from the more unpalatably graphic aspects of the Priapean corpus (in both senses of the word), but for different ends. I will consider how Horace uses the Priapea in this poem as part of his larger attempt to construct a masculinity that is innate and based in the physical posSession/Séance of the phallus. This conception of an innate masculinity could have circumvented the crisis of masculinity assumed to have taken place in the Augustan period, by making it appear that there never was or could be such a crisis.

The crisis was possible due to the outward focused, performative nature of Roman masculinity; since the sites of performance most valued by elite males (for the most part political and military) were now under the control of Augustus, Roman men found their status as men in crisis. Augustus was heavily invested in maintaining the appearance of a restored republic, but the reality of a new order in which the traditional fields of masculine endeavour had been co- opted by the princeps and his friends and family gave the lie to this pretense. By shifting the site of masculinity from performance to the body, Horace negates the possibility of crisis; his position as more or less official poet of the regime explains why he would take this stance. The setting of the poem on the property of Maecenas, along with the focus on the transformation of waste ground and ejection of disreputable people, further identifies this poem as significant to Augustus' circle and concerns.

Tibullus, on the other hand, can be seen to subvert the aggressive masculine sexuality of the Priapea in favour of the persuasive longing of the elegiac lover, while at the same time drawing upon the possibilities of an elegiac lack of success in romance and sexuality that also lie in the Priapean corpus. Priapus, although he frequently threatens sexual assault and boasts about his conquests, is rarely, if ever, shown actually achieving his goals. This elegiac lack of success combined with an over-valuing (from the perspective of the dominant Roman elite culture) of private pleasure is associated with the rejection of the values of normative masculinity that are a symptom of the Augustan crisis of masculinity, a symptom particularly on display in elegy, but also apparent in, for example, Seneca the Elder's opinion of the young men of the time (Con. 1.pr.8-9).

Priapus poems seem to have enjoyed popularity throughout the various levels of society and literary culture in the Augustan era and are indicative of a specific type of aggressive, phallic, and rustic Roman masculinity. By exploring the ways in which Horace and Tibullus use Priapic imagery to respond to the Augustan crisis of masculinity, I hope to provide insight into the broader symptoms of and response to the crisis.

Felix Racine
McGill University
Session/Séance 11

"From poetry to geospatial analysis: The worlds of Dionysius Periegetes, Avienus and Priscian"

This paper will present insights gained from the use of Geographical Information Software (GIS) to study differences between Dionysius of Alexandria's *Periegesis,* a verse description of the known world from the second century AD, and its Latin translations by Avienus (4th c.) and Priscian (ca. 500). These insights are the result of a project during which all place-names mentioned by Dionysius and his translators were catalogues and mapped on GIS and Google Earth platforms. This database has allowed new lines of textual analysis, highlighting ideological and cultural differences between the three authors:

1) Place-names were weighted according to the length of description in all three authors, revealing the changing importance of places from author to author (e.g. the land of the Nasamones in Libya is described in 2 verses by Dionysius and Priscian but 10 by Avienus).

2) Network maps were created to illustrate relationships between places in these three poems. This allows the identification of nodal points proper to each author, for example Rome, evoked by Avienius in relationship with the river Ister, the river Rhone, the Nasamones and the Germans, symbolizing the extant of Roman conquests (vv.

309-310).

3) Positive and negative descriptions of places were mapped, creating three maps of affection and hostility toward places, peoples and regions.

4) Superimposing Dionysius', Avienus' and Priscian's coverage maps brought to light geographical areas that were neglected by the Greek poet but of interest to his Latin translators. For example, Priscian's extended coverage of the Caucasus and India.

This geospatial approach to geographical descriptions in ancient poetry builds upon recent applications of GIS to literary studies, in particular Ian Gregory's analysis of 18th c. English travel accounts and the Hestia Project's mapping of place-names in Herodotus. This presentation will illustrate the potential rewards of using geospatial techniques in literary analysis, to complement insights gained from traditional philological approaches.

Gillian Ramsey
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 5

"Royal Palaces in Hellenistic Asia Minor"

Asia Minor had a long history as a contested space, whether it was between the Hittite, Lydian, Phrygian, Carian, Persian, Greek, Macedonian, Roman and other polities, and as a result the region was home to an extensive network of royal

capitals and palace installations that were recycled by successive regimes. This paper will consider the maintenance and repurposing of palatial structures under the different powers of Hellenistic Asia Minor, arguing that the ways these places were put to use reflects the nature of royal territorial administration and contacts with subject populations, not on a „centre-periphery" model, but on a model of broadly distributed agency for regional overseers serving peripatetic royal courts. Primary in this is the idea of having multiple palaces to serve as bases for operations, placing the Seleucid, Ptolemaic and Antigonid systems in contrast to the Pergamene Attalids. Beyond the geopolitics of domination, the palaces were centres of economic stimulus and resource management, often located near significant resource locations, such as the placement of Mopsuestia amid the overland and maritime trade linkages and the shipbuilding of Cilicia. Also considered will be the extent to which royal palaces differed from other urban spaces in symbolic value, and how that was a product of the antiquity of the palaces themselves (e.g. Croesus" at Sardis), their usage as markers of conquest (e.g. the transferrals of Ephesus between Ptolemies and Seleucids), or their role as statements of revived claims to rule (e.g. the rebuilding of Lysimacheia in Thrace).

Christian Raschle
Université de Montréal
Session/Séance 11

Magnus Maximus et l'ombre de Théodose I^er^

Parmi les usurpateurs de l'empire romain tardif, c'est surtout Magnus Maximus (383 – 388) qui a cherché à plusieurs occasions de s'associer les représentants de l'église afin de souligner la légitimité de son pouvoir envers Théodose I^er^ et Valentinien II, par lesquels il a été reconnu seulement en printemps 384 après de longues négociations (cf. P. MARAVAL, *Théodose le Grand : le pouvoir et la loi*, Paris 2009, 147-169 avec la littérature récente). Les contacts avec l'évêque de Milan, Ambroise et avec Martin de Tours peuvent être pris comme un point de départ d'une politique délibérée envers les instances de l'église chrétienne de faire accepter son régime et agrandir sa base de légitimité (cf. N. DÖRNER, « Ambrosius in Trier », *Historia* 50, 2001, 217-244 et M. ROBERTS, « Martin meets Maximus : the meaning of a Late Roman banquet. » *REAug* 41, 1995, 91-111). Mais avant tout ce sont la gestion des procès et la persécution sanglante des Priscillianistes ainsi qu'une lettre signée par lui et transmise dans la *Collectio Avellana* (cf. Coll. Avell. ep. 40) qui démontrent que Magnus Maximus s'est prononcé plus distinctivement sur des affaires ecclésiastiques que ses collègues et les autres usurpateurs avant et après lui. Suite aux résultats d'analyse de Joachim Szidat concernant les circonstances, les fondements institutionnelles, politiques et sociales et les conditions favorables à un succès d'une usurpation (cf. J. SZIDAT, *Usurpator tanti nominis*, Stuttgart

2010), nous explorons dans cette communication les motivations possibles qui ont poussé Magnus Maximus à se donner un profil « nicéen » distincte dans ses actions politiques. Particulièrement nous émettons l'hypothèse que Magnus Maximus veut imiter l'empereur Théodose I^{er} et sa vision de la place de l'empereur dans les affaires de l'église, parce qu'il se promet à la fois un soutien plus prononcé par l'hiérarchie ecclésiastique et les cercles proches à elle, et celui de son collègue le plus dangereux sur le plan militaire (cf. Pan. Lat. 12, 24 concernant les rumeurs qui prétendaient que Magnus Maximus a pris le pourpre avec l'accord de Théodose I^{er}). Dans ce contexte nous allons discuter en quoi l'approche sociologique concernant la légitimité du pouvoir selon Max Weber et ses critiques comme Egon Flaig (cf. E. FLAIG, *Den Kaiser herrausfordern*, Frankfurt /Main 1992) et Jon Lendon (J. LENDON, *Empire of Honour : The Art of Government in the Roman World,* Oxford 1997) doit servir comme outil d'analyse afin de mieux expliquer les relations entre empereur et église dans l'Occident (cf. SZIDAT 2010, 162-4 qui explique la reconnaissance du nouveau empereur par l'église comme un acte cérémoniel, qui n'est pas politiquement important, ni recherché activement par les empereurs). Magnus Maximus est plus actif sur ce point parce qu'il veut sortir de l'ombre de Théodose I^{er}, un ombre qui s'est perpétué jusqu'à nos jours dans l'historiographie sur Magnus Maximus.

Jonathan Reeves
McMaster University
Session/Séance 5

"The Invasions of the Archidamian War and their Impact on the Athenian Rural Economy"

The complaints of displaced Athenian farmers resounding in Aristophanic Comedy (e.g. *Ach.* 32-3, 994-9; *Peace* 550-581, 596-7, 708-6, 1185-6) and the moving description in Thucydides (2.14-17) of the abandonment of Attica in the face of the Spartan-led invasions of the Archidamian War are well known. So evocative are these passages that past generations of scholars understood them as evidence for widespread and long-term damage to the Athenian rural economy (e.g. Glotz 1926; Mitchell 1957; Mossé 1962). The publication of *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece* (1983), in which V. D. Hanson argues for the inability of ancient Greek armies to significantly damage their enemies' agricultural economy, has led to a great sea-change in scholarly opinion. Many scholars now believe with Hanson that such passages in Aristophanes and Thucydides reflect more strongly an emotional reaction to the loss of Attica to marauding Peloponnesians than a reasoned calculation of economic loss (Erdkamp 1998 and Thorne 2001 are notable exceptions). Furthermore, there is now broad acceptance of Hanson's related hypothesis, articulated in two further influential works (1989, 1995), that the chief aim in the agricultural devastation practiced by ancient Greek armies was not to disrupt or vitiate the rural economy of enemy poleis *per se*, but rather to present a symbolic and

emotionally charged challenge to hoplite battle.

Much of the support for Hanson's theses, however, comes from what evidence there is for damage to vines and olive trees. Hanson provides a convincing analysis of the ancient evidence as well as invaluable experiential knowledge of oleiculture and viticulture to show that these hardy plants were nearly impossible to destroy using ancient methods in large enough numbers to have much of an economic impact at the polis level. Damage to cereal crops, however, has received much less attention in Hanson's work. Barley and wheat, while much more vulnerable than the grape or olive, are assumed by Hanson and others to have been beyond the reach of systematic devastation simply by virtue of dispersed landholding and due to the great size of Attica. Several factors relating to the nature and scope of the invasions of Attica between 431 and 425, however, have been overlooked in this assumption: the size of the invading forces; the mobility of men under arms; and the need of these men to support themselves through foraging the same territory that they aim to despoil. The observation that both invaders and defenders relied on the agricultural resources of Attica, especially cereal foodstuffs, even if only for a few weeks of the year, suggests the possibility that huge quantities of Attic produce will have been lost to Athenian farmers.

Drawing on the testimony of Thucydides and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* this paper will show that the invasions of the Archidamian War were of an unprecedented scope and nature and, through an examination of these invasions with

respect to the destruction/consumption of cereal crops, will show that the Spartan-led attacks on Athenian agriculture during the Archidamian War brought significant economic pressure to bear on Athens and resulted in a disruption to the city's food supply that had real socio-economic and political consequences. I will show that while it was not until the late stages of the Peloponnesian War that Athens faced a food shortage crisis, the privations of the Archidamian War nevertheless were enough to cause serious reverberations throughout Athenian society.

Bertolín Reyes
University of Calgary
Session/Séance 1

"Coaches in Greek athletics: what the inscriptions reveal."

If a person studies Greek athletics based on Philostratos and Pindar there are two basic assumptions concerning coaches to be made

1) there were 2 types of coaches, the gymnastes or high performance coach and the paidotribes or community level coach and

2) coaches were not mentioned because their presence jeopardized the aristocratic ideal.

However, the inscriptions reveal a very different picture. First of all the presence of the gymnastes is minimal (less than 5 inscriptions in all volumes of IG). On the other hand, the paidotribes was ubiquitous. The paidotribai were professionals hired by the cities either on an annual basis or

for life, they were recognized professionals and were honoured publicly for their work with children and youth and they were certainly capable of coaching their students to a level past the introductory one.

In this paper I will comment on some inscriptions in order to illustrate the role of coaches in Greek athletics beyond what literary sources tell us.

Pauline Ripat
University of Winnipeg
Session/Séance 4

"When in Rome: Cursing in a Local Context"

Of the dozens of curse tablets emanating from the city of Rome and its environs, the corpus of so-called 'Sethian' tablets – late fourth century CE, against charioteers, elaborate, and in Greek – has long attracted the most scholarly attention (see most recently Wilburn 2012: 1-9). The remainder of Roman curses – a heterogeneous collection of generally earlier, simpler, and Latin tablets – has received considerably less. Interest in the Sethians has been assured by their similarities and parallels with tablets in other parts of the ancient world since studies of ancient cursing have often sought to establish its characteristics and motivations as pan-Mediterranean (e.g. Versnel 2010). Changes over time in cursing tradition are similarly treated as phenomena little connected to specific location or context (contrast Gordon and Simón 2010: 28, who urge a focus on the local in future studies). Contrary to these

established approaches, this paper argues that perspective can be gained on cursing ritual, and its shifting purpose and social place, by considering the changes observable from the collected corpus of Roman curse tablets. For example, early, first century BCE tablets appear to be responsive to Roman funerary ritual and are generally deposited among the recently dead (e.g. Fox 1912); later tablets, such as the Sethians, eschew traditional Roman funerary resonances in favour of pan-Mediterranean 'magic' and employ old and dilapidated tombs as sites of deposition (e.g. Jordan 2002). These changes may suggest that not only cursing ritual, but even the definition of 'magic' as it pertains to curse tablets, could be more chronologically- and locally-determined than is often thought.

Bruce Robertson
Mount Allison University
Session/Séance 4

"'Lace': A Collection of High-Quality Polytonic Greek OCR"

This paper presents *Lace*, a first-of-its-kind collection of nearly 700 digitized volumes of public-domain works containing polytonic Greek script. These were generated through the optical character recognition (OCR) of page images using the presenter's specially devised set of programs running on a high performance computer allocated by a 2012/13 Humanities Computing grant from Compute Canada.

Until recently, polytonic Greek OCR did not produce high-quality results. So, while the digitization of Latin-script text has progressed rapidly in open collections like Internet Archive or in academic library consortia such as HathiTrust, and this has allowed them to be reused, reedited or presented in new collections or digital editions that use new techniques of visualization or computational analysis, ancient Greek page images in these same collections have remained largely impenetrable.

Drawing principally on the works available through Internet Archive, *Lace* provides a broad variety of texts freely and without legal encumbrance. There are many collections of fragments and papyri, including Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* and Koerte's *Metrodori Epicurei Fragmenta.* Complete or near-complete series include the volumes in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, Cramner's *Catena Graecorum Patrum* and Meyer's *Critical and Exegetical Handbook*, a biblical commentary. Results like these are being used by scholars around the world, including members of the Society for Biblical Literature, individual scholars such as Christopher Francese at Dickinson College, and, most importantly, the Digital Philology group at Leipzig University, which plans to fund the editing of these results in order eventually provide a complete, accurate and open library of Greek texts.

Finally, the results in Lace are being used automatically to train newer, faster and simpler OCR engines, improving results on even the most difficult texts. An important example is the 161 volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*,

which a recent study shows contains 58% of all the ancient Greek works that are not yet available in unencumbered license. (*TLG* prohibits "the publication of a Greek text from materials supplied by *TLG* if such text does not reflect the addition of significant value by the editor" and has threatened legal action agains those it sees as contravening the user agreement.) Samples of the roughly 75,000 Greek-containing pages of Migne were rendered with about 94% character accuracy using new OCR engines even before the usual OCR post-processing, such as automatic spellcheck.

Jessica Romney
University of Bristol
Session/Séance 11

"You are What You Eat: Consumption in Greek Epic, Elegy, and Lyric"

From the Homeric epics to sympotic poetry of the 7th and 6th centuries, Greek poetry reflects a growing concern among the elite about the allocation and consumption of resources, especially the consumption of wine and food. In part, this concern derives from the connection made between the consumption of resources and the posSession/Séance of political privileges; the way in which people consume wine or food reflects directly upon their ability to handle political power. One is not only *what* one consumes, but *how* one eats or drinks.

By examining the depiction of inappropriate food consumption in the epic and lyric genres, this paper seeks to

illustrate the primacy of the consumption of food and drink in the performance of elite identity and as a form of (de)legitimizing political rhetoric. Sympotic studies reveal that the amount and manner of wine consumption is integral to elite identity and discourse for the Archaic period. Such studies provide a starting point for my examination of the role of food consumption in Archaic political rhetoric. Although the role of food has been examined in regards to the Athenian orators and the Aristophanic comedies, it has not been the focus of studies concerning Archaic poetry and political rhetoric.

The discourses of wine and food consumption are complementary: the former primarily looks inward, defining elite identity and behaviour in interactions with other elites, while the latter looks outwards and regulates elite behaviour with respect to the wider community and its resources. For the pre-industrial world, the manner of food consumption is a particularly salient performance of status because of the necessity of food to human life; proper food consumption by elites thereby reveals a concern for the community's survival and asserts their right to rule. Thus, in the Archaic period we see the characterization of political rivals as ravenous and as eating the wrong things, namely the *polis* or *demos.* As 'others'— women (e.g., Sem. 7), foreigners (e.g., Hom. *Od.* 9), and political rivals (e.g., Sol. 4.9-10; Alc. 129.21-4)—are represented negatively in their drinking and eating habits, the opposing, positive drinking and eating habits and their associated political behavior define the 'Greek male' and from him the aristocrat by the moderate, restrained consumption that is shared 'equally' in the *eises dais*.

Catherine Rubincam
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 9

"The Rhetoric of Numbers in Greek Historiography"

Historiography, being a narrative genre, devoted to giving an account of events, offers less scope for direct expression of opinion than a more personal genre such as (e.g.) lyric poetry. Historians may, nevertheless, pause their narratives on occasion to address the reader directly with an expression of their opinions on the events being narrated, the errors and omissions of their predecessors, or their general views on how history ought to be written. Ancient Greek historians vary in the frequency with which they indulge in such explicit expressions of opinion: Xenophon does so very rarely; Thucydides somewhat less rarely; Herodotus and Polybius much more frequently.

Such explicit authorial statements inserted into the narrative, however, are not the only means by which historians show their feelings. No less important, although less obvious, are the covert signals given by the rhetorical structure of the narrative. This subject has lately begun to attract a new kind of attention thanks to a few scholars' application of narratological techniques to the analysis of ancient historical narratives (Hornblower 1994; Rood 1998).

The numbers in a historical narrative are a frequently overlooked area of emotional expression. The choice of what numbers to give and how to express them evidently

contributes to the rhetorical shaping of the narrative. This paper will focus on one often overlooked means by which numbers are given rhetorical effect, namely, the qualifying expressions attached to some of them.

Ancient Greek historians use many different qualifying expressions, serving various different purposes. The commonest type expresses approximation, signalling that the number qualified is in the neighbourhood of the real number (which may or may not be known to the writer). Examples of such expressions in Greek are: *peri, malista, hôs, isôs*; another way of indicating approximation is by an alternative formulation mentioning two numbers (e.g., "three *and/or* four"). Less common are the types of qualification that make a comparison (e.g., "more than", "not less than", "above") and those that emphasize the smallness or largeness of the number mentioned (e.g., "only" or "even"). These latter two types of qualification are the major means by which numbers in Greek historical narrative are given a rhetorical spin, which shows indirectly the author's emotions concerning the event in question.

This paper argues that attention to these details can illuminate the rhetorical structure of a historical narrative, and thus also the author's interests and methods, in ways that need to be taken into account by those interpreting it as a historical source (Rubincam 2012:103 and 121-122).

David Rupp
Canadian Institute in Greece
Session/Séance 3

"Field work of the Canadian Institute in Greece: 2013"

The Canadian Institute in Greece is pleased to report results of field work carried out by Canadian scholars in Greece under its auspices. Projects in the field this past year included Jacques Perreault's Université de Montréal excavations at the Archaic to Hellenistic period site of Argilos in northern Greece, Margriet Haagsma's University of Alberta excavations at the Hellenistic site known by its modern name, Kastro Kallithea, Brendan Burke's University of Victoria excavations at the Bronze Age and Classical site of Eleon in Boiotia, and Tristan Carter's McMaster University survey of the Bronze Age chert knapping site on the island of Naxos.

Mike Sampson
University of Manitoba
Session/Séance 10

"A New Fragment from a Late Antique Account"

P.Mich. inv. 506 is an early seventh century text containing a small portion from the end of an accounting ledger. The papyrus was purchased in March/April 1920 by Francis Kelsey and Bernard Grenfell as part of a series of purchases (totaling 534 documents) which established the collection of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The hand, based on

both internal evidence and affinity with that of the securely dated *P.Oxy*. 55.3979, establishes the date of the text as 602, 617, or 632 CE.

This paper will discuss the papyrus in the light of evidence from parallel texts before turning to an examination of both the numerous problems it raises and the palaeographical idiosyncrasies it contains. Although the account is structurally formulaic and its internal divisions clear, the individual entries leave many questions about the nature of the account unanswered: it is, curiously, an account for three non-consecutive months (Mesore, Choiak, and Phamenoth), and its entries regularly leave the units at stake (e.g. of measurement or currency) unspecified! What is more, as is the case in many late antique documents, the rapidity of the scribe's work results in an abundance of abbreviations and tachygraphic marks which defy interpretation and complicate analysis. After examining the fragment's five extant entries and untying their individual difficulties, the paper concludes with the presentation of a critical edition.

Rebecca Sears
Wake Forest University
Session/Séance 2

"Sucis Hecateidos herbae:" A magical curiosity in Ovid's Arachne episode"

Ovid opens Book 6 of the *Metamorphoses* with an extended narrative describing the weaving contest between Athena

and Arachne, one of several such unequal 'contests' between mortal and immortal artists depicted in the poem (most recently from the reader's perspective, the poetic competition between the Pierides and Muses in Book 5). While prior readings of the Arachne myth, most recently those of Rosati, Feldherr, and Oliensis, focus on the programmatic aspect of the paired *ecphrases* of Athena's and Arachne's tapestries, in this paper, I call attention to a somewhat overlooked aspect of Ovid's narrative. When Athena transforms Arachne into a spider at the conclusion of the (in)famous weaving contest, her use of a magical potion, a *medicamen* (*Met.* 6.140), should come as a surprise to Ovid's readers, who are by now accustomed to divinities enacting transformations without recourse to the *artes magicae*. Although A. M. Tupet subjects lines 6.139-140 ("post ea discedens sucis Hecateidos herbae / sparsit") to closer scrutiny in a 1985 article, she is primarily concerned with establishing whether or not these lines indicate a clear instance of a magical operation. The few other interpretations of this episode which do comment upon Athena's employment of a potion as the medium for Arachne's transformation (e.g. Oliensis, 289 and Segal, 10-11) content themselves with associating the inappropriateness of the goddess's actions specifically with her uncharacteristic loss of poise and Olympian detachment, assimilating the use of magical power into the power dynamics of the passage as a whole. However, these approaches fail to address the core incongruity of the Arachne episode: namely, that the use of a potion implies that her transformation specifically into a spider is the pre-conceived outcome of the contest and not a spontaneous

reaction to it, as the narrative directly surrounding the act suggests (cf. the recent parallel observation of Hejduk on line 6.25). I argue that Ovid's use of magic in the Arachne narrative is not merely an effect of the hyperbolic characterization of Athena's rage, but rather positions this episode, at the beginning of the second pentad, in terms of the increasing prominence of magic within the epic's self-constructed cosmos as an alternative to the direct application of divine power.

Donald Sells
University of Michigan
Session/Séance 8

"Prostitution and Pilgrimage in Aristophanes' *Peace*"

This paper explores the political significance of an obscure, often ignored, female personification in Aristophanes' early play, *Peace* (421 BCE). The climax of this comedy sees the quasi-divine 'Theôria' – a personification of the act of attendance, participation in, and administration of Greek festivals – emerge from an underground prison as an attendant of the goddess 'Peace'. The return of the latter, sacred figure to the world above through the efforts of the comic hero, Trygaeus, fantastically ends the traumas of the Peloponnesian War. By characterizing Peace's attendant, Theôria, as a *hetaira* engaged in a spirited bout of group sex with multiple Greek youths, and by framing this erotic encounter as a series of competitive athletic events at a festival (894-904), Aristophanes allegorizes Athens' return to, and enjoyment of, an idealized state of Greek

panhellenism.

While *theôria* has no precise analogue in the modern world – it has been variously described as, for example, 'pilgrimage' (Dillon 1997), 'ritual spectatorship' (Nightingale 2004), and 'the right of festival attendance' (Hall 2006) – scholarship of the last two decades has thoroughly demonstrated its importance as an institution of 'inter-*polis* contact' (Kowalzig 2005). Theôria, like her personified counterpart and fellow attendant, 'Opôra' ('Agricultural Harvest'), is portrayed as an attractive young girl whose sexual availability evokes the benefits of peacetime life promised by the imminent Peace of Nikias, which was only days away from being ratified. Although both females represent characteristically Greek institutions enjoying renewal in postwar Greece, the social identities of Opôra and Theôria could not be more different. Opôra is clearly a free-born citizen marked out for marriage to the comic hero (706-7). Theôria is a prostitute, bequeathed as a 'plaything' from Trygaeus to the *boulê* (Sommerstein 2005: 171), the council of five hundred tasked with *inter alia* organizing religious festivals at home and Athens' representation at festivals abroad (Rhodes 1972). The return of *theôria* the institution is imagined as a panhellenic celebration with Theôria at the center of a symposiastic orgy. This orgy is likened to a series of athletic competitions in which Theôria is 'wrestled to the ground' and 'placed on all fours' (896b) before being 'thrown on her side' and 'bent over' (896b). The fun ends with equestrian events (899-904). Shared Hellenic culture is thus assimilated to the shared enjoyment of a *hetaira*'s sexual favors.

The sexual use of Theôria in *Peace* reflects Old Comedy's preference for the body of the sex-worker over that of the wife (e.g., Opôra) and the institution of marriage, when conceptualizing Athenian international relations. Analogous depictions of comic panhellenism deploying similar erotic imagery of females of marginal status can be found in Aristophanes' *Knights* (424 BC) and *Lysistrata* (411 BC), and Eupolis' *Cities* (late 420s).

Allison Surtees
University of Winnipeg
Session/Séance 9

"Statuarie en Contextes"

L'étude de la sculpture romaine, abordée sous l'angle de ses relations avec la sculpture grecque, a longtemps été matière à controverse. Les premières études consacrées aux marbres romains vraisemblablement inspirés d'originaux grecs, comme celles d'Adolf Furtwängler, ont principalement regardé ces pièces comme de simples œuvres d'imitation. Les connaissances classiques des érudits et des collectionneurs de la fin du XIXe siècle ont grandement orienté ces études qui cherchaient avant tout à associer les découvertes romaines aux œuvres des célèbres sculpteurs grecs connus dans la littérature antique. Au cours des années 1970, les œuvres sont dès lors remises dans leur contexte « romain » et abordées comme de pures productions romaines, éludant du coup tout rapprochement avec la Grèce antique. Ces deux visions diamétralement

opposées cherchaient donc à définir l'origine de l'artisanat romain selon deux pôles de réflexion. Or, lorsque l'on examine plus attentivement le mobilier et les contextes archéologiques entourant l'univers de ces œuvres, il apparaît qu'un certain nombre de ces pièces possède une vie et un usage qui transcendent les limites étroites de ces deux modèles. Afin d'en faire la démonstration, nous utiliserons les statues au type de « Satyre verseur » comme étude de cas. Ces modèles, largement diffusés, ont été documentés d'après les deux mêmes visions classiques de la statuaire romaine : les travaux anciens les ont exclusivement abordés en comparaison avec les œuvres du célèbre sculpteur grec du IVe siècle av. J.-C. Praxitèle tandis que les études récentes les considèrent comme des productions romaines dépourvues de tout lien avec l'art grec. Au moyen de l'étude de nombreux vestiges représentant la posture des « Satyres verseurs » – tels que le monument chorégique de Lysicrate, des bas-reliefs à scènes de banquet du IVe siècle et de nombreuses statues datées de la période romaine – cette communication s'intéressera aux contextes archéologiques entourant la production de ce type de statuaires. L'analyse des données colligées débouchera sur l'émergence d'un portrait plus nuancé et complexe de cette image à la fois très répandue dans l'Athènes du IVe siècle et dans la Rome impériale.

Laura Surtees (with Margriet Haagsma and Sophia Karapanou)
University of Pennsylvania
Session/Séance 9

"Picking Up the Pieces: The Interpretation of ceramics from Survey Context at Kastro Kallithea in Thessaly"

Scattered across the surface of ancient sites are the remnants of ancient cultures. In recent years, archaeological surface surveys have demonstrated their validity and importance for identifying and analyzing ancient sites. Ceramics, primarily plain (unpainted) wares, comprise the bulk of this data yet the fragmentary and worn condition of the surface assemblage creates methodological problems for their interpretation. The collection of large quantity of ceramics requires adequate storage facilities, often difficult to acquire, and has led to an intense theoretical debate on sampling strategies. Conscious of the practical and ethical implications of fieldwork, archaeologists have devised various collection strategies to minimize the modern impact on archaeological sites and reduce sample size. The focus has been on creating representative sampling strategies rather than formulating a methodology for the interpretation of these finds. In this paper, we will explore the ceramic evidence from the intensive urban survey at Kastro Kallithea in Thessaly (Greece) to demonstrate the relevance of establishing a theoretical framework within which to study the ceramic assemblages. As a predominantly Hellenistic site, with little post-abandonment activity, Kastro Kallithea provides us with a unique opportunity to assess

survey methodology and the impact of post-depositional processes on the surface material. The intensive urban survey has yielded over 4000 sherds from across the site, yet only about 300 of those sherds are diagnostic. These diagnostic sherds provide chronological data and help to identify the use of space throughout the city. But then are the other 3700 sherds uninformative? A comparative analysis between the fabrics of non-diagnostic and diagnostic fabrics sherds draws correlations between fabric types and form. In doing so, a more detailed and representative picture of the density and distribution of vessel types across the site emerge, allowing for greater identification and understanding of the organization of localized and city-wide activities.

John Tamm
Independent Scholar
Session/Séance 10

"Roman Silverware: The Curious Case of the Drinking Horn"

The first centuries BC and AD contained the first great period of Roman silverware production. Display pieces, 'toilet' silver and, especially, banqueting silver, all became popular; apart from the practical considerations, ownership and use of such items was a mechanism by which an individual's or a household's wealth, status, and refinement could be demonstrated. (Conversely, a lack of silverware could be taken as a sign of poverty and degradation, as Suetonius (*Dom*. 1) remarked with respect to the childhood of Domitian.) This popularity is also confirmed by the frequency with which silver items appear in the visual arts, especially wall-painting, and by references to, and discussions of, silverware in the writers of the period.
This body of evidence does, however, raise many questions. For extant pieces, typologies are uncertain, and the connexions between forms and terms even more so. Nor are vessel functions always clear. The wall-paintings, often but not exclusively depictions of banqueting, may reflect contemporary Roman life, but need not. Over all this lies the grander issue of the roles silverware played in Roman society.

One item, the drinking horn, is particularly problematic. It features prominently in the visual arts of the period, but receives scant mention in the literature and, at least in its

silver version, is absent from the material remains. In this paper I shall first discuss the artistic and literary evidence for drinking horns, and then suggest ways in which to interpret their presence in Roman art and society.

Gaétan Thériault
Université du Québec à Montréal
Session/Séance 1

"Athènes et le culte des bienfaiteurs à la basse époque hellénistique : honneurs civiques et privés."

En Grèce ancienne, les cultes rendus en l'honneur d'hommes exceptionnels ont tenu une place notable parmi les activités religieuses de plusieurs cités. Comme on sait, la pratique devint assez courante à l'époque hellénistique, alors que le culte royal et celui de grands bienfaiteurs atteignirent leur apogée; concours, processions, hymnes, statues de culte, sanctuaires, temples et sacrifices, tout concourait désormais à faire de ces personnages des êtres à part. La grande cité athénienne n'a naturellement pas échappé au phénomène. Là plus qu'ailleurs même, le culte civique des bienfaiteurs connut une essor considérable. Dans les faits, les témoignages conservés montrent toutefois que se côtoient alors, dans ce domaine, honneurs civiques et privés. On note en effet que certaines corporations ont institué leurs propres cultes des bienfateurs ou ont été étroitement associées aux cultes civiques de certains évergètes, rois ou citoyens. L'exemple athénien n'est pas unique et appuie l'idée que, tant dans le rôle des assemblées, dans le vote des honneurs et du vocabulaire qui en découlait, dans la forme

de leurs décrets que dans la vie politique et diplomatique, certaines corporations athéniennes se comportaient comme des « cités en miniatures », « un État dans l'État ».

John Thorp
University of Western Ontario
Session/Séance 3

There is a well-known question about Aristotle's view of rhetoric: on the one hand he inherited the typical Platonic disdain for rhetoric as a concealer of truth; but on the other he throws himself with verve into the elaboration of a rhetorical manual. This paper points up a little-noticed Aristotelian justification for rhetoric, one that sees rhetorical contests as means for *discovering* the truth (*Rhet.* 1355a 21-24 & 36-39); it asks how such an optimistic view might be grounded.

Christopher Tindale
University of Windsor
Session/Séance 3

"Socrates and the Art of Rhetoric"

For Aristotle, rhetoric and dialectic are distinct but complementary. He suggests that rhetoric is the *antistrophos* of dialectic, and that they each can contribute to the same subject from different directions. This understanding builds on some of the positive remarks on rhetoric to be found in Plato. The traditional assumption that Plato's view of rhetoric is essentially negative is

contradicted by the Socrates of the *Phaedrus* in both his professed love of speeches (which challenges what he asserts elsewhere) and his knowledge of contemporary rhetoric. This points toward a quite different relationship between dialectic and rhetoric in the *Phaedrus*, where the art of rhetoric is not set in contrast to dialectic but, rather, the two are reconciled in the philosopher skilled at dialectic.

Drawn from a larger project on the *Phaedrus*, this paper explores Socrates' understanding of rhetoric, both in its contemporary form and the new model that Plato proposes with a view to understanding the structure and import of the universal art of *psychagogia*. What is gained and what is lost in transforming the art of rhetoric into an art of *psychagogia*?

Valérie Toillon
Université de Montréal
Session/Séance 3

"Un char, une sirène, Héraclès. Fonction iconographique de la Sirène perchée sur les rênes d'un char dans l'imagerie grecque archaïque."

Une petite série de vases (une hydrie et quatre amphores à figures noires, et une coupe à figures rouges) datés de la seconde moitié du VIe s. av. J-C présente, avec peu de variations, une scène curieuse : un char conduit par un homme seul ou transportant un couple, sur les rênes est perchée une Sirène. Ce motif est parfois lié à la représentation d'un exploit héroïque tiré de la geste

d'Héraclès (le Lion de Némée, l'affrontement avec Géryon, le trépied de Delphes), présent sur l'autre face du vase. Le déplacement en char se rattache à deux types d'action : d'une part une action vive, avec un char lancé à pleine vitesse et d'autre part une scène de mariage, où le char semble se déplacer lentement. Dans les deux cas, la Sirène est perchée sur les rênes ou s'apprête à se poser dessus. Une chose est sûre : la Sirène ne permet pas d'indiquer l'idée de vitesse car elle ne vole pas. Sa fonction au sein de ces images semble bien plus complexe. Il semble qu'il faille chercher des éléments de réponse dans le rôle de médiateur entre le monde des vivants et des morts que remplit la Sirène dans l'iconographie archaïque. La Sirène, dans ce cas aurait une fonction de guide qui permet le passage sauf vers l'au-delà. Mais que penser de la Sirène lorsqu'elle est associée explicitement à Héraclès ? Cela a-t-il à voir avec une des variantes du mythe de la naissance des Sirènes dans laquelle Héraclès joua un rôle majeur ? Dans ce cas, les scènes de ce type s'inscrivent dans un arrière-plan mythologique complexe et semblent signifier bien plus que l'idée du simple passage sauf vers l'au-delà. Il s'agira alors de proposer une interprétation du motif, en prenant en compte les diverses fonctions iconographiques de la Sirène, le lien avec l'idée de déplacement en char et le rôle que joua Héraclès lors de la naissance des Sirènes.

Robert Tordoff
York University
Session/Séance 8

"Oligarchy and the poetics of memory in Aristophanes' *Assembly Women*"

It remains a problem in the interpretation of Aristophanes' *Assembly Women* that the assembly at which the women are voted into power is convened to debate the *sôtêria* ('salvation' / 'security') of the city, and the play uses the word more than any extant work of Aristophanes (*Eccl.* 202, 396, 401, 412), yet nothing in the historical background to *Assembly Women* has seemed to warrant such a sense of high emergency (Ober 1998:150; Reinders 2001:251; Sommerstein 1998:18). In this paper it is argued that the inspiration for the sense of political urgency in *Assembly Women* may be traced to the circumstances in which Andocides delivered his assembly speech *On the Peace* in the earlier part of 392/1. The chronology supports the most influential current view of the likely date of *Assembly Women*'s original production (i.e. that it was first performed in 391: cf. Sommerstein 1998:5–7). In late 392 Andocides addressed an assembly gripped by a panic (stirred up by the proponents of renewed imperialism and radical democracy) over a return of oligarchy if Athens were to make peace with Sparta (Andoc. 3.1, 10; Missiou 1992:55–67). *Assembly Women* is inspired by the spectre of oligarchic revolution at Athens in ways similar to *Lysistrata* and *Women at the Thesmophoria*, both produced in 412/11 as the city was heading towards revolution, and both not coincidentally

featuring female conspiracies. Contrary, therefore, to the widespread view that *Assembly Women* is not topical or engaged with political issues of the 390s (for such views, see David 1984:1n.1), the play actually is inspired by immediately contemporary events; more importantly, however, it is engaged with the politics of Athens' *history* in a way that Aristophanes' earlier works are not.

Assembly Women makes memory the key to its poetics in Praxagora's prologue speech. In line 23 she refers to something a man called Phyromakhos once said adding the aside 'if you still remember that.' Those words are unique in Aristophanes: nowhere else does he suggest that the audience might have to work hard to remember something. Moreover, a number of passages in the play recall political events well over a decade into the past (e.g. 183–8, 243–4, 329–30), a range of historical reference very unusual in Aristophanes. Recently, one scholar has read *Assembly Women* in a historical perspective reaching back to 403 (Scholtz 2007:71–109), but the fact that in this play the assembly votes to abandon democracy, as the real assembly had done in 411, shows that Aristophanes wrote with a historical perspective stretching back more than twenty years to the aftermath of the Sicilian Expedition and the first oligarchic revolution in 411.

Since the time of the Sicilian Expedition, *sôtêria* had been a topic of enormous concern at Athens, as is demonstrated by its heightened incidence in Euripides' plays of those years (e.g. *Helen* 1027, 1031, 1034, 1055, 1291*; IT* 487, 594, 905, 979, 1413; cf. Garzya 1962:75–84, 92– 102). The term was

clearly one favoured by the oligarchs in 412/11 (Thuc. 8.53.2, 53.3, 54.1, 72.1, 86.3; Ar. *Lys*. 497-501; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 29.2; cf. Bertelli 1983: 251–2; Bieler 1951; David 1984: 23; Faraone 1997: 56–7), and democrats fought a long battle to recuperate *sôtêria* as a property democratic rule (e.g. Thuc. 8. 75.3, 81.1, 82.1; Lys. 12.26, 14.10, 28.15; Andoc. 3.12). By giving *sôtêria* and cognate lexical items such prominence in *Assembly Women*, Aristophanes evoked a two-decades long history of ideological struggle and cued his audience to reflect on their experiences of Athens' years of revolution (412/11–404/3). In this light, it becomes clear why paradoxically certain aspects of Praxagora's polis are strongly reminiscent of Sparta (e.g. David 1984: 26–7; Dettenhofer 1999), while others look like a meditation on or a *reductio ad absurdum* of Athenian democracy (e.g. Ober 1998:122–155; Rothwell 1990). For *Assembly Women* is not so much *about* Sparta or Athenian democracy as it is about the history of Athenian political discourse about democracy and oligarchy, not to mention the abuse of history as excoriated by Andocides (3.3–9) and not long before explored by Thucydides (esp. 6.53–9, 8.45– 98). This paper shows that *Assembly Women* is indeed politically topical but its topicality appears in an allusive historicizing guise, for what is most importantly topical in Athens in 392/1 was precisely social memory and ideological struggle over the nature of Athens' past (e.g. Loraux 1986:132–71; cf. Steinbock 2013:1–99).

Lisa Trentin
University of Toronto Mississauga
Session/Séance 7

"Touch, Tactility and the Reception of Roman Sculpture"

In what ways did ancient audiences experience ancient art? Recently, this question has been approached through analysis of the senses, with a developing series devoted exclusively to *The Senses in Antiquity* (Acumen Publishing). Although sight has traditionally dominated discussions of ancient art appreciation, especially in relation to theories of looking at art in an ocularcentric paradigm of the viewer/viewing experience, recent scholarship in Classics has highlighted the rich and varied multi-sensory experiences associated with sight *and* sound, smell and touch in the appreciation, evaluation and understanding of the arts. It is the sense of touch and the tangible and tactile encounters with ancient art, a still relatively un(der)explored aspect of sensory experience, that occupies this present inquiry, particularly in relation to Roman sculpture.

Using Johnson's (2004) and Stewart's (2003) works as a launch pad, this paper will explore the range of physical engagement between art viewer and art object in relation to Roman sculpture, both small-scale and large-scale, as documented by ancient literary sources and drawing upon other forms of visual evidence (e.g. vase and wall-paintings). Touch, either real or implied, was, without question, important in the reception of Roman sculpture; an importance demonstrated by the tactile, three-dimensional

nature of sculpture and emphasized in its contrasting characteristics (e.g. in color to highlight certain physical features, like hair and lips, in clothing to highlight textures, like folds of thick drapery, and in the addition of metal accouterments, like jewelry or armor). However, large-scale public works of art were often literally out of hands' reach and physical contact seems to have been prohibited, accompanied by a certain level of anxiety about the dangers of handling sculpted objects inappropriately. Conversely, small-scale, private works of art demanded an intimate viewing experience: to be held, caressed and admired up close. Indeed, *not* to touch these works would be to miss a great deal of their attraction. But this kind of physical contact could also elicit mixed responses to the tempting tactility of sculpture. To touch, or not to touch, seems to have been the pressing question for ancient Roman audiences, one that could fundamentally transform a viewer's experience and his/her relationship to art object.

Adrian Tronson
University of New Brunswick (Fredericton)
Session/Séance 9

"Alexander and the God of the Jews: speculations on the original source and historicity of Josephus *AJ* 11, 302-343"

Although Alexander's obviously fictionalized encounter with the Jews in 333/332 BC related in Josephus *AJ* 11, the *gamma* recension of the 'Greek Alexander Romance, 2. 22–24' and in certain rabbinical sources (cited by R. Marcus) is frequently discussed in the context of Judeo-Hellenistic

history (e.g. Tcherikover, Schäfer, Gruen), it is attested in none of the canonical Alexander histories (i.e. Diodorus, Justin, Curtius, Plutarch, Arrian) and barely features in the standard modern histories. Yet there are grounds for taking it more seriously from the point of view of *Quellenkritik*, historiography and ancient perceptions of Alexander's character, policies and strategy.

Although Josephus' immediate source was most likely Hasmonean (thus Gruen), I propose that stripped of political, ideological and propagandistic accretions, the bare facts of the episode (the Jews surrender to Alexander and he honours their deity and gives benefits) coincide with key events of Alexander's progress from the Hellespont through Cilicia, the Levant and down to Egypt, as recounted in the canonic accounts. The geographical references in the sparse but telling fragments of the original historical account of the campaign, the *Alexandrou Praxeis* of Callisthenes, when arranged in chronological order, map the king's sometimes curious excursions off his route to places of mythological (mostly Homeric) and religious significance. An excursion to Jerusalem (about 60km east of the coastal route) would fit this pattern and could have been occasioned by Alexander's political motives, his religiosity (cf. L. Edmunds, *passim*), or by a combination of the two. Curtius alone (4.8.9-10) affirms Alexander's dealings with the Samaritans, which Josephus treats in much detail in the context of his demand for the cooperation of Darius' Jewish vassal, Iaddous, the High Priest of Jerusalem. Most critics reject the historicity of this event, because Alexander would not have had time to visit Jerusalem after his siege of Gaza (e.g. Tcherikower, 41 citing

Arr. 3.1.1; Schäfer, 6). Two factors, however, should be considered: (a) that Alexander's meeting with the latter could have occurred for strategic reasons as he set out against Darius after visiting Egypt—to secure his rear, and (b) that this episode should also be interpreted in the context of Alexander's visits to Tyre, Memphis and Babylon to secure their unconditional surrender and to claim the right to honour their tutelary deities.

Ross Twele
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Session/Séance 10

"A Fuller Narrative of the 'Union' of Corinth and Argos, 392-386 B.C."

In 392 BC an anti-Spartan faction in Corinth expelled the established oligarchs and invited Argos to establish a presence in Corinth to help them stabilize their position. Any essay of G. T. Griffith set forth what is still the prevailing view of this event. Griffith ("The Union of Corinth and Argos (392-386 B.C.)", Historia 1 (1950), 236-56) defined the six years of interaction that followed between the two poleis as an isopoliteia, or union of citizenship and voting rights frequently attested in the Hellenistic period. By describing an essentially political event in legalistic terms and employing anachronistic categories of citizenship rights, Griffith misrepresented the spontaneous origins and organic development of the relationship between the Argives and the Corinthian revolutionaries.

This paper argues that there was no “union” as such, but neither was it a wholesale invention of pro- Spartan propagandists. Thanks to constant meddling by Sparta and particularly King Agesilaos from 392- 90, the Argives never achieved the hegemony over Corinth that they sought and that the Corinthian revolutionaries knew they needed; the most the Argives achieved was a standing garrison in the Corinthian city center. This interference reached its apex in a competition between the Argives, the Spartan King Agesilaos, and both Corinthian factions for the right to preside over the Isthmian games of 390. Agesilaos’ continuing, albeit irregular, interest in disrupting Corinthian-Argive relations culminated in the imposition of autonomy on Corinth as provided by the King’s Peace of 386. Only then did the Argive presence in Corinth cease.

In arguing against a “union,” this paper travels on a path set by C. Fornis (“La virtual unión entre Corinto y Argos”, in Grecia exhausta: ensayo sobre la guerra de Corinto, Hypomnemata 175 (2008), 149-76). Fornis, however, fails to take into account the role of Agesilaos, and does not closely consider the Argives’ particular interests in the “union.” Nor does Fornis’ necessarily critical reading of the chief source for the “union,” Xenophon, adequately cover the narrative beyond the year 392. Xenophon’s confusion about the distinctions between Corinth and Argos in his narrative results from overstatements by his pro-Spartan sources of the Argives’ initial dominance over Corinth. The relationship between the Argives and the Corinthian revolutionaries was fluid and ever-changing; its terms were as unclear to the two poleis themselves as to Xenophon, Xenophon’s sources, and

modern scholarship.

Paul Vadan
University of Chicago
Session/Séance 6

"The "Alexanders" of Magnesia"

My paper will explore the economic and political significance of the posthumous "Alexander" tetradrachms of Magnesia-on-the-Meander minted in the third century BC. The very fact that it is an issue that survives and is continually minted for more than a century after the death of Alexander the Great suggests that it played an important role in local economy. Such a high value currency had a distinct commercial role that set it apart from the lower silver and bronze denominations. Moreover, the popularity and widespread minting of such "Alexander" tetradrachms make Magnesia an excellent case study for economic and commercial trends in Western Asia Minor.

The numismatic evidence presented in this paper is based on the accompanying die study of the Magnesian "Alexanders" that I am presently finalizing, which provides essential socio-economic information both at a regional level, as well as in relation to the Asian and Aegean markets. For instance, it helps determining the quantity of minted coins, as well as their precise area and period of circulation Thus, by drawing attention to the hoard evidence my paper will offer updated and more precise numismatic data. In spite of the technical character, the historical value of such information becomes

evident when we consider that many models for the economy of Asia Minor are in fact using, as I will show in more detail, unreliable attributions and dating criteria based on stylistic considerations or unsubstantiated historical inferences rather than sound numismatic data (See Cox, Gordion Hoard, p. 3, and Newell, Western Seleucid Mints, p.290).

I thus propose a new chronology for the production of Magnesian "Alexanders" that challenges the widely-accepted model of Martin Price (The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus, p. 264-276). This will allow us to re-examine the economic and political history of Magnesia-on-the-Meander in the third century BC. For instance, it has not yet been decisively proven whether Magnesia actually coined "Antiochean" tetradrachms. The choice of place and time for such a study is not arbitrary. Magnesia was a prominent Ionian city that was conveniently situated on the "Common Road" trading artery that cut through Asia Minor and linked the Aegean with the Near East. As such, Magnesian minting practices in an atmosphere dominated by regional threats and dynastic conflicts can tell us a great deal about the city's political condition and its interaction with the Seleukid Empire, in a century when authority and autonomy were equally ambiguous, yet coexisting realities.

My paper will contribute to our understanding of local Asia Minor economy within the greater imperial structure of the Seleukid Empire. At the same time it will also offer a glimpse into Magnesian society as it sought for stability in its

commercial and political regional interaction.

Emily Varto
Dalhousie University
Session/Séance 3

"The Ancient in the City: Lessons from Teaching Receptions through Public Art and Architecture"

Last time I taught an introductory course on ancient art, I gave an assignment to the students in which they were to find an example of the influence of ancient Near Eastern or Classical art on public display in or around their city. The assignment asked students to find an object (e.g., a work of art or a building) on public display, either on campus or elsewhere in the city, that they thought had been influenced by ancient art and/or architecture. Students were to briefly describe the object and its history as appropriate and relevant to the assignment, explain what ancient influence they saw in the object, and outline some reasons why the influence might be there.

I assigned this particular project partly because it was suitable for an introductory survey course and connect art and architecture to culture and context, which we had be doing in the classroom. It also seemed to be a good way for students to apply their classroom learning. But I also wanted students to notice the presence of the ancient past in the world around them and to think about how the past can inform and create the present, and how the present in turn creates and shapes the past. This notion, after all, that the

past is actively produced as much as passively received is one of the major ideas in reception studies (e.g. Porter 2008, 474).

Reading these assignments was one of the most interesting and enlightening marking Session/Séances I have had. Not only did the students and I learn a lot about the city (to which a number of us were relative newcomers), but also something about the reception of the ancient world and its meaning as perceived by people from diverse backgrounds. It was eye-opening to learn what the ancient world and its traces in a North American context signified to the students. This paper reflects on the exercise both as a teaching and learning tool and as a broader lesson about receptions, i.e., students' experience of the ancient world in their city. The objects and structures chosen and how students perceived the meaning of the ancient in the modern provide interesting and important lessons in the diversity and layers of reception that are useful to both educators and researchers.

Benjamin Victor
Université de Montréal
Session/Séance 6

"'Enclitic' Shortening in Latin"

Students of Latin have always known that syllables long according to dictionaries and grammars may sometimes be treated as short, notably in the dialogue verse of comedy. The great majority of them were seen to reflect a single

phonological process when, in 1869, C.F.W. Müller first formulated rules of iambic shortening. Müller's discovery, however, left a certain residue of unexplained shortenings in comic verse. These leftovers have since been given the label 'enclitic shortening' (*Kürzung durch Tonanschluß*, *abbreviamento per enclisi*) and very unsatisfactorily accounted for. *Quandoquidem* is a typical shortening of the type called « enclitic ». The *–o* of *quando* is long when the word occurs by itself, but usually short when it is joined to -*quidem*. The other syllables known to be affected by « enclitic » shortening are the following : *quando* when followed by *quidem* ; a number of pronoun-forms when followed by *quidem*, namely *tu*, *te*, *mi*, *hic* (nom. sg. masc.), *qui* ; the *ec*- of *ecquis* and its declined forms ; the *ne*- of *nequis* and its declined forms ; the *o* of *nescioquis/nescioqui* and their declined forms ; *numquid* ; *quicquid*. Because all these items are in some sense compounds, the process of composition, and the consequent shift of accent onto the *o*, has been held responsible. Such an explanation does not hold up. The compounds are all function-words (pronominal or adverbial), likely to be prosodically non-prominent : if accent were a factor we should expect to find similar reductions of items less merely functional and more semantically distinctive, hence likelier to receive strong stress.

Compounds subject to enclitic shortening share three traits : the syllable shortened is either long by nature or ends in *c* ; the syllable shortened is followed in all cases by *qu* ; all items in question, as has been said, are likely to be prosodically

light. Accordingly I propose an explanation by means of two rules:

1) In prosodically light items, an optional rule of cluster-simplification could eliminate *c* before *qu.*

2) Again in prosodically light items, vowels before *qu* could optionally be shortened and diphthongs simplified.

Before clitics in –*qu*-, where the shortenings occurred, it must have been easy for analogy to restore the original vowel quantity. Hence shortening tended to remain in set, recurring formations, which could be felt as words in their own right rather than as combinations of other words (*nescioquis*, *siquidem*, *tuquidem*), while associations rather for the nonce resisted shortening (*deque* always scans trochaic, never pyrrhic).

Katharine von Stackelberg
Brock University
Session/Séance 11

"Sexing the Garden: Performance Anxiety in Columella Book 10"

This paper considers how Columella presents the garden in *De Agricultura* 10 as a gendered space and a space of sexual knowledge. In the last decade Columella's work on agriculture has been the focus of renewed interest not only for its value as a source of information on ancient farming, but as a literary text (e.g. Gowers 2000; Henderson 2002;

Doody 2007; Cowan 2009). John Henderson has described Book 10 as a 'seminal' account of ancient garden practice (2004:13), a pun that astutely conveys both botanic and erotic meaning; the text transmits two kinds of interrelated knowledge: horticultural and sexual. The cultivation of a garden is presented as a year-long coitus of Man and Earth. The erotic garden year starts with the penetration/rape of the earth in winter (10.67-70), an erotic account of fertilization and germination followed by an orgy of growth (10.105-9, 140-44, 161-229), and seduction of nymphs/flowers in spring, climaxing with an erect and burgeoning harvest at Bacchus' autumn festival (10.369-93). Yet this eroticization is not unproblematic, though repeatedly presented as a pregnant or nursing mother (e.g. *gravida* 10.141; *maternum arvum* 10.146, *mitissima genetrix fetus* 10.161) the garden also has the potential to be unfaithful, barren or diseased. As a metatextual repository for gender anxiety the garden also reflects Columella's literary anxiety about measuring up to Virgil's challenge in writing a garden poem (*Georgics* 4.147-148).

Mark Walley
University of Western Ontario
Session/Séance 7

"Hidden Spaces and Secret Passages: The Function of Roman Monumental Arches"

Roman monumental arches, often referred to as triumphal arches, are conspicuous and easily recognizable forms of Roman architecture. Their size makes them stand out and

their eye-catching symmetry combines harmony and grace. Most of the discussion surrounding these monuments concerns the methods by which the decoration is read and the message(s) both implied and inferred. What is generally overlooked is the construction and everyday use of these arches as buildings. This paper explores the function of monumental arches as practical structures, specifically the purpose behind the staircases and chambers located within these edifices.

Monumental arches share the same basic structure, including large attics. Due to the size of an attic it comes as little surprise that learn that they are hollow. A hollow attic both diminishes the weight of the upper part of the monumental arch and, from an economic perspective, reduces the overall building cost. Many arches also share a little-spoken-of feature that lies hidden within the structures themselves: inside one of the piers is a staircase leading to the hollow space within the attic. The incorporation of a staircase implies that the interior of the attic was meant to be in use. A suggestion for this use came in 1988 when Niels Hannestad wrote that the emperor Titus was once entombed within the Arch of Titus. Regardless of whether we agree with this notion, stairways exist inside the monumental arches of other emperors who were clearly not, and likely never intended to be, buried within these structures.

This paper places particular emphasis on the monumental arches that survive in Rome today: the Arch of Septimius Severus on the northwest corner of the Roman Forum, the Arch of Titus on the eastern side of the Roman Forum, and

the Arch of Constantine next to the Colosseum. Other triumphal arches elsewhere in the former Roman Empire, notably the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum and the numerous arches from North Africa, will also be discussed as reference. After a survey of the interior staircase and space within the attic of multiple monumental arches, this paper will speculate as to the function and meaning behind these structures and the tradition of interior accessibility.

Matthew Watton
University of Western Ontario
Session/Séance 7

"Sappho and Anareon as Bad Lovers in Plato's *Phaedrus*"

Of all of Plato's dialogues, the Phaedrus, in its exploration of passionate love (eros) and rhetoric, is perhaps most aware of its status as a literary work. Throughout the dialogue, the interlocutors allude to and engage with a number of different literary genres. Prominent among these is Greek lyric poetry. While much scholarship has focused on Stesichorus' palinode (quoted and discussed by Socrates at 243a), erotic lyric plays a significant role. Specifically, Socrates mentions Sappho and Anacreon as the inspiration for his first speech (235c3). Furthermore, scholars have noted a number of allusions to these poets in Socrates' palinode to eros (Fortenbaugh 1966; Rowe 1986; Ferrari 1987; Pender 2007). Nevertheless, the role these erotic poets play within the dialogue has not been properly explained, specifically with regard to the context in which they are introduced. Socrates cites Sappho and Anacreon as

chief among those who have put forth arguments in favor of the non-lover. This explicit dramatic context has either been overlooked (deVries 1969; Foley 1998) or deemed insignificant (duBois 1985; Pender 2007). However, in order to understand Plato's inclusion of Sappho and Anacreon properly, and thus his critique of erotic lyric poetry, the context of their introduction cannot be ignored.

This paper will argue that Sappho and Anacreon are shown to be paradigmatic examples of bad lovers. Their lyric promotes a patently antiphilosophical conception of eros. Further, this condemnation of the lyric lovers is part of Plato's larger program of attacking the poets as ignorant and revising traditional views of philosophically important concepts. First, we will see that throughout the corpus, Plato chastises the lyric poets, like the sophists, as illegitimate educators. Theognis is ignorant of virtue (Meno 95d); Tyrtaeus' martial education system is insufficient (Laws 629a); and, most famously, Socrates exposes Simonides' poem as devoid of any worthwhile educational content (Protagoras 347e). In the Phaedrus, Sappho and Anacreon are also introduced as educators and shown to be truly ignorant of their subject, eros.

Next, we see that Socrates exposes this ignorance by subverting lyric imagery in his depiction of philosophical eros. The philosopher understands the nature of the soul, whereas the lyric lovers succumb to psychic ignorance. Thus, Sappho begs for release from love (Sapph. 1; 23 Voigt) and Anacreon attempts to fight it off altogether (346 fr.4 PMG). Plato shows that this lyric depiction of love-as-negative

derives from the poets' ignorance of the philosophically-enlightening nature of eros. This ignorance compels the poets to treat the objects of their desire unphilosophically. The philosopher and his beloved mutually lead a "blessed and harmonious life" (256b1). The lyricists, on the other hand, only wish to possess the beloved for their own benefit: Sappho wishes pain upon her unwilling beloved (Sapph. 1.21-24); Anacreon intends to bridle and subdue his desired "Thracian filly" (fr. 417).
In conclusion, the stark divide between the philosophical and the lyric conceptions of eros are indeed meant to show the ignorance of Sappho and Anacreon. The erotic lyricists are bad lovers; their poetry serves to promote arguments in favor of the non-lover. On this reading, Plato's project in the Phaedrus takes on another dimension: not only is the antiphilosophical, lyric conception of erotic love shown to be wanting, but Plato also presents his own dialogical medium as the proper replacement for the lyric poetry of Sappho and Anacreon.

Ryan Wei
York University
Session/Séance 4

"Friends with Benefits: *Amicitia* and the Roman Economy"

Finley's primitivist model of ancient economy describes the Roman aristocracy as profoundly disinterested in how their economy worked. Instead, their primary concern was the maintenance and the enhancement of status, and they regarded profit and other economic interests important only

in so far as they helped to support that primary goal. Even in the face of personal economic disaster, a typical Roman aristocrat would choose to fall into debt than face social disgrace, an indication, according to Finley, of a primitive economic mentality. Needless to say, Finley and the followers of this approach to Roman economy have seen their fair share of detractors. The modernist perspective notwithstanding, recent archaeological discoveries have at the very least forced us to recognize that the scale and scope of Roman economy were more sophisticated and extensive than what Finley had allowed for. More to the point, it is also undeniable that Roman aristocrats engaged in a wide variety of economic activities, from Atticus' money lending, to Pliny the Younger's viticultural investments. And yet, when Cicero openly scorns mercantile ventures, and when Seneca criticizes the commercial considerations of the Roman elite, it is difficult to fault Finley for his conclusions on aristocratic disinterest.

One way modern scholarship has attempted to navigate around the seemingly incongruous sentiments espoused by our sources on profiteering, and the blatant quest for profit in the actions of these very aristocrats, is to shift the focus of analysis. That is, instead of looking at their financial pursuits in terms of economic gain, scholars often prefer to regard aristocratic engagement with the economy from a social standpoint, as exchanges between friends. Relying therefore on models derived from anthropology and sociology, these studies highlight the importance of gift-exchange in the Roman economic system, and convincingly demonstrate the tangible financial advantages such friendships could entail.

After all, even symbolic capital often translated into very concrete benefits for the parties involved. Approaching from the perspective of gift-exchange and social relationships, then, allows scholars to examine aristocratic interests in Roman economy without having to contend with the rather difficult subject of ideology and Finley's economic model.

As convenient and informative an approach as this is, I think we can push the argument a little further, as an attempt at reconciling the ideology and the realities of aristocratic practice. To this end, my paper contends that the Romans might have actually perceived their friendships, their associations of *amicitia*, not just as social relationships, but also as a form of long-term economic investment. By operating within the moral matrix of *amicita*, this gave the Romans scope to engage in profit seeking, and at the same time to adhere to their noble sentiments regarding economic ventures. Thinking in these terms can in turn help inform our own discussions on economic models and the mentalities that dictated economic behaviour amongst the Roman elite.

Jarrett Welsh
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 6

"Substitutions" and the Composition of Nonius Marcellus' *De compendiosa doctrina*"

Lindsay's (1901) analysis of Nonius Marcellus' methods in composing the *De compendiosa doctrina* described a

mechanical process by which Nonius consulted 41 texts in fixed sequence to gather his illustrative quotations. Since it appeared Lindsay's analysis has been subjected to more attempts at modification than Nonius' text actually warrants. Most persistent have been the attempts to identify a preliminary "Grundstock" of material—taken from sources like Flavius Caper or Gellius—upon which Nonius framed portions of his text (e.g., Froehde 1903, Strzelecki 1932–1933, Strzelecki 1936, Barabino 1983, Mazzacane 1985–1986). These modifications destabilize Lindsay's theory more than their proponents sometimes realize, for once Nonius' roster of sources is no longer closed, the mechanical regularity that Lindsay claimed as Nonius' hallmark can no longer be assumed. The continuing fashion for such approaches in continental scholarship (recent survey: Llorente Pinto 2009) and the challenge that they present to Lindsay's theory mean that Nonius' methods still require scrutiny from editors both of his own text and of the republican Latin fragments it preserves.

This paper addresses one such attempt to identify a preliminary stratum of material in Nonius' text. Cadoni (1987, 1990) suggested that the first of the 41 sources was not a "glossary," in Lindsay's sense, but some scripts or extracts of the comedian Titinius, and that Nonius used that source as part of a haphazard "consultazione generali dei testi" as he began composing each book of his text. Cadoni's principal evidence was the fact that many of the quotations attributed to the first source ("Gloss. i") derive from works that were present in independent copies in Nonius' library, and so might more naturally have been taken from those

texts.

In this paper I argue that Cadoni's argument is flawed both in its details and in its broad interpretation alike, although he was right to see connections between the "Gloss. i" quotations and Nonius' other sources. I propose that those connections are instead the result of an unrecognized pattern of "substitutions" that Nonius makes throughout the *De compendiosa doctrina*; by that term I mean instances where Nonius encounters unsuitable material in one text and replaces it with a quotation from another source. To describe the phenomenon I first consider several substitutions that Nonius makes in Book 1 while working with his text of Plautus. Turning to three short sequences of "Gloss. i" material (in Books 6, 8, and 12), I argue that the connections Cadoni saw are the result of a similar process of substitution: as Nonius read through that "glossary" and found quotations from insufficiently distinguished authors or interpretations with which he disagreed, he substituted, for the offending material, quotations from his hand-picked collection of texts.

Once this procedure is recognized, it affects our understanding of Nonius and his sources in several ways: (1) it reaffirms the predictability that is the hallmark of Lindsay's analysis by eliminating one of the arguments for a "Grundstock" of material in Nonius' text; (2) it demonstrates that Nonius had a little more intelligence and philological competence than has commonly been granted him, for his process of composition involved more than simply "cutting and pasting" quotations; and (3) it confirms Lindsay's

description of the first source as a "glossary," and therefore allows us to see, at least partially, how Nonius worked with a text whose contents did not match his own standards for suitably venerable Latinity.

Richard Wenghofer
Nipissing University
Session/Séance 2

"Attitudes toward Greek/Non-Greek Marriage and Mixed Progeny in Classic Greece"

According to Arrian, when Alexander discharged ten thousand veterans who were no longer fit for service, he ordered them not to return home with the children they had with Asian women owing to the dissent (στάσις) that would arise should they bring home children of another race (ἀλλόφυλος) (Arr. *Anab*. 7.12.2). Arrian only provides us with the bare fact and does not go into detail regarding why having children of mixed-race should cause στάσις. Similarly, Plutarch records a tale of how once, when the Tyrhennians inhabited the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, they seized some Athenian women for the begetting of children. He then notes that the Athenians subsequently banished these children from the islands "as mixed barbarians." (Plut. *Mul. Virt*. 8). Elsewhere, Plutarch refers to the famed Themistocles as a man of "lowly birth" (νόθος) owing to the fact that his mother was either Thracian or Carian (Plut. Them. 1.1-2). Such remarks from Arrian and Plutarch beg the question: do these sentiments reflect broader Greek attitudes toward mixed Greek/Non-Greek

marriages and their resulting progeny? This paper will attempt to demonstrate that there is indeed evidence for negative attitudes toward Greek/Non-Greek marriages in the Classical period owing to a rather widespread tendency to define citizenship, in part, on the basis of consanguinity and to see culture or custom (i.e. *nomos*) in largely essentialist terms. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to the ongoing discussion on the question of racism in Classical antiquity.

Kevin Wilkinson
University of Toronto
Session/Séance 8

"Tetrarchic Intervention in Egypt and the Fate of the Egyptian Temples"

The political turmoil in Egypt in the late third century CE, and the imperial response under Diocletian and Galerius, has come increasingly into focus over the last several decades. This is in spite of the absence of a reliable narrative history of the period and is due in large part to the fields of papyrology and archaeology. There is now a newly published papyrus that sheds some more light (P.CtYBR inv. 4000). This is not a document, however, but a fragmentary codex of Greek epigrams, some of which clearly engage with the political vicissitudes of the period. One epigram is a satire of Galerius and documents four imperial campaigns conducted in Egypt by him and the senior Augustus Diocletian between 293 and 302. Another fragmentary epigram, on the "destruction of Alexandria," appears to be related to

Diocletian's siege of the city in 298. This provides the context for two other epigrams in the codex that seem to describe the demise of Egyptian cult sites. One pertains to the poorly attested regional goddess Triphis, whose only known temple was in the Panopolite nome. The poet claims that she has recently "suffered a lot" and then has her issuing an enigmatic warning to people who reside further north along the Nile. This is now the only reference to Triphis in all of Greek and Latin literature and it may allude to the cessation of cultic activity at her temple in the late third century. A contemporary document records that Diocletian and his army were expected at the Tripheion in the autumn of 298. Her "many sufferings," therefore, may be an allusion to the fact that Diocletian had commandeered her temple and converted it into a military camp, just as he did with the temple of Amun in Thebes around the same time. Perhaps more sensational, but also perhaps less certain, is the possible allusion in another epigram to the destruction of the famous Alexandrian Museum. Only fragments survive (most notably in the final couplet: "this temenos… not a temple but a cenotaph of the Muses") but this epigram appears next to the one that explicitly deals with the "destruction of Alexandria" (thematic groupings form the primary principle of organization in the codex). It has long been known that the city's Museum ceased to function at some point in the second half of the third century. The current *communis opinio* places its destruction during the reign of Aurelian (ca. 272). But this epigram, in its broader context in the codex, suggests that Diocletian's documented siege of Alexandria in 298 might in fact be the moment of its demise. One other piece of evidence (a statue base from the

Museum that was re-used for a dedication to Diocletian) may support this hypothesis. These new epigrams, even if fragmentary, provide a fascinating window onto a dramatic but poorly documented chapter in the history of Roman Egypt. They add to the growing body of evidence suggesting that this was a moment of serious upheaval, including a major blow both to indigenous Egyptian cults and to the religious foundations of the Ptolemaic period.

Arden Williams
Independent Scholar
Session/Séance 10

"Recessionistas: The Re-Organization of Finances of the Attic Demes in Late-Fourth Century Athens"

The polis of Athens suffered an economic crisis in the wake of the Social War in the mid-fourth century. The situation was so bad that Athenians feared they could not afford the traditional sacrifices and festivals to the gods. Efforts to restore the financial fortunes were undertaken by Athenian politicians; these efforts were continued in the following decades, with remarkable success, by men such as Euboulos and Lykourgos, who paid special attention to the financial basis of civic cults. The leasing of sacred land in the posSession/Séance of civic cults made up a relatively small but nonetheless important part of the annual income and civic officials sought to secure the revenues generated from these properties. The epigraphical record suggests that the situation was similar for the demes of Attica, where the re-organization of the deme finances, particularly the leasing of

land under the authority of individual demes, mirrored that of the polis. The inscriptions dealing with the leasing of deme land in this period are as varied as are the demes themselves and shed light not only on the motivation behind measures initially taken by the polis, but also on the nature of economic life in the demes.

Florence Yoon
University of British Columbia
Session/Séance 2

Professional judgement: *Odyssey* 22.310-380

After the general slaughter of the suitors, Odysseus and Telemachus are supplicated by a series of three "professional" public speakers who have been reluctantly living with the suitors: Leiodes the *thuoskoos*, Phemius the bard, and Medon the herald. Leiodes is killed, while the others are spared.
This paper evaluates Odysseus' and Telemachus' justifications of these life-and-death decisions in the light of three contexts: the general representation and reputation of the three professions in the *Odyssey* as a whole, the specific portrayal of each individual suppliant, and the pattern of supplication on the Iliadic battlefield. Each of these contexts corresponds also to a particular temporal focus. The professional expectations, on which Odysseus focuses, determine the future functions of the survivors. Their identities as individuals are defined by their past actions, including both events recounted earlier in the narrative as well as Telemachus' newly-introduced recollections. Finally,

comparison with the Iliadic type-scene of supplication focuses on the language and actions employed during the moment of supplication itself.

The fates of these three minor characters therefore allow us to assess the competing claims of professional, personal, and intertextual expectations, as well as Odysseus' own claim to sound judgement at 19.501. This paper argues that while Telemachus' focus on the particular and the past is taken into consideration, it is ultimately Odysseus' broader perspective on the "professional" and the future that determines the resolution of each supplication.