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CONGRÈS ANNUEL

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

QUÉBEC,  
13-16 MAI 2024

QUEBEC CITY,  
MAY 13-16 2024

RÉSUMÉS

ABSTRACTS



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Le congrès annuel de la  
**Société canadienne des études  
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The annual conference of the  
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*Conférence spéciale*  
*Keynote lecture*

# **FACE VISIBLE ET FACE CACHÉE DE L'AGORA GRECQUE ANTIQUE**

Mercredi 15 mai, 18h30-19h45 / Wednesday May 15<sup>th</sup>, 6:30-7:45 pm  
Palais Montcalm – Maison de la musique.

## **Conférencier spécial / Guest lecturer**

### **BRESSON, Alain**

The University of Chicago, emeritus

Pour les relations économiques, l'agora était le lieu privilégié de l'échange entre les habitants de la cité. Par l'intermédiaire de ses magistrats, la cité était là pour assurer la transparence des transactions, grâce à des règles connues de tous. Le but recherché était l'harmonie, et ce n'est pas un hasard si les Charites, les Grâces, comptaient parmi les divinités protectrices de l'agora. L'agora était un espace de négociation, où se nouaient des relations fructueuses. C'était donc aussi un lieu de sociabilité, où l'on aimait retrouver ses amis, par exemple pour boire un verre de vin dans une échoppe. Sa face visible et publique donne donc une image harmonieuse de la vie de l'agora.

Mais il en existe aussi une autre, faite de sourdes tensions et de conflits. Ces tensions étaient d'abord celles qui existaient entre acheteurs et vendeurs, sur fond d'asymétrie informationnelle entre les partenaires. L'agora pouvait donc être également un lieu de tromperie, voire de fraude. Mais même entre les membres d'une même profession pouvaient exister des rivalités sources de conflits, qui étaient d'autant plus violents qu'ils devaient rester cachés. C'est là la face secrète et même franchement sombre de l'agora.

Ce sont donc ces deux réalités opposées mais en fait parfaitement complémentaires que cette conférence s'attachera à décrire, avec l'aide de toutes les sources disponibles, littéraires, épigraphiques et archéologiques.

*Résumés des panels*

*Panels abstracts*

**PRÉSIDENCE DE SÉANCE : NARBONNE, Jean-Marc**

**1B**

**LA TRADITION POLITIQUE ARISTOTÉLICIENNE ET SA RÉCEPTION**

**THE ARISTOTELIAN POLITICAL TRADITION AND ITS RECEPTION**

*Mardi 14 mai 8h30-10h30 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 8:30-10:30 a.m.  
Salle Communauté 2*

**Organisateur / Organizer:**

NARBONNE, Jean-Marc

Aristote est reconnu comme le plus grand théoricien du politique dans toute l'Antiquité, en raison notamment du détail de ses analyses des différents régimes constitutionnels et de son questionnement de fond touchant la nature même de la vie dans la *polis*. Le panel proposé a pour but d'aborder certains aspects particuliers de ce riche héritage et de questionner la pertinence éventuelle des questions examinées pour la compréhension de notre propre expérience politique.

*Le couple commander / être commandé (ἄρχειν / ἄρχεσθαι), une clé pour départager les régimes politiques chez Aristote ?*

Dans le Livre VI des *Politiques*, Aristote confirme que le principe de l'alternance des charges est typiquement associé aux régimes démocratiques : « Le principe fondamental du régime démocratique, c'est la liberté ; voilà ce que l'on a coutume de dire, sous prétexte que dans ce régime seul on a la liberté en partage : c'est là, dit-on, le but de toute démocratie. Une des marques de la liberté, c'est d'être *tour à tour gouverné et gouvernant* (ἐν μέρει ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν) » (1317a 40 sq.). Mais il s'avère que l'alternance des charges n'est pas le privilège exclusif des démocraties, on le retrouve même dans les oligarchies voire les monarchies, où l'âge venant l'on passe alternativement de statut de gouverné à celui de gouvernant. Force est donc d'opérer une distinction entre ce que l'on peut appeler l'*alternance horizontale* (échange régulier des fonctions entre égaux dans des temps concomitants ou rapprochés) et l'*alternance verticale* (échange de fonction dans des périodes éloignées les unes des autres). La reconnaissance de ces différents types d'alternance, comme on le verra, aide d'une part à comprendre l'opposition d'Aristote au projet politique de Platon dans la *République* et les *Lois*, et d'autre part à situer les uns par rapports aux autres les différents Livres dont le traité des *Politiques* est composé.

**THORP, John**, University of Western Ontario

1B

*Usury and the Delphian Knife*

On the very first page of Aristotle's *Politics*, we find this memorable remark:

Nature does nothing in a stingy way (πενικρῶς), like the smith who fashions the Delphian knife for many uses; she makes each thing for a single use, and every instrument is best made when intended for one and not for many uses. [after Jowett]

It's a stunning image, and it succinctly encapsulates what was a *leitmotiv* of Aristotle's natural philosophy: nature is deeply tidy-minded, seeking to give to everything that she devises one *and only one* purpose or function. I call this idea about nature 'monotelism'. It is a principle deeply woven into Aristotle's biology, cropping up most frequently in the *Parts of Animals*, but it plays a role also in his ethics and in his politics. In this paper I focus on one aspect of the latter, namely his views about money, and particularly about money making money.

We are familiar enough with the story of the West's moral troubles over money-lending: the scathing condemnation of usury in the *Old Testament*, then the gradual accommodation to it in moral theology (over centuries), and the fanning of the flames of antisemitism along the way. What is less well known is that, in our intellectual history, there was also a secular root of the condemnation; it is found in Aristotle's *Politics*. He calls usury the most hated sort of money-making. The reason is that it is unnatural: it perverts the natural purpose of money, which is to represent goods in the conduct of exchange. Money-lenders violate the natural order by finding a use for money that is beyond its natural use. They act against nature.



DIAMOND, Eli, Dalhousie University

1B

*L'inclusion comme critère de la meilleure constitution dans la  
Politique d'Aristote*

At the opening of the *Politics*, Aristotle identifies a criterion of comprehensiveness to rank kinds of communities by their goodness, i.e. the extent to which a community encompasses lower types of community within itself (πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας). While this criterion is immediately deployed to establish the priority of the *polis* over the pre-political associations of the household and village embraced by it, it is plausible to think of this criterion as operative in Aristotle's comparison and evaluation of different types of *politeia*. After briefly considering how this comprehensiveness criterion works in Book 1 in terms of the analysis of the household, village, and city, this paper will consider how it also applies to the different types of political communities, which Aristotle also thinks fall into a serial ordering (1275b1). Certain questions arise from this thesis: Why is a community better by virtue of comprehending other types of constitution within itself? If Aristotle is applying this criteria to the evaluation of different types of constitution, how does one determine which are the elements to be included in the most complete community? How does this criterion explain the superiority both of the most perfect constitution (the city of prayer in VII.4) and of *politeia* as the best constitution within ordinary circumstances (IV.8-11)? The paper will conclude by considering how the comprehensiveness criterion for the best kind of community relates to other criteria articulated in the *Politics*, especially self-sufficiency and justice as proportional equality.

*La vertu politique chez Xénophon : un apprentissage fondé sur l'expérience*

La philosophie politique de Xénophon se focalise sur une notion essentielle : la βασιλική τέχνη. Tout dirigeant vertueux possède cet « art royal », qui manifeste son excellence et ses compétences dans le domaine pratique. En effet, Xénophon attribue cette capacité à tout individu qui gouverne sur une communauté, qu'elle soit restreinte comme celle de l'*oikos*, ou plus large comme celle de la cité. Cette technique politique n'est pas innée, elle est acquise par un processus complexe mais accessible à tous. L'exercice continu constitue la base de cet apprentissage qui se poursuit avec l'expérience obtenue à la fois par le vécu personnel de l'individu et par l'écoute attentive des spécialistes qui se sont distingués dans ce domaine. Le dirigeant se doit de respecter les lois, qu'elles soient humaines ou naturelles, afin de devenir un individu de confiance aux yeux des gens qu'il gouverne. Il doit exercer son pouvoir sur des sujets consentants dans un but altruiste, le bien commun, sans faire usage de la force brute. Enfin, pour Xénophon, le dirigeant vertueux se signale par sa capacité à agir et à bien parler, que ce soit en privé ou en public.

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**PRÉSIDENTICE DE SÉANCE : GAUTHIER, François  
et HELM, Marian**

1C

**ALLIÉS ET AUXILIAIRES SOUS LA RÉPUBLIQUE**

**ALLIES AND AUXILIARIES IN THE REPUBLIC**

*Mardi 14 mai 8h30-10h30 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 8:30-10:30 am  
Salle Noviciat 1*

**Organisateurs / Organizers:**

GAUTHIER, François et HELM, Marian

La recherche moderne a souvent ignoré le rôle joué par les alliés italiens (*socii*) et les auxiliaires (*auxilia externa*) dans l'expansion romaine à l'époque républicaine. Pourtant, les auxiliaires étaient fréquemment employés sous la république, même s'ils n'ont jamais formellement été intégrés dans les structures de l'armée romaine. Celle-ci comptait d'ailleurs déjà une forte proportion de non-romains fournis par les alliés italiens, ce qui correspondait à environ la moitié des effectifs romains eux-mêmes. Ces troupes, tant italiennes qu'extra italiennes, ont joué un rôle crucial dans les guerres livrées par Rome entre et le 4<sup>e</sup> et le 1<sup>er</sup> siècle avant notre ère. Non seulement elles augmentaient considérablement le potentiel militaire de la République, mais elles représentaient essentiellement une ressource gratuite pour Rome, qui n'avait pas à se soucier de la solde de ces troupes qui étaient financées par leurs propres communautés. Ce n'est que récemment que la recherche a commencé s'intéresser à la place des alliés et des auxiliaires sous la République. La séance proposée s'inscrirait donc dans une tendance relativement récente de la recherche et contribuerait à faire progresser un sujet prometteur.

*Les auxiliaires de Rome à l'époque des guerres puniques*

Les auxiliaires sous la république demeurent peu étudiés. Certes, quelques travaux récents se sont intéressés aux auxiliaires républicains, mais généralement seulement pour la république tardive. Tout au plus remonte-t-on parfois jusqu'à l'époque de la Deuxième guerre punique, mais pas plus loin. La présente communication se propose donc d'enquêter sur la contribution des communautés pérégrines pendant la Première et la Seconde guerre punique.

L'appui à Rome des communautés pérégrines prenait une double forme. Tout d'abord celle d'une aide logistique : fourniture de ravitaillement, d'équipement et d'armes de siège. Ensuite, celle d'une participation active aux combats avec la fourniture d'auxiliaires, ce que nos sources identifient hélas trop souvent avec un vocabulaire imprécis qui porte à confusion. En effet, les termes σύμμαχοι et *socii* peuvent aussi bien renvoyer à des alliés italiens qu'à des troupes non-italiques. Contrairement au 2<sup>e</sup> siècle, les sources ne permettent que rarement de quantifier la présence d'auxiliaires présents avec l'armée romaine. Certes, on ne peut dire que les auxiliaires soient omniprésents dans nos sources, mais leur participation ne fait pas de doute. La perte de la deuxième décade de Tite-Live aurait peut-être apporté des éclaircissements à ce sujet mais on ne peut faire autrement que de déplorer son absence.

La Première guerre punique fut non seulement le premier conflit majeur en dehors de l'Italie péninsulaire dans lequel la République romaine fut impliquée, mais aussi le premier théâtre d'opérations où les Romains commencèrent à expérimenter avec les expédients et solutions qu'ils appliquèrent ailleurs pour financer et compléter leurs armées pour le reste de la période républicaine. Cette tendance s'est poursuivie tout le long du second conflit avec Carthage, au cours duquel Rome s'est mise à recruter des troupes dans presque tous les théâtres d'opération où elle était impliquée.

*In the slipstream of Roman expansion. Foreign troops and their objectives in the wars of the Middle Republic*

The astonishing success of Roman expansion is traditionally attributed to the Republic's ability to both mobilize overwhelming numbers (Eckstein 2006) and to integrate and utilize allied troops (Pol. 2.24; Armstrong 2020). Apart from the *socii*, the armies of the *res publica Romana* also made use of foreign contingents that fought side by side with Roman armies but were not an integral part of the annual levy of legions and *alae*. This paper will discuss the initial phase of employing foreign units, i.e. troops that were not part of the *formula togatorum*, in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century by exploring how these first instances might have explored Roman practices in the long-term. It will be argued, that the utilization of allied foreign troops allowed Roman commanders to adapt to the military situation on the ground and thus provided crucial flexibility to military campaigns, not least in areas and terrain that Roman or Italic forces were unfamiliar with. Following the conquest of central Italy, Roman military operations could usually expect to find some support due to intraregional rivalries and conflicts (Fronza 2010). The paper will discuss three such cases to highlight the dynamics and consequences of such cooperations: starting with the infamous *legio Campana* of the Pyrrhic War, it will be argued that the early third century witnessed a process of regularization in regard to the *socii*, with an attending differentiation between the Italian allies, organized alongside and integrate into the Roman armies, and foreign allies. The cases of Massalia and Celtic tribes like the Veneti will then serve to highlight the role that these groups played in Roman war-making.

*Touring the Battlefield: Allied Integration in the Aftermath of Vercellae*

The aftermath of the battle of Vercellae saw a scramble for plunder and fame. Gaius Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus had defeated the Cimbri, but neither was inclined to give the other credit for their joint victory, and conflict broke out between their soldiers. Marius' side could point to a greater quantity of booty, but Catulus' army had captured the enemy standards. And then Plutarch gives us a curious incident: a delegation from nearby Parma was asked to judge who was responsible for the victory (Plut. *Mar.* 27.4). I argue that this incident deserves attention for what it says about the multiple cross-sections of identity functioning within the army, and the high level of integration of the allied troops. Roman and allied soldiers were both content to accept arbitration from a third party.

The question of allied rewards could be a sensitive one (see Roselaar, Fronda, Rosenstein). While we have examples of allied troops receiving equal donatives to their Roman counterparts, these were awarded at the discretion of the general. In 177, C. Claudius Pulcher declined to give his allied troops a share equal to his Roman soldiers; they made their displeasure clear by marching in silence during his triumph, but had little other recourse (Liv. 41.13.6–8). By the time of Vercellae, Catulus' soldiers unite in insisting that their general share in Marius' triumph (Plut. *Mar.* 27.6). The battlefield dispute speaks to allied integration; it also illustrates the latitude taken by victorious troops. After Vercellae, Marius distributed his plunder among all his troops evenly to avoid showing favouritism (Cass. Dio. 27.94.1). Marius would later grant citizenship to one thousand allied troops for bravery, perhaps the ultimate reward for military service, but one which caused great controversy in Rome.

*Socii or Auxilia?*

This paper teases out the conceptual boundaries between *auxilia* and *socii* that emerged by the second century BC. *Socii* were subjugated communities who had a permanent obligation to provide troops or ships to the Romans. The status was not initially limited to Italy, as attested by the existence of *socii navales* in Sicily. *Socii* contrasted with other foreign troops who fought alongside Roman armies mostly as (theoretically) independent allies on an *ad hoc* basis. With Rome's imperial domination hardening after the Second Punic War, however, the distinction between *socii* and *auxilia* emerges, despite the fact that the two groups now have much in common: subaltern peoples who provide troops to Rome, troops whom, as François Gauthier has argued, are paid by their home communities. Why was the *socii* system not broadly extended outside of Italy? Indeed, the Ligurians, despite their proximity to Italy, were maintained as auxiliaries after their conquest in the early second century BC, even if they would seem to be prime candidates to include as *socii*. The Romans and Italians had achieved a high degree of organization and material homogenization by the end of the third century, and therefore the military distance between *auxilia* and *socii* may have initially been perceived as relatively wide, although it shrank precipitously across the second century owing to broader military homogenization across the Mediterranean. Senatorial concerns about magistrates raising client armies abroad may have also contributed: consuls could automatically raise wings of *socii*, but needed senatorial permission to recruit *auxilia*. Finally, Italian *socii* did not pay direct taxes to Rome, so the concept of *auxilia* emerges as the Romans began to simultaneously financially exploit the provinces while still engaging in opportunistic conscription. The emergence of a clear dichotomy between *socii* and *auxilia* therefore represents a rethinking of the broader paradigm of Roman imperialism after 200 BC.

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PRÉSIDENCE DE SÉANCE : NARBONNE, Jean-Marc

2E

**ENJEUX DE LA TROISIÈME SOPHISTIQUE****THE THIRD SOPHISTIC'S CHALLENGES**

*Mardi 14 mai 11h00-12h30 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 11:00-12:30 a.m.*  
*Salle Les Voûtes (au sous-sol; in the basement)*

**Organisateur / Organizer:**

VADNAIS, Yann

Depuis trente ans, plusieurs chercheurs (Pernot, 1993 ; Quiroga, 2007 ; Malosse et Shouler, 2009 ; Fowler et Quiroga Puertas, 2014) ont théorisé la notion de Troisième sophistique. En tant que *concept d'histoire littéraire*, elle permet de rassembler dans une même optique des auteurs hellénophones et non hellénophones d'une période donnée (III<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) et ainsi d'investiguer un courant transculturel de l'antiquité tardive dont la postérité serait sous-estimée. En effet, dans la foulée des trente-six contributions de l'ouvrage collectif *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique : Hommages à Jacques Schamp* (2006), édité par E. Amato, l'expression « Troisième sophistique » a été en quelque sorte consacrée et pourrait constituer « un renversement de perspective majeur ». Malgré les sévères réserves de Van Hoof (2008), réitérées en 2010 et 2014 (avec Van Nuffelen), les objectifs de cette séance visent d'une part à renforcer le cadre conceptuel de ce sujet de recherche en démontrant sa pertinence pour décrire et s'interroger sur la transformation des littératures, des horizons intellectuels et des contextes sociaux à la fin de l'Antiquité (Y. Vadnais) et, d'autre part, à situer deux auteurs de cette époque (l'Empereur Julien, par D. Côté, et Avit de Vienne, par S. Cazalais) dont les œuvres sont représentatives de ce mouvement culturel.



*Contribution à une définition fonctionnelle de la notion littéraire et culturelle de la Troisième sophistique*

La notion littéraire et culturelle de la Troisième sophistique a d'abord été définie en 1993 par L. PERNOT afin de cerner les processus qui menèrent la rhétorique chrétienne à surpasser ses modèles païens aux plans de la performance et des modalités d'expression : « Le tournant décisif se produisit au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, une des époques les plus brillantes de l'histoire de la rhétorique antique, qui vit à la fois une sorte d'aboutissement de la tradition gréco-romaine et le triomphe des Pères. (...) Avec la victoire du christianisme et les mutations du Bas-Empire... c'est une Troisième Sophistique qui commence, ou en tout cas une Seconde Sophistique bis. » Dans l'ouvrage collectif *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique*, l'éditeur E. AMATO (2006) a défendu l'idée selon laquelle « la Sophistique des siècles de l'Antiquité tardive (III<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles apr. J.C.) » puisse « désormais être appréhendée comme une Troisième Sophistique, formule certes non attestée par les anciens, mais croyons-nous parfaitement légitime. » Certains chercheurs ont cependant mis en doute l'utilité de cette notion, en demandant : « What are its characteristics, and how are these relevant to the way in which these texts work ? How do we therefore approach these texts ? Which texts does it comprise : only rhetoric, or also poetry, only Greek or also Latin ? » (VAN HOOFF, 2008).

Nous répondrons donc à ces questions en démontrant la pertinence de cette notion dans le cadre des études pluridisciplinaires sur l'antiquité tardive et en mettant en relief ses caractéristiques (par rapport aux deux premières sophistiques), son extension (au-delà des sphères culturelles grecques et latines), son rôle civilisationnel (traductions, émergence de nouvelles littératures nationales, *translatio studiorum*), ainsi que les auteurs identifiés par la recherche contemporaine

*L'empereur Julien contre les sophistes*

On l'a surnommé l'Apostat ou le Fidèle (Régis Debray), on a célébré son talent de stratège et on en a fait un empereur philosophe, mais, avant même d'être empereur et disciple de Jamblique, Flavius Claudius Julianus est d'abord et avant tout un *παιδευμένος*. Cela veut dire qu'il a étudié à fond l'art du discours, la *τέχνη ῥητορική*. Cela veut dire qu'il sait composer un éloge, un panégyrique, comme le montrent les deux panégyriques qu'il a adressés à son cousin et empereur Constance et l'éloge qu'il a rédigé sur l'impératrice Eusébie, alors qu'il était César, en Gaule.

Il est vrai que Julien met la philosophie au-dessus de tout. Il est vrai également qu'il exhorte ses amis Eumène et Pharianus à ne pas négliger la rhétorique (Lettre 8 : À Eumène et Pharianus) et qu'il estime Libanios, le sophiste d'Antioche, au plus haut point. En fait, il prend la rhétorique et l'enseignement de la rhétorique très au sérieux. C'est ce qu'il s'efforce d'expliquer dans son rescrit sur la loi de juin 362 sur les professeurs. Il ne suffit pas de faire des jolies phrases pour être rhéteur, il faut aussi et surtout mener une vie exemplaire. Autrement dit, il faut être philosophe.

J'aimerais montrer, dans cette communication, que si Julien peut être, à juste titre, considéré comme un philosophe, il ne peut, pour autant, être qualifié de contempteur de la rhétorique. C'est la sophistique ou un usage superficiel de la langue et de l'éloquence qu'il méprise. Il le dit très clairement au cynique Héracléios. J'aimerais aussi montrer que se profile dans les écrits de Julien une définition de l'orateur idéal, à la fois rhéteur et philosophe, une définition qui correspond dans une certaine mesure à la pratique de Libanios et à l'enseignement d'Isocrate. En fait, cet orateur idéal, comme Démosthène et comme tout bon Hellène, doit évidemment honorer les dieux de la cité. Il n'y a pas de place, dans le monde de Julien, pour ceux qui ne respectent pas la langue et les dieux d'Homère, il n'y a pas de place pour les sophistes, qu'ils soient cyniques ou chrétiens.

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PRÉSIDENCE DE SÉANCE : PETIT, Thierry

4A

**NEW DIRECTIONS IN ROMAN ARABIA**

**NOUVELLES RECHERCHES SUR L'ARABIE ROMAINE**

*Mardi 14 mai 16h15-17h45 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 4:15-5:45 p.m.*  
*Salle Communauté 1*

**Organisateur / Organizer:**

WHATELY, Connor

Ever since the publication of Glen Bowersock's *Roman Arabia* (1983), the region has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Since then, all sorts of new materials have appeared in print, like the excavation reports of important sites like Humayma, Gerasa, el-Lejjūn, and Aqaba, and significant collections of evidence, like the assorted volumes connected to Babatha (the Greek papyri, the Aramaic papyri, and the Hebrew papyri, for example). The three papers included here, ranging chronologically from the earlier Nabataean kingdom through late antiquity, focus on a variety of questions connected to the creation of the new province, like the nature of the diplomatic relationship between Nabataea and Rome in the first century CE, life in frontier posts in the newly created province (and beyond), and the complicated, and often negative, relationship between the state and provincials as manifested through its (Roman) soldiers. Additionally, the three papers will bring to bear a wide assortment of evidence, from coinage and the physical remains of fortifications, to Christian literature and Greek papyri. The three prospective speakers are: Anna Accettola (Hamilton College), Craig Harvey (University of Alberta), and Conor Whately (University of Winnipeg).

**ACCETTOLA, Anna**, Hamilton College

4A

*Pragmatic Frontiers - Nabataea and Rome before Roman Arabia**Frontières pragmatiques - Nabatée et Rome avant l'Arabie romaine*

Rome's direct control over the Arabian Peninsula was confirmed by the second century CE. But when did Rome first exert indirect control over Arabia? When can we say that "Roman Arabia" really began? Many scholars maintain that Roman influence over various areas of the Arabian Peninsula extended into the first century BCE, specifically in the case of the Nabataean Kingdom (i.e. Bowersock 1983; Graf 2022). This so-called client king was brought under Roman influence after the incursions by Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (64/63 BCE), Marcus Aemilius Scaurus (62 BCE), and Aulus Gabinius (57-55 BCE). However, as David Graf has rightfully noted, the evidence is "sparse and sporadic" (Graf 2022: 64). The guidelines which are used to understand the relationships between Rome and most dependent, subordinate, or "client" states are absent in the case of Nabataea. The activities of the Nabataean king and his army following these confrontations with Rome and the deployment of resources to support Roman conflicts are therefore used to confirm Nabataean obedience to Rome.

However, in this presentation, I will argue that the first century BCE and first century CE Nabataeans were not subservient to Rome, but rather employed a form of "frontier" pragmatism in which they allied with whichever imperial power would do them the most good. While Roman-centric sources have focused on the moments when the Nabataeans aligned themselves with Rome and its expansion, Nabataean kings employed a skillful negotiation between Seleucid, Parthian, and Roman interests (as well as engaging with Ptolemaic Egypt for control over economic spaces). Any political relationship which put Rome in a dominant position over the Nabataean Kingdom is reflective only of the Roman perspective of the Arabian Peninsula, not a reflection of fact.

**HARVEY, Craig**, University of Alberta  
avec **Emanuele Intagliata**, Università di Milano  
et **Rubina Raja**, Aarhus Universitet

4A

*Éclairages nouveaux sur le site archéologique de Khirbet al-Khalde (l'ancien Praesidium) : un castellum et caravansérail situé le long de la frontière de l'Empire romain en Arabie*

Situé dans le Wadi al Yutm, à environ 26 km au nord-est d'Aqaba, en Jordanie, le site archéologique de Khirbet al-Khalde se situe stratégiquement le long de la principale route commerciale nord-sud entre Petra et Aila (Aqaba moderne). Dominé par les ruines d'un petit fort et d'une station caravanière présumée, le site a une longue histoire de brèves visites d'érudits, mais jusqu'à récemment, il n'avait pas fait l'objet d'études systématiques et scientifiques (voir Kennedy 2002). Au cours de l'été 2023, le projet archéologique de Khirbet al-Khalde a mené une étude intensive et multi-échelle du site qui a permis de révéler de nouvelles informations sur sa résilience et son développement depuis la période nabatéenne jusqu'à l'Antiquité tardive, tout en le contextualisant dans le cadre plus large de la situation locale. et les réseaux économiques et militaires régionaux. Cet article présente le site de Khirbet al-Khalde, son étude historique et les apports apportés par ce nouveau projet archéologique. Une attention particulière est accordée aux résultats de l'étude architecturale et de la collecte de surfaces dans et autour des principales structures du site et de son aqueduc long d'un kilomètre. Cet aqueduc, ainsi que la présence de citernes taillées dans la roche, les vestiges d'un système de chauffage hypocaustique et les preuves d'une production industrielle sur le site, démontrent la gestion efficace des ressources en carburant et en eau par ceux qui sont stationnés ici, et plus largement par ceux qui habitent. cette zone frontière aride. Alors que l'analyse finale des résultats de l'enquête est toujours en cours, cet article présente comment l'approche multiscalaire entreprise par le projet archéologique de Khirbet al-Khalde peut révéler une nouvelle perspective sur les sites historiquement peu étudiés le long de la frontière romaine en Arabie.

*Les soldats se comportent mal en Arabie romaine et en Palestine*

L'Arabie romaine possédait l'une des plus petites garnisons de toutes les provinces de l'Empire romain, et la plupart des soldats qui y étaient stationnés étaient basés à une certaine distance des parties les plus peuplées de la région. Des effectifs plus faibles et des emplacements apparemment plus éloignés ne se traduisaient cependant pas par un manque d'opportunités pour les soldats romains de maltraiter les résidents : les opportunités étaient nombreuses. Bien que la gravité de l'acquisition romaine de Nabatée ait été minimisée, en partie, entre autres choses, à cause de la manière dont les Romains en faisaient la publicité (*Arabia Adquisita*), la présence de soldats venus de plus loin, comme Julius Apollinarius d'Égypte (P. Mich. 8.466), devait forcément conduire à la discorde. À la frontière orientale de l'Arabie, on trouve des militaires prêtant de l'argent aux résidents locaux, comme le centurion Magonius Valens qui prêta de l'argent au deuxième mari de Babatha, Juda (P. Yadin 11 – Lewis 1989). Il y a ensuite les mines de Phaeno, dans le Wadi Faynan, où nous avons des témoignages évidents des souffrances des mineurs, qui, au moins à l'époque romaine, étaient surveillés par un détachement de soldats. En effet, selon Eusèbe, lors des persécutions de Dioclétien, certains furent rassemblés par des soldats en Palestine, emmenés devant le gouverneur, puis expédiés vers les mines (Euseb. MP 7.1-4). Bien que nous ayons peu ou pas de preuves directes dans ces trois exemples, l'acquisition romaine, le prêt de Juda et les mines de Phaeno (Perry et al. 2012), le potentiel de violence est clair. Dans cette présentation, j'étudie ces cas et d'autres cas potentiels de soldats romains traitant mal les résidents locaux, qu'ils vivaient au sud-ouest dans le Wadi Arabah, ou au nord-est dans le Hauran et dans le Harrah, depuis l'acquisition romaine de Nabatée jusqu'à la fin de antiquité tardive.

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**PRÉSIDENCE DE SÉANCE : BOUCHARD, ELSA**

**4C**

**LE PROJET DE L'ANTHOLOGIE GRECQUE : 10 ANS DE COLLABORATION**

**THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY PROJECT: 10 YEARS OF COLLABORATION**

*Mardi 14 mai 16h15-17h45 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 4:15-5:45 p.m.  
Salle Communauté 1*

**Organisateur / Organizer:**

CARON, Émile

Depuis 2014, la Chaire de recherche du Canada sur les écritures numériques (CRCEN) porte le projet d'édition numérique et collaborative de l'Anthologie grecque (AG), permettant en outre l'enrichissement de ce vaste corpus. Cette initiative a été soutenue par plusieurs subventions du CRSH et célèbre en 2024 son 10e anniversaire. Cette aventure philologique et numérique a rassemblé de nombreux-ses chercheur-e-s issu-e-s de disciplines différentes (des lettres classiques aux humanités numériques en passant par l'histoire et les sciences de l'éducation) et à différents stades de leur carrière. Cette pluridisciplinarité a engendré de nouvelles pistes de recherche et des projets novateurs, exploitant les multiples facettes de ce corpus millénaire.

Le pannel proposé entend faire état des derniers avancements des projets dérivés du projet AG. Quatre intervenant-e-s présenteront leur travail effectué au sein de cet environnement. La variété des débouchés que constitue chacune de ces interventions permettra d'asseoir l'un des objectifs fondateurs du projet : démontrer comment les éditions collaboratives et alternatives peuvent nourrir une intelligence collective et une approche pluridisciplinaire dans le domaine des lettres classiques. Cette présentation mettra en exergue la nature collaborative de ce projet et son influence sur les initiatives futures, soulignant la puissance de la collaboration au sein des Digital Classics.

*Intelligence Artificielle littéraire (IAL) : vers une définition formelle du concept de variation dans l'Anthologie grecque*

Nous est-il possible de définir formellement – ou, plus précisément, de manière computationnelle et algorithmique – un concept littéraire ? C'est l'une des questions qui a émergé du projet d'édition numérique collaborative de l'*Anthologie grecque* et qui a reçu une subvention *développement Savoir* du CRSH pour les années 2022 à 2024. L'*Anthologie grecque* – recueil d'environ 4000 épigrammes écrites entre le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. et le X<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C. par plus de 300 auteurs – présente une forme particulière d'intertextualité : la variation. Dans *L'abeille dans l'ambre*, P. Laurens (2012) détermine trois catégories de variation : stylistique (variation portant sur les mots et leur agencement), rhétorique (portant sur la forme) et paradigmatique (portant sur le sujet). Le projet « IAL » a pour objectif d'effectuer une étude algorithmique de la variation dans ce corpus; les algorithmes y sont dès lors employés à visée herméneutique et non heuristique.

Le corpus épigrammatique est particulièrement propice pour cette expérience : un *bon poète* doit être très conscient des œuvres de ses prédécesseurs et de ses contemporains, et on attend de lui qu'il fasse des variations reconnaissables de ce qui a été fait avant lui (Taràn 1979).

Notre démarche s'appuie actuellement sur un échantillon (la traduction française des Belles Lettres du livre VI) pour lequel nous avons initialement mesuré les similarités entre les paires d'épigrammes, employant des approches telles que la similarité cosinus, le coefficient de Jaccard à partir de représentations simplifiées (sac de mots, n-grammes) et le TF-IDF. Ces premiers résultats permettent d'identifier les paramètres de nettoyage des données les plus efficaces dans la distinction des paires d'épigrammes présentant des variations et celles qui n'en présentent pas. D'autres méthodes, comme la *Word Mover Distance* et les auto-encodeurs, pourraient permettre d'identifier d'autres types de variations.

Cette communication se concentrera surtout sur les questions de méthodologie, rendra compte des défis propres à notre corpus et à la langue grecque, et analysera quelques résultats préliminaires.



**CARON, Émile**, Université de Montréal

4C

*Philologie didactique, environnement numérique : le cas de l'Anthologie grecque*

En Europe, autant qu'en Amérique du Nord, les gouvernements mettent de plus en plus de pression sur les épaules des act·rice·eur·s des réseaux de l'éducation en vue d'intégrer le numérique aux pratiques éducatives. En 2023, on ne s'attend plus que les établissements scolaires offrent aux élèves une formation pratique (comment créer/éditer/sauvegarder un document, comment rédiger un courriel, etc.), mais qu'ils favorisent plutôt une formation fonctionnaliste (comment puis-je réaliser cette tâche au moyen d'un ordinateur ?). Il devient donc primordial pour les Études classiques - tout comme les sciences humaines en général - de s'adapter à ce nouveau paradigme et d'offrir aux élèves et étudiant·e·s une formation s'inscrivant dans la continuité des visées didactiques des niveaux primaires et secondaires.

Dans ce contexte de changement, le projet d'édition de l'*Anthologie grecque* (AG) se transforme en un outil à fort potentiel pédagogique lorsqu'il est intégré à l'apprentissage du grec au lycée ou à l'université.

La visée de cette présentation est double. Il s'agit d'abord de montrer de quelles façons les projets d'éditions numériques comme celui de l'AG peuvent bonifier l'enseignement du grec en contribuant à une formation humaniste complète et contemporaine. Ensuite, ce premier point sera renchéri de façon concrète par la présentation de résultats préliminaires obtenus lors d'une série d'observation faite au lycée classique « Samuele Cagnazzi » d'Altamura en Italie où l'AG est utilisée pour enseigner le grec.

*La philologie à l'ère du numérique : reconnaissance de l'écriture manuscrite de l'Anthologie Palatine*

Dans le cadre d'un stage au sein du projet d'édition numérique et collaborative de l'Anthologie grecque à la Chaire de recherche du Canada sur les écritures numériques, nous nous sommes intéressés à la reconnaissance de l'écriture manuscrite (HTR, *Handwritten Text Recognition*) avec comme étude de cas l'Anthologie Palatine (*Codex Palatinus graecus* 23). Bien que les progrès technologiques récents aient rendu disponibles une grande quantité de manuscrits en format numérique, leurs textes sont la plupart du temps inaccessibles. Pour résoudre cette problématique, l'enthousiasme croissant de la communauté scientifique pour l'HTR s'est révélé substantiel. En effet, en développant des modèles issus de l'intelligence artificielle et de l'apprentissage profond, capables de reconnaître l'écriture manuscrite dans des documents historiques, les chercheurs et les systèmes automatisés peuvent accéder plus aisément à notre héritage culturel. Toutefois, un problème persistant subsiste : pour des raisons coloniales, mercantiles ou quantitatives, peu ou pas de modèles HTR sont disponibles pour de nombreuses langues non-latines, notamment le grec ancien. Les rares modèles existants pour cette langue sont souvent détenus par des plateformes propriétaires requérant un accès payant ou bien utilisent des technologies HTR bientôt obsolètes.

Ainsi, dans le cadre de cette conférence, nous présentons le premier modèle HTR ouvert et utilisant les plus récentes avancées technologiques dans le domaine. Nous expliquons la méthodologie nécessaire à l'entraînement d'un modèle HTR capable de reconnaître le grec ancien, les choix éditoriaux de plateforme HTR, les difficultés inhérentes du grec ancien pour la reconnaissance de l'écriture manuscrite ainsi que les résultats découlant de nos expérimentations. Cette contribution vise à combler le vide dans la reconnaissance de l'écriture manuscrite du grec ancien et à offrir une perspective novatrice dans le domaine des études classiques et des humanités numériques.

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**PRÉSIDENTENCE DE SÉANCE : HUG, Angela**

5A

**THINKING ABOUT (AND BEYOND) THE TEXTBOOK: BUILDING INCLUSIVE CLASSROOMS WHEN TEACHING ANCIENT GREEK AND LATIN**

**RÉFLÉCHIR SUR (ET AU-DELÀ) DU MANUEL : CONSTRUIRE DES SALLES DE CLASSE INCLUSIVES POUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT DU GREC ANCIEN ET DU LATIN**

*Mercredi 15 mai 8h30-10h30 / Wednesday May 15<sup>th</sup> 8:30-10:30 a.m.  
Salle Communauté 1*

**Organisatrice / Organizer:**

HUG, Angela

Declining enrolment numbers in Ancient Greek and Latin have been a perennial problem for many departments in recent years. For the ancient languages to thrive – or, in some universities, even survive – we need to teach in a way which encourages enrolment and supports the learning of a broader student population, not just Classics/Classical Studies majors. Traditional methods of instruction may no longer foster the success of students with increasingly diverse backgrounds and educational needs. Building on the interest in pedagogical panels in recent years, including the 2022 CAC panel ‘Discussing Inclusive Pedagogy for Ancient Languages’, and with the goal of encouraging an ongoing conversation about these issues, we propose a panel on inclusive pedagogy, which will open with four short individual presentations. Two presentations will focus on potential barriers found within many textbooks (assumed knowledge and implicit bias) and two will discuss alternative approaches (Second Language Acquisition [SLA] and Universal Design for Learning [UDL]). Following the presentations, we will facilitate discussion in small groups using questions introduced at the start of the panel. The panel is envisioned not as an expert-driven, top-down endeavour, but rather a collaborative enterprise designed to encourage reflection and shared resources among instructors.

**HUG, Angela**, York University

5A

*'Who's Aeneas?' Assumed Knowledge and Gatekeeping in Latin Textbooks*

Unlike any modern language, the teaching of Ancient Greek and Latin has traditionally been inextricably intertwined with the culture and history of the societies which produced these languages. For many decades this did not pose a problem – as part of a 'classical' education, knowledge of Greek and Roman societies went hand-in-hand with ancient language acquisition. This model no longer reflects the twenty-first century campus. Not all students are interested in the classical world (Katz *et al.* 2020) and even Classics/Classical Studies majors may arrive in the ancient language classroom with a great deal of enthusiasm but little to no background knowledge. Assuming that all students in a first-year Latin course have a foundational understanding of Roman history, culture, and society – as some textbooks do – risks alienating and driving away students interested in Latin for other reasons. Enrolment patterns in the ancient languages are not healthy enough to artificially restrict our potential pool of students in this way.

This presentation assumes that most instructors use (and intend to keep using) a textbook. Rather than suggesting wholesale alternatives, I instead offer ideas for how instructors can recognize and respond to assumed knowledge in their textbooks, using as a case study my experience teaching first-year Latin using the *Oxford Latin Course* to a student population with very little background knowledge. As subject experts, ancient language instructors do have a deep knowledge of the classical world. It is not necessarily obvious to us what our students do not know. When both we and our textbooks assume that the students will know something, we become gatekeepers. Unpacking assumed knowledge in our textbooks – and in our own expectations – will facilitate student success, improve student retention, and help build more inclusive classrooms.

*Implicit Bias in Introductory Language Textbooks*

In introductory Greek and Latin textbooks, the stories and practice sentences created by the books' authors are obviously often filled with ideological assumptions that contradict our contemporary values (Peddar 2023, citing earlier literature). Such undertones partly reflect the eras and social contexts in which these books were created. They are also the result of an attempt to create a reality effect by reproducing stock figures from genuine Greek and Latin literature – including from historically misleading genres such as comic drama. The women of the textbooks are prized mainly for their looks; they lead passive and economically unproductive lives; and they are easily frightened, needing firm male reassurance (Allan 1986). Some textbook slaves are wont to be unnecessarily lazy; others are implausibly well treated by their enslavers and are surprisingly content (Dugan 2019; Parodi 2020). When foreigners appear, they are often two-dimensional *barbaroi* who are morally or militarily deficient. On the other hand, textbook stories are focalized through adult male citizens, who are brave, industrious, and effective.

This presentation aims to initiate discussions about potential solutions to such implicit biases – and about the shortcomings of such solutions. We could carefully deconstruct the more unfortunate passages as we meet them in class, but will our captive congregations, who came to learn a language, resent being preached to about identity politics? Should we instead skewer the biases, deploying tart comments, heavy irony, and satire? This perhaps risks trivialising a serious issue. We could rewrite textbooks to match today's values, but this is a temporary solution to a permanent problem, since values change. We could devote class time to prose composition exercises, rewriting some of the more offensive passages. But do we have space in our schedules to do this, given our very limited class time? There are no easy solutions, but frank and honest discussion is a start.

**BROOK, Adriana**, University of Toronto

5A

*Teaching Tune-Up: Using UDL to Evaluate Your Implicit Teaching Decisions and Make Your Greek or Latin Classroom More Inclusive*

While the old adage that ‘we all teach as we were taught’ has fairly been questioned, many well-intentioned instructors do unconsciously favour the teaching methods that worked best for them (Cox 2014; Oleson & Hora 2013). Some of these methods are no longer as inclusive as they ought to be in an evolving higher education landscape. With numerous demands on our time, it can be difficult to recognize these unconscious tendencies, let alone critically evaluate them and, if needed, devise new methods to replace them. This session is designed as an accessible and low-stakes opportunity for instructors to reflect on their implicit teaching decisions through the lens of Universal Design for Learning (UDL: Burgstahler & Cauci 2020; CAST 2018; Tobin 2018) and to evaluate possible small-scale interventions. UDL advocates multiple modes of 1) engagement; 2) representation; 3) action and expression. In the sphere of engagement, instructors will reconsider the common assumptions that students are motivated by grades (Blum 2020) or by an inherent interest in the classical world (Katz *et al.* 2020; Walsh 2018). Instructors will also be asked to consider whether they privilege some modes of representation over others and what alternatives might exist (Carlson 2016; Deagon 2006). When it comes to action and expression, instructors will be encouraged to reflect on their assessment and feedback practices and the extent to which they explicitly teach study skills (Carlson 2016; Walsh 2018). We will also consider some common assumptions about ancient language teaching specifically and why these might create barriers for students. This brief survey is intended to construe inclusive teaching as a process, not a destination. We do the most to advance inclusivity when we commit to re-evaluating our tacit beliefs and making small, targeted changes on a regular basis.

**BENNARDO, Lorenza**, University of Toronto, Mississauga

5A

*Does speaking Latin actually help? An experience-based reflection on communicative teaching for ancient languages.*

Introducing communicative methods in ancient Greek and Latin instruction is often perceived as a radical choice, and one that is potentially detrimental to students' grammar competence. However, both research in ancient language pedagogy and classroom experience show that using SLA (Second Language Acquisition)/ communicative methods to teach ancient languages not only helps students develop grammar competence but also crucially enhances their reading skills (Carlson 2013). A dominant mode of instruction until the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Manning 2021), communicative teaching (i.e. teaching that targets all four language skills: speaking, listening, reading, and writing) responds to the necessity of lowering students' emotional barriers (Lightbown and Spada 2013) and making ancient languages more accessible for those who do not have a background in ancient Greek and Roman culture (Bracey 2017). Moreover, communicative strategies can be selected based on the profile of individual classrooms and adjusted to the unique goals of each program; they can also be combined with grammar teaching in a way that makes students more deeply and meaningfully interested in the technical aspects of the language. This session will offer a brief exposition of the principles behind two communicative activities, circling (Slocum Bailey 2016, Bracey 2019) and form-focused recast (Anderson 2019), and describe some outcomes of the use of each activity (among others, better internalisation of grammar principles and improved cooperation between students) in an otherwise grammar oriented Latin program at the university level. Instructors will be given templates of the two activities and will be encouraged to think if/how such activities can be modified and adapted, e.g., to be used in different programs and/or at different levels of instruction, to introduce and process various grammatical concepts, and to build or consolidate a number of transferable skills (e.g. linguistic analysis, writing skills, self-evaluation, etc.).

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**PRÉSIDENCE DE SÉANCE : EILERS, CLAUDE**

**6D**

**TITUS IN CONTEXT - PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES**

**TITUS EN CONTEXTE - PROBLÈMES ET PERSPECTIVES**

*Mercredi 15 mai 11h00-12h30 / Wednesday May 15<sup>th</sup> 11:00-12:30 a.m.  
Salle Noviciat 2*

**Organisateurs / Organizers :**

EILERS, Claude & LEONI, Tommaso

As a result of ‘the Year of the Four Emperors’, Rome had a new emperor, Vespasian, and a new dynasty, the Flavians, who were Rome’s first true dynastic family given that Titus was the first to succeed his biological father as emperor. By the time he stepped into that role, he had been his father’s imperial partner for 10 years.

His principate was marked with several catastrophes: Vesuvius erupted in August, 79; a great fire in 80 destroyed much of the Capitol and a vast area towards the Campus Martius; and an epidemic described by Suetonius (Tit. 8.3) as “almost unparalleled” followed. Despite the prominence that came with role under his father and then his own accession to the principate, there are surprising gaps in our knowledge about him. We don’t know what year he was born in or in which years he married his two wives, or with which of these he fathered Julia, and whether there was something suspicious about his early and unexpected death. Our panel brings together four papers about Titus that consider him in various contexts.



*Titus et la consolidation du culte impérial*

Avec la Lex de imperio Vespasiani, l'Auguste Vespasien et son successeur désigné, le César Titus, ont pu transférer le rôle constitutionnel du princeps et ses pouvoirs à une nouvelle dynastie et ainsi consolider le système politique. Leur suprématie est incontestée grâce à leurs succès militaires dans le Bellum Judaicum. Grâce à leur politique de construction, ils répondent pleinement aux attentes de la population urbaine romaine en tant qu'urbis patroni et obtiennent l'acceptation nécessaire dans ce domaine. Contrairement aux empereurs de la dynastie julio-claudienne, les Flaviens n'avaient pas d'ancêtre divinisé. Il leur manquait donc un élément traditionnel essentiel à l'acceptation du pouvoir, qu'ils cherchaient à compenser par une commémoration programmatique d'Auguste et de Claude (cf. Leithoff 2014).

Cependant, la consécration de Vespasien représentait un jalon pour un développement ultérieur, qui devait stabiliser la pratique du culte d'un souverain semblable à un dieu pour les empereurs suivants, indépendamment de leurs liens familiaux directs. Mais pourquoi Titus a-t-il laissé passer plus de six mois avant de diviniser son père, alors que tous les autres empereurs ont été divinisés dans le mois suivant leur mort ? Nous pensons que ni les relations tendues avec son père, ni l'éruption du Vésuve en août/octobre 79 ne peuvent être identifiées comme les causes réelles. Au contraire, nous soutiendrons dans cette contribution que le chemin vers la consécration de Vespasien a été une affaire complexe car, pour Titus, il s'agissait d'échanger des préférences religieuses personnelles pour des divinités orientales (cf. Pfeiffer 2010) avec la mémoire collective d'Auguste et de Claude chez la population urbaine romaine pour garantir la cause et donc la poursuite de la pratique dans le cadre de sa dynastie (cf. Brandt 2021, 258-261). L'introduction de Vespasien parmi les dieux de l'État (cf. Clauss 1999) n'était pas un projet administratif a-religieux de grande envergure (cf. Jones 1984, 154), mais signifiait au contraire que Titus devait répondre aux attentes de son rôle d'Auguste dans la sphère religieuse s'il ne voulait pas perdre l'acceptation (- au sens de Flaig 2021) qu'une consécration ordonnée à la hâte aurait pu déclencher. Le tableau dressé par Suétone de la transformation de Titus d'un politicien de pouvoir brutal et sans retenue à la Marc Antoine en un souverain juste dans la succession d'Auguste trouve peut-être son origine précisément dans la négociation avec le sénat (cf. McIntyre 2019, 36) et la phase de consolidation du culte impérial qui a conduit à la consécration de Vespasien.

*Julia Titi and the Flavian Visual Program*

Among living women depicted on imperial coinage, daughters of emperors are somewhat rare. Even rarer are imperial nieces. Julia Titi, however, appeared on the official coinage during the reigns of both her father Titus and his brother Domitian. Julia's presence in the official iconography of the reigns of both emperors is revealing of her perceived usefulness for the messaging of each brother's reign. Underappreciated in previous scholarship is the potential that the provincial coinage has to expand upon our understanding of her promotion.

Although Julia's coinage from both Rome and provincial mints is not plentiful, it does use three primary hairstyles, further divided into six types by Alexandridis (2010: 225-226), a much higher variety than most imperial women. The typological quantity is even greater than her more frequently depicted contemporary, Domitia.

Julia appears rarely on provincial coins, with only eleven total types. This is only one tenth of the amount of provincial Domitia types. However, Julia's provincial coin portraits use all three hairstyles and all adhere to official portrait types, a level of variety and accuracy of portrait copying unheard of for other imperial women. Additionally, later imperial women, including Domitia herself, are depicted using Julia's hairstyles on provincial issues, showing a continued presence of the Julia models.

The evidence from the imperial and provincial coins shows that Julia was deliberately and extensively promoted as a member of the imperial household during the reigns of both Titus and Domitian. Following Vespasian's long reign with no living imperial women, Julia represents the start of women as official representatives of the Flavian household. The provincial coins give insight into the impact of this program outside of Rome.

*The construction of the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus and the memory of Nero*

There are good reasons to think that in 196 BCE the proconsul Lucius Stertinius, upon his return from Spain, decided to set up one of his three fornices at the south-east end of the Circus Maximus. In 67 CE, when Nero returned to Rome from his extravagant 'artistic' tour of Greece, he chose to pass through the City's oldest and most famous arena for chariot racing in a lavish procession. Suetonius (Ner. 25.2) reports that on this occasion an (or: the?) arch of the Circus was pulled down. We do not know whether the demolished arcus was the Fornix Stertini (what was left of it after the Great Fire of July 64 CE or whatever structure had replaced it before or after the conflagration); still, such a possibility should be seriously entertained. Thus it appears that for his own triumphal monument honouring him for the victory over Jerusalem, Titus elected to construct (or reconstruct?) an arcus exactly in the same area where Nero had destroyed one. This may reveal a new aspect of the Flavian building project in the Vallis Murcia. The literary sources document that Titus enjoyed a very poor reputation under his father and had to face some serious opposition to his accession. As a private citizen and even when Vespasian was emperor, Domitian's brother 'did not escape odium, let alone public vituperation' (Suet. Tit. 1); indeed, 'people openly opined and predicted that he would be another Nero' (Tit. 7.1). Upon becoming princeps, Titus worked hard to erase the memory of his own 'Neronian' past and made every effort to improve his public image. The goals of imperial ideology and propaganda were pursued in every field and they also played a fundamental rôle in shaping and defining the second Flavian emperor's building programme.

*Titus' autograph and the Bellum Judaicum as 'propaganda' (Jos. Vita 363)*

While recounting his own life and career in his *Vita*, Josephus makes a remarkable claim: that the accuracy of Josephus' account of the Judaeen War had received direct affirmation from Titus (*Vita* 363):

ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος οὕτως ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιῶσαι προσέταξεν.

*So anxious was the Emperor Titus that my volumes should be the sole authority from which the world should learn the facts, that he affixed his own signature to them and gave orders for their publication. (trans Thackeray)*

This passage has become embroiled in arguments about a complicated array of issues, including the degree to which it should be understood as an 'official version' of the war or even 'propaganda', which seems implied by the fact that Titus 'affixed his own signature to them', as the translation of Thackeray has put it, and other translators follow suit. Titus' autograph has worked its way into the historical literature, too, with many scholars taking note of this and describing it as his *imprimatur* (or sim.). This is, however, a mistranslation. This is all based, however, on a mistranslation. The Greek (as my paper will explain) merely says that Titus issued 'an order written in his own hand'. Once this is recognized, the only piece of evidence that Titus directly endorsed the *Bellum* disappears, which invites a re-evaluation of its relation to Flavian 'propaganda', which is a term that itself needs to be challenged.

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**PRÉSIDENCE DE SÉANCE : YU, Kenneth**

**6C**

**PERSPECTIVES BIGARRÉES SUR LE ROMAN IMPÉRIAL**

**DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES ON THE IMPERIAL NOVEL**

*Mercredi 15 mai 11h00-12h30 / Wednesday May 15<sup>th</sup> 11:00-12:30 a.m.  
Salle Noviciat 1*

**Organisatrice / Organizer:**

LAPORTE, Karine

La séance « Perspectives bigarrées sur le roman impérial » se propose d'investiguer les caractéristiques de plusieurs romans d'époque impériale, en particulier leur diversité du point de vue des genres littéraires. Les trois communications se pencheront sur les relations des romans avec d'autres genres, comme la poésie bucolique et l'historiographie, afin de réfléchir sur les pratiques et les goûts littéraires distinctifs de l'époque impériale, y compris en relation avec la littérature hellénistique.

Les questions suivantes seront au centre des présentations :

- Comment peut-on définir la pratique du mélange des genres ?
- Qu'advient-il de la distinction entre prose et poésie ?
- Quels sont les ponts entre littérature, histoire, rhétorique et philosophie ?
- En quoi consiste la relation entre la littérature impériale la littérature hellénistique, et comment se distinguent-elles ?

Cette séance bilingue a pour but d'établir un dialogue entre les conférencières, le public et les traditions scientifiques francophones et anglophones. À noter que les conférences seront présentées dans la langue des oratrices, mais que les exempliers et présentations Powerpoint seront fournis dans l'autre langue.

**DOWNIE, Janet**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

6C

*Natural History as Intertextual Space in Moschus' Europa and Longus' Daphnis and Chloe*

The first book of Longus' novel *Daphnis and Chloe* ends with a humorous scene: the young Daphnis makes his escape from pirates when their boat capsizes, and he swims for shore clinging awkwardly to the horns of two cows – at which point, the narrative gives way to a digression on the topic of bovine swimming skills (1.30). This natural history digression reads as “pseudo-scientific nonsense” (Bowie 2019, 160), and scholars have debated whether it should be regarded as an integral part of the text or as a wayward interpolation.

The current consensus is to accept it as part of the text, but views differ on how to understand its tone and function. Most see the excursus as a performance of scientific sophistication framed ironically either by the novel's author (Morgan 2004) or by its internal narrator (Maciver 2020). I argue in this paper that Longus digresses on swimming cows in order to create an intertextual connection with Moschus' *Europa*. Extending the analysis of Pattoni (2005), I show that the language of Longus' excursus, the scene to which it is connected, and also the focus on natural history in the context of a reflection on erotic experience all have precedents in Moschus' epyllion. This is significant because Moschus' nuanced representation of feminine erotic experience provides a model – unique in the Hellenistic repertoire – for the fluid emotional landscape of epicene sexuality that is the subject of Longus' pastoral novel.

**MORAND, Anne-France**, Université Laval

6C

*Mélanges des genres, poikilia et fils conducteurs dans Leucippé et Clitophon d'Achille Tatius*

En lisant *Leucippé et Clitophon* d'Achille Tatius (fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. après J.-C.), le lecteur est immédiatement frappé par la bigarrure de ce roman, ou selon l'expression plus tardive « coq à l'âne » : la *poikilia* Achille Tatius fait songer aux *Histoires variées* d'Élien (Lukinovich, Morand 1991). Or, selon la Souda, le romancier aurait écrit des *Histoires mélangées*, une œuvre perdue. Cet exposé se propose de réfléchir d'un côté à la juxtaposition d'éléments variés et de l'autre de considérer l'œuvre du point de vue de l'ensemble, en prenant considération les *ekphraseis*, les prolepses et les leitmotive (Whitmarsh 2020). En se fondant sur des exemples choisis, la visée est de mettre en lumière certains éléments caractéristiques de la littérature d'époque impériale. La notion de topos littéraire sera tout particulièrement discutée (Pernot 1986).

*Interactions littéraires entre roman et historiographie à l'époque impériale: autour des préfaces*

Certains récits historiques de l'époque impériale pouvaient, selon la critique moderne, être qualifiés de « romanesques » au vu de leurs lacunes méthodologiques, leurs erreurs factuelles et de leurs élans dramatiques. Leur fond historique était à rapprocher de la prétention des romanciers d'ancrer leurs propres récits dans une réalité historique, tandis que les techniques de composition appartenaient plutôt au domaine de la fiction. S'il est vrai que l'historiographie impériale a fortement été influencée par la Seconde Sophistique et l'essor des genres narratifs en prose, il n'est pas sûr que ce fût au détriment de sa qualité ou de sa nature.

L'examen des ressemblances entre le roman et l'historiographie a notamment été mené par rapport à la pratique individuelle d'un auteur (e.g. Pausanias dans Hutton 2009, Hérodien dans Kemezis 2021), ou selon le traitement de la fiction et de la vérité par ces genres (Hansen 2003, Morgan 2007). Même si les études adoptent depuis quelques décennies une vision plus élastique de l'historiographie antique, ces parallèles tendent à favoriser le roman, qui gagne ainsi en profondeur et en méthode (Trzaskoma 2005).

Afin de poursuivre la réflexion sur ces interactions littéraires, je m'attacherai, dans le cadre de cette communication, à l'étude de préfaces choisies de romans (cf. Morgan 2001) et de récits historiques de l'époque impériale. Les préfaces constituent en effet une sélection intéressante pour notre propos, car elles montrent un souci, chez l'auteur, de s'inscrire dans une tradition littéraire tout en souhaitant s'en démarquer par des innovations qui lui seraient propres. Plus particulièrement, il s'agira d'interroger, dans ces extraits, les notions de plaisir et d'utilité, la caractérisation du sujet et la place de l'auteur-narrateur. Cette exploration nous permettra, enfin, de poser quelques hypothèses sur les façons dont l'historiographie impériale se distingue, grâce aux interactions avec le roman, de son homologue hellénistique

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**Étudier l'hospitalité en crise dans la Méditerranée antique :  
une approche lexicale**

**STUDYING THE CRISIS OF HOSPITALITY IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN :  
A LEXICAL APPROACH**

*Mercredi 15 mai 14h30-16h00 / Wednesday May 15<sup>th</sup> 2:30-4:00 p.m.  
Salle Communauté 1*

**Organisatrice / Organizer:**

LE GUENNEC, Marie-Adeline

L'Antiquité est fréquemment érigée en modèle d'accueil inconditionnel (LE GUENNEC 2019). Cette vision irénique ne doit pas masquer que l'hospitalité, dans la Méditerranée ancienne, reste un mécanisme de régulation de l'étranger (FAUCHON-CLAUDON – LE GUENNEC 2022) participant de la construction de l'altérité (GRUEN 2011). Les dispositifs d'hospitalité peuvent viser à intégrer l'hôte mais tendent aussi à le confiner en marge de la société voire à l'exclure. De fait, les heurts entre hôtes et/ou candidats à l'accueil abondent dans la documentation ancienne (FAUCHON-CLAUDON ET AL. 2022). Dans ce panel consacré aux sources littéraires, nous analyserons ces phénomènes en les considérant comme les manifestations d'une « crise d'hospitalité » – concept qui permet de réunir les multiples circonstances hospitalières témoignant d'une rencontre problématique, réelle ou fantasmée, avec l'autre. Pour affiner la typologie des situations relevant de cette hospitalité inopérante, sans verser dans des analyses anachroniques de ces « crises » historiques (LONGHI 2019), nous développons une approche lexicale ciblant leurs caractéristiques émic : l'usage des outils de lemmatisation GREgORI et de textométrie TXM permet de relever les associations sémantiques et lexicales dans les sources littéraires retenues sans avoir à viser a priori ce qui relèverait du glossaire spécifique de la crise. Les études de cas présentées dans ce panel exposeront les premiers résultats obtenus par cette approche.

*Le lexique, révélateur de l'hospitalium en crise d'après l'Histoire romaine de Tite-Live: entre sacré, droit et diplomatie*

Dans ce panel, nous présenterons notre approche lexicale des crises d'hospitalité dans la Méditerranée antique par des études de cas, en la testant pour des périodes, civilisations, langues et genres littéraires distincts, afin d'identifier les traits discursifs communs ainsi que les variations chronologiques, spatiales et culturelles de ces crises en contexte. La première communication sera consacrée au cas de Rome, à la lumière de l'Histoire romaine de Tite-Live.

Des origines de Rome au Principat, l'hospitalium romain, qui se déploie entre particuliers et entre instances étatiques, évolue du statut de dispositif juridique destiné aux étrangers dans la cité (GAUDEMET 1965) vers un rôle diplomatique, encadrant les relations de Rome avec ses alliés et ses sujets (BALBIN CHAMORRO 2006). Dans le même temps, l'hospitalité constitue un instrument politique pour les aristocrates dans la course aux honneurs (NICOLS 2001), tout en revêtant une dimension sacrée soutenue par les valeurs du mos maiorum. S'il faut tenir compte de l'actualisation des événements relatés au moment de la composition de l'oeuvre et du lissage lexical provoqué par une auctorialité unique, l'oeuvre de Tite-Live se révèle un observatoire privilégié de cette polysémie de l'hospitalité romaine ainsi que des représentations et des schémas discursifs qui lui sont associés (BOLCHAZY 1977). De ce fait, l'Histoire romaine offre un échantillon représentatif des formes que pouvait prendre une « crise d'hospitalité » dans le contexte romain, et des options lexicales qui permettaient d'exprimer ces ruptures de l'hospitalité en latin ; l'étude des passages concernés permet de mieux comprendre, par leur négatif, les valeurs associées à l'hospitalium. C'est ce que nous montrerons dans cette communication : après une présentation générale du corpus sous l'angle du lexique, nous reviendrons sur deux épisodes illustrant des crises d'hospitalité advenues ou en gestation : la tentative de la mise à mort de l'hôte accueilli sous le toit de son hôte, et le refus d'accorder l'hospitalité aux représentants d'une puissance étrangère autrefois alliée.

*La crise d'hospitalité : entre modèle biblique et réécritures judéo-hellénistiques*

Les réécritures dans la littérature judéo-hellénistique de certains épisodes bibliques mettant en scène l'hospitalité sont souvent le reflet des enjeux politiques, religieux et sociétaux auxquels sont confrontés leurs milieux de production, à savoir les communautés juives dans le contexte de l'élargissement de la domination romaine et tout particulièrement dans celui de l'Égypte devenue province romaine (BLOCH 2022). Plusieurs facteurs extra-bibliques ont pu avoir un impact sur les représentations de l'hospitalité dans le judaïsme hellénistique. Y figurent les accusations de misanthropie (BERTHELOT 2003), voire de misoxénie à l'égard des Juifs et de leur particularisme religieux et ethnique dont se font l'écho des auteurs latins comme Pline et Tacite. À la différence de la xenelasia, davantage motivée par des sujets d'ordre pratique, la misoxenia apparaît pour la première fois comme associée à un caractère national du peuple juif perçu comme « asocial » et « xénophobe » (SCHÄFER 2003). Les réécritures par des auteurs différents d'un même épisode biblique mettant en scène une crise d'hospitalité peuvent ainsi constituer, par leurs choix lexicaux et leur stratégies discursives, des réponses à de telles accusations. Nous proposons donc de comparer, au niveau lexical, les réécritures par Philon d'Alexandrie et Flavius Josèphe d'un même épisode : Genèse 12, 10-20 dans la version des LXX (l'arrivée d'Abraham et de Sarah en Égypte, l'accueil à la cour du Pharaon et la crise qui s'ensuit). Au-delà de l'importance d'Abraham, destiné à devenir l'emblème de l'hospitalité dans les trois monothéismes (MONGE 2003), le traitement de cette crise de l'hospitalité par les deux auteurs s'avère marqué pas les enjeux de leurs positionnements respectifs : Philon, exégète mais aussi défenseur des droits de sa communauté en même temps que citoyen romain et Flavius Josèphe, historien, dont la stratégie de promotion du « modèle juif » dans le monde gréco-romain est d'une grande complexité.

*Hospitalité pervertie, hospitalité en crise dans l'Orient tardo-antique : stratégie discursive et réalités du pouvoir*

Devenu récurrent dans la documentation littéraire chrétienne tardo-antique, le motif de l'hospitalité accordée à un hôte ennemi du bien public soulève la question de l'écart entre le caractère inconditionnel de l'accueil prôné par la « nouvelle » religion chrétienne (MONGE 2008) et la praxis de l'offre hospitalière (CORSI 2005 ; BODIN 2013). Ces crises d'hospitalité semblent illustrer la collusion des facteurs religieux, sociaux et politiques dans les rapports de force qui s'exercent dans ce monde christianisé (BROWN 1992).

Deux cas d'étude retiendront notre attention. Proche de Licinius, défait par Constantin à la bataille de Chrysopolis en septembre 324, Eusèbe de Nicomédie parvient toutefois à demeurer à la cour de Constantinople, à conserver son siège épiscopal, et se rallie en 325 à la foi de Nicée. Il est cependant exilé quelques mois plus tard, avec l'évêque de Nicée, Théognis, pour avoir offert l'hospitalité à des amis d'Arius, contre la volonté impériale. Sozomène (400-450) érige l'hospitalité offerte aux ennemis de l'empereur Constantin comme un motif de sanction et de condamnation politique et religieuse, reflet de la crise arienne qui se joue au sommet de l'État.

Zosime (460-520) évoque, quant à lui, la méfiance éprouvée par Valentinien et son frère Valens à l'égard de l'usurpateur Procope. De peur d'être livré aux empereurs par les habitants de Chersonèse de Taurique, où il se trouvait alors, Procope se réfugie à Constantinople. Bénéficiant de l'hospitalité offerte par l'une de ses connaissances, il en profite pour fomenter un complot avec l'aide d'Eugène, un eunuque. Cette tentative d'usurpation s'ajoute aux nombreuses difficultés politiques et militaires provoquées par la mort de l'empereur Julien. Zosime fait donc état d'une situation de crise impériale émanant d'une hospitalité pervertie.

L'analyse comparée des lexiques employés dans ces deux épisodes permettra d'envisager comment les crises hospitalières transmises par des sources littéraires reposent sur des stratégies discursives mises au service d'un récit retraçant une crise au sommet de l'État.

Déjeuner/Lunch Time

**PANEL SUR L'IA / PANEL ON AI**

**ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION.  
A YEAR OF AI IN PRACTICE: A WORKSHOP**

**L'INTELLIGENCE ARTIFICIELLE ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT POSTSECONDAIRE.  
UNE ANNÉE D'IA EN PRATIQUE : un atelier**

*Jeudi 16 mai 12h30-14h30 / Thursday May 16<sup>th</sup> 12:30-2:30 p.m.  
Réfectoire historique*

**Organisateur.trice / Organizer:**

MAYNES, Craig et VESTER, Christina

University of Calgary et University of Waterloo

In little over a year ChatGPT and other generative AI applications have engendered significant investigation and response. In the world of post-secondary education, instructors, students, and organizations have begun to assess and weigh the possibilities and dangers of generative AI models. Discussions of AI in post-secondary education often revolve around individual, disciplinary, and institutional concerns about diminished learning, academic integrity, bias in LLM models, supplying generative AI applications with free material, and the social and environmental costs of generative AI apps.

It is easy to understand the appeal generative AI applications hold for students. Many welcome tools that assist in finding, organizing, and analyzing significant amounts of material. These tools also produce partial or full compositions – with bibliography. The ease with which this is done is, of course, what creates unease among instructors. What is often less discussed is how instructors are using AI – or are being invited, even directed, to – in building courses, lesson modules, and grading schemes, and in ensuring academic integrity.

The structure of this workshop is as follows:

- a. A brief overview of what ChatGPT is, as well as the various responses to generative AI within post-secondary institutions in Canada.
- b. A brief summary of how generative AI is used by students in our discipline. What AI tools are students accessing and how, and for

which classes? Are students using generative AI apps in language classes and if so, how? What are sites such as CourseHero.com and Chegg.com contributing to student learning, especially given their dependence upon AI to generate engagement (and revenue)?

c. The third and lengthiest part of this workshop will introduce, demonstrate, and assess some generative AI tools that instructors use. These will include a selection of the following: the use of Perusall in large-enrolment classes, multiple choice quiz or test generators, translation sites, course outline and lesson plan builders, rubric and glossary list makers as well as AI tools embedded in our various LMS systems (analytics and plagiarism detection software).

In closing, we will seek the thoughts and experiences of our attendees and invite discussion on learning goals and the role of AI within Classics. What successes – and/or shortcomings - have colleagues encountered in this use of AI? What learning goals are being pursued and how is AI being used to ensure the best learning outcomes?

A bibliography of generative AI applications used in the classroom will be shared with attendees.

*Résumés des panels de l'*

*Panels abstracts of the*

**ASGLE**

(American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy)

**NOUVELLES PERSPECTIVES ÉPIGRAPHIQUES SUR LE SPORT ET LE SPECTACLE  
GREC ET ROMAIN - I  
NEW EPIGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES ON GREEK AND ROMAN SPORTS AND  
SPECTACLES - I**

*Mardi 14 mai 8h30-10h30 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 8:30-10:30 a.m.  
Salle Communauté 1*

**EVANS, Matthew P.**, University of Warwick

*The Epigraphy of Gymnasia in Mainland and Insular Greece: Epigraphic Habits and Multiscalar Histories*

Previous research on gymnasia (institutions for athletic training and education) in mainland and insular Greece has tended to focus on archaeological evidence, owing to the number of impressive examples at sites such as Olympia, Delphi, Eretria and Amphipolis. On the other hand, the textual evidence remains comparatively understudied despite the rich nature of this resource. Key inscriptions such as the Beroia gymnasiarchal law and the Amphipolis ephebachal law have received close study to reveal the social dynamics, organisation and functions of gymnasia (Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993; Lazaridou 2015), whilst study of broader sets of inscriptions related to gymnasia focus on Asia Minor or Egypt as regions with particularly forthcoming bodies of epigraphic evidence (Paganini 2021; on-going project directed by Pierre Fröhlich and Christof Schuler (Bordeaux and DA)). However, we still know little about the broad epigraphic habits surrounding gymnasia in Greece, with treatments of their history (especially during the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods) remaining tied up in problematic and outdated narratives of decline. This paper brings together for the first time the entire epigraphic corpus for gymnasia within mainland and insular Greece. The dataset (ca. 1,000 entries) will be analysed using two different methods. Firstly, a broad survey of geospatial and chronological patterns will help to elucidate the history of gymnasia across regions and poleis. This will provide a basis from which to set (and compare) the histories of gymnasia across various scales. Secondly, an analysis of the language used in the texts across the dataset will reveal processes of change and continuity in the epigraphic habit surrounding gymnasia throughout antiquity. In turn, this paper hopes to work towards a more contextualised understanding of the history of gymnasia, complimenting the picture already garnered from the archaeological record and the isolated treatment of key texts.



*Accounts (ἀπολογία) and the organization of Greek festivals*

Although most of the contributions to the panel may be interested in inscriptions as sources for athletes, my paper will focus on epigraphical accounts (ἀπολογία), and will thus shed light both on the organization of festivals and on the significance of these documents for civic life. For decades, eight accounts, mostly from Boeotia, were known, but in recent years two comprehensive inscriptions have been published (Brélaz – Andreiomenou – Ducrey 2007, 246–7, no. 1 [SEG lxvii 452A; Hallof 2021, 43–4] and Matthaiou and Papazarkadas 2014/19, 161–3, with Knoepfler 2014/19 and Müller 2020/21). These spectacular new finds expand our knowledge of Greek *agones* and help us understand better how and by whom they were organized and financed.

An expert on the history of the organization of festivals (Begass 2024a; 2024b; 2024c; 2024d), I will first give a very short overview of the extant accounts. In this section, I will discuss the extent to which these inscriptions provide accurate information about the organization and financing of festivals from the second century b.c. to the second century a.d. In the second part of my talk, however, the socio-political value of these accounts will be examined. Using particularly notable examples that are suitable for a twenty-minute presentation, I will show how these texts—as parts of impressive monuments—served not only to document the proper financial conduct of the organizers, but how they were used by *agonothetai* to project a lasting image of themselves that effectively extended the festivals they presided.

Having co-organized the very first panel on *Epigraphica agonistica graeca* that took place at the CIEGL at Bordeaux in 2022 (cf. Begass and Tentori Montalto 2024), I am delighted to contribute to the ASGLE-CAC panel in Québec and thus help promote the joint studies of epigraphy and ancient athletics.

*Costume Rentals in the Hellenistic Period*

Epigraphy reveals certain practical aspects of spectacle that are rarely attested in other types of ancient sources. Such is the small inscriptional dossier pertaining to costume rentals (ἱματιομίσθα), which sporadically appear in the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 19:335 from Tanagra, *SIG* 424 from Delphi, and *IG* XII,9 207 from Euboia; also attested twice in later Greek lexicography). This paper will be the first scholarly attempt at gathering all the information about the rentals. Although this topic has not received any prior attention (hence no bibliography here), it is important for understanding logistics of festival planning and expenditure, how the economy of spectacle was integrated into local economies, and the reliance of performers on craftspeople and shopkeepers.

The main goal of the costume lenders was to provide theatrical costumes for dramatic performances during festival contests. The cost of the costumes was not covered by the guild of artists of Dionysos, who arranged actors and other professionals to be sent to the festivals, but rather by local *agonothetai* responsible for festivals. Nevertheless, it seems to have been well-regulated: costume-lending was a part of the official contract between the festival organizers and the guild at least once (*IG* XII,9 207).

The model of local, stationary rentals, and other professionals who traveled around the Mediterranean would make sense considering the difficulties of travel on the festival circuit, but it is complicated by the Delphic *SIG* 424, which preserves names of three costume lenders, none of whom actually hailed from Delphi (they were citizens of Soloi, Salamina, and one of the Herakleias). The paper will then consider the possibility of a separate festival circuit specifically traveled by the costume lenders.

*Gladiateurs et globalisation dans deux capitales provinciales romaines: les cas de la Colonia Augusta Emerita et la Colonia Patricia Corduba*

Il existe peu de domaines de la vie romaine plus liés aux questions de mobilité – principalement la mobilité forcée – que le monde du spectacle des gladiateurs romains. Depuis leur début en 264 avant notre ère, les *munera gladiatoria* présentés dans le centre de Rome impliquaient des combattants amenés sous la contrainte de près ou de loin pour combattre dans l'arène, qu'ils soient prisonniers de guerre ou esclaves achetés par des entraîneurs de gladiateurs (*lanistae*). Le recrutement de gladiateurs est devenu encore plus global lorsque l'empereur rassemblait de grandes troupes (*familiae*) de gladiateurs de tous les coins de l'Empire pour les spectacles extravagants qu'il parrainait à Rome. Ce processus a été reproduit dans une certaine mesure au niveau municipal dans les provinces occidentales et orientales de l'Empire romain.

Cette présentation se concentre sur les riches preuves épigraphiques de deux capitales de province dans la Péninsule Ibérique : la Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita (Mérida), chef-lieu de la province de la Lusitanie, où, par exemple, le monument funéraire d'un *secutor* d'origine phrygienne est conservé, et la Colonia Patricia Corduba (Córdoba), capitale de la Bétique, d'où on a découvert une nécropole spécifiquement de gladiateurs, qui révèle la grande diversité de leurs origines géographiques. Tout cela nous permet d'explorer les processus de globalisation qui ont affecté les provinces de l'Empire romain.

Nous montrerons que la présence de gladiateurs explicitement « étrangers », qui avaient été recrutés dans des lieux très éloignés de l'endroit où ils finissaient par mourir, contribuait à donner un exotisme aux programmes des *munera* provinciaux, en les rendant plus mémorables. Au même temps, ils renforçaient le capital social des autorités romaines et locales qui s'occupaient de l'organisation de *munera* dans deux capitales provinciales romaines, en particulier ceux organisés lors des célébrations annuelles du culte impérial provincial.

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**NOUVELLES PERSPECTIVES ÉPIGRAPHIQUES SUR LE SPORT ET LE SPECTACLE  
GREC ET ROMAIN - II  
NEW EPIGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES ON GREEK AND ROMAN SPORTS AND  
SPECTACLES - II**

*Mardi 14 mai 11h00-12h30 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 11:30-12:30 a.m.  
Salle Communauté 1*

**MONACI, Jordan**, Université Laval

*Un jour offert au dieu (ἐπέδωκε τῶι θεῶι ἄμεραν) : un cas particulier de représentations artistiques à Delphes ?*

L'époque hellénistique est propice aux mobilités des artistes, en témoignent de nombreuses inscriptions, dans les sanctuaires apolloniens par exemple, Délos et Delphes. À l'instar du monde grec, le sanctuaire qui en représente le nombril, à savoir Delphes, voyait des artistes se produire et compétitionner lors de concours. En parallèle de ces compétitions, ils avaient également la possibilité de proposer des auditions (ἐπιδείξεις ou ἀκροάσεις) devant public, bien documentées.

Quelques cas, néanmoins, à Delphes, semblent référer à une autre catégorie de spectacles qui s'inscriraient tout de même dans une logique de compétition, comme les ἀγῶνες, selon A. Cinalli qui les définit comme des « kermesses » – nous retrouvons à ce titre le verbe ἀγωνίζωμαι – même s'ils ne rentrent pas à proprement parler dans les concours. Désignés par l'expression « ἐπέδωκε τῶι θεῶι ἄμεραν » et ses déclinaisons, ces cas de figure peu nombreux rendent compte d'une pratique qui fait partie intégrante de la mobilité des artistes.

La présentation proposera de revenir sur ce dossier épigraphique composé de quelques décrets honorifiques dont certains se démarquent par leur contexte, rajoutant ainsi un degré de complexité à une pratique qui semble démontrer le pragmatisme et l'opportunisme de ces artistes mobiles ainsi que du sanctuaire oraculaire.

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*New light on an old inscription (IG XII 9, 239): a ‘glocal’ association of athletes at Eretria?*

A partly preserved stele from Eretria (IG XII 9, 239), containing two Late Hellenistic honorific decrees, known for over 100 years, has never received proper attention despite its unique content. The decrees were passed by an association connected to the local gymnasium, identifying itself simply as a *synodos*. Surprisingly, they confer *proxenia* on a number of honorands. Whereas *proxenia* is among the standard public honours that define and promote inter-state relations, it is a highly unusual honour to be conferred by a non-state body: it is only otherwise known for the Dionysiac *technitai* and an association of shipowners and merchants on Delos (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1012), whose activities involved representation and promotion of their interests at an inter-state level (cf. Mack 2015, 228 on ‘non-polis actors’).

Accordingly, this paper seeks to elucidate the identification of the *synodos* that granted *proxenia* at Eretria. It will be argued that the context and the content of the decrees strongly suggest that the association in question developed networks of proxeny in order to promote its status and its interests. Here, at Eretria in the Late Hellenistic period, we thus have the earliest attested association of athletes which attempts to have an “international profile” or at least to be “glocal” in its aspirations. This neglected inscription sheds significant light on the history of athletic associations, since it becomes the first tangible piece of evidence against the view that ‘such local associations do not exist in the Hellenistic source material’ (Fauconnier 2023, 37).

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*An Unpublished Inscription from Corinth mentioning P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, and Some Thoughts on the Season of the Olympic Games*

Some questions regarding ancient athletic contests include, how did the officials and athletes know when to arrive at a particular festival (this last problematic given the variable nature of Greek lunisolar calendars), and once they arrived, where did they stay? This talk will first discuss an unpublished Latin inscription dating to the Antonine/Aurelian periods found at Corinth in the summer of 2023 that relates to the career of the priest of Poseidon at Isthmia, P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, who later was also the high-priest of the Augusti for the Achaean League, and who is also known to have provided 50 rooms rent-free for the athletes at the Isthmia (see Geagan 1989). Along the way, this talk will briefly discuss the class of inscriptions relating to *Theōroi* and *Theōrodokoi*, the former a term that applies both to those who were selected by *poleis* to be sent out to announce the games in advance, as well as to those who were selected to attend such games, and the latter who hosted *Theōroi*. Finally, I will also discuss Stephen Miller's (1975) superficially attractive theory – which has been widely accepted for almost 50 years – that all the athletes and officials of the Greco-Roman world carefully determined the date of the first *full moon* after the summer solstice to mark the beginning of the “Olympic month” (the μέυς Ὀλυμπικός attested at *Inscripfen von Olympia* 8 and 16 = Minon, *IED* 7 and 22), and then celebrated the Olympia in Elis around the second *full moon* after the summer solstice. Here, with some ideas of John D. Morgan, I will show how this theory is both unworkable and inconsistent with the literary evidence we have for specific Olympia. I will then advocate for another theory that is consistent with the evidence and is also workable.

*Résumés des panels du  
Réseau des femmes*

*Panels abstracts of the  
Women's Network*

**AGENTIVITÉ DANS LES ŒUVRES ET/OU LA CULTURE MATÉRIELLE DES GROUPES  
SOUS-REPRÉSENTÉS DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ - I**  
**AGENCY IN THE WORKS AND/OR MATERIAL CULTURE OF UNDERREPRESENTED  
GROUPS IN ANTIQUITY - I**

*Mardi 14 mai 11h00-12h30 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 11:00-12:30 a.m.*  
*Salle Noviciat 2*

**GLAZEBROOK, Allison**, Brock University  
*Vulnerability, Sex, and Labour in Lysias 4: A case study*

The Attic orators regularly reference sex labourers in their narratives and present them as manipulative, self-interested, and disingenuous, thereby obscuring the power dynamics behind their relationships. These traits, furthermore, they argue, made client-lovers vulnerable to victimization. Such vulnerability takes several forms: in its mildest aspect the client-lover acts like a fool (Lys. 3.4; Isai. 3.17). In the most serious cases, the lover succumbs to a kind of madness ([Dem.] 48.53). In this paper, I reconsider these stereotypes in relation to the emotions and subjectivity of enslaved sex labourers using the lens of emotional labour (Hochschild 1983; Hoang 2010; Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2022). Through a careful rereading of the narrative surrounding a *pornē kai doulē anthrōpos* (“enslaved prostitute woman”) in Lysias 4, I reframe such stereotypes to disrupt the male enslaver’s perspective. Such a reading highlights, in contrast, the agency, aspirations, and authenticity of sex labourers, without ignoring the precarity of their experiences or ascribing simple emotions, like love and greed, to them. My reading complicates how we might understand sex labourers’ experiences of precarity and vulnerability and exposes the discourse on male vulnerability in oratory and comedy as a privileged discourse.



*Tanaquil, Leader of Men*

Women's agency in Livy has long been the subject of debate, yet one female figure has prompted more perplexity than her regal counterparts: Tanaquil, the fifth queen of Rome. Commemorated as neither maiden nor mother, Livy's powerful queen Tanaquil has seemed an anomaly, and scholars labored to show Livy's disapprobation. While some scholars found Tanaquil's contributions unimpressive or "questionable" (Bauman 1992, Stevenson 2011), others denounced her as a manipulator and negative *exemplum* for the vile seventh queen, Tullia (e.g. Smethurst 1950, Santoro L'Hoir 1992, Cailleux 2017). Yet Livy shows clearly Tullia could not imitate Tanaquil's deeds, as the deluded Tullia lacked guidance from the gods.

I argue that far from characterizing Tanaquil as the predecessor in crime of Tullia, Livy steered readers toward the conclusion that Tanaquil's divinely inspired political maneuvers stood as an *exemplum* to a male hero of the Republic, Lucius Junius Brutus. Alone of their contemporaries, each received and understood divine signs indicating the gods' choice of Rome's next ruler (Tanaquil: 1.34, 1.39; Brutus: 1.56) and each actively labored to ensure that their blood relatives did not inherit the kingship (Tanaquil: 139-1.41; Brutus: 1.59-2.6). Most compellingly, Livy shows us that each required others to swear oaths before a slain innocent as they fomented revolutionary regime change: Tanaquil's harangue (1.41) to her protégé Servius before the body of her slain husband provided a model for Brutus's impassioned plea before the body of Lucretia (1.59).

It seems therefore that Livy styled Tanaquil as an *exemplum* for the flower of Roman manhood, not womanhood, as her utterly pious deeds were reenacted by her worthy male descendant, Brutus. With a female immigrant queen positioned as a foremother of the Republic, Livy's narrative urges us to radically rethink modern, but outdated, notions of ancient Roman conceptions of agency, gender and power.

*L'agentivité de Cornelia Venusta*

Au I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère, Cornelia Venusta, une femme romaine, a commandé une plaque funéraire inscrite. L'inscription nous apprend que le monument associé à cette plaque était dédié à son époux, son affranchie et son esclave. Le nom de Cornelia Venusta est associé au nom de métier *clavaria* c'est-à-dire fabricante ou vendeuse de clous. Son époux est également *clavarius*. Depuis la découverte de l'inscription près de Milan en Italie, en 1832, l'activité professionnelle de Cornelia Venusta a été interprétée de différentes manières par les historiens et les archéologues : « seulement » vendeuse des clous « certainement » fabriqués par son mari, car il ne pouvait en être autrement pour une femme romaine d'après certains chercheurs, ou potentiellement, voire assurément, fabricante de clous d'après d'autres spécialistes.

Je propose de reprendre l'étude de l'inscription de manière approfondie en abordant le contexte archéologique de la plaque, l'analyse du texte latin et l'interprétation du métier de *clavaria* pour chercher à caractériser l'agentivité de Cornelia Venusta. Nous nous interrogerons sur l'importance du genre, ou non, dans la définition de cette agentivité en comparant avec les autres métiers féminins liés à la fabrication artisanale (*brattiararia* par exemple) et avec les autres exemples de *clavarius* connus. Enfin, nous aborderons la question de l'historiographie et nous nous intéresserons de manière plus détaillée à l'évolution des interprétations du métier de Cornelia Venusta.

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**AGENTIVITÉ DANS LES ŒUVRES ET/OU LA CULTURE MATÉRIELLE DES GROUPES  
SOUS-REPRÉSENTÉS DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ - II**  
**AGENCY IN THE WORKS AND/OR MATERIAL CULTURE OF UNDERREPRESENTED  
GROUPS IN ANTIQUITY - II**

*Mardi 14 mai 14h30-16h00 / Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup> 2:30-4:00 p.m.*  
*Salle Noviciat 2*

**SERRATI, John** Université d'Ottawa

*War, Women, and Vengeance. Ritual Lamentation and Gender  
Performance in the Roman Republic*

Traditionally, scholars have treated warfare and women as completely separate subjects, and few studies exist which examine the interplay between femininity, hypermasculinity, and conflict in ancient Rome. The Republic of the fourth to first centuries BC was the high point of Rome's martial culture, and armed conflict at this time was framed as one party taking vengeance upon another for a perceived wrong. This framing meant that the war was just and in harmony with the divine *cosmos*. The exacting of revenge through battle was an inherently masculine activity, as combat in the mid-Republic was the primary means by which a man displayed his *virtus*. Although the exacting of revenge was associated with masculinity, vengeance itself was gendered as female and was thought to have been part of the female psyche. As seen in such figures Lucretia, the Furies, and Bellona, revenge itself was deeply associated with femininity. The interconnectedness of male warfare and female vengeance at Rome meant that, while men did the actual fighting, women played a vital role in influencing males to perform their civic duty by service in war. Via the act of lamentation — a ritualised female mourning tradition — Roman women challenged men to take up arms in order to avenge the wrongs perpetrated by an enemy. The female lament, therefore, acted as a form of social pressure which persistently reinforced and regulated Rome's culture of hypermasculinity. Overall, the paper seeks to analyse traditional gender hierarchies during the mid-Republic and to examine how the act of lamentation afforded women a voice in the normally masculine spheres of political decision-making and warfare.

*Old Women Talking*

Old women’s knowledge and speech is routinely dismissed as *aniles fabellae* in our Roman sources. This phrase translates literally to “old-womanly little stories,” but the English phrase “old wives’ tales” best captures the silliness and superstition implied by the Roman label. Nonetheless, scholarly interest in *aniles fabellae* and their Greek equivalents has pointed to the pervasiveness of the presence of such tales in the household and to their content: *aniles fabellae* were mythological tales of the sort comparable, and perhaps even identical, to those found in the high-cultural works of male authors sung by women (not necessarily only “old” women) as they performed their domestic duties of wool-working and child-rearing (e.g., Massano 1977; Scobie 1979; and especially Heath 2011 and 2017). The functions of *aniles fabellae* were manifold, spanning from entertaining distractions to cautionary tales to collective traditions pertaining to community history and the community’s place within the larger world. As these last two functions in particular suggest, *aniles fabellae* did not constitute a well-defined genre of nonsensical speech, much less one that was as culturally-superficial as our literary sources would lead us to believe. Yet the significance of the sort of stories denigrated as *aniles fabellae* outside of the household has not yet been fully explored. This paper seeks to investigate the influence of *aniles fabellae* on the disposition of the larger Roman community. It argues that these tales’ detractors used the derogatory label to minimize popular beliefs and so to proclaim the superiority of their own models of the natural world. This discursive strategy, so often employed in other areas of Roman life, perhaps does not require much demonstration; but its contemplation here is salutary because it draws our attention to the ubiquity and influence of narratives associated with women.

*Briseis' Lament and the Agency of Enslaved People*

On November 28, 2022, Angelina Jolie published an op-ed demanding that governments take steps to end sexual violence in conflict zones (Jolie 2022). While this discussion of the treatment of women in warfare is contemporary, it is grounded in a long history of marginalization. Nearly three thousand years ago, the *Iliad* presented the earliest literary example of a woman captured in war, Briseis, who speaks to us about her experience (*Il.* 19.287-300). While her experience has traditionally been reduced to the label of “concubine” (Krill 1971; Rose 2015), I will argue that there is more nuance to the representation of Briseis in the *Iliad*. Despite the brevity of her speech, it asserts her agency by highlighting her connections to recognized social networks, something that is repressed in the experience of slavery. By describing both her past with her natal family and an imagined future as the legitimate wife of Achilles, she defines herself as a person beyond her enslaved status. As one of the key textual sources for slavery in Archaic Greece, the *Iliad* provides insight into the complicated opportunities that may have been available for enslaved women to manage their social situations. This research will not only give scholarly attention to an often-neglected figure; it is also tied directly to a contemporary world that still grapples with issues of sexual violence in warfare. The continued relevance of ancient victims has only recently received critical attention alongside contemporary scholarly analysis of the same practices (Gaca 2011; Giblin 2011). With emerging first-hand accounts of women who have experienced similar coercion in ongoing conflicts, reading Briseis’ agency as an ancient commentary on sexual violence and enslavement in warfare provides an important connection between the ancient world and the modern.

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*Résumés*

*Abstracts*

*The Greek Coins in the Royal Ontario Museum*

This paper summarizes the findings of a project to begin the complete scholarly study and publication of the collection of ancient Greek coins in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). Over a two-year pilot project we have been examining the coins produced in two of the regions represented in the collection: the coins of Athens, and those of the Seleucid kingdom.

The ROM holds around 1800 Greek coins that range in date from the earliest issues of the sixth century BCE to those of the Hellenistic rulers of the third to first centuries BCE. Several hundred of these coins are routinely on display in the museum's Greek gallery, but the collection has never been published. Consequently, the collection is little known, and largely inaccessible to both researchers and the wider public. The coins have received no attention since 1991, and have never been studied systematically. Our interdisciplinary team of historians and museum specialists has been working to remedy this, and in this paper we present the results of our preliminary investigation.

We presented an introduction to the project and some very early findings at last year's CAC-SCEC annual meeting in Halifax. This year we are in a position to provide a more thorough update, and new information on the dating and identification of several pieces in the collection. We have also been carrying out the first thorough analysis of the hoard material in the Museum's collection. A re-evaluation of the "Ontario hoard" remains a special priority as it is relevant to our understanding of the large and important emissions of the New Style of Athenian tetradrachms in general, and specifically also, because of the most common find spots of several types from the late 2nd century, to the organization of the Roman province of Macedonia.

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*Mobilité féminine aux marges de la société: le cas des parentes d'esclaves et d'affranchis impériaux.*

Il est un fait avéré que les femmes sont un groupe dont la présence dans les sources est plutôt discrète et secondaire. Qui plus est, cette marginalisation s'accroît davantage dans le cas des catégories sociales inférieures. C'est pourquoi, dans le cadre de cette intervention, je voudrais traiter, en guise de réflexion sur la problématique plus large de la mobilité féminine, la question du déplacement des femmes (épouses, mères ou filles, esclaves, affranchies etc.) apparentées aux esclaves et aux affranchis impériaux au service de l'Empereur et en poste hors de Rome.

Depuis les travaux pionniers de G. Boulvert (*Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain. Rôle politique et administratif*, Naples, 1970 et *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le Haut-Empire romain. La condition de l'affranchi et de l'esclave du prince*, Paris, 1974) et de P.R.C. Weaver (*Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge, 1972), les nouvelles découvertes et les progrès de la recherche permettent d'effectuer un réexamen de ces problématiques. Parmi les questions que je souhaiterais aborder, il y a celle du déplacement de ces dames : accompagnaient-elles leurs parents dans leurs fonctions en tant qu'agents du pouvoir ? Ces derniers étaient-ils soumis à l'interdiction d'épouser une femme originaire de la province où ils étaient en poste, comme c'était le cas, entre autres, pour les officiers équestres (Dig. 33, 2, 38 pr. et 63, d'après Paul et Papinien) ? Dans le cas contraire, les épouses étaient-elles d'extraction locale ? Où résidaient-elles durant le temps de service de leur père ou de leur mari ? Telles sont les thèmes, parmi d'autres, que je voudrais examiner lors de mon intervention.

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*Votive Speaking Objects in Greek Dialogue Epigrams*

Since early Greek inscriptions, we encounter first-person texts “spoken” by the objects on which they are inscribed, namely, statues, votive objects, and tombstones. After Burzachechi’s 1962 seminal work entitled “Oggetti Parlanti Nelle Epigrafi Greche”, such objects started to be called *oggetti parlanti*, i.e., speaking objects. Over time, a second voice in dialogical exchange with the speaking object was added. At first, the second voice is silent and only identified by a vocative and some imperative verbs. Eventually, silence was broken and the addressed second person gained voice, resulting in a dialogue. Such narrative dynamics are eventually consolidated in what is known as dialogue epigrams. The objective of this paper is to analyze how the speech of the speaking objects in Greek votive epigrams of the Greek Anthology is articulated as a single voice and how such speech is changed in order to accommodate the second voice in dialogical exchange. After analyzing a selection of epigrams from book 6 of the Greek Anthology, I identified that the narrative strategies used in votive speaking objects change from a passive to a more active role, not only in epigrams featuring solely the speaking object but also in dialogue epigrams between the speaking object and the passerby. However, despite the identified narrative transformations, speaking objects preserve their primordial characteristic of being the source of basic information about all parties involved in a votive practice.

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*Out to Sea: Understanding an Eroding Late Bronze Age Coastscape at Maroni-Tsaroukkas, Cyprus*

Coastal erosion has a significant impact on global resources, including the preservation and study of cultural heritage. This is true for the south-central coast of Cyprus, where portions of the coastline have been lost to coastal erosion and along with it the destruction of ancient settlements, burials, and coastal facilities. One such site is the Late Bronze Age (LBA) or Late Cypriot (LC; ca. 1680-1100 BCE) site of Maroni-Tsaroukkas, where a large coastal building complex sits on the coast in the Maroni Valley. We conducted underwater survey between 2017-2019 in an area directly offshore from Tsaroukkas using low-cost digital technology to record stone anchors, stone blocks, and LC ceramics. The remains of an anchorage are found in the eastern part of the underwater site, where small to medium size ships around 7m to 11m in length would have anchored to offload and load their cargoes. However, the western part of the site likely was a LBA terrestrial storage facility or a production site, based on the presence of unfinished anchors and a cohesive deposit of early LC ceramics. One key terrestrial feature is a paleo-waterway, which not only could have been a valuable resource and conduit into the hinterland, but also could have formed a promontory in that western region through alluvial deposits. Since these dynamics considerably alter our reconstruction of the paleo-coastline, we are undertaking geoarchaeological analyses to confirm the existence of the promontory and investigate the corresponding paleo-landscape. Our multi-pronged approach utilises digital tools to record the underwater and terrestrial landscapes, along with sedimentology and micromorphology to document the landscape, and optically stimulated luminescence to understand site formation processes. Overall, this project not only advances our interpretation of a vibrant LBA coastscape but also highlights the impact of erosion on cultural heritage management.

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*Blondin Belles-mirettes vs. Noiraud Les-petits-yeux : le combat d'Ulysse et Palamède à la lutte physiognomonique*

Figure absente de l'œuvre homérique, célébrée cependant dès l'Antiquité classique en des œuvres nombreuses – traités, tragédies, épopées – Palamède représente avec Ulysse le prototype du héros intelligent et inventif. Les deux hommes toutefois sont toujours opposés et l'habileté qu'on leur reconnaît est de nature très différente, mêtis pour l'un, sophia pour l'autre : tandis que les compétences d'Ulysse relèvent de la ruse et de l'artifice, Palamède représente le héros ingénieux, pacifiste, bienfaiteur de l'humanité aux quinze inventions remarquables. Les deux héros s'opposent par leur caractère, mais aussi directement, pour la mort de Palamède notamment, et certains auteurs anciens semblent prendre parti pour l'un ou l'autre : dans les Chants Cypriens Ulysse, avec Diomède, noie Palamède tandis qu'il pêche ; dans l'*Ephemeris belli Troiani*, les deux complices l'envoient chercher un trésor dans un puits où ils le tuent à coups de pierres ; Xénophon et Platon rapprochent tous deux sa mort, jugée « injuste », de celle de Socrate ; en revanche, la *De excidio Troiae historia* montre Pâris tuant d'une flèche en plein cou un Palamède vantard célébrant indûment sur le champ de bataille la mort qu'il vient d'infliger à Sarpédon.

En lien avec notre projet sur l'utilisation de la mythologie dans l'enseignement latin des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles après J. C., nous nous proposons de comparer la place que tiennent Ulysse et Palamède dans ce cadre didactique. Outre les récits de différents épisodes, nous entendons analyser plus précisément les descriptions physiques que les auteurs anciens donnent des deux hommes. La physiognomonie, liant pour chaque individu caractéristiques physiques et traits moraux, est en effet au nombre des outils dont usent les professeurs de l'époque pour atteindre leurs visées pédagogiques : grâce la portraiture des deux héros, nous verrons, d'Ulysse ou de Palamède, si l'un ou l'autre put être tenu pour plus estimable.

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*A Captive from Jerusalem, the Law, and Diaspora Judaism in  
Flavian Italy*

Among the tens of thousands of funerary inscriptions from Roman Italy, only seven are ascertainably Jewish and date before the third century CE, including a Latin epitaph about a captive (*captiva*) named Claudia Aster: she hailed from Jerusalem, was enslaved, and died a freedwoman in Puteoli (AE 1999: 455).

Claudia Aster's enslavement has plausibly been linked to the Roman capture of Jerusalem in 70 CE (Lacerenza 1999; Noy, Sorek 2007). I pay particular attention to her cognomen, which, I argue, establishes her Jewishness. I also discuss Claudia Aster's relationship to the epitaph's dedicator, her manumitter, an imperial freedman called Tiberius Claudius [Pro]culus.

Scholarship is undecided whether Proculus, too, was Jewish (Dubois 1907: 103; Hézser 2005: 51). In the epitaph, Proculus refers to a *lex*, which many identify with local Roman law (Lacerenza 1999: 304, 311–12; Noy 2005: 127); I compare the pertinent evidence to demonstrate that Proculus invokes the 'law of the Jews', the Torah.

This makes the epitaph one of the two earliest Jewish voices from Flavian Italy that comment on the recent revolt in Judaea and its aftermath—the other being Josephus, then a resident of Rome. I explore the epitaph's emotional attachment to the Jewish law at a time, immediately after the revolt, when the diaspora was experiencing suffering and violence (Bendlin 2020). And I investigate the motif of Jewish captivity. I argue that both themes emerge as crucial to the Jewish diaspora identity in Roman Italy following the destruction of the Second Temple.

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*Woman's Rule in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Case of Cleopatra VII in the Light of Numismatics*

Who was Cleopatra VII, and what new things can we learn about her?

The reign of the last Ptolemaic queen, essentially told from the victor's point of view, has undoubtedly been the subject of many studies but has yet to be subjected to a complete numismatic analysis. The coins remain the most tangible sources, given the scarcity of documentary data and the biased nature of literary sources.

Between 51 and 30 BC, Cleopatra built a proper monetary system of silver and bronze coins containing various typologies. From Alexandria to Patras through the Syro-Phoenician coast, thirteen cities which were allies or subjects minted coins for the queen and in her effigy. Most issues are set in a particular context and can be linked to specific events, such as war, dynastic promotion, alliance or legitimization.

On the one hand, the coinage of Cleopatra fits with the tradition of the Ptolemaic dynasty; on the other, it broke with it. The Alexandrian's issues are particularly relevant in this respect: her ancestor, Ptolemy I Soter, continued to feature on silver tetradrachms while the portrait of the queen appeared on the bronze coins that had previously been reserved for traditional deities such as Zeus-Amon or Isis.

Two complementary analyses are required to fully understand the development of the basilissa's coinage. The first one, an iconographic study, examines the choice of portraits and types according to mint, metal and context, providing insights into the symbolic and political messages conveyed through the coinage. The second technical analysis involves examining the metrology and conducting a die study to reveal the technical aspects of coin production and their implications. These two approaches reveal the aims and logic behind each issue and the means Cleopatra employed to govern her kingdom.

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*Gendering Enslavement: Women as Slaveholders in Roman Egypt*

Slavery in Roman Egypt was gendered. The abundance of papyrological sources from the first to fourth century CE has facilitated the study of slavery in Roman Egypt, where classicists and papyrologists alike have carefully combed through the province's archive. Documents such as petitions, contracts, and census returns have been used to address a variety of questions about slavery, ranging from demography, occupation, as well as identity and ethnicity (Bagnall & Frier, 1994; Straus, 2004). Gender disparity among the enslaved has also been recognized and considered (Rowlandson, 2004). The majority of the province's slave population was female, and most enslaved women engaged in forced domestic labour, taking on utilitarian tasks and childcare within the home. The papyrological record, while suggesting a gendered difference among the enslaved, reveals a similar yet understudied trend; a large percentage of slaveholders in Roman Egypt were women.

This paper examines the role free women took as slaveholders in Roman Egypt. Drawing upon administrative, legal, and personal examples from the papyrological archive, the author argues that free women played a chief role in slaveholding and slavery in Roman Egypt. Through the formulation and application of a life-course method (Harlow & Laurence, 2002; Boozer, 2021), as well as drawing upon cross-cultural comparisons and archaeological evidence, this paper demonstrates that slaveholding served multiple functions for free women at various stages in their lives, showing that these women not only actively engaged with but also supported the province's slaving institution. More generally, this paper begins to reframe the field's perception of women as economic actors in Roman Egypt, challenging and expanding on the concept of female property ownership.

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*Aping The Past: A case study of Avianus' imitation of Babrius' Mythiambi*

The late antique poet Avianus authored 42 fables, drawing from Greek and Latin sources, especially from Babrius, a Greek fabulist from the imperial period. However, Avianus is more than an imitator; he is an ingenious poet who consciously positions himself within the Greco-Roman fable tradition. A metapoetic analysis of Avianus 35, which reworks Babrius 35 and Aesop 218, will here serve as a case study. Avianus' rendition, while extending the narrative, retains the core structure of his model(s), showing us a monkey exhibiting different degrees of affection towards her twin offspring. This affection paradoxically leads to the demise of the more beloved child, while the other survives. I argue that, in Avianus 35, the paired monkeys symbolize Avianus and Babrius, along with their respective works, with the mother monkey representing Aesop, their mutual model. The connection between Avianus and Babrius' poems goes beyond verbal similarities, extending to their thematic substance and the strategic placement in identical positions within their respective collections. I read the fable in light of the ancient perception of monkeys as mimics and the metapoetic uses of this animal in Latin literature, where they often appear in the context of cultural and literary emulation. Avianus exploits this imagery by crafting a tale that, on a metapoetic level, showcases his literary rivalry with Babrius. Moreover, the Latin fabulist infuses his fable with clever nods to Virgil's *Aeneid* and Roman culture. These allusions serve a dual purpose. Avianus' evocation of one of Latin literature's giants, on the one hand, firmly anchors his tale within the Latin cultural matrix, offering a compelling counterpart to Babrius's Greek narrative. On the other hand, these allusions allow the readers to see the surviving twin as a stand-in for the author himself. Thus, Avianus 35 becomes a playful jab at Babrius, suggesting the Latin author's claim to the Aesopic fabulist crown.

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*Entre justice rétributive et magie noire : les Erinyes dans l'Orestie*

Dans cette communication, j'examine certaines occurrences clés du nom Eriny(e)s dans l'Orestie (Ag. 40-62 ; Ag. 445-470 ; Ag. 699-749 ; Ag. 1183-1193 ; Ag. 1580-1603 ; Eum. 328-333) dans le but de proposer que ces passages ouvrent la voie à la proclamation par les Erinyes de leur "vrai" nom dans les Euménides (416-417), à savoir Arai (Malédiction), filles de Nux (Nuit). L'étymologie indirecte de ces lignes (Ἐρινύες < ἀραι + Νύξ) met en lumière certaines implications qui n'avaient été que suggérées dans les mentions précédentes de ces créatures. Jusqu'à présent, plusieurs personnages (chœur des vieillards argiens, Cassandre, Clytemnestre, Égisthe, etc.) avaient invoqué les Erinyes de diverses manières, reflétant la diversité de leurs conceptions respectives de la justice ; or, à y regarder de près, on constate que ces passages contiennent aussi des allusions, quoique subtiles, à l'effet des malédictions.

Dans les Euménides, les Erinyes occupent le devant de la scène et la question de leur identité devient une préoccupation majeure. Bien qu'elles se présentent à Oreste comme Erinyes (331), elles déclarent, lors de leur rencontre avec Athéna (415-417), que leur nom est en fait Arai. Cette déclaration révèle la vacuité des prétentions à la justice des divers personnages qui avaient précédemment tenté de s'assurer la complicité des Erinyes. En tant que discours performatif, les malédictions opèrent de façon quasi autonome ; leur efficacité dépend du statut socio-religieux de l'auteur de la malédiction plutôt que de sa légitimité morale. L'étymologie de Eum. 415-417 est donc révélatrice de la véritable nature du *modus operandi* derrière les crimes répétés de la famille royale argienne. En tant que telle, elle constitue un autre exemple d'un phénomène omniprésent dans l'Orestie, à savoir la progression de la noirceur vers la lumière et de l'obscurité vers la clarté.

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*Quand les rois visitent Rome : l'ambassade d'Eumène II de 167 a.C.*

Au sortir de la troisième Guerre de Macédoine, Eumène II se rendit en ambassade auprès du Sénat romain, à l'automne 167 a.C., dans un contexte de tensions croissantes avec ses alliés romains. En effet, l'engagement du trône attalide aux côtés de Rome dans sa lutte contre Persée avait été jugé trop timoré au sein des rangs de la curie romaine. Dans un retournement diplomatique majeur, les Patres refusèrent de recevoir l'Attalide, rompant avec la politique qu'ils avaient jusque-là menée envers leur allié pergaménien. Selon Polybe (XXX, 19, 13), l'intention du Sénat « était donc d'infliger par tous les moyens à Eumène une humiliation complète », et ce, à un moment où ce dernier devait faire face à des troubles importants en Galatie. Ce faisant, les sénateurs envoyaient également un signal important aux adversaires d'Eumène, qui ne pouvait quant à lui se prévaloir de l'appui indéfectible de son allié d'hier.

Cette ambassade royale s'inscrit à la suite d'une série de plusieurs délégations diplomatiques conduites par des princes hellénistiques en Italie, devenue « le vrai centre de la diplomatie internationale » (CLEMENTE 1976), et qui ont marqué différents temps de l'action diplomatique romaine dans l'Orient hellénistique, dans la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle a.C. Elle doit également s'analyser de pair avec l'accueil, à Rome, de princes hellénistiques, envoyés séjourner dans l'Urbs en tant qu'« otages » politiques à la suite des traités imposés par Rome à ses ennemis vaincus. L'étude de ces nombreuses ambassades – dont celle d'Eumène II n'était pas des moindres, considérant ses répercussions politiques en Asie Mineure – nous permettra de montrer comment le Sénat romain, loin d'être « apathique » (GRUEN 1984), désengagé des affaires de l'est de la Méditerranée, a su user de tous les outils à sa disposition – militaires, certes, mais surtout diplomatiques – pour affermir sa position auprès des monarques hellénistiques.

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*A case of classical reception in North America: managing hydraulic resources in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Mexico*

Examples of the reception of classical antiquity surround the inhabitants of the three North-American countries Canada, the USA, and Mexico. This is most obvious in sectors such as public or private architecture and the decoration of funerary monuments, but the reception extends to many aspects of literature and art.

In the field of legal thought, the influence from Roman law in Canada and the USA is less noticeable, due to the impact of English Common law. The situation in Mexico is different, because since the times of the institution of the colonial Viceroyalty (c. 1520) and continuing past the independence achieved in the 1820s, the legislation was derived from Spanish law, which in turn was heavily influenced by Roman legal thought.

This paper will show how the Roman influence can be identified in various laws which were applied in Mexican territories during the nineteenth century. The study focuses on legal texts which concern water outside of urban centres (i.e., urban supply and distribution is excluded), which means that any Roman legal precedent would likely be found among the rustic servitudes. Such influences can in fact be documented. The Mexican context explains which issues received attention. Mining continued to play a large role in the country's economy during the 19th century, and removing water from the mines in the appropriate way was important; here the Roman *actio aquae pluviae arcendae* played a clear role. It goes without saying that such legislation was intended to exploit the country's natural resources, originally to benefit the colonial government, and after independence to enrich private entrepreneurs and the authorities. Other legislation concerning hydraulic resources had more generally beneficial purposes, such as establishing public water posts along communication routes in the countryside or guaranteeing the traditional flow of rivers.

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*Contextualizing Uninscribed Curse Tablets in Greco-Roman Contexts*

During the excavations of a large house (Building 10) at the site of Kallithea in Thessaly, Greece, the lead lid of a pyxis was found reused, folded and pierced in the middle. It was later identified as a katadesmos (Latin defixio) or curse tablet, but after the lead sheet was unrolled, it proved not to contain any text. Uninscribed curse tablets were common in Greek and Roman contexts, but they are often ignored in publications. This paper will examine the archaeological contexts of uninscribed curse tablets, such as those at Selinus, Athens, Bath, and the Kyrenia shipwreck in order to understand their function, and thereby shed light on the purpose of Kallithea tablet.

Despite their lack of text informing modern readers of the tablets' agents and targets, an examination of their place of deposition, the objects' materiality, and the potential ritual acts behind the deposition, can say much about their intended outcomes. Although the text of inscribed tablets often refer to "binding-down" a target, I argue that many uninscribed katadesmoi functioned as generic protective amulets rather than vehicles for harmful spells aimed at particular individuals.

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*Enter Alcibiades: Gender and Disruption in Plato's Symposium*

In the Symposium Plato openly plays with Athenian gender categories to further his philosophical aims. The notion of time-limited *erastēs/erōmenos* relationships, with a clear dichotomy between active pursuit and passive receptivity, is challenged by the long-lasting relationship of Pausanias and Agathon and by the mythos of Aristophanes; then finally demolished in Socrates' dialogue with Diotima. Eros must be active and pursuing: "there is indeed no role for passivity in the pursuit of truth" (Halperin). This questioning of gender norms continues in Plato's presentation of Alcibiades, who—despite being in his mid-thirties at the dialogue's dramatic date—is depicted as a particularly aggressive *erōmenos*, quarreling with Agathon over proximity to the erotic master Socrates, and recounting at length his erotic pursuit of Socrates some years earlier.

Alcibiades' sexuality, like the whole of his irruption into the dialogue, serves to upset and call into question what had seemed settled at the end of Socrates' speech. While erotic pursuit may be the model for philosophical inquiry, the notoriously bad outcome of Alcibiades' political career makes the reader again question the wisdom of encouraging "shameless" (Symp. 192a) behavior in *erōmenoi*. Further, his appearance in the dialogue will be implicated in Plato's complex, multi-dialogue apologia for Socrates' infamous association with those who betrayed or opposed democratic Athens. This paper will examine the ways in which Plato uses common tropes of sexual behavior to depict Alcibiades as treacherous and unreliable. In particular, by depicting him as an over-age and particularly aggressive *erōmenos*, Plato plays on the cultural anxieties of masculine Athenian society, in particularly the need to make the sanctioned gender transition from *erastēs* to *erōmenos*. Those who fail to make this transition are considered shamless and untrustworthy: either weak-willed *kinaidoi* (cf. Aesch. *De falsa legatione* 151.4), or potential betrayers (cf. Kleisthenes in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*). Alcibiades' gender ambiguity prefigures (as of the dialogue's dramatic date) his political unreliability.

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*Une statue d'Antinous Apollon au Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal*

Une statue acéphale datant de l'époque d'Hadrien au Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal représenterait Antinous en chasseur armé d'un arc. Une étude poussée de cette pièce permet d'y reconnaître une commission importante en marbre de Paros. Elle fait partie du culte organisé autour du favori de l'empereur, culte qui, par son programme de propagande, va durer jusqu'au IV<sup>ème</sup> siècle. On en retrouve les traces dans la littérature (tel ce poème de Pancrates dont un fragment a été retrouvé à Oxyrhynque) et la réutilisation de reliefs, comme les tondi de l'arc de Constantin. Ils illustrent la passion d'Hadrien et Antinous pour la chasse. De récentes études ont souligné cette image d'Hadrien en nouvel Héraclès protecteur de son peuple. Les auteurs de cette communication vont de même faire le lien entre Antinous et Abderos.

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*Hellenistic Seal Impressions and the Social History of their Owners*

This paper investigates a unique set of archaeological data, a set of Hellenistic seal impressions that are all that survives from an archive of documents owned by a family or a small firm from the late second century BCE. This unpublished archive was discovered in 2018 as part of the regular excavations at the site of Hellenistic Maresha in modern-day southern Israel. Maresha was an Idumean community that became a populous cosmopolitan urban city in the third century and continued to thrive until the Judaeian conquest in 108 BCE.

This paper will place these seal impressions into their archaeological context, and offer some interpretations of unique sealings, and some readings of their inscriptions. More broadly, these seal impressions will be discussed in relation to other archives from the Levantine coast, and to iconographic expressions in Hellenistic Maresha. It shall suggest insights into the cultural expressions available and ultimately made by the owners of these sealings. It will also trace impact of empire on this local archive, and—by extension—onto those who called this archive their own.

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*La carte d'Ératosthène et le monde lagide*

Ératosthène de Cyrène, appelé à Alexandrie par Ptolémée III pour servir à la cour royale en tant que bibliothécaire et précepteur, resta au service de la famille et de l'administration ptolémaïque jusqu'à la fin de sa vie. Connu principalement pour son calcul précis de la circonférence de la terre et pour son œuvre géographique, Ératosthène conserve aujourd'hui la réputation d'un penseur scientifique. Son travail est généralement compris comme « mathématique », donc objectif, scientifique et rationnel. Néanmoins, il répondait aussi aux attentes de son époque. Les souverains lagides, descendants idéologiques d'Alexandre le Grand, se considéraient comme les héritiers de son empire et la représentation géographique de l'œcoumène par Ératosthène visait à renforcer cette idéologie en mettant en avant les territoires conquis par Alexandre.

Mon exposé cherchera à démontrer comment Ératosthène, à travers sa représentation cartographique de la partie sud-est du monde connu, promouvait l'idéologie de la monarchie gréco-macédonienne et lagide. J'expliquerai comment les choix géographiques opérés par Ératosthène ne correspondent pas aux frontières politiques contemporaines, mais plutôt à une vision idéalisée de la géographie de l'œcoumène fondée sur les conquêtes d'Alexandre le Grand.

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*Germination, croissance végétale et tournoiement dans l'anthropogonie d'Empédocle (B62 et PStrasb. gr. inv. 1165–1666 d 11-18)*

Le thème du vortex, omniprésent dès qu'il s'agit d'évoquer un changement de statut ontologique, se manifeste avec insistance d'Homère à Nonnos de Panopolis dans tous les champs de la littérature et de la philosophie gréco-latine. Dans la pensée d'Empédocle, ce thème est fondamental et entrelacé constamment et avec cohérence à celui de croissance végétale, à travers toute sa théorie « sur la nature » (cosmologie, eschatologie, anthropogonie, biologie, anatomie/physiologie et psychologie). Le vocabulaire de la germination et de la croissance végétale affleure partout, de même que les termes appartenant au champ sémantique du tourbillon/tournoiement. Notre analyse va se concentrer sur la description du processus d'anthropogénèse et sur la manière dont Empédocle retravaille le trope de l'hybridité humano-végétale et celui des mouvements tournoyants/tourbillonnants, orientés selon la visée cosmologique systématique qui fait l'unité de sa théorie physicaliste dans son ensemble.

Sous l'emprise de *Philia* et de son *στροφάλιξ*, les quatre racines cosmiques s'entremêlent et un tournoiement préside à l'émergence des premiers êtres vivants, lors d'un processus hybride alliant la botanique des plantes/arbres à l'anthropogonie. Empédocle n'est pas isolé: hommes nés des arbres sont bien connus d'Homère et Hésiode; la théo-cosmogonie d'Hésiode reconnaît des « racines – sources de toutes choses » à la Terre et à la Mer, au Tartare, au Ciel et à l'Olympe; l'image végétale de la germination est courante dans l'embryologie hippocratique et présocratique, par exemple à propos de la naissance et du déploiement du vivant. Le but de cette communication est de montrer que l'anthropogonie empédocléenne, pétrie de botanique, trouve ses origines dans la tradition poétique dont il métamorphose les motifs végétaux et le vocabulaire spécifique. Cantonnée dans les premiers temps de l'univers hésiodique, la genèse végétale devient chez Empédocle la loi fondamentale qui régit le processus de génération de tous les êtres à partir des quatre éléments.

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## D

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**DENNIE, Stephanie**, Western University

7D

*Legitimizing the Spartan Dyarchy: The Return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West*

Drawing on the concept of social memory, this paper argues that Tyrtaios' use of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in fr.2 West (P.Oxy. 38.2824) legitimizes the office of the Spartan dyarchy in his own time by creating continuity with the past. Tyrtaios accomplishes this by emphasising two particular facets of this myth; namely, that Spartan rulership was granted to the Herakleidai by Zeus (v.11-12) and that the Dorians aided the Herakleidai in their return (v.13-14) and must, therefore, also obey them now (πειθώμεθα v. 9). Tyrtaios' reference to this myth is generally discussed in the broader context of the Messenian War and the establishment of the Great Rhetra by Lykourgos. Malkin (1994), Luraghi (2008), and Patterson (2010), for example, argue that this myth provided the contemporary Spartans with a legitimate reason to occupy land in the Peloponnese because their ancestor, Herakles, had won it for them.

Van Wees (1999), however, cautions against connecting fragments of Tyrtaios' Eunomia with the Great Rhetra (Plut. Lyc. 6) and makes the compelling suggestion to analyse Tyrtaios in his own historical context. The call for obedience and cooperation in fr.2 West should be seen as a response to civil strife (Tyrtaios fr.4 West; Arist. Pol. 5.6.1306b36-7b2; Strab. 8.4.10), rather than an attempt to rally the troops to take Messenia. Van Wees connects fr.2 only in passing to the legitimization of the dyarchy. By utilizing approaches to oral tradition (Thomas 1996) and social memory (Forsdyke 1999, 2001; Patterson 2010; Grethlein 2010, 2012; Steinbock 2013), I contextualize further the relationship between fr.2 and the dyarchy and demonstrate how the myth of the return of the Herakleidai addresses the contemporary need for legitimization by creating a link to a shared collective past.

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*Commemorating Women: the Case Study of the Greek Funerary Inscriptions of the City of Rome*

The aim of this paper is to analyze the use of epithets to commemorate women in prose funerary inscriptions in the Greek language, contrasting them to the relationships between the deceased woman and the commemorator/s as they appear in the inscriptions themselves. The aim is to enhance our understanding of the representations of women in the city of Rome, according to whether the female was commemorated in a Greek or Latin-speaking context, in the hope of moving beyond the examples that appear to denote a dependence on topoi in literary sources. My research focuses on the city of Rome, comprising the long period between the 1st to the end of the 4th century CE. I will also compare the results of this analysis and the evidence from compatible Latin funerary inscriptions from the same area to ascertain cross-linguistic and cross-community social variations or commonalities. Recently (2020), Sigismund Nielsen has pointed out how many times scholars have fallen short in an in-depth analysis of the recurrences of epithets for women, while many have claimed that the engagement in wool-making and the description of submissive womanly virtues are the most common qualities used to describe women in Roman society. Using a quantitative approach, Greek epithets commemorating women will be analyzed and contrasted with data from Latin material in Rome. Among other observations from the analysis conducted on non-epigrammatic Greek funerary inscriptions, I will show that terms denoting domestic virtues (i.e. φίλεργος or οἰκονόμος), widely present in epigrams, do not appear in prose inscriptions. Instead, the most used adjectives are terms broadly denoting the good character of the woman (i.e. γλυκυτάτη or σεμνοτάτη) without such a heavy focus on reclusiveness and labour. I will argue that we find more limitations of choice in Latin than in the Greek material.

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*Hercule et Les 12 travaux d'Astérix*

Dès le début du film *Les 12 travaux d'Astérix* (1976), il est clair que la référence à Hercule n'est pas superficielle. Les douze épreuves sont une mise à jour de celles d'Hercule, et leur but est de prouver que les habitants de l'irréductible village gaulois sont des dieux comme Hercule. Il y a des parallèles entre les travaux d'Hercule et ceux des Gaulois (course, civilisation de femmes, animaux, monstres et morts). Comme avec Hercule, les épreuves amènent Astérix et Obélix de plus en plus loin de chez eux, au point où ils sont dans les domaines de monstres et de trépassés.

Cependant, en regardant de plus près, on peut constater que les parallèles entre nos Gaulois et Hercule vont encore plus loin. Les trois premières épreuves du film font référence aux Olympiques, fondés selon la légende par Hercule. Comme Hercule, Astérix et Obélix doivent choisir entre gloire et (l'île du) plaisir. On parle souvent de la folie, un élément intrinsèque à l'histoire d'Hercule et, ici, une conséquence si ces Gaulois « fous » faillissent certaines épreuves. Pour gagner, les deux héros gaulois doivent avoir la force d'Hercule et son courage (ils n'ont peur que d'une chose...). Cependant, ils doivent aussi avoir sa ruse (pour vaincre Cylindric le Germain, Iris le magicien, la Maison qui rend fou, etc.) et son appétit (le cuisinier Mannekenpix et la bête). Nous pouvons donc dire qu'Astérix, avec sa ruse, représente l'une des facettes d'Hercule, pendant qu'Obélix, avec sa force qui est permanente depuis son enfance et sa grande faim, en représente une autre. Pour maintenir cette complémentarité, Idéfix (qui accompagne habituellement Obélix), Panoramix (qui, en fournissant une aide surnaturelle grâce à la potion magique, joue ici le rôle de Minerve) et le reste du village ne sont là qu'à la dernière épreuve.

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*Études statistiques sur la recherche en études classiques*

La communication proposée entend illustrer certaines statistiques pouvant être extraites de L'Année philologique pour ensuite explorer les communautés d'intérêt des chercheurs Canadiens tel que manifestés par les comptes rendus répertoriés dans L'Année philologique.

- La première partie abordera entre autres choses :
- Le nombre annuel de publications répertoriées dans l'APh
- L'évolution des tendances (disciplines et auteurs anciens)
- La représentativité de l'APh

Les communautés d'intérêt sont représentées sur la base des notices de l'APh concernant des auteurs canadiens ainsi que celles des auteurs ayant écrit des comptes rendus au sujet de leurs publications. Au total, un réseau d'au plus 15 000 individus et d'environ 37 000 liens (i.e. comptes rendus) ont été compilés et analysés grâce au logiciel Gephi.

La deuxième partie de la présentation proposée consiste en :

- Une présentation du réseau des chercheurs Canadiens et de leurs communautés grâce à des règles de visualisations simples appropriées aux réseaux sociaux ("Force Atlas 2") et à un algorithme de détection de communauté.
  - Une exploration de caractéristiques du monde de la recherche répertoriée par l'APh observables grâce au type de visualisation choisi.
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*Odor and/or Olor: Cygnificant non-Scents in Plautus (Pseudolus 840-44) and Lucretius (DNR 5.1442)*

Articulatory or acoustic factors have left sporadic lexical evidence of alternation of the Latin phonemes /d/ and /l/ as in *dacrima / lacrima*, *dingua / lingua*, *Corydon / corylos*, *odor / olor*, etc. For the final example Varro (LL 6.83) specifically observes: *littera commutata dicitur odor olor, hinc olet et odorari et odoratus et odora res*. Virtually unanimous modern readings of Varro's listed words, including *olor*, recognize the lexeme meaning 'scent', but *olor* complicates the picture, being both a phonetic and orthographic variant of *odor* and an etymologically and semantically unrelated homonym of *olor* meaning, literally 'swan'. The swan, moreover, in its centuries-long Greek literary and linguistic history figuratively represents sailing ships.

The data assembled above supports re-interpretations of two poetic passages. The first, a vignette in Plautus' *Pseudolus* has a cook (stereotypically, a linguistically disadvantaged foreigner?) telling his interlocutor *Ballio* about an odor (pronounced and/or heard as *olor*?) that flies (*volat*) heavenward with extended feet. When *Ballio*, evidently puzzled by an aroma with feet, requests clarification, the cook recognizes a verbal error, but his 'correction' indicates that he still thinks of a swan's anatomy while *Ballio* understands "culinary aroma".

The second reinterpretation concerns the final word of the Lucretian verse.

*Tum mare velivolis florebat propter odores*

The dominant consensus, which assumes that "odores" connotes "scents", can fairly be represented by two comments; for Cyril Bailey (1900) it is "possibly the most desperate crux" in Lucretius, while Monica Gale (2007) finds it "probably incurably corrupt." Virtually unnoticed among the numerous emendations and explications unsuccessfully proffered over the centuries, one succinct note is particularly worthy of notice. M.L. Deshayes ("À propos d'un vers de Lucrèce," *Humanités Revue d'Enseignement secondaire et d'Éducation*, 41 [1964-65] 28.) would emend *odores* to *olores*: "scents" to "swanlike ships". In reinforcing Deshayes' arguments with redundant data I shall also note that the received text requires no emendation if *odores* and *olores* were per Varro, *commutabiles*.

*Évolution des Assemblées Provinciales dans l'Empire Romain :  
de la Religion au Pouvoir Politique*

L'étude des assemblées provinciales au cours du Bas-Empire soulève une question fondamentale : comment ces assemblées, initialement enracinées dans le culte religieux, ont-elles évolué pour devenir des instruments politiques et administratifs essentiels, et quel a été leur impact sur la structure et la dynamique du Nouvel Empire de Dioclétien et de Constantin (284 à 337)? Cette problématique conduit à explorer le processus de transformation de ces institutions depuis leur rôle dans les rituels religieux jusqu'à leur influence significative dans la gouvernance provinciale.

L'étude présente la réinstallation des assemblées provinciales en tant qu'outil politique pour améliorer la communication entre les régions centrales et périphériques de l'empire après la division des provinces. Elle remet en question la croyance savante précédente, influencée par les changements dans les pratiques épigraphiques, selon laquelle ces assemblées avaient cessé d'exister. Au contraire, les preuves de la législation impériale du début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, y compris les lois du *Codex Theodosianus* et les sources littéraires telles que les *Panegyrici Latini*, indiquent que ces assemblées ont été réorganisées, et non dissoutes, au cours de la restructuration provinciale entre 284 et 337 après JC. En analysant ces sources, nous retracerons cette installation et cette réforme des assemblées provinciales en tant qu'outil vital pour la communication politique et la création d'un consensus universel dans le Nouvel Empire.

Cette analyse mettra en évidence la transformation de ces assemblées, qui sont passées d'un rôle religieux à un rôle politique, en montrant que si les anciens titres religieux ont persisté, leurs fonctions ont évolué vers des devoirs, des obligations et des droits politiques. Ces assemblées ont donc joué un rôle crucial dans les mécanismes administratifs et politiques, témoignant de l'évolution de l'Empire romain. En outre, nous étudierons le développement de conseils représentatifs pour soutenir les gouverneurs, en soulignant le contrôle accru des assemblées sur le gouvernement. Ce rôle devient de plus en plus crucial en raison de la forte rotation des gouverneurs, souvent annuelle. Cette dynamique a créé un environnement administratif unique où l'influence et le contrôle des assemblées sur les gouverneurs sont devenus un aspect essentiel de la gouvernance provinciale.

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*Athleta Christi et Gladiatorem thermae: réappropriation du motif de l'athlète chrétien par la Miltia Christi. Le modèle de saint Démétrios de Thessalonique.*

L'étude des martyrs militaires est un sujet ancien mais qui a été oublié disait André Corvisier (1918-2014). De fait, dans l'œuvre fondatrice de Hippolyte Delehaye (1859-1941), les στρατηλάται/ stratélai (stratélates) forment l'« état-major » des saints militaires, leur popularité se définit par leur intervention divine sur le champ de bataille. Cet état-major est composé de saint Georges, les saints Théodore, saint Procope, saint Mercure et saint Démétrios. Si la grande majorité de ces saints militaires sont des sauroctones, Démétrios se distingue en remplaçant la mise à mort d'un dragon par la mise à mort d'un gladiateur. La somme érudite effectuée par Paul Lemerle (1903-1989) en 1979 résume bien la complexité d'une étude sur le saint patron de Thessalonique : « (...) tout a été dit mais aussi on ne sait rien ».

Néanmoins il existe un angle qui a été peu abordé sur saint Démétrios : sa particularité en tant qu'athleta Christi. Effectivement cette épiclèse est souvent considérée selon les traditions chrétiennes comme un synonyme de saint martyr militaire. Pourtant Démétrios est le seul saint martial à affronter un sportif, le gladiateur Lyaeus et à avoir son sanctuaire bâti sur d'anciens thermes, prolongements des gymnases grecs. Cependant les métaphores sportives dans la littérature chrétienne se retrouvent dès les origines (Timothee 2 :4-7-8) et force est de constater que la popularité du culte de Démétrios incarne un tournant dans l'usage de cette dénomination d'athleta Christi. Cette étude aspirera à analyser dans quelle mesure l'allégorie de l'athlète chrétien se retrouve amalgamée à la spiritualité et la dévotion des martyrs militaires. Elle se coordonnera en trois focales, d'abord les traditions historiques, populaires ecclésiastiques et apostoliques de Thessalonique, ensuite l'affrontement entre un saint athlète et un dieu de l'arène en tant qu'objet de devotio ; enfin la transformation de l'ἐκκλησία /ekklesia thermale vers une ἐκκλησία /ekklesia chrétienne.

*Autochthony, Arete, and Absurdity in Plato's Menexenus*

Building on Trivigno (2009), this paper argues that Plato uses parodic distortion in his treatment of the epitaphic autochthony topos in the *Menexenus* in order to critique the Athenians' claim to innate excellence (*arete*) owing to their noble birth (*eugeneia*) from the land itself.

Athenians in the fifth century claimed superiority over other Greeks by pointing to their autochthonous nature: that they were living in the same land as their ancestors and had never migrated (Thuc. 2.36.1; Hdt. 7.161). By making use of a second meaning of autochthony, namely being born from the land itself, the democratic genre of the *logos epitaphios* transferred the notion of autochthonous origins from the Attic kings to the citizen body as a whole, thus extending the nobility involved in this birth to all Athenians (Lys. 2.17).

Plato's *Menexenus* features Socrates relating a *logos epitaphios*. This dialogue has perplexed modern readers due to its blatant anachronisms, Socrates' attribution of the speech to Pericles' mistress, Aspasia, and its exaggerated tone and contrived rhetorical style. These peculiarities have led scholars to disagree on the intent of the *Menexenus*. Some suggest that the speech is sincere and Plato's attempt to improve upon the epitaphic genre (Kahn 1963; Monoson 1998; Pappas and Zelcer 2015), others argue that it is parodic, but differ regarding its intention (Kerch 2008; Sansone 2020; Trivigno 2009). The autochthony section, however, rarely figures into these arguments. Drawing on Trivigno (2009), I examine the autochthony topos in the *Menexenus* and demonstrate that Plato employs parodic inversion and amplification in his presentation of Athenian autochthony. Plato states, for example, that the fallen "became noble men" (ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, 237a), a common epitaphic euphemism for death in battle. He then goes on, however, to explain that they became noble men "on account of their birth from noble men" (διὰ τὸ φύναί ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, 237a). This clearly inverts the expected meaning of the phrase: the men became noble not by death, but by birth.

A close reading of the autochthony section suggests that Plato used parody for at least two reasons. First, he sought to demonstrate the absurdity of the notion that the first generation of Athenians were earthborn. Second, Plato objected to the epitaphic autochthony topos because it deceived Athenians by suggesting that they were virtuous simply through their descent from earthborn ancestors, and thus harmed them by undermining their desire to seek and understand true virtue.

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*Fantômes québécoises et antiques : limites et problèmes d'une étude comparée.*

Dans sa conception contemporaine, l'oralité est l'affaire du peuple, c'est grâce à elle que se transmettent les récits traditionnels qui, selon la définition de l'ethnologue Jean Du Berger, sont au nombre de trois au Québec : le conte, le mythe et la légende. Dans le cadre de nos recherches, c'est sur ce dernier genre que nous nous sommes arrêtée afin de réfléchir aux représentations imaginaires féminines dans la culture populaire. Les nombreux.ses savant.e.s qui se sont intéressé.e.s au sujet se sont limité.e.s aux genres des contes et des mythes antiques et à la création contemporaine volontaire et réfléchie, laissant ainsi de côté la littérature orale, manifestation exemplaire de l'imaginaire populaire et de la création collective. Notre étude vise à combler cette lacune en alliant les études anciennes et l'ethnologie traditionnelle. À travers l'analyse comparée d'apparitions surnaturelles de femmes dans des légendes traditionnelles québécoises et des récits légendaires gréco-romains, nous avons identifié les similarités et discontinuités dans la façon dont l'imaginaire collectif met la femme en images. La communication présente s'attarde à définir les avantages, limites et problématiques de notre méthodologie de même que les conclusion mises en lumière par l'analyse.

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*Phryne 70: The Greek Hetaira Returns to the Parisian Stage*

Phryne, the infamous hetaira from 4th-century Athens, was known in antiquity for the overwhelming beauty of her body. The two most prevalent anecdotes about Phryne that circulated from the Hellenistic period onward centered on this fact: the revelation of her body in her trial for impiety as well as Praxiteles' use of Phryne as the model for the Aphrodite of Knidos, the first monumental female nude sculpture. In the nineteenth century French preoccupation with Phryne and her nude body arose from Jean-Léon Gérôme's painting *Phryne devant l'Areopage*, which caused a mild scandal upon its exhibition in the 1861 Salon de Paris. Afterward, a flood of performances, part of the growing trend of nude spectacles in Paris at that time, used Phryne and her stories to challenge public values around female chastity. Although the nude spectacle and Phryne's presence on the Parisian stage declined with the onset of World War I, the hetaira made a remarkable return at Paris' Crazy Horse Saloon in 1969, in a contest among the dancers at the infamous nude cabaret to be elected "Phryne 70", with the torso of the winner, Candy Capitol, cast as a new standard of beauty by the sculptor César.

Starting from the ancient anecdotes, this paper traces the impact on nineteenth-century French culture of Phryne as a femme nue, before considering the resonances between the Crazy Horse's "Phryne 70", Gérôme's painting, and the ancient hetaira herself. Here, I take special interest in how Phryne's narrative has been explored by male artists and authors, but how the women who have portrayed her are collaborators in this process. Ultimately, I argue that Phryne has retained her symbolic power as the locus of challenges to cultural values regarding the public expression of female sexuality.

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*The role of Diana in the commemoration of Roman girls and women*

A close identification between the goddess Venus and Roman women has long been recognized in various forms of funerary commemoration such as sculpture and epigraphy. The connection of Venus to beauty and fertility, along with her place in the firmament of Rome's foundation myth, made her an obvious choice for honoring and memorializing both members of the imperial family and Roman girls and women at large.

Venus, however, was not the only divinity associated with female sexuality and reproduction; Diana, as the virgin hunter goddess, also played an important role in the cultural construction of Roman femininity to a degree that has gone unappreciated. Young Roman girls who died before they married and had children - the greatest achievement possible for them in the Roman context - were commemorated for their sexual purity through allusions to Diana on funerary monuments (Wrede 1981; D'Ambra 2008). Diana, however, played a significant role in the lives of adult Roman women throughout the female life-course, as shown by references to the goddess on funerary monuments for married women. The use of Diana as a commemorative trope for both young girls and adult women reflects a cultural significance that extended beyond virginity, as the young girl's maidenhood was recast as the adult woman's marital fidelity (*castitas*). Moreover, emphasis in the scholarship on Diana's virginity has neglected her close association (as Diana Lucina) with childbirth, a dimension well established in various ways, but which is especially vivid in evidence from the cult of Diana at Aricia (Green 2007). Diana's connection to both cultural and biological aspects of female identity thus made her a multivalent commemorative vehicle for both maiden and matrona. I will discuss this aspect of Diana in the funerary commemoration of both pre-pubescent girls and adult Roman women, arguing that the goddess connects the two age groups through different but related notions of culturally condoned sexual behaviour.

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*“30 days, end of month”: An unpublished poll tax receipt from second-century CE Roman Egypt*

In the early 160s CE, Protas, the son of Protas, a man living in Tebtunis, a community in the Arsinoite nome, paid what appears to have been a portion of the *λαογραφία*—the ubiquitous poll tax of Roman Egypt that was levied on male inhabitants, aged between 14–c.62 years—to an unnamed local tax collector. For his trouble, in turn, he received a receipt for his payment. While the receipt has no exact parallel, the event was certainly not exceptional. In fact, the simple number of extant receipts suggest that such occurrences were not uncommon: receipts for the poll tax make up some 400 documents in the surviving documentary papyri from the Arsinoite nome alone, making this type of text one of the most common of all.

The unusual character of Protas’ receipt, however, raises more questions than answers, particularly given the formulaic nature of poll tax receipts generally; this is likely why this text has yet to be studied fully. The text itself records a series of four monthly payments of four drachmas; the total noted in the text is incongruent with the amount owing for this tax imposed on those living in this region of Roman Egypt. Even more unusual is the omission of details that typically appear in such receipts. There is no mention of arrears or surcharges here, and the oddities do not end there.

On one hand, this paper considers this receipt, alongside its documentary, historical, and economic context, to understand why it takes the form that it does. On the other, it aims to examine the figure of Protas himself, and explores whether his own position in Romano-Egyptian society accounts for the peculiarities that we find in this receipt.

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*Masculinity at a Precipice: Epistolary Invective in the Year of Four Emperors*

In Tacitus' Histories, epistolary invective provides an avenue for the performance of masculinity. This paper considers the social function of Roman invective (cf. Corbeill 1996, Arena 2007) and uses the correspondence of Otho and Vitellius in order to demonstrate the complex relationship between epistolary invective and gender identity. These letters are reported by Tacitus and Cassius Dio, as well as Suetonius and Plutarch. In Suetonius' biography, Otho offers Vitellius a place as co-ruler, cemented by a political marriage to Vitellius' daughter (Suet. Otho 8.1; cf. Cass. Dio 64.10.1). By contrast, Tacitus records that Otho's frequent letters to Vitellius were "sickened by unmanly bribes" (*muliebribus blandimentis infectae*, Tac. Hist. 1.74.1). The two men's correspondence descends into invective and they accuse each other of, "debauchery and wickedness," (*stupra ac flagitia*, Tac. Hist. 1.74.1). Plutarch records that their invectives contained accusations of prodigality and effeminacy (Plut. Otho 4.2-3; see Damon 2003: 249-250). The content of the letters matches Tacitus' characterizations of Otho and Vitellius elsewhere, from effeminacy to hedonism (cf. Tac. Hist. 1.22.1, 1.50.1; see Ash 2007: 160).

The letters between Otho and Vitellius stand in contrast to their other correspondence. The night before his suicide, Otho wrote two notes: one of consolation to his sister, and one to Statilia Messalina, entrusting her with his corpse and his memory (Suet. Otho 10.2; cf. Tac. Hist. 2.48.2, Cass. Dio 64.15.1). Tacitus' Vitellius consistently betrays his anxieties for his family, from a letter threatening Titianus that he would kill his family if any harm befell his own mother and children (Tac. Hist. 1.75.2), to considering abdication as a means to protect his children (Tac. Hist. 3.67.1, Tac. Hist. 3.63.2). In these letters, Tacitus suggests that civil war brought masculinity to a precipice, and a time of relative peace was necessary to save it.

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*Absumpto Filo: Memory and Reception of Catullus 64 in Statius' Thebaid*

The tale of the doomed love affair of Ariadne and Theseus survives most completely in the epyllion Catullus 64, an influential poem which provided the foundation for every subsequent retelling of the story in epic, including those of Virgil and Statius. Charles McNelis (2007) has noted that in his *Thebaid*, Statius connects his Theseus to the Theseus of Catullus – and his crimes – through two forms of memory: literal reflections within the plot, and the meta-poetic remembrance of allusive verbal games. Bridgette Libby (2016) illustrates likewise that Catullus' forgetful Theseus acts as a foil for Virgil's mindful Aeneas, thematically highlighting the role of heroic memory in a political context. Memory is unquestionably vital to Statius, but the full complexity of his engagement with both Virgil's and Catullus' models of memory in dialogue has yet to be fully established: using the ekphrasis of Theseus' shield (12.665-76), I will demonstrate how Statius manipulates through allusion and intertextuality the literary tradition that Catullus and Virgil have built up to both design his own story and comment upon theirs. In doing so, he explores through meta-poetic memory several aspects of his predecessors' work. He brings to the fore elements of poem 64 that were ignored or obscured by Virgil, focusing especially on the aspects of Catullus' engagement with his own contemporary politics that Virgil's positive vision of memory erased. Through careful intertextuality with both Virgil and Virgil's models, Statius returns the meta-poetic lineage of Theseus to its pre-Augustan state and in doing so remarks upon the vision of the great Golden Age that had, by the Flavian era, failed due to human insufficiency; Statius uses literal and meta-poetic memory to return his Theseus to his pessimistic Catullan roots, better reflecting a political context just as dark as his epic.

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*New Evidence of Virgil's Interest in Judaism: A Noah-acrostic at Aeneid 7.96-101*

This paper identifies and analyzes an acrostic reference to Noah at Aeneid 7.96-101 (Noe Noa, both attested spellings of his name in Latin). These lines contain Faunus's oracle, in which King Latinus is told of Aeneas' immanent arrival to Latium and instructed to marry his daughter Lavinia to the Trojan hero. I assert that this acrostic refers to the aforementioned biblical figure. Recent scholarship argues that knowledge of Jews and Judaism is more prevalent in Virgil's poetry and its margins than once thought (1-2). Likewise, acrostics in Virgil's poetry, especially those which contain names or occur during scenes of prophecy, have attracted much scholarly attention (3-4). This paper expands on this scholarship by analyzing both the parallels between Aeneas and Noah that the acrostic draws to the reader's attention and their significance for the poem's narrative. Both characters, for instance, undertake divinely ordained journeys to establish a new people after surviving apocalyptic events, with Aeneas escaping from the fall of Troy and Noah living through God's flooding of the earth. These similar narrative trajectories foreground the parallels between the landings of Aeneas at the Tiber River and Noah on Mount Ararat. Thus, this acrostic provides further confirmation that Aeneas' journey has concluded and that his task of founding Lavinium has begun. Further, the very act of hinting at such parallels by suturing the name of a founding patriarch of the Jewish faith into the margins of Rome's foundational narrative is one of several ways in which this acrostic highlights the human cost associated with Rome's rise to power, which is a leitmotif throughout the opening of Aeneid Book 7. Thus, this acrostic reference to Noah emphasizes several important themes in the poem and further attests to Virgil's interest in Judaism.

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*Appropriating Egyptian Osiris in Literature and Art during the Roman Imperial-Period*

My paper discusses the representation in the Roman imperial period of Osiris, the Egyptian god of the dead, whose mythical death and revivification were connected to the agrarian cycles and the Nile inundation. To analyze the dynamics of later Graeco-Roman representations of the god, I use ‘appropriation’, drawing on Michel de Certeau (1980; cf. Dijkstra 2021). De Certeau’s approach represents an alternative to the more widely used model of cultural appropriation in that he focuses on the practices and tactics with which ordinary people ‘appropriate’, and thus modify, dominant traditions, ideas, and practices, thereby making them their own.

Literary examples can be found especially in the Second Sophistic, an outstanding testimony being Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride* (c. 115/20 CE; Richter 2001; Erler, Stadler 2017; Gordon, Gasparini 2018). My first case study shows that ‘Egyptian religion’ in Plutarch is a selection from disparate Egyptian traditions of the 1st millennium BCE. While these traditions are historically shaped by local realities, Plutarch’s appropriation is both part of a wider imperial-period appropriation of ‘Egyptian’ religion’ and determined by the outside perception of the Greek intellectual and Platonist.

In my second case study, Osiris becomes the focus of both demarcation and appropriation by Christians. On the one hand, the eschatological potential of the Osiris-myth triggers Christian literary polemics that are best understood against the background of competing salvation doctrines offered by the Early Church on the one hand and traditional Egyptian religion on the other. Part of a wider Christian appropriation of traditional religion in Late Antiquity, Christians can also appropriate – and thereby modify – the figure and myth of Osiris, making him ‘their own’. I illustrate these appropriations with examples from Christian iconography: mummified Osiris, for instance, is taken up in Late Antique funerary art to express specifically Christian content and values.

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*Revisiting the Roman Baths at Anemurium: Their Past, Present, and Future Study*

The Roman site of Anemurium on the southern coast of Turkey (Roman Rouch Cilicia) is home to no less than five well preserved baths – an impressively large number for a town of its size. Originally investigated by Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum from the University of Toronto, many of these Roman baths received considerably more attention during the UBC Anemurium Excavations led by Dr. James Russell and Drs. Caroline and Hector Williams beginning in the 1970s. Despite numerous preliminary publications, no final excavation reports of these bathing facilities were published, and thus there remains a great deal of legacy data left unutilized. This archival material represents a significant opportunity to study the dynamic evolution of public bathing and urban design in the Roman East as well as the integration of Roman social practices and architecture within Anatolia.

This paper presents a newly initiated study of this archival data from the UBC excavations. Beginning with an overview of the site of Anemurium, this paper traces the history and excavation of the site's baths using excavation reports, photographs, and oral histories from UBC's excavation archives. In doing so, it highlights the importance of examining the ways that we collect and access archaeological data from past archaeological projects. In addition, this paper presents some preliminary findings that this legacy data reveals about the ways that Anemurium's ancient inhabitants organized their communities and urban fabric around public bathing spaces and integrated these facilities into their public life over the long life of the Roman town. Through this assessment and presentation of these archaeological archives, this paper aims to highlight the continued legacy of this important Canadian excavation project.

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*Gay Gauls: Homosociality and Homosexuality among the Soldurii in Caesar's De Bello Gallico*

This paper explores the Soldurii, an elite band (*devoti*) of the Sotiates, a Gallic-Aquitani tribe, who make an unsuccessful last stand against the Romans in Caesar's *de Bello Gallico*. I read them through the lens of queer theory on male homosociality and homosexuality in relation to the Sacred Band of Thebes, Greco-Roman ethnography, and understandings of military masculinity to show that Caesar's depiction of the Soldurii is deeply rooted in pre-existing stereotypes about Gallic sexuality and serves to both legitimate his role as an imperial conqueror and to reaffirm the correct Roman performance of masculinity.

The Soldurii show an unusual degree of devotion to one another, sharing good things in life, but also committing suicide should his chosen companion die (DBG 3.22). The Soldurii evoke the Sacred Band of Thebes and their defeat at the battle of Chaeronea, in turn mapping Caesar onto Philip II of Macedon. As I shall discuss, Caesar's language suggests that the pairs of warriors among the Soldurii are not merely companions but have an intimate relationship that is strongly implied to be sexual. This suggestion of a homoerotic relationship between Gallic men is a consistent feature in Greco-Roman ethnography (Arist. *Pol.* 1269b26-7; Diod. *Sic.* 5.32.7; Str. *Geogr.* 4.4.6; Ath. 13.603a).

The Roman concept of soldiers as impenetrable penetrators on and off the battlefield was troubled by the idea of sex between soldiers, even enemies. The Soldurii's relationships disturb the separation of the homosocial and the homoerotic, so important to the Roman military. By depicting the Soldurii as homoerotic, Caesar undercuts the Gauls' reputation for bravery and instead depicts them as insufficiently masculine without making them appear an unworthy enemy. Thus, Caesar is able to remove any suspicious impression that might arise in reading the *De Bello Gallico* that the Gauls might out-man the Romans.

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*Augustine's Letter Archive and Social Power in Late Antiquity*

In late antiquity, sent and received letters were regularly kept in personal archives. Most scholarship on these archives has focused on the supposed ambition of ancient writers to publish unified collections, but they served a more immediate purpose: an archived letter functioned as evidence of a social interaction, and a savvy possessor of letters could exploit this evidence in order to exert social power. Augustine of Hippo was particularly dedicated to the accumulation of letters towards this end. Among Augustine's letters concerning his debates with various Donatists, there are recurring examples of their attempts to prevent letters and other documents from falling into his hands and of his capitalization on the possession of such texts when he did gain them. A reconstruction of Augustine's archival habits likewise reveals the complexity of Augustine's epistolary navigations and the potency of the letters that he kept in ongoing communications and social conflicts. It is tempting to look to Possidius' *Indiculum*, as previous scholarship has done, in order to reconstruct Augustine's letter archive and, from it, his archival habits. Such an approach, however, is limited in value and ignores the evidence contained within the letters themselves, which demonstrate how the bishop employed his archive actively within the immediate social context. Augustine's Ep. 22\* provides an excellent case study of the power of Augustine's archive. This letter describes a complex episcopal succession crisis in North Africa, in which there were many circulating letters that were potentially spurious. Augustine orchestrated a resolution to the crisis via the evidentiary power of the physical copies of letters in his archive. A careful investigation of Augustine's archival habits and his use of archived materials reveals a complex set of epistolary navigations and calculations.

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*La double vie d'une classiciste improvisée anatomiste*

La Terminologia Anatomica 2 est le standard international de la nomenclature anatomique humaine. Elle contient les noms officiels, en latin, des 7113 parties du corps et, donnés à titre indicatif, leurs équivalents anglais. Il n'en existe pour l'instant aucune version française officiellement reconnue. Aussi, une équipe pancanadienne d'anatomistes et moi, latiniste du groupe, avons entrepris d'en produire l'édition française.

Le projet vise à fournir un équivalent français (non une traduction littérale) pour chaque terme latin. Les difficultés lexicologiques sont cependant nombreuses. On peut notamment souligner : les incohérences et erreurs qui se sont multipliées à chaque nouvelle édition de la nomenclature; les variations de radicaux – d'autant plus que le français médical a privilégié les racines grecques plus que latines dans ses précédentes nomenclatures; la résistance du corps médical face aux changements parfois draconiens que demanderaient l'élimination des formes fautives et l'uniformisation des termes français avec le latin (et l'anglais), etc.

Un exemple simple et concis illustre certains de ces problèmes. Les termes « rétinaculum patellaire latéral » et « aileron rotulien externe » sont tous deux couramment utilisés comme équivalents de *retinaculum laterale patellae*, mais ils présentent chacun quelques imperfections. Le français « rétinaculum » remplace ce qui est encore souvent appelé un aileron. Parfois, il remplace aussi ce qui était nommé un ligament. D'un point de vue étymologique, « aileron » n'a pas de sens ici. On remarque aussi que le nom au génitif, *patellae*, est incorrectement rendu par un adjectif, « patellaire » ou « rotulien ». D'ailleurs, le mot « rotule » devrait remplacer « patella », mais les deux sont toujours usités, ce qui contrevient à la règle terminologique de la biunivocité.

Dans cette communication, je ferai un tour d'horizon des écueils rencontrés, des pistes de solutions envisagées et du rôle des latinistes en terminologie anatomique.

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*Platon et le Dionysos héracléen de Nietzsche*

Dans *La Naissance de la tragédie*, Nietzsche présente ses concepts bien connus de l'apollinien et du dionysiaque. Moins connues sont ses quelques mentions d'un autre dieu grec—Héraklès—que Nietzsche associe constamment dans cet ouvrage avec Dionysos comme symbole de la puissance libératrice de la musique. D'un côté, que Nietzsche associe Dionysos avec Héraklès peut démontrer l'influence qu'il a reçue durant sa jeunesse du romantisme allemand, puisque les deux dieux sont trouvés ensemble dans les œuvres d'Hölderlin et d'autres romantiques. D'un autre côté, le Dionysos héracléen de Nietzsche témoigne aussi de l'engagement de l'auteur de *La Naissance de la tragédie* avec le Phédon de Platon, où Dionysos et Héraklès servent ensemble de symboles de la vie philosophique exemplifiée par Socrate.

Après le désenchantement de Nietzsche avec le romantisme, l'Héraklès philosophique du Phédon reste un symbole important pour lui, et dans ses ouvrages subséquents Nietzsche présente souvent sa philosophie en termes implicitement et explicitement héracléens, notamment en ce qui concerne sa puissance libératrice. Cependant, il est étrange que les ouvrages publiés de Nietzsche ne rementionnent pas le nom Dionysos avant les dernières années de sa vie consciente. Je soutiens toutefois que l'association d'Héraklès avec Dionysos dans *La Naissance de la tragédie* continue à saturer la présentation de Nietzsche d'un Héraklès philosophique nouveau qui est implicitement dionysiaque. De plus, le Dionysos qui revient dans les ouvrages écrits par Nietzsche vers la fin de sa carrière est un personnage héracléen témoignant de l'engagement continu de Nietzsche avec Platon. Comme chez Platon, le vrai philosophe selon Nietzsche est un Bacchos, soit un initié de Dionysos qui n'achève les travaux de la philosophie libératrice qu'avec la force héracléenne.

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*Étude de cas : l'apothéose tourbillonnante de Romulus chez Tite-Live et Ovide*

Les récits héroïques gréco-romains fournissent un large corpus de mythes dans lesquels le tourbillon exprime le divin. Une fois la mission divine du héros accomplie, une apothéose couronne ses accomplissements d'un changement de son statut ontologique. Enlevé par une divinité à la suite de sa quête divine, celui-ci quitte sa condition mortelle en étant déifié. Ces épisodes, pendant lesquels un dieu voyage de l'Olympe vers le monde des hommes, sont empreints d'éléments tourbillonnants qui révèlent le caractère divin de l'intervention. Des termes tourbillonnants, dialoguant entre eux, sont alors mobilisés par les auteurs antiques pour constituer le lexique qui décrit le voyage du dieu, l'enlèvement divin du héros et sa transformation ontologique.

Cette intervention, qui s'inscrit dans le projet de recherche Vortex supervisé par Pr. Pierre Bonnechère, a pour but de présenter une étude de cas en rapport avec l'une des thématiques phares du projet, l'apothéose en tant que phénomène tourbillonnant. Elle entend présenter deux récits qui relatent l'apothéose de Romulus, le conditor (fondateur) chargé par Mars de fonder Rome et d'initier la nouvelle ville à sa destinée dominatrice. L'Ab Urbe Condita (I, 16) de Tite-Live et les Métamorphoses (XIV, 805-851) d'Ovide contiennent effectivement deux versions du mythe qui mobilisent un vocabulaire tourbillonnant, notamment lorsqu'elles présentent la tempête divine par laquelle Romulus est enlevé. De la description de la tempête portée par « le foudre » de Jupiter à la manière dont Romulus se dissout telle une balle de fronde qui tourne sur elle-même, cette apothéose est essentiellement construite autour des termes tourbillonnants, de sorte qu'elle témoigne de la présence du tourbillon dans la religiosité romaine à l'époque augustéenne.

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*Total Conquest and/or World Peace: Counterfactual Fantasies in the Historia Augusta*

The *Historia Augusta*'s collection of heavily fictionalized lives of 2c-3c emperors gives generous consideration to the "might-have-been" scenarios of imperial history, including usurpers who might have ruled, heirs who never succeeded to the throne and intentions that short-lived emperors never realized. The most notable example, however, consists of two episodes in the life of Probus (r. 276-282) in which the HA suggests, seemingly as serious historical possibilities, that Probus might have (a) conquered all of Germanic northern Europe (Prob. 14-15) or (b) abolished the army altogether (§20-23).

This paper will consider both scenarios using current literary studies of counterfactual fictions, typically 19c-20c novels set in alternate universes where significant historical events (usually wars) happened differently. Such fictions are an important venue both for expressing one's views on how history as it actually occurred shaped one's present and for exploring historical determinism versus contingency and how much or little scope there is for things to be different. The HA represents a counterfactual both in its content (the scenarios about Probus) and its frame narrative (a fictional literary world in the Tetrarchic-Constantinian period) and comments implicitly on the historical realities of the third century and the literary tradition through which its readers have access to them.

Through close readings of both Probus episodes, this paper will demonstrate how the HA largely undermines the alternative possibilities it suggests and thus points out the emptiness of the discourse surrounding conquest and anti-militarism in other literary genres, notably panegyric and historical breviaries. Furthermore, when seen within the HA's larger thematic picture, the two episodes demonstrate both the limits of the imperial-historiography tradition within which the HA works and its author's own creative virtuosity within those limits.

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*Nature before φύσις: spaces and beings in Homer*

Le concept de “nature” est l’un des outils analytiques que nous utilisons le plus lorsque nous examinons des textes anciens. Jusqu’à présent, les chercheurs ont tenté de retracer son histoire en suivant le développement du mot φύσις à travers la littérature grecque (Heidel, Beardslee, Naddaf). Il est maintenant établi que (1) il n’y a pas de mot signifiant « nature » dans le sens de « monde dans son ensemble » (humains inclus) avant les Présocratiques (Macé); (2) il n’y a pas de mot utilisé systématiquement pour désigner la « nature » par opposition à la « culture » avant le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J-C; (3) il ne semble pas y avoir de mot pour désigner globalement tous les non-humains ou les espaces dépourvus d’humains. Cependant, l’absence d’un mot spécifique n’implique pas nécessairement l’absence de tout concept de ce type. Comment le monde est-il décrit dans la littérature archaïque prédatant φύσις-« nature » ? Quelle place l’humain et les autres entités y tiennent-ils ?

Dans cette communication, je m’appuierai sur plusieurs descriptions de paysages homériques (Il. 21.145-156; 342-356; Od. 5.55-74; 9.116-145; 17.1-268) pour démontrer que, chez Homère, le monde n’est pas pensé comme une unicité, mais comme une multiplicité à la fois d’entités et d’espaces. Chaque espace représente une configuration particulière d’entités (animaux, plantes, vents, rivières, etc.) qui sont interconnectées et dépendantes les unes des autres. Les humains ne sont que l’une des entités composant ces configurations; ils participent à leur formation, mais leur rôle n’y est pas fondamentalement spécial ou plus important que celui d’autrui. Les transformations qu’ils opèrent ne créent pas une forte distinction entre espaces « naturels » et espaces « culturels »; en réalité, elles contribuent à créer l’espace, tout comme la présence d’un végétal ou le chant des oiseaux. Ainsi, le palais d’Ulysse est pleinement intégré à son environnement, qu’il incorpore même dans son architecture à travers son sol nu, le lit enraciné d’Ulysse, et le jardin-chambre de Laërte.

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*La Cynégétique du Pseudo-Oppien : poème didactique ou mirabilia ?*

Il est convenu qu'en écrivant sa Cynégétique, le pseudo-Oppien (ou Oppien d'Apamée, IIe s. ap.) se faisait le continuateur de l'épopée héroïque, à la fois en termes de mètre et de contenu. De plus, comme d'autres poèmes de l'époque impériale consacrés à la chasse, la Cynégétique du Pseudo-Oppien est inspirée de la Cynégétique de Xénophon et peut être classée comme un texte didactique, suivant une longue tradition remontant aussi loin qu'Hésiode (Paschalis 2000, 205; Hutchinson, 2009, 196), mais pour atteindre son but, le pseudo-Oppien dépeint une abondance de phénomènes naturels spectaculaires, des comportements aberrants et d'autres mirabilia. En le comparant à d'autres textes, nous visons à démontrer que le poème didactique original est aussi un poème d'émerveillement, un texte paradoxographique où le lecteur est mené dans un monde étrange et effrayant de nature sauvage, dans lequel il suit le chasseur héroïque à distance alors qu'il assiste à des événements et des spectacles qui sortent vraiment de l'ordinaire. Les objectifs didactiques du pseudo-Oppien sont soutenus par des passages paradoxographiques agissant comme une forme de « marketing » qui agissent sur le lecteur potentiel. Même si le problème de l'attribution d'un genre spécifique à un texte est principalement une préoccupation moderne (Flower 2012, 99), une meilleure classification de ce texte nous permet de mieux saisir les objectifs de l'auteur et les attentes de son public idéal. Ce texte doit dorénavant être classé non seulement comme un poème didactique, mais aussi comme un poème paradoxographique.

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*The Problem of the Cosmetic in the Curule Aediles' Edict*

In this paper, I focus on the role of cosmetic concerns in a core legal document on Roman slave sale and suggest that this aspect of this document provides further insight into our understanding of how disability and enslavement were implicated in a Roman context. I argue that, despite the emphasis placed in this document on visual diagnostic cues, the lawmakers and those giving their opinion on the law attempt strenuously to draw distinctions between function and appearance. When purchasing enslaved people, prospective buyers were wary of purchasing people with bodily conditions considered “flaws” and “diseases” (*vitia* and *morbi*). The legal document known as the Curule Aediles’ Edict, and jurists’ commentary on it in Book 21 of the Digest of Justinian, together outline a variety of such conditions, which could be grounds to reverse a slave sale unless openly disclosed by the seller to the buyer. Watson’s edition of Book 21 of the Digest of Justinian (1985) translates one such condition, *uva*, as “birthmark.” In this paper, I suggest not only that this translation is less probable than the earlier Scott (1932) translation of “uvula,” but also explore the implications of such a change in translation. The emendation underscores several key features of the document, one of our most important sources for understanding slave sale in a Roman context: primarily and most crucially, that the curule aediles (and jurists thereafter) were concerned to separate the simply cosmetic from liable *vitia* and *morbi*.

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*End-of-Life: An Exploration of Concepts in Oedipus Tyrannos and Contemporary Psychotherapy*

I will discuss assumptions about end-of-life autobiographical storytelling exemplified in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos*, contrasting them with prominent assumptions about end-of-life in contemporary psychotherapy. Specifically, *Oedipus Tyrannos* portrays Oedipus' identity as one that is *plastos* (fabricated; Dawe, 2006) through a series of events and interactions throughout his life; the nature of personal identity becomes a central question of the play (Vernant, 1988). Moreover, the "fabricated" nature of Oedipus' identity is a critical site of vulnerability as he discovers that he and his autobiographical story were, in fact, false. He conducts a retelling, or "life review," that reveals new factual information and forces a complete rewriting. His life review embodies the notion that we should "count no man lucky until he is dead."

That notion stands in stark contrast to the ideals embodied in the contemporary psychotherapeutic technique termed "life review therapy" that is commonly used for older adults and those with life-threatening illness who are experiencing depression or distress. Life review techniques involve recounting both positive and negative memories with the aim of reintegration into a more cohesive, meaningful life story. Therapeutic use of these techniques is supported by clinical trials data (e.g., Korte et al., 2012), but also rests on assumptions about the nature of the stories an individual tells about his/her life and the concrete outcomes of telling those stories. Specifically, I argue that these techniques assume that the patient is viewed as the expert of his/her own life (e.g., Bohart & Tallman, 2022) and therefore that retelling will not lead to major rewriting of the facts of one's life.

Finally, as an advanced clinical psychology trainee with experience working among individuals with cancer at end-of-life, I will reflect on potential implications for clinical practice and adding nuance in end-of-life approaches.

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*Preuves stratigraphiques d'occupation post-byzantine à Carthage sur le site de la rotonde entre le cardo maximus et le cardo II*

Les fouilles menées par Pierre Senay dans le secteur de la Rotonde à Carthage entre 1976 et 2002 ont partiellement dégagé le terrain à l'ouest de la rotonde jusqu'au cardo maximus. Les nouvelles fouilles entreprises depuis 2022 par une équipe hispano-tunisienne permettent de préciser l'histoire du site. Il n'y a pas de basilique où P. Senay la cherchait et la présence d'un mur de pierres de taille, probablement d'époque arabe selon le premier rapport de 2022, tend à confirmer que ce secteur était toujours occupé à l'époque post-byzantine. Les auteurs de cette communication avançaient déjà en 2002 que l'édifice à plan basilical en partie dégagé à partir de 1996 est une basilique remontant au début de l'époque abbasside. Nous irons maintenant plus loin; les vestiges visibles et les plans publiés par Senay en 2000 permettent en effet de reconstituer le plan d'un édifice de 100 x 200 pieds romains parallèle au cardo maximus.

Les auteurs présentent une stratigraphie reconstituée du secteur qui illustre la présence d'un remblai tardif important à l'ouest de la Rotonde et qui démontre que ce secteur a été réhabilité à l'époque islamique. Ce n'est pas une idée neuve; les historiens savent tous qu'une communauté chrétienne a persisté plusieurs siècles à Carthage comme ailleurs en Afrique du Nord après l'abandon de ces provinces par les Byzantins. Mais c'est un des rares secteur de Carthage où on voit clairement une stratigraphie post-byzantine.

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*For Her Eyes Only? Feminine Beautification in Sappho, Alcman, and Corpus Tibullianum 3.12*

In over five decades of discussion and debate, feminist analyses of feminine beautification have ranged from condemnation to recuperation to wrestling with the “puzzle of how to understand a set of practices and associated meanings that are simultaneously sites of oppressions and pleasures” (Craig 2022: 3; cf. Cahill 2003). This conversation has reverberated in scholarship on cosmetics, dress, and gender in antiquity, which has likewise featured both critiques of ancient beauty culture as a patriarchal system (Wyke 1994, Richlin 1995) and arguments for the prestige and pleasure that adornment afforded women in male-dominated ancient societies (Olson 2008, Shumka 2008). This paper continues the dialogue between contemporary and Classical scholarship on adornment by highlighting an overlooked ancient discourse of feminine beautification which suggests its potential to further feminist ends.

I begin by considering Corpus Tibullianum 3.12, which juxtaposes two ancient perspectives on beautification. In the poem, the elegiac poet-puella Sulpicia has ostensibly adorned herself for Juno Natalis, but the speaker claims that she secretly wishes to please her lover with her looks. The poem thus generates tension between two modes of adornment: dressing for divinity and dressing for desirability. Although the latter is far more familiar to readers of Latin elegy, I demonstrate that ‘dressing for divinity’ has a literary genealogy reaching back to the poetry of Sappho and Alcman, in which beautification is not directed towards pleasing the male gaze but instead entwines the communal, ritual, sensual, and aesthetic in an embodied, intersubjective, and eminently pleasurable experience for adorning women. In other words, this is a form of feminine beautification in which a feminist subjectivity might realize itself.

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*Aristotle's Politics and Environmental Philosophy*

Aristotle's *Physics* provides environmental philosophers with resources for developing theories of the intrinsic value of living beings. Aristotle's teleology identifies the intrinsic good of natural substances with their intrinsic natures and final causes. We in turn may argue that members of non-human species are morally considerable because they possess intrinsic goods. Climate change, however, presents a practical challenge to this view, since global warming is a problem that only contingently negatively affects individual plants and animals. Climate scientists tend to talk of damage done to environmental systems, such as the biosphere and ecosystems. But since Aristotle has no account of environmental systems, we have no account of the intrinsic value that would make such systems morally considerable. If true, an Aristotelian environmental philosophy would have a diminished voice when addressing environmental challenges such as climate change.

I argue, however, that we can develop an account of the value of environmental systems, like ecosystems, using Aristotle's *Politics*. In his analysis of the polis, Aristotle argues for several teleological features of the city-state, chief among them that the polis is natural, has a function, is the end of its members, and is good. These features seem to belong to ecosystems too, communities of non-human species. By developing an analogy between the polis and ecosystems, we can develop a "political" account of them and locate their intrinsic value in the function of providing plants and animals with the conditions to thrive in the way characteristic of their species. I also argue that the intrinsic value of an ecosystem is distinct from and compatible with the intrinsic value of the plants and animals that live in it.

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*Human Suffering and Divine Will in Iphigenia among the Taurians*

Critics of Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* often discuss the play's ritual significance while praising Iphigenia and Orestes' humanity in solving the problem of their escape: Iphigenia and Orestes are able to reunite and escape from the Taurians through their own cleverness and logic, rather than with the help of any divine figure. Their successful reunion and escape, critics argue further, act as correctives to their family's troubled past and end the cycle of revenge and murder. In this paper, I will argue that by emphasizing religion, ritual, and the establishment of new cults at the end, Euripides is pointing not to the significance of these things, but is rather inviting his audience to see past them to the reality of what is lost for Iphigenia and Orestes. The gods who orchestrate the reunion between the siblings do so for their own benefit without any consideration for the quality of lives Iphigenia and Orestes will be left with. Indeed, the future prophesied for them by Athena at the end of the play suggests that, far from having corrected their family's cursed past, their futures will be acts of penance: the crimes of their parents have not been erased. Euripides thus uses the thrill of the escape drama combined with serious religious questions to create an unsettling contrast between human suffering and divine worship, inviting the audience to question the role of the gods, the purpose of cult, and the human cost of it all. I will argue that the seriousness of religion, ritual, and cult is undermined by the real tragedy at the human level, where human suffering is ignored and nothing from the past is corrected. In the end, this juxtaposition between human and divine challenges the audience to examine the lives the gods are imposing on Iphigenia and Orestes, and the relationship between themselves and the gods.

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*Aristotle's Historia Animalium in Vergil's Georgics*

Vergil's *Georgics* is an exquisite work of literary didacticism and a product of great learning in the Alexandrian tradition. Vergil drew much inspiration for his poem from his poetic forebears as extensive scholarly work has shown in the last decades, demonstrating the debts Vergil incurred to Homer, Hesiod, Callimachus, Lucretius, and Catullus amongst many others. The prose tradition too, both Greek and Latin, played a significant role in Vergil's composition. Nevertheless, it is often given short shrift by scholars in favour of discussions of poetic influence. When scholars do address Vergil's prose sources, moreover, analysis is usually directed to a narrow range of texts, primarily Varro's *Res Rusticae* and Theophrastus' *De Causis Plantarum* and *Historia Plantarum*.

In this paper I will argue that Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*, while seldom treated at length in the relevant scholarship, had an outsize intertextual influence on the *Georgics*, particularly in Books 1, 3, and 4 of the poem. I will document the relationship between these two works through an examination of several complex literary allusions which Vergil makes to the HA. Vergil signals these allusions to the reader through his employment of geographical and biological erudition, a hallmark of both Alexandrian and Augustan poetry, but also through the use of obscure environmental adynata which conflict with the observable world, and which occur in tandem with innovative variations in grammatical gender usage to signal a breaking-down of natural and linguistic conventions. I argue that Vergil chooses moments from Aristotle's text to contradict, or 'correct', his predecessors and to create a literary world which subverts the poet's claim to agricultural didacticism. This analysis will suggest new conclusions about Vergil's intellectual interests and the philosophical substrate of the *Georgics* as an imaginative work of literature but will also challenge the marginalization of Aristotle and the HA in the study of Roman literature.

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*Work and Worship in Roman Africa: A Saturnine Work Ethic and the Spirit of Proto-Capitalism?*

This paper argues for the ways that a votive stele from Africa Proconsularis, dedicated to Saturn by an enslaved villa supervisor, materialized and configured the constellation of cult, ideology, rural production, and social inequality that created the structures of empire. In so doing, I seek to overcome the longstanding division of “religion” and “economy” imposed on antiquity by asking how practices of worship enabled and promoted the “North African boom.”

The study of “religion” in the Roman-period Maghreb has always been entangled with nineteenth-century French colonialist ideals and imperialist practices. Colonial metanarratives have worked to segregate and isolate a world of immaterial, ethnically-imagined cultural ideals—including religion—from the material worlds of production, experience, and lifeways. The resulting metanarratives used to scaffold accounts of Africa are Janus-headed: one might tell the story of Africa’s “Romanization” and economic boom; at the same time, one might tell the story of “permanence berbère,” of religion and gods providing an immaterial space that always leaves Africa(ns) beyond the control of Europe. Such divisions are not confined to studies of Africa; modernist conceptualizations of “religion” and “labour” have long parcelled these into distinctive (and rarely overlapping) categories. Despite the recent twin foci on “lived religion”—religion as a constellation of everyday practices—and on “work”—especially the disjunction between elite denigrations of banausic labour and sub-elite celebrations of identity-through-labour—the division between work and worship is deeply engrained.

In this paper, I demonstrate how colonialist models have driven a sharp wedge between work and worship, obscuring how such value-making practices are entangled with, and reproduce, systems of power and domination. I focus on three aspects of the stele: the ways that agricultural labour is cast as godly; the ways that labour is cast as a form of worship; and the ways that the imagery works to translate ideals about control over labour from elite to sub-elite contexts.

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*The Watery Phenomenology of Metamorphosis in Elizabeth Cook's Achilles*

This paper explores the relationship between Thetis' metamorphic body and water in Elizabeth Cook's 2001 novel *Achilles* through the lens of feminist phenomenology. *Achilles* is a work of literary reception which chronicles the life and death of Achilles, and it concentrates particularly on Thetis' embodied and affective experiences. I argue that Cook uses water imagery to explore the details of Thetis' subjectivity in two ways. Firstly, Thetis' liquescent and metamorphic body attests to the ambiguity of experience, and characterizes her as an assemblage of bodily forms. Cook's Thetis is thus a plurality of bodies rather than a singular and unified body. Thetis' literal and philosophical corporeal fluidity also prompts a feminine conception of embodiment in which the self is never monolithic but is constituted by multiplicity and flux. Thinking of the body as fluid also creates space for thinking about the intercorporeal flow between bodies, and prompts reflection on the complex ways that the self is enmeshed within the matter of the world.

Thetis' liquid and metamorphic embodiment also figures prominently of her experience of sexual violence in *Achilles*. I therefore argue that Thetis' metamorphosis can be understood as a kinetics of defense. My primary theoretical interlocutor here is Iris Marion Young, who engages with phenomenology to contend that women move their bodies differently, defensively, and restrictedly under patriarchy in order to avoid male violence and to conform to, in Judith Butler's words, the 'disembodied male gaze' that regulates their subjectivity. That Thetis changes her form to elude Peleus' sexual advances speaks to the defensive potential of shapeshifting and affirms the vulnerability of the female human/anthropomorphic body within patriarchal settings which effectively condone male access to women's bodies. The significance of this reading lies in its exploration of patriarchy's enduring impact on women's embodiment and experience of patriarchal space.

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*Dionysus at Mount Sinai: Two New Fragments of the Orphic Rhapsodies*

Discovered in 2021 at Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, the Dionysus Palimpsest (Sin. ar. NF 66) consists of two folia with 87 lines of Greek poetry. The text was erased in the 10th century but recently has been restored through multispectral imaging. The newly discovered text on these parchments narrates events involving Dionysus as a child. One folio takes place in the Underworld, where there is a conversation between Aphrodite and Persephone, who in this text is the mother of Dionysus. The other folio takes place around a throne on which Dionysus sits, while the Korybantes seek to protect him and the Titans try to tempt him to leave the throne.

Persephone as Dionysus' mother and the Titans' attempt to lure Dionysus into a trap are just two of the features of this newly discovered text which indicate that, for the first time, we might have actual text of the Orphic Rhapsodies, and not just quotes and paraphrases by later prose authors. The Dionysus Palimpsest reveals details about the Orphic myth of Dionysus that were never known before, and also new points of connection between the Rhapsodies and the Orphic Hymns.

In this paper, I present my own edition of the text and translation of the Dionysus Palimpsest. I suggest where all of it fits with the other fragments of the Orphic Rhapsodies, and I point out various textual and narrative connections between the new text and previously known fragments, as well as some of the Orphic Hymns. I argue that this is indeed a new fragment of the Rhapsodies and propose that it adds both narrative details and new layers of meaning to the tale of Dionysus Zagreus.

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*Classical Antiquity and Physical Culture, 1880-1910*

Between 1880 and 1910, across Canada, the United States, and Western Europe, a new phenomenon, called “physical culture” by its adherents, became prominent. While different individuals and ideologies rose in different countries and regions, physical culture was unified by its promise to rejuvenate and improve the physical and mental capacities of modern men and women and by the centrality of a nostalgic revival of Classical Antiquity to its ethos and rhetoric. Three individuals deserve much credit for this specifically Classicizing physical culture: Prussian strongman Eugen Sandow, French physical culturist Edmond Desbonnet, and American publisher Bernarr Macfadden. These three physical culture innovators promised that a look to the past could be the solution to contemporary problems, and, indeed, that past was a romanticized and imaginary ancient Greece and Rome. By examining the articles – fiction and non-fiction – published in Macfadden’s *Physical Culture*, Sandow’s *Physical Culture*, and *La culture physique* along with physical culture and fitness handbooks from 1880-1910, this paper outlines the ways in which the Classical past was marshalled to support a self-consciously novel approach to the human body. This approach, however, despite its radical and revolutionary rhetoric that promised incredible change, turned out to support class, racial and ideological positions that were rooted in the early twentieth century, not fifth century Athens.

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*Narrative Use of Female Violence in Livy's Book I-V: Sexual Violence as the Catalyst for Early Political Development*

Within the context of the first pentad of Livy, two women emerge whose presence signals large-scale changes within Roman society: Lucretia and Verginia. In their stories, sexual violence perpetrated against these women acts as the catalyst for social change establishing central tenets to Roman identity. This research examines Lucretia and Verginia not as moral exemplars or historical representatives, but instead as literary tools used by Livy, through which their bodies and the violence done against them become representation of the well-being of the state.

Utilising research into the literary tradition Livy was writing from, as well as the mythological and folklore roots of Rome's early foundational myths, this research will position these two women within the broader narrative of Livy's first pentad. Specifically drawing on the work of Ann Vasaly, this research examines Livy's first, third, and fifth books through a tripartite model through which the stories of Lucretia, Verginia, and the Destruction of Rome serve as the climactic finales. By combining this literary comparison with recent scholarship into the historical realities of violence against women and literary representation of it, I argue that Lucretia and Verginia's chastity and bodies serve as a call to arms for all male citizens to prevent the violation of their own virtues. Lucretia's body a metaphor for a state violated by tyranny and Verginia's body a metaphor for the violation of citizen rights, and the potential for tyranny if power is left unchecked.

This research aims to further expand our understanding of Lucretia and Verginia as literary tools, as well as our understanding of violence against women in literary sources. In doing so I hope to continue to expand this method of understanding and seek to separate the narrative functions placed onto women from the identities of these figures themselves.

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**PERREault, Jacques Y.**, Institut canadien en Grèce

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*Rapport sur les activités de recherche de l'Institut canadien en Grèce pour 2023*

Plusieurs collègues d'universités canadiennes ont effectué, sous l'égide de l'Institut canadien en Grèce, des recherches archéologiques sur le terrain ou des campagnes d'étude dans diverses régions de la Grèce. Cette communication rend compte de ces travaux.

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*Herodotus, the 'Trick of Wine', and Discourses of Wine-Drinking in the Histories*

This paper examines Greek cultural tropes of wine consumption and intoxication as they are displayed in Herodotus' Histories, focusing in particular on Herodotus' use of the 'trick of wine' mytheme, wherein one party becomes intoxicated due to their unfamiliarity with the power of wine and is eradicated. Herodotus' Histories is a text keenly interested in ethnography, as previous scholarship has observed (eg. Skinner 2012, Gruen 2010). However, he is prone to depicting Greek cultural institutions as important even in relation to culture which may not share them; wine-drinking is one of these. Greek ideology regarding wine had both positive and negative valences, and drinking habits were an important part of class- and ethnicity-based identity formation in the Classical period (Murray 2018). Herodotus' work incorporates this ideology as a tool of familiarization for his Greek audience, and an examination of these tropes therefore provides information about the most prevalent discourses of wine-drinking (especially in contact with discourses of ethnic otherness) in 5th century Greece.

Multiple tropes of wine-drinking appear in Herodotus, but the 'trick of wine' in particular carries weight in terms of ethnic identity formation. It appears in Histories 1.207-212 and 5.18-20, as well as in minor mentions throughout. Familiar to a Greek audience from such well-known mythical precursors as the Centauromachy and the Polyphemus episode in the Odyssey, this trope demonstrates the power that Greek people attributed to wine. In the Histories, Tomyris of the Massegetae refers to wine as a pharmakon (Hist. 1.212), showing how much that power is on display in Herodotean narrative. This trick is used by both Greeks and non-Greeks, showing Herodotus' ambivalence toward various groups, but more importantly is a narrative tool that provided information about the relative cultural standing and sophistication of the groups which interact in the Histories.

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*Les sphinx sur la statue de la Prima Porta : l'apothéose d'Auguste*

Sur la statue d'Auguste découverte dans la villa de Livie à Prima Porta, les deux sphinx représentés sur les épaulières de la cuirasse, de part et d'autre de la tête du Princeps, n'ont pas reçu d'explication satisfaisante ni qui fasse consensus. Une interprétation du sphinx comme symbole d'apothéose permet de proposer une autre vision des deux hybrides et de réexaminer également d'autres figures de cette iconographie, ainsi que la date assignée à l'œuvre.

There is no satisfactory, universally accepted explication of the two sphinxes depicted on the shoulder straps of the cuirass, either side of the Princeps's head, on the statue of Augustus found in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta. Interpreting the sphinx as a symbol of apotheosis allows us to put forward another view of the two hybrid creatures and likewise to re-examine other figures in this iconography, as well as the date assigned to the work.

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Ventris erat pro ventre locus: *Ovid's Disembodied Embodiment of Hunger*

Ovid's personification of Hunger in the story of Ceres' punishment of Erysichthon offers readers of the *Metamorphoses* an aesthetic experience based on a theme, a narrative and imagery which do not usually elicit delight but revulsion. As such a personified abstraction of insatiable hunger, Fames is depicted as a hideous feminine figure and an aggressive agent of injury endowed with personhood. She appears as a squalid figure, both solid and vacuous, a personification of the want of something, a paradoxical figure whose apparent physicality is constructed out of structured emptiness and localized absence. In this paper I explore Ovid's aestheticization of hunger and the role it plays in the aesthetic project of the *Metamorphoses*. I argue that its allegorization represents the base on which Ovid aestheticizes the idea of hunger in grotesque pictorial terms, in a poetic process designed to render odious ideas visualizable with magnified but unstable intensity. The resulting imagery and narrative generate in the readers an aesthetic experience of the grotesque, refined in its virtuosic pursuit of a poetics of excess as well as in its derision of the literary memory found in the allusive substratum of the text. While the images and the narrative are themselves destabilized by the inner paradox they incorporate, they mockingly destabilize the Callimachean literary tradition to which they reach out by allusion. A close reading of the text shows that Ovid challenges the validity of an aesthetics of slenderness. His presentation of hunger is grounded in a grotesque version of the Callimachean tradition, in which the aesthetics of slenderness, subjected to a logic of excess, is derisively developed into an aesthetic of nothingness.

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*In search of the patrium sepulchrum: Finding a resting place in Petrarch's Milan*

In June 1352, the Italian humanist Petrarch settled in Milan, moving into a house next to the late antique basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. He explained his decision to reside here in Fam. 16, 11, a letter in which he claimed that he had been promised "solitudinem ... in primis et otium" ("above all, solitude and leisure") in the city. He also included a vivid description of the neighbouring basilica: in the ancient crypt under the altar, the body of Saint Ambrose was laid to rest alongside two early Christian martyrs. Petrarch was fascinated by the tomb, which became a crucial node in his project of self-fashioning in Milan.

Petrarch's designation of himself as a *historicus et poeta*, the leading poet-historian of his age, was often supported by his representation of urban places. Tombs, in particular, were places where the humanist retrieved, contested, and remade cultural memories. In this talk, I will offer a close reading of how Petrarch represented his dwelling in Milan next to the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. His strategy of place-making was informed by the early Christian traditions surrounding Ambrose's tomb, the contested history of the tomb of the elder Scipio Africanus, and Petrarch's ideation of his own future tomb in Italy. In my analysis of Fam. 16, 11 and its classical intertexts, I argue that Petrarch's leisure can be conceived as a scholarly habitus intended to overcome the alienating experience of temporal difference. By connecting his places to the legacies of his classical and late antique models, he positioned his philological perspective at the root of his project to restore an idealized, stable version of the past.

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*Dionysius, Timaeus, and the Trojan Penates. Notes on Ant. Rom. 1.67.*

The city of Lavinium was believed to have been founded by Aeneas and other survivors of the Trojan War, who had fled to Italy to establish a new home for themselves and their posterity. Numerous sources, from early annalists to Augustan historians, relate that Aeneas brought with him his household gods, referred to, in the Roman tradition, as Penates. As descendants of Aeneas, the Romans embraced the cult of his Penates, which became the Penates publici populi Romani.

The modes of transfer of these gods from Lavinium to Rome, their identity, and appearance were as debated in antiquity as they are today. Cassius Hemina, Varro, Pomponius Atticus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus thought that the Penates should be identified with the Great Gods of Samothrace. Other writers identified them with the Dioscuri, whose cult is also attested in Lavinium as early as the sixth century BCE. In a very different tradition represented by the fourth-century BCE historian Timaeus of Tauromenium (reported, again, by Dionysius), the Lavinian Penates would have included aniconic objects, namely, bronze caducei and earthen pottery. Dionysius disputes that such objects could truly be the Trojan Penates: to support his claim that the Romans were originally Greek (and thus worshipped Greek gods), the Penates needed to be Greek anthropomorphic deities. However, the claim he attributes to Timaeus may be corroborated by the archaeological evidence of bronze caducei found in religious contexts in several towns in Magna Graecia, which used such objects to assert their 'Greek' identity. If we credit Timaeus, the presence of caducei in the Lavinian sanctuary could suggest local efforts to shape Lavinium's identity as distinct from Rome's at a time when most Latin cities were being attracted into Rome's orbit — in fact, as the core of Greek culture in ancient Latium.

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*Performers as percussionists in the Charition mime of P.Oxy. 413*

A partial mime found in P.Oxy. 413 has been referred to as a “spectacular production” (Webb, 2008, 98) requiring “an exceptionally large cast” (Hall, 2010, 3). The fragment presents Charition being held captive in India and then being rescued, not by the valour of her liberators, but by the timely deployment of weaponised farts. Study of the Charition mime has focused on the mythological reference point of the plot and analysis of the nonsense language of these so-called “Indian” characters. However, the protean performance venues of ancient mime remain obscure, and it is precipitous to presume a spectacular venue and large cast from the limited evidence of P. Oxy 413. Establishing the smallest possible troupe for the Charition mime opens up the possibility of its performance in more intimate settings, and this paper uses the economic motivations of individual performers to support this assertion.

Through textual analysis of the Charition mime, I argue that the actors themselves were responsible for the sound effects, including percussion instruments and fart-noises, challenging the supposition that the fragment is a musician’s copy (Rusten and Cunningham, 2003, 357) and that the mime required “full musical accompaniment” (Webb, 2008, 98). Separate musicians were not required. By carefully laying out the number of actors onstage and the frequency of annotated sound-effects within the text, I argue that a performance of the Charition mime could have been possible with a much smaller troupe than the scholarly consensus would imply.

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# R

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**RAPPOLD, Adam**, Brock University

9B

*Meeting the god: Religious Innovation, Epiphany and Memory in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo*

Because of their early date and literary status, the Homeric Hymns are often assumed to passively reflect the beliefs of their age. To the contrary, this paper analyzes Homeric Hymn to Apollo (HH 3) to demonstrate how it functions within an evolving, lived Greek religion – one both driven by non-hegemonic voices (Eidinow et al. 2016) and deeply felt by practitioners (Flower 2019). The hymn is shown to be active “theological speculation” (Clay 2008), presenting a more personal, human-oriented version of Apollo, as well as the record of an actual, transformative divine epiphany.

Key is the opening formula (1-2) which recombines seemingly traditional elements in a way that announces the hymn’s revolutionary intent – e.g. moving the god’s name from first position and using closing formula in place of a traditional invocation (cf. Bakker 2002). The verbs *μυμνήσκω* (‘keep in mind’) and *λανθάνω* (‘forget’) are together shown to be a reference to initiatory invocations as in the incubation sanctuaries of Asklepios (Ahearne-Kroll 2014) and the so-called Orphic lamellae (Hardie 2004). This formula is also linked to the cult of Trophonius (Dillon 2017), neighboring Delphi and featuring in the hymn. As with Trophonius, the hymn’s invocation actively summons the god, proactively protecting the mind and body of the worshipper from this destructive close encounter. This growing interest in epiphany may correspond historically to the introduction of the Pythia and divine inspiration at Delphi (Chappell 2006) as well as the introduction of early Asklepieia.

The shock of this revelation allows the hymn to reimagine an Apollo not anchored to the past (cf. Passmore 2018), to regional priesthoods, or to the elite. Instead, the hymn’s Apollo fights to benefit humanity (Strolonga 2011) and, in a hint of initiations to come, transforms worshippers who encounter him, blurring the boundaries between human and divine (cf. Heiden 2015).

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*La morale du Tableau du Cébès, c'est de ne pas croire le Tableau de Cébès*

Pour Diogène, Œdipe fut profondément malheureux dans sa vie, car il échoua en réalité à répondre correctement à l'énigme de la Sphinx (Dion Chrysostome, Or. X, 31-32). Or, le même sort menace le lecteur au début du Tableau de Cébès, un dialogue philosophique contemporain des discours de Dion Chrysostome : comme dans le châtement promis par la Sphinx, si le lecteur ne comprend pas l'énigme posée par le Tableau – ou la peinture décrite dans le Tableau –, il vivra malheureux et mourra à petit feu (CT, 3). Le risque réel est alors de répondre une évidence comme l'a fait Œdipe et de croire que telle est la signification du Tableau de Cébès : la peinture montre le chemin qu'il faut suivre pour être heureux dans la vie. Dans cette communication, nous passerons en revue les indices qui montrent que ce message simple n'est pas la solution de l'énigme proposée au début du dialogue et que le Tableau de Cébès recèle en réalité un discours beaucoup plus complexe qu'il n'y paraît, qui suppose en fin de compte la négation même et l'abandon du récit mis en scène dans le Tableau/peinture.

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*When Nature fights back: Ecofeminist perspectives on Ovid's Metamorphoses*

While a growing body of ecocritical research is focusing on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the connection between environmental abuse and female subordination has been overlooked. In this presentation, I propose to link these two salient dimensions by investigating how the feminine human body becomes a component of the landscape, starting from the fluidity of characters in Ovid's poem and their tendency to waver and shift. Drawing from an ecofeminist perspective, I propose an interdisciplinary analysis of three case studies that combine a philological examination of Latin sources, modern ecocriticism, and feminist readings, reconsidering the interaction between women and the natural world and arising from the assumption that, during Roman times, the female, by her reproductive role, was considered to be a more material being than the male. The case studies will address the following points:

- I. Feminine landscape paralyzing or consuming the hero (for example, Hermaphroditus, Acteon, and Narcissus). The peace and beauty of these sites, the so-called *loci amoeni*, which often become places of rape and physical transformations, are deliberately contrasted with the violence of the actions that occur within them;
- II. The tales of Erysichthon. The king of Thessaly violated the ancient grove of Ceres, and profaned it with an axe. His abuse of nature is punished with an insatiable hunger, which consumes him until the last act of autophagy;
- III. The episode of Dryope and Lotis, defender of her aquatic pool and transformed into the Lotus tree when fleeing from an attempted rape by Priapus. The bucolic landscape is suddenly transformed into suffering by the violence that takes place within it (the plucking of a flower).

Ultimately, the presentation engages with the broader interdisciplinary debate on climate change from an ecofeminist perspective, aiming to shape sustainable futures through the refoundation of nature as a feminist space.

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*Out of Ionia: the oikoumenē in archaic literature and geography*

The opening of Strabo's *Geography* lists the "distinguished men" who first undertook the study of geography: Homer, then Anaximander and Hecataeus, both of Miletus (1.1.1). These three early geographers represent two broad mapping traditions: a literary rendering of the *oikoumenē* and a more formal, "scientific" (πραγματεία) accounting. The first is composite, compiled from Greek myth and epic poetry alongside references to foreign places and peoples in archaic lyric. The latter – seen today in the extant fragments of Hecataeus' *Periodos Gēs* – presents formal renderings of the positions of the world's peoples and places from the Pillars of Herakles to India and from Scythia to Ethiopia. Though deriving from different viewpoints, the traditions are linked: *oikoumenē* as it appears in epic and lyric poetry is functionally the same as that seen in early geography. Epic hymns and stories of heroes populate the interior spaces of the *oikoumenē*, a mapping exercise that lyric takes up as it contrasts the central position of Greek customs and spaces with the further and far out customs and spaces of Thrace, Babylon, and Scythia. This known world is what serves as the base for the geographers as they push out into the spaces of myth – the Pillars of Herakles, India – and bring those areas onto human maps and consciousness.

This paper considers these two mapping traditions, the more formal renderings of Ionian geography and the composite worlds of archaic epic and lyric, to consider the world out of Ionia in the early Archaic period. By looking at these worlds side-by-side, we can consider what form the *oikoumenē* takes in archaic mental maps, how it is populated, and how, clustered around the Aegean, the Greek poleis are *mesai* in the *oikoumenē*, sitting like symposiasts around the *krater*.

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*Redrawing the map of politics in the Roman republic: the role of private consilia*

At a meeting of the Caesaricides at Antium in June 44 BC, Brutus wavered between fleeing Italy and returning to Rome. Cicero recounted Brutus' journey from indecision to resolution in a letter to Atticus (Cic. Att. 15.11): "'How about you, Brutus?'" said I. 'To Rome,' he answered, 'if you agree.' 'But I don't agree at all. You won't be safe there.' 'Well, supposing I could be safe, would you approve?' ... our friend Brutus was soon persuaded to drop his empty talk about wanting to be in Rome ... It looked to me as though he wanted to go to Asia direct from Antium."

For a generation, scholars have reexamined the context of political deliberation in the Roman Republic. What was the locus of genuine political debate, where opinions were not only expressed but altered? Was it in the Forum before the Roman populace, within the senate, or in private, in the Roman version of smoke-filled rooms? Overwhelmingly, evidence suggests that pivotal shifts in opinions occurred during private consultations with family and friends (consilia). But these consultations were not, as some have asserted, informal discussions. Rather, they adhered to procedures as structured and predictable as those in any public institution. This presentation will outline these procedures, providing specific examples and highlighting some unexpected consequences.

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*(Doe, a deer, a female deer) – flexor, a muscle, a flexor muscle: the case for treating Latin appositional nouns in anatomy as adjectives*

The Latin of anatomy is alive – it is actively being used and shaped by people all over the world. When the nomenclature was first codified in 1895, certain descriptive nouns naming their own functions (such as flexor and abductor) were placed immediately after, and in grammatical apposition to, their respective head nouns (such as musculus and tendo), and this system was generally considered unproblematic.

The governing body for Latin anatomical language recently decided to remove what it considers redundancies to these appositional names, no longer specifying a musculus flexor, but merely a flexor. This change, however, only succeeds in creating new problems for a nomenclature designed to be universal and easy to read – not the least of which is that not all flexors are muscles.

This paper proposes a possibly radical solution to the way appositional nouns are treated in anatomy: since they are actively used as adjectives (especially when used in English, which is unquestionably the lingua franca of vernacular anatomy), we should accept that they have effectively become adjectives based on current usage. We speak of “flexor muscles” and “extensor tendons” in English, so we should also accept the neo-Latin musculi flexores and tendines extensores.

This is a more productive approach than the current one, which involves removing the original head nouns from the phrases (musculus), thus elevating the original function nouns (flexor), in spite of the fact that they now serve as adjectives, to head noun status.

Ironically enough, an often-seen result is that users, feeling the need for the missing nouns when citing the decapitated Latin phrases, add English versions of those nouns to the ends of the mangled phrases, where they would normally be found in English phrases. Musculus flexor digitorum becomes “flexor digitorum muscle” (to distinguish the body part from a “flexor digitorum tendon”).

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# S

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SAWYER, Jacob, University of Toronto

10B

## *Breath and Breathlessness in Nonnus' Dionysiaca*

Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (5<sup>th</sup> c. CE) exhibits a complex and multifaceted use of the imagery of breathlessness, unparalleled in previous Greek literature. The word ἄσθμα occurs forty-three times throughout the epic in a wide variety of contexts including the lightning bolt of Zeus which delivers the infant Dionysus, Typhon's characterization as a chaotic usurper, and several scenes of resurrection with clear intertextual parallels to Nonnus' own Paraphrase of the Gospel of John. My paper explores these images of breath and breathlessness in the poem, focusing on the metapoetic valences of ἄσθμα and its relation to poetic inspiration, Classical and Christian alike. As part of a larger project, I seek to analyze clusters of overarching motifs in the poem with a focus on readership strategies. I transfer Susan Stephens' concept of "seeing double" into the Christian and Classical cultural discourse of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries in order to explore the demands of the *Dionysiaca* and its rich intertextual nexus.

I first discuss ἄσθμα in the Greek poetic tradition, focusing on its uses in Homer and Aeschylus. These poets see shortness of breath as a sign of approaching death which distinguishes mortals from the Olympian gods and contrasts the effortless action of the gods from the harsh toils of human life. Nonnus synthesizes these sources throughout the *Dionysiaca* but also innovates by associating ἄσθμα with cleverness, dissimulation, and forgery through the actions of Typhon, Zeus, and Dionysus himself. Finally, I turn to resurrection scenes, focusing on Tylus and Tectaphos from the *Dionysiaca* and Lazarus from both Nonnus' Paraphrase Book 11 and an epigram in the Greek Anthology (AP 1.49). These figures and intertexts bridge Nonnus' two epics and give further insight to his particular stance on the relation between Christian and Classical poetics.

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*Hellenistic Panathenaic amphoras from a monumental public building in the ancient city of Rhodes*

Hellenistic Panathenaic amphoras are under-represented in the archaeological record, unlike their late archaic and classical counterparts. Since Edwards' seminal publication in 1957 on Hellenistic and Roman Panathenaic amphoras their number has almost quadrupled (from 49 to less than 200). Unlike their predecessors—widespread all over the Mediterranean—Hellenistic Panathenaic amphoras have been mostly retrieved from Athens. Their distribution is limited to very few sites in the Aegean (e.g. Rheneia and Delos), Asia Minor (e.g. Ephesos) and Italy (e.g. Gabii) (cf. Bentz 2008; Eschbach 2017). In the framework of an interdisciplinary project between the University of Copenhagen and the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese (2016-2022) 25 sherds of Hellenistic Panathenaic amphoras were identified among a record of c. 10,000 sherds, stemming from a monumental public building at the eastern foot of the Acropolis of ancient Rhodes. Notwithstanding the fragmentary nature of the material and the lack of inscriptions—otherwise common on Panathenaic amphoras—, these 25 sherds can be attributed to at least eight different amphoras. In light of typological and artistic analysis the sherds find parallels with examples attributed to well known Athenian workshops. More importantly, however, this type of evidence sheds new light on an aspect of Rhodian agonistic culture, which so far was not attested in Hellenistic sources, that is the very likely participation of Rhodians in the Panathenaia at Athens in Hellenistic times.

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*Communal Remembrance and Forgetting: The Sicilian Disaster in the Athenian Funeral Oration*

In a seminal article Julia Shear (2013) examined the politics of memory in the Athenian funeral oration and argued convincingly – based in part on Hyperides' epitaphios logos, delivered after the victorious campaign of 323/2 BC – that the public funeral ceremony enabled the epitaphic orator to establish a shared and everlasting memory of the fallen. This paper explores the politics of remembrance and forgetting practiced in this vital Athenian institution not after a victory but after a traumatic defeat.

Whenever a community is confronted with high casualty numbers, it faces the risk of widespread anger, internal division, or even civil strife (cf. Shear 2013: 513, 524, Wienand 2023: 19). This risk of division was especially high after the complete destruction of the entire Athenian expeditionary corps in Sicily in 413 BC, which constituted a collective trauma for the Athenians (cf. Green 1970: 353; Hanson 2005: 202).

Drawing on comparative studies of other meaning-making narratives as coping mechanisms after traumatic events (Giesen 2001; Yoder 2005: 25; Schick 2011: 1842-47), this paper examines which aspects of the Athenians' Sicilian expedition were commemorated and which ones suppressed in the official response to this disaster in the Athenian public funeral ceremony for the fallen.

Even though the logos epitaphios of this year, delivered by "the ablest orator of the day" (Dion Hal. Thuc. 18), has not been transmitted, there are sufficient clues to reconstruct how the politics of remembrance and forgetting were employed on this occasion to make these seemingly senseless losses bearable for the survivors. Extant examples show that in the Athenian funeral oration losses were typically downplayed or turned into moral victories (cf. 2.58, 63-65; Dem. 60.19-20; Thomas 1989, 231; Low 2010, 349-50). The parodic funeral oration in Plato's *Menexenus* illustrates how epitaphic orators treated the Athenian disaster in Sicily. In contrast to Thucydides' historiographical account, in the epitaphios there is no mention of Athens' imperial ambition, its horrendous losses in men and material, the agony of its soldiers, the fear and panic in Athens or the blaming of scapegoats. Instead, it excessively praises the Athenians' initial successes, emphasizes their noble motives, euphemistically downplays the defeat, and blames it on external circumstances (Pl. *Menex.* 242e-243a). The same tenor can be found in Euripides' funeral epigram for the fallen (Euripides T 92 Kannicht; Plut. *Nic.* 17.4).

This type of active memory politics helped the Athenians to forget or at least to suppress the painful aspects of this catastrophic defeat and carry on the war. The erasure of social differences among the fallen – manifest in the public funeral monument and the exceptional funerary honors bestowed upon all war dead alike (Arrington 2015: 37) – further helped to alleviate any discord among the citizen body. Yet the past was not entirely at the disposal of the present, on the private and personal level, the losses were too great to be forgotten, which limited the malleability of this collective memory, as later oratorical references show (Aeschin. 2.75-76).

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*Everyday Latglish : A New Kind of “Roots” Course*

Seven years ago, urged by my Department (mostly because of the ongoing success of my Medical Terminology courses), I began developing and teaching what is now a “suite” of three inter-related, on-line, and asynchronous (non-medical) roots courses.

Ever since I began working on Medical Terminology (in the early 1980's) I've been convinced that the real challenge is to apply similar new concepts and methods to the much less technical (and far larger) vocabulary I've come to (idiosyncratically) call "Latglish"-- that vast overlay onto English vocabulary of words which, while definitely not Latin, do in fact contain at least one Latin (or Greco-Latin) word part.

My new roots courses all depend upon concepts and methods derived from and analogous to those which have made our Medical Terminology books and courses (most recently revised and improved by Stephen Russell and me) so widely successful in Canada, and which have led at least indirectly to much of the research whose practical applications we and our colleagues have begun to share directly with medical practitioners and researchers world-wide.

The most important of these ideas has led us past the traditional emphasis on memorization which characterizes “roots” courses (including other versions of medical terminology). Specifically, I now believe that learning the “Classical root”--that is, the particular manifestation in contemporary English compound words of the ancient Greco-Latin morpheme--is far less important than learning the rules we can derive by observing the mostly predictable patterns underlying the sets of complex compounds which contain that morpheme.

In many cases these patterns do not themselves derive from Latin (or Greek) but are specific to this particular substratum of English—another reason for using the purposely barbarous name “Latglish” to label these words (more than 60% of contemporary English vocabulary).

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*Catullus 50 & 28 - A Hermeneutics of Homonormative Desire?*

Carmen 50, Catullus' famous poem reflecting on a night spent in intense poetic composition with another man frequently identified as the poet Licinius Calvus, is widely regarded as having clear erotic overtones (ie Finamore 1984, Williams 1988, Fitzgerald 1995, 36-7, Wray 2001, 97, and recently treated explicitly by Gutiérrez 2019). Carmen 28, meanwhile, a poem to and about two close friends that has far more explicit sexual content in the form of oral homoerotic penetration of the speaker and his friends by their enemies, is a less commented poem principally regarded as of interest from historical than literary or cultural perspectives (ie Siraak 2014, Cairns 2012). Setting these two poems and their homoerotic dimensions in dialogue with one another, and drawing on contemporary queer theoretical scholarship (specifically Berlant and Warner 2000 and Dean 2009), this paper will argue that these sexual expressions circulating between men sharing intimate friendships in Catullus' neoteric social circle constitute a poorly recognized dimension of kinship formation and social bonding in the world of Catullan poetry: a homonormativity that, in a rejection of dominant forms of gendered social performance and a simultaneous demarcation from wholly transgressive masculinity (ie the cinaedus figure recently studied extensively by Sapsford 2022), shapes and reinforces a community of friendship "between men" that is predicated on (rather than being threatened by) the implication of feminized erotic passivity and mutual sexual subjugation as a foundation of male intimacy.

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*Re-reading Tragedy with Comics in Carson & Bruno's Euripides: The Trojan Women*

Scholar Thierry Groensteen described the medium of comics (2007: 10-11): “The panels return nothing but the fragments of the implied world in which the story unfolds, but this world is supposed to be continuous and homogenous...” This description could easily be applied to drama, in which an audience witnesses a fragment of action on stage, while the storyworld continues to exist outside of the audience’s view. While many Greek tragedies depend upon off-stage action (such as the death of Agamemnon in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*), *Trojan Women* is notable for positioning some of the major narratives of the ancient Greek world off-stage, instead centring Hecuba’s grief following the fall of Troy. Indeed, Ruth Schodel observes, the lack of the Trojan War’s direct representation in this text leaves an (1979: 72) “empty space the poet has placed with such emphasis in the center of his work.”

Thus *Trojan Women* is a tragedy that heavily depends upon the knowing audience filling in the gaps in the onstage action with their intertextual knowledge. In this paper, I will thus examine Carson & Bruno’s engagement with this tragic “gutter” (employing the term for the space between comic panels) through their employment of comics to retell this narrative in their *Euripides: The Trojan Women*. Although their volume largely employs full-page images (“splash-pages”), Carson & Bruno employ the gutter in conversations with Cassandra, Menelaus, and Helen to simulate the unknown (to the characters) off-stage futures alluded in the tragedy. Moreover, by frequently employing the chorus as a literal frame for a page’s action, Carson & Bruno reflect the chorus’ role as mediators between the off-stage/page gutter and the on-stage/page action. Through a close examination of this tragic comic, therefore, I will demonstrate that devices common in modern comics are similarly present in ancient tragedy, and by translating one into the other Carson & Bruno in fact replicate this ancient form in a very modern medium.

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*Une inscription monumentale inédite en l'honneur de combattants xanthiens morts à la guerre*

L'été 2001, la prospection de la mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos a conduit, dans le secteur sud-ouest de l'acropole lycienne, à la découverte d'un grand bloc de calcaire gris ayant appartenu à un architrave ou au couronnement d'un mur. La pierre, déjà repérée par Henri Metzger en 1953, présente les restes de six lignes. Bien que, dès cette époque, une photo et un fac-similé du texte aient été confiés à Louis Robert, l'inscription n'a jamais été publiée, sans doute en raison de son caractère fragmentaire. Une lecture attentive et les restitutions proposées témoignent pourtant de son grand intérêt. À en juger par les bribes qui nous sont parvenues, le texte figurait en effet sur un monument érigé en l'honneur de Xanthiens qui avaient combattu et péri, précise le texte, « dans l'intérêt de la cité, de l'autorité romaine et de la liberté de tous les Lyciens ». Malheureusement, l'identification de la guerre concernée et la nature même du monument obligent à quelques conjectures. Avec la mention de l'autorité romaine, le contexte renvoie, selon toute vraisemblance, aux difficultés du 1er siècle avant notre ère, ce à quoi ne s'opposent pas les caractéristiques de l'écriture. Le contexte des guerres mithridatiques et des déprédations piratiques semble davantage convenir que le siège et la destruction de la cité par Brutus, au printemps 42, qui se prête mal a priori à une guerre dans « l'intérêt des autorités romaines ». Quant au monument lui-même, sa localisation et son aspect demeurent pour l'instant obscurs.

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*Quand la quête philosophique est racontée. Les Homélie pseudo-clémentines et les récits antiques de recherche d'une connaissance religieuse véritable*

Les Homélie pseudo-clémentines, un écrit apocryphe chrétien du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, intègrent une théorie de la connaissance à un cadre narratif. Les lecteurs peuvent en effet suivre le personnage principal, Clément de Rome, dans sa quête pour trouver un savoir philosophique et religieux qui lui permettra d'apaiser ses angoisses existentielles. Il obtient ses réponses auprès de l'apôtre Pierre et la suite du récit sera composée d'exposés théologiques sur la nature de l'être humain et du monde, ainsi que sur la piété.

Les Homélie ne sont pas les seules à raconter les tribulations d'un protagoniste à la recherche de la vraie philosophie. Des exemples pertinents de cette mise en récit se trouvent dans la littérature gréco-latine, comme dans *Thessalos le Philosophe* et *l'Âne d'or* d'Apulée. Les romans d'amour gréco-latins sont également concernés par ces enjeux, puisque les voyages des protagonistes recèlent généralement des aspects initiatiques et religieux importants. Ces questions ont finalement intéressé les premiers chrétiens, comme Justin et Tatien, en plus d'être abordées dans certains traités gnostiques, en particulier le *Livre des secrets de Jean* (BG 2 ; NH II, 1 ; NH III, 1 ; NH IV, 1) et *Zostrien* (NH VIII, 1).

Dans l'intention de décloisonner l'étude des textes anciens et de rassembler un maximum de données, cette communication présentera un modèle théorique, la « narration gnoséologique », qui permet de mettre en évidence les continuités littéraires, philosophiques et théologiques dans la manière de raconter une quête de connaissance religieuse dans l'Antiquité, sans faire l'impasse sur les spécificités de chaque écrit. Ce modèle permet en outre d'exposer des enjeux polémiques particulièrement importants dans le christianisme ancien.

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(Nec) Ferus Aeetes: *Uncovering Pelias' Lie in Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica*

Valerius Flaccus' Argonautic expedition is based on a lie: Pelias sends Jason off on the quest for the golden fleece under the false pretense of avenging Phrixus' murder by Aeetes (Val. Fl. 1.43-50). While in some versions of the myth Phrixus does meet a violent end in Colchis, that is not the case in this epic: as the reader soon finds out, Valerius' Phrixus was hospitably welcomed by Aeetes and lived a long and seemingly happy life in Colchis (1.519-524). Jason, on the other hand, although he immediately perceives Pelias' deceptive intentions (1.64-66), does not realize the full extent of the lie he was told until later in the epic; but when exactly? After Helle's cryptic words about her brother (2.598-607)? When the Argonauts arrive in Colchis and see Phrixus' tomb (5.184-189)? When Jason meets the sons of Phrixus at the temple of the Sun (5.460-462)? Or only after the encounter with Aeetes (5.546-557)?

In this paper, I review the hints about Phrixus' fate that punctuate the trip to Colchis and analyze the characters' reactions in order to retrace the cognitive progression from Pelias' initial lie to the Argonauts' full acknowledgement of the truth. I argue that Jason understands what has (not) happened before his fellow Argonauts do, but keeps the information from them because he realizes the implications of the revelation. Indeed, the fact that Phrixus was not murdered seriously undermines the legitimacy of the Argonauts' quest to avenge their kinsman and repatriate the golden fleece.

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*Demosthenes, Didymus, and the outbreak of war in 340 BC*

This paper addresses a dramatic moment in Greek history: the outbreak in autumn 340 BC of the war between Athens and Philip of Macedon that ended two years later on the battlefield of Chaeronea. According to most scholars, war was precipitated by Philip's unprovoked seizure of Athens' grain fleet at Hieron on the Hellespont, a blatant act of aggression that led Athens to declare that he had broken the peace (see esp. Ellis 1976, Hammond and Griffith 1979). It is here argued that this view inverts the correct sequence of events. The only source in its favour is an unsupported assertion by Demosthenes (18.72) which has been given more credence than it deserves. On the other side, the historian Philochorus, a sober and reliable writer, says (fr. 53-55) that Athens declared war on Philip after receiving from him a letter of complaint. This letter, it is here suggested, survives as pseudo-Demosthenes 12, 'The Letter of Philip', which on the standard view is (wrongly) dated to earlier in 340. The only other source for these events, Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes, synchronizes the outbreak of war and Philip's seizure of the grain ships, but does not, as Griffith and others have interpreted it, say that the seizure led to the outbreak of war. A re-examination of the evidence supports a different sequence of events: Philip's letter prompted the Athenians, on the proposal of Demosthenes, to declare war. It was only once war had been declared that Philip seized the ships. Writing ten years after the events, Demosthenes seeks in *On the Crown* to deflect immediate responsibility for a war that ended disastrously for Athens onto Philip.

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*Comic Bodies of Archaic Greece*

Archaic komos scenes (on drinking cups produced around the Greek world) depict dancers (komasts) whose awkward movements and the presence of wine, suggest unrestrained revelry and loss of control. The dancers' bodies are exaggerated in the rump and the belly. Sometimes komasts are nude; more often, they wear padding that creates malformed, even grotesque, bodies that the revellers seem to further distort with their dance moves. It is often argued that the komasts are engaging in low-class behaviour, either as non-elites or as elites parodying their social inferiors, perhaps ritualistically (Fehr 1990; Schäfer 1997). Other interpreters suggest that they are indulging in deliberate comic obscenity and ugliness in defiance of elite or athletic norms (Winkler 1990; Sutton 2000). Perhaps the key to understanding the komos scenes lies not in differing classes but in the differing body shapes and movements themselves. What did adopting and depicting exaggerated bodies mean? Were the revelling bodies meant to mock? Were fat rumps and bellies funny?

Komos scenes are akin in some ways to classical Athenian treatments of satyrs and dwarves in drama and drinking ware (Foley 2000; Osborne 2011), although there are important differences. Archaic komasts rarely have exaggerated phalluses like satyrs in Dionysiac pottery scenes, and their costumes, unlike the bodysuits of 5th-century comedy, seem only to consist of padding on the rump and stomach. Archaic komos scenes, classical attic comic costumes, and Dionysiac pottery scenes all treat body abnormalities (lumpiness, awkward movements, and oversized phalluses) as part of joyous and comic abandon, i.e., they depict the abandon of social and bodily norms and expectations.

Komos scenes, I suggest, are knowing rejections of the heroic body and heroic poise. The dancers, moving their plump, malformed bodies grotesquely, embody the opposite of the staid and stolid heroic ideal presented by the archaic kouros. They behave as the opposite of heroic, yet depict a similarly exaggerated behaviour (which is both elite and non-elite): they are being awkward, lewd, and silly in fattened-up bodies. The contrast is not one primarily of social status but one between chiselled heroic seriousness and lumpy comic silliness, poking fun at the heroic spirit (*thumos*) with the comic belly (*gaster*).

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*Fermentum dans l'Antiquité. Une exploration sémantique alliant méthodologies classiques et outils numériques.*

La présente proposition entend rendre compte d'une étude diachronique exhaustive des sens du mot fermentum au sein des corpus latins de l'Antiquité (III<sup>e</sup> a.C.n. - V<sup>e</sup> p.C.n.). En filigrane, nous dresserons une comparaison entre les résultats initiaux obtenus de manière qualitative et les données générées à l'aide de méthodes informatisées et d'outils numériques, s'orientant ainsi davantage vers une approche quantitative.

Cette recherche – effectuée dans un premier temps en suivant des méthodes heuristiques traditionnelles – a permis de montrer que le mot avait des sens variés dans l'Antiquité dite classique – toujours liés, de près ou de loin, au fait de bouillonner. Le mot fermentum est en effet apparenté à la racine \*ferv-. Il endosse des sens tant concrets (tout type de levure) qu'abstraites (la colère, par exemple).

Dans la littérature chrétienne de l'Antiquité en revanche, les occurrences sont bien plus nombreuses, mais avec des sens moins variés. Généralement, le terme est employé par les Pères de l'Église et les commentateurs à propos de quelques passages du Nouveau Testament qui parlent de levain, au sens concret ou figuré (Galat., 5, 9, 1 Cor., 5, 6-8, et Matt. 16, 6). Tantôt, le mot fermentum apparaît dans un environnement textuel à connotation négative, comme quand il est utilisé avec le verbe corrumpere. Parfois il revêt une connotation positive, puisque Jésus compare le royaume des cieux à du levain (Matt. 13, 33).

La deuxième facette de cette communication visera à compléter cette recherche axée qualitative par la recension, l'analyse et l'exploitation de données quantitatives à partir d'outils numériques variés. La récolte des informations se fera à partir de la très riche base de données de la Library of Latin Texts ; l'analyse et la diffusion (visuelle) des données sera basée essentiellement sur différentes librairies Python (essentiellement Pandas). Ces outils nous permettront de mettre en lumière les nouvelles méthodologies proposées par les humanités numériques et les apports de ces nouvelles méthodes à l'heuristique traditionnelle.

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*How Ben Jonson read his Martial of 1633*

Ben Jonson (1572–1637), Shakespeare’s colleague and rival who in fact outshone him in the 17th century, was a diligent reader of classical authors whom he mined for his literary efforts. Jonson’s favourite Latin poet was Martial, and he owned several copies of his Epigrams in the course of his life. McPherson tracked down three copies of Martial (1615, 1617, and 1619) for his census of Jonson’s library in 1974. Although Jonson seldom wrote in his books, his 1619 Martial is exceptional for being his most heavily annotated book known to date. However, this paper heralds the discovery of an even more extensively annotated Martial of 1633 from Ben Jonson’s library. Its provenance stretches from Jonson through his acquaintances the Wodehouses of Kimberly, Norfolk to London, Ontario’s Western University in the 1990s, and from there to its present owner in 2018. Jonson’s name occurs twice in the 1633 Martial, but of greater interest are hundreds of annotations in his characteristic red pencil throughout Martial’s text. Most are simple underlines, the usual way that Jonson marked out potential “literary quarry”, but other symbols occur in the margins and are explained by a note of his on the final endpaper. Most of Ben Jonson’s known, lifetime borrowings from Martial are annotated in the 1633 book. For instance, one sees the penciled word “Beatitudinem” alongside epigram 10.47 in praise of the simple life, a poem which we know Jonson translated for publication 1612. By 1633, Jonson’s literary output had almost ceased and many of his annotations are retrospective, nevertheless he was still seeking out bons mots that would appear in his posthumously-published commonplace book, *Timber* (1641). The 1633 Martial thus offers a rare opportunity to see how a leading writer of the early modern period interacted with a kindred spirit of ancient Rome.

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*Christian Imperial Protection of Alexandria's Pagan Cults in the Fourth Century*

When the Emperor Julian (361-63) set about rejuvenating pagan religion at the beginning of his reign, the temples of the eastern provinces—or some of them at any rate—were in a sorry state. This must be due, at least in part, to the depredations of Constantine and the harsh anti-pagan legislation of his son, Constantius II. But this view is not universally held to be true. Some maintain that Constantine's campaign against the temples was invented or at least exaggerated by Eusebius of Caesarea and that Constantius' legislation was largely ineffectual. One pillar in this argument is the ample evidence for a continuing and vibrant public pagan cult in Alexandria until 391, when the still-functioning Serapeum was seized by a hostile Christian mob. It was only during the final years of Theodosius I, many would argue, that anti-pagan legislation had a wide impact. However, it is seldom, if ever, noted that the temples of Alexandria—like those of Rome in the West—previously had enjoyed an imperial dispensation to continue unperturbed. This paper examines passing references in several sources (especially Athanasius, Julian, Libanius, and the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*) to reconstruct the special protected status of Alexandria's cults under Christian emperors prior to 391. Theodosius' two famous constitutions of that year (CTh 16.10.10-11), then, come into sharper focus: addressed to officials in Rome and Alexandria, they finally extended longstanding bans on sacrifice and temple access to the two formerly exempt cities. It was this withdrawal of imperial protection that incited Christians in Alexandria to inflict the same sort of trauma on the city's pagan cults that the temples in other eastern locales had been experiencing already since the reign of Constantine.

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*The Victorian God of Aestheticism: Walter Pater and Dionysus*

In this paper, I suggest a transference—an imaginative translation—of some of the more radical aesthetic notions Walter Pater articulates in his pivotal fin-de-siècle work, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, into his delineation of Dionysian religion in “A Study of Dionysus.” Pater begins the “Conclusion” with the workings of the physical world. He describes a world of perpetual flux and of fathomless connectivity, in which bodily forms and elements meld into one another, constantly dissolving and reassembling, all a small thread in the web of the whole. But when “reflection begins to act upon those objects,” to which all are connected, “the whole scope of observation is dwarfed to a narrow chamber of the individual mind.” There is, then, a contradiction in all of this existence, a severing in the mind from what remains linked in the “perpetual motion” of the body.

In his 1876 essay “A Study of Dionysus,” Pater implies this same sort of connectivity and severance in his descriptions of the god Dionysus. Pater places the deity at the pinnacle of the “hierarchy of the creatures of water and sunlight”—a fertile god of creation, who dissolves boundaries, both literal and figurative. Tapping into the divinity of the god creates moments of extreme ecstasy that are shared physically, yet are extraordinarily separate within the mind of each worshipper. To the early Greeks, Pater suggests, Dionysus “is the soul of the individual vine, first ... afterwards, the soul of the whole species, the spirit of fire and dew, alive and leaping through a thousand vines.” Echoing his description of the phenomenal in the “Conclusion,” Pater emphasizes the connectivity of the god’s animus, both in the singular and the plural, its constant motion, its “leaps” through the physical, “gush by little gush.” “Think what the effect would be,” Pater asks, “if you could associate, by some trick of memory, a certain group of natural objects, in all their varied perspective... with the being and image of an actual person.” This “trick of memory” is the Bacchanals—and Dionysus, as representative of hedonism, joy, and pleasure, is the “actual” god of Pater’s Renaissance.

In this paper, I argue that Pater’s conception of aesthetic experience requires that one initially lose one’s notion of self within a collectively shared ecstasy; but this surrender enables one to intensify the encounter with art into something simultaneously subjective and shared, intellectual and physical. Pater is not, however, fully able to articulate or define this conception in *The Renaissance*. I suggest, then, a transference—an imaginative translation—of these more radical aesthetic notions into his delineation of Dionysian religion in his later essays “A Study of Dionysus” and “The Bacchanals of Euripides.” Rather than resolve his dilemma between the isolation of intellectual subjectivity and the connectivity of bodily forms and sensory experience, Pater instead finds in the Greek god Dionysus a precedent that can accommodate these seemingly contradictory truths into what he terms “a single, imaginable form.” Participants in Bacchic rituals are able to give themselves over entirely to a communal ecstasy (“a standing outside oneself”) and through this to experience individually an *enthousiasmos* (“the god within one’s self”). This dual experience shatters Pater’s distinction between body and mind, inner and outer life, and allows Dionysus’s followers, as Pater describes in “The Bacchanals,” to transgress mental and physical boundaries and “touch thought through the senses.”

*Hephaestus and his Mule: Interspecies Parallels in Greek Thought and Social Structures*

The three domesticated species of equids all played fundamental roles in shaping the culture, structure, and histories of ancient Greece. The human attitudes towards them, however, varied widely, creating a clear equid hierarchy in Greek thought. At the top were the horses, animals intrinsically tied to eliteness. They galloped and pranced across public and private art, representing the wealth, power, and authority of the state, and their owners, on the battlefield, the racetrack, and the civic sphere of the polis. In the divine realm they pulled the chariots of the gods, crossing the heavens with Helios and Selene, and were one of the animals most closely associated with Poseidon. At the other end of the spectrum is the donkey, an animal of immense practical value, but viewed as low status. While donkeys do appear in the visual and literary records, and are associated with Dionysus, they are nonetheless depicted as the bottom of the equine social order. If the horse = elite, the donkey = the slave. In reality, the donkey was a key partner in agriculture, trade, construction, etc., but its representation in the literary and visual records is very much a reflection of those who wrote and commissioned these things: the elite. But what about mules? This hybrid species of equid occupies a more tenuous place in the pecking order. Their usefulness was well recognized, but this was not reflected in their perceived status. This murky reception is also seen in their association with the god Hephaestus, who likewise occupies an often-marginalized place in the hierarchy of Olympians. While horses and donkeys seem to fit neatly in the ideologies of Greek society, the mule can be more complicated and challenging. This paper seeks to explore attitudes towards the mule and its connection to Hephaestus by examining how the mule/Hephaestus pairing parallels attitudes towards masculinity, fertility, and physical labour in the Classical world.

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*Friends as Living Exempla in Cicero's de Amicitia*

Scholars frequently note the significance of *exempla* in Cicero's writings (Brinton 1988, Brunt 2013, Schofield 2021). Cicero's *exempla* support his endeavor to hold to universal principles while also recognizing the tensions inherent in applying them to particular and diverse situations. Several key aspects of exemplary models are their ability to provide a guide for the cultivation of virtue (Gelley 1995), assist people in navigating complex moral dilemmas (Willows 2017), and awaken the emotions in the admiration and pursuit of virtue (Langsland 2018). However, the connection between *exempla* and friendship deserves further exploration. This paper argues that Cicero employs the language of *exempla* in *de Amicitia* to frame friendship as a living example of virtue, one that joins the tradition exemplified by the historical models but that also succeeds where the historical ones fall short.

*De Amicitia* contains several significant *exempla* (van der Blom 2010), including the interlocutors themselves. In particular, the relationship between Laelius and Scipio serves as an archetype of friendship (*Amic.* 4). Cicero says *exempla* become like friends, but he also reverses that pattern with friends becoming *exempla*. The example of a friend's virtue awakens one's love for virtue and effort to emulate it (*Amic.* 30-32, 49). Historical *exempla* can prove inadequate in discerning an individual's motivation and constancy throughout life (Roller 2018). In contrast, a friend is observed closely throughout time (*Amic.* 67, 79). Additionally, knowing what is virtuous in a given situation often requires asking advice from moral people (Hurtshouse 1999) as well as scrutiny of one's own motives (Gill 2023). A friend provides these aids to virtue while deeply knowing and seeking the highest good of the other (*Amic.* 80, 89, 91). Thus, a true friend serves as Cicero's highest *exemplum*.

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# Y

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YOON, Florence, University of British Columbia

1D

*Le tableau tragique: questioning visual and verbal correspondence*

Le tableau – un arrêt significatif de l'action, quand les acteurs restent perceptiblement figés – pose des problèmes d'identification pour les lecteurs des drames anciens. Le manque de didascalies est une difficulté fondamentale dans l'ensemble des études du genre, mais les conséquences pour les tableaux sont particulièrement graves; il s'agit de qualités essentiellement subjectives (« significatif », « perceptiblement »), produites par des actions plutôt implicites que décrites par un texte.

Nevertheless, scholars have cautiously described and generally agreed on many instances of tableau, relying on the text to provide not only hints as to concrete details of the stage action, but also a reasonable affective function for the visual tableau as a whole. For example, the display of Ajax's realization of his misfortunes is generally assumed to include the slain animals partly because of the allusion to a bloody circle (350-3), but also because the pathos generated by their inclusion allows the visual experience to support the extremity of the aural experience of Ajax' laments.

Nous sommes tellement habitués au manque de didascalies que la possibilité d'un tel manque plus significatif est facile à négliger. Mais dans certains cas, il reste si peu d'informations sur ce qui se passe sur scène qu'il semble y avoir une disjonction intentionnelle entre les expériences du spectateur et de l'auditeur. Le tableau final d'Ajax et de la scène initiale des *Troyennes* sont présentés en tant qu'études de cas pour remettre en question la présomption que les expériences audio et visuelles du public doivent toujours correspondre.

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*Classical Receptions and Colonial Aphasia in the Latin Literature of 17<sup>th</sup>-century New France*

Literary allusion, usually figured as an act of remembering, can likewise structure an epistemological framework that induces a kind of forgetting. This paper proposes to examine the diverse manifestations of Latin literature that proliferate in 17th-century colonial New France, the writings of Jesuit missionaries in particular, in an attempt to trace the historical tensions occluded by self-conscious allusions to classical literature. We have come to recognize that early modern Jesuit understandings of the past assume that history takes a particular shape, one rooted in a colonial logic and defined by classical models. Here I argue further that classical receptions function as sites of occlusion. Jesuit missionaries, writing in and on New France over more than a century of French colonial governance, tell and re-tell the same stories of this land and its peoples, constantly (and perhaps even consciously) forgetting the narrative of progress on which their historical claims are predicated. They relate discrepant histories, in which New France is at once settled and civilized and legible to a European audience but likewise wild and savage and deeply Other. Their careful engagement with Latin—the language itself but likewise its literary culture—produces in the writings of these 17th-century French Jesuits a kind of colonial aphasia, a systematic and studied forgetting that conceals the intractable effects of colonial interventions in the new world. In an effort to track this tendency over time, I consider a broad range of Latin texts produced by Jesuit missionaries to New France, but I focus especially on the monumental classicizing history of François DuCreux, his *Historia Canadensis* (1664). In that work, the author's reliance on classical models conditions the reader to understand the new world and its peoples as fundamentally unchanging, as subject to history but not as properly historical subjects.

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# Z

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**ZUCKERMAN, Marshall**, McMaster University

5D

*Deflating the Myth of Deflation in the Social War*

Appian (BC 1.54) records the murder of the praetor A. Sempronius Asellio by creditors because he favored insolvent debtors at trial. Scholars, taking inspiration from more detailed accounts of economic crises at Rome, have uniformly ascribed this credit crisis to a deflation in the money supply resulting from panicked hoarding during the Social War. In contrast, this presentation argues that contemporaneous inflationary government expenditure precluded deflation as the cause of insolvency. Rather, it must have been an anticipatory recall of loans which caused the discontent over debts under Asellio. The debt crisis of the Social War differs from later recessions under Caesar and Tiberius during which the Roman treasury was full. Evidence for the treasury having been emptied during the Social War is abundant. Rome doubled its manpower to meet the allies in battle, necessitating an unprecedented issue of coinage according to die analysis. Numismatically, coins of this era were debased to extend the treasury beyond its means. In its desperation, the state even auctioned off public properties on the Capitoline. This revision of the Social War's economic history serves as a warning against a monocausal approach to various economic crises. Scholars ought not rush to explain every economic crisis through the same cause.

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