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Who Gets to be a Knower? Epistemic Authority in Classical Studies

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Classics

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Abstract and Keywords

In this thesis I explore the question: *who gets to be a knower in Classical Studies?* First, I investigate how identity has been researched in Classical Studies. I focus on recent demographic studies, and I problematize the language and methodologies they employ. Then, using the methodology of reflexive positionality, I analyze how scholars have considered the impact that their own identity, and the identity of other scholars, has on the knowledge they produce. Though reflexive positionality is minimally applied, I demonstrate that there are conventions in Classical Studies which parallel the motivations of reflexive positionality and I explore the implications of these practices. Lastly, I discuss epistemic authority. I analyze the citational practices of Classical Studies publications which utilize the theory of intersectionality. Through these three investigations I explore different aspects of what it means to be a knower and how one's identity impacts their epistemic authority.

Keywords: Classical Studies, Disciplinary History, Reflexivity, Reflexive Positionality, Intersectionality, Epistemic Authority, Epistemic Injustice.

Summary for Lay Audience

In this thesis I explore the question: *who gets to be a knower in Classical Studies?* As this is a complex and multifaceted question, I use three investigations to explore different aspects of what it means to be a knower. First, I investigate how identity has been researched in Classical Studies. Demography has been a common method used to consider who is in the field. In my discussion of four recent demographic studies, I problematize the language and methodologies commonly employed and argue that there is need to shift the focus of such studies from studies of simple proportions to overrepresentation and exclusion. Then, I analyze how scholars consider their own identity and the identity of their intellectual predecessors as an important factor in the knowledge production process. Through this investigation I explore reflexive positionality—a methodology which asks the author to consider how their identity influences their research. Though the extent to which this methodology is applied in Classical Studies is minimal, I demonstrate that there are a number of conventions commonly used in Classical Studies which parallel the motivations of reflexive positionality. Finally, I discuss epistemic injustice—a prejudicially motivated devaluation of one’s authority as a knower. I utilize a case study in which I investigate citational practices in Classical Studies scholarship which employs the theory of intersectionality. In this study I consider who is cited as an important contributor to the theorizing of intersectionality, and who should be, but is not. Through these three investigations I consider distinct facets of identity and knowing in order to explore the question: *who gets to be a knower in Classical Studies?*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

My thesis is very much grounded in the political moment in which it was written. In recent years, the recognition of the need to question where information comes from has increasingly become a part of the public consciousness. It is not enough to consider only the facts presented, but one must also consider who is presenting the information as “fact”. There too is an increasing awareness of how dominant societal narratives have been used as a tool to silence disenfranchised members of society. As statues of colonizers, enslavers, and promoters of genocide have been removed across Canada, the United States and the UK, there has been increasing dialogue about whose voice is represented by these statues and whose voices are silenced.

I, as the author of this thesis, am not unaffected by public discourse and am not separate from the society in which I live. These public interrogations of authority, identity, and knowledge production have greatly influenced my approach to scholarship and my writing of this thesis which investigates questions such as: *who gets to be a knower? What knowledge do we take up and what do we dismiss, exclude, suppress? How does a knower’s identity affect the knowledge they produce? Who are the knowers to whom credit is given, and who do not receive the credit they are due?*

These questions of knowing are not unasked nor unanswered. There is a rich body of scholarship that has been largely produced by Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour feminists who have theorized about the unequal credibility of knowers since the 1960s, and the study of epistemology has been taken up in earnest by the field of Philosophy in the last two decades, a history of study that I will address later in this

thesis. Rather than tackle these expansive conceptual questions that ought to be left to the philosophers, I take a more pointed approach by focusing my study on knowers in the field of Classical Studies.¹ I begin by positioning myself within this area of research and discuss how reflexively considering one's positionality is essential to critical research. I then investigate how identity has been researched in Classical Studies. I analyze how scholars consider their own identity and the identity of their intellectual predecessors as an important factor in the knowledge production process. Finally, I use the theory of intersectionality as a case study in order to discuss epistemic injustice in Classical Studies scholarship. Through these three investigations I consider distinct facets of identity and knowing.

1.2 Reflexive Positionality

Before I continue, I want to position myself in this work. First and foremost, I am a student. I am a first-generation university student. I completed an Honours BA in Classics in 2019 at a large Canadian university. The department in which I studied privileged the teaching of Latin and Greek and was, at the time, fairly traditional in its approach to the teaching of Classics. The primacy of academic rigor and professionalism, and the importance of speaking at conferences and publishing were ever-present,

¹ In this thesis I use the term 'Classical Studies' frequently; however, I do so uneasily. In recent years debates about the appropriateness of the term have become increasingly common. 'Classical Studies' departments in higher education institutions have begun to rename themselves to more accurately reflect the material which they study, and to reject the colonial past which the term evokes (see for example the University of British Columbia's Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies' recent adoption of the title Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies). My decision to maintain this fraught term is partially motivated by the fact that this thesis reflects upon the way the discipline has done things in the past, rather than how things may be conducted in the future. Additionally, as I incorporate theories and concepts from other disciplines and I want to have a clear and concise way to indicate where information is coming from.

promoted both explicitly and implicitly from the beginning of my time at university. It was not until after I graduated and took a year away from school that I began to question these fundamental tenets of what I was taught academia was supposed to be. This education fundamentally shaped my understanding of how knowledge was produced in academia and in the field of Classical Studies. Given time, especially time away from academia, I now recognize that these were extreme views; true as that may be, I do not believe they are at all unique to the institution at which I studied. Spending five years surrounded by these views, and subsequently questioning them has greatly shaped my perceptions of the field.

As a student, I am at the beginning of my journey of unlearning the hegemonic, and at times white supremacist, narratives that dominated my early learning. I am beginning to intentionally broaden my understanding of pedagogies and perspectives that were not present in my formal education. This is in *no way* an excuse for the mistakes and ignorances that are sure to reside in the following pages, but, rather, as a statement of my own limited point of view. I include this also as a partial explanation for the appendices that are included at the end of this work. I have used appendices when discussing key theories in order to share more voices than I would be able to include in the body of this text. This use of appendices is both to acknowledge that I am not an expert and, in sharing a collection of voices, I hope to position my voice not as the only one nor the final one. Additionally, I hope these appendices will act as a starting point for further reading, should any of these key concepts be new to the reader as some were to me.

In addition to being a student, I am a white settler on stolen land.² Many of my ancestors migrated to Canada further back than my living family's stories go. While some of my family has a long history here, the Dutch side of my family, with which I identify most strongly, has a more recent history. My grandfather came to Canada as a young boy with his family after the war looking for better prospects. He and my grandmother settled on lands that are the traditional territory of the Anishinaabek, Huron-Wendat, Haudenosaunee, Michi Saagiig, and Chippewa Nations. Territory which is covered by the Williams Treaty of 1923. This is how I have come to live, work, and build a life on lands that I was not invited to inhabit. As a student at Western University, I live and learn on the traditional lands of the Anishinaabek, Haudenosaunee, Lūnaapéewak, and Chonnonton Nations; these lands are connected with the London Township and Sombra Treaties of 1796 and the Dish with One Spoon Covenant Wampum.³ These lands have a long history. The relationship between the land and the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit is not simply an historic relationship; rather, it is ongoing, as they are the contemporary stewards of these lands.⁴ I acknowledge the history of these lands as part of my

² Throughout this work I do not capitalize "white" unless it is part of a title or is otherwise grammatically required, this choice is intentional and informed in part by Laws 2020.

³ Indigenous Initiatives Western University (2022). The information and some key wording of this land acknowledgement comes from the University of Western Ontario's Land Acknowledgement Guide. I have retained the treaty information and wording as it was written in consultation with Indigenous scholars. I have defaulted to their language out of respect. At the time of writing, I was not far enough in my learning process to write my own land acknowledgement without the aid of UWO's guide. I am committed to an ongoing process of learning more about the lands, my relationship and my responsibilities to them, and to more fully understanding the treaties associated with these lands.

⁴ Though land acknowledgements are a first step it is essential to remember that true reconciliation and decolonization require action not merely words. In Canada, reading the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions' calls to action, learning about the lands on which you live, the land back movement, and supporting Indigenous led organizations are actionable first steps to take but it is important to take direction from the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit organizers in your community.

positionality as I directly and indirectly benefit from the historic and ongoing oppression of Indigenous Peoples in this settler colonial nation-state. Due to the privilege I hold, it is my responsibility to do my best to correct false narratives when possible, stop the spread of misinformation, and support Indigenous led initiatives and organizations in my community.⁵ My thesis does not engage directly with Indigenous pedagogies; however, my position as a settler impacts my worldview and it influences how I navigate both my life and my research and so is important here.

In addition to being a white settler student I am also a chronically ill, queer, nonbinary person. These facets of my identity impact the way I engage with scholarship and the world around me at a fundamental level. Considering one's identity as an important aspect of knowing is a critical part of standpoint epistemologies which see knowledge as socially constructed.⁶ Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Bibber and Deborah Piatelli state the importance of considering one's positionality thus: "[it] exposes the exercise of power throughout the entire research process. It questions the authority of knowledge and opens up the possibility for negotiating knowledge claims and introducing counter-hegemonic narratives, as well as holding researchers accountable."⁷

By sharing my positionality, I am both acknowledging that who I am affects my work and that I come from a privileged standpoint both as a white person and as the

⁵ Though learning and (un)learning are key aspects of my responsibilities, action is also required. Tuck and Yang (2012, 3) state that "when metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future."

⁶ For discussion of the origins of feminist standpoint epistemology see Harding 2004, 1-10. For an example of an early and important work on feminist standpoint theory see Haraway 1991, and similarly for Black feminist standpoint theory see Patricia Hall Collins 1990.

⁷ Hesse-Bibber and Piatelli 2014, 559.

researcher. Acknowledgement does not inherently change my bias or privilege; however, by taking this consideration forward throughout my research process I recognize that I am a single person with a unique standpoint, which is only one of innumerable standpoints from which to view this research. I will, where I can, interrogate how this standpoint impacts the conclusions I come to and consider alternate possibilities. I hope that meaningfully engaging with my own positionality will help me to represent the work of knowers from standpoints different than my own more intentionally and respectfully. I also share my positionality as a way to disrupt the common but problematic concept that research is objective. Objectivity is unattainable, and, even if it were not, objectivity is not the goal in this thesis. I am deeply complicit in the injustices which I seek to investigate, and so, to claim objectivity, and therefore exempt myself from these injustices rather than hold myself accountable for them, would perpetuate further harm.

Chapter 2: Diversity and Demography in Classical Studies

2.1 Introduction to Studies on Diversity in Classical Studies

Now that I have considered my own place in Classical Studies I ask: *who are the thinkers in the field of Classical Studies? Who is acknowledged as a knower in the field? Who are recognized as authoritative producers of knowledge?* One way these questions have been addressed has been to investigate the demographic make-up of instructors, students, and authors in the field. Even without empirical study the lack of diversity is evident, yet many authors have sought to quantify this inequity. Below is a brief review of major developments in this area of study.⁸ Studies of unequal gender participation are now quite commonplace; however, there are few wide reaching studies that meaningfully engage with race and ethnicity, and no studies based in North America which deal primarily with the LGBTQIA2S+ community, disability, neurodivergency, or class.⁹ Such studies seek to quantify a truth that needs no proving: that positions of authority most associated with the production of knowledge in Classical Studies have been, and for the most part remain,

⁸ In order to limit the scope of this study I only considered studies based in the UK and North America written in English. Though not the primary focus of their studies, see: Leonard and Lovatt (2020) for some information on disability, and Heath-Stout (2020) for some comment on the LGBTQIA2S+ community in Classical Studies.

⁹ Class has been the subject of some analysis; however, this has been done primarily in the UK. Despite class receiving some attention, as late as 2020 Leonard and Lovatt (2020, 19) stated that class was a subject in need of further study. The reason for the majority of studies on class being based in the UK may be because of a difference highlighted by Mirko Canevaro. Canevaro (2021, 192-193) states: “in the UK, like in the US, Classical languages (and Classics more widely) have almost disappeared from state schools, more or less entirely unavailable to students in Scotland and Northern Ireland, and very rare indeed...in England and Wales. Conversely, Classics remains popular and widely available in private schools, which cater for around 7% of the overall UK student population.” Therefore, in the UK, unlike the US, the percentage of students who attend private school is statistically significant and so it is more valuable to study the difference in education provided at state-funded and private schools. Hunt and Holmes-Henderson (2021) have conducted a study that highlights the vast disparity in the percentage of state-funded and private schools in the UK that teach Latin at the A Level.

the domain of middle and upper class, able-bodied, cisgender, heterosexual, white men. My motivation for including this review is not to belabor a self-evident point; rather, I believe the methodologies used and the decisions made by each researcher are as important to reckon with as the data their studies ultimately present. By not only including the results, but also the methodologies, I hope to consider the harmful language, assumptions, and processes used in these studies.

The lack of diversity in the field of Classical Studies is an issue that has been widely discussed. The gap in gender participation in the field has been studied intensely since the 1980s, with many reports published in the last two decades documenting gender demographics in North America and the UK.¹⁰ Studies have been conducted on gender in enrollment at the undergraduate and graduate levels, in part- and full-time faculty at all levels, at conferences, in tenure of presidential and executive positions on professional academic bodies, on editorial boards, in journal submissions and subsequent publications, and more. These studies, many of which rely on a binary conception of gender (which wrongly simplifies the great variety of gender experience) are not perfect. Furthermore, many studies use a methodology that requires the researcher to assign a gender designation based on the first name of the individual, which introduces bias and ignores how individuals self-identify.¹¹ Despite the problems inherent in these studies they generally present a consistent trend.

¹⁰ For Classical Studies see for example Mol and Lodwick 2020; for archaeology see for example Cullen 1996.

¹¹ See Heath-Stout (2020, 410-11) for discussion of the various issues related to methodologies that require the researcher to assign gender categorizations.

Due to the number of demographic studies that focus entirely or primarily on gender I do not intend to write a comprehensive literature review.¹² Rather, by summarizing the findings briefly, I hope to gesture towards the issue and provide resources for further reading, without making gender the focus of my discussion replicating the disproportionate focus on gender in much of the current literature. It goes without saying that the difference in geographic region, temporal range, methodology, and the sample population selected for each survey affects the results of these studies. Therefore, to make a statement that accounts for this complexity would be impossible. That said, current scholarship presents a common trend: while the field of Classical Studies is nearing gender parity in many areas, in higher positions of authority women are not represented at equal rates as men.¹³ This is seen in Lisa Lodwick's study in which she states women made up 51% of the speakers at the *2018 Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica* conference, but notes also that more prestigious roles such as discussants and keynote lecture positions were not held by women with the same frequency.¹⁴ At this conference women represented only 24% of the discussants and in the original program 0% of the keynotes, which was amended to 24% after concerns were

¹² See for example Heath-Stout 2020; Lodwick 2020; Mol 2020. Some of the articles I discuss later on also consider gender: CSWVG 2014, Davina McClain 2006, Keith and Trazaskoma 2008, Leonard and Lovatt 2020, Materson 2003 and 2004, Padilla Peralta 2021, Rundin 2002, Stewart and Machado 2019.

¹³ See for example Lodwick 2020; Leonard and Lovatt 2020. Though "gender parity" would indicate a gender binary, which is a colonial construction of gender that is not reflective of the variety of gender identities and gender experiences, it would be disingenuous to represent the majority of scholarship as considering more than the man/woman gender divide. See Padilla Peralta 2021 for a discussion of publishing in major journals in Classical Studies, where he notes that women are significantly underrepresented.

¹⁴ Lodwick 2020, 37.

raised regarding this inequity.¹⁵ This pattern is also borne out in Leonard and Lovatt’s study in which they show women make up a higher percentage of part-time faculty and non-tenure-track positions, while men occupy increasingly high percentages of full-time, tenure-track and full tenure positions.¹⁶

Studies that seek to investigate discrimination and exclusion of BIPOC students and scholars in venues of knowledge production in Classical Studies are not as numerous as those that focus on gender.¹⁷ I present four studies in the following section. The first two studies focus on the demographic make-up of the field in both the UK and North America. Next, I shift to focus on two studies that consider the make-up of authors in major journals in the field of Classical Studies. It is not my intention to combine these studies in order to make some summative comment on the demographic make-up of the field and so the difference in the population selected by each study is not a concern. I present each study independently along with its scope and methodology, the challenges expressed by the researcher, and the conclusions they reached. I hope this method of presentation will also allow the reader to draw more of their own conclusions than would

¹⁵ Lodwick 2020, 37.

¹⁶ Leonard and Lovatt 2020, 13, 16. See also Lodwick 2020, 34. Leonard and Lovatt (2020, 19) summarize their results as follows: “only 19% of respondents identified that the [gender] balance between senior staff was equal; 66% reported that senior staff were predominantly men, with 34% reporting that as few as one in five senior members of staff were women ... [the] survey found that at each level of seniority, the representation of women decreases. This circumstance is found anecdotally and statistically within all surveys, and is a situation that pertains more widely to higher education in the UK. Only a tiny proportion of Professors in the UK, fewer than 1%, are black women.”

¹⁷ I hesitantly use the term BIPOC here and elsewhere in my thesis as the term itself is imperfect. It elides, erases, and conflates vast swaths of experience into a single acronym. I strive to be more specific in my language when I am able to be so as to not falsely conflate the experiences of different racial and ethnic groups. Where I am not able to be specific, I use the term BIPOC as I have found this term to be both commonly used and commonly understood.

be possible if I were to summarize the studies collectively, which would necessarily impose my own understanding and perceptions on the topic.

2.2 The Council of University Classical Departments' *Equality and Diversity Report*

The Council of University Classical Departments' (CUCD) *Equality and Diversity Report* produced by Victoria Leonard and Helen Lovatt is the cumulation of two UK based surveys circulated during the summer of 2019.¹⁸ The two surveys focused on the following areas: the *Experience Survey* “explored experiences of discrimination and barriers to progression in the discipline among postgraduate and staff experiences,” while *The Departmental Contexts Survey* “examined departmental policies and contexts, with input from Heads of Department and Equality Officers.”¹⁹ the *Experience Survey*, circulated in various online locations, included 61 questions focusing on gender, race, and the intersectional reality of discrimination.²⁰ With 294 respondents the authors note that this response rate is comparable to equivalent surveys that were contemporarily conducted in other disciplines.²¹ the *Departmental Contexts Survey* had 16 responses, which represents 43% of the eligible departments.²²

¹⁸ Leonard and Lovatt 2020.

¹⁹ Leonard and Lovatt 2020, 7.

²⁰ Leonard and Lovatt (2020, 11) explain the circulation of the survey thus: “the survey was disseminated through the Classicists’ Email List, the Late Antique Email List, the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Mailing List and website, the CUCD website, the Women’s Classical Committee’s mailing list, website, and Facebook page, and through CUCD and Victoria Leonard’s Twitter handles.”

²¹ Leonard and Lovatt (2020, 11): “This survey therefore represents a significant percentage (25.2%) of UK HE [higher education] Classics staff.”

²² Leonard and Lovatt 2020, 11. There are 30 full member departments in the CUCD as well as 7 affiliate members.

The following tables, Table 2.1 and Table 2.2, present the results of the CUCD's *Departmental Contexts Survey*, while Table 2.3, presents the results from the *Experience Survey*. As this is a UK study, they use the acronym BAME which stands for Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic, rather than BIPOC, meaning Black, Indigenous, People of Colour, which is more commonly used in Canada.

Table 2.1: CUCD Departmental Contexts Survey–Contract Type²³

Contract Types	no. BAME	no. Male	no. Female	Total no.
Full-time open-ended	4 (2.2%)	96 (53%)	85 (47%)	181 (100%)
Part-time open-ended	0	2 (20%)	8 (80%)	10 (100%)
Full-time fixed-term	0	23 (41.1%)	33 (58.9%)	56 (100%)
Part-time fixed-term	0	4 (33.3%)	8 (66.7%)	12 (100%)
Hourly paid	0	15 (38.5%)	24 (61.5%)	39 (100%)
Total	5 (1.4%) ²⁴	188 (51.1%)	180 (48.9%)	368 (100%)

²³ Information was taken from Leonard and Lovatt (2020, 13). Minor formatting changes were made for the sake of consistency and readability. The results were not changed with the exception of the correction of typographical and mathematical errors.

²⁴ There is not enough information present for me to correct this discrepancy.

Table 2.2: CUCD Departmental Contexts Survey–Grade²⁵

Grade	no. BAME	no. Male	no. Female	Total no.
Professor	1 (1.8%)	37 (66.1%)	19 (33.9%)	56 (100%)
Associate Professor/ Reader	1 (3.4%)	15 (57.7%)	14 (48.3%)	29 (100%)
Senior Lecturer/ Senior Teaching Fellow	3 (7%)	26 (60.5%)	17 (39.5%)	43 (100%)
Lecturer/ Assistant Professor	0	16 (40%)	24 (60%)	40 (100%)
Teaching Associate/ Teaching Fellow	0	8 (44.4%)	10 (55.6%)	18 (100%)
Total	5 (2.7%)	102 (54.8%)	84 (45.2%)	186 (100%)

²⁵ Information was taken from Leonard and Lovatt (2020, 13). Minor formatting changes were made for the sake of consistency and readability. The results were not changed with the exception of the correction of typographical and mathematical errors.

Table 2.3: CUCD Experience Survey–Grade²⁶

Grade	no. BAME	no. disabled	no. nonbinary/ other	no. Male	no. Female	Total
Professor	3 (7.1%)	5 (11.9%)	3 (7.1%)	16 (38.1%)	23 (54.8%)	42 (100%)
Senior Lecturer/ Associate Professor/ Reader	2 (4.7%)	6 (14%)	2 (4.65%)	14 (32.6%)	27 (62.8%)	43 (100%)
Lecturer/ Assistant Professor	4 (9.3%)	1 (2.3%)	4 (9.3%)	16 (37.2%)	23 (53.5%)	43 (100%)
Teaching Associate/ Teaching Fellow	0	5 (25%)	1 (5%)	6 (30%)	13 (65%)	20 (100%)
Postdoctoral Researcher	2 (7.1%)	3 (10.7%)	0	7 (25%)	21 (75%)	28 (100%)
Postgraduate	9 (11.3%)	20 (25%)	8 (10%)	22 (27.5%)	50 (62.5%)	80 (100%)
Total	20 (7.8%)	40 (15.6%)	18 (7%)	81 (31.6%)	157 (61.3%)	256 (100%)

The difference in the results between Tables 2.1 and 2.2, and Table 2.3 is likely the combination of two main factors. First, that the *Departmental Contexts Survey* relied on Department Heads or Equality Officers to provide demographic data, while the *Experience Survey* allowed respondents to self-identify. Additionally, respondents to the

²⁶ Information was taken from Leonard and Lovatt (2020, 14). Minor formatting changes were made for the sake of consistency and readability. The number of respondents was not changed, but the totals and percentages were recalculated to correct typographical and mathematical errors that were published in the original report.

Experience Survey self-selected if they would take part in the survey; therefore, interest in the survey led to overrepresentation as the authors note: “[the respondents] were disproportionately female, particularly at the senior end, and a disproportionate number declared a disability.”²⁷

In order to contextualize the results of the two surveys the authors compared the percentage of BAME instructors in Classical Studies—1.4%, 2.7%, and 8.1% according to their reports—with a comparable study done in the Humanities and Languages, which found a percentage of 7.0% and finally compared this with census data for England and Wales which showed that BAME people made up 15.0% of the population.²⁸

Though this study allowed respondents to self-identify for one of the surveys, they did not provide multiple options regarding race and ethnicity; the only options provided were white or BAME, thereby collapsing a great variety of experiences into a single category. As I discuss in greater detail at the end of this section, this single-category methodology and the focus on underrepresentation assumes and centers whiteness. This others BAME survey participants as it does not allow them to select a race or ethnicity that they identify with, but, rather, forces them to select “Black, Asian, and minority ethnic.” These methodologies are not unique to this study; in fact, similar methodologies are seen in the other studies I analyze below.

2.3 The Society for Classical Studies’ Demographic Surveys

Since the 1970s the Society for Classical Studies (SCS) has collected demographic data by circulating surveys to both Canadian and US higher education institutions that offer

²⁷ Leonard and Lovatt 2020, 14.

²⁸ Leonard and Lovatt 2020, 15.

courses and degrees in Classical Studies. Publicly available reports, created by the SCS's Committee on the Status of Women and Minority Groups (CSWMG), present data from 1997 to 2007 at irregular intervals.²⁹ The most recent report is a comparative study of demographic data from 2003-4 and 2013-14; however, a number of concerns were raised by the authors of the report regarding the results.³⁰ These concerns are outlined thus: “the membership of CSWMG does not have the skills to perform analysis of the raw data or draw conclusions that are statistically sound.”³¹ Moreover, the report notes “for a number of questions concerning ... [race and ethnicity] the sample size is too small to yield statistically meaningful conclusions.”³² Due to these concerns and the inconsistent data categorizations, I was unable to include the 2013-2014 data in my compilation of the report data. Though I am unsure why there are no reports after 2007, with the exception of the comparative report, after 2018 the SCS notes that the General Data Protection Regulations enacted in 2018 made their reporting more difficult. This may be one reason for the recent lapse in reports though it does not explain the lack of data from 2007-2018.

Despite inconsistent reporting and report structure I have collected the available data and presented it in a chart below (Table 2.4). The original surveys did not ask how faculty or students self-identified, but, rather, they asked Classics Departments to report the number of “underrepresented minority” students and faculty in their department.³³ I

²⁹ For publicly available reports see: <https://classicalstudies.org/professional-matters/professional-matters-data-collection>

³⁰ CSWMG 2014.

³¹ CSWMG 2014.

³² CSWMG 2014.

³³ For an important discussion of why it is so necessary to stop using the term ‘underrepresented minority’ see: Williams 2020 and Walden et al. 2018. In order to respect the call to stop using this term I will be using BIPOC as an imperfect replacement for this outdated term.

am bound by this single categorization used by the SCS, due to the fact that the data that would allow me to expand this discussion was never collected. Since all non-white racial and ethnic groups were classified into a single category, I am unable to reinterpret this data in a way that would acknowledge the range of racial and ethnic identities. Table 2.4 shown below presents the number of BIPOC faculty, and BIPOC students granted MA and PhDs as a percentage of the total population in each subcategory. The single-category methodology used here reproduces many of the problems identified above in the CUCD's *Equity and Diversity Report*.

Table 2.4: Cumulation of SCS's Reports—Percentage of BIPOC Individuals as Percentage of Total Population in Each Category³⁴

	% of total Full-time Faculty	% of total Granted PhDs	% of total Granted MA
1974-1978	1.3%	3.5%	N/A
1997-2001	2.5%	3.4%	4.6%
2001-2002	2.5%	3.1%	2.5%
2002-2003	3.1%	0%	3.1%
2003-2004	2.3%	1.2%	4.6%
2006-2007	4.0%*	4%	2%

* The author of this report notes that Canadian institutions use different designations and so no Canadian data was used to calculate this figure.

2.4 Padilla Peralta's Study of Journal Authors

Dan-el Padilla Peralta recently published a study that tracked the gender, and racial and ethnic background of authors published in three major journals in the field during the

³⁴ Table my own. Information from CSWMG reports: Rundin 2002; Materson 2003; 2004; Davina McClain 2006; Keith and Trzaskoma 2008; CSWMG 2014. Data from 1974-8 report from Rundin 2002, 2.

twenty-year period between 1997-2017.³⁵ He chose *The Transactions of the American Philological Association (TAPA)*, *The American Journal of Philology (AJP)*, and *Classical Antiquity (CA)* because these journals are considered ‘top-tier’ publications in the field. Due to their recognized authority Padilla Peralta selected these journals as they represent a meaningful sample with which to study “the systematic marginalization of people of colour in the credentialed and publicly recognized knowledge production of the discipline.”³⁶

In this study Padilla Peralta identified authors’ racial and ethnic backgrounds by “conduct[ing] Internet searches...digging into publicly available information on parents, families, and marriages as disclosed by birth announcements and obituaries/necrologies whenever [he] could pin these down.”³⁷ Padilla Peralta then grouped scholars into the following categories “white American (US/Canada); white European (with non-Canadian British Commonwealth folks included); black, African-American, or Afro-Caribbean; East Asian, Asian-American, or Asian Canadian; Native American/indigenous, Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander; a Middle Eastern/South Asian category that includes Israeli/Palestinian scholars; Hispanic or Latinx; and ... Other/Unable to Determine.”³⁸ Padilla Peralta thus includes a diverse range of racial and ethnic backgrounds, unlike the previously discussed studies that only provided two categories. From the brief methodology mentioned above it is unclear exactly what information Padilla Peralta had access to and if it included how individuals self-identify, though I suspect the answer

³⁵ Padilla Peralta 2021. This study was originally presented by Padilla Peralta in January 2019 at the Society for Classical Studies’ annual conference.

³⁶ Padilla Peralta 2021, 226.

³⁷ Padilla Peralta 2021, 229.

³⁸ Padilla Peralta 2021, 229-230.

may vary in respect to each individual and what information they have publicly posted.

Padilla Peralta himself acknowledges this methodological complication.³⁹ The results of

Padilla Peralta's research are below, presented in Tables 2.5-2.7.

Table 2.5: Padilla Peralta–TAPA Authors by Race and Ethnicity⁴⁰

	1997- 2001	2002-2006	2007-2011	2012-2017
Other/ Unable to Determine	0	1	0	2
Hispanic, Latinx	0	1	1	0
Israeli, Palestinian, Other Middle Eastern, S Asian, Indian American	0	0	1	2
Indigenous, Hawaiian, PI	0	0	0	0
E Asian, Asian American, Asian Canadian	1	0	0	3
Black, African-American, Afro-Caribbean	0	1	0	0
White European (or non-Canadian British Commonwealth)	15	16	20	29
White American (US, Canada)	62	56	61	49

³⁹ Padilla Peralta 2021, 230 n.2.

⁴⁰ Padilla Peralta 2021, 232. With permission, I have reproduced Padilla Peralta's table as exactly as possible; no results have been altered and labels and wording have been maintained. Font and formatting have been made consistent with other tables in my thesis and the colour coding legend originally published in Padilla Peralta's table has not been reproduced.

Table 2.6: Padilla Peralta–AJP Authors by Race and Ethnicity⁴¹

	1997- 2001	2002-2006	2007-2011	2012-2017
Other/ Unable to Determine	6	1	1	0
Hispanic, Latinx	3	0	3	2
Israeli, Palestinian, Other Middle Eastern, S Asian, Indian American	4	4	4	4
Indigenous, Hawaiian, PI	0	0	0	0
E Asian, Asian-American, (Asian-Canadian incl)	1	1	1	1
Black, African-American, Afro-Caribbean	0	0	1	0
White European + Non-Canadian Commonwealth	49	51	60	83
White American (US/CA)	196	154	115	140

Table 2.7: Padilla Peralta–CA Authors by Race and Ethnicity⁴²

	1997- 2001	2002-2006	2007-2011	2012-2017
Other/ Unable to Determine	3	0	0	1
Hispanic, Latinx	0	1	1	1
Israeli, Palestinian, Other Middle Eastern, S Asian, Indian American	1	1	0	1
Indigenous, Hawaiian, PI	0	0	0	1
E Asian, Asian-American, (Asian-Canadian incl)	0	0	1	1
Black, African-American, Afro-Caribbean	1	0	0	1
White European + Non-Canadian Commonwealth	7	17	16	13
White American (US/CA)	43	34	35	45

⁴¹ Padilla Peralta 2021, 232. With permission, I have reproduced Padilla Peralta’s table as exactly as possible; no results have been altered and labels and wording have been maintained. Font and formatting have been made consistent with other tables in my thesis and the colour coding legend originally published in Padilla Peralta’s table has not been reproduced.

⁴² Padilla Peralta 2021, 233. With permission, I have reproduced Padilla Peralta’s table as exactly as possible; no results have been altered and labels and wording have been maintained. Font and formatting have been made consistent with other tables in my thesis and the colour coding legend originally published in Padilla Peralta’s table has not been reproduced.

These results show the extent of the overrepresentation of white authors in the major journals in Classical Studies; none of the journals in any of the periods studied had less than 90% white authorship. Padilla Peralta contextualized his results within the field of Classical Studies. Based on his calculations the participation of BIPOC scholars in these journals falls far short of representative of the field, let alone representative of humanities higher education more broadly.⁴³ Padilla Peralta discusses the numerous difficulties in estimating the percentage of people of colour in the field as well as the assumptions he was forced to make in order to produce a conservative estimate to use as a point of comparison.⁴⁴ Table 2.8 displays Padilla Peralta’s estimate for the percentage of scholars in Classical Studies who are people of colour as well as the percentage of the published authors in each of the journals of his study who are people of colour.

Table 2.8: Padilla Peralta–POC in Classical Studies vs Journals (Percentage of Total)⁴⁵

	1997-2001	2002-2006	2007-2011	2012-2017	Average
POC Field (low estimate)	5.0%	6.8%	8.7%	10.8%	7.8%
POC <i>TAPA</i>	1.3%	4.0%	2.4%	8.0%	3.9%
POC <i>AJP</i>	5.0%	2.8%	5.4%	3.9%	4.1%
POC <i>CA</i>	9.1%	3.8%	3.8%	9.4%	6.5%

A key difference in Padilla Peralta’s study is his emphasis on the problem of overrepresentation of white authors. Much of his discussion utilizes the percentages of

⁴³ Padilla Peralta 2021, 230.

⁴⁴ Padilla Peralta 2021, 233-5.

⁴⁵ Results taken from Padilla Peralta (2021, 236). The results were calculated by Padilla Peralta but were not displayed in this arrangement in his original publication.

white authors, rather than BIPOC scholars as is done in other studies. This framing further supports Padilla Peralta's calls to action to dismantle the "hegemony of whiteness [that] is everywhere" in the journals in his study. By problematizing the overrepresentation of whiteness Padilla Peralta places the burden of fixing the problem on those who hold privilege, rather than placing the burden of underrepresentation on BIPOC scholars.

Though Padilla Peralta makes the following comment in his discussion of how to close the gap in gender representation, it is equally relevant to his discussion of how the overrepresentation of white authors needs to be addressed. Padilla Peralta recommends that "[the]extraordinary discretionary power wielded by editors should also be subjected to scrutiny too...discretionary power can and should be flexed to progressive consequence and outcome."⁴⁶ Padilla Peralta cites as a comparative example, *Eidolon*, a peer reviewed online publication, that was able to publish twice as many women as men in 2018 and only 3% of those published were tenured men—a hugely significant shift from the overrepresentation of men in the journals Padilla Peralta studied.⁴⁷ Padilla Peralta concludes that it is only with progressively minded use of discretionary power and the surrender of privilege by those who hold it that the current state of racial inequity in knowledge production will stop.⁴⁸ Settles et al. explore the numerous ways BIPOC

⁴⁶ Padilla Peralta 2021, 227.

⁴⁷ Padilla Peralta 2021, 227. During the period from 2011-2017 Padilla Peralta's study (2021, 228-9) shows that 37% of published authors in *TAPA* were women, 31% in *AJP* and 38% in *CA*.

⁴⁸ This is, of course, only one solution, and a solution that many are likely to feel comes too late. Intentionally encouraging BIPOC graduate students and early career scholars to publish while providing the necessary support and resources is also a fundamental step in stopping the racial inequity in knowledge production. There is, however, no study on inequitable early career support in the field of Classical Studies to my knowledge and so this acknowledgement, important though it is, is a footnote rather than a fully realized argument.

scholars are marginalized through institutional norms in higher education settings.⁴⁹

Though many of the factors they address are bound up with publishing, there are many additional factors that impact BIPOC scholars; therefore, positioning journals as the sole point of epistemic exclusion is not as beneficial as considering them to be a potential site of epistemic inclusion.

2.5 Diachronic Study of the Authors of *TAPA*

In recognition of 150 years since the establishment of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association (TAPA)*, first a series and now an academic journal, Roberta Stewart and Dominic Machado published a study using the authors of *TAPA* as a sample population “to interrogate demographic changes in our field.”⁵⁰ Their methodology was two pronged. While they used the Tables of Contents for the 150-year span of the journal, they also mailed surveys to authors from the last 50 years to gather further information. Unlike the CUCD report or the SCS reports this study sought not only to track changes in demographics of the field but to contextualize them in a wider historical narrative. In their study, which tracks the demographic make-up of the authors chronologically, the first mention of Black authorship is in their treatment of the years 1930-1967. During this period, Stewart and Machado state that there were no publications by Black scholars and that “the closest that we have to a publication from a scholar of color is the printing of Frank Snowden’s abstract, entitled ‘The Negro in Ancient Greece,’ in the 1946 issue of *TAPA*... [however,] Snowden’s talk was never published in *TAPA*, although every other

⁴⁹ Settles et al. 2020.

⁵⁰ Stewart and Machado 2019, 39.

talk on his panel was placed in *TAPA*, which might suggest racial bias.”⁵¹ The authors note that Snowden’s abstract and the mention of Snowden’s work “The Absence of Color Prejudice in Ancient and Modern Italy” in the 1950 issue of *TAPA* represent the only acknowledgements of African American scholarship from 1930-1967.⁵² Stewart and Machado do not let *TAPA*’s silence mandate their own; rather, they provide a counter-narrative that acknowledges and celebrates the contributions of Black women to the field of Classical Studies during this period, that did not appear in the pages of *TAPA*. Citing Shelley Haley’s work “Black Feminist Thought and Classics,” they trace the impact of women such as Frances Jackson Coppin, Anna Julia Cooper, and Mary Church Terrell who taught Latin at a secondary school level after studying Latin and Greek at Oberlin College.⁵³ Stewart and Machado explore a number of these tangible and enduring impacts on African American students in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵⁴

As they move to the period 1968-2017, they note that there are two publications by Black scholars from this period, which represent the sole publications in *TAPA* by Black scholars identified by Stewart and Machado.⁵⁵ However, as they rely on survey data for this period in their study, rather than research as they had during the period from 1869-1967, the authors only gesture towards these two contributions and note further study is required.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Stewart and Machado 2019, 52. For Snowden’s abstract see Heller 1946, 322.

⁵² Stewart and Machado 2019, 52-3.

⁵³ Stewart and Machado 2019, 53. For further reading on the contributions of Black women during this period see Haley 1993.

⁵⁴ Stewart and Machado 2019, 52-3.

⁵⁵ Stewart and Machado 2019, 55 n.23.

⁵⁶ Stewart and Machado 2019, 55 n.23.

In order to get clearer demographic information about the authors of publications printed in *TAPA* over the last 50 years Stewart and Machado circulated a survey to these authors. The overall response rate was 38% and more responses were from authors of more recent publications. The survey, aimed at investigating the demographic make-up of the authors, asked questions pertaining to gender, as well as race and ethnicity. Stewart and Machado asked respondents to self-identify as one of the following categories: “‘Black,’ ‘White,’ ‘Asian,’ ‘Hispanic,’ ‘Prefer not to say’.”⁵⁷ However, they found that people either wished to remain anonymous or did not identify with the options provided, as the second highest response after ‘White’ was ‘Prefer not to say’.⁵⁸ In response to this outcome the authors state, “not only do these categories mask what may be significant differences, but they also produce strong reactions that can obfuscate results...we realized that to understand more fully the narratives of race and power within our field, we needed to collect more data independent of the survey and develop a sociological toolkit to deal with the data that we have.”⁵⁹ Stewart and Machado did not present the results of their survey. They took the lack of engagement as a sign that they needed to reconsider and adapt their methodology in order to produce meaningful and respectful work.

2.6 How we Study Diversity Matters

I set out to consider the question: *who gets to be a knower in Classical Studies?* Backed by a number of (imperfect) studies I have arrived at the place I knew I would when I started out: that positions of authority most involved in the production of knowledge in

⁵⁷ Stewart and Machado 2019, 54.

⁵⁸ Stewart and Machado 2019, 54.

⁵⁹ Stewart and Machado 2019, 54.

Classical Studies have been and remain the domain of middle and upper class, able-bodied, cisgender, heterosexual, white men. However, this is not the only conclusion I have reached. Through this study the profound importance of the methodologies and language we use in our studies of demography has become quite clear.

As shown above, methodological and terminological choices made in demographic studies greatly impact the study's capability of producing useful data. Additionally, these choices are critical so that we do not further reproduce the harms we seek to alleviate. While reviewing demographic data, percentages, and "underrepresentation" I did not pause to consider how this methodology was inherently racist. A piece by Tiffani L. Williams entitled "'Underrepresented Minority' Considered Harmful, Racist Language" demands we interrogate the language we use and consider the oppressive affects it can have.⁶⁰ Williams highlights a number of assumptions and beliefs that serve to make the term "underrepresented minority" (URM) so harmful; though I tried wherever possible not to use this term, some of the assumptions that form this harmful meaning are at home in this chapter.⁶¹ Using Williams' article as a guide I review some of the assumptions I made, problematize them, and discuss potential avenues for better future research.

First, with the exception of Padilla Peralta's article, the studies I chose to give voice to categorize many diverse and disparate racial and ethnic backgrounds into a single non-white category, or do not provide enough options so as to meaningfully represent the variety of possible identities (as seen in Stewart and Machado). Secondly,

⁶⁰ Williams 2020.

⁶¹ Williams 2020.

this single category is, in its very essence, othering—it assumes whiteness and forces everyone else into another category that does not represent individual identity but an aggregated group. Furthermore, as a single category the data collected provides little usable information. If the goal of collecting this data was to address inequity, any action taken using this data would be flawed as it is based on a false conception that the data represents a group of people with common needs, aspirations, and goals rather than a complex group of people that ought to be considered as individuals and supported as such.⁶² Lastly, by focusing my study on “underrepresentation” I ignored the true problem: overrepresentation and exclusion. While addressed in a cursory way in my discussion of Padilla Peralta’s study that focused on overrepresentation and using existing power structures to address racial inequity, this was not a guiding principle in the entirety of this chapter. By focusing on the results of these oppressive systems of power, rather than problematizing the oppressive systems of power themselves, I have based this chapter on the harmful assumption addressed by Walden et al., who note that the use of the term “‘underrepresented’ focuses the conversation on counts and proportionality, while also placing the ownership of difference on the marginalized persons.”⁶³

⁶² Williams (2020) provides concise and accessible examples of how this methodology is harmful and provides unusable data: “URM is racist language because it blinds us to the differences in circumstances of members in the group. For example, to increase the representation of incoming Hispanic students in engineering, a strategy could include hiring bilingual recruiting staff—especially given the variances of Latin American experiences that may include multiple languages being spoken in families and neighborhoods. However, such a strategy may have little impact for African American students as their experience is most often rooted in English. Similarly, increasing cultural competence to understand and serve the needs of Hispanic students doesn't result in automatic competence in Native American culture. By aggregating groups together based on their low levels of representation, the URM label becomes insensitive to the unique needs and circumstances of its group members,” (emphasis in original removed).

⁶³ Walden et al. 2018, 1.

Keeping Williams' discussion in mind, I focus the study of identity in my next chapter on *how people identify themselves*. In my fourth chapter I ask *who are the gatekeepers of knowledge?* Rather than who are excluded I ask, *who are the ones doing the excluding?* *How are knowers systematically, overtly (and perhaps sometimes unconsciously), barred from being recognized as authoritative knowers?*

Chapter 3: Author Positionality in Classical Studies

3.1 The Methodology of Reflexive Positionality

Another way one might consider who has authority in the field of Classical Studies is to consider how authors view themselves, or, rather, how authors reflexively consider their own identity, positionality, and how these factors affect their work. Since the 1980s, feminist scholars have problematized the pedestal upon which objectivity was placed by academic scholarship.⁶⁴ Stemming from the rejection of objectivity is the understanding of knowledge as situated, context dependent, and relational. Two early and deeply influential works that champion this understanding of knowledge are Donna Haraway's 1991 work *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* and Sandra

⁶⁴ Stephen Gaukroger (2012, 4-6), in the *Very Short Introduction to Objectivity* published by Oxford University Press, has three major definitions of objectivity that he identifies as the most common. They are: "[1.] objective judgment is a judgment free of prejudice and bias ... [2.] objective judgment is a judgment which is free of all assumptions and values ... [3.] objective procedure is one that allows us to decide between conflicting views or theories." Even these 'definitions' are more properly ways of thinking about objectivity, rather than rigid definitions. Concisely defining objectivity falls outside of the scope of this paper, and perhaps a more productive course of action is to briefly highlight the difference between objectivity and neutrality, which are often conflated but have little to do with one another. The views of objectivity quoted above are, of course, very different than the concept of neutrality. The difference between these two concepts has been widely discussed, see for example Thomas Haskell's 1998 book *Objectivity is not Neutrality*, especially chapter 6, pages 145-174. Lorraine Daston (1992, 597) highlights an important lexical confusion that is common in discussions of objectivity, when she writes: "our usage of the word 'objectivity'... is hopelessly but revealingly confused. It refers at once to metaphysics, to methods, and to morals. We slide effortlessly from statements about the 'objective truth' of a scientific claim, to those about the 'objective procedures' that guarantee a finding, to those about the 'objective manner' that qualifies a researcher. Current usage allows us to apply the word as an approximate synonym for the empirical (or, more narrowly, the factual); for the scientific, in the sense of public, empirically reliable knowledge; for impartiality-untoself-effacement and the cold-blooded restraint of the emotions; for the rational, in the sense of compelling assent from all rational minds, be they lodged in human, Martian, or angelic bodies; and for the 'really real', that is to say, objects in themselves independent of all minds." The confusion discussed by Daston results in a number of parallel debates about objectivity in numerous academic fields as objectivity is widely used though articulated differently to suit each field. For early and important rejection of objective truth in philosophy see Richard Rorty 1982; 1990.

Harding's book *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?* published in the same year.⁶⁵ Rather than seeing the knower as independent or detached from the known, as objectivity requires, these authors, and their epistemic descendants, see the knower as a deeply important part of knowing and the knowledge production process. They also see, however, a need to contextualize the author's involvement, and so suggest the author undertake a self-conscious, or reflexive, consideration of their own positionality.

Haraway uses the illuminating metaphor of a photograph to illustrate her understanding of situated knowledges; she observes:

there is no unmediated photograph...there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing worlds. All these pictures of the world should not be allegories of infinite mobility and interchangeability, but of elaborate specificity and difference and the loving care people might take to learn how to see faithfully from another's point of view.⁶⁶

Much like photographs, scholarship is not, as Haraway says, "unmediated;" someone has chosen the project, researched, written, and produced the knowledge that we then consume as scholarship. Like a photograph, it is easy to look at what is in the image and forget the person behind the camera, the experience, the motivation, the perspective, the lens, and the editing—all crucial aspects to producing an image—or, indeed, a piece of writing; and yet, without careful observation these mediating forces may go unnoticed and unquestioned. Haraway reminds us to consider the person holding the camera and to see the photograph not as an objective way of seeing but as a way of seeing through the

⁶⁵ Harding 1991; Haraway 1991. Social constructionist conceptions of knowledge existed prior to these works; however, these two works are often cited as the beginning of reflexive positionality and so form the basis of my argument.

⁶⁶ Haraway 1991, 190.

photographer's eyes. Harding also notes the mediating forces in scholarship and further discusses how objectivity may disguise rather than eliminate bias.⁶⁷ She writes:

though scientific methods are selected, we are told, exactly in order to eliminate all social values from inquiry, they are actually operationalized to eliminate only those values that differ within whatever gets to count as the community of scientists. If values and interests that can produce the most critical perspectives on science are silenced through discriminatory social practices, the standard, narrowly conceived conception of scientific method will have not an iota of a chance of maximizing either value neutrality or objectivity.⁶⁸

Like Haraway, Harding responds to the mediating forces that control scholarship.

Harding goes one step further, however, by identifying objectivity as a methodology which hides these mediating forces. She explains a sort of self-reinforcing cycle wherein the established community of scholars decide what objectivity *is* and then use this as the standard against which to measure those who wish to enter the scholarly community. In this way, upholding objectivity serves to solidify and perpetuate the social values of those who are already established, as these values become an unseen norm which is considered objective, while all other ways of knowing, and knowers, are judged against this accepted norm and rejected if they do not conform. Though this process sounds very intentional it may not always be a conscious choice. What the established community of scholars deems to be objective is rarely discussed or questioned, and so anything that does not fit this predetermined mould seems naturally insufficient. This feeling of a natural result is precisely what Harding means when she says that objectivity can hide mediating forces. Another way to conceptualize this self-reinforcing cycle is presented by Haraway in her summary of Bruce Latour's work on epistemology. Haraway says, "the laboratory for

⁶⁷ Harding 1991, 41.

⁶⁸ Harding 1991, 41.

Latour is the railroad industry of epistemology, where facts can only be made to run on the tracks laid down from the laboratory out. Those who control the railroads control the surrounding territory.”⁶⁹ Much like Harding, Latour emphasizes the restrictive constraints placed on new ways of thinking. New ideas are forced to follow previously established tracks. Rather than venturing into unexplored territory, knowers are forced to follow tracks that have already been laid down constricted by established ways of knowing and modes of inquiry that align with the social values of previous and established scholars. These understandings of knowledge, which view the knower as an inextricable mediating force within the knowledge production process, require a way to consider the knower’s positionality in relation to their work. Reflexive positionality is a methodology which allows just that.

In her article on reflexive positionality which responds to the writings of Haraway and Harding, Gillian Rose summarizes the need for a reflexive methodology thus:

reflexivity in general is being advocated by ... writers as a strategy for situating knowledges: that is, as a means of avoiding the false neutrality and universality of so much of academic knowledge ... all knowledge is marked by its origins, and to insist to deny this marking is to make false claims to universally applicable knowledge which subjugate other knowledges and their producers.⁷⁰

Moving forward with this working definition, I briefly address the origins of the rationale, limitations, and development of reflexive positionality before moving on to how scholars within the field of Classical Studies engage in this methodology.

⁶⁹ Haraway 1991, 184 n.2.

⁷⁰ Rose 1997, 306-7. Haraway (1991, 190) not only advocates for seeing knowledge as limited by the position or point of view of the knowledge producer, but also in its limited applicability. This was a common criticism of white feminists in the 1970s whose statements about “all women” largely took into consideration only the concerns of white women at the exclusion of all others. Haraway herself notes this example and cites authors including Nancy Hartsock, Chela Sandoval, Sandra Harding, and Gloria Anzaldúa, who promote the “vantage points of the subjugated” within their discussions of situated knowledges or standpoint theorizing.

Wanda Pillow traces the origins of reflexivity, saying:

Discussions of the use of reflexive methods in anthropology, generally beginning in the 1970s, were a response to critiques of classical, colonial ethnographic methods and initially emphasized the role of reflexivity in situating the researcher as non-exploitative and compassionate toward the research subjects. However, with the “interpretive turn” in the social sciences, that is, when the objectivity of research is brought under question and issues of power in research relations begin to be acknowledged, reflexivity takes on an even larger and more significant role in the production of research.⁷¹

In this quote Pillow speaks to a broader definition of reflexivity, including reflexive considerations of methodology which began earlier than reflexive considerations of author identity. Some may consider the term “reflexive positionality” to be redundant, believing “reflexivity” alone to be sufficient; however, Michael Lynch argues there is no consistent usage of the term “reflexivity”.⁷² In his 2000 study he investigates the ways in which reflexivity has been used and the methodological merits of each application; he highlights six major categorizations of reflexivity each with distinct subcategories.⁷³ Due to this lexical flexibility and differing origins, applications and methodologies, I have elected to use the term “reflexive positionality” to refer to an author’s self-conscious consideration of their identity and positionality in relation to the work they are undertaking. Breda Gray more fully defines this concept:

reflexivity predominantly understood as the researcher’s engagement with her own positioning in relation to the world she is researching, and/or the self-conscious writing up of research as itself an act of representation, is currently

⁷¹ Pillow 2003, 178.

⁷² Lynch 2000, 26.

⁷³ Lynch (2000, 27-34) categorizes reflexivity methodologies into the following six categories: mechanical, substantive, methodological, meta-theoretical, interpretative, and ethnomethodological reflexivity. Despite the flexibility of the term ‘reflexivity,’ the majority of Lynch’s categorizations involve the author reflecting on their own process, albeit in different ways.

invoked as a way of addressing the presence of the knower in the known and vice versa.⁷⁴

This concept of reflexive positionality began in the late 1980s and was greatly advanced by the works of Donna Haraway and Sandra Harding. Over the years, however, the concept of reflexivity has been redefined and adapted to different academic fields and applications.

Though reflexive positionality originally came out of a rejection of objectivity, there are a number of reasons why this methodology is seen as beneficial. Gray suggests reflexive positionality involves:

a turning back of inquiry on the formative conditions of its production by variously addressing questions of the researcher's biographical relationship to the topic, the multiple voices in the text, different potential readings and the instability between the research text and the object of the study or representation.⁷⁵

Wanda Pillow, also stressing the ways in which this methodology may serve to pull back the curtain on the knowledge production process in scholarship, states "reflexivity thus is often understood as involving an ongoing self-awareness during the research process which aids in making visible the practice and construction of knowledge within research in order to produce more accurate analyses of our research."⁷⁶ The author's reflexive consideration of their positionality does not make their work unmediated, or remove their biases and preconceptions; however, this methodology forces the author to confront their preconceived notions, and articulate the difference between reality and their representation of it by foregrounding the lens through which they view the world of their

⁷⁴ Gray 2008, 936.

⁷⁵ Gray 2008, 936.

⁷⁶ Pillow 2003, 178.

research. This process then provides the reader with insight into the mediating forces that influence the author's research, allowing the reader to consider for themselves how deeply these influences may affect the author's work. This methodology may also help to unsettle dominant ways of knowing in scholarship by making accepted (unseen) norms visible, and by promoting alternate ways of knowing, as Doreen Mattingly and Karen Falconer-Al-Hindi suggest.⁷⁷ Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi respond to the oppressive power of objectivity thus: "claims to objective truth that are substantiated by the knower's distance from the known must be called into question on the grounds that they replicate and reinforce the gendered construction of identity and power."⁷⁸ Though Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi only consider gender in their rejection of objectivity I believe this can be more broadly applied to other aspects of identity.

Though this methodology is embraced as beneficial by many, even the most fervent proponents of reflexive positionality are careful to note that the methodology is not universally successful, but, rather, the success of the methodology is deeply dependent on the author's execution of it. This methodology requires intentional and repeated consideration of one's positionality. For example, if a scholar, at the beginning of their work, simply notes that they are a cisgender white woman, but does not consider her privilege afforded by this identity, her position within societal power structures, and the ways in which her identity influences how she relates to her research topic, this positionality statement is of limited value as she does not attempt to reconcile how her identity influences her work and the knowledge that is produced through her work.

⁷⁷ Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi 1995.

⁷⁸ Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi 1995, 430.

Though her statement allows the reader to guess at her privilege, bias, prejudices, and the assumptions she may make based on her experience and social conditioning, the statement alone does nothing to acknowledge, reconcile, or combat these influences. The application of this methodology requires reflexivity at every step of the research and writing process, and as such there are a number of articles that publish extensive lists of questions to consider throughout the process, and those to include in the body of one's work.⁷⁹

This fundamental problem—that the methodology of reflexive positionality is deeply dependent on the author's execution of the methodology as there is not a clear indication of how reflexive one must be in order to claim they have used the methodology—is a common concern raised by the methodology's opponents, though this is not the only shortcoming that is criticized. Daphne Patai, a notably harsh opposing voice says, “feminism threatens to entirely delegitimize any research effort not hopelessly mired...in individualistic self-reflexive shenanigans.”⁸⁰ Patai is not the sole critic of reflexivity, but the issues she identifies with the methodology are indeed the two common issues brought up by critics; for this reason, I use her critique as an example. Patai sees

⁷⁹ For an early example of this type of article see McDowell 1992; Mruk and Mey 2007 and Corlett and Mavin 2018 are more recent publications that also demonstrate this. Though Corlett and Mavin utilize a broader definition of reflexivity, their work is nevertheless helpful for the expansive question lists and framing suggestions they provide. The question of how to apply a reflexive positionality methodology is not a simple one—there are infinitely many questions a researcher could choose to answer; however, space restrictions and length requirements dictate that they must choose what questions to address in the body of their work. Rose 1997 and Pillow 2003 both address this issue. Liz Bondi (2009), a professor of Social Geography, writes on her experience, and difficulty, with teaching her students how to use reflexive positionality. Owing to her position as a teacher, Bondi is able to write about the methodology from two perspectives: as a researcher experienced in using the methodology, and as a teacher who must break down the methodology for students unfamiliar with applying reflexive positionality. This dual perspective was illuminating for my own understanding of how to first consider applying this methodology.

⁸⁰ Patai 1994, 62.

reflexive positionality as a method that problematically centers the author, making them the subject of study, while ignoring the true research subject. As a sort of extension of this problem, Patai sees “the current fetish of questioning oneself and one's standpoint until they yield neatly to the categories of our theorizing cannot overcome the messiness of reality. We do not escape from the consequences of our positions by talking about them endlessly.”⁸¹ Wanda Pillow, in her 2003 article “Confession, Catharsis, or Cure? Rethinking the Uses of Reflexivity as Methodological Power in Qualitative Research,” takes Patai’s criticisms head on, and seeks to answer the questions: “how is reflexivity used and what roles and purposes does reflexivity play in qualitative research? How have uses of reflexivity shifted within modernism and postmodernism and how can we continue to use reflexivity while acknowledging its limits?”⁸² Throughout her article, Pillow emphasizes the importance of keeping the goal of “making visible the practice and construction of knowledge...to produce more accurate analyses” at the heart of any reflexive pursuit.⁸³ If this goal is kept in mind while using reflexive positionality methodologies, this justifies and, to a certain extent, mediates the centralization of the author. Rather than focusing directly on the positionality of the author this goal shifts attention to how the positionality influences how they produce knowledge. In this way reflexive positionality is not a narcissistic act nor a “self-reflexive shenanigan” as Patai critiques.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Patai 1994, 70.

⁸² Pillow 2003, 177.

⁸³ Pillow 2003, 178.

⁸⁴ Patai 1994, 62.

3.2 Reflexive Positionality in Classical Studies

Reflexive positionality is used in various degrees in Classical Studies scholarship.

Though it is relatively rare for Classicists to present sustained engagement with a reflexive positionality methodology, I first present two examples which represent both an exception to this established standard and represent how this methodology can be beneficially applied in Classical Studies. Then, as this type of reflexivity is indeed rare, I present two alternate ways Classicists consider identity and positionality. I conclude with a discussion of how these methods share similarities with reflexive positionality and discuss what this may indicate about how Classicists see authority within the discipline.

It is exceedingly rare for a Classicist to engage meaningfully with their positionality in the body of their published work. Though it is far from standard practice, there are nevertheless a few scattered examples; tracking these down, however, was extremely difficult due to their sparsity and the nature of the references themselves.⁸⁵ Carol van Driel-Murray, an archaeologist whose work specializes in the role of women in Roman provincial society, is a uniquely reflexive writer. She is quick to question traditional interpretations and highlight how previous scholars' preconceived notions were likely influenced by their positionality, though she does not make this second charge so overt. Driel-Murray's rejection of the use of the modern British military as a beneficial standard against which to compare ancient Roman military settlements is an excellent example. Driel-Murray questions the conclusions drawn by earlier scholars and

⁸⁵ Due to the nature of these references, they are impossible to search for and difficult to find, and so I was forced to look in likely places, scanning through bodies of work by academics I thought were likely to address these concerns. This methodology is, admittedly, flawed as it depends on my own knowledge of, and familiarity with, academics in the field, which is limited to my own narrow experience of the field.

implies that it was due to their positionality that they reached their unsatisfactory conclusions, rather than true similarities between modern British and ancient Roman military practices. She states: “the unconscious model for Roman camp organisation has always been drawn from British military practice.”⁸⁶ Later in her argument she states: “the Dutch colonial experience may be a more useful source of enlightenment than the British, a more serious criticism which may be leveled against the present construct is that it is patently founded on personal preconceptions.”⁸⁷ In addition to pointing out the assumptions in other scholars’ work, at numerous times throughout her published work she states her own assumptions based on her cultural background and lifestyle. While holding her preferred interpretation of archeological material in tandem with her beliefs, she asks the reader to consider how one may influence the other, and judge for themselves how far her modern view may be seeing modern trends in ancient remains.⁸⁸ Driel-Murray’s statements not only indicate her consciousness that identity influences interpretation but provides the reader with some information with which they might attempt to tease out the extent of that influence and decide if they, with a different positionality than Driel-Murray, would come to the same conclusions. Despite the importance of her remarks, and the potential they represent in the field of Classical Studies, it is notable that they are few and far between. Her use of reflexive positionality

⁸⁶ Driel-Murray 1995, 12.

⁸⁷ Driel-Murray 1995, 19; for similar discussion see also Driel-Murray 1997.

⁸⁸ One such example is found in Driel-Murray (1995, 19): “here, I have assumed that men and women aspire to permanent unions...I consciously prefer to see women and children living in concubinage in the barrack, but with a different life-style I might be tempted in another direction.”

is not a sustained engagement throughout her work and largely contextualizes the final pages of her conclusion.

Rather than writing herself into her conclusion, Kara Cooney opens her most recent book with the provocative phrase: “I am a recovering Egyptologist.”⁸⁹ Cooney’s introduction in *The Good Kings: Absolute Power in Ancient Egypt and the Modern World* explains how she viewed Egyptology at the outset of her career, the path of unlearning she is on, and how she now views the study of ancient Egypt after twenty years of working in the field.⁹⁰ From the outset, Cooney is fully implicated in the narrative of this book and it is very clear that this is an intentional choice. She makes her involvement explicit at multiple points in her introduction which serves as a description of her book, saying, for example: “it’s a story I need to tell. Indeed, who could be better prepared to explain how gaslighting personalities wielded their power than someone who was deep inside the cult as a willing believer?”⁹¹ The reader is reminded throughout the first pages that Cooney is a narrator with convictions and political views and is as much a part of the narrative as the pharaohs and presidents about whom she writes. This level of deep and sustained engagement with one’s positionality is rare, and here it may be explained by the flexibility offered by the more public than scholarly venue in which this book was published.⁹² The distinction between academic works written for a public audience and those written for a scholarly audience is not a distinction I have made myself, but, rather,

⁸⁹ Cooney 2021, 1.

⁹⁰ Cooney 2021, 1-3.

⁹¹ Cooney 2021, 3.

⁹² This is conjecture, though I do not believe it is unfounded. Unfortunately, her most recent scholarly book was published fourteen years earlier and so it does not seem fair to compare the two directly or thoroughly.

one Cooney makes for herself. Cooney publishes under two names, Kathlyn M. Cooney in scholarly work and Kara Cooney for professional work that is not strictly academic in nature.⁹³ Her first book, an adaptation of her dissertation, was published in 2007 under the name Kathlyn M. Cooney, while her most recent book, discussed above, is published under the name Kara Cooney.⁹⁴ In her first book she does not write with the same level of reflexivity discussed above; however, this could be for a number of reasons, only one of which is the intended audience and venue of publication.⁹⁵ She has discussed her use of two names under which to publish in an interview with Rebecca Peabody. After detailing when she uses each name, Cooney added: “I’m not sure if it’s just in my own mind, to keep my identities straight, or if it helps clarify the way I’m presenting myself to the world.”⁹⁶ This quote not only makes it clear that Cooney conceptualizes her work in different venues as distinct, but also indicates that she views herself as an important part of her work, and that she brings different aspects of her identity and positionality to bear in her different types of work.

The two authors discussed above are exceptions to the general standards in Classical Studies.⁹⁷ Though I think it is unlikely this statement will encounter opposition,

⁹³ Peabody (2014, 41), in an interview with Dr. Cooney, quotes her as having said: “I use a different name depending on what I’m doing. Kathlyn is my formal name, and that’s what I use in academic contexts. So, in my scholarly books and articles, I’m Kathlyn M. Cooney... Kara’s always been my nickname, so I use it in less formal situations... So, just naturally, “Kara” became the name I would use when I was doing professional stuff that wasn’t academic in nature—my television shows and documentaries, and my popular books, for example.”

⁹⁴ Cooney 2007.

⁹⁵ Cooney 2007.

⁹⁶ Peabody 2014, 41.

⁹⁷ During the review phase I found a striking example of reflexive positionality in Shelley Haley’s (2002, 288) chapter “Lucian’s ‘Leaena and Clonarium’: Voyeurism or a Challenge to Assumptions?”; however, at this late stage I was unable to add discussion of her work into my text in a meaningful way.

I wanted to find some way to justify if not quantify this statement. As it was not possible for me to search for embedded positionality comments in a structured way that would allow me to quantify my findings, I began my investigation by looking for biographical data published alongside Classicist's work. If reflexivity was not within their work, perhaps there might be evidence of this practice within the biographic information that accompanies their work. I first looked at journals published within the field of Classical Studies, taking a broad definition of Classical Studies, though I tried to focus my search on journals that are regarded as the most authoritative within each subdiscipline.⁹⁸ The result, perhaps unsurprising, was that the journals, at least the majority, did not publish the biographical data of their authors within the journal. The sole information about the author being their name, institution, and, frequently, an email address. I found one intriguing exception to this fairly standard rule—*The Journal of Classics Teaching (JCT)*. Of the issues published in the last five years (issues 35-44) no less than six *JCT* issues have included more robust author biographies.⁹⁹ Despite my search, I found no other journal that printed author biographies, and though there are likely other examples, it is clear that this is by no means a common practice.¹⁰⁰

Since looking at journals was a less than fruitful avenue of investigation, I turned my attention to edited volumes, as they generally print a list of contributors along with a

⁹⁸ This approach helped me to refine the scope of my search. I believe it is telling that the author is seen as separate from their work in the most authoritative journals. I also limited my search by only considering journals printed in English based out of Canada, the US and the UK.

⁹⁹ For example, of these biographies see Traweek 2017; Buckley et al. 2017; Walsh 2017; Hall and Holmes-Henderson 2017; Moran 2018; Roy 2019; Dutmer 2020; McIntyre et al. 2020.

¹⁰⁰ Though my search was thorough it was outside of the scope of this thesis to undertake an exhaustive search. In order to supplement my search, I contacted faculty members in a number of sub-disciplines within my department to inquire if they were aware of any journals that publish author biographies, to which the answer was unanimously that they did not.

short biography of each contributor. At first, I was overwhelmed by the question of how to define a data set, with so many edited volumes produced by numerous publishers over a number of decades; how could I possibly speak to the diversity of information represented by this massive set of data? However, when I began looking at the biographies, I was struck by the formulaic pattern of the information presented. With this in mind, I felt more confident choosing a more limited data set than I had originally considered appropriate. I chose to start by looking at handbooks and companions, as these are the resources often assigned to incoming students, as background information for graduate students, or used by scholars as a quick guide on an unfamiliar topic.¹⁰¹ Though companions may not present the freshest perspectives or the most daring lines of inquiry, they are nonetheless authoritative works on the basic principles of the topics they cover; they are written by experts in the field, have broad application, and are published by respected publishing companies. Owing to the combination of authority and popularity that companions possess, I believe they are a valuable means through which to investigate what information they share about the authors to prove their authority within their given discipline.

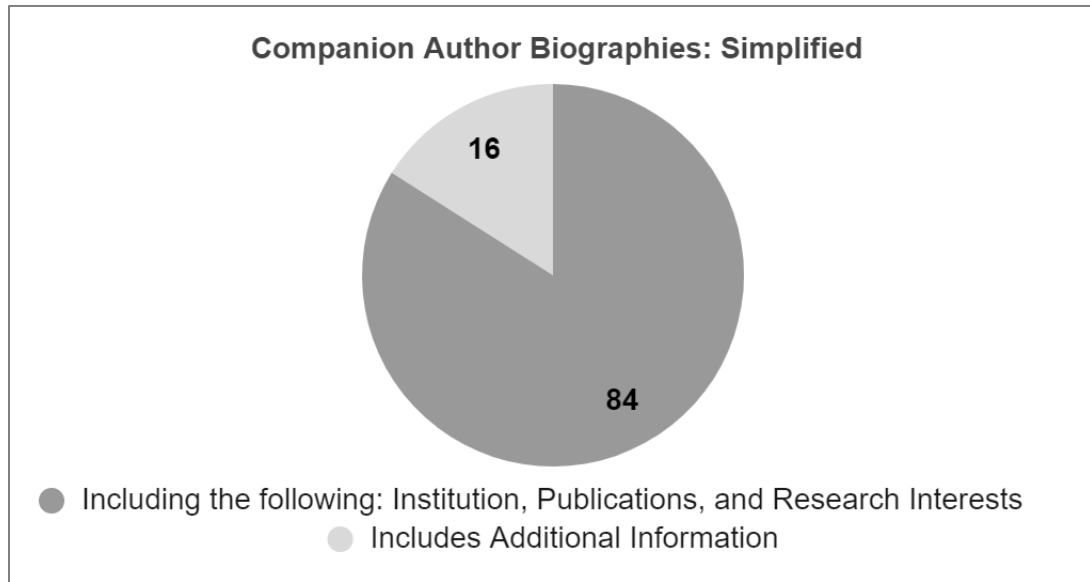
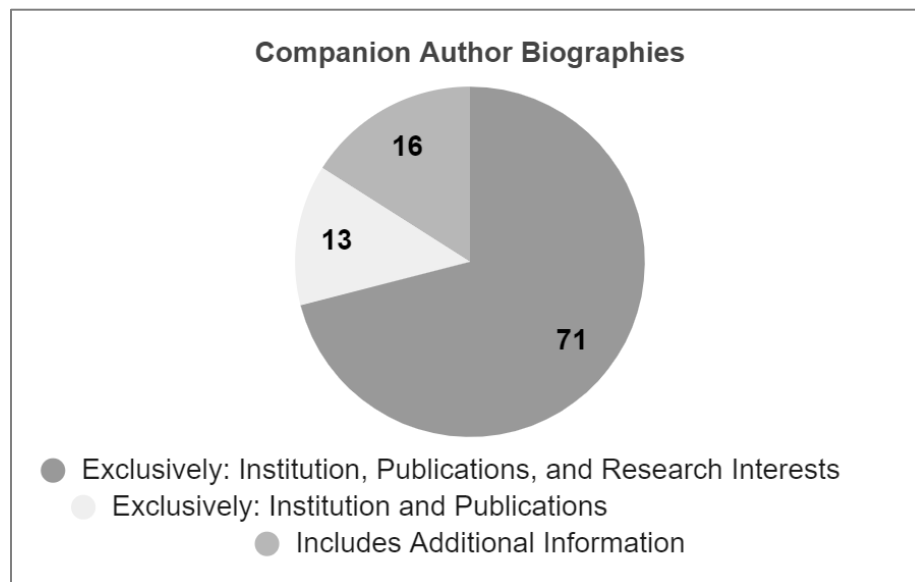
I have chosen to use the contributor biographies from three companions on Ancient Historiography, published by Cambridge University Press, Blackwell Publishing, and Brill; though this is, by necessity, a gross simplification of a vast number of

¹⁰¹ Orchard and McIntyre (2020, 55) “Many academic publishers are recognising the need for resources to help students and scholars approach topics that are new to them. For example, Brill Research Perspectives in Ancient History publishes mid-length review monographs on the current state of a particular field in Ancient History. These books are written with a student audience in mind and can serve as an excellent starting point for gathering information about a new topic.”

companions, I have limited the scope to enable a more thorough investigation.¹⁰² Though these companions are not rendered in precisely the same manner, they are comparable as each is put forth by their respective publisher as the volume that deals with questions of how history was written and the influences that shaped ancient historian's narratives. Within the three chosen companions there were a combined 100 contributor biographies included.¹⁰³ The biographies are highly formulaic: most biographies include the scholar's position at their current institution, publications, and research interests with little deviation. In order to contextualize this overwhelming homogeneity, I cataloged the information, the results of which are presented below in Figures 3.1 and Figure 3.2.

¹⁰² Finding three companions on the same exact topic was a challenge for a number of reasons. Some publishers tend to publish companions on very specific topics while others prefer broad reaching topics. Within three companions I have selected, despite the slightly different focus, there are a number of authors that appear in more than one volume, this may be another reason for the lack of multiple companions on a single topic. Additionally, though this is conjecture, after one or more publishers produce a companion on a topic there seems to be less impetus to produce another, but whether or not this is true, the result is the same: there are rarely three companions published on the exact same topic (within a reasonably defined time frame). The volumes used in this study are Cambridge University Press: Feldherr 2009, *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*; Blackwell Publishing: Marincola 2007, *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*; Brill: Dominik et al. 2009, *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome*.

¹⁰³ I did not remove those authors who appeared in multiple companions as there would be no clear way to choose which volume to include them under, therefore there are not 100 unique contributors.

Figure 3.1: Companion Author Biographies–Simplified**Figure 3.2: Companion Author Biographies**

As is put in stark contrast by the charts above, 84 of the 100 contributors include their position at their current institution along with their publications, research interests or both in their biographies. Only 16 contributors include information outside of these three biographical details—interestingly, 13 of these 16 biographies are found in the Blackwell companion, while only two are found in the Cambridge companion and one in the

Brill.¹⁰⁴ Of these 16 biographies that deviate from the standard, seven refer to a previous institutional position, four refer to where the contributor received their education, while five highlight awards, fellowships, tenure of research chairs, or positions with academic societies.¹⁰⁵

Through this brief exploration I hope to have at least gestured toward the nature of author biographies printed in companions. I think the trends seen here are illustrative of the information valued in justifying one's authority in Classical Studies. The short biographies in edited volumes begin with the author's name and their position at their current institution; this information was included first, in each biography, without exception.¹⁰⁶ The institution is given first chance to speak for the author's expertise, while their position is listed, the variety of lived experience compressed under some titles

¹⁰⁴ It is unclear if there are differing instructions to authors at each publisher or if this may be a difference in preference of the editors.

¹⁰⁵ The following, which represents the sole biography with personal information, is found within the Blackwell Companion, "Benedetto Bravo is Emeritus Professor of Ancient History at the University of Warsaw. Born in 1931 in Italy, he studied Classics and Ancient History in Pisa, then spent a number of Wanderjahre until he married a Polish girl and settled in Warsaw. He has done work on the history of classical studies, the society and culture of archaic Greece, the interstate relationships called *sylai*, Greek inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea, ancient historians and scholars," Marincola (2007, ix).

¹⁰⁶ Scholars' current institution, as well as the institution from which they received their doctoral degree, form the basis of the 2015 study performed by Aaron Clauset et al. on trends in hiring practices in American Universities. This study sought to determine the relationship between the institution from which one received their doctorate and the institution at which they were hired. Clauset et al. found that, of the 242 schools they surveyed, half of all tenure track or tenured faculty in History Departments received their doctorate from the same eight highly ranked institutions (for accessible summary of results see Warner and Clauset 2015). Though this statistic need not be assumed to be consistent across Humanities disciplines it is nevertheless indicative of a larger trend. Clauset et al. (2015, 1) have found that "across disciplines... faculty hiring follows a common and steeply hierarchical structure that reflects profound social inequality among institutions." They go on to discuss how the institutional prestige of one's doctorate is the single most accurate predictor of one's career trajectory (2015, 4-5). If hiring decisions are so dependent on institutional prestige, once hired it is no wonder that this trend appears also in the prominence of references to institutional affiliations in biographies.

is considerable. The vast majority of authors then include their previous publications and research interests, which provides necessary context from which readers may discern if the author's contribution to the companion is within their established area of expertise or if it is tangential to their typical work. These biographies are not to be conflated with the practice of reflexive positionality; they are, however, self-authored statements about the author's identity. These biographies indicate, in a limited way, a consciousness that the producer of knowledge is an important aspect of that very knowledge. These biographies are published as a validation of the author's authority to speak on the topic and for this reason I believe there is value in considering them, though they do not strictly meet the requirements of a reflexive positionality methodology.

3.3 Historiography in Classical Studies

Based on the examples discussed above, it may appear that Classicists only consider scholar's positionality in very limited or ancillary ways. However, this ignores one significant and established way in which positionality is considered in the field of Classical Studies—the study of historiography. Historiography, much like reflexive positionality, considers the way in which a work, specifically a history, was written. Historiography considers the socio-political context and power structures that influenced an author's writing and, by extension, how the author's identity and positionality may have influenced their work—all factors which a reflexive positionality methodology requires an author to consider. In this section I briefly discuss the well-established tradition of historiography with a focus on historiographical studies which consider modern historians who have written about the ancient world. Then, I explore how historiography and reflexive positionality are analogous in their intentions, if not their

methods. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of how historiography may be seen as a sort of retrospective consideration of positionality.

The study of how modern historians *do* history, though a well-established practice in the field of Classical Studies, does not have an easily defined generic category. While some scholars see the study of influential modern historians—such as Edward Gibbon, Theodor Mommsen, Francis Haverfield, Ronald Syme, and their many noteworthy contemporaries—as a part of a wider tradition of disciplinary history,¹⁰⁷ other scholars see this type of study as classical reception, while still others see this as a logical extension of historiography.¹⁰⁸ An argument can, of course, be made for any one of these categorizations. A study of Syme’s work and its enduring influence indeed is a part of Classical Studies’ disciplinary history, since his work has had a discernable impact on successive historians of the ancient world, and some 83 years after the publication of his *Roman Revolution* it is still widely referenced in venues ranging from undergraduate classes to academic publications. To see the same study of Syme’s work and legacy as a work of classical reception is not difficult.¹⁰⁹ As the writing of history is deeply

¹⁰⁷ Porter (2007, 470-1) discusses disciplinary history within Classics and charts the waning popularity of this type of scholarly pursuit putting its decline in stark terms “The history of classical scholarship was once a magisterial and occasionally Olympian industry... Then it became a minority interest, often carried on in spare research time (witness the new crop of studies on nineteenth-century scholarship that began appearing in the 1980s) ... Nothing comparable exists today.”

¹⁰⁸ See for example a recent volume by Arnaldo Momigliano entitled *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*. Momigliano, often heralded as one of the most influential historiographers of the twentieth century, places historiographical essays from a variety of temporal and geographical contexts beside one another, essays which range in subject from historians from the third century BCE to the twentieth century CE. In this way, Momigliano does not confine historiography to the study of the writings of ancient historians.

¹⁰⁹ Johnson (2013, 6) defines classical reception as follows: “[the] consideration of the multitude of ways in which the ancient world operates in post-antiquity, from the Early Modern Europe age to the present day.” She also provides (2013, 6-8) a concise sketch of the tradition of classical reception.

interpretive,¹¹⁰ a study of Syme fits into classical reception in much the same way a study of a gladiator film does; both seek to analyze modern works for, and because of, their connection to the classical past. As an extension of historiography, one first needs to define historiography as meta-scholarship¹¹¹ or meta-history—the investigation of how a historian writes history.¹¹² This definition is widely used in Classical Studies and this type of inquiry has a well-established tradition as it pertains to ancient authors; some scholars, therefore, see the study of modern historians as an extension of this tradition.

I discuss the generic flexibility of the study of modern historians not in an attempt to clear up the ambiguity, but because I believe each categorization provides a beneficial lens through which to view this type of inquiry. In this section I focus most intently on the historian as a producer of knowledge, and as an actor whose creation of a representation of past history has an influence on future events. Therefore, I view the study of modern historians as an extension of historiography, as I believe this view of the historian and of the writing of history aligns most closely with the established aims and intentions of historiography.

Historiography, at its most basic level, is the study of how historians write their histories. Fernando Sánchez-Marcos describes historiography as follows:

¹¹⁰ Due to the scope of this section, and the generally well accepted nature of this conception of history, I do not provide extensive bibliography on the topic; however, for an early writer in this space, see White 1978.

¹¹¹ This is not meant as a reference to Hayden White's 1973 *Metahistory*, though of course this work, which sought to "treat the historical work as what it most manifestly is – that is to say a verbal structure in the form of a prose narrative that purports to be a model, or icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of explaining what they were by representing them," is manifestly a work of historiography.

¹¹² For an accessible discussion of the differing definitions of historiography as well as the (eurocentric) history of historiography more generally, see Sánchez-Marcos 2020.

historiography is directly interested in how historians have chosen, captured and represented some events and processes of the past in their work. Here, the fundamental questions would be of this type: What worldviews, political-social options, aesthetic forms and research methods have come into play in creating those representations of the past? What were the explicit or implicit criteria that guided the historian in selecting sources and in configuring the interpretation of ‘his or her’ subject?¹¹³

Considering the historian in this way has been a standard practice since Herodotus and Thucydides, who both considered the sources, style, and methods of their predecessors and defined their own histories in opposition or alignment with earlier historic writings.¹¹⁴ Though historiography in Classical Studies more commonly refers to the consideration of how ancient historians such as Thucydides or Tacitus wrote their histories, modern historians, who have written about the ancient world, are also commonly the subject of historiographical analysis in Classical Studies.

3.4 Historiographical Case Study: Theodor Mommsen

In the following section I use a selection of historiographic works written about Theodor Mommsen as a short case study.¹¹⁵ I analyze the biographical data which these sources present and discuss these aspects of Mommsen’s positionality in the context of how the authors use this data to better understand Mommsen’s historical writings, especially his *Römisches Staatsrecht (Roman Constitutional Law)* and *Römische Geschichte (Roman History)*. First, I present the way historians have considered Mommsen’s approach to

¹¹³ Sánchez-Marcos 2020.

¹¹⁴ For an early discussion of Herodotus and Thucydides’ place in the history of historiography see for example Momigliano 1958.

¹¹⁵ The choice to use Theodor Mommsen in this case study is a relatively arbitrary one. His political activity and the time during which he was writing make many of my arguments more straightforward and make the results more pronounced; however, there is no reason why another historian could not have been chosen.

primary and secondary scholarship and his relationship to his intellectual predecessors in an attempt to reconstruct missing information about his methodology. Then, I move on to a discussion of how historiographic sources have placed Mommsen's work in the context of the epistemic shifts that were taking place in Germany during the late nineteenth century. Finally, I address how later historians have characterized the influence of Mommsen's political views on his writing.

In this section I adhere to the following methodological considerations. I do not consider biographies in this section, though many biographies have been written about Mommsen, some spanning multiple volumes,¹¹⁶ since this is not the subject of this section.¹¹⁷ Though the distinction between biography and historiography is, at times, dubious, I have chosen articles and chapters which consider Mommsen's writings as their primary subject and consider Mommsen secondary and only in his role as the writer of his texts. This section is not meant to be a criticism of Mommsen's works or their enduring legacy.¹¹⁸ As it is necessary to present both the biographical data found within the historiographical works I analyze, and the way in which each author sees fit to apply this information to the study of Mommsen's writing, the following section has a sizable number of quotes. I have paraphrased where possible and truncated where appropriate;

¹¹⁶ Lothar Wickert (vol. I-IV, 1959-1980) was the first to attempt a biography of Mommsen. His work, published in four volumes, is often seen as unsatisfactory, as the first three volumes cover the period of Mommsen's life spanning from 1817-1858, and the last volume, published a number of years later, attempts to cover the last and most significant period of Mommsen's life from 1859-1903.

¹¹⁷ There are a number of biographies written about Theodor Mommsen. For a summary of biographies published before 2002, see Heilen 2003. Of the biographies covered, Heilen identifies Stefan Rebenich's 2002 work, *Theodor Mommsen. Eine Biographie*, as the most successful and as the long awaited "missing biography" (Heilen 2003, 480).

¹¹⁸ For critique see Nippel 2005. Nippel has published a discussion of the history of critique of Mommsen's *Roman Constitutional Law*.

however, as the historiographical works on Mommsen are, in effect, my primary source documents they are given the close consideration primary sources require. My intention in this section is not to interpret Mommsen's works in a new way; rather, by examining how Mommsen and his writings have been considered in the past, I emphasize that there is indeed an awareness in Classical Studies scholarship that a scholar's positionality greatly affects their writing. Furthermore, I explore the ways in which Classicists' consideration of positionality through historiography is similar to the reflexive positionality methodology discussed in the previous section.

I also would like to address my silence in what follows in regard to Theodor Mommsen's racist and hateful views.¹¹⁹ My silence on this matter is neither an agreement by omission, nor an intentional choice to suppress the more objectionable aspects of this historical figure. Rather, as I am analyzing the data presented in secondary scholarship that has been written about Mommsen, I am bound by what previous scholars have discussed. As I focus on works I deem to be historiographical, rather than biographical this information is generally left out.

Though it is possible to find influences from Mommsen's childhood, his birth in Schleswig, his upbringing, and early education in his writings, most historiographical works that consider Mommsen look at his later life.¹²⁰ Many begin with the notion that as the eldest son Theodor Mommsen was not encouraged to pursue his passion for poetry;¹²¹ rather, Mommsen was encouraged to choose a profession which would be more likely to

¹¹⁹ See for a discussion of some of Mommsen's racist views, Dariusz 2012; Brušák 1988, 93.

¹²⁰ Marchand 2020; Rebenich 2021.

¹²¹ Marchand (2020, 149-150) discusses the effect on Mommsen of learning to read and write during the period of waning Romanticism.

allow him to be self-reliant, which, in part, motivated his decision to go to law school in Kiel where he studied Roman law.¹²² This likely appears to be an appropriate place for scholars to begin their discussion of Mommsen, as it is easy for them to draw a direct line from Mommsen's education in Roman Law to his massively influential work, *Roman Constitutional Law*.¹²³ This connection is not a modern imagining: Mommsen saw himself as more equipped for the task of reconstructing the Roman constitution than other historians, as he had been trained as a jurist.¹²⁴ Not only did Mommsen feel he was superior to other historians and his intellectual predecessors, he went so far as to break with accepted conventions of citation and reference in his *Roman Constitutional Law* by not providing a survey of previous literature on the topic.¹²⁵ Mommsen's formal training as a Roman lawyer rather than a Roman historian is significant not only in understanding the proficiency with which Mommsen was able to produce his *Roman Constitutional*

¹²² Nippel 2007, 208-9; Marchand 2020, 149.

¹²³ Mommsen 1871-1888.

¹²⁴ For Mommsen's feeling of superiority, see Nippel 2007, 215. Though Nippel (2007, 212-5) discusses Mommsen's use of secondary scholarship in his *Roman Constitutional Law*, Rebenich (2021, 83) does not describe a markedly different methodology in his *Roman History*, saying: "Mommsen mined the material for his historiographical construction directly from the ancient sources and did not dedicate much time to scholarly discussion. One would search in vain for references to modern predecessors, as well for any detailed overview of previous research. He engages only in implicit discussion with the Roman histories of Barthold Georg Niebuhr, Wilhelm Drumann and the portrait of Alexander by Johann Gustav Droysen."

¹²⁵ Nippel (2007, 212) discusses Mommsen's contemptuous view of secondary scholarship saying "in contrast to Becker and the authors of other traditional handbooks on Roman public antiquities, Mommsen did not start with a survey of sources and learned literature. He said that he would neither discuss alternative conceptualizations of Roman constitutional law nor take issue with the mass of specialized dissertations on technical details since the majority of them were simply not worth it ... Mommsen presented himself as the only architect of an edifice that could properly be called *Römisches Staatsrecht* since it was based on firm pillars. And those pillars were the conceptually self-referential, but fundamental, ideas of Roman public law." Though this is not true of Mommsen's later collaborative works cataloging inscriptions, which were undertaken with the intention they would be taken on by new scholars after his death, this sentiment is absolutely true of his *Roman Constitutional Law*.

Law, but also in considering how this training may have influenced his attempts to codify and simplify hundreds of years of discordant source material into a static unchanging document.¹²⁶

Mommsen's *Roman Constitutional Law* also lacks explanation of the methodology he made use of, but this omission was not accidental. Mommsen believed that it was "inappropriate to discuss his methodological premises and the results of his research in a work of [history];" in light of this belief, his lack of methodological description in regard to how he used primary and secondary sources, is unsurprising.¹²⁷ Later scholars who wished to use Mommsen's work more effectively have attempted to reconstruct aspects of Mommsen's methodology, in particular how he selected and made use of primary and secondary sources. Mommsen's source usage is of particular importance to the present discussion because it is through investigations of Mommsen's positionality that later historians have attempted to reconstruct his methodology for source usage. Despite Mommsen's reticence towards citing secondary scholarship in his *Roman Constitutional Law*, contemporary reviewers and more recent scholarship have shown clearly that Mommsen owed a greater debt to previous scholarship than he was willing to acknowledge.¹²⁸ Though it is likely unknowable to what extent Mommsen used

¹²⁶ Marchand (2020, 155) reminds readers of her article that "Mommsen was trained not as a historian...but as a Roman lawyer in a world in which Roman law still applied to significant portions of the German Confederation."

¹²⁷ Nippel 2007, 211.

¹²⁸ Nippel (2007, 216) explains the contemporary understandings of Mommsen's work thus: "in 1875, Mommsen's friend Jacob Bernays published a review article on the *Römisches Staatsrecht*. Bernays praised it as the culmination of four centuries of scholarship. Though ... he did not, however, accept Mommsen's position that the older works on *Staatsaltertümer* were not worth remembering. Bernays pointed out that there were at least two scholars who had achieved a scholarly level far higher than that of the usual compilers of antiquities and who therefore should be considered predecessors of Mommsen." Nippel goes on to discuss more recent investigations

secondary scholarship, by considering his *Roman Constitutional Law* against earlier works of secondary scholarship, which he is likely to have had access to, scholars have found clear linkages to earlier works. This allows scholars to consider what ideas were original to Mommsen and what previous theories he took from his epistemic predecessors.

In addition to Mommsen's unclear use of secondary scholarship, his use of ancient primary sources is also ill-defined and is therefore a concern for historians seeking to gain a deeper understanding of his work. Mommsen is famously—and unhelpfully—known to have formulated the motto “Das System ist seine eigene Wahrheit” “the system is its own truth,”¹²⁹ and elsewhere elaborates the meaning of this motto: that those ancient sources which conflicted with his system were rejected, and ancient sources which were required by his system but were not known to exist, were created.¹³⁰ As Nippel writes, “if there were divergent traditions, Mommsen made a choice between them not according to their relative source value but according to which one better fit into his system.”¹³¹ Though this is a far cry from a well-developed methodology,

which confirm Bernays' arguments. Beheiri (2007, 292) discusses modern studies which consider Mommsen's use of sources.

¹²⁹ Mommsen 1965, 546.

¹³⁰ I do not believe this interpretation is too forceful. Mommsen (1905, 199) went so far as to say “An der Logik der Tatsachen zu prüfen, aus dem trüben Wust unverstandener und unverständlicher Tradition das innerlich Unmögliche auszuschneiden, das durch die notwendigen Gesetze der Entwicklung Geforderte auch da zu postulieren, wo es in der Überlieferung verwirrt oder aus ihr verschollen ist,” which Nippel (2007, 215) translates as “sources had to be tested by the logic of facts, so that the impossible elements could be eliminated from the mess of undigested traditions and the consequences of the laws of development be postulated even when they were not recognized in the evidence.”

¹³¹ Nippel (2007, 215) uses as an example Mommsen's simplification of the number of Tribunes of the Plebs. For further discussion of Mommsen's treatment of the differing attestations see Badian 1996, 191ff.

understanding Mommsen's approach to sources may help scholars to understand how Mommsen constructed his *Roman Constitutional Law*. This understanding is crucial if historians want to move past the Mommsonian model of the Roman constitution, which many historians view as a hindrance to further progress.¹³²

Despite problems with his multi-volume *Roman Constitutional Law*, Mommsen's work is still cited because it offers simple answers to complicated questions.¹³³ Nadja Beheiri states that present considerations regarding Mommsen's *Roman Constitutional Law* are mainly concerned with how Mommsen used primary source material and that these investigations hope that by more clearly understanding Mommsen's methodology they might find a way to overcome the Mommsonian system. By analyzing Mommsen's positionality, historians have attempted to reconstruct some aspects of Mommsen's unarticulated methodology. By keeping Mommsen's motto "Das System ist seine eigene Wahrheit" in mind, what might appear at first as a lack of knowledge or access to ancient sources is explained by Mommsen's attempts to make diverse source material fit a rigid

¹³² Momigliano (1949, 155) describes both the necessity and difficulty of moving past Mommsen: "the right thing to say about Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* is, of course, that it is too systematic and unhistorical in its approach... The quest for a more historical interpretation of the Roman constitution is one of the leit-motivs of all research which came after Mommsen... generally speaking, scholars agree in disapproving of Mommsen's approach to the Roman constitution. I am not pleading for a return to Mommsen. But I should like to hear in more detail from our leading historians what they really mean by interpreting the Roman constitution historically. For, to all appearance, the task of replacing Mommsen by something more historical is not so easy: otherwise Mommsen would not be as indispensable to-day as he was seventy years ago." Though Momigliano's opinion expressed above is taken from an article review it is nevertheless consistent with his opinions expressed elsewhere.

¹³³ Nippel (2007, 215) describes this phenomenon thus: "again and again the *Staatsrecht* has been considered a stumbling block to a proper historical analysis. However, the work is still used by all scholars working in the field of Roman constitutional history and law, not only because of Mommsen's unsurpassed command of the material, but also because he offered solutions to so many inescapable—still—scholarly problems."

system; if a source does not appear in his work, it is not necessarily that it was not known to Mommsen, but, rather, that it may have been rejected as it did not support his system.

Though Mommsen's methodology is an important aspect to consider, and one that is often explored at least in part through an examination of his positionality, it is not the only way Mommsen's positionality has been considered by modern historians. Scholars also stress the importance of considering Mommsen within his intellectual context. During the period in which Mommsen was writing there were a number of epistemic shifts,¹³⁴ including the waning influence of romanticism,¹³⁵ the growing prominence of realism,¹³⁶ and a continuing negotiation between antiquarian and historiographical modes of inquiry.¹³⁷ Rebenich characterizes Mommsen as forging a new path within scholarship; however, for Rebenich understanding the relationship between Mommsen and his

¹³⁴ There are countless contemporary intellectual influences which impacted Mommsen's writing, of which only a scant few are considered here due to the scope of this section. However, not all influences were purely epistemic such as the ones discussed below, and for that reason I add a different sort of example: Marchand (2020, 153) discusses the prevalence of "money-talk" and popular anger over failed economic reforms which created an environment steeped in economic discourse. It was in this environment that Mommsen wrote, and so it is unsurprising that Mommsen's *Roman History* may be called, as Marchand puts it, "[a] materialist history of Rome" stating, "for Mommsen, Rome's success was grounded in its economic power [and], development of commerce."

¹³⁵ Marchand 2020, 148-154.

¹³⁶ Marchand (2020, 150) discusses Mommsen's writing style and places it firmly within the then emerging style of realism which was increasingly popular with contemporary writers of a number of disciplines, saying: "Mommsen's *Roman History* was written in a style that we could term 'historical realism,' one that displays striking similarities to other forms of midcentury realism, from Balzacian literary realism to Giuseppe Verdi's *Verismo* and Otto von Bismarck's (or even Marx's) *Realpolitik*... Mommsen and his fellow realists feel it was their duty to portray human beings—past and present—as they are, not as they should be." Rebenich (2021, 84-88) also discusses Mommsen's move away from idealizing forms of writing.

¹³⁷ Nippel (2007, 215) writes that the type of methodology Mommsen used in his *Roman Constitutional Law* "implied a complete about-face from an approach to source criticism that searched for the traditions behind the surviving sources. This kind of analysis had originated within the antiquarian research of the Renaissance and had revolutionized historiography since Niebuhr, but now it had been declared irrelevant for the new type of antiquarianism presented by Mommsen's work."

contemporaries, as well as the influences of contemporary intellectual thought is paramount to understanding Mommsen's developments.¹³⁸ Rebenich writes:

Mommsen outlined a new route for scholarship: the complete historicising of antiquity; it had nothing in common with either the classicist exaltation or the neohumanist idealisation of antiquity. Wolf and Böckh had never left any space for doubt that the culture of the Greeks and the Romans was the foundation of all learning... His modern realism attempted to put an end to placing Greeks and Romans on a pedestal—an educational vision to which the German educated middle-class was so attached.¹³⁹

Nippel likewise sees the importance of contextualizing Mommsen's innovations within intellectual frameworks which were commonly employed at the time Mommsen was writing. Nippel argues:

Römische Geschichte [Roman History] therefore represented a new genre of historiography, since it treated both events in their succession and conditions and structures, which, according to Friedrich August Wolf, belonged to the separate disciplines of historiography and antiquities. Whereas ... [Roman History] offered a new blend of historiographical and antiquarian presentation, Mommsen's monumental *Römisches Staatsrecht* ... presented a new type of antiquarian work."¹⁴⁰

The period in which Mommsen was writing is known to be a period of shifting definitions and the renegotiation of disciplinary boundaries. By situating Mommsen within the context of the scholarship of his contemporary intellectuals one is better able to consider the significance of Mommsen's developments. Without the context that Mommsen was doing something new for his time, it is easy to interpret faults in his work as the application of a flawed methodology, rather than early attempts at developing a new one.

¹³⁸ Rebenich 2021 84-88.

¹³⁹ Rebenich 2021, 87-88.

¹⁴⁰ Nippel 2007, 211.

Finally, I discuss how Mommsen's political views have been considered by modern scholars seeking to better understand Mommsen's writings, in particular, his *Roman History*.¹⁴¹ Mommsen's political views saturate his scholarly writings, and he often blurs the line between ancient and contemporary political struggles in order to promote his own political agenda.¹⁴² The success of Mommsen's *Roman History* among the general public was due, in part, to his use of modern terminology and his many allusions to modern political and social struggles.¹⁴³ In his *Roman History* Mommsen translated the Latin terms for Roman political and administrative offices and classes into German using familiar and modernizing language: "a consul becomes a 'Bürgermeister' (mayor) and a proconsul a 'Landvogt' (governor)... the senatorial land-owning aristocracy 'Junker' (squires), whilst the equestrians are 'capitalists'."¹⁴⁴ Focusing on this detail in a work as large as Mommsen's *Roman History* may seem pedantic;¹⁴⁵ however, it is indicative of a larger scheme, and a first step in pushing his readership to associate the political struggles, institutions, and power structures of ancient Rome with their modern day.¹⁴⁶ The connection to modern day did not end at his naming conventions; rather, "the disputes in the Roman Senate are just like those in the English Parliament – between the *optimates* and the *populares* in the former, and the Liberals and the Conservatives in the latter ... Mommsen attacked the hereditary privileges of the

¹⁴¹ Mommsen 1854-1885.

¹⁴² Nippel 2007, 210-211; Marchand 2020, 154-159; Rebenich 2021, 84-89.

¹⁴³ Nippel 2007, 210-211; Rebenich 2021, 84.

¹⁴⁴ Rebenich 2021, 85.

¹⁴⁵ The three volume *Roman History* was printed in five books with over five-thousand pages among them, Rebenich 2021, 88.

¹⁴⁶ Rebenich 2021, 86.

aristocratic ‘scum’ as forcefully as the servility of the democrats.”¹⁴⁷ I use this as a representative example of the way in which Mommsen modeled his *Roman History* on his present day, and as a representative example of the types of politically motivated modernizing anachronisms which modern historians highlight when discussing the ways in which Mommsen’s political views show up in his work.¹⁴⁸

The most notable and commonly discussed aspect of Mommsen’s politically motivated representation of Rome is his decision to frame Rome’s imperial expansion and subjugation as a unification project.¹⁴⁹ In Dickson’s translation of Mommsen’s first volume one finds the following directive in the first few pages: “we intend here to relate the history of Italy, not simply the history of the city of Rome ... What has been called the subjugation of Italy by the Romans appears rather, when viewed in its true light, as the consolidation into an united state of the whole Italian stock.”¹⁵⁰ This blatant rearticulation of Roman imperialism as a form of Italian unification was motivated by Mommsen’s passionate views on German unification.¹⁵¹ Rebenich writes that Mommsen’s focus was not:

the expansion of Rome across the Mediterranean region but the unification of Italy. A few years earlier, Mommsen had demanded, in his pamphlet on the

¹⁴⁷ Rebenich 2021, 85.

¹⁴⁸ Mommsen’s characterization of well-known Roman figures is also commonly discussed. For Mommsen’s portrayal of Julius Caesar, see Marchand 2020, 150-156; Rebenich 2021, 84-87. For Mommsen’s portrayal of Cicero, see Nippel 2007, 214; Rebenich 2021, 83-84.

¹⁴⁹ Nippel 2007, 210-211; Marchand 2020, 154-159; Rebenich 2021, 84-89.

¹⁵⁰ Dickson 1862, 7.

¹⁵¹ Marchand (2020, 155) provides some useful framing for the desire for German unification at this time: “in surveying the Germanic conditions in which Mommsen came of age, one can perhaps better empathize with his longing for a larger and more powerful German nation. We must remember that in the post-Napoleonic German Confederation of the 1820s and 1830s, nationalism was an oppositional, liberal force. Its...proponents championed freer trade, a stronger central state, and equality under the law in a world in which particularist monarchs, guild privileges, and quasi serfdom continued to dominate.”

‘Fundamental Rights of the German People’, the ‘final unification of our great people’ (Mommsen 1969: 7). In *Roman History*, the Social War became ‘the national question’. Just as he had called for Prussia to join Germany when he was a journalist during the revolution of 1848, now he called for the integration of Rome into the Italian state, [and] praised the political advocates of the Italian interests in Rome.¹⁵²

Marchand points out an important aspect which is dropped from the narrative because of Mommsen’s focus on, and manipulation of, the theme of unification: “Mommsen’s nationalism, of course, deeply imprinted his *Roman History*, which tells the story of the unification of the Latin tribes without wasting much time on their debts to or similarities with other nations.”¹⁵³ It is important to consider Mommsen’s single minded political goal of promoting German unification through his historical writing when considering exclusions such as the one noted by Marchand. Silences in Mommsen’s work do not (necessarily) indicate a value judgment, but, rather, that something might complicate the carefully crafted representation of Rome with which he hoped to gain support for his unification efforts. Rebenich sums up Mommsen’s politically minded approach to history, thus:

Mommsen compensated for the defeat of the revolution as a historian, and transferred the political conflicts of his own times back onto the Roman Senate. In his narrative, the two perspectives—one historical, the other contemporary—coexisted. The liveliness and brightness of Mommsen’s deliberately contemporary language was not an end in itself, but a medium of political campaigning, to which he had ultimately sacrificed proper scientific methods. He modernised the historical matter. Affected and wounded by current political events, he transformed the history of republican Rome.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Rebenich 2021, 85-86. Nippel (2007, 210-21) highlights similar aspects of Mommsen’s theme of unification, though he takes it one step further saying, “Mommsen wrote from the point of view of historical necessity, which included the national unification of Italy and the transformation of the Republic into a democratic monarchy as allegedly achieved by Caesar.”

¹⁵³ Marchand 2020, 157.

¹⁵⁴ Rebenich 2021, 83.

It is clear that Theodor Mommsen has had an enduring impact on Classical scholarship; however, the quality of his work and the fact that his works offer simple answers to difficult questions are only two reasons for Mommsen's continuing importance. Rebenich attributes part of the long-term success of Mommsen's *Roman History* to "the fact that during Mommsen's lifetime ... no competing projects were able to offer an alternative vision."¹⁵⁵ Additionally, Mommsen's estate blocked access to a number of important documents for thirty years after his death.¹⁵⁶ This restriction caused a delayed resurgence of popularity in Mommsen's work as the documents were released, biographies were written, collections of lectures were published, and reevaluations and reconsiderations of his earlier works were able to be done. Whatever the reasons for Mommsen's lasting influence I hope to have shown that Classicists are not only aware of the knower behind the text but are also very familiar with the practice of considering how a historian's positionality influences their work.

3.5 Historiography as Retrospective Positionality

I hope to have shown that considerations of positionality are very at home in the field of Classical Studies through this case study of historiographical works on Theodor Mommsen. The brief analysis of recent studies, which consider the socio-historical context, intellectual positioning, and identity of Theodor Mommsen in order to better understand his works *Roman Constitutional Law* and *Roman History*, act similarly in function and motive to the reflexive positionality discussed previously in this chapter. Though the studies highlighted above represent a more prolonged engagement with the

¹⁵⁵ Rebenich 2021, 88.

¹⁵⁶ Heilen 2003, 480.

person of Theodor Mommsen than is typical, they are by no means unique. The considerations of positionality highlighted above are common in many associated and sub-fields of Classical Studies.¹⁵⁷ The prevalence of these considerations may be due, in part, to the fact that much of Classical Studies research is necessarily done with a substantial divide between researcher and research subject. Therefore, it is often the case that a researcher's positionality is later seen as having had a significant influence on how they viewed the ancient world, as was shown in the above example of Theodor Mommsen. Furthermore, the field of Classical Studies is a discipline with a long history. Thus, the majority of current research has to reckon with a well-established tradition of scholarship and scholars must situate their work within the tradition. This necessarily involves aligning with the opinions of some previous scholarship and opposing the opinions of other previously published works. This process often leads to the questioning of assumptions made by previous scholars, which frequently involves analyzing how the scholar's positionality informed their world view which led to their making said assumptions that may, with the benefit of hindsight, no longer appear appropriate.¹⁵⁸

What I have described may seem laborious, but I believe this tedium is a consequence of forcing this dynamic process into the false model of linear steps for the sake of description.

¹⁵⁷ For archaeological example see: Driel-Murray 1995, 12, 19.

¹⁵⁸ It is important to note that questioning a scholar's assumptions based on their assumed positionality is not universally positive. Scholars may, and have, weaponized aspects of a fellow scholar's identity and used this to discredit them. This is not the type of retrospective positionality I hope to endorse, though, it does strengthen the argument for using a reflexive positionality methodology. Rather than the guesswork of a later author, by positioning oneself, one retains agency over their own authorial intent. That said we are not yet operating in a world in which everyone is safe to freely write about their identity in print and so though this may be a goal in the future, there is still much work to be done before it can responsibly be promoted as a standard practice.

Considering a scholar's positionality to be influential to their writing is a skill that is taught and reinforced throughout undergraduate and graduate education in Classical Studies. The description below is informed largely by my own experience with this repeated accumulative building of an understanding of the importance of a scholar's positionality. Though this experience is anecdotal it is far from unique.¹⁵⁹ Students are often introduced to considerations of positionality when they are expected to write their own research papers. At early levels of study this may be a requirement that secondary scholarship used in their research papers must be published after a certain date. This requirement is often accompanied with a brief but sensible warning that ideas have developed over time and using recent scholarship will produce a more accurate research paper. As students progress in their education, it is common for instructors to have more in depth conversations about how to determine the appropriateness of secondary scholarship. For example, in courses that focus on women in antiquity, students are often instructed to think critically about characterizations of women in secondary scholarship written prior to the 1970s. In North America women's place in society was shifting during this time and representations of women in scholarship changed substantially following the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. This context is given to students to help them navigate secondary scholarship by contextualizing the positionality of the authors. In addition to broad temporal considerations, students are also taught to consider the specific positionality of influential scholars and ancient historians. The quintessential example of which is Ronald Syme, whose work *The Roman Revolution*

¹⁵⁹ I do not claim this to be a universal experience, however, through conversations with my peers and instructors I feel confident that my experience is common, at least in Canadian higher education institutions.

was published in 1939. Students are asked to consider how the turbulent context in which Syme was writing—between the World Wars—influenced his writing and framing of Roman history. This is expanded in graduate level classes, in which it is not uncommon to discuss the author of articles read in class and to discuss their connection to other scholars or institutions as a way of contextualizing their work. Though many of these examples are limited in that they ask students to only consider one aspect of a scholar's positionality, they nevertheless show that considerations of positionality are enforced from the very beginning of a student's education in Classical Studies research. These examples also show that the understanding of the importance of a scholar's positionality is reinforced and built upon throughout the student's education.

Though considering a scholar's positionality is certainly an important aspect of Classical Studies scholarship and pedagogy, it is a process that happens almost exclusively retrospectively. Rather than the reflexive positionality methodologies endorsed by scholars such as Gillian Rose and Wanda Pillow, and discussed in Section 3.1, Classical Studies follows a methodology which I might define as retrospective positionality. Though Classicists may consider their own positionality privately, it is rare to find a scholar who questions or problematizes how their identity, socio-historical context, or intellectual propensities inform their work in the body of their published scholarship. Despite this, it is very common for Classicists to consider how these same factors, namely identity, socio-historical context, and intellectual propensities inform the work of their intellectual predecessors.

Chapter 4: Epistemic Authority in Classical Studies

4.1 Epistemic Injustice

In this chapter I shift the discussion of identity from proportionality and representation, which I addressed in my second chapter, to a more appropriate focus of epistemic exclusion. In order to productively study this exclusion I utilize the theory of ‘epistemic injustice’. This choice of framing was motivated by an article written by Yung In Chae entitled “White People Explain Classics to Us: Epistemic Injustice in the Everyday Experiences of Racial Minorities.”¹⁶⁰ In this article Chae discusses her own experiences of epistemic injustice and shares the experiences of the BIPOC Classicists whom she interviewed. I will return to Chae’s work shortly, after defining epistemic injustice. In the course of defining this term I also present my first example of how white scholars have taken concepts from BIPOC scholars and thinkers and without properly acknowledging this previous work and have thereby appropriated their knowledge, positioned themselves as authoritative knowers and excluded BIPOC knowers from the knowledge production process.

Miranda Fricker defines epistemic injustice as “a wrong done to someone specifically in their capacity as a knower.”¹⁶¹ She differentiates this injustice into two subcategories which she defines as *testimonial injustice*—an identity-prejudicial credibility deficit which she states “occurs when prejudice causes a hearer to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker’s word.”¹⁶² Secondly, she discusses *hermeneutical*

¹⁶⁰ Chae 2018.

¹⁶¹ Fricker 2007, 1.

¹⁶² Fricker 2007, 4.

injustice which she states “occurs at a prior stage, when a gap in collective interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences.”¹⁶³ Moving forward I use her definition of epistemic injustice in the context of *testimonial injustice*.

The concept of epistemic injustice was in no way discovered by Fricker, and at the 2007 publication date of her book, she was by no means the first to theorize about this phenomenon. Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour authors such as bell hooks, Patricia Hill Collins, Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga, and Audre Lorde, to name only a cursory few, wrote about epistemic injustice, though not using this term, well before Fricker.¹⁶⁴ Of course, this list only acknowledges thinkers with published works and does not consider the rich body of community knowledge on this topic. Fricker, however, does not acknowledge this rich and decades-old body of scholarship by Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour feminists who theorized this phenomenon before her. Rachel McKinnon, in her discussion of Fricker’s work and Fricker’s place in epistemology scholarship more generally, rightly points out that:

who secures [the] uptake of ideas is also a matter of epistemic justice: when feminist women of color argue for issues we’d clearly describe as epistemic injustice (in Fricker’s terms), but that work only secures wide uptake when a white woman articulates the concepts, then this is an instance of epistemic injustice.¹⁶⁵

In this way Fricker’s work claims the definition of epistemic injustice and furthermore the very production and reception of her book are a tangible illustration of it. Though it is not possible to change how the concept of epistemic injustice has been taken up, there are

¹⁶³ Fricker 2007, 1.

¹⁶⁴ hooks, 1984; Collins 2002; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981; Lorde 1984.

¹⁶⁵ McKinnon 2016, 438-9.

means by which to move forward in a more just way. McKinnon includes a call to action in her discussion: “moreover, moving forward, whose work we engage with is a matter of epistemic justice: much of the work on issues of epistemic injustice by women of color often is not cited or engaged with significantly.”¹⁶⁶ I hope that in discussing the context and reception of Fricker’s work I have started the process of acknowledging those thinkers who came before her. As a way to continue this work, I include an Appendix composed of key quotes, and recommendations for further reading on the concept of epistemic injustice (Appendix A). Though this is an imperfect solution as these influential Black feminist thinkers should not be relegated to the end of this text, by creating an appendix, I hope to share more voices than would be possible in the body of this text.

Using the working definition of epistemic injustice discussed above, it is important to consider how this shows up in the field of Classical Studies. In order to ground this discussion, I return to Yung In Chae’s piece, in which she writes:

In plain language, we need to talk about white classicists thinking that they know more than classicists of color because they ‘look the part’ and we [classicists of color] don’t. This phenomenon is admittedly difficult to capture, let alone discuss, because it seems to exist between words. Most of all, it is shot through with plausible deniability.¹⁶⁷

Chae highlights the elusive quality of epistemic injustice, a key difficulty that I struggled with as I worked to determine an appropriate research methodology to study this phenomenon. There is certainly epistemic injustice in the field of Classical Studies—Chae’s experiences and those of the BIPOC Classicists whom she interviewed are not

¹⁶⁶ McKinnon 2016, 438-9.

¹⁶⁷ Chae 2018.

only testament to the existence, but also are a testament to the different venues and forms this injustice takes. Chae's article highlights the different ways in which epistemic injustice may be experienced but nevertheless may be hard to pin down; in research it is equally hard to pin down as here too epistemic injustice "seems to exist between words."¹⁶⁸ By expanding Fricker's limited definition, however, it may be easier to highlight instances of this phenomenon. McKinnon highlights the importance of considering not only credibility deficit but credibility excess; this shift refocuses the discussion of epistemic justice to hold accountable those who hold inflated power because of their privileged positionality.¹⁶⁹ McKinnon also emphasizes the fact that knowers do not exist in a vacuum, but, rather, that there are social and political contexts of knowing that may confer or limit one's credibility. These influences are crucial for fully understanding epistemic injustice. Taking this expanded definition in tandem with McKinnon's call to action that "moving forward, whose work we engage with is a matter of epistemic justice," I will investigate how Classicists have used theories and concepts theorized by BIPOC scholars.¹⁷⁰

4.2 The Theory of Intersectionality

In order to investigate epistemic injustice in Classical Studies scholarship I have chosen to analyze how Classicists use the term 'intersectionality'. In the past fifteen years the term 'intersectionality' has become ubiquitous in many fields of academic research, and in the last five years it has entered colloquial usage; however, intersectionality did not

¹⁶⁸ Chae 2018.

¹⁶⁹ McKinnon 2016, 438-9.

¹⁷⁰ McKinnon 2016, 439-9.

begin as an academic concept. The term ‘intersectionality’ was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a legal scholar, who created the term to acknowledge Black women’s unique position under the American legal system.¹⁷¹ In three example legal cases Crenshaw illustrates how, under the legal precedent of the time, there was no way to recognize Black women’s full identity.¹⁷² Rather, under the law, Black women were either seen as women or as Black. In this way there was no acknowledgment of the multiplicity of identity nor acknowledgement of how power structures compound and multiply oppression based on one’s identity. Crenshaw also illustrated how white women’s voices were seen as neutral and authoritative, able to speak to the plight of all women in law cases (a blatantly racist fallacy), while Black women were not afforded the same ability to speak to a universal experience of womanhood.

Though Crenshaw coined the term ‘intersectionality’ many Black feminists theorized about this concept prior to her 1989 publication.¹⁷³ The earlier and notably similar concept of ‘multiple jeopardy’ was theorized by Deborah King and published in 1988.¹⁷⁴ King’s model shifted the previously additive model of double jeopardy to the multiplicative model of multiple jeopardy. However, King is far from the only theorizer doing work in this space during this time period. A rich body of work was produced on the backdrop of internal critiques of the supremacy of whiteness in the feminist

¹⁷¹ Crenshaw 1989.

¹⁷² Crenshaw 1989.

¹⁷³ Black feminists were not the only writers and thinkers to consider the overlapping oppression experienced by women of colour, however, this work was predominantly done by Black women and so I center their contribution here. For further discussion by Black women as well as Indigenous women and Women of Colour writers see hooks 1981, 1989; Collins 1990; Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Davis 1981; Anzaldúa 1990, 1987; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981.

¹⁷⁴ King 1988.

movements of the 1970s and 1980s, and there was “major debate as the concept of ‘global sisterhood’ was critiqued for its failure to fully take on board the power relations that divided [feminists].”¹⁷⁵ Authors and activists during this time considered that to be a woman was far from a universal experience. bell hooks’ 1981 book *ain’t i a woman?* speaks to this very sentiment.¹⁷⁶ hooks’ line of thinking goes back much further than the 1980s, as evidenced by her chosen title. The phrase, ‘Ain’t I a Woman?’ has a long history, dating back to a speech given in 1851 by Sojourner Truth.¹⁷⁷ The ways in which power structures oppress individuals differently as a consequence of their multifaceted identity was not created by Crenshaw in 1989, but it was given a name under which prior theories could be merged, and upon which later theorists could build. For a further discussion of the theory of intersectionality and key quotes from Crenshaw’s 1989 article see Appendix B.

4.3 Intersectionality Metascholarship

The choice to use the theory of intersectionality as a case study of epistemic injustice in Classical Studies scholarship was motivated first by its pivotal status in feminist scholarship, and by an article by Elizabeth R. Cole.¹⁷⁸ In her 2020 article entitled “Demarginalizing Women of Color in Intersectionality Scholarship in Psychology: A Black Feminist Critique,” Cole discusses how the term ‘intersectionality’ has come to be

¹⁷⁵ Brah and Phoenix 2004, 76. For some examples of this work see Davis 1981; Mohanty 1988.

¹⁷⁶ hooks 1981.

¹⁷⁷ Brah and Phoenix 2004, 76. For more information on the life of Sojourner Truth and her 1851 speech see Brah and Phoenix 2004.

¹⁷⁸ Cole 2020.

used in the field of Psychology.¹⁷⁹ She highlights two increasingly popular trends in the usage of intersectionality that marginalize Black women, stating:

many social science approaches reframe intersectionality as a tool to understand complexity, rather than oppression and liberation. At the same time, social science scholars deploying intersectionality frameworks have moved the focus of the analytic framework away from the particular subject position and social location of Black women and the vulnerabilities they face.¹⁸⁰

Cole investigates the trend in scholarship that uses intersectionality as a type of shorthand for complex identity.¹⁸¹ Though identity was an aspect of the theorizing done by Black feminists and by Kimberlé Crenshaw, identity as an aspect of intersectionality was, as Cole put it, “in the service of understanding social, political, and economic power.”¹⁸² In this way intersectionality was not concerned with identity on the level of the individual but concerned with how systems of power affect individuals differently as determined by their identity. The shift from oppressive systems to individual identity decentralizes the experience of Black women, for whom the theory of intersectionality was created. Crenshaw coined the term in order to acknowledge the unique position Black women hold in the American legal system as a way to acknowledge this position and address the injustices they face as a result. Vivian May describes the theorizing of intersectionality thus:

developed in the context of struggles for social justice, intersectionality offers a means to question and to challenge dominant logics, to further antisubordination efforts, and to forge collective models for social transformation that do not

¹⁷⁹ Cole 2020. Cole’s article builds on, and brings up to date, two of the key practices Vivian May highlights in her 2015 book *Pursuing Intersectionality, Unsettling Dominant Imaginaries*. I use Cole’s article here as it provides a more recent view of the trends in scholarship. Additionally, as Cole is concerned with Psychology scholarship in particular, her article models how one might address trends in a single field of research.

¹⁸⁰ Cole 2020, 1036.

¹⁸¹ Cole 2020, 1036-7.

¹⁸² Cole 2020, 1037.

replicate or reinforce the inequities, erasures, and distortions animated and buttressed by either/or logics.¹⁸³

Cole observes the popular trend that uses intersectionality simply as a way to avoid categorizing a marginalized, oppressed, or an otherwise disadvantaged group as more than a homogenous monolithic entity (e.g. not all disabled people share a common experience). The focus on identity displaces Black women who “in the act of theorizing the conditions of their lives, Black women scholar-activists centered themselves as knowers and as the subjects of their knowledge, toward the goal of what [Vivian] May called *antisubordination*.”¹⁸⁴ In addition, this focus also de-centers oppressive systems, liberation from them, and the deeply political nature of the term. As Sirma Bilge so clearly states in her 2013 article, studies that focus on identity actively contribute to “‘depoliticizing intersectionality,’ neutralizing the critical potential of intersectionality for social justice-oriented change.”¹⁸⁵

The second shift Cole highlights is the “disappearance of Black women from intersectionality studies.”¹⁸⁶ She identifies two ways in which this occurs: Black women less frequently occupy the subject position of study, and they are increasingly removed from the position of authoritative knower and theorist. The trend in intersectionality studies which serves to

universalize intersectionality by treating it as a research paradigm that can be applied to any group using disciplinary research. This reframing reinforces the hegemony of conventional positivist and quantitative approaches, while

¹⁸³ May 2015, 4.

¹⁸⁴ Cole 2020, 1037.

¹⁸⁵ Bilge 2013, 405.

¹⁸⁶ Cole 2020, 1038.

denigrating research grounded in more phenomenological approaches or liberatory values.¹⁸⁷

In addition to not being centered as subjects, Black women are also removed from positions of knowing. By not centering Black women as knowers and theorizers, intersectionality studies

neglect the fact that black women have theorized intersectionality in a way that would take issues of ‘gender, class, and sexual orientation’...into account and, moreover, that these cannot be considered outside of race, specifically as they relate to black women... [and] de-authorizes them as knowledge producers who are able to discern their own epistemological priorities and utilize their own choice of method.¹⁸⁸

This decentering not only occurs in conceptual and ideological practice but also in citational practice. Sirma Bilge, Margaret Signorella, and Jennifer Petzen all consider the racially motivated issue of citational violence in the context of intersectionality.¹⁸⁹

Citational violence, in this context, is defined as the lack of citational recognition of foundational and formative works by Black scholars and knowers and at times the wrongful attribution of concepts to white women.¹⁹⁰

4.4 Intersectionality in Classical Studies—Methodology

Informed by the issues raised by Elizabeth Cole I analyze the way intersectionality is used in Classical Studies scholarship. First, I consider how Black women are de-centered as knowers—accomplished through citational violence, a form of epistemic injustice.

Then I consider how the term ‘intersectionality’ is depoliticized through its application to

¹⁸⁷ Cole 2020, 1038. Cole relies heavily on Nikol Alexander-Floyd’s 2012 article “Disappearing Acts: Reclaiming Intersectionality in the Social Sciences in a Post-Black Feminist Era” in the section from which I quote.

¹⁸⁸ Alexander-Floyd 2012, 16.

¹⁸⁹ Bilge 2013; Signorella 2020; Petzen 2012.

¹⁹⁰ Petzen 2012, 294-6.

situations far removed from the term's original context. I examine who is cited as an authoritative knower in regard to intersectionality in Classical Studies scholarship. Then I consider how the term is used conceptually. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, I do not address how Black women do or do not occupy the subject position of the Classical Studies scholarship I review.¹⁹¹ Before I outline the results of my study, I first outline the methodology and the limitations inherent with my method.

Before searching for Classical Studies scholarship that uses intersectionality, I placed the following parameters on my search.¹⁹² I decided to take a wide geographic view of the ancient Mediterranean world including the adjacent regions of western Asia, North Africa, and Europe. I used the broadest definition of Classical Studies, including literature, art history, archaeology, social history, and Biblical interpretation, provided such interpretational work was based on or contextualized within relevant historical fact.¹⁹³ Though I did not intentionally exclude reception studies from my study, I did not find any relevant works which fall into that classification. I decided not to limit my

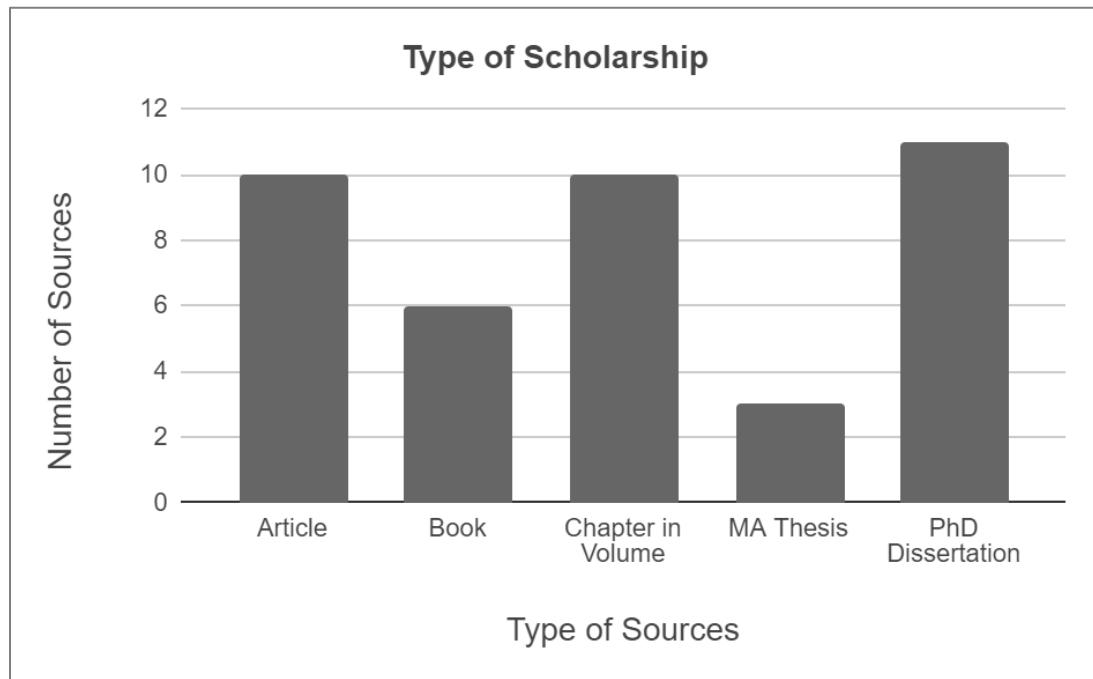
¹⁹¹ Race and ethnicity studies is a rapidly growing subfield in Classical Studies, but despite this popularity, most, if not all, of the scholarship I reviewed did not meaningfully engage with race or ethnicity.

¹⁹² I only included sources in English as I found there to be related but distinct discussion of how to use the term in other languages. See (Petzen 2012. 293-97) for discussion of the usage of the term 'intersectionality' in Germany and in scholarship written in German.

¹⁹³ In order to gather a sample of Classical Studies scholarship that used intersectionality I first searched databases that are strictly, or primarily, Classical Studies oriented for 'intersectionality'. After that I moved on to databases that allow one to limit one's search by selecting relevant journals and I repeated this process. This produced a very limited number of results. I then used the Oxford Classical Dictionary's Abbreviation list as a guide and used ancient authors and 'intersectionality' as search terms in key databases. Then using Classical Studies handbooks and companions as guides I used major subfields, major methods and subjects of study, archaeological sites, popular historical figures, and events as search terms alongside 'intersectionality'. This method is admittedly haphazard and influenced by my own research bias. In an attempt to limit my personal bias, I went to the Classical Studies department's library and used the topics of the books therein as further search terms.

search to peer-reviewed journals, books, and edited volumes, but, rather, chose to include Master's theses and PhD dissertations as well (for the breakdown of sources see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Types of Scholarship in Study



Finally, I only included Classical Studies scholarship published after 2010. I placed this restriction on the selection process as I felt that by 2010 the theory of intersectionality was well enough established that one should be able to expect that Classicists would know how and where to apply the theory appropriately. This date is more than twenty years after the term was coined and after a number of influential summary articles were published in feminist theorizing spaces in the early to mid-2000s.¹⁹⁴ I acknowledge that the word 'intersection' was and continues to be used broadly without overt reference to intersectionality. In order to limit the potential

¹⁹⁴ See for example: Nash 2005; McCall 2005; Davis 2008.

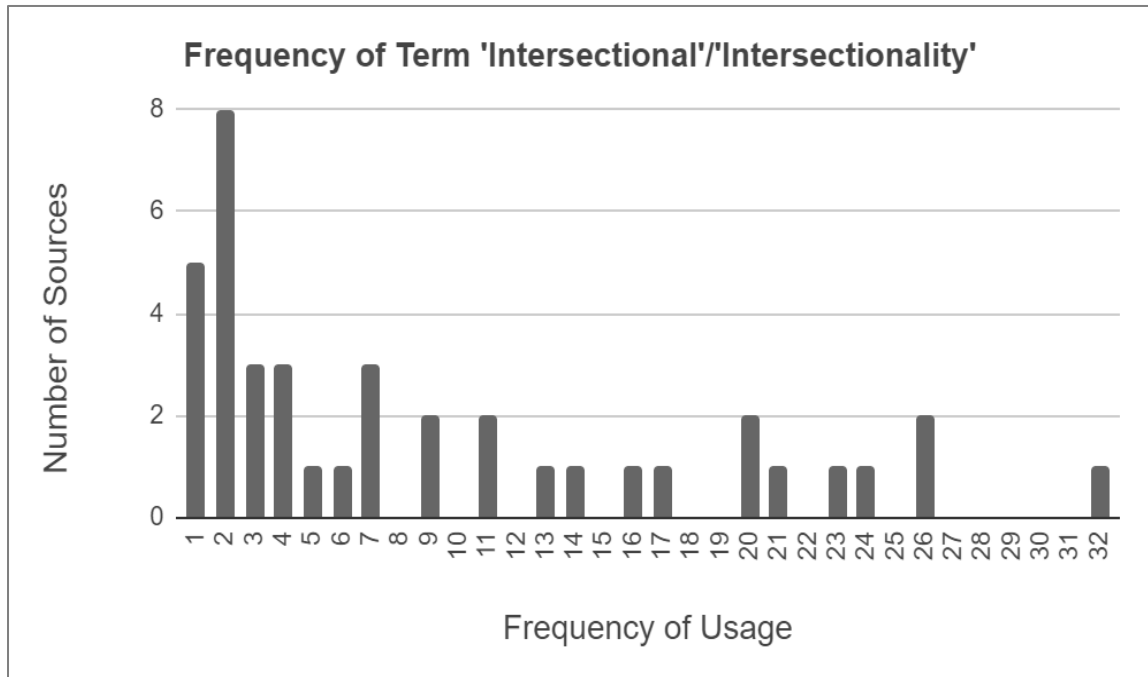
ambiguity, I only included works that used the term ‘intersectionality’ or ‘intersectional’.

If the term ‘intersectional’ was used I carefully considered each usage of the term to determine if it was used as an indicator of intersectionality or used more colloquially. If the author used “intersectional” exclusively and it was unclear if the author was drawing conceptually from the theory of intersectionality, their work was not included in my study. However, my cut-off date of 2010 also served to limit this ambiguity, since after this date most uses were drawing on the concept of intersectionality due to the popularity of the theory. I did not put a restriction on the number of times the terms ‘intersectionality’ or ‘intersectional’ had to appear in the text in order to be included in my study, though this information was collected and can be seen in Figure 4.2.¹⁹⁵ The lengths of the types of scholarship included in my study obviously varied greatly; despite this, the length of the source did not seem to have any correlation with the number of times the term ‘intersectionality’ or ‘intersectional’ was used, nor was there an indication that shorter forms of writing were unable to engage critically with the term, its theorizers, or the context in which the term was formed. Furthermore, there did not seem to be any correlation between the number of times the term ‘intersectionality’ or ‘intersectional’ was used and the significance the author placed on the theory. There were, for example, a number of sources which claimed to use an intersectional methodology and only used the term in one or two instances.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Intersectionality/Intersectional were counted if they appeared in the following sections of the source: abstract, keywords, internal headings, body of the text, quotations, and footnotes and endnotes. The terms ‘intersectionality’ or ‘intersectional’ were not counted if they appeared in the following sections of the source: main title of source, title of cited works, bibliography or references. As I used a variety of sources the way titles were displayed and formulated varied widely, so I did not count them.

¹⁹⁶ The term ‘intersection’ was not counted as this term is harder to assess in terms of authorial intent. It should be noted that the perhaps surprising low number of usages of ‘intersectionality’

Figure 4.2: Frequency of Usage of Term ‘Intersectional’ or ‘Intersectionality’



4.5 Intersectionality in Classical Studies—Results

Before I present the results of my study, I think it is important to contextualize the method of this study within my positionality. First, I want very intentionally to position this section neither as a test of Cole’s statements nor as a confirmation. Cole’s article requires neither. This section is an application of her concepts to the field of Classical Studies. As a white researcher it is not my place to gatekeep the use of the term ‘intersectionality’. However, I hope that by addressing how this term is used in Classical Studies I will be able to highlight an important instance of epistemic injustice, which Black scholars have indicated in other fields of research. The quantitative method of this study is not a strength of this section nor something to be considered more objective. While quantitative studies have been heralded as more objective, criticism over this

or ‘intersectional’ per source is impacted by authors’ sometimes extensive use of the term ‘intersection’.

assertion—especially in the context of white¹⁹⁷ patriarchal¹⁹⁸ academic norms—has grown over the past two decades. Lorraine Code has written not only about the issues with quantitative research methods, but also the injustice inherent in supposing their supremacy over qualitative work.¹⁹⁹ The quantitative method used in this section is a symptom of my own positionality. Code explains the importance of the shift in feminist philosophy which recognizes that “knowers are always somewhere, and both constrained and enabled by their situation.”²⁰⁰ This concept is crucial here. I do not have the lived experience that would allow me to use a qualitative approach and so I must rely on analytical methods. I also want to acknowledge that this study contributes to the corpus of studies that use intersectionality and are written by white authors. In this way this study contributes to the de-centering of Black women’s voices in this theory. Acknowledgement does not excuse the potential harm caused by this study. However, I hope acknowledgement will allow readers to understand the context in which this was written and to show my willingness to be held accountable for any of my missteps in the following analysis.

Cole’s article draws on a much more robust body of scholarship than my own study. She describes the body of scholarship she uses as a research sample thus: “a recent search of PsycInfo identified 1277 peer-reviewed articles appearing since 2008 which included ‘intersectionality’ in their abstracts.”²⁰¹ Despite my use of many databases, I

¹⁹⁷ See for example Godwin 2020.

¹⁹⁸ See for example Code 2014, 152.

¹⁹⁹ Code 2014.

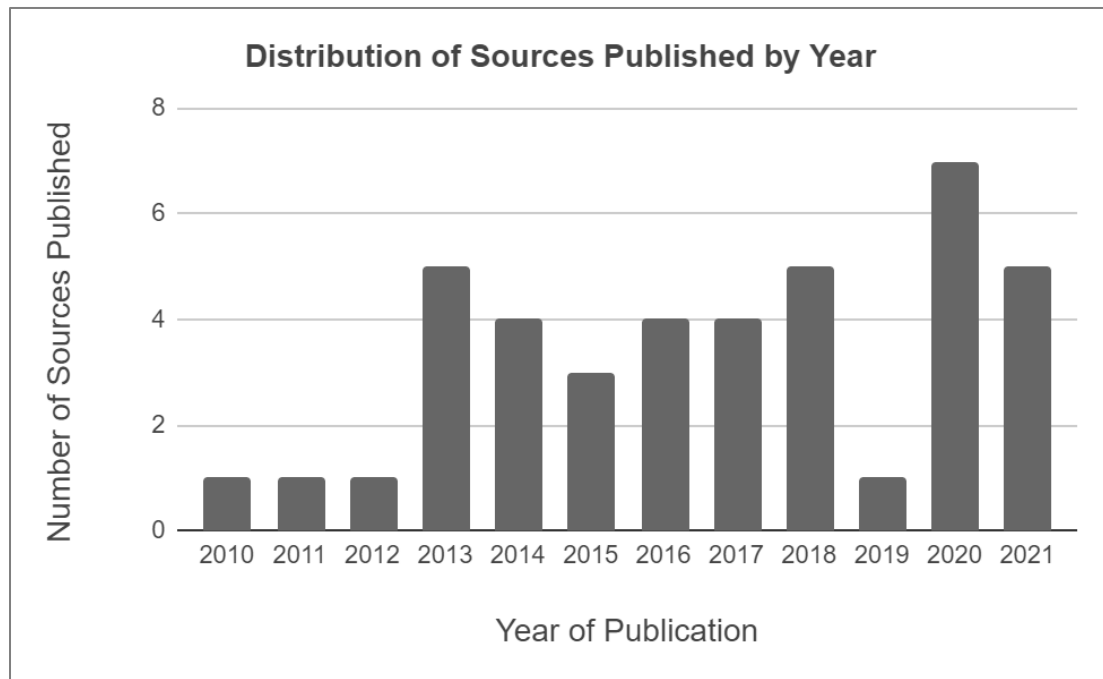
²⁰⁰ Code 2014, 151.

²⁰¹ Cole 2020,1037.

was only able to collect forty sources that used the term ‘intersectionality’ or ‘intersectional’ in Classical Studies. This may reflect that the term is not used as frequently in Classical Studies, or that there is a potential difference in publishing quantity between the two fields.²⁰² Though my sample size is dramatically smaller than Cole’s, I believe my sample represents a large enough proportion of the Classical Studies scholarship that uses the term to be of value.

Figure 4.3 displays the distribution of sources published by year. At first glance there appears to be an upward trend in the use of intersectionality over time; however, the sample size for this study is not large enough to make this trend statistically significant. The forty sources do not constitute a proportionate spread across all subdisciplines of Classical Studies. Achieving an even distribution of sources was not possible nor desired because in order to produce a proportional spread I would have been required to limit sources according to topic. It is unlikely that I have included every Classical Studies source written in English which uses the terms ‘intersectional’ and/or ‘intersectionality’. Despite this, I believe I have collected a representational sample.

²⁰² Consideration of the publishing differences in Psychology and Classical Studies does not fall within the scope of this thesis, and so this statement is only conjecture.

Figure 4.3: Distribution of Sources Published by Year

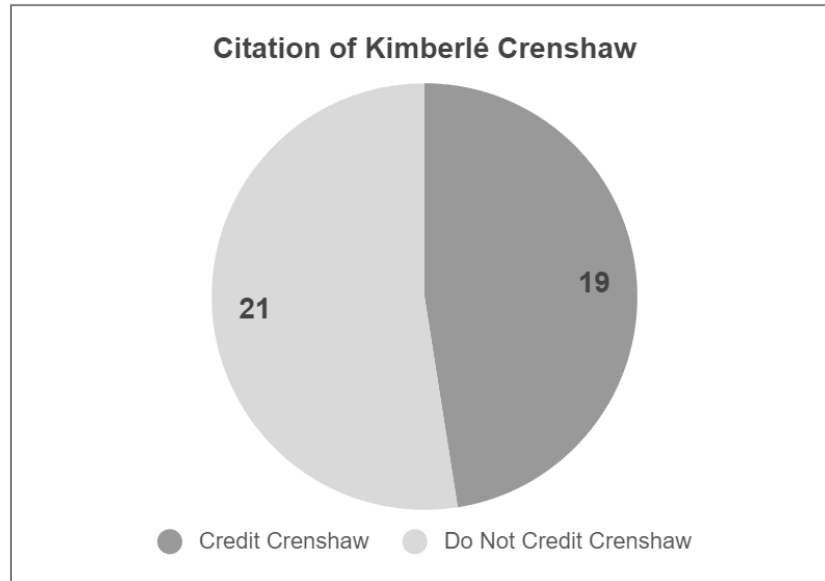
First, I analyzed who is acknowledged as an authority on intersectionality. My first question was if Kimberlé Crenshaw was given credit for her crucial role in the development of the theory of intersectionality.²⁰³ As seen in Figure 4.4, just fewer than half of the authors of the sources in this study credited Crenshaw for her work on this theory. There was one instance of an ambiguous result in which the author did include a footnote with Crenshaw’s name; however, the footnote did not indicate that Crenshaw was any sort of authority on the theory let alone the one to coin the term.²⁰⁴ In this instance I elected to include in the ‘Did not credit’ category. Though the rest of the results were unambiguous about their acknowledgement of Crenshaw, they did not do so equally. Some provided a glancing reference to her early articles, while others

²⁰³ See section 4.2 for discussion of the formation of the theory of intersectionality and details of Crenshaw’s engagement.

²⁰⁴ The footnote reads as follows: “For more on intersectionality, see especially Crenshaw 1989 and 1991.”

contextualized Crenshaw's involvement within the wider history of the formation of the theory.

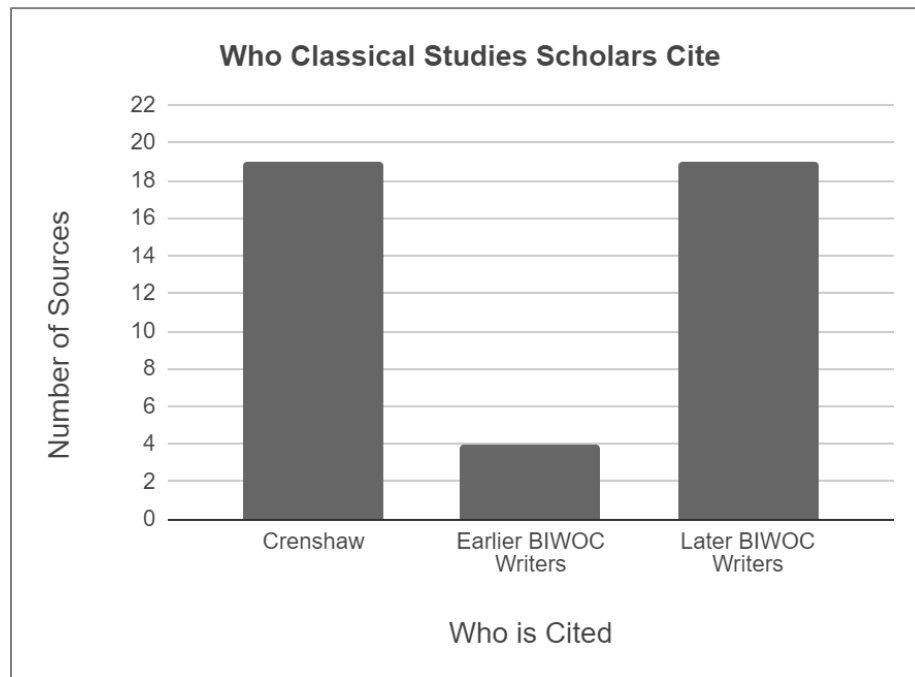
Figure 4.4: Authors' Citation of Kimberlé Crenshaw



To get a better idea of how Classical Studies scholars engaged with the development of the theory of intersectionality, I broadened my scope to acknowledge the important work done by Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour (BIWOC) writers before Crenshaw and those who worked with the theory after Crenshaw's seminal 1989 and 1991 articles. I therefore looked through the citations and found that 10% of authors in my study cited BIWOC writers who worked on the theory of intersectionality before 1989, when Crenshaw coined the term, and just less than 50% of the authors in my study acknowledged BIWOC writers who published after 1989 (Figure 4.5). The majority of authors began their discussion of intersectionality with Crenshaw; only four authors included earlier BIWOC writers in their discussion of the theory. Of the four authors who included BIWOC writers, all of them also cited Crenshaw. Three of these authors cited

earlier BIWOC writers, Crenshaw, and later BIWOC writers, through which they provided a great deal of context surrounding the history and development of the theory.

Figure 4.5: Citational Practices



There is another source that Classical Studies scholars cite which bears discussion, namely, scholars from their own field.²⁰⁵ I expanded the graph in Figure 4.5 to include Classical Studies scholars in Figure 4.6. Authors of the sources in my study cite authors from their own field more than any other category. There are a number of reasons authors may cite earlier authors from their own field. This practice may help to build on how intersectionality has been used in a particular subfield, indicate that there is an earlier precedent for using the theory of intersectionality, and as a way to acknowledge

²⁰⁵ This categorization is oversimplified as there could be Classical Studies scholars working on intersectionality, who were cited, and who are also BIWOC writers. Though I did my best to research each scholar who was cited, and this did not appear to be the case, in some instances I was unable to find any reference to how the scholar self-identified and therefore I acknowledge the significant amount of guess work involved in making this distinction, in these cases I cannot know for sure how scholars identify themselves.

the scholar who brought the theory into their subfield. Though these are all common citational practices, Classical Studies scholars are sometimes cited as the sole source regarding intersectionality. This was the case in 15% of the sources I studied. Figure 4.7 shows the citation data exclusively, which allows one to see who authors deem authoritative enough to be the sole source of information on the theory of intersectionality. Half of the authors in the study elected to cite multiple sources.

Figure 4.6: Citational Practices—Extended

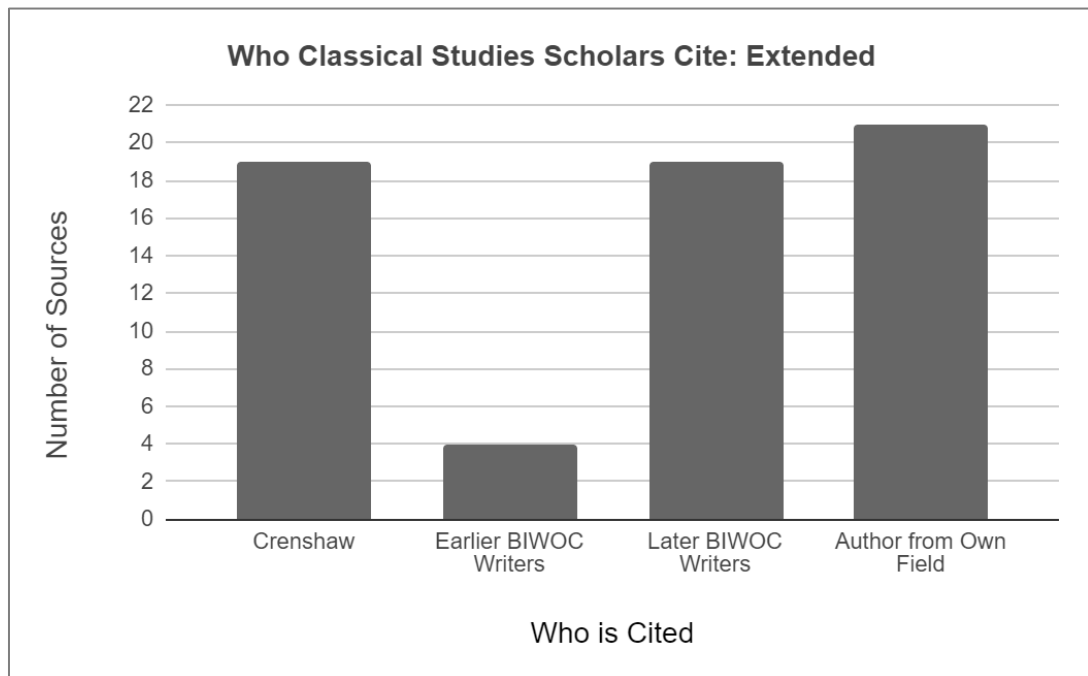
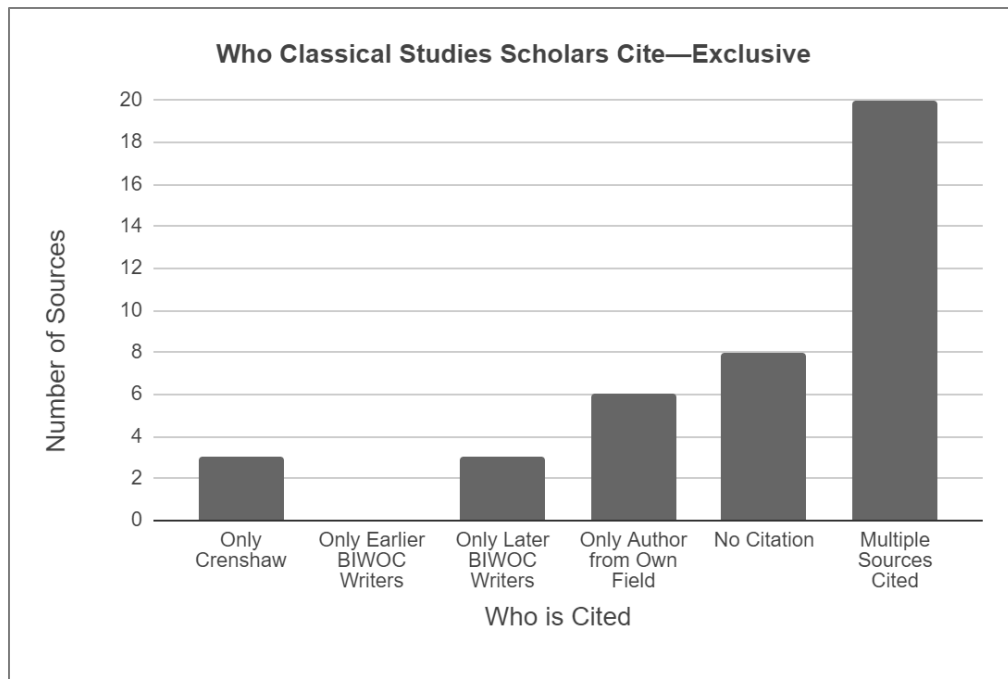


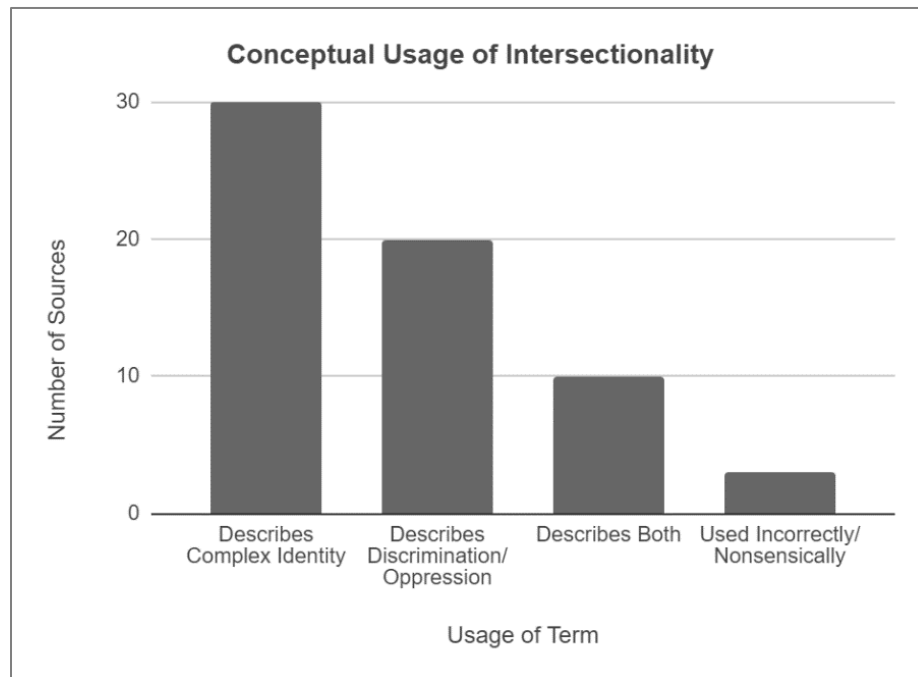
Figure 4.7: Citational Practice—Exclusive

It is important to contextualize how intersectionality is being used in these sources as well. Of the 40 sources used here, 26 (65%) use intersectionality as their chosen methodology. This is significant as it signals that the author deems the theory important and worth using. In this context the lack of critical engagement with the development of the theory, and those who theorized it, is striking. This is indeed an issue of epistemic injustice. 35% of authors of the sources I studied do not engage with Crenshaw or other BIWOC writers, and many of those who cite Crenshaw do not critically engage with the development of the theory. This lack of engagement erases Black women from the development of intersectionality as authoritative knowers, and likely contributes to the problematic usage of intersectionality found within so many of these sources which further “disappears or re-marginalizes black women.”²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Alexander-Floyd 2012, 9.

As mentioned above, 65% of the sources I included in my study used intersectionality as their chosen methodology. This is especially significant when one considers that conceptually 75% of the sources in the study use intersectionality to study complex identity. Some of the sources use the term ‘intersectionality’ both as a way to consider complex identity and oppression/discrimination, while 50% of the sources use the term exclusively to discuss identity (Figure 4.8). Many theorists note the methodological flexibility of the theory of intersectionality, as Vivian May writes: “intersectionality can be best understood as an interpretive orientation that leaves these factors as open questions to be taken up, to help expose how subjection and dominance operate, sometimes subtly.”²⁰⁷ The critical aspect here is that this is a methodological flexibility rather than a conceptual one. There may not be an ‘intersectional method’ as such; however, from the early development of the theory it has centered around power systems and how they impact individuals based on aspects of their identity. Despite this, half of the sources in the study used intersectionality as a tool to understand individual identity. In most of the sources the term is applied to women of different classes/statuses, though this is not the only situation the theory is applied to. The impact of this usage of intersectionality was discussed above in the context of Cole’s article; however, it bears repeating that the application of the term to discuss individual identity, rather than structural injustices, depoliticizes the term, which removes the liberatory potential and takes the term out of a social justice context.

²⁰⁷ May 2015, 4.

Figure 4.8: Conceptual Usage of Intersectionality

4.6 Epistemic Injustice Conclusion

The use of the theory of intersectionality in Classical Studies is admittedly much more limited than I thought it would be when I began research for this case study. I had hoped to collect many more sources in order to make stronger claims. Despite my limited sample size, because of my thorough research method I feel confident that I have gathered a robust enough sample to comment on how the concept of intersectionality is used in Classical Studies. Only about half of the sources cited Crenshaw as the scholar who coined the term and one third of the sources did not cite any work by Black Indigenous, or Women of Colour at all. This is striking especially in the field of Classical Studies, a discipline which delights in tracing the development of thought and which has a citational practice that can sometimes verge on the absurd. The lack of critical engagement is also not explained by an over familiarity with the term. I was only able to find forty sources using the concept of intersectionality in English, using the broadest

definition of Classical Studies; therefore, it is not as if the term is so ubiquitous as to not require definition and citation. This is most certainly an issue of epistemic injustice as there is no academically justifiable reason for this lack of critical consideration of a term that almost two thirds of the articles used as a primary methodology. Though correlation may not equal causation, I believe the lack of critical engagement may have, at least in part, contributed to the fundamental lack of understanding of how to appropriately apply the concept of intersectionality. The result of this misunderstanding is evidenced by the fact that half of the sources used intersectionality exclusively as a tool to consider complex identity. In these ways Classical Studies scholarship follows the same trends Cole highlights in Psychology scholarship.

Though the issue of epistemic injustice may be helped by better citational practices this is only a first step. As Margaret Signorella points out “it is not sufficient for white feminists (or any writers in positions of power and influence) to sprinkle a few well-known classics by women of color into their work.”²⁰⁸ Without critical reflection on one’s citational practice as a whole this type of citational violence will continue. Not only is reflection and change needed at the individual level but also at the institutional level. A way to accomplish this is to center work produced by BIPOC scholars on course syllabi, required reading lists, and examinations at the undergraduate and graduate level, and to intentionally ensure that this material forms a core component with which students are required to meaningfully engage. This strategy is widely encouraged and the efficacy of this method is discussed by Chakravartty et al. who discuss the tendency of writers to cite

²⁰⁸ Signorella 2018, 262.

scholarship which is already known to them.²⁰⁹ Thus, this model functions on the premise that centering BIPOC scholars during students' learning will result in more equitable citations as students progress and begin publishing their own work.

²⁰⁹ Chakravartty et al. 2018, 261.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this thesis I have explored the question: *who gets to be a knower in Classical Studies?* My focus on the knower rather than the scholar was informed by a number of considerations. First, I believe that we are all knowers with the potential for important contributions to the knowledge production process, each with our own unique ways of knowing. By using the term ‘knower’ throughout my thesis, I hoped to unsettle the notion that epistemic authority should be granted only to those who hold a PhD and a tenured position at a higher education institution. This is crucial because those who hold these privileged positions of power are predominantly white scholars, as discussed in Chapter Two. Using the term ‘knower’ also acknowledges the humanity of scholars, writers, and professors. We are all people whose positionality and life course has fundamentally shaped our ways of knowing and how we see, research, and write about the world. The implications of which I explored in Chapter Three. Lastly, I believe that the term ‘knower’ acknowledges the innate value in knowing which is independent from the value that is granted by others’ acknowledgment and citation. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, those who deserve recognition for their role in theorizing do not always receive it, though their work and knowledge are no less important.

Demographic studies have been a common, though limited, way that the identity of those in the field has been considered. Though I presented the results of four recent demographic studies, my most core conclusions were not about representation in the field. Prior to starting my research, I knew the conclusion I would reach—that positions of authority most involved in the production of knowledge in Classical Studies have been and remain the domain of white men, and indeed the data bore out this conclusion.

The more significant conclusions centered on how methodological and terminological choices had a profound impact on the study's capacity to produce useful data. Allowing individuals to self-identify was an important methodological consideration. However, as seen in Stewart and Machado's study, though they allowed participants to self-identify, they did not provide enough options so as to meaningfully represent the variety of racial and ethnic identities of their survey participants. As a result, many participants chose not to complete this aspect of their survey.²¹⁰ Furthermore, some studies only provided two options in regard to race and ethnicity, 'white' and a single non-white category, which was variously labelled and defined. This, as I discuss in my second chapter, replicates harmful rhetoric, and produces little usable data.

In addition to methodology, the terminology used in these studies greatly impacts their framing. In alignment with Dan-el Padilla Peralta's principles and informed by the writings of Tiffani Williams and Susan Walden et al., I argue that there is need to shift the focus of such demographic studies from that of proportions to overrepresentation and exclusion.²¹¹ Though all studies found an extreme overrepresentation of white scholars, students, and authors, only Padilla Peralta's study articulated the problem to be that of the overrepresentation of white Classicists. What is lost by focusing on 'underrepresentation' is a clear way to move forward. Padilla Peralta states that: "the most fundamental question for the future of knowledge production in Classics is this: how do we recognize, honor, and repair the silencing of the knowledge that people of colour carry? How do we

²¹⁰ Stewart and Machado 2019.

²¹¹ Padilla Peralta 2021, Williams 2020, Walden et al. 2018.

perform – and validate, and support – the reparative epistemic justice that the discipline so sorely needs?”²¹² As *Eidolon* has shown, it is possible to operationalize a journal as a site of inclusion; in 2018 they published twice as many women as men, and only 3% of those published were tenured men.²¹³ This use of discretionary power by the editors of *Eidolon* is a clear sign that journals can be a site of inclusion. The “silencing of knowledge” and the epistemic exclusion of Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour scholars must be combatted through the surrender of privilege by those who currently hold it. Padilla Peralta emphasizes that in our current system there is “an economy of scarcity that at the level of journal publication will remain zero-sum...every person of color who is to be published will take the place of a white man whose words *could* have or had already appeared in the pages of that journal.”²¹⁴ Thus, if real change is to be made those with privilege must surrender it in the pursuit of equitable representation. I return to questions of epistemic exclusion and epistemic (in)justice in Chapter Four.

I shift my focus from the broad scope of the discipline to the very narrow scope of the individual, from looking at how we account for the identity of scholars in the field as a whole, to how individual authors account for their own identity in their published work. I analyzed how scholars consider their own identity and the identity of their intellectual predecessors as an important factor in the knowledge production process. Although, the thorough application of a reflexive positionality methodology in Classical Studies scholarship is rare, it is nonetheless a beneficial lens through which to view the ways in which we do consider identity in Classical Studies.

²¹² Padilla Peralta 2021, 231.

²¹³ Padilla Peralta 2021, 227.

²¹⁴ Padilla Peralta 2021, 231.

Through my exploration of contributor biographies in companions I presented the information Classicists use to establish their claim to epistemic authority. I found that almost without exception Classicists justify their expertise by stating their institutional affiliation. Not only do scholars list their institutional position first in 98% of the biographies, but it is also listed in 100% of them. Scholars contextualized their expertise as it relates to their contribution to the companion by including their areas of interest or previous publications. These biographies are not a true example of reflexive positionality; they are, however, self-authored statements about the identity of the contributors of the companions. These biographies indicate, a consciousness that the producer of knowledge is an important aspect of that very knowledge, otherwise these biographies would not be printed. These biographies are published as a validation of the author's epistemic authority which grants them expertise to speak on a given topic.

Through my discussion of historiographical works on Theodor Mommsen I show that the consideration of a scholar's positionality is not only important in our field, but also is part of a long-established tradition. I demonstrate that historiographical works which consider the socio-historical context, intellectual positioning, and identity of a scholar in order to better understand their writings, act similarly in function and motive to a reflexive positionality methodology. Though I utilized works which consider Theodor Mommsen as a case study it is common to consider the positionality of scholars when using their work. This is common practice in part because Classical Studies research is necessarily done with a substantial divide between researcher and research subject. Therefore, often, a researcher's positionality is later seen as having had a significant influence on how they viewed the ancient world. Furthermore, the field of Classical

Studies is a discipline with a long history. Thus, the majority of current research has to reckon with a well-established tradition of scholarship and scholars must situate their work within the tradition. This necessarily involves aligning with the opinions of some previous scholarship and opposing the opinions of other previously published works. This process often leads to the questioning of assumptions made by previous scholars, which frequently involves analyzing how the scholar's positionality informed their world view which led to their making said assumptions that may, with the benefit of hindsight, no longer appear appropriate.

Though neither author biographies nor historiographical sources truly represent instances of reflexive positionality they are both common conventions within Classical Studies which parallel the motivations of reflexive positionality. Thus, I believe these instances and other similar conventions could provide reasonable precedent for future scholars looking to justify their adoption of a reflexive positionality methodology.

Finally, I discussed epistemic injustice. I grounded my investigation in the lived reality of BIPOC Classicists as shared by Yung In Chae.²¹⁵ In Classical Studies it is common not only to cite the scholar from whom one takes material directly, but also those scholars who were vital contributors to the development of a thought or theory. Therefore, I utilized citational practices as a basis for my investigation. I limited my investigation to a case study in which I considered citational practices in Classical Studies scholarship which employs the theory of intersectionality. The results of this study showed a striking lack of engagement with Kimberlé Crenshaw's work and the work of BIWOC writers who were, and continue to be, involved in the development of

²¹⁵ Chae 2018.

this theory. Only about half of the sources in my study cited Crenshaw as the scholar who coined the term ‘intersectionality’. Furthermore, one third of the sources did not cite any Black, Indigenous, or Women of Colour at all in relation to the theorizing of intersectionality. This is striking especially in the field of Classical Studies, a discipline which delights in tracing the development of thought and which has a citational practice that can sometimes verge on the absurd. This is, very clearly, a matter of epistemic injustice as there is no justifiable reason for this lack of critical engagement with the theorists of intersectionality. I believe the lack of critical engagement may have, at least in part, contributed to the fundamental lack of understanding of how to appropriately apply the concept of intersectionality. Though two thirds of the sources in my study used intersectionality as a primary methodology, half of the sources in the study used intersectionality exclusively as a tool to consider complex identity—an application which is widely denounced as harmful and inappropriate.²¹⁶

The lack of citations and acknowledgement of the knowledge produced by BIWOC writers and Kimberlé Crenshaw in the sources I considered is all the more troubling as it represents an established body of Classical Studies scholarship that future scholars may look to as an example for how to utilize and attribute the theory of intersectionality. Without active and intentional change this citational violence may be replicated in a self-reinforcing cycle. This type of citational violence will not be repaired if one “sprinkle[s] a few well-known classics by women of color into their work;”²¹⁷ rather, critical reflection on one’s citational practices, and critical engagement with the

²¹⁶ See section 4.3 Intersectionality Metascholarship for discussion.

²¹⁷ Signorella 2018, 262.

work of scholars of colour is required. Chakravartty et al. recommend that citational violence might be combatted by making the work of BIPOC scholars a fundamental part of core higher education instruction.²¹⁸ This will improve student's education, and importantly will make lasting change as researchers commonly cite works that are already known to them.²¹⁹ Chakravartty et al. write:

we often cite work we already know. Thus, one important way to counter citational disparities is to expand the range of scholarship with which we critically engage...by embedding race- and gender-focused scholarship in course syllabi, PhD exams, required reading lists, and pedagogic practice. Centering scholars of color in this way can increase 'conscientious engagement'... rather than just increasing citational metrics.²²⁰

This thesis may not come to many surprising conclusions, but it was not the goal to do so. Rather, the goal of writing this thesis was largely to make visible the knowledge production process, to shine a light on underdiscussed conventions, and to make unseen norms seen. Throughout this thesis I have made my methodologies and rationale behind choosing them explicit. This was not only to model one way in which to make the knowledge production process visible, but also to make clear that at many junctures someone else with a different positionality doing the same research might make a different methodological choice that would be no less legitimate. Through three investigations I explored various aspects of what it means to be a knower and how one's identity impacts their epistemic authority. I hope to have provided beneficial models with which to think about identity and to have highlighted some ways we can address epistemic injustices in the field of Classical Studies.

²¹⁸ Chakravartty et al. 2018, 261.

²¹⁹ Chakravartty et al. 2018, 261.

²²⁰ Chakravartty et al. 2018, 261.

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Appendix A: Epistemic Injustice

In this appendix I have provided a selection of quotations and reading recommendations. It is my intention to use this appendix as a place to share voices that were not acknowledged by Miranda Fricker in her book *Epistemic Injustice*, which I used to define the term ‘epistemic injustice’ in Chapter Four. My selection only scratches the surface of the rich body of writings by Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour on the topic. However, I hope that by sharing a few quotes, which I found to be impactful I will give the reader a place to begin, or revisit, their own research on the topic of epistemic injustice.

Audre Lorde 1984 – *Sister Outsider*

I include the following quotations by Lorde as they present examples of experience with epistemic injustice in a variety of situations, interpersonal as well as institutional.

This letter has been delayed because of my grave reluctance to reach out to you, for what I want us to chew upon here is neither easy nor simple. The history of white women who are unable to hear Black women’s words, or to maintain dialogue with us, is long and discouraging. But for me to assume that you will not hear me represents not only history, perhaps, but an old pattern of relating.²²¹

I had decided never again to speak to white women about racism. I felt it was wasted energy because of destructive guilt and defensiveness, and because whatever I had to say might better be said by white women to one another at far less emotional cost to the speaker, and probably with a better hearing.²²²

Why weren't other women of Color found to participate in this conference? Why were two phone calls to me considered a consultation? Am I the only possible source of names of Black feminists? ...

In academic feminist circles, the answer to these questions is often, "We did not know who to ask." But that is the same evasion of responsibility, the same cop-out, that keeps Black women's art out of women's exhibitions, Black women's

²²¹ Lorde 1984, 62.

²²² Lorde 1984, 67.

work out of most feminist publications except for the occasional "Special Third World Women's Issue," and Black women's texts off your reading lists.²²³

Patricia Hill Collins 1990 – *Black Feminist Thought*

The following quotations of Collins show not only the extent to which epistemic injustice was a known phenomenon much earlier than Fricker's publication (Collins' *Black Feminist Thought* was in its second edition in 2002 and third in 2008), but also Collins powerfully demonstrates the political strategy behind the intentional suppression of knowledge, an important aspect which Fricker does not discuss in her book (see Medina (2011) for discussion of this important omission).

Far from being the apolitical study of truth, epistemology points to the ways in which power relations shape who is believed and why.²²⁴

The shadow obscuring this complex Black women's intellectual tradition is neither accidental nor benign. Suppressing the knowledge produced by any oppressed group makes it easier for dominant groups to rule because the seeming absence of dissent suggests that subordinate groups willingly collaborate in their own victimization...Maintaining the invisibility of Black women and our ideas not only in the United States, but in Africa, the Caribbean, South America, Europe, and other places where Black women now live, has been critical in maintaining social inequalities. Black women engaged in reclaiming and constructing Black women's knowledges often point to the politics of suppression that affect their projects.²²⁵

bell hooks 1984 - *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*

hooks describes a twofold injustice which sees society at large ignoring and denying the experience of Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour, and white feminists centering

²²³ Lorde 1984, 108.

²²⁴ Collins 1990, 252.

²²⁵ Collins 1990, 3.

their own concerns at the exclusion of the experience and knowledge of Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour.

It was a mark of race and class privilege, as well as the expression of freedom from the many constraints sexism places on working-class women, that middle-class white women were able to make their interests the primary focus of feminist movement and employ a rhetoric of commonality that made their condition synonymous with "oppression." Who was there to demand a change in vocabulary? What other group of women in the United States had the same access to universities, publishing houses, mass media, money? Had middle-class black women begun a movement in which they had labeled themselves "oppressed," no one would have taken them seriously. Had they established public forums and given speeches about their "oppression," they would have been criticized and attacked from all sides. This was not the case with white bourgeois feminists, for they could appeal to a large audience of women like themselves who were eager to change their lot in life. Their isolation from women of other class and race groups provided no immediate comparative base by which to test their assumptions of common oppression.²²⁶

Further Reading

BIWOC writers theorizing before term 'epistemic Injustice': Gloria Anzaldúa (1987, 1990), Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga (1981), Angela Davis (1981), Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1989). bell hooks (1994) discusses teaching practices which promote epistemic justice. Discussion of epistemic injustice: José Medina (2011, 2013) and Rachel McKinnon (2016) discuss the work of Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour thinkers who theorized about epistemic injustice long before Miranda Fricker coined the term. Mark Tschaepé (2016) explores Audre Lorde's writings on epistemic injustice and microaggressions.

²²⁶ hooks 1984, 6-7.

Appendix B: Intersectionality

In this appendix I have provided a selection of quotations and reading recommendations. This selection aided my understanding of the foundation and original context of the theory of intersectionality. I hope this appendix will provide a reader, for whom intersectionality may be an unfamiliar concept, the necessary context with which to more fully appreciate the theory. It is also my intention to use this appendix as a place to contextualize my voice as one among many by sharing the voices of some of the theorists of intersectionality.

Kimberlé Crenshaw 1989 – “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex”

In this law review Crenshaw presents three cases (*DeGraffenreid v General Motors*, *Moore v Hughes Helicopter*, and *Payne v Travenol*.), in which the law ignores the unique (intersectional) discrimination experienced by Black women. Below are key passages from each of the cases. I have included them as it was in this context that Crenshaw saw the need to apply a new way of describing the overlapping forms of oppression experienced by Black women. Finally, I include the useful metaphor Crenshaw uses to describe intersectionality.

The court's refusal in *DeGraffenreid* to acknowledge that Black women encounter combined race and sex discrimination implies that the boundaries of sex and race discrimination doctrine are defined respectively by white women's and Black men's experiences. Under this view, Black women are protected only to the extent that their experiences coincide with those of either of the two groups.²²⁷

The court failed to see that the absence of a racial referent does not necessarily mean that the claim being made is a more inclusive one [in *Moore*]. A white woman claiming discrimination against females may be in no better position to represent all women than a Black woman who claims discrimination as a Black female and wants to represent all females. The court's preferred articulation of

²²⁷ Crenshaw 1989, 142-43.

"against females" is not necessarily more inclusive-it just appears to be so because the racial contours of the claim are not specified.²²⁸

Even though *Travenol* was a partial victory for Black women, the case specifically illustrates how antidiscrimination doctrine generally creates a dilemma for Black women. It forces them to choose between specifically articulating the intersectional aspects of their subordination, thereby risking their ability to represent Black men, or ignoring intersectionality in order to state a claim that would not lead to the exclusion of Black men.²²⁹

The point is that Black women can experience discrimination in any number of ways and that the contradiction arises from our assumptions that their claims of exclusion must be unidirectional. Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination.²³⁰

Deborah King 1988 – “Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness”

I include King’s definition of ‘multiple jeopardy’ below as it represents a similar theory to intersectionality that was being formulated around the same time. King also makes an important development in this theorizing space by shifting the previously additive model of double jeopardy to the multiplicative model of multiple jeopardy.

Unfortunately, most applications of the concepts of double and triple jeopardy have been overly simplistic in assuming that the relationships among the various discriminations are merely additive. These relationships are interpreted as equivalent to the mathematical equation, racism plus sexism plus classism equals triple jeopardy. In this instance, each discrimination has a single, direct, and independent effect on status, wherein the relative contribution of each is readily apparent. This simple incremental process does not represent the nature of black women's oppression but, rather, I would contend, leads to nonproductive assertions that one factor can and should supplant the other...Such assertions ignore the fact that racism, sexism, and classism constitute three, interdependent control systems. An interactive model, which I have termed multiple jeopardy,

²²⁸ Crenshaw 1989, 144.

²²⁹ Crenshaw 1989, 148.

²³⁰ Crenshaw 1989, 149.

better captures those processes. The modifier "multiple" refers not only to several, simultaneous oppressions but to the multiplicative relationships among them as well. In other words, the equivalent formulation is racism multiplied by sexism multiplied by classism.²³¹

Combahee River Collective 1977 – A Black Feminist Statement

I include these quotes from the statement written by the Combahee River Collective as it articulates the ‘interlocking’ forms of oppression faced by Black women and also contextualizes the liberatory and deeply political roots of intersectionality.

We are a collective of black feminists who have been meeting together since 1974. During that time we have been involved in the process of defining and clarifying our politics, while at the same time doing political work within our own group and in coalition with other progressive organizations and movements. The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As black women we see black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppression that all women of color face.²³²

It was our experience and disillusionment within these liberation movements, as well as experience on the periphery of the white male left, that led to the need to develop a politics that was antiracist, unlike those of white women, and antisexist, unlike those of Black and white men.²³³

Further Reading

Foundational Theories: Frances Beale (1972) coins the term ‘double jeopardy’ and outlines it in her chapter. Intersectionality: Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) provides further legal application of the term ‘intersectionality’. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (1981) produce a volume of writings by radical women of colour, many of these writings engage powerfully with the lived experience of intersectional discrimination.

Applications of Intersectionality: Jennifer C. Nash (2008), Sirma Bilge (2013), Vivian May (2015), and Elizabeth R. Cole (2020) address the depoliticizing of intersectionality and how the term has come to be used (inappropriately).

²³¹ King 1988, 45.

²³² Combahee River Collective 1977, 210.

²³³ Combahee River Collective 1977, 210.

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SCHOLARSHIPS

- 2021-2022 Ontario Graduate Scholarship
- 2020-2021 SSHRC - Canada Graduate Scholarships—Master's Program
- 2020-2021 Chair's Entrance Scholarship Classics, University of Western Ontario
- 2017-2018 Arts Research Abroad Scholarship

EXPERIENCE

- 2020-2022 Teaching Assistant, University of Western Ontario
- 2020-2022 Vindolanda Archaeological Leather Project Graduate Research Assistant, Dr. Elizabeth M. Greene
- 2018-2019 Latin Curriculum Research Assistant, Dr. Siobhan McElduff
- 2018-2019 Roman History Research Assistant, Dr. Katharine Huemoeller
- 2016-2017 From Stone to Screen Digitization Assistant, Dr. Chelsea Gardner
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PUBLICATIONS

- Orchard, Jaymie, and Gwynnaeth McIntyre. "Learning by teaching with Roman coins." *Numismatic Association of Australia*: 47-72.

CONFERENCE PAPERS

- "Sense, Perception, and the Reader of Xenophon's Symposium," Ohio State University Graduate Colloquium: Sense (and) Perception, virtual, February 2021.
- "Learning by Teaching with Coins" (co-authored with Dr. Gwynnaeth McIntyre), Friends of Numismatics panel on Teaching with Coins panel, Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Washington, DC, January 2020.
- "From Stone to Screen and the DIY Method: Digitization, Integration, and You" (talk by Chelsea Gardner, workshop co-facilitated with Chelsea Gardner, Lisa Tweten, and Kat Solberg) Ancient MakerSpaces: Digital Tools for Classical Scholarship panel, Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Diego, CA, January 2019.
- "A Blast from the Past: Digital Antiquity in the Classroom" (co-authored with Siena Hutton and Chloe Martin-Cabanne), Undergraduate panel, Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Toronto, Canada, January 2017.

INVITED TALKS

- “Who Gets to be a Knower in Classical Studies? Epistemic authority in Classical Studies,” Speaker Series University of Western Ontario, London Ontario, March 2022.
- “Women on Roman Coins,” CS 3350G: Women in Ancient Rome, University of Western Ontario, London Ontario, February 2022.
- “A Picture is worth a Thousand Words: A Diachronic Look at Roman Coinage” (presentation with Nicole Ingot), CLST 1105 Lecture Series, Langara College, Vancouver, British Columbia, March 2019.
- “Roman Coins and How to Use them” CLST 232, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 2019.
- “Digitizing the Past for the Future: Roman Coins in 2017” (presentation with Chloe Martin-Cabanne), CLST 1105 Lecture Series, Langara College, Vancouver, British Columbia, March 2017.
- “Basics of Numismatics and Imperial Representation” (presentation with Chloe Martin-Cabanne), CLST 204: Archaeology of Ancient Greece and Rome, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, October 2015.

WORKSHOPS

- “Numismatics Workshop: Identifying Roman Coins” UBC CNERs Department Workshop Series, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 2019.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

- 2022 (IP) Western Certificate in University Teaching and Learning, (anticipated completion date: June 2022) – University of Western Ontario.