

GC350 GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION

ESSAY PROJECT

Autumn Resit 2019

All candidates must submit one hard copy with essay cover sheet.

Deadline: Friday, 9th August by 5pm.

Word count: 5,000 words.

GC350 GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION ESSAY PROJECT

Autumn Resit 2019 for topic relating to GC307:

Strange Creatures: Anthropology in Antiquity

Dr Gordon Campbell

‘However, they did tell me that four times during the period in question the sun changed its usual procedure for rising: twice it rose from the place where it currently sets, and twice it set in the direction where it currently rises. They told me that nothing in Egypt was altered at these times – nothing growing in the earth or living in the river was any different, and there was no change in the course of diseases or in the ways people died.’ (Herodotus, *Histories*, 2.142).

Herodotus presents Egypt as a land fixed in its ways, lost in time and never-changing. Examine how this attitude works in Book Two of the *Histories*.

Herodotus tells us both more and less about Egypt than we could reasonably expect. Less because we hear little from him about important matters such as clothing, food, art, music, and Egyptian culture generally, and more because we hear Egypt is incredibly ancient, and, buried under the weight of antiquity, nothing ever changes there, and that the Egyptians do everything backwards compared to the rest of humanity. He claims to have visited Egypt and to have received information at first hand from the priests. Whether this is true or not, his account presents Egypt as an otherworldly place, a land outside ordinary time, and even outside normal geography; as the, ‘gift of the Nile’, Egypt is neither in Libya nor in Asia, but is an in-between land.

One problem that ancient ethnographies have presented traditionally is that often there is no way of knowing if the information in them is accurate. One approach has been to see what in the account is stereotypical and could be from any ancient ethnography of a ‘barbarian’ people (e.g. nomadism, skin-wearing, human sacrifice etc.) and leave that aside and see what is left as true. Francois Hartog’s advance on this in his *Mirror of Herodotus* book was to not worry too much about whether what the ethnographer says is true or false but to see how it fits into the narrative that he tells. I recommend that an approach similar to Hartog’s should be taken: we should not worry too much if a detail is not obviously a part of the ethnographic tradition and so therefore may be real. We can still see how it fits in with the sort of story ethnographers might like to tell. Any story, however true, is always a view from somewhere.

Remember also that ancient ethnographers like to work ‘by contraries’. Herodotus is a good example. His ethnographic technique is by symmetry and inversion, parallels and contrasts. This is particularly true in Book Two of the *Histories* where Egypt becomes a mirror world to Europe, as if a mirror had been placed along the Mediterranean from west to east in which Greeks could view themselves, imagining that they were viewing the Egyptians. The Nile and its backwards behaviour, flooding in Summer rather than Winter, provides Herodotus a touchstone for all of Egypt; just as the river behaves in the opposite way to all other rivers, so Egypt itself becomes a mirror world. Herodotus’ Egypt is an extreme case of the use of the mirror technique.

The Nile is mystery for Herodotus both in its behaviour and its source, and it is not only a river that flows *through* the country of Egypt; Egypt is, as he says, the *product* of the river itself, formed as it deposits silt into the sea. This makes Egypt mysterious and problematic. It is an in-between land that does not fit into traditional Greek ideas of geography, in which the world is divided into Europe, Asia and Libya. Egypt is either a fourth continent in itself, or it is half in Libya and half in Asia, or perhaps it is part of neither, but floats between both. Because it is still being formed, it is the youngest of countries, but has the oldest of peoples living there. Herodotus comes to the odd conclusion that the Egyptians pre-exist their country, even though they have always lived there. The Nile is the force that nourishes Egypt as well with its regular Summer floods, but it also washes away the Egyptians' land, so that they have to continually repair their fields and boundaries. It is a unique river as well in that Egypt has no other rivers. They do, however, have a vast number of canals that they use both for irrigation and transport. The grid pattern that the canals have imposed on the land surface of Egypt has, however, caused the use of carts to die out. This illustrates another paradox of the Nile: that it is both a dynamic, creative force, but also tends to impose a sort of cultural and historical stasis on Egypt, a land where everything is always the same because nothing ever changes there, except the eerily regular yearly pulse of the Nile's floods. Thus, Egypt has a vast history stretching back in a line of three hundred and thirty kings, but most do nothing and leave no trace, seemingly sunk in a cultural torpor, while a few are manically active and build vast monuments that are the wonders of the world. The Nile's effects then are not simply geographical, but also cultural, historical and political.

Prescribed text:

Herodotus, *The Histories*, translated by Robin Waterfield, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford, 1998). ISBN: 9780199535668

Suggested Bibliography

Almagor, E., and Skinner, J., (eds.), 2013, *Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches*, London, Bloomsbury. A useful collection of essays on ancient ethnography. See esp. part 1 Beginnings: 'The Invention of the Barbarian in the Late Sixth Century BC', and 'The Stories of the Others: Storytelling and Inter-cultural Communication in the Herodotean Mediterranean'.

McDonald, Angela , 'Animals in Egypt', in G. L. Campbell (ed.), 2014, *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, Oxford, OUP, 441-460.

Dewald, C. and J. Marincola, 2006, *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*, Cambridge. Has no chapter directly on Egypt but various chapters will be useful, e.g. 13. 'Herodotus and Greek religion', and 19. 'Herodotus and foreign lands'.

- Hartog, F., 1988, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, Berkeley. This is the book that identified the mirror technique. Very useful, even if Hartog's style can be hard going at times. See esp. ch. 6. 'A Rhetoric of Otherness', and ch. 7. 'The Eye and the Ear'.
- 2002, 'The Greeks as Egyptologists', in T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh, 2002, 211-228. A more concise study by Hartog.
- Lloyd, A. B., 1994, *Herodotus Book Two*, vol. 1 Introduction, Leiden. See esp. 'Herodotus' attitudes and intellectual affinities'. Well worth consulting.
- 2002, 'Egypt', in Bakker, E., de Jong, I., and van Wees, H., 2002, *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, Leiden. A good place to start.
- 2004, 'Herodotus on Egypt and Ethiopia', in Karageorghis, V., Taifacos, I. (eds), 2004, *The World of Herodotus*, Nicosia, 43-52. Another good starting point.
- Murphy, T., 2004, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: the Empire in the Encyclopedia*, Oxford. Esp. 77-128 on the ethnographic tradition.
- Munson, R. V., 2002, *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus*, Ann Arbor. Good on Herodotus' ethnography generally.
- Pelling, C., 1997, 'East is East and West is West – Or Are They?: National Stereotypes in Herodotus', *Histos* 1 (1997) online at <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/histos/documents/1997.04PellingEastIsEast5166.pdf>
- Very good on how stereotypes can move about and attach themselves to different peoples.
- Skinner, J., 2012, *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: from Homer to Herodotus*, Oxford. The latest book-length study. The most advanced approach, so should be consulted.
- Thomas, Rosalind, 2000, *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion*, Cambridge. See esp. ch. 5 'Wonders and the Natural World'. Good on Herodotus' focus on wonders.
- Vasunia, P., 2001, *The Gift of the Nile: Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander. Classics and Contemporary Thought*, 8. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. See esp. 'Writing Egyptian Writing', 'In an Antique Land', and 'Space and Otherness'. Very advanced analyses. Sometimes difficult but well worth persevering with.

GC350 GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION ESSAY PROJECT

Autumn Resit 2019 for topic relating to GC313: Fire from Heaven:

The Rise of Macedonia and Alexander the Great

Dr Kieran McGroarty

The burning of Xerxes' palace at Persepolis marks a turning point in the story of Alexander the Great. His subsequent march into Afghanistan, and then India, involved a series of incidents, which brought a clear change both in his personality and to his ideology.

Identify and discuss the incidents in this eastern campaign that you think best explain this change in Alexander detailing how this change manifested itself in his subsequent conduct and assessing its impact.

Alexander's behaviour after the burning of the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis has aroused much discussion in both the sources and the secondary literature. The vulgate tradition has, in particular, made much of a series of incidents which occurred in the wake of the burning of the palace, which it suggests points both to a deterioration in Alexander's character and a change in his personality. Your first task will be to identify any incidents, which might be used to support this view.

You might wish to consider the following incidents as significant: Paying off the League of Corinth's troops at Ecbatana; the trial and execution of Philotas, and the subsequent murder of his father, Parmenio; the episode of the Branchidae; the murder of Cleitus; the attempt to introduce proskynesis; the Pages conspiracy (the Hermolaus affair) and the subsequent imprisonment of Callisthenes. You will need to explain the importance of these incidents in relation to the essay title. What do these incidents tell us about Alexander's state of mind? What do they tell us about Alexander's ideology at this stage? Equally important, what do they tell us about the attitude of the Macedonians and Persians? How was Alexander's behaviour here different, if indeed it was, to that before Persepolis? Were there other incidents in Iran or Afghanistan that speak to a change in Alexander? What did his marriage to Roxanne represent?

After a guerrilla campaign in Afghanistan, Alexander marched east into India. He fought one more major engagement against whom? Why might the outcome of this battle be described as a Pyrrhic victory? What happened at the Hyphasis River (Beas) and why is this significant in terms of our understanding of the Macedonians' attitude to Alexander at this point in the campaign? You should examine the significance of what happened at the Hyphasis in relation to Alexander's journey down the Indus to the Indian Ocean, and his subsequent disastrous march through Gedrosia. What happened when he arrived back in Carmania? What do his actions at this point tell us about his state of mind? What other major incidents took place before Alexander's death in Babylon in 323 BC and what do they suggest about his *mentalité* in the period before his death? Issues that ought to concern you include: Mixed Marriages; the mutiny at Opis; the Epigoni; the Exiles' Decree and request for deification.

READING:

Biographies

- Bosworth, A.B., *Conquest and Empire: the Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge: CUP, 1988.
- Cartledge, P., *Alexander the Great: the Hunt for a New Past*, London: Macmillan, 2004. **Day Loan**
- Fox, R. Lane, *Alexander the Great*, London: Allen Lane, 1973.
- Green, P., *Alexander of Macedon*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991. **Day Loan**
- Hamilton, J.R., *Alexander the Great*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1972. **Day Loan**
- Hammond, N.G.L., *Philip of Macedon*, London: Duckworth, 1994. **Day Loan**
- Hammond, N.G.L., *The Genius of Alexander the Great*, London: Duckworth, 1997.
- Stoneman, R., *Alexander the Great*, London: Routledge, 2004².
- Wood, M., *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great*, London: BBC Books, 1997. **Day Loan**

You should read the relevant chapters in one of the above to refresh your memory of the events that you will have to discuss. Then you can tackle the sources.

Primary Sources

The most complete extant primary literary sources for Alexander are:

- Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971 translated by A. de Selincourt. **You ought to have a copy of this already**
- Diodorus Siculus, Loeb Vol. VIII, Books XVI. 66-XVII of *Library of History* translated by C. Bradford Welles
- Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984 translated by John C. Yardley.
- Plutarch, 'A life of Alexander' in *The Age of Alexander*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973 translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert.
- Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, translated by John C. Yardley, Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.

Excerpts from the above sources, with some additional material, have been collected and arranged under various headings in Heckel, W. & Yardley, J. C., *Alexander the Great: Historical Sources in Translation*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. In addition, some important secondary literature is also collected and arranged in Worthington, I., *Alexander the Great: A Reader*, London: Routledge, 2003, 2012². **An electronic book available online through the Library Catalogue**

General

- Badian, E., 'Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind' *Historia*, 7 (1958) 287-306. **Online at Jstor**
- Bosworth, A.B., *Alexander and the East*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996. **Day Loan**
- Fredrickmeyer, E., 'Alexander the Great and the Kingship of Asia' pp. 136-166 in Bosworth, A.B., & Baynham, E.J., *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, Oxford: OUP, 2000. **(Day Loan)**
- Holt, F., *Into the Land of Bones: Alexander in Afghanistan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. **An electronic book available online through the Library Catalogue**. Review by Paul Cartledge available **online at Jstor**
- Robinson, C.A., 'The extraordinary ideas of Alexander the Great', *American Historical Review*. LXII, No. 2 (1957) 326-344. **Online at Jstor**
- Thomas, C.G., Review of Badian, E., 'Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind' *Historia*, 7 (1958) 287-306. **Online at Jstor**

Bosworth and Holt are monographs covering a large part of Alexander's journey after Persepolis. You might want to consider at least reading reviews of both of these.

Iraq/Iran

- Bosworth, A.B., 'Alexander and the Iranians', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 100, (1980), pp. 1-21. **Online at Jstor**
- Borza, E., 'Fire from Heaven: Alexander at Persepolis', *Classical Philology*, Vol. 67, No. 4, (Oct., 1972), pp. 233-245. **Online at Jstor**
- Brosius, M., 'Alexander and the Persians' in Roisman, J., (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, Leiden: Brill, 2003. **Day Loan**
- Brunt, P.A., 'Persian Accounts of Alexander's Campaigns', *Classical Quarterly*, (New Series) 12, No. 1 (May 1962) pp. 141-155. **Online at Jstor**
- Heckel, W., 'The Conspiracy against Philotas', *Phoenix*, 31, No. 1, (Spring 1977) pp. 9-21. **Online at Jstor**
- Robinson, C.A., 'Alexander the Great and Parmenio', *The American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 49, No. 4, (Oct.-Dec. 1945), pp. 422-424. **Online at Jstor**

Afghanistan

- Brown, T.S., 'Callisthenes and Alexander', *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 70, No. 3, (1949), pp. 225-248. **Online at Jstor**
- Carney, E., 'The Conspiracy of Hermolaus', *Classical Journal*, Vol. 76, No. 3, (Feb.-March), 1981, pp. 223-231. **Online at Jstor**
- Heckel, W., 'Leonnatos, Polyperchon and the Introduction of *Proskynesis*', *American Journal of Philology*, 99, No. 4, (Winter 1978) pp. 459-461. **Online at Jstor**
- Parke, H.W., 'The Massacre of the Branchidae', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 105, (1985), pp. 59-68. **Online at Jstor**

India

- Carney, E., 'Macedonians and Mutiny: Discipline and Indiscipline in the Army of Philip and Alexander', *Classical Philology*, Vol. 91, No. 1, (Jan. 1996), pp. 19-44. **Online at Jstor**
- Bosworth, A.B., 'The Indian Satrapies under Alexander the Great' pp. 170-175 in Worthington, I., *Alexander the Great: A Reader*. **Electronic Book Available Online through the Library Catalogue**
- Bosworth, A.B., 'The Indian Campaigns 327-325 BC' in Roisman, J., (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, Leiden: Brill, 2003. **Day Loan**
- Narain, A.K., 'Alexander and India', *Greece and Rome*, (2nd Series) 12, No. 2 (Oct. 1965) 155-165. **Online at Jstor** and pp. 155-165 [pp. 161 – 167] in Worthington, I., *Alexander the Great: A Reader*. **An electronic book available online through the Library Catalogue.**

Return

- Nagle, D.B., 'The Cultural Context of Alexander's Speech at Opis', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 126, (1996), pp. 151-172. **Online at Jstor**
- Worthington, I., 'Alexander the Great and the Date of the Mytilene Decree', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 83, (1990), pp. 194-214. **Online at Jstor**

All the above are either in the MU Library or on JSTOR

The above bibliography will provide further bibliographies, which will provide further reference to the topic given. The areas touched on above are central to this essay but they are not exhaustive of what you might include.

GC350 GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION ESSAY PROJECT

Autumn Resit 2019 for topic relating to GC309:

The *Aeneid* and the Story of Roman Epic

Dr Maeve O'Brien

Discuss the ways Sappho's 'direct words' (Barnstone) speak to us about the lives of women in ancient Greece.

READING

Where can I read Sappho's poetry?

1. Online in the library database Loeb Classical Library
<https://www.loebclassics.com/view/LCL142/1982/volume.xml>
2. Barnard, Mary. 1986. *Sappho: a New Translation Berkeley*. University of California Press 888.01 SAP A little book! Good translation of the poems. These hundred poems and fragments constitute virtually all of Sappho that survives and effectively bring to life the woman whom the Greeks consider to be their greatest lyric poet. There is a Forward by D. Fitts – the Latin quotation he uses at the start translates as 'Not all of me will die: a great part of me will avoid Death'. Note that Barnard uses her own system of numeration for the poems.
3. You can also read Sappho's poetry in Barnstone, W. 2009. *Ancient Greek Lyrics* (second edition). Bloomington. Indiana University Press (Electronic resource). Read the forty or so full poems (as opposed to fragments) of Sappho's extant output, here.
4. Also Barnstone, W. 1988. *Sappho and the Greek Lyric Poets*. Shocken Books. New York MAIN 884.01 BAR (very similar to Barnstone (2009) above, e.g. quotation in essay title is page 249 in the electronic copy). The story of the precarious transmission of Sappho's poetry is illustrated by Mulroy, D. 1992. *Early Greek Lyric Poetry Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* University of Michigan Press, pages 87-98 MAIN 884.01 MUL.
5. Sappho's poetry can be read in Diane Rayor's book (details below), pages 51-81 and notes on pages 159-169;
6. Chapter 5 of Margaret Williamson's book (see below for full details) has a selection of the poems with accompanying critical interpretations.
7. If you are interested in women's poetry, not only Sappho's, read Jo Gill, Halliwell, M. & Mousley, A. 2007. *Women's Poetry* Edinburgh University Press. E-book, pages 51-55, and printed book page numbers pp.33-38.
8. Make clear from the start the translation you are using.

Read the poems and decide what you think first. Consult the Bibliography below for texts of the poems (please do not use the internet), background information, and critical approaches. Keep in mind that literary representations of women may be viewed as male constructs appropriated by men for the purpose of speaking about male concerns rather than as simple reflections of social reality. When a woman, Sappho, uses lyric form she is a poet composing in a predominantly male tradition (see Eva Stehle: 1981), so how can her literary representations of women be viewed? How does her poetic voice gain purchase in such a tradition (see Wilson:1996)? In what ways is her poetry different from a male poet working

according to the same poetic conventions? If she is not a ‘historian documenting her own life’ (see Winkler:2002), what can the performative contexts of her poetry (see Lardinois: 2001) and the social world they describe (see Parker:1993) tell us about the attitudes of, and the lives of women, including female poets, in ancient Greece?

Bibliography: What do others think? *marks useful items

Cantarella, E.1987. *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Translated from 1981 Italian by M.B. Fant, with a foreword by M.R. Lefkowitz. Chapter 6 ‘Homosexuality and Love’, 77-89. . MAIN 305.42 CAN This book gives some interesting background to the attitudes to ‘love’ and can be read along with *Dover, K.J. 1984. ‘Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behaviour’ 143-157, in J. Peradotto, & J.P. Sullivan (eds.), *Women in the Ancient World: the Arethusa Papers*. New York. 305.4094 PER Some interesting material here on the power and nature of *eros* and compare Wilson (see details below), Chapter 3 ‘A Woman’s desire’, pp.68-86.

Greene, Ellen. 2002. ‘Subjects, Objects, and Erotic Symmetry in Sappho's Fragments’, 82-105, in Rabinowitz and Auanger (eds.) *Among Women: from the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*. MAIN 305.489664 RAB New interpretations of the evidence offered by the literary works of Sappho are offered here by Greene.

Hauser, Emily. 2016. ‘In her own words: the semantics of female authorship in ancient Greece, from Sappho to Nossis’, *Ramus* 45 (2), 133–164. <https://www.cambridge.org/core>. Available Maynooth University, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at <https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms>. <https://doi.org/10.1017/rmu.2016.8> This interesting and lengthy paper looks at how Sappho, and Nossis in particular ‘adopt the mask of a male poet to explore the connection between gender, authorship and voice.’

*Lardinois, A. ‘Keening Sappho: Female Speech Genres in Sappho’s Poetry’, Chapter 5 pages 75-92 in Lardinois, A. & L. McClure (eds.). 2001. *Making Silence Speak: Women’s Voices in Greek Literature and Society*. Princeton. DAY LOAN 880.9352 LAR This collection attempts to recover the voices of women in antiquity from a variety of perspectives: how they spoke, where they could be heard, and how their speech was adopted in literature and public discourse. Lardinois’ essay maintains that Sappho modelled her poetry on women’s public speech genres: i.e. prayers to goddesses, laments, praise of young brides.

*Lefkowitz, M.R. 1981. *Heroines and Hysterics*, Chapter 9 ‘Critical Stereotypes and the Poetry of Sappho’ 59-68. London. MAIN 305.4093 LEF on the dangers of biographical criticism.

*Kivilo, Maarit. 2010. *Mnemosyne*, Supplements, Volume 322: Early Greek Poets' Lives: The Shaping of the Tradition. (Electronic resource). Chapter 7 ‘Sappho’, pp.167-200, on how fictions about Sappho’s life and loves impinge on criticism of the poetry.

*McIntosh Snyder, J. 1989. *The Woman and the Lyre: Women Writers in Classical Greece and Rome*, Bristol Classical Press and Illinois University Press. MAIN 870.9001 SNY Chapter 1 ‘Sappho of Lesbos’, 1-37. Note map of where the poets lived. ‘Faint though the voices of the women of Greek and Roman antiquity may be in some cases, their sound, if we listen carefully enough, can fill many of the gaps and silences of women’s past’, from the ‘Conclusion’. The author studies the available fragments of Sappho, ranging from poems on mythological themes to traditional wedding songs and love poems, and demonstrates her considerable influence on Western thought and literature.

Parker, H. ‘Sappho Schoolmistress’ *TAPA* 123 (1993), 309-351 (esp.305-331) JSTOR

*Rayor, Diane J. 1991. *Sappho's lyre: archaic lyric and women poets of ancient Greece*, translations, with introduction and notes; ‘Foreword’ ix-xix by W.R. Johnson. Berkeley: University of California Press 888.01 SAP Sappho sang her poetry to the accompaniment of the lyre on the Greek island of Lesbos over 2500 years ago. This book has the complete surviving works of the ancient Greek women poets. Note especially here the ‘Foreword’, xvi-xix, and ‘Sappho’, i.e. poems on pages 51-81 with notes on pages 159-169. Note the numeration here, No. 8 = Barnard’s 39 = traditional LP 31. Make clear from the start the numeration you are using.

*Stehle, E.1981. ‘Sappho’s Private World’, 45-61 in H. P. Foley (ed) *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* Routledge reprint 1994 MAIN 305.40938 FOL On Sappho’s use of ‘male’ lyric tradition.

Williamson, Margaret. 1995. *Sappho's Immortal daughters*. Harvard University Press. 888.01 SAP
*Read 'Poetry and Politics, pages 60-89. 'Legend' pages 5-33, is an account of Sappho's 'voice' in the ancient world from images of her on vase painting, fictions about her (e.g. her obsessive love for Phaon) to her appearance in Ovid's *Heroides* 15, where Ovid writes her imagined letter to Phaon.

Wilson, Lyn H. 1996. *Sappho's Sweet-bitter Songs: Configurations of Female and Male in Ancient Greek Lyric*. London; New York. Routledge.888.01 SAPc Read 'Introduction' pp.1-20 This is a good overview of Sappho's work as a 'site of difference' (p.14) where distinctive 'feminine' values attain prominence. Of interest too is Chapter 1 'Aphrodite' pages 21-42. Late 20th-century theories of feminism, psychoanalysis and literary criticism are applied to Sappho's lyrics. In the 'Introduction' the author states that her investigation centres on sexual difference, and her method is to compare Sappho's poems/songs with the lyric poetry of other male authors composing songs between the seventh and the fifth centuries B.C.

Winkler, J.J.2002.'Double consciousness in Sappho's Lyrics' Chapter 2, 39-75 in L. K McClure(ed.), *Sexuality and Gender in the Ancient World: Readings and Sources*. Oxford. (Electronic Resource). Discusses what he sees as consciousness of both public and private in Sappho's poetry.

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GC350 GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION ESSAY PROJECT

Autumn Resit 2019 for topic relating to GC213:

Greek Mythology: Homer, Ovid and the Trojan War.

Dr William Desmond

Discuss the nature, role and importance of one the major deities in the *Iliad*.

“Homer and Hesiod gave the Greeks their gods.” This judgment of the historian Herodotus has been repeated and elaborated upon by many modern scholars: the epic poems of Homer and Hesiod were a prime force in shaping pan-Hellenic conceptions of the divine.

This question invites you to study Greek mythology and religion generally, and, more specifically, to concentrate on the appearance of one god or goddess in the *Iliad*.

Questions that you should address include the following:

1. What are the attributes and functions of the god in question?
2. To what myths about that god does Homer allude? Why does he select just these myths from a much larger story-telling tradition? Are these allusions important in the immediate context, or for the *Iliad* as a whole?
3. What kinds of epithets and similes does Homer use to depict the deity? Does the deity appear in any interesting or significant similes?
4. Does the god have particular human favourites? How does he/she interact with human characters and influence human events? How does the deity manifest himself/herself on the human level?
5. What role does the god play within the narrative as a whole? Is this role important, or not? Here you should definitely go back to your notes (and handouts) from GC 213 to revisit discussions of the main themes, images, and turning points of the *Iliad*.
6. Is the divine dimension as a whole important for the *Iliad*? Is taken seriously by Homer? Or is the “divine apparatus” (as scholars have called it) merely a literary device? In either case, how does the life of the “immortals” compare with that of mortal heroes? How does it highlight important aspects of human life?

In all, you should aim to understand the nature and function of your chosen deity, the major myths about him/her that Homer uses, and the ways in which Homer adapts those myths to further the themes of his own poem. This is an essay about interpreting the role of a divine character in the *Iliad*: you should treat them in relation to the narrative and themes of the epic as a whole.

The deities most important for the *Iliad* are Zeus, Thetis, Apollo, Aphrodite, Athena, Juno, Poseidon, Ares, and Hephaestus. So for example, you might choose to write about Zeus in the *Iliad*, noting that Zeus is crucial to the poem, as it is the “will of Zeus” that lies behind the entire narrative of Achilles’ withdrawal and return. You might therefore look at the general functions of Zeus as sky-god, leader of the Olympians, upholder of justice, “king of gods and men”; explore Homer’s epithets, similes and other ways of describing him. When and why does Homer allude to Zeus’ birth to Cronos and Rhea, or his division of the cosmos with Hades and Poseidon, his marriage with Hera, his punishment of rebel gods, his many extra-marital affairs and other myths? How do characters pray to and worship Zeus? When and how does Zeus intervene in human affairs? When and why does he favour Hector? Achilles?

What do such passages contribute to the story of Achilles' anger, if anything? Or you might pick Thetis, seemingly a minor sea-nymph, but also potentially very powerful (see especially Slatkin), the immortal mother of a mortal warrior (Achilles), whom she helps and consoles.

Select bibliography

Your main "source" will be Homer's *Iliad*, and you should work primarily from this, using secondary works as secondary—for background, specific information, corroboration of your ideas, alternative views, and for further inspiration. The most helpful place to begin would be the index of names at the end of several translations, particularly that of Rieu (Penguin): these will help you to jump straight to passages relevant to your essay. Use this to your advantage, while not forgetting that individual passages need to be interpreted in their immediate contexts, and in the context of the epic as a whole. For detailed commentary on individual passages in the *Iliad*, consult the series edited by G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* (Oxford).

I. Other ancient works.

- The *Homeric Hymns* are a series of short poems about individual deities (e.g. *Hymn to Hermes*). Most are from the Archaic period but because of their stylistic similarities to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, they came to be known as "Homeric" hymns, even though they are probably not composed by "Homer." You might look at them with regard to questions #1 and 2 above.
- Apollodorus' *Library of Greek Mythology*. An ancient compendium of myths.
- Theoi.com has lots of information (and selections from ancient works) on the whole range of gods (*theoi*) and heroes.

II. General works on Greek religion, mythology and on Homer (all in the Library).

Bremmer, J. 1994. *Greek Religion* (Oxford University Press)

Burkert, W. 1984. *Greek Religion* (Blackwell). This is the main scholarly survey of Greek religion as a whole but one chapter is dedicated to "The Gods," in which see especially the subsection "The Spell of Homer" (pp. 119-124).

Buxton, R. 2000. *Greek Religion* (Oxford University Press).

_____. 2004. *The Complete World of Greek Mythology* (Thames & Hudson). A survey of Greek Myth; see especially Part III "The Olympians."

Edwards, M. 1987. *Homer: Poet of the Iliad* (Johns Hopkins University Press). A survey of aspects of the *Iliad* and an excellent place to start.

Feeney, D.C. 1991. *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford).

Graf, F. 1993. *Greek Mythology* trans. T. Marier (Johns Hopkins University Press).

Griffin, J. 1980. *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford University Press). Do not miss Chapters 5 ("Gods and Goddesses") and 6 ("The Divine Audience and the Religion of the *Iliad*").

Guthrie, W.K. 1950. *The Greeks and their Gods* (Methuen). A clear, informative survey.

See especially Chapter IV, "Gods and Men in Homer."

Hard, R. 2008. *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology: Based on H.J. Rose's Handbook of Greek Mythology* (Routledge). Contains separate, informative chapters on each deity.

Kirk, G. 1977. *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Penguin).

Woodard, R. 2007. *Cambridge Companion to Greek mythology* (Cambridge University Press).

See especially Nagy's "Homer and Greek Myth."

Yamagata, N. 1993. *Homeric Morality* (Brill). Deals extensively with justice and the gods.

III. More particular studies. The following are in the Library, but depending on your choice of deity, you should search *L'Année Philologique* and JSTOR, focusing on more recent articles (from ca. 1970 on). Research means looking around, reading, taking notes and synthesizing what you are reading, for your own purposes. It's rare that you will find a book or article that directly discusses your *exact* topic, so don't be discouraged: embrace the chaos of the creative process!

Deacy, S. 2008. *Athena* (Routledge). See esp. Chapter 4, “Heroes, Heroines and the Trojan War.”
Dowden, K. 2006. *Zeus* (Routledge).
Graf, F. 2009. *Apollo* (Routledge). See esp. Chapter 1, “Apollo in Homer.”
Lloyd-Jones, H. 1971. *The Justice of Zeus* (University of California Press).
Slatkin, L.M. 1995. *The Power of Thetis* (University of California Press).

GC350 GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION ESSAY PROJECT

Autumn Resit 2019 for topic relating to GC217:

Power and the People in Imperial Rome.

Dr Jonathan Davies

How far is it possible to reconstruct the motives and ideologies of ancient anti-Roman rebels?

The Early Imperial period saw a number of well-documented episodes of mass insurrection, when people in various provinces rose *en masse* in attempts to expel the Roman governing authorities and establish independence for their region from Roman rule. Studying these revolts can potentially offer us insights into the thinking and ideology of people who opposed Roman rule; however, we are faced with the potentially very serious problem that all of our literary accounts of these episodes are written not by rebels themselves, but from a Roman perspective. In this essay, you will focus on four particular episodes of mass provincial insurrection from the first and early second centuries AD:

- The revolt of the Iceni people of Britain, led by Queen Boudicca, in AD 60–61;
- The First Jewish Revolt in Judaea, beginning in AD 66;
- The revolt of the Batavians in the Netherlands, as well as neighbouring Gaullish and German peoples, led by Julius Civilis in AD 69;
- The Bar Kokhba Revolt in Judaea, in the reign of Hadrian.

In particular, you should carefully read our ancient accounts of these rebellions and identify what the ancient authors have to say about the motives and ideology of the rebel movements and their leaders; you should consult modern scholarship on these revolts, which may question some of the claims made by the ancient authors or suggest additional plausible reasons for the revolts which ancient authors overlook or suppress; and you should think about whether or not it is possible to get behind these accounts and reconstruct ancient rebel ideologies.

You can choose whether to study all four of these Revolts, or, if you prefer, to focus on three of them. However, you may **not** discuss fewer than three of these revolts. If you decide to focus on three, then you should ensure that the one that you omit should be **one** of the two revolts which took place in Judaea, to give your essay broad geographical scope: thus, those opting to focus on three revolts will study Boudicca, the Batavian revolt, and **either** the First Jewish Revolt **or** the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Here are a few things you might like to consider in your answer:

- For the most part (with the exception of the First Jewish Revolt), we are dependent on Roman or Greek literary perspectives on these rebellions. Thus we do not get to hear the “authentic” voices of ancient rebels. When Tacitus explains why Boudicca chose to

lead a rebellion, what we are reading is not an ancient rebel perspective on Roman injustice, but a privileged Roman's attempts to reconstruct and imagine an ancient rebel perspective on Roman injustice. Does this necessarily diminish the plausibility of Tacitus' account? How likely is it that Tacitus has correctly and accurately discerned the motivations of the rebel leaders?

- Are there any sources outside of the literary accounts (e.g. the coins minted by the Jewish rebels of 66, or Bar Kokhba's papyrologically-preserved letters) which might get us closer to actual rebel ideologies?
- What literary considerations might affect and shape the motives which Greek and Roman authors attribute to these rebel movements?

Remember, we are not looking for a simple narrative of these revolts, or a restatement of what ancient writers say about them. To answer the question well, you will need to critically examine the ancient accounts of these mass movements, identify and discuss the motives and ideologies which both ancient and modern authors attribute to these rebel movements, and ask whether it is possible to use these accounts as the basis for a confident reconstruction of ancient rebel ideologies.

Good luck!

Reading List

Ancient Sources:

Boudicca:

Tacitus, *Annals* 14.29-37 (read in the Penguin Classics translation by Michael Grant, in the library). You may like to read this alongside the relevant sections of N. Miller (1987), *Tacitus Annals 14: A Companion Volume to Book 14 of Tacitus: The Annals of Imperial Rome*, in the library.

Tacitus, *Agricola* 14-16. A much briefer account, from Tacitus' biography of his father-in-law Agricola, governor of Britain in the Flavian period. Read in it Mattingly's translation in Penguin Classics, in the library.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 62.1-12. A later account, perhaps based in part on Tacitus, but also mentioning a number of factors not mentioned by Tacitus. Highly rhetorical, Boudicca's long speech lists many British grievances with Roman rule. Read it in the Loeb translation, which can be accessed online through the library website.

First Jewish Revolt:

Tacitus, *Histories* 5.8-10. A very brief survey of Judaeian history under Roman rule, leading up to the outbreak of revolt. Pay special attention to the grievances which Tacitus (in no way sympathetic to the Jews) attributes to the population of Judaea under Roman governors. Read it in Wellesley's Penguin translation, in the library.

Josephus, *The Jewish War* 2.167-555. A very valuable text, written by a former Jewish rebel who later defected to the Roman side, this text describes Roman rule in the decades leading up to the revolt, in

an attempt to explain why the Jews revolted (read the introduction to the Penguin edition for basic biographical information on Josephus). Read it in Williamson's Penguin translation, in the library (the relevant section is Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

Batavian Revolt

Tacitus, *Histories* 4.12-5.26. This revolt is complicated by the fact that took place, and was intertwined with, a major Roman civil war at the same time, and Tacitus' narrative hops between the two conflicts. It may help you to read the clear overview of the revolt at <http://www.livius.org/articles/concept/batavian-revolt/> before launching into Tacitus. Read it in Wellesley's Penguin translation, in the library.

Bar Kokhba Revolt

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 69.12-14: a very brief survey of what was clearly a major revolt. Read it in the Loeb edition, which can be accessed online through the library website, or at <http://www.livius.org/sources/content/cassius-dio/cassius-dio-on-bar-kochba/>

Historia Augusta, *Life of Hadrian* 14: a very short notice on the Revolt, but one which adds a significant new claim to what is stated by Dio. Read it here: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Historia_Augusta/Hadrian/1*.html

Secondary Reading:

General treatments of provincial revolts:

S. Dyson (1971), "Native revolts in the Roman Empire", in *Historia* 20(2), 239-274 (available online through the library website). A comparative examination of a number of Roman provincial revolts, including the case studies for this assignment, which attempts to apply modern sociological models to these events.

G. Woolf (2011), "Provincial revolts in the Early Roman Empire", in M. Popović (ed.) (2011), *The Jewish Revolt against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Leiden), pp. 27-44. (Available online through the library website). A general discussion, less interested in sociology than Dyson, but more sensitive to historiographical issues, both ancient and modern.

Boudicca:

E. Adler (2011), *Valorizing the Barbarians: Enemy Speeches in Roman Historiography* (Austin, TX) (available online through the library website). Read Part 3, pp. 117-162, on Boudicca's speech in Tacitus and Cassius Dio. A helpful discussion of how literary factors may shape ancient authors' presentation of the causes of revolts.

M. Roberts (1988), "The revolt of Boudicca (Tacitus, *Annals* 14.29-39) and the assertion of *libertas* in Neronian Rome", in *American Journal of Philology* 109, pp. 118-132. (Available online through the library website). An interesting discussion of how Tacitus' reconstruction of Boudicca's revolt relates to his depiction of freedom and domination in Roman politics.

D. Mattingly (2006), *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (London), pages 101-113, "Continued resistance and rebellions". Surveys a number of episodes of anti-Roman insurrection or resistance, including the Boudiccan revolt, and is primarily concerned with the extent to which it is possible to reconstruct a British perspective on these events.

First Jewish Revolt:

J. S. McLaren (2011), "Going to war against Rome: the motivations of the Jewish rebels", in M. Popovic (ed.) (2011), *The Jewish Revolt against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Leiden), pp. 129-153, available online through the library website. Surveys and examines possible motivations for the Revolt, both from Josephus and as suggested in modern scholarship.

P. Bilde (1979), "The cause of the Jewish Revolt according to Josephus", in *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 10(2), pp. 179-202. (Available online through the library website). A careful reading of the Josephan account of the causes of the outbreak of revolt.

T. Rajak (2002), "Jewish millenarian expectations", in A. Berlin and J. Overman (edd.) (2002), *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History and Ideology* (London), pp. 164-212. (Available online through the library website). An interesting discussion of whether or not Jewish religious ideologies connected with Messianic expectations contributed to the outbreak of the First Revolt.

M. Goodman (1987), *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome, AD 66-70* (Cambridge), **ESPECIALLY pages 1-25**, but also pages 29-50. (Available online through the library website).

Batavian Revolt:

P. A. Brunt (1960), "Tacitus on the Batavian Revolt", in *Latomus* 19(3), pp. 494-517. (Available online through the library website). A classic survey and critical examination of Tacitus' account, particularly good on the question of whether or not the rebels aimed at the creation of a "Gallic Empire".

H. Haynes (2003), *A History of Make-Believe: Tacitus on Imperial Rome* (Austin, TX). (Available online through the library website). Read Chapter 5 (pp. 148-178), on the Batavian leader Civilis. A difficult read, but a very rewarding and suggestive examination of Tacitus' portrayal of the Batavian Revolt as *both* a "barbarian" rising *and* a Roman civil war, with Civilis setting himself up as a rival emperor to Vespasian.

M. Aldhouse-Green (2010), *Caesar's Druids: The Story of an Ancient Priesthood* (New Haven). (Available online through the library website). Read chapter 12, pp. 231-250, "Druids Underground", which considers the role of religion in Celtic rebellions against Rome, including the Batavian Revolt (note the importance of Druids at several points in Tacitus' narrative).

Bar Kokhba Revolt:

B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer (1985), "The revolt of bar Kokhba: ideology and modern scholarship", in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 36, 33-60. (Not in the library: I will make it available on Moodle). A good general survey of sources and scholarship on this Revolt, with an excellent section on its causes.

M. Mor (2016), *The Second Jewish Revolt: The Bar Kokhba War, 132-136 CE* (Leiden and Boston) (Available online through the library website). Read Chapter 1, on the causes of the revolt. A good modern survey.

P. Schaeffer (ed.) (2003), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered* (Tübingen). Read Chapter 5 ("Roman religious policy and the Bar Kokhba War", pp. 37-54) and 6 ("The ban of circumcision as a cause of the Revolt: a reconsideration", pp. 55-70).

