# Week 1

## Lecture 1: The Timeline

Lecturer: Dr Maria Mili

Translations:

* Odyssey – Emily Wilson

Seminars – group discussion about reading material

Persian Wars – at the end of the war Classical Greece has been created (democracy, unity of Greeks, sculptures, philosophy, drama – everything is there)

Mycenean civilisation:

* Mycene at its centre
* Advanced civ
* Writing is Linear B

Ancient Greece:

* Simple huts
* No writing
* Essentially nothing

Homer – stories, adventures  
Hesiod – encyclopaedias, lists

Epigraphic evidence:

* Graffiti on pots
* Dedicatory inscriptions
* Decrees
* Laws

Material evidence (Art Historical approaches and Contextual approaches):

* Pottery
* Sculpture
* Architecture
* Settlements, remains
* Burials
* Sanctuaries

Dark Ages – some traces of advanced technology and jewellery have been found on Lefkandi, Euboia

Geometric Period: Rise of the polis

* Rise in population
* Dense habitation
* Emergence of elites
* Emergence of smth like citizenship
* Importance of religion (from rulers’ dwellings to temples?)
* From pastoralism to more intense agricultural exploitation of landscape (Hesiod, *Work and Days*)

Archaic Period (7th century, Orientalizing period)

* Intense political strife
* Symposium culture
* Extravagant wealth, access to luxury goods
* Emergence of monumental sculpture, architecture (mythological creatures represented)

Archaic Period (6th century, cont.)

* The Age of Tyrants (Peisistratos, Athens; Polykrates Samos)
  + Villains or Heroes?
  + Monumentalization of civix space
  + Important public works
  + New popular festivals
* Establishment of democracy, Athens

Panhellenic – All of Greece

* Tribal identities – Doric, Ionic, Aeolian
* Amphictyonies: groups around a cult (Delphi, Poseidon Kalaureia)
* Civic polis identities
* Panhellenic identities

Main societies afterwards: Sparta and Athens

## Lecture 2: Odyssey: A community in disarray

Lecturer: Matthew Fox

Trojan war isn’t retold (only implicitly)

Plot essentials:

* Opening situation – what leads to action and the end
  + aftermath of Trojan war – first major war in the West represented in literature
  + Od stranded with Calypso
  + Od’s home besieged by suitors – **closed, narrow setting**

Two plot arcs – stories of survival from two sides

* Action
  + Telemachus’ voyage of discovery
  + Od’s return
    - Involves long flashback narrative
  + Telemachus and Od reunited
    - Two narrative threads reunite in book 15, father and son unknown to each other
* Conclusion
  + Slaughter of the Suitors
  + Od and Penelope reunited

Main focus of the plot:

The son being an only child raises the stakes and emphasises the reunion.

* **Family**: from confused and isolated **to** united
* **Household**: from financial and social ruin **to** restoration
* How is this change produced?

*Oikos ­*– literally *house:*

* House, household, estate, husband, family, workers and slaves
* Homeric *oikos*: imaginary or real?
* The gods: representing the divine order, standard moral behaviour, ensuring human communities have the right values (host/guest, responsibilities, 4.805-7 (“Are you asleep? And are you still upset? / The gods who live at ease have no desire / for you to weep or worry.”
* Communities of the imagination
  + The Phaeacians
  + The Cyclopes
  + Lotus eaters
  + The Dead

What is the proper order of things?

* Husband in charge (everything in ruin without that)
* Son legitimate and like his father (genes, behaviour, morality
* Wife obedient and not the object of male attention
* **The interesting part of The Od is how it gets to this normality**

Aegisthus and Odysseus: aftermath of the Trojan War, family in disarray, suitors.

Penelope and wife of Agamemnon

Gods as representations of order start intervening – Athena as the plot’s catalyst

Agamemnon = anti-Od

Visual imagery a large part of the poem as the only form of entertainment.

*Nostos* – story of the return from war (usually Trojan)

Introduction:

* Narrative and dialogue between gods, godlike protagonists and side characters (~2/3 is dialogue)
* Focalisation: moving from individual to groups
* Delays Od until book 5 – enables 2nd beginning

## Lecture 3: Archaeological Fundamentals

Tutor – Michael Given (archaeologist)

Troy – rich:

* Great agricultural land
* Along a shipping and land route

Scaean gates – early Bronze Age (EBA)

Troy levels: II (EBA) VI (MBA/LBA) VII (end of LBA, 1300-1100) IX (Roman)

LBA Troy: large and powerful city, controlling Hellespont, excellent agricultural land

**Archaeology cannot prove Homer!**

Mycenae power:

* Mountain passes
* Huge labour force
* Agricultural surplus to spend time on defensive walls
* Lion Gate: military (also Warrior vase c. 1200 BC), royal power
* Megaron
* Disposable wealth
* Walls: Statement of defensive power, power over labour
* Military ideology
* Megaron: palace architecture for display of status & power
* The site doesn’t and can’t ‘prove’ Homer

Homer and archaeology:

* Relics from Bronze Age
  + Dendra Panoply, early 14th century BC (boar tusks on helmet, Iliad 10.261-5 mentions those)
  + LBA palace in Pylos: colourful, with frescoes, Odyssey 6.299-309
  + Chariots: used mainly as a weapon in war, though Iliad features them only as transport
* Homer’s time
  + Hero cult judging from tombs
  + Hoplite (armed men) warfare (vase c. 640 BC) (Iliad 4.446)
  + Greek *polis* (city-state)
    - Independent political unit with clear boundaries
    - The individual as a citizen
    - Defined citizen body
    - Citizen army: hoplites (women, children and the poor were not included)
    - Common cult (usually 1 deity)
    - Sense of past
    - Iliad: Achilles’ shield
    - *Polis* rising as a revolution, Homer supporting and driving it

Politics in Homer:

* Iliad: relations between chiefs
* Odyssey: political succession in a vacuum
* Debates and councils with clear rules
* Contrast with description of Cyclopes (Odyssey 9.112-5):
  + Institutions
  + Meetings for counsels
  + Same rule of law for everyone

# Week 2

## Lecture 4: Was Homer a woman?

Samuel Butler’s *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (1897) is a funny piece of “evidence”

Read Emily Wilson’s introduction about when the oral tradition was written down

**HW**: give roles to all the women in the Odyssey

Penelope (1.328-44)

* “veil” – **modesty**, obscurity, mystery
* “slave girls” – wealth, status
* “in tears” – setting the emotional register, empathising with the character
* Links the famous public story to the individual and their emotions

Women and patriarchal order:

* Greek society patriarchal: strong emphasis on male lineage (classical Athens as a contrast – Athenian parentage needed on both sides to be an Athenian) and values
  + Domestic order in Ithaca is that a man stands as the leader – Odysseus
* Representations of women: focus on “otherness”
  + Nausicaa as plot tension
  + Scylla and Charybdis: monsters who snatch and succ (spell destruction)
  + Do they appear at moments of peril for male characters? (Scylla and Charybdis, Sirens, …)
  + Add excitement?
  + Or reinforce male supremacy?

Women as disturbance:

* Circe: threatens Odysseus’ sexual potency
  + Represents questions about manhood (de-man) and humanity (human vs. pig)
* Calypso: obstacle to Odysseus’ return
  + Beginning of plot
  + Represents: stalling by the divine system, part of the paradox of Odysseus crying on the beach during the day and sleeping with her in the night
* Nausicaa: potential distraction
* Penelope: postpones recognition
  + Adds excitement to the story

Odysseus’ story about Agamemnon (11.397-462)

* The difference between slaughter at war and at home
* Who is telling the story
  + Odysseus to the Phaaecians
* Patriarchal narrative

Women move the plot:

* Arete [virtue]: the route home
  + 7.66-78 and 11.336-62
* Penelope tests Odysseus
  + Reveals herself as the centre of the plot
  + 23.111-2 “You must allow your mother to test me out…”

Women focalising emotions

* Penelope and the bard
* Odysseus weeps like a woman

Dead women

* Od’s mother Anticleia
  + First of the dead to speak after Tiresias
  + Reveals that Penelope is still alone
  + Produces an influential high-point of pathos: trying to hug the mother thrice
* The procession of heroines
* All of this used as persuasion for Phaaecians

Key elements

* Penelope’s fidelity
* Athena’s interventions
* Female monsters

## Lecture 5: Recognition and Resolution

Disguise as an element for creating suspense

Why disguise Od

* Playing with counterfactuals (alternative realities, futures, possibilities)
* Dramatic irony (audience can grasp the reality, while characters cannot) tension
* Drama of revelation

13.331-33: Contrast between Od, a complicated character, and an ordinary man

13.384-6 (“I would have died like Agamemnon”): counterfactual

* Counterfactuals based on no disguise

Dramatic Irony: scene with Penelope:

* 19.102-270: A difficult challenge for Od to keep disguise
* Underlines recurrent theme of truth vs. fiction, lying, mythologizing (“as in a fairy tale”)

A *pointless(?)* recognition scene:

* Laertes (24.226-382)
  + Does nothing to further the plot (no need for suspense and tension)
  + Milking father/son sentimentality?
  + Good example of “the Homeric question” (What was the OG Odyssey, what is its core? Neo-analysts: There was a small epic for Laertes added to The Od)
* Proxy father/son reunion from Cf. Priam and Achilles in Iliad 24
* Scene as an opportunity for excitement, dramatic irony, manipulation of audience emotion

Excitement of recognition:

* 16.173-200 Father and son: Od and Telemachus
  + The set-up with Athena and disguise: 16.154-172
  + Od’s own explanation of disguise: 16.208-13
  + Tension ends in tears of joy

Until there was artificial dye, purple was extracted only from shellfish, which is why it is a luxurious and expensive item gained from successful trading.

Emotion and plot structure:

* Recognition as a turnaround in the plot
  + Aristotle in *Poetics* (4th century): anagnorisis (repetition) and peripeteia (turnaround)
* Recognition as a staging post towards resolution – disguise produces delay/suspense
* Manipulating audience emotion key to effective plot design

“Closure” and resolution:

* Closure: the end
* No closure:
  + Tiresias’ prophecy: 11.100-37
  + “you will go home
  + “death… far from the sea” “Not die at sea”
* What closure is there
  + Suitors removed
  + Penelope and Od reunited
  + Suitors meet Agamemnon: added dimension of moral satisfaction
  + *Oikos* restored, entropy going backwards

Death of the suitors:

* Iliad comes to Ithaca: violence of war after the war
  + Violence at a domestic situation
* Melanthius steals Od’s weapons for the suitors
* Cleanup:
  + Melanthius: castrated
    - Graphic violence: higher level than Iliad
  + Purification: smoke and sulphur

Death of the maids:

* Prefigured:
  + 10.89-93 (Melanthius)
  + 19.490-502 (Euricleia)
  + 20.7-18 (Od plans)
* The maid clean up the mess
* Possibly worse than the violence of *The Iliad* because
  + Violence at home
  + Violence towards women

The marriage bed

* Penelope tricks Od:
  + “Well, Nanny, make a bed for me so I can rest.”
* Her justification:
  + “In every other way you are a very understanding man” (Helen (Trojan War wouldn’t have happened if Helen didn’t bring unexpected items in bagging area): 23.221-6)
* Being reunited: like shipwrecked sailors finding land
* Pillow talk: love or narrative
  + Athena “held night back”
  + Tiresias’ prophecy or continuation of peaceful domestic life
* The bed as a symbol:
  + Central to reconstructed *oikos*
  + Centrality reinforced by recap of story between Pen and Od
* Recognition:
  + Coming to the realisation of the rightful identity of characters
    - Pen the wife
    - Telemachus the son
    - Od the father and husband
    - Laertes the father

## Lecture 6: The Landscape

Isthmus: land between Gulf of Corinth and Saronic Gulf

* Controls sea travel
* Sea trading
* Agricultural land

Athens:

* Close to sea
* Important religious buildings

Attica: triangle around Athens, part of Boeotia

Phyli classical fort, northern Attica

* Steep cliffs hard to attack/besiege
* Natural resources: rock for quarries, timber, grazing

Sparta:

* Separation (communication, etc) by mountains (Taygetos)

Cyprus:

* Very dry

Aigina:

* Agricultural terraces, a lot of labour going into those

Dimitsana (central Peloponnese), city on top of hill:

* Cool breeze
* Defence
* Irrigation

“Mediterranean triad” (most important crops):

* Cereals
  + Nikosthenes’ cup (late 6th century BC):
    - Hesiod, *Works & Days*, 465-473
  + Model of ploughing (Boeotia, 6th century BC): oxen
  + Achilles’ shield, *Iliad*, 18.541-7
    - Pride in the huge amount of work
  + Reaping
    - Two pruning hooks & sickle (Olynthus)
    - Achilles’ shield, *Iliad*, 18.550-8
  + Threshing (by trampling of animals’ feet)
    - *Iliad*, 20.495-7 (simile of threshing for war trampling, audience knows agriculture)
  + Winnowing
    - *Iliad*, 5.499-502
* Olives
  + Harvesting
    - Black figure amphora by the Antimenes Painter (530-510 BC)
    - Hitting the olive tree with sticks and collecting with sheet
  + Lever press with weight
    - Attic skyphos (steep, tall cup), 6th century BC
* Vines
  + Dionysus on many drinking wine cups, wine is his gift
  + Hesiod, *Works and Days*¸611-7

Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project

1. Collecting pottery by walking in lines through fields
2. Dating and identifying the pottery
3. Digitising and data entry
4. Creating maps of pottery density

Polis = astu (town) + chora (countryside)

Sanctuary of the muses, Boeotia:

* Theatre
* Altar
* Statues of the Muses
* Stoa

# Week 3

## Lecture 7: Od: Telling Tales (Final ;-;)

Metapoetics: stories told by poets

* Phemius (in Ithaca)
  + Appears right at the start
  + Penelope weeps
    - The Od reflects poetry through Penelope’s complaints about the poem
  + “Poets are not to blame for how things are; Zeus is; he gives to each as is his will.”
    - The divine order as the highest moral compass
* Demodocus (Phaeacian poet) (8.43-4; 62-97; 470-541)
  + Od weeps, but he appreciates the poet
    - Contrast between Phaeacian joy and Od’s
  + Massive digression: Ares and Aphrodite
    - Homer as a show-off; the poet likes to be able to do different types of narrative: extending a poet’s range
* Alcinous’ response to Od’s weeping
  + Distraction (the games) (8.97)
    - Od almost gives himself away

Songs in Book 8:

* Trials for Odysseus
* Reveals the Phaeacians as a receptive audience
* He is challenged to show his physical skill
  + “I could not do my exercise routine” Emily Wilson: iambic pentameter, Miltonian, modernising the Od
* They prepare the ground for his own narrative

What sort of poetry (by Achilles in *Iliad* and others)

* *Klea andron*: the famous acts of men
* The Trojan war as the subject of songs, poems,
  + The subject for Helen’s tapestry (*Iliad*)
* Questions human priorities…?

Odysseus the storyteller:

* To the Phaeacians
* To Eumaeus
* To Penelope
* Lying as showing off,
* Motivation for false stories: persuasion to the advantage of Od (clothing for dramatic irony)
* What they achieve: stalling, showing how “crafty, wily, cunning” Od is

Fantasy and fable

* Od telling these because he noticed how much Phaeacians love them
* Simple moral lessons
  + “Do as you are told”: The cattle of Helios
* Different forms of culture
  + “My people think nothing of that Zeus…”: unimaginable for Hesiod
  + Hades: heroes and villains; a global perspective; issues about morality through an entertaining poem
  + Sirens: universal knowledge about Troy and everything else

Odysseus as an audience, too

Narration and meta-narration

* Exemplary audience: We, the Phaeacians
* Internal audience: is our reaction to Odysseus different from Penelope’s?
* Intertextuality: *Odyssey* on *Iliad*
* Poetry produces empathetic, morally upright individuals (?)

## Lecture 8: Theogony

Prof. Jan Stenger ([jstenger@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:jstenger@glasgow.ac.uk))

Hesiod vs. Homer:

* Homer: illusive; Hesiod: transparent
* Common: audience for poems
* Hesiod: tells explicitly about the poem’s nature

Hesiod:

* First portrait of the author in European literature
  + His name is mentioned
  + Claims that he has received divine inspiration
* Home: Ascra, Boeotia (vs Ionian “school”)
* Late 8th century BC
* New themes: moral and practical maxims, information on technical subject of daily life, religion, and genealogies
* Hesiod or the Hesiodic persona; tradition vs individual voice
* Same poetic tradition as Homer: oral tradition of song (similar phrases, topics)
* Not known how close the poems now are to the poems recorded in the early centuries of Greek literacy

Hesiod’s works:

* Theogony (1022 lines)
  + Family affairs of the gods
  + Cosmic order (explains and justifies)
  + Beginnings of abstract reflection
  + Art, not cult text; theology vs entertainment
  + Iambic hexameter verses
* Works and Days (828 lines)
  + Didactic (intending to teach) poem
  + How and when to run a small farm
  + Harsh cosmic order
* The Shield of Heracles (480 lines)
  + Story of Alkmene, Amphitryon
  + Heracles’ killing of Kyknos
  + Description of his shield
* The Catalogue of Women (Ehoiai, fragments)
  + Genealogical organisation
  + Includes stories of the descendants of Aeolus, Inachus, Pelasgus, the daughters of Atlas
* (Homer’s *Iliad*: 16,000 lines)

Iambic hexameter verses

Chronology not clear

Other extant theogonies:

* Orphic theogony
* Near Eastern tradition: a Hittite text relating a Hurrian story; oldest preserved Indo-European succession myth
  + Hesiod’s appears more civilised and refined in comparison

Cosmogony:

* First **Chasm** (“Chaos”: no modern meaning, meaning – “Void”), then **Gaia/Earth**, **Tartara**, **Eros** (desire, sexual romance)
* 1st generation
  + Children of Chaos
    - Erebos
    - Night
  + Children of Gaia
    - Heaven (Ouranos)
  + Children of Gaia and Ouranos
    - Titans
      * Oceanus
      * Kronos
      * Rhea
      * Iapetos
      * Themis
      * Etc
    - Cyclopes
    - Hundred-Handers
      * Kottos
      * Briareos
      * Gyges
* Succession myth #1
  + Ouranos hated the children from the beginning, hid them in a cave. Gaia retaliated by creating grey adamant and giving a sickle to the children (Kronos took it). Kronos castrated Ouranos. Aphrodite born from the foam made by the genitals hitting the sea. Gaia made the Giants with the blood spilled.
  + Cult places are mentioned
  + 2nd generation can be born only after Gaia and Ouranos separate
* Children of Night: activity-able characters:
  + Doom
  + Dark fate
  + Death
  + Sleep
  + Blame
  + Painful misery
  + Deceit
  + Intimacy
  + Old Age
  + Strife
  + Resentment
  + Fates
  + Furies
* Succession myth #2
  + Kronos eats his children to keep power, Rhea hides last child (Zeus), Zeus gets revenge, makes Kronos spew out his siblings, frees Cyclopes
* Succession myth #3
  + Titanomachy: the War of the Titans
  + Displacement of Titans by gods
  + Help by Hundred-Handers
* Succession myth #4
  + Typhonomachy: defeat of Typhoeus
* The Underworld (Tartarus)
  + Horrors have a place, explicitly distanced from our world
  + Progression from a universe rules by violence and crude forces of nature to a world of order guaranteed by anthropomorphic and essentially humans gods
* World of Zeus:
  + Wife 1: Metis
    - Swallowed her, succeeded in comparison to Kronos, Ouranos
  + Wife 2: Themis
    - Horai (Seasons): Lawfulness, Justice, Peace
    - Morai

Male vs. female:

* Male
  + Blocks generational change and instability
  + Lust and jealousy hoarded power
  + *Bia* (force)
* Female:
  + Generative principle
  + Destabilising force
  + Rage and resentment a
  + Metis (guile)

Eros vs. Eris:

* Eros (love) brings things together while Eris (strife) tears them apart: the two forces make cosmogony possible, but they also continually destabilise the process

## Lecture 9: Works and Days

* Didactic poem: 1st person narrator
  + Addressee: Perses, the brother
  + Secondary addressee: the “lords”
  + Reason: Perses engaged in a lawsuit with the speaker, won by bribing the judges (the “kings”)
* A practical guide to living and prospering in the ancient Greek world
* Morality and the practice of it

Works: instruction on agricultural tasks  
Days: instruction on days of the month that are favourable or unfavourable for different purposes  
Overall: the wisdom of Hesiod

Second, added kind of Strife in *Works and Days*:

* First, negative: conflict
* Second, positive: competitive spirit that brings out of the best of humanity, causes progression, development of humanity
* Gods as symbols of how things are in *Theogony* and how things could be in *Works and Days*

Perses as the addressee:

* Highly individualised speaker vs. the highly generalised content (advice to Perses applies to everyone)
* Homeric vs. Hesiodic values: the kings are right vs. the kinds as “bribe-swallowers”

Prometheus, Pandora:

* Pandora: the beautiful evil (“lovely form of a maiden”, “bitch’s mind”)
* Hope shown as ambiguous as Pandora herself
* The jar as a doublet of Pandora: attractive on the outside, a bane within
* Hope is a necessary illusion that informs human life and makes it bearable
* Hope characterises the human condition

Misogyny:

* Semonides of Amorgos:
  + Pig (dirty), fox (cunning), donkey (stubborn), mare (arrogant), monkey (ugly), dog (high-maintenance
  + Bee: working
* Women as aetiology (cause, study of causes) of scarcity
  + Men must toil in order to sustain themselves

Two viewpoints:

* *Theogony*: mankind is viewed externally, from the perspective of the gods
* *Works and Days*: internal perspective

Ages of men (deterioration or cyclical movement?):

1. Golden
2. Silver
3. Bronze
4. Heroes, demigods
5. Iron (current)
   1. Future: pessimistic image

The fable of the hawk and the nightingale:

* Hawk: “Goodness, why are you screaming? You are in the power of one much superior, and you will go whichever way I take you […]”
* The fable a contrast to how things should be

Natural world:

* Things as they are: might prevails
* Gratification of the desire of the powerful

Human universe:

* Things as they could be: justice, Right over might
* Ruled by justice under surveillance of Zeus

After introduction, general advice:

* Knowledge over experience
* Emphasis of work
* Short, proverbial, gnomic utterances, often abrupt and primitive
* Accurate (?) account of the life of an agricultural community.
* Picking a wife
* Friendship, savoir vivre, fertility, urination
* Astrology: lucky and unlucky days
* *Easier to live in a world that is shaped by this infor*

Overall:

* *Works and Days* encapsulated the wisdom of the fields and the sea, but also global content, vision of what the world **could** be (justice
* Binary oppositions (work/idleness, justice/crime)
* Individualised speaker vs highly generalised content

# Week 4

## Lecture 10: Burials and Settlements

8th century revolution:

* Formation of polis (city-state: city and its surroundings, a community)
* Different constitutions: democracy, oligarchy, monarchy, some common basic principles
* Broad-based decision making
* Common citizenship
* Land ownership superior to other forms of property

Nichoria, 10th century BC

Pastoralism (owning big stretches of land) (not proven, hypothesis):

Lefkandi at Euboia:

* Symbolic burial ground
* Buried with golden jewellery, weapons

8th century settlement expansion:

* More social interaction

Settlement organisation: Eretria

* Organised

Argos burial evidence:

* Also more organised
* Common civil centre free of burials

Burial expenditure:

Emergence of sanctuaries:

* Offerings
  + Small bronze figurines
  + Weapons
  + Tripods: one of the most elite items

Anthony Snadgrass

Elite strike back in 7th century:

Ian Morris:

* Elitist ideology: working mostly outside civic space (symposium, panhellenic sanctuaries). Expressed in poets like Homer, Alcaeus
* Middling ideology: Expressed in poets lie Hesiod, Tyrtaeus

## Lecture 11: Drinking and Poetry

*Lyrikos* = related to the lyre, music

*Melos* = “song”, sung poetry (not elegy and iambus (recited))

Modern “lyric” = all poetry, excluding epic and drama

Greek “lyric”

Elegy:

* Today: a poem or song that expresses sadness, especially for sb who has died
* This definition rarely applies to Greek elegies
* Elegiac couplet: a pair of metrical lines; a single hexameter followed by a single pentameter; Greeks have one or a varying number of them
* Content: largely dominated by material realities (love, death, class, politics, war); great variety, broad range of topics
* Focus on human world (contrast: the divine sphere in Homer’s epics)
* Defining feature: rhyme and metre

Iambus:

* Metrical term referring to the iamb (one short, one long syllable)
* Character: satiric, lampoon, sarcastic
* Ritual mockery and insult
* Topics: often seemingly autobiographical, on military and sexuality, also eating
* Functions: criticism and slander
* E.g., Archilocus:
  + Invective, derogatory
  + Obscene language
  + Sexuality, male perspective

Lyric / melic poetry:

* Great variety in subject matter, purpose, length, metre
* Mode of performance and musical accomplishment difficult to establish
* Virtually impossible to give a clear-cut definition
* Essential characteristics: form (metre, rhythm), performance setting (symposium, festival)
* E.g., Anacreon:
  + Love, erotic desire
  + Dialogue between poetic “I” and addressee
  + Emotional experience, loss of control
  + Reflection of personal feelings?
* Core characteristics:
  + Choral vs solo performance (audience experience)
    - Texts themselves do not give this context
    - Fundamental difference to the experience of performers and audience
    - Affects entire performance setting
    - Makes a difference in the poet-audience relationship
  + Elite vs Non-elite: social milieu (setting)
  + Sung or Spoken
* Small-scale pieces
* Occasional poetry: commemorating or dramatising specific event
* Personal voice (“I”, contrast to Odysseus)

Only the poetry has survived, not its accompanying music => understanding of the texts is much more difficult

Greek lyrics:

* 650-500 BCE
* “Beginning”
* Geography: mainly Ionia, but also mainland Greece, Sicily

Why it’s important:

* History: evidence, viewpoint of the classes
* Human condition

Obstacles to understanding Greek lyric:

* Loss of the OG music
* Lack of info on the performance context (only references to the poems themselves)
* Ancient info on the poets’ lives unreliable
* Randomness of textual transmission; most of the output has not survived

The symposium:

* “drinking together”: *syn-pinein*: emphasis on the aspect of company, social event
* Central part of aristocratic Greek culture
* Taking place in the *andron* (banqueting hall)
* No women admitted (apart from hetairai: female entertainers and prostitutes)
* Time for conversations, listening to music and diversion
* E.g., Alcman, fr.19:
  + Dining couches, tables
  + *Krater*: mixing vessel, wine usually diluted with water
* Stages of the part:
  + *Deipnon*: meal
  + Symposium
  + Komos: drinking party, merry making

Sympotic entertainment:

* Drinking games
* Snacks
* Sex
* Serious talks (Plato’s *Symposium*)

Poetry in the symposium:

* Individual recitation of poetry of varying length and form
* Variety of literary forms
* E.g., Xenophanes:
  + Religious element to drinking party
    - Sacrifices
  + Morality, good things
  + Rejection of Homer and Hesiod: reverence towards the gods

A songbook: “Theognis”

* Megara, hometown
* Ethical and political nature (social change, newcomers, unrest, justice, friendship)
* Erotica (pederasty)
* A collection of poems, probably assembled over a long period, not the work of one individual author, Theognis might represent an anonymous figure of authority
* Rules of behaviour, group values
* Presented in opposites (good/bad, moderation/excess)
* Conservative stance
* Dialogic elegy: addressee is a boy (Cyrnus), participant of the symposium, love-object
  + Perspective from youth

## Lecture 12: Drinking and Pottery

### Pottery

Geometric: 1050 (end of LBA) - 750 BC

(*skyphos*: deeper drinking compass)

Archaic (750-480 BC):

* Orientalising (7th century)
  + Flowers as decoration
  + Naturalistic
* (*olpe*: jug)
* Corinthian
* Athenian black figure
  + Painting a black figure on red/orange background and scratching in details
* Athenian Red Figure
  + Black background

### Drinking

(*kylix*: shallow drinking cup)

(*pelike*: jar for wine, water, or oil)

Amphora: wine is brought by this jar

Krater: big mixing bowl

Kottabos: game of skill where cups are flicked into a larger bowl

Humour:

* Images on pots and cups:
  + serving boys running (what they should be doing),
  + person vomiting,
  + eye-cups (changes of identity, mask)
* Ridiculously wide and shallow cups: drinkers trying not to spill anything
* Penis-handle (Bomford cup 525-500 BC)

**Epiktetos: greatest potter**

Greeks drank wine that was heavily diluted. Foreigners depicted drinking wine “neat”

Psykter: wine-cooler

*Komast*: reveller

Pulling Pentheus, king of Thebes, limb from limb. Euripides’ play The Bacchae

Greek vases and symposium:

* Impact on viewer (drinker, fellows, hosts, serving boys, musicians)
* Challenging drinker’s actions and identity
* Active material culture

# Week 5

## Lecture 13: Essay advice, Bibliography

Glasgow website library > JSTOR

Chicago/Harvard (author-date) referencing

## Lecture 14: Civil Strife and Politics: Lyric 2 (Electric Boogaloo)

Alcaeus and Mytilene:

* Alcaeus: poet-cum-politician (*cum*: Latin for ‘with’, joins two titles together), lyric production, 600-580 BCE
* Melanchrus: tyrant of Mytilene
* Myrsilus: tyrant of Mytilene, successor of Mytilene
* Pittacus: at first Alcaeus’ comrade and Myrsilus’ opponent, changed sides, tyrant himself, chosen by the people, 590-80, later included in the famous Seven Sages
* Alcaeus’ *hetaireia* (friends): political ‘club’, aristocrats of Mytilene, audience of his poems (NOT *hetaira* = prostitute)
* Other aristocratic clans with political ambitions

Alcaeus’ *Myrsilus*:

* Emphasis on individual experience on sea, not a detached and factual account
* *Stasis* (turmoil, trouble): political connotations
* Voice of ‘I’ and ‘us’: the group (with audience) facing danger together
* Allegory for the political turmoil in Mytilene
* The ship can stand for the entire *polis* in danger or for Alcaeus’ group
* Contribution of poetry: not a description of daily politics, but a reflection of personal experience => appraisal of the situation
* Imagery particularly capable of conveying the sense of **company**, the interdependence of the group members, facing **existential dangers** that threaten the *polis*
* Implied message: ‘let’s stand together against the enemy’
* ‘Ship of State’: best known contribution of Alcaeus to the tradition of European literature (Plato’s *Republic*, Horace’s *Odes*)

Alcaeus’ *The poet in exile*

Theognis 319-22 (Teaching):

* Authoritative stance
* External circumstances may change (fortune), but character stays the same
* Fundamental distinctions by virtue of morals
* (Creator of the slang ‘basic’)

Theognis 675-9 (Social and political change in Megara):

* ‘us’ and ‘them’, noble and base: dichotomy of society
* Leadership of the noble men => order, stability, common welfare
* Challenges by the base people, nouveau riches
* Partisan view, not a balanced analysis

Theognis’ construction of society:

* Opposition between the ‘noble’ (*kaloi*) and the ‘base’ (*kakoi*)
* Dichotomy in *polis* society, seemingly clear-cut boundaries: aiming at clarity, black-and-white picture
* Vagueness: who are they, how can they be recognised?
* ‘noble’ and ‘base’ not only moral, but also discuss social pre-eminence => drawing boundaries between social and political groups
* Theognis’ elegies establish some markers that can’t be exclusively assigned to one domain (societ, politics, property, ethics) => cluster of characteristics
* Good guys: aristocrats, upright, just, dependable comrades, influential
* Up to audience to understand ‘base’
* Historical change: political decline

Theognis 31-8 (Friendship in archaic in Megara):

Theognis 39-52:

* Aristocrats are not to blame, it is

Theognis’ conception of friendship:

* Deeply political: friendship as the backbone of the noble class
* Longing for the aristocratic community of the past: idealising the original state of society

Solon of Athens:

* More famous as an Athenian lawgiver
* Born 640 (highest official in Athens: archon)
* Wholesale reforms in Athens (pol, soc, econ)
* Regarded as the founder of the Athenian democracy by 4th century BCE
* Included in the Seven Sages: combination of wisdom and practice
* Elegies and iambics
* Most to do with pol
* Probably performed in symposia, attended by Solon’s aristocratic friends
* Aristotle about him: “the first champion of the people”
* Reforms:
  + Shaking off burdens of farmland
  + Timocratic system: 4 classes
  + Wealth = prerequisite of office

Solon on virtue 15:

* ‘we’ praise virtue as preferable to wealth:

Solon, the impartial negotiator 5:

* Response to criticism, elegy as a vehicle for pol debate
* Common vs influential

Solon 4 (diagnosis of the state of the *polis*):

* Attributes responsibility to all citizens
* Tries to promote lawfulness
* Faults of the elite: excess, violent outrage, crooked verdicts, stasis
* Depicts internal crisis with imagery of war

Poetry and politics:

* Lyric poets address issues of normal life and pol activity
* Poets promote their socio-pol visions
* Symposium as a forum of pol debate
* Start actions

**Lyric poetry can function as a key medium of pol comm in archaic Greece**

## Lecture 15: Archaic Greek Law

Shield of Achilles in *Iliad*:

* Two cities: one at war and one at piece

The Cyclopes (*The Odyssey*): a lawless people

Famous lawgivers:

* Lycourgos of Sparta
  + Herodotus:
  + Inspired a more open economy
  + Creator of the constitution
  + Established affairs of war:
    - Sworn division
    - Bands of thirty
    - Common meals
  + Ephors
  + Council of elders
  + Plutarch:
  + Went to Delphi, starved himself
* Minos of Crete
* Draco and Solon of Athens
* Charondas of Catane
  + Diodorus:
  + Made a law about carrying no weapons in the Assembly, accidentally brought one and killed himself (could be Diocles of Syracuse)
* Zaleukos, Locri Epizephyroi
  + Conflicting stories from Aristotle (shepherd Zaleukos) and Diodorus (noble, pupil of Pythagoras)

Motifs in stories about lawgivers:

* Close relationship with gods
* Extremely wise
* Extensive traveling
* Interaction with other lawgivers
* No clear family or status allegiance
* In middle or outside the community
* Imperfect, victims of their own laws

Law from PoV of Greeks:

* Applicable to all
* Universal
* Immutable
* Serving divine justice, but also made for imperfect human communities (not divine by itself)
  + Human construct

Epigraphic evidence:

* Dreros, Crete (650-600 BC)
  + The divine has a role, but it is the city that decides
  + *Kosmos*: magistrate
  + Establishing more of a general law, unlike most sources from Dreros (like hunting laws)
* Tiryns, Argolid
  + Power groups that need to be regulated
* Olympia, Elis (late 6th century BC)
  + Particular problem: sexual activity in the sanctuary
  + Law can be changed only when the whole Assembly agrees

Literary vs. epigraphic evidence:

* All-encompassing legislation vs. singular enactments

Writing can:

* Encourage process of universalisation and generalisation
* Make the implicit and open to manipulation, explicit and immutable
* Make law independent of pronouncer; law a material object that is dissociated from its creator

# Week 7

## Lecture 16: Tyranny

Tyranny starts to happen in 7th, 6th century BC.

Civil unrest, fights between the elite

* Phaleron mass graves (late 7th c. BC)
* Healthy young men bound and executed

Reasons for elite fighting:

* Rapidly changing and increasingly complex economy
* Access to new sources of wealth, and sources of prestige
  + Corinthians a super prestigious society with their
* Access to new social networks
* Broad class of free peasants increasingly dissatisfied and equipped to come to class with the elite

Tyrants:

* Corinth: Cypselus, Periander
* Sicyon: Orthagoras, Kleisthenes
* Megara: Theagenes
* Athens: Peisistratos
* Samos: Polykrates
* Mytilene: Pittacus

Meaning of *tyrant*:

* Not Greek, maybe Lydian (‘Lord’)
* First used in Greek 7th c. poetry
* Not clear negative connotation
  + Negative only in 5th century (Herodotus (oppressive, violent rule; democracy at H’s time demonises one-person’s rule)
* Described desirable but unattainable luxury and power

Herodotus on Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth:

* Corinth was ruled by an oligarchy at first (the Bacchiadae)
* Story of a prophecy telling Cypselus would rule
  + Escaped death by: 1) compassion, 2) trickery by mother (hid him in a chest/beehive)

Periander of Corinth (627 BC)

* The inventor of corruption, bribery and terror (Aristotle’s *Politics*)

Phalaris of Acragas:

* Always in negative light

Mythical motifs in tyrant stories:

* Sterility overcome
* Lameness
* Hiding baby in chest
* Failed attempt to kill baby
* Similarities with story of Oedipus

Stereotype of the bad tyrant:

* A sole ruler
* Usurpation of power
* No respect to the law
* Cruel (especially against the elite)
* Luxury and perversion
* Power does not last

Stereotype of the lawgiver

* Appointed in power
* Puts an end to violence
* No status allegiance, cares for all community
* Paradigm of wisdom and moderation
* Their laws survive and are long-lasting

Seven Sages:

* Thales of Miletus
* Solon of Athens
* **Periander of Corinth**
* **Pittacus of Mytilene**
* Bias of Priene
* Chilon of Sparta
* Cleobulos of Lindos

Polykrates of Samos (538 BC)

* Architecture projects
  + Eupalinus tunnel
    - Clean water to the city
  + The Harbour pier
  + Temple of Hera

Building projects associated with tyrants of Corinth

* Diolkos
  + Paved road across the Isthmus used for transport of boats by road
  + 6th c., associated with Periander (from pottery)

Peisistratos and his sons (562-510 BC)

* Motifs of Peisistratos:
  + Popular ruler
  + Sexually perverted
  + Ominous birth
* Impressive temples
* Fountains
* Spectacles
  + The festival of City-Dionysia
  + The Panathenaia festival

The improvements brought by tyrants:

* Putting an end to elite fighting
* Maybe improved economy and living conditions of lower classes
* Enhanced civic pride

The tyrant’s might not have been anti-elite:

* Kleisthenes added to list of archons

## Lecture 17: Gods, Men, and Women: Lyric 3

Key theme: lyric identities

Gods and humans (**Solon**):

* Human existence (reputation, friendship) depends on the goodwill of the gods
  + Muses, prayers for prosperity and good reputation
  + Man is beset with uncertainties, at the mercy of the gods
* Divine punishment guarantees a just world order
  + Zeus: an omniscient god, overseer of human activities, depicted as the complete opposite of man: sovereign, independent, almighty ruler
* Man is a deficient creature in comparison to the gods
* Man’s inadequacy and ignorance in comparison to gods’ omnipotence and omniscience

**Tyrtaeus of Sparta**:

* Info on him historically doubtful
* Flourishing in the Second Messenian War (640-600 BC)
* Focus on warfare
* Three longest fragments: martial topics
* Fragment 12 on virtue (arete)

Becoming a hero (Tyrtaeus):

* Fame (*kleos*) as the central male voice (also in Homer’s *Iliad*)
* Hero cult: polis-wide lamentations; emphasis on the tomb; immortality
* Central for self-understanding of the community
* Manly excellence: dying in the front lines
* A real hero fights for community, family

**Archilochus of Paros**:

* Around 650 BC
* From island of Paros
* Spent part of his life on Thasos
* Famous as a composer of iambic poetry (satire, vulgar)

Fragment 5 (“I’ll get another [shield] just as good”):

* Strips the shield of its symbolic power
* Rejection of the warrior ethos in favour of self-preservation: more useful for the polis
* Aristophanes draws on
* Athenian law called for loss of pol rights for a citizen who thre away his shield to flee from battle

Alternative to masculinity:

* Psychic quality > physical appearance
* Courage is most important

**Sappho**:

* Lesbos, 600 BC
* Went into exile in Sicily between 603 (2) and 596 (5)
* Depicts a woman-centric wold (context?)
* Group or ‘school’ for young women being initiated into adulthood
* Narrator’s desire for women focuses on eroticised desire for women

Fragment 31:

* Emotional and bodily experience of love (not a narrative)
* Representation of the debilitating effects of *eros* on one’s physical, mental and emotional faculties love as a disease
* Woman-centred eroticism: Sappho’s emphasis on private desires and on erotic reciprocity
* Male poets often stress male control over passive women, objectify women hierarchies, social norms

Fragment 1:

* Only surviving complete song of Sappho (quoted by Dionysius of H…)
* Intimate convo between speaker and goddess

Lyric as identity work:

* Lyric poets explore the difference between humans and divine powers they reflect on human condition; awareness of the frailties of human nature
* War elegy: definition of masculinity in terms of the warrior ideal from heroic times
* Sappho: a female perspective on love and gender; poems define a specifically female experience
* Lyric poetry in the sympotic context a tool for defining, negotiating and disseminating gender roles and identities
* Almost everything from male perspective

## Lecture 18: Archaeology in the 6th century

Geometric Period:

* Small scale
* Usually made of bronze
* Geometric forms
* Flat
* Different body parts perceives as separate shapes
* No organic cohesion

Archaic sculptures:

* Monumental sculptures start in 7th c. BC
* Made out of stone (and bronze)
* Influence from Egyptian art
  + Similarities: stance
  + Differences: material (smth dark vs marble), clothes (clothed vs nude), hair
* Main types: *kouros* (male) and *kore* (female)
* Variety of sizes: from colossal to smaller than a metre in height

Stylistic development of *kouroi*:

* Stark lines in 600 BC
* Naturalistic forms in 530-500 BC
* Bigger variety of expressions (from “archaic smile”)
* Variety of pubic hair formations (could have been used as decoration in sport games)

Stylistic dev of *korai*:

* More variety in clothes, stances
* Same dev of faces

Sanctuaries:

* Hera at Samos
* Apollo at Delos
* Apollo Ptoios, Boiotia
* Apollo, Delphi
* Athena, Acropolis of Athens
* Poseidon, Sounion Athens

Graves could be marked with statues

What sculptures signify:

* Ideal woman:
  + Clothed
    - Sexual modesty
    - Pandora is created already dressed (or, dressing her with the help of different gods is important)
  + Moving hands
    - Good for weaving
  + Left hand offering/giving
    - In a relationship with the audience
  + “The **daughter of** Deinodikes of Nasos,  
    Prominent amongst other women,  
    the **sister of** Deinomenes  
    and now **wife of** Phraxos”
    - Identified by relationships to others
* Ideal man:
  + Moving
  + Stiff stance
    - Self sufficient
  + “Stand and weep at the tomb of dead
* Gods and Humans
  + Very similar
    - Gods can take human form
    - Elite is made godlike
  + Later gods are made humongous, out of gold => very distinguished

Architecture:

* Most distinctive architectural form is a **temple**
  + First monumental temples late 8th c.
  + Crystallisation of Doric and Ionic order in 7th/6th c. BC
    - Doric (mainland)
      * Column: simple cap
      * Friezes are discrete, by chapters
    - Ionic (inhabited by Ionians:
      * Column: spirals at ends
      * Friezes are continuous
  + Originally mostly made of wood with clay parts
  + Architectural decoration after 630 BC
* Treasuries
  + Temple-like buildings built usually by Greek cities to house dedications by their citizens
  + Mostly found in big regional, ‘Panhellenic’ sanctuaries: Olympia, Delphi, Delos
  + Often use local material
  + Could be Doric or Ionic
* Temple sculpture, public ideology and theology
  + Temple of Artemis at Corfu, 580 BC
    - Medusa with her kids and leopards
    - Political interpretation:
      * Periander’s (Corfu’s tyrant’s) pol statement/reminder of his power

# Week 8

## Lecture 19: Herodotus: Structure, genre, context

Lecturer: Lisa Irene Hau

Herodotus:

* 5th c. BC, died 420s (?)
* Born in Halicarnassus (Bodrum) (Asia Minor)
  + In Caria
  + Conquered by Persia
    - People spoke Persian
    - Greek minority (including H.)
  + Multi-cultured
* Moved abroad – perhaps in exile because of the tyrant Lygdamis
* Lived some time in Athens
* Wrote about the archaic period, but also represents classical period
* Took part in the foundation of Thurioi (444/443 BC)
* Travelled widely

Purpose of *The Histories*:

* “enquiry” – *historiē*
* Remember human events, remarkable achievements
* Interested in **causes** of hostilities between Greeks and non-Greeks
  + Causes – *aitai*

Table of Contents:

* Book 1
  + Introduction
  + Croesus of Lydia (“first to commit crimes against the Greeks”)
  + Cyrus the Great of Persia
* Book 2
  + Accession of Cambyses of Persia
  + History and ethnography of Egypt
* Book 3
  + Cambyses (including conquest of Egypt)
  + Death of Cambyses, coup of Darius
* Book 4
  + History and ethnography of Scythia
  + Darius’ Scythian campaign
  + History and ethnography of Libya
  + Darius’ Libyan campaign
* Book 5
  + Ionian (Asia Minor) revolt
  + Darius’ European campaign
* Book 6 – start of Persian war recount (11 years) - slow
  + End of Ionian revolt
  + Darius invades Greece = 1st Persian War (490 BC)
    - Battle of Marathon
* Book 7
  + Accession of Xerxes
  + Xerxes invades Greece = 2nd Persian War (480-479 BC)
    - Battles of Artemisium and Thermopylae
* Book 8
  + The war, including Battle of Salamis
  + Retreat of Xerxes, leaving Mardonius behind
* Book 9
  + The war under Mardonious, including Battle of Plataea
  + Strange ending

### Structure:

* Main = chronological, centred on Persia
  + 1-5: expansion of Persian empire until 490 BC
  + 6-9: Persian campaigns against Greece 490-479 BC
* Within this
  + Explanatory digressions on history, ethnography, background information
  + Reverse chronology to explain causation
  + Jumps to simultaneous events elsewhere
  + Uses ring-composition to help the reader
* Transitional expressions
  + “Here’s how”
  + “I move on now to”
  + “Here is an account of”
  + “Now, the Corinthians say […]”

### Genre: Why is this the way it is?

* First historian: did not have a template for what historians do
* Self-proclaimed purpose = memorial
  + Of ‘human events’
  + Of fame
* Manifest interested in
  + History/legends
  + Ethnography
    - Fact that Scythians don’t have any infrastructure, they are nomans
      * This fact’s relevancy/cause of Persians not being able to invade Scythia: link to history
  + Marvels (*thomata*)
    - Pyramids
    - Tombs
    - Mazes
* Reports different versions
  + Explicitly chooses between them
  + Explicitly refuses to choose
  + Allows reader to see other people’s opinions, not just H.’s
* ‘Enquiry’ from
  + Autopsy (Egypt)
    - Seems to be proud to write about personal experience
  + Grandsons of eyewitnesses
    - Pretty close to eyewitnesses
  + Learned men (priests at Delphi, Persian scribes)
  + Other people he met on his travels (?)
  + Historical traditions
* Based on **oral**tradition
  + There were no written sources

### Orality

* ‘Story-teller’ narrative structure (cf. epic)
  + Largely chronological with numerous digressions
  + Reverse chronology
  + Ring-composition
* Type of material
  + Myths
  + Traditions
* Mode of expression
  + Chatty
  + Conversational
* Composed for oral delivery
  + Audience rather than readers

### Inspiration

* Epic/Homeric (tradition)
  + Legendary material
  + Structure
  + Verbal echoes (5.96 “the beginning of evils”, Book 2 rationalising myths)
* Hippocratics (medical discussions) and Sophists (ethical philosophy) (5th c. BC)
  + Use of evidence
  + Causation
  + Transparent, persuasive argument
  + Strong narratorial presence
  + Rationalising myths
  + Prose (new)
* New: the application of this method to historical material

### Context

* Traditional view
  + Remnant of the Archaic age
  + Earlier stage than Thucydides
* Contemporary view (since R. Thomas, 2001)
  + Second half of 5th c.
  + Inspired by Hippocratics and Sophists

Herodotus as a historian:

* “Father of History” (Cicero)
* “Father of Lies” (Plutarch – and Fehling)
* Legends and anecdotes
* Credulity?
* Divine intervention
* Different interests from modern historians
* Source criticism
* Transparent argument
* Causation
* Open-mindedness
* Possible distinction between myths and history
  + 1.5-6: “to my certain knowledge”
  + Doubt about the Greek gods because of Egyptian history (Book 2)

## Lecture 20: Herodotus 2: Greeks and Others

### The Other

The ‘other’ – someone from a different culture, on whom one projects a set of characteristics one can then define oneself and one’s own culture as different from

‘Others’:

* Persians
  + Wealthy
  + Enjoy luxury
  + ‘Slaves’ to a tyrant king
    - Fight under compulsion
  + Taught ‘to ride, shoot, and tell the truth’
  + Some Persians are brave, many are clever
* Greeks
  + Poor
  + Ascetic and moderate
  + Free
    - Fight voluntarily
  + Some Greeks are cowards
    - The Greek alliance barely holds
  + The Greeks are diverse: Athenians are very different from the Spartans
* Egyptians
  + Opposite from everybody else because of climate and landscape
  + Oldest culture and religion
  + Marvellous buildings
* Libyans
  + The most long-lived of all peoples because of climate
  + Young, uncivilised, nomadic culture – noble savages
  + No buildings
* Scythians
  + Noble savages
  + No buildings
* Indians
  + Marvellous half-humans
  + Marvellous buildings

Spartans

* Peculiar constitution (double kingship)
* Peculiar customs
* When faced with Persian invasion, Spartans become the quintessential Greek

### Herodotus as Ethnographic Narrator

Characteristics of the narrator:

* Overt narrator, strong presence in the text
* Eye-witnesses (autopsy)
  + Or stresses his sources
* Argumentative, assertive
  + Uses *ethos* with his own experience

Narrator persona (not H’s persona because nothing can be known about that)

* Well-travelled
* Well-read
* Intelligent
* Curious and excited
* Eager to learn and teach
* Likes a good story

Herodotus’ interests in context

* General interest in ethnography and geography in 5th c.
  + Hippocratic writers (*Airs, Waters, Places*)
  + Dionysius of Miletus
  + Hecataeus of Miletus
* Special interest in Egypt
  + Hecataeus
  + H engages with Hecataeus’ previous writings about Egypt
* Interest in *nomoi* (laws, customs) and their relativity
  + Sophists
* No distinction between historiography and ethnography

Ethnographic themes (in the Hippocratics (*Airs, Waters, Places)* and in H)

* *Thomata* (marvels) (sing. *thoma*)
* *Erga* (deeds, monuments) (sing. *Ergon*)
* *Nomoi* (laws, customs)
  + Marriage and sex
  + Burial
  + Religious worship
  + Food and drink

### Different views of the ‘Other’

Hellenocentrism: Greece first

* H makes the unfamiliar familiar by comparisons to Greek customs, familiar things
* H reports many details, but does not understand underlying factors (e.g., Egyptian belief)
* Ethnography of difference
  + Possible to guess what the Greek norm was
  + Ethnography serves to create an ‘Other’, i.e., to define Greekness

Cultural relativism

* One set of *nomoi* is as good as any other
  + Paraphrase: “you shouldn’t laugh at customs of others”
* Gold is as valuable as people decide
* Different things are exotic to different peoples (marvels of the extremities *seem to us* fine and rare)
* The Egyptians call the Greek *barbarians*
  + Barbarian: anyone who doesn’t speak Greek, what the Greeks say about every other culture
* Every culture prefers its own *nomoi*
* Non-supremacy of Greece
  + H is open-minded

Environmental determinism: people are defined by their environment

* Rugged, infertile, poor Greece makes tough fighting men
* In the old days, Persia was the same
  + But, after various conquests, the wealth and luxury turned Persians soft
* Ethiopians are long-lived and healthy because of the heat
* Egyptian customs are the reverse of all other peoples because their climate and topography are unique
* Influenced by Greek medicine/the Hippocratics
  + Four elements (4 humours): the 4 characteristics of the human body and the world
  + Climate and topography give rise to *nomoi*, which forms a people
  + E.g, Scythians
    - The climate defines them

Symmetrical geography

* Rivers Nile and Ister
* Greece vs Persia
  + Hard vs soft
  + Rugged terrain vs fertile fields
  + Poverty vs luxury
  + Toughness vs cowardice
* Egypt/Libya vs Scythia
  + Heat vs cold
  + Nile vs Ister (Danube)
  + Oldest vs youngest people

Centrifugal geography

* Circle
  + Greece in middle
    - Familiar, civilised but poor, iron age, on the rise
  + Then Persia, Egypt
    - A bit strange, rich and decadent, on the decline
  + Then Scythia, Libya
    - Very strange, nomadic tribes, noble savages, golden age
  + The extremities at the outside = weirdest
    - Absurd, often repulsive customs

Ethnography as a mirror of Greekness

* Scythians = other
  + Nomads vs *poleis*
  + Hunting and cattle vs agriculture
  + General savageness and outlandishness
  + They become ‘Greek’ when facing the Persians
    - Fleeing on horseback = evacuating Athens
    - Leaving the land to be ravaged = leaving Athens

### Conclusion: H as Ethnographic Source

He’s influenced by different schematic wold-views, but does not subscribe to any one of them

Can tell us about a Greek world view

And ethnography of

* Marvels
* Differences
* Tolerance

Many true details mixed with fantastic untrue stories

# Week 9

## Lecture 21: Trade, Colonisation and Interaction

Archaic-Classica: c. 500 colonies

10,000+ Greeks moved to colonies by 700 BC

4th cent.: colonies were c. 40% Greeks

Terminology:

* Colony (Latin *colonia*): usually state-run, to exploit natural resources; often imperialist overtones
* *Apoikia*: ‘away from home’; much more neutral
* Emporion: trading post
* Old interpretations: ‘foundational’, ‘colonisation’, ‘Hellenisation’
* New interpretations: ‘connectivity’, ‘entanglements’, ‘hybridity’

*The Odyssey* 6.6-10: colonies already

Trade:

* Main items: non-precious items and ores, timber, oil, perfumed oil, wine, wheat, textiles, hides, slaves
* Shipwrecks and containers: olives, honey, pistachios, almonds, fish sauce, pickled fish

Case study no. 1: Pithekoussai

* Settlement was 1 km wide by 750 BC
* Population in late 8th cent.: 5000-10,000
* Pots from different markets
* Pithekoussai activities
  + Trade with the rest of Mediterranean
  + Trade with Italian mainland
  + Pottery
  + Metal working (iron from Elba?)
  + Agriculture? (logical: a lot of people)
* Transfer of styles and skills
  + Pottery workshop at Vulci, founded by Euboean potters from Pithekoussai
  + Goldsmiths from Pithekoussai, introducing granulation, filigree, etc
  + New type of fibula (broach) developed; spread through central Italy

**POTTERY**

**POTTERY**

**POTTERY**

Greeks in Egypt:

* 664: Pharaoh Psammetikhos (Psamtik) I founds 26th dynasty, encourages Greek mercenaries and traders
* c. 638: Samian captain Kolaios on his way to Egypt for trade when blown off course
* c. 591: Mercenary graffiti at Abu Simbel
* 560s: Pharaoh Amasis (570-526) ‘founds’ Naukratis
  + Great Temenos: 4th cent. sanctuary or fort
  + Hellenion: sanctuary of Gods of the Greeks
    - (Herodotus 2.178)
    - Herodotus was correct about Egyptian ‘baris’ ship
  + Dioscuri: sanctuary of Castor and Pollux
  + (Herodotus 2.178)

Greeks and Egyptians

* Little Greek influence on Egyptians
* Naukratis: careful maintenance of Greek identity
* Elsewhere in Egypt: intermarriage, adoption of Egyptian names and burial customs
* Egypt influenced Greek culture widely: faience, kouroi and korai, etc

Pottery changes:

* Local and imported styles
* Imitation
* Colonial wares: hybrids

Incoronata ‘greca’: Greeks or natives?

* Close association with Incoronata indigena
* House types: similar to other Greek colonies, but also to local houses. Used local construction techniques.
* Pottery: local, imports, imitations and local hybrid (‘colonial ware’), all in same houses
* Agriculture & animal husbandry: continued local traditions (e.g. barley & emmer wheat, cattle, pig)
* Analysis of teeth: rural population of Metapontum shows closer links to indigenous Italian people than to mainland Greeks

Summary:

* Constant movement and interaction across the Mediterranean
* Trade, agriculture, craft, metalwork, subsistence, new opportunities
* Very varied & complex interaction with local peoples; new identities
* Profound effect on the ‘Greek’ ‘homeland’, polis & social development

## Lecture 22: Believability, Divine Causation

Unbelievable stories

* Too much like fairy tales (Cyrus, Pheretime)
  + Tales told by people to explain their own time
  + Can tell us about how different Greek *poleis* construed their own past
  + Social/cultural memory
  + ‘Intentional history’
  + Not literally true, but historically revealing
* Anachronistic (Solon and Croesus, constitutional debate (3.82))
  + Possibly told by Herodotus’ sources on the basis of social memory
  + Or invented by him to illustrate overarching themes in *The Histories*
    - Solon & Croesus
      * The powerlessness of human beings
      * The instability of human good fortune
    - The Constitutional Debate
      * The superiority of democracy
      * Persians prefer tyranny
* Unlikely (Arion and the dolphin)
  + Not unlikely to an ancient audience
    - Is it really unlikely or just unusual in a work of history?
  + H. tells them as marvels, *thomata*
  + Like folktales: the kind of stories people tell about their own past, intentional history
* Divine intervention (Croesus)
  + Closely related to divine causation

Divine Causation:

* Croesus & Solon
  + Croesus (born c. 595, king from 560)
    - King of Lydia
    - Richest man in the world
    - Believes this makes him the happiest man in the world
  + Solon (died c. 560)
    - One of the seven sages
    - Athenian law-giver
    - Functions as ‘wise adviser’ in H.
  + Solon says
    - The gods are jealous – it’s dangerous to be too successful
    - Life is a matter of chance
    - The fortunate/god-favoured man is better off than the wealthy man
    - Call no one happy until he is dead
    - So…
    - Little room for free will; human life is ruled by superhuman powers
  + Solon proved right by
    - The death of Croesus’ son
    - Croesus’ capture by Cyrus
    - Little free will:
      * Oracles deceiving Cyrus
  + Generational justice
    - Croesus doesn’t die in the fire, saved by Apollo
    - Croesus punished for Gyges’ actions (seeing king’s wife naked,
    - Divine justice is generational rather than/as well as individual
    - The gods are also ruled by fate
    - But Gyges still *chose* to look at the queen naked
* Polycrates and the ring (Keeping Balance)
  + Situation:
    - Polycrates is successful in everything
      * Killed his own brother and sent another into exile
    - Warned by guest-friend
    - Throws away ring
    - Gets ring back
    - Is lured into a trap, murdered, and crucified

Causation:

* Divine
  + Punishment
    - Individual
    - Generational
  + Keeping balance
  + Pushing people towards their fate
* Human
  + Reciprocity
    - Revenge
    - Gratitude
  + Ambition
  + Desire
  + Honour
* Complex causation (multiple possible causes)

Military history

* The Battle of Marathon
  + The Athenian Charge
    - Favourable omens
    - The distance run
    - Persian thoughts
    - Uniqueness of Athenian experience
  + The Battle
    - The length
    - Battle formation and troop movements
    - The rout
  + Noteworthy casualties
    - Officers
    - Cynegeirus loses his hand
  + Persian flight
    - Ships captured by the Athenians
    - Flight itself
    - Alcmaeonidae blamed for treachery
  + The race for Athens
  + General casualties
    - Numbers
    - Marvellous event: Epizelus loses his sight
* Characteristics of Battle of Marathon
  + Very short “battle” narrative: omens, troops, overview of fighting, rout
  + Anecdotes of individual experiences
  + Emphasis on the uniqueness of the experiences
  + Emphasis on the Athenian achievement
  + Infleuenced by sources: memories of footsoldiers
    - Positives
      * Good on individual experiences of war
      * The importance of equipment (Plataea)
      * Understanding of the mechanics: provisions, logistics
    - Negatives
      * Unreliable numbers
      * Homeric influences
        + Individual
        + Calling for fire by the ships
        + Fight for Leonidas’ body
      * Problematic on strategy
* Causes of Persian defeat
  + Equipment (Plataea 9.62-3)
    - Lack of body-armour and experience
    - Light-armed against hoplites
  + Too much confidence in numbers and own superiority
  + Divine punishment for overconfidence and impiety
  + Strategic mistake:fighting at Salamis instead of Peloponnese
  + Greek cleverness

Historicity of H.’s Persia

* Persian sources
  + No narrative histories
  + Royal archives on clay tablets
    - Administrative records
    - Financial record
  + Royal inscriptions
    - Most famous – Behistun inscription of Darius’ accession
      * Behistun = ancient Bagastana
      * On the road between Babylon and Ecbatana
      * Narrates accession, rebellion-crushing, and military victories of Darius I
      * Records the help of the god Ahuramazda
      * Consists of relief and text in
        + Persian
        + Babylonian
        + Elamite
      * Impossible to reach for human beings
  + Eyewitness accounts
  + H. apparently didn’t speak Persian
* H. causes of Persian wars
  + Persian expansionist ambition
    - Deep, long-term
  + Reciprocity: Athenian participation in Ionian Revolt and burning of Sardis
    - Immediate
  + Personal: Democeded and Atossa, Mardonius, Aleuadai and Pisistratidae
  + Xerxes’ desire

# Week 11

## Lecture 23: Sparta: The Military State

The “Spartan Mirage”:

* From Plato’s Republic to Zak Snyder’s 300
* Due to Spartan secrecy

Sources for Archaic Sparta:

* Contemporary
  + Tyrtaeus (early 7th cent., martial poetry)
  + Alcman (late 7th cent., choral poetry)
  + Archaeology (esp. of Artemis Orthia sanctuary)
* Later
  + Herodotus (5th cent. BC)
  + Thucydides’ *History*
  + **Xenophon**’s *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* (4th cent. BC)
  + Plutarch’s *Life of Lycurgus*

Probable historical outline:

* End of Bronze Age
  + ‘Dorian invasion’ (=’return of the Heraclidae)
  + Archaeology hard to reconcile with ancient texts
* Late 8th cent.
  + Foundation of two colonies: Thera (Santorini) and Taras (Tarentum/Taranto)
  + Conquest of Messenia/First Messenian War
  + The Messenians work the land and pay half of the produce to Sparta. Result:
    - 8500 km2 territory -> largest in Greece
    - Fertile farmland -> great wealth
    - No need for further colonies
* Early 7th cent.
  + Written law-code: The Great Rhetra
    - Unknown reason – to solve civil unrest, Lycurgus real?
  + Wars with Argos and Tegea
    - 669? Defeat at Hysiai leading to military reform?
* Mid-7th cent.
  + Messenian revolt/Second Messenian War
    - Very hard-fought victory
    - Led to military ideology/a military state
    - Civil unrest because of unequal distribution of wealth (land?)
    - Commented on by Tyrtaeus
    - New law code? Gradual revision of laws?
* 6th cent.
  + Recognised as the most powerful state in Greece (Herodotus)
* Early 5th cent.
  + 499: Refuses to help Ionians in their revolt against Persians
  + 490: First Persian War. Goes to the help of Athens, but too late for Battle of Marathon
  + 4890-479: Second Persian War. Leads the Greek alliance
    - The 300 defeated at Thermopylae
    - Victory at Plataea

Spartan Political system:

* Origins
  + Said to be based on “the Great Rhetra”
    - Said to have been written/discovered by Lycurgus
    - Quoted in Plutarch (1st-2nd cent. AD)
    - Is it authentic?
      * In verse (like an oracular answer)
      * Riddling (like an oracular answer)
      * But late and possibly falsified (famous political system)
  + Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia* [System of good laws] (7th cent. BC) seems to reflect it
    - Poetic paraphrase?
    - Precursor – political pamphlet?
* Basic Structure
  + Dual kingship
    - Held in check by 5 annually elected ephors
  + *Gerousia* – council of Elders
    - Seat for life
    - Advice to the kings
    - Maybe elected kings?
  + *Apella* – people’s assembly
    - Led by the kings and/or the *Gerousia*
    - Perhaps only voting power?
  + Population divided along originally geographical lines
    - Ancestral roles
* Social organisation
  + At Plataea (5000 Spartiates, 5000 Perioikoi, 35 000 Helots)
  + Lacedaemonians
    - Spartans/Spartiates
      * Engaged only(?) in military training
      * *homoioi* (‘ones who are similar’)
      * Hoplites
      * Core of the state and the army
    - *Perioikoi* (‘around-dwellers’)
      * Farming and manufacturing
      * Hoplites, commanded by Spartans
  + Helots = serfs (tied to the land)
    - The original population and Messenians
    - Farming and menial labour
    - In war: attendants and light-armed soldiers (*peltasts*)

Archaic Greek land armies (hoplites and peltasts)

* Hoplite
  + Heavy armoured
    - hopla
      * helmet
      * breast-plate
      * leg-greaves
      * shield (hoplon)
  + Heavily armed: spear and short-sword
  + Fighting in close formation
    - Shield covers self and man on the left side
    - Usually results in army line moving right to cover themselves better by the men on the right, but not true for Spartans:
* Peltast
  + Light-armoured: leather/linen cuirass
  + Light-armed: small shield, javelin, bow, and/or short-sword
  + Armour and weapons vary
  + Good for swift movements, skirmishes

Citizen army in other Greek *poleis*:

* Aristocratic cavalry
* Middleclass hoplites
* Poor peltasts
* Civilians in peace, soldiers in war

Citizen army in Sparta:

* No cavalry until 420 BC
* Every Spartan and *perioikos* is a hoplite
* Only helots are peltasts
* Soldiers all the time (helots do the work)

Ideology (Equality through Similarity)

* The Spartiates = the similars
  + In armour, training, behaviour (and wealth?)
* Key virtues
  + Endurance
  + Obedience
  + Self-control
  + Modesty
* Ingrained by
  + The *agoge* (from age 7)
  + Communal living (age 7-30)
  + Rite of passage: the *krypteia*
    - Boys lived in the wilderness (half a month) and killed helots
    - Possibly part of the mirage
* Spartan male life: equality through uniformity
  + 20-30: Communal living, elite corps of the army
    - Eating in the *syssitia*
    - Paying monthly contribution
    - Unmarried, or seeing wife in secret
  + 30+: ‘married life’
    - Wife and children
    - Still eating meals at the *syssitia*
      * The heart of the society, uniformity
  + (Dispossessed groups)
    - Those too poor to contribute to *syssitia*
    - Those proved cowards in battle
    - Others (obscure)
* Spartan female life
  + The absence of the husband
    - More social freedom than in the rest of Greece
    - Less secluded and less covered by clothing than other Greek women
      * Famed for their ‘shamelessness’ and ‘insubordination’
  + The state needed many strong boys
    - Education, mainly physical
      * Famed for their beauty
    - Wife-sharing

Spartan culture:

* Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Artemis ‘the right one’)
* Laconian pottery, flourished 590-550 BC
  + Black-figure
* Laconian bronze mixing bowls
  + Intricate details on handles
* Poetry: Tyrtaeus and Alcman
  + Martial poetry by Tyrtaeus
    - Mythology
    - Homeric imagery
    - Brutal details
    - Focus on courage and steadfastness
    - Addressed to the young
    - The *polis* before the individual
    - The good individual celebrated by the *polis*
    - A “beautiful death”
    - Rewards: fame, civic distinction
  + Choral poetry by Alcman
    - Obscure content
      * Related to rituals unknown to us
      * Social interaction of girls
    - Beauty of and desire for girls (by girls?)
    - Beautiful and strange imagery
    - References to objects of value
    - Shows a different side to Spartan society

Main points:

* Spartan mirage
* Lack of certain knowledge
* Military society – but also with culture
* Equality through similarity