

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI



VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

CLAS 404

**History and Historiography:
War and Society in the Classical World**



TRIMESTERS 1 and 2 2011



**SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY, CLASSICS & RELIGIOUS STUDIES
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

Classics Programme
School of Art History, Classics and Religious Studies

**CLAS 404 – History and Historiography:
War and Society in the Classical World
(CRN 867)
2011**

COURSE ORGANISATION

TRIMESTER DATES

Trimester dates: 28 February to 12 November 2011

Teaching dates: 28 February to 14 October 2011

Mid-trimester break 1/3: 18 April to 1 May 2011

Mid-trimester break 2/3: 22 August to 4 September 2011

Aegrotat period begins: 26 September

Study week: 17–21 October

Examination/ Assessment Period: 21 October to 12 November 2011

WITHDRAWAL DATES

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

COURSE COORDINATOR

Matthew Trundle, Old Kirk 514 & Murphy 312, phone 463-6785

email Matthew.Trundle@vuw.ac.nz.

Messages may be left with Hannah Webling in Old Kirk 508 Telephone. 463-5319.

CLASS TIMES AND LOCATIONS

The class will run on Wednesday afternoons at 2.00 p.m. until 4.00 p.m. until the mid-trimester break of the second trimester. The first class will take place on Wednesday 2nd March in the Classics Museum (Old Kirk 526). There will be a final exam in the second trimester examination period yet to be scheduled in the period from 17th October and 13th November 2011.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Any important information involving the Classics Programme (e.g. unofficial exam results) are posted on the notice boards situated opposite Old Kirk 504 and 505.

CLASS REPRESENTATIVE

A class representative will be elected at the first class. The class representative provides a channel to liaise with the course coordinator on behalf of the students. Their contact details will appear on Blackboard.

TEXTS

In addition to reading as much primary material as possible, students are recommended the following texts that provide excellent introductions to their subjects.

General Books

Greece: Wees, H. *van Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London, 2004)

Hellenistic: Chaniotis, A., *War in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 2005)

Rome: Erdkamp, P. (ed.) *A Companion to the Roman Army* (London, 2007)

Source Books

Campbell, B. *Greek and Roman Military Writers: Selected Readings* (London, 2004)

Campbell, J.B. *The Roman Army: A Source Book* (London, 1994)

Sage, M. *Warfare in Ancient Greece: a sourcebook* (London 1996)

Sage, M. *The Republican Roman Army: A Sourcebook* (London and New York, 2008)

COURSE OVERVIEW

This course will examine the relationship between warfare and the social, economic, political and religious systems of the Greeks and Romans from Homer to the Late Roman Empire. It is not a course about battles, strategy and tactics. War was an integral part of the lives of ancient peoples and shaped the ways in which communities organised themselves, redistributed resources, worshipped their gods and recognised status. Success in warfare brought power, prosperity and freedom, but failure brought poverty, enslavement and death. Classical literature focused heavily on warfare. The epic and lyric poets sang of war and warriors and the early histories focused on warfare. Ancients saw war as an essential facet of their identity. Glory in war created political careers and plunder funded them. Even Roman Emperors required military glory; hence the inexperienced Claudius invaded Britain. The Roman triumph was the ultimate marker of success. War provides a means to explore myths that ancient societies told about themselves. For example, political leaders justified their positions of power and privilege through participation in war, though the realities were very different as slaves, serfs and non-citizens fought and died on battlefields with little acknowledgment. This course will follow the course of classical history and explore how warfare changed with society as it influenced the changes themselves.

Warfare was of central importance to ancient societies. Recent years have seen an explosion of interest in almost every aspect of ancient warfare, from studies on specific battles, campaigns, tactics and strategy, to its impact on society and economics, and logistics and personnel. Companions, handbooks and guides abound. This course covers the whole period of antiquity, from the end of Homer's idealised and archaised world of heroic warfare to the world of late antiquity. It is not designed to discuss battles, strategy or tactics. It hopes to illustrate the profound bond that warfare and military systems had with ideology, social, political, economic and religious life in classical antiquity.

Several source books deal with ancient warfare, all published by Routledge. Michael Sage covers sources for the Greek world.¹ Brian Campbell has treated the Roman army,² as well as writers from both Greek and Roman worlds.³ Late antiquity also has its own volume of source material from AD 363-630.⁴ The course will focus on continuity and change through the long duration, the detailed commentaries on the evidence presented, as well as a holistic focus on war, society, economics and religion alongside tactical and strategic considerations. It will highlight problems and debates about ancient warfare, providing students with the source material on key and controversial subjects, such as the relationship of war to political privilege, the origins and development of styles of fighting, like hoplite warfare, or the introduction of the poor into Roman Republican armies. It will also encourage students to think critically about the material presented.

In the last few years the field of ancient military studies has been transformed. To isolate one example, Hans Van Wees' *Greek Warfare Myths and Realities* (Duckworth, 2004) illustrates that ancient warfare is still a vibrant and developing subject, but we might also focus on the recent two volume *Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (Cambridge 2011) as well as the even more recent *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (Brill 2010). In light of recent publications like Wees' *Greek Warfare*, new debates have arisen over many issues, from subjects like the origin and development of hoplite warfare, the way that hoplites fought, to the level of participation by marginalised groups in antiquity like slaves and poor outsiders. Van Wees shows too that warfare in the Greek world displays a good deal of continuity from early times through to the fourth century. But we can also identify changes such as, for example, in the use of money to fuel bigger and more sustained campaigns, greater degrees of organisation at the state level and more sophistication in the use of strategy and tactics in moving more diverse and complex armies in the field. In short this course will survey the whole history of the classical world and in so doing will illustrate the ways that war shaped and was shaped by the societies it engaged.

¹ Michael Sage, *Warfare in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook* (Routledge, 1996)

² Brian Campbell, *The Roman Army: A Sourcebook 31 BC – AD 280* (Routledge, 2002).

³ Brian Campbell, *Greek and Roman Military Writers: Selected Readings* (Routledge, 2004)

⁴ Michael H. Dodgeon, Samuel N. C. Lieu & Geoffrey Greatrex, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars AD 363 - 630* (Routledge, 1991).

COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

To develop, through a detailed study of the evidence and relevant modern academic debates, an understanding of the changing nature of the relationship between war and society in the classical period from Homer to later antiquity.

To develop an understanding of the methodology used to understand our sources of information for interpreting war and society in the classical period.

To develop an understanding of the principal historiographic debates regarding the relationship between warfare and society in the classical world.

Each week a student will present a seminar on a specific aspect of the topic under consideration. This seminar will take the form of an academic paper presentation. These seminar presentations will last no longer than fifty minutes, but students are strongly encouraged to use up all of their allotted time. A question and answer session will then probe each presenter's knowledge of his/her subject more deeply and clarify points of uncertainty arising from the paper. The seminar group will then break for ten minutes and reconvene to discuss the wider issues around the subject of the seminar presentation and aspects of the topic not covered by the presentation or the question and answer period.

Students will subsequently write-up their presentation paper into an academic paper for submission to the examiners of this course (please note that work in this course is assessed outside of Victoria University of Wellington by members of other Classics Departments in New Zealand). Style and format will conform to the Harvard system, although both endnotes and footnotes are acceptable in addition (see attached sheet). Essays will be made available to all the students in the course for revision purposes.

Students are required to give one presentation and to write two papers in the course.

MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS

In order to gain a passing grade for this paper, a student must obtain at least 50% from the combination of assessed in-term work and the final examination, and a mark of at least 40% on the final examination itself. It is mandatory to complete the two essays and the final examination.

Students must attend at least 75% of seminars and classes in this course. Failure to do so will result in failure of the course.

ASSESSMENT

1 x essay	due Friday 3 June
1 x essay	due Friday 7 October
1 x final exam	held during the Exam Period - 21 October to 12 November 2011

ESSAYS

Students are required to write two essays in the course and present one seminar. Seminar topics will be allocated in the first class (the specific subject of the essay should be arranged with each lecturer). The

seminar presentation will be taken into consideration if students perform at a lower level in their essays.

Please note that you are required to hand in to the lecturer TWO copies of each of the two essays in the course.

❖ **(A) Essay One: Due FRIDAY 3rd JUNE 2011** **20 or 30%***
LENGTH: 3000 words (including notes and bibliography).

❖ **(B) Essay Two: Due FRIDAY 7th OCTOBER 2011** **20 or 30%***
LENGTH: 3000 words (including notes and bibliography).

Students are required to write an essay on the topic of their seminar presentation and an essay on the topic of another presentation. The essay on the topic of the seminar presentation will carry a 30% weighting, that of the other 20%. The quality of the seminar presentation will assist the grade of the essay on that topic.

- (i) **Extensions** (on genuine medical grounds supported by a doctor's certificate, or for some other necessary and demonstrable reason) must be applied for from Dr Matthew Trundle in advance of the final date for acceptance. Late essays, for which an extension has not been granted, will be accepted. However, little or no comment will be written on them. It is absolutely essential that, if you have not completed your essay by the final date for acceptance and have not already been granted an extension, you contact Matthew Trundle, by telephone if necessary. **Late essays will be penalized at 10% per day.**
 - (ii) **Handing in assignments.** Exercises and essays must be placed in the locked assignment box outside Hannah Webling's Office (OK 508). No responsibility will be taken for essays placed in open staff pigeonholes, pushed under doors etc. You should never throw out notes or rough drafts of an essay until you receive back your marked essay.
 - (iii) **Return of written work.** It is Classics policy that all written work **received by the due date** will be returned wherever possible within two weeks. Clearly, there may well be circumstances when this aim cannot be achieved, but it is our objective to provide you with the earliest possible feedback on your work. In an Honours course with 10 or more students and lengthy assignments, it is unlikely that the two week time period will be achievable!
 - (iv) **A policy of reasonable accommodation with respect to assessment procedures for students with disabilities will be followed.**
- ❖ **(C) 3 hour final exam - end of year scheduled within the examination period** **50%**

The format will probably be as follows:

Section A: a range of gobbets from the sources (secondary as well as primary) that you have read in this course. Students will be required to attempt one from each section of the course.

Section B: essay questions on the general themes and issues of continuity and change as well as problems regarding the sources or various theories concerning war and ancient society. Students will be required to attempt one from each section of the course.

NB The goal of the assessment in this paper is to establish the extent to which a student can demonstrate his/her understanding of different aspects of Roman imperialism and imperial government and his/her ability to write critically about them.

This paper, as part of the overall BA (Honours) programme, is subject to external assessment by the Classics Department of another New Zealand university. For this paper you will be awarded a grade and for your performance overall you will be awarded a class of honours.

WORKLOAD

The estimated average workload is 12 hours per week. The workload will be heaviest when written assignments are being prepared.

WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress. Most statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy, except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

The Seminars

Research and Further Reading

We have not provided more than a limited bibliography for each seminar in this course to give those students who are not giving the seminar some assistance in their readings on the subject. For the sessions that you are presenting or topics on which you are writing, you will be required to search out more bibliography than we have provided. There are several books and articles that ought to be read in association with the course as a whole and some of these have detailed and specific arguments that relate to individual wars and policies in specific periods. The primary sources are essential reading and these are listed alongside each of the seminar topics. You are responsible for researching detailed bibliographies for your respective seminars. I have taken the liberty of 'liberating' from the library many of the more significant books on the reading list to prevent individual students from hogging reading material themselves. Students are therefore encouraged to borrow books from me and read them in the Classics Library and return them to me at a pre-arranged time.

Journal articles ought never to be over-looked. The library homepage (www.vuw.ac.nz/library) gives entrance access to several excellent journals on-line (some of which are not available in hard copy in the library, but can be accessed through VUW's on-line membership). In particular, JStor offers access to many of the most important journals in the area. But do not overlook the rich store of periodicals in print in the library.

Do not rely on the *Internet* for information unless you are absolutely certain of a specific URL's provenance. Some sites are useful, though I would prefer you to check these out with me before you use them in your research. Below are some useful tools and reference points.

Perseus (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cache/perscoll_Greco-Roman.html) provides good access to primary source material.

BMCR reviews can be a valuable source of information (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/>).

TOCs-in-Search (<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/cgi-bin/amphoras/tofind>) provides a searchable database of many journals on-line, but see also *l'annee philologique* (Library catalogue: Z8414.84 P119 B) in the reference section of the library for relevant published material by year, author and subject.

Brief Outline of Seminar Topics

Part One: The Rise of Rome 270 – 133 BCE

1. Introduction 1: Introduction to the Course, Sources and Problems (MT)
2. Introduction 2: Greek and Roman Attitudes to Warfare (MT)
3. Introduction 3: Thinking about War and Society? Economics, Religion, Politics (MT)
4. War in Homer and the Early Greek World
5. Political hoplites? Hoplite Warfare and the Greek State
6. Sparta and War: The Military State?
7. Classical Naval Warfare: Empire and Democracy
8. The Transformation of Greek Warfare: The Decline of the Hoplites?
9. Kings at War: The Macedonians, Philip and Alexander
10. War and Hellenistic Society
11. Early Italy: Etruscans, Hill Peoples and Samnites
12. Early Rome: War and the Emerging State
13. The Armies of the Middle Republic and the Great Wars
14. The Late Republic: Professionals and Amateurs
15. The Early Empire: The Army and the Augustan State
16. The Army in the Empire: Garrisons, Frontiers and Emperors
17. The Army of Late Antiquity: Barbarians, Mercenaries, Collapse?
18. Conclusion: War and Classical Society (Group)

Seminar Topics in-Detail

Week One: Wednesday 2nd March 2011

Introduction 1: Introduction to the Course, Sources and Problems

This session will briefly indicate how the course will be organized. It will illustrate the means by which classes will employ debate and solve problems through analysis of the ancient evidence. It will demonstrate research tools, useful internet sites and library resources. It will allocate seminar topics and essay subjects. Finally, it will provide a historical overview of the period covered as well as an introduction and evaluation of the main issues of the course.

Bibliography: Useful Works on the Subject in General

- Anderson, J.K. *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley, 1970)
- Campbell, B. *Greek and Roman Military Writers: Selected Readings* (London, 2004)
- Champion, C.B. *Roman Imperialism: Readings and Sources* (Oxford, 2004)
- Chaniotis, A. and P. Ducrey (eds.), *Army and Power in the Ancient World* (Stuttgart, 2002)
- Connolly, P. *Greece and Rome at War* (London, 1985)
- Ducrey, P. *Warfare in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1986)
- Erdkamp, P. (ed.) *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford, 2007)
- Erdkamp, P. (ed.) *The Roman Army and the Economy* (Amsterdam, 2002)
- Fagan, G. and M. Trundle, 'Introduction,' in Fagan, G. and M. Trundle (eds.) *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (Leiden, 2010) 1-19.
- Garlan, Y. *War in the Ancient World: A Social History* (London, 1975)
- Goldsworthy, A. *The Roman army at war* (Oxford, 1996).

Havelock, E. 'War as a way of life in classical culture', in E. Gareau (ed.), *Classical Values and the Modern World* (Ontario 1972), 19-78
 Lee, A.D. *War in Late Antiquity : A Social History* (London, 2007)
 Lendon, J.E. *Soldiers and Ghosts. A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity* (New Haven, 2005).
 Manicas, P.T. 'War, stasis, and Greek political thought,' *Comparative Studies in Social History* 24 (1982), 673-88
 Parker, G. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Warfare* (Cambridge, 2005)
 Prichett, W.K. *The Greek State at War, vols. I-V* (Berkeley 1971-1990)
 Rawlings, L. *The Ancient Greeks at War* (Manchester 2007)
 Rich, J. and G. Shipley (eds.), *War and Society in the Greek World* (London, 1993)
 Sabin, P., Wees, H. van and M. Whitby (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2007).
 Sage, M. *Warfare in Ancient Greece: a sourcebook* (London 1996)
 Southern, P. *The Roman Army : A Social and Institutional History* (Oxford, 2007)
 Warry, J. *Warfare in the Classical World* (London, 1985).
 Wees, H. van *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London, 2004).
 Wees H. van (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (London, 2000)
 Wees, H. van 'Politics and the battlefield', in Powell A. (ed.), *The Greek World* (London, 1995), 153-78
 Vidal-Naquet P., *The Black Hunter* (Baltimore, 1986)

Week Two: Wednesday 9th March 2011

Introduction 2: Greek and Roman Attitudes to Warfare (MT)

This session will discuss ways in which the Greeks and the Romans viewed war and conflict (and peace). It poses the question: were the Greeks and Romans 'warlike' and aggressive peoples, whose societies relied on war for social, economic and political cohesion and benefit or did each view war as an evil, and even unnecessary, or did they see war as an unavoidable part of life and their communities? Conversely, did the Greeks and Romans see peace as the only means by which the good life could be achieved?

Required: Wees, H. van *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London, 2004) 3-43

Select Bibliography

Arnould, D. *Guerre et paix dans la poésie grecque* (New York, 1981)
 Bederman, D.J. *International Law in Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2001)
 de Romilly, J. 'Guerre et paix entre cités', in Vernant (ed.) 1968, 207-20
 Raaflaub, K. *War and Peace in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2007)
 Ryder, T.T.B. *Koine Eirene: General Peace and Local Independence in Ancient Greece* (London, 1965)
 Spiegel, N. *War and Peace in Classical Greek Literature* (Jerusalem, 1990)
 Zampaglione, G., *The Idea of Peace in Antiquity* (Notre Dame and London, 1973)

Week Three: Wednesday 16th March 2011

Introduction 3: Thinking about War and Society? Economics, Religion, Politics (MT)

This session will lay the foundations for all the seminars that will follow. The relationship between war and ancient societies was profound. In ancient and embedded societies war shared along with social, political, economic and religious common markers of status and hierarchy. Women found themselves excluded (theoretically) from the battlefield as not un-coincidentally from so much of the world of classical politics, economics and society. Elites, kings and aristocrats led armies of citizens and poorer members of the community alongside those completely disenfranchised. The reality was that many who fought still found now political privilege or status recognition. Yet war was so often used justify political and economic privilege. Questions to consider include just how significant war was to classical society (and is today to ours?). What were the relationships between war and society – for example whether or not the wealthy fought and died to the same degree as the poor? Was war a means of economic gain or simply defended otherwise productive economies? To what did religious belief lead the Greeks and Romans to fight wars or simply was it employed ritually in support of wars for other purposes?

Week Four: Wednesday 23rd March 2011

The Homeric and Early Greek World 1300 – 600 BC

This seminar will review material from Homer's poems to consider the historicity and usefulness of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as insights into real war-making in the period from Mycenaean times, through the Dark-ages and into the sixth century BC. Attention will be made to the dichotomous nature of Homer's battle-scenes, which present heroic champions on the one hand and massed band warfare reminiscent of tight phalanx hoplite warfare on the other and the implications that this has for Homeric society. It will also assess Homeric 'throwbacks' to Mycenaean times by looking at passages which deal with chariots and Mycenaean style equipment and ask the question: are these distant recollections or deliberate archaism on the part of later poets? What can Homeric warfare and attitudes to warfare tell us about Homeric society and to what extent was Homeric society a product of the type of wars and battles that Homer illustrates in his work?

Key Authors: Homer, Lyric Poets

Essential Read: Wees, H. van 'Homeric warfare', in *A New Companion to Homer*, eds. I. Morris & B. Powell (1997), 668-93

Select Bibliography

- Ahlberg, G. *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art* (Stockholm 1971)
Albracht, F. *Battle and Battle Description in Homer* (London 2005: German original from 1886, 1895)
Bowden, H. 'Hoplites and Homer', in Rich and Shipley (eds.) 1993, 45-63
Donlan, W. 'Chiefs and followers in pre-state Greece', in id. *The Aristocratic Ideal* (1999)
Greenhalgh, P., 'The Homeric *Therapon* and *Opaon*', *BICS* 29 (1982), 81-90
Greenhalgh, P., 'Patriotism in the Homeric world', *Historia* 21 (1972), 528-37
Finley, M.I. *The World of Odysseus. Second edition* (1977)
Fowler, R. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer* (2004)

- Griffin, J. *Homer on Life and Death* (1980)
- Kirk, G. 'War and the Warrior in the Homeric Poems', in Vernant (ed.) 1968, 93-119
- Hellmann, O. *Die Schlachtszenen der Ilias* (Stuttgart 2000)
- Latacz, J. *Kampffaränese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit* (Munich 1977)
- Lendon, J.E. *Soldiers and Ghosts: a history of battle in classical antiquity* (New Haven and London 2005), 20-57
- Morris, I. & B. Powell (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer* (1997)
- Mueller, M. *The Iliad* (1984)
- Pritchett, W.K. *The Greek State at War, Vol. IV* (1985), 7-33
- Pritchett, W.K. 'A recent theory on Homeric warfare', in *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part VII* (Amsterdam 1991), 181-90
- Redfield, J. *Nature and Culture in the Iliad* (1975)
- Singor, H.W. 'Eni protoisi machesthai. Some remarks on the Iliadic image of the battlefield,' in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard (Amsterdam 1995), 183-200
- Starr, C. 'Homeric cowards and heroes', in id., *Essays on Ancient History* (1979), 97-102
- Wees, H. van. *Status Warriors: war, violence and society in Homer and history* (1992)
- Wees, H. van 'Heroes, knights and nutters', in Lloyd (ed.) 1996, 1-86
- Wees, H. van. 'Princes at dinner', in J.P. Crielaard (ed.), *Homeric Questions* (1995), 147-82
- Wees, H. van. 'Leaders of men ? Army organization in the *Iliad*', *CQ* 36 (1986), 285-303
- Wees, H. van 'The development of the hoplite phalanx', in H. van Wees (ed.) 2000, 125-66
- Wees, H. van 'Homeric warfare', in *A New Companion to Homer*, eds. I. Morris & B. Powell (1997), 668-93
- Wees, H. van 'The Homeric way of war', *Greece & Rome* 41 (1994), 1-18 and 131-155
- Wees, H. van 'Kings in combat', *Classical Quarterly* 38 (1988), 1-24
- Wheeler, E.L. 'The general as hoplite', in V.D. Hanson (ed.), 1991, 126-31

Week Five: Wednesday 30th March 2011

Political Hoplites: Hoplite Warfare and the Greek State?

This session will explore the development of the most significant aspect of later Archaic and Classical Greek warfare, the invention and development of the hoplite and the associated phalanx alongside the downgrading of light armed troops and cavalry to a more marginal focus of Greek society and the significance of the introduction of the hoplite to the emerging *polis*. In recent years this subject has enjoyed much debate and the evidence, presented alongside analysis and further reading, will enlighten and challenge readers to make their own conclusions regarding the ways (piecemeal or wholesale) by which and the reasons why the Greeks developed hoplite warfare as well as how hoplite engagements were fought and changed over time as well as the extent to which the hoplite was responsible for the creation of concepts of social and political identity founded in Greek ideas of *politeia* – citizenship, political constitution and new agrarian farming practices.

Key Authors: Tyrtaeus, Archilochus etc., Herodotus, Thucydides

Essential Read: Cartledge, P., 'The birth of the hoplite', in id. *Spartan Reflections* (2001), 153-66; Lorimer, H.L. 'The hoplite phalanx', *Annual of the British School at*

Athens 42 (1947), 76-138; Salmon, J. 'Political hoplites?', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97 (1977), 87-122; Trundle, M. 'The Spartan Revolution,' *War and Society* 18 (2000) 1-16; Wees, H. van 'The myth of the middle-class army', in Bekker-Nielsen and Hannestad (eds.) 2001, 45-71

Select Bibliography

Cartledge, P., 'The birth of the hoplite', in id. *Spartan Reflections* (2001), 153-66
Cartledge, P. 'Hoplites and heroes: Sparta's contribution to the technique of ancient warfare,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97 (1977), 11-23
Foxhall, L. 'A view from the top', in L. Mitchell and P. Rhodes (eds.), *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London 1997), 129-31
Hanson, V.D. *The Other Greeks* (1995), esp. 347-50, 366-7
Loraux, N. *The Invention of Athens* (Cambridge, 1986)
Lorimer, H.L. 'The hoplite phalanx', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 42 (1947), 76-138
Raaflaub, K. 'Soldiers, citizens, and the evolution of the early Greek polis', in Mitchell L.& P.Rhodes (eds.) *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*, (1997), 49-59
Raaflaub, K. 'Archaic and classical Greece', in Raaflaub and Rosenstein 1999, 129-62
Ridley, R.T. 'The hoplite as citizen', *Antiquité Classique* 48 (1979), 508-48
Rosivach, V. 'Zeugitai and hoplites', *Ancient History Bulletin* 16 (2002), 33-43
Salmon, J. 'Political hoplites?', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97 (1977), 87-122
Snodgrass, A.M. 'The hoplite reform and history', *JHS* 85 (1965), 110-122
Snodgrass, A.M. 'The 'hoplite reform' revisited', *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 19 (1993) 47-61
Trundle, M. 'The Spartan Revolution,' *War and Society* 18 (2000) 1-16
Wees, H. van 'The myth of the middle-class army', in Bekker-Nielsen and Hannestad (eds.) 2001, 45-71
Wees, H. van 'Mass and elite in Solon's Athens', in J. Blok and A. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens* (Leiden 2006) 351-89

Week Six: Wednesday 6th April 2011

Sparta and War: The Military State?

Sparta emerged in the sixth century as the most powerful state in the Greek mainland. Spartan society at least outwardly appears to have been run entirely as a military state. Citizenship and identity were tied directly to military status. Spartiatiai – the elite Spartan full-citizens were the paradigm of heavy infantry hoplites in the Greek world. Much work recently has exploded the myth that Sparta's exclusive military community was anything more than a mirage. Many fought and died in Spartan armies, even some hoplites, were not Spartiatiai, but came from a variety of different status groups. This seminar will examine Spartan society in light of recent debates regarding the relationship between citizenship and military service and assess the extent to which Sparta really was a community of hoplite-citizen-soldiers.

Key Authors: Tyrtaeus, Herodotus, Plutarch (*Lycurgus*), Xenophon

Essential Read: Cartledge, P. 'Hoplites and heroes: Sparta's contribution to the technique of ancient warfare', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97 (1977), 11-23; Trundle, M. 'The Spartan Revolution,' *War and Society* 18 (2000) 1-16; Hodkinson, S. 'Was Classical Sparta a Military Society?' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta & War*, 111-62. (Swansea, 2006)

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Hodkinson, S. 'An Agonistic Culture?: Athletic Competition in Archaic and Classical Spartan Society,' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta: New Perspectives*, 147-87. (London, 1999)
Hodkinson, S. 'Was Classical Sparta a Military Society?' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta & War*, 111-62. (Swansea, 2006)
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Millender, E. 'The Politics of Spartan Mercenary Service,' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta & War*, 235-66 (Swansea, 2006).
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Week Seven: Wednesday 13th April 2011

Classical Naval Warfare: Empire and Democracy

Of equal significance to the rise, development and nature of hoplite warfare was the rise of navies in the later sixth and early fifth centuries BC. This session will focus on texts connected to early naval power (especially Thucydides), the invention of the trireme and the importance of coined money to the Athenian navy. Triremes were complex communities of rowers, specialist crews, marines and commanders. As such they provide an opportunity to view ancient communities organising and coordinating enormous resources and a wide range of individuals to a common goal. The way triremes transformed the military and financial systems in the Aegean was a central aspect of Greek history and may have led to the rise of the Athenian democracy and empire. A crucial question is the relationship between the Athenian navy and the Athenian democracy in the fifth century.

Key Authors: Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch (*Themistocles*)

Essential Read: Wees, H. van. "Ruling the Waves" in *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London 2004) 199-231; Wees, H. van. 'Those Who Sail Shall Receive a Wage,' in Fagan, G. and M. Trundle (eds.) *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (Leiden, 2010) 205-226.

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- Gabrielsen, V., *Financing the Athenian Fleet* (Baltimore 1994)
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- Strauss, B.S. 'Democracy, Kimon, and the evolution of Athenian naval tactics', in P. Flensted-Jensen et al. (eds.) *Polis & Politics* (Copenhagen 2000), 325-36
- Trundle, M. 'Money and the Transformation of Greek Warfare,' in Fagan G. and M. Trundle (eds.) *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (Leiden, 2010) 227-252
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- Wees, H. van. 'Those Who Sail Shall Receive a Wage,' in Fagan, G. and M. Trundle (eds.) *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (Leiden, 2010) 205-226
- Whitehead, I. 'The *periplous*,' *Greece & Rome* 34 (1987), 178-85

Week Eight: Wednesday 11th May 2011

The Transformation of Greek Warfare: The Decline of the Hoplite

This section will focus on the process by which wars became larger, more specialised and more professional affairs than previously in the period from c.479-338 BC. The later fifth and fourth century BC may have seen increased numbers of specialist troops, like peltasts and other lightly armed forces. There was also an increase in the numbers of mercenaries in service in the eastern Mediterranean and passages selected will not only illustrate this explosion, but also the reason for the rise in mercenary numbers and their employment conditions. The period also saw an

increase in longer campaigns. The discussions will focus on the problems concerned with identifying these developments and the effect that 'new' military developments had on undermining the integrity of the polis.

Key Authors: Thucydides, Xenophon (*Anabasis, Hellenica*), Isocrates, Diodorus,

Essential Read: Hanson, V.D. "Hoplites as Dinosaurs", in *The Other Greeks* (Los Angeles, 1995) 321-351; Wees, H. van. "The Other Warriors", in *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London 2004) 61-76.

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- Whitehead, D. 'Who equipped mercenary troops...?', *Historia* 40 (1991), 105-13
- Yalichev, S. *Mercenaries of the Ancient World* (London 1997), chs. 6-9

Week Nine: Wednesday 18th May 2011

Kings at War: Philip and Alexander the Great

The innovations introduced by Philip and then Alexander are the focus of this section. First, how was the Macedonian phalanx introduced and what was the nature of other troop types in the Macedonian armies? Philip and Alexander used cavalry to a far greater degree than previously, but an important debate hinges on the function of cavalry and the tactics employed by the Macedonians in major battles. Another important aspect of Macedonian armies was logistical. Alexander was successful in a wide range of different kinds of fighting from territorial campaigns to assaulting cities thought impregnable. The extent to which the Macedonians brought new means and modes of fighting to the eastern Mediterranean in the fourth century will be illustrated. The key question in this

section is the relationship between emerging professional military identities had to the social structure of Macedonia in the fourth century and the role of the army in forging in the Macedonian 'kingdom.'

Key Authors: Arrian, Diodorus, Plutarch, Aeneas Tacticus

Essential Read: Chaniotis, A. "The Interactive King", in *War in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 2005) 57-77.

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Week Ten: Wednesday 25th May 2011

Hellenistic Warfare

Alexander's successors refined and developed tactics and strategy almost as an art form. This session will discuss what made Hellenistic warfare different from previous ages and how warfare had transformed and been transformed by the empire of Alexander the Great and his successors. We possess excellent data on the socio-economic context of military service in this age. The development of troop types that blended eastern and western arms and ideas will show this. The Successors of Alexander also established new relationships with the men under their command. Elephants appeared as a presence in Hellenistic armies, though it is questionable how significant these were in practical terms. In Egypt and Syria

military settlers occupied territories either as colonists or garrisons. A number of inscriptions and papyri illustrate the differences in service terms and conditions in which they operated within the different kingdoms established after the death of Alexander. A key question is the degree of professionalisation of warfare and the removal of military systems and personnel from citizens and citizenship in the age and its effects on society.

Key Authors: Diodorus, Polybius, Asclepiodotus, Epigraphy, Papyri

Essential Read: Bugh, G. R., 'Hellenistic Military Developments,' in Bugh G.R. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*, (Cambridge, 2006) 265-294; Chaniotis, A. *War in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 2005)

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Week Eleven: Wednesday 1st June 2011

Early Italian Warfare: Etruscans, Hill Peoples and Samnites

There were many diverse military systems amongst the communities of Italy prior to the Roman conquest. North of Rome, the Etruscans dominated Etruria and drew inspiration from the Greeks. Yet their cities developed differently from those of the Greek mainland. Further south the Hill Peoples and Samnites emerged fighting in loose formations, with light arms and armor in tribal communities. This session examines the role of warfare amongst the peoples of Italy and the way that warfare shaped the communities of the Italian peninsular. A key question is what made Italy different from Greece and how did these differences manifest themselves.

Key Authors: Livy, Plutarch (*Romulus, Numa*)

Essential Read: Rich J. "Warfare and the Army in Early Rome", in Erdkamp, P. *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Blackwell, 2007) 7-23.

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- Raaflaub, K.A.. 'Born to be wolves? Origins of Roman imperialism,' in Wallace R.W. and E. M. Harris (eds.), *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Greco-Roman History 360–146 bc, in honor of E. Badian*. (Norman, 1996) 273–314.
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- Rawlings, L.. 'Condottieri and clansmen: Early Italian raiding, warfare and the state,' in K. Hopwood (ed.), *Organised Crime in Antiquity* (London, 1999) 97–127.
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Week Twelve: Wednesday 13th July 2011

Early Rome: War and the Emerging State

This seminar will examine how early Roman warfare developed and influenced the development of the early Roman state. We will look specifically at the way the Roman army emerged in the fourth century as a the dominant force on the Italian peninsula, specifically considering the reforms of Camillus and assess the roots of Roman military systems and a society bent on war and conquest. War shaped Roman society and Roman identity. As with other seminars key questions emerge regarding the nature of Roman militarism and whether or not the Romans differed significantly in their attitude to war from their neighbours and other societies of the Mediterranean and if they did, why?

Key Authors: Livy, Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus

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Week Thirteen: Wednesday 20th July 2011

The Armies of the Middle Republic and the Great Wars

Our sources tell us that the army of the Middle Republic was largely amateur, drawn from the land owning *assidui* of Roman Italy. This seminar looks at that army and poses the question how this army was able to defeat the professional armies of the Hellenistic world and what were the effects of this on Roman society. Rome at this period appears highly militarized and aggressive. Almost every man of military age served in the armies that conquered the Mediterranean. Amateurs became professionals as wars grew in scale and the needs of empire required garrisons and long-term service. This had profound affects on Roman society. A key question relates to the relationship between farming and fighting in this period and whether the Romans were in fact the amateur soldiers that the sources claim them to be.

Key Authors: Polybius, Livy

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Week Fourteen: Wednesday 27th July 2011

The Late Republic: Professionals and Amateurs

The army of the second century, according to the sources changed from a purely amateur army to one drawn from the lowest classes of Roman citizen list, the *capite censi*. This seminar focuses on this change and asks the student to assess the extent of its impact in this period and the degree to which the supposed professionalisation of Roman armies led to the fall of the Republic. It will look at pay and at the institution of provisioning for arms and armour and finally assess the ways in which the transformation of the Roman Army from a theoretically amateur to a fully professional one transformed the Roman Republic and led to civil war and the creation of the Principate. The key question relates to the degree that the army was responsible for the transformation of Roman society in the late republic and the creation of the imperial system.

Key Authors: Caesar, Plutarch, Sallust, Appian, Florus

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Week Fifteen: Wednesday 3rd August

The Early Empire: The Army and the Augustan State

The focus of this seminar is the professional legionary army of Augustus and his successors. It will focus on the nature of the army, its structure and size and its relationship to the empire and Rome. The transformation of the army under Augustus meant that the army was removed from politics in that it now was loyal to one man, and served mainly on the frontiers. Augustus supposedly removed the army from politics and from society and yet a large percentage of Roman male citizens still served in the army. But it is clear that recruitment became more difficult and Rome appears to become less militarized within a generation. Key questions for this seminar are how and why this was the case?

Key Authors: Augustus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Frontinus, Vitruvius

Select Bibliography

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Week Sixteen: Wednesday 10th August

The Army in the Empire: Frontiers and Emperors

The army of the Roman Empire at the height of its power was located on the periphery and at the centre. Approximately twenty eight legions of citizen soldiers controlled one of the largest empires the world has ever seen. This seminar looks at the ways in which the society of the Roman Empire engaged with its military and vice versa. It asks if Rome became a more peaceful and less militarized society during the High Imperial Period and examines how militarized Rome actually was in the period from AD 69-192. The discussion will focus on the extent to which Roman armies relied on allies and auxiliaries to fight pitched battles while legionaries provided logistical and engineering support, rarely fighting battles. The discussion will assess the structure of the army, the way in which the army of the frontiers interacted with provincials and how a permanent frontier emerged.

Key Authors: Tacitus, Suetonius, Frontinus, Vitruvius

Select Bibliography

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Week Seventeen: Wednesday 17th August

The Army of Late Antiquity: Barbarians, Mercenaries, Collapse?

By the fourth century the Roman army had changed to meet new challenges and new social and economic conditions. The old legions continued to patrol the frontier but were becoming obsolete as the emperors commanded rapid response forces within the imperial boundaries designed to meet barbarian invasions after they had crossed the frontier. This seminar will examine the new military conditions of the late empire from the third century crisis to the fifth century. We will assess the new army, its mobility and relationship to the emperors and the empire. Discussions will explore who now served in the army and what the army's relationship was to the state. The new uses of cavalry and the level of dependence on non-Roman forces un-Romanised forces to protect the empire led to gaps in the frontiers and heralded the future appearance of knights in Medieval Europe. An overall theme of the seminar will explore the responsibility of the military for the collapse of the western empire and whether later antique society's general apathy for military service (if indeed such apathy existed) was one of the principal causes for the fall of the western empire.

Key Authors: Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, Vegetius Renatus

Select Bibliography

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Week Eighteen: Wednesday 7th September

Conclusion: War and Classical Society (Group)

This concluding session will examine the ways in which warfare changed from Homer to the late Roman Empire. Did it become more or less professional, more or less agonistic or ritualised, more or less sophisticated through the course of antiquity? The discussion will highlight the ways in which warfare in the ancient world remained unchanged, in the nature of battle, in focusing on heavy infantry, in massed band warfare and challenge the reader to consider the levels of continuity and change that are intended by our sources through the course of ancient history.

COURSE ENDS: SECOND ESSAY DUE 7th OCTOBER 2011