Classical Education Programs for the "Generation Y" Museum Visitor

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Classical Education Programs for the “Generation Y” Museum Visitor

M.A. Art History Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts of the City College University of New York.

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Introduction

Schools no longer teach Greek and Roman history, culture, and, more often than not, classical languages as they did in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹ However, other educational channels exist today, through which we can seek knowledge of classical antiquity. One primary medium for such learning platforms is the art museum. In their informative capacity, museums can successfully advance understanding and appreciation of many topics through their educational programs, which are “designed to be age appropriate, accurate in content, and enjoyable.”² Museum educational programs far surpass the elemental format of reading descriptive labels and viewing objects. They are an integral part of the museum’s complex goals as a learning center.

Dierking and Falk in The Museum Experience describe various ways that museums can and do enhance the perception of the visitor through incorporating physical, social, and personal contexts into the viewing experience.³ The physical context involves a museum’s use of space, the social context influences the programs it provides, and the personal context comprises the prior experiences, views, and interests of the visitors, which the museum has carefully considered. Public programs in museums often encompass these three essential contexts.

Theories grounded in the psychological, social, and physical contexts in which an individual learns are more commonly discussed and researched than theories focusing on the actual object, due to their effectiveness and connection to

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¹ Thomas F. Madden, Empires of Trust: How Rome Built—and America is Building—a New World (New York: Dutton, 2008), xi.
³ Dierking and Falk, 101.
society as whole. Emphasis is therefore placed on the personal conceptions that visitors bring to the museum. Concepts presented in education programs need to provide “multiple connections to visitors’ prior experiences and areas of interest, and build upon these experiences and interests to develop a deeper understanding of a concept.” One example of this approach is a “storyline” educational model wherein the museum educators create a storyline with a purpose, engagement with objects and resources, and a conclusion for visitor reflection and re-telling to friends.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) in New York City and the J. Paul Getty Museum, specifically the collection at the Getty Villa in Malibu, California, have the most extensive classical collections in the United States, yet lack classical education programs devoted entirely to a specific topic on Greek and Roman art or culture. More importantly, there are insufficient programs geared toward 20-to-30-year-olds or “Generation Y.” Programs that highlight the links between ancient Rome and Greece and the U.S., which could be an effective approach in engaging visitors to the museum, specifically those belonging to Generation Y, are extremely scarce.

The goal of this thesis is to develop museum educational programs for classical collections that specifically engage Generation Y based on the comparisons and relevancies of Greek and Roman art and culture to those of the past and present.

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United States. The programs will attempt to involve this generation through traditional formats such as tours and lectures, as well as use of social technologies such as blogs, social networking, and smart phones. The design of these applications will be similar to other programs provided by these museums, but created especially for Generation Y to cover one major topic in Greek and Roman antiquity, namely, warfare. This topic is appropriate since war was just as abundant, engaging, and pertinent in antiquity as it is in contemporary times. War has been and continues to be an important factor in the lives of Generation Y. As it was also a crucial part of classical society, it holds many parallels to contemporary times.

Warfare can be divided into different categories, four of which will be highlighted in this thesis. These categories are: 1) the life of the soldier; 2) arms and armament; 3) enemies of Greece and Rome; and 4) commemoration of fallen warriors. Not only are these categories necessary to learning about the totality of Greek and Roman warfare, they are also illustrated abundantly in the art of those periods, providing tangible access to all the categories. The different themes highlight many similarities between our contemporary American culture and that of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as revealing interesting facts that are, arguably, unknown to non-classicists. For example, chemical warfare was used in antiquity long before World War I, including the use of *naphtha*, the primitive form of napalm. Another example is the Greek and Roman commemoration of the dead through public memorials and speeches, and the sorrows of war expressed by these cultures in literature and in sculpture. This knowledge can humanize the Greeks and Romans for contemporary viewers and make them aware that, while these were

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bellicose cultures, they were also concerned with the consequences of war and were not immune to its pain and suffering.
1: Description of Programming

Before examining the topics of war and their corresponding educational programs, a brief description of the program types used throughout this thesis is necessary. Most programs are standard, including tours, gallery talks, lectures, and film events. Other programs have been designed specifically to address the Generation Y audience and differ from conventional programs. Original programming that relates specifically to a topic is discussed immediately following that particular topic and is not listed in the following general template of programs here. Also, mentioned throughout the following section is a sampling of existing and pertinent programs at the Getty Villa and the MMA. These examples will illustrate that there are few educational programs conducted by either of these museums that exclusively relate to and target the Generation Y audience. It will also become apparent that there are limited programs addressing ancient warfare at the specific and detailed level that this thesis aims to do.

Tours and Gallery Talks

Tours are essential in orienting and educating the museum visitor to a particular subject or concept, and are preliminary steps in engaging an uninformed but intelligent audience. Tours can provide the new visitor with a general sense of the museum and the veteran visitor with options for learning something new about a particular topic. Tours are seen as prompts for thinking and discussing the subjects and objects at hand and can give the visitor a general sense of a subject or concept while providing the stimuli and motivation to explore further.

The tours employed here will operate as other tours in most museums with a docent or trained interns. They will focus on the four themes of war and how these
are depicted in various artistic media, styles, and periods, with a required emphasis on relating the past to contemporary perspectives on and depictions of the subject matter. In order to provide more open discussion and incorporate the visitor’s background and personal conceptions, these tours will begin by using visual thinking strategies (VTS) in which the guide will ask what the visitor sees and why, rather than informing visitors about what they are viewing. Only afterwards will the guide explain what the object or scene is and describe how the work relates to the tour theme. This method empowers visitors to interpret for themselves how the work relates to them personally and to contemporary society as a whole. Normally VTS is either facilitated by teachers in elementary classroom settings or in youth education programs at various museums throughout the country and is arguably not the standard guided tour format at the MMA or the Getty Villa.¹ However, I believe this method might appeal more to the Generation Y than the traditional tour format because it allows them to have more of a voice and less of a lecture.

An interesting and engaging title will also help attract younger visitors and potentially spark their interest for other programs within the classical collections. Additionally, visitors might be more inclined to visit the Greek and Roman collections or revisit them with a specific purpose having been made aware of the link between today and yesterday through classical art. Supplementary materials for tours are also provided in the forms of replicas, related images or other references.

Gallery talks consist of thorough and longer discussions on one or two sub-themes and show more artwork to reinforce this theme. As with other gallery talks or lectures in other institutions, guides can be employees or special guests of the

museum, such as curators, interns, or other educators possessing a deeper working knowledge of the topics and themes. A museum professional, as opposed to a trained volunteer, guiding these talks can not only promote a positive and memorable experience for the visitor, but can also, “have a tremendous impact on the quality of the museum experience.” The talks will require more prompting and instruction by the guide; however, VTS can still be used initially to incorporate the personal perspectives of the visitors. Again, a catchy title and a museum professional presenting the gallery talk will attract visitors, especially those in the younger age range.

The tours and gallery talks at the MMA are probably the most extensive programming for the museum’s classical collection. The institution’s most frequent tour of ancient art is the *Arts of Ancient Greece and Rome*, which spans from early Greek art to the reign of the Roman emperor Constantine the Great. Occasionally, gallery talks are offered with more specific topics: *Ancient Eating and Drinking; On the Trail of the Aeneid in the Museum; The Art of Love in Ancient Greece and Rome; Depicting Nature and the Seasons in Greek and Roman Art; Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Roman Art*; and, *Color in Classical Art*. Guided talks that refer to the modern world are: *The Sublime Body: Athletes Ancient and Modern; Dionysus/Bacchus: The Greco-Roman God of Wine and His Later Influence on Western Art; Summer Intern Special Topic Tour—Female Nudity at the Met; The Classical Tradition: Greco-Roman Influences; Mythological Landscapes; Classical Mythology: Ancient to Modern Art; Fashion in Art;* and, *Metamorphoses Transformed: Ovid in Western Art*. None of these programs target war specifically, yet some relate to contemporary times.

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At the Getty, guided tours and gallery talks are more specific, topically diverse, and more frequent. Different gallery talk categories include Spotlight Talks, which focus on one specified object in the collection, Curator’s and Conservator’s Gallery Talks, which detail a brief “behind-the-scenes” look at the current exhibition, and Point-of-View Gallery Talks where “local artists, scholars, and thinkers share unique perspectives and new ways of looking at ancient art.”

Guided tours range from the architecture, garden, and specific works within the Getty Villa collection as well as Focus Tours. Focus Tours present particular themes like Nudity in Art, Delighting in Violence, Death and Burial in the Ancient World, and themes that relate to the contemporary such as Seeing the Modern in the Ancient. These tour types allow room for more experimentation by the guides or teachers and differ from traditional programming. Another type of tour is the Touch Tour during which the visitor is able to handle a replica of the object under discussion. Some of these tours discuss war in a general manner and some also make comparisons to contemporary society; however, not one of these tours combines these two approaches.

**Films/Film Series**

Greek and Roman period films nearly always encompass some aspect of war, and are therefore excellent resources to include in museum programming, either individually or as an educational film series. Art in antiquity was an idealized way of illustrating subject matter or events and certain films arguably do the same. Films

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help to engage and attract audiences and simultaneously inform and educate them about the real objects and topics depicted in them. Many films, series, and documentaries showcase ancient art in war on a more specific level and encompass all the categories represented in this paper. The screenings, depending on the topic, will have discussions and presentations to reinforce them, and can also be hosted in different venues, such as an outside area, where refreshments are also provided.

Many different types of film programs can be instituted depending on the subject or theme showcased. Some films can be shown purely for the visual impact and depiction of an actual topic; for instance, watching the film *Troy* (2004), simply to see the Greeks at war or their use of weaponry and armor. Another example of employing an illustrational film is using *300* (2006) directed by Zach Snyder to show the audience a depiction of the Spartan warrior. Other types of film viewings include comparison film series such as showing *Spartacus* (1960) directed by Stanley Kubrick followed by clips from the more recent television series *Spartacus: Vengeance* (2010-12) directed by Stephen S. DeKnight, while another type of film scenario is a stand-alone film that provides the audience with an interesting topic or theme all its own. For example, the film *The Eagle* (2010) directed by Kevin Macdonald depicts Roman honor and could be shown to highlight the concept of honor in ancient Rome. In this instance, a theme is already imbedded and presented in the film, which can be dissected later through discussion.

Adding to the film viewing possibilities is a contemporary film inspired by Greek or Roman culture. For instance, the film *O, Brother Where Art Thou* (2000) by the Coen brothers, parallels the epic poem *The Odyssey* by Homer through contemporary characters. Another example in the vein of Homer’s *Iliad* is Clint

The Getty Villa and the MMA have screened films or documentaries for specific events, although none directly relate to war in antiquity. Since 2010, the MMA has featured documentaries such as Nova’s *Secrets of the Parthenon* (2008), the Discovery Channel’s *Seven Wonders of Ancient Rome* (2004), and *Underground Rome: a World Hidden for Centuries* (2007) produced by Off the Fence. The Getty Villa occasionally hosts films and film discussions. Jules Dassin’s *Phaedra* (1962) and *Twice a Man* (1964) directed by Gregory J. Markopoulos were screened in conjunction with *Enduring Myth: The Tragedy of Hippolytus and Phaidra*, which showcased the influence and interpretations of these two myths in art, stage, and film. Other independent screenings included *Master of Myth, Magic and Masters Film Series* where *Clash of the Titans* (1981) and *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963) were shown to recognize the mastery of the special effects artist and producer Ray Harryhausen.

The Getty Villa holds various theater productions frequently, including the Villa Play-Reading Series, Outdoor Theater Productions, and the Villa Theater Lab, which acts as a “forum for the reinterpretation of classical theater [that] features new translations of Greek and Roman plays as well as contemporary works inspired

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by ancient literature." They have hosted lesser known works such as Euripides’ *Helen*, celebrated ones like *The Trojan Women* by Euripides, and contemporary works like *An Acestis Project* by the Critical Mass Performance Group.

**Workshops, Classes, and Seminars**

Workshops and classes allow the museum visitor to experience a tangible approach to learning and to use his or her creativity. This “hands on” learning also allows appreciation of the existing art in a “hands off” manner. Unlike sensory experiences in science and children museums, such programs in major art museums do not permit the visitor to touch the artwork. Instead, these workshops and classes allow an indirect exposure to the kinesthetic aspect of great art. By making a replica or learning the techniques of ancient painters, visitors can refrain from breaking a major rule of the museum: *Please, Do Not Touch.* The programs allow the visitors to mingle and create or strengthen bonds with fellow museum-goers, friends, and enthusiasts through an experience of active appreciation. These classes and workshops can promote group work, but also allow for individual efforts catering to the learning needs of the participant.

The MMA workshops and classes are usually for students, teachers, families, and museum members. The workshops primarily focus on art and craft methods and techniques as does the family event *How Did They Do That?*, which explained the making of mosaics, Greek vessels and their painting techniques, bronze casting, and arms and armor. Other classes and seminars focus on a particular subject such as the *Four Greek Masterpieces* member seminar conducted by Joan R. Mertens, PhD.

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7. Dierking and Falk, 66.
special free seminar series, *The Observant Eye*, is geared towards recent college graduates and young professionals and provides close study and informal discussion with educators and museum curators on a particular topic or set of works. This is the only free program, besides the College Group at the Met, which is provided by the MMA specifically for Generation Y. Within the past few years, the topics *Ancient Armed Forces, the Ancient Child, and Greek and Roman Art* have been offered.

The Getty Villa has multiple workshops for learning art techniques and methods. Again, there are more types of workshops and courses provided than at the MMA that range from Artist-At-Work Demonstrations to gallery, studio, and exhibition-related courses to culinary workshops. Examples of such programs include: *Artist-at-Work Demonstration: The Evolution of Styles (Fresco)*; the studio course *Art of Ancient Jewelry*; an exhibition related gallery course *Collecting the Past and the Perception of Antiquity*; and *Uncorking the Past: Ancient Ales, Wines, and Extreme Beverages*. During the exhibition *New Works by Jim Dine: Poet Singing (The Flowering Sheets)* (October 30, 2008 – February 9, 2009), many of the programs, especially workshops and courses, related to the modern world. For example, studio courses such as *Ancient Stones in Modern Contexts* and *Antiquity as Muse* provided paying participants the means to make contemporary art inspired by ancient techniques and objects. Other course-type programs that evoke modern sentiments are *Artist-at-Work Demonstration: Project Romeway*, and a few courses corresponding to the exhibition *Modern Antiquity: Picasso, de Chirico, Léger, and Picabia in the Presence of the Antique* (November 2, 2011 – January 16, 2012).
Lectures

Discussions, talks, and lectures can provide insights into Greek and Roman art and war by incorporating more history, contemporary issues, and depth concerning specific topics. Some museum educators suggest that discussions that are open-ended and question-based are the ideal museum education experience; these formats foster support, trust, and security while showing different perspectives and choices.8 Such events would be excellent for topics for which a particular museum lacks sufficient collections, but that are most relevant, timely and engaging to the audience. Ideal lecturers for these platforms are curators, artists, academics, archaeologists, writers, or other trained individuals who have specific knowledge of a given discussion topic. Other suitable candidates are experts in the war field or contemporary artists who employ classical themes and techniques.

The Getty offers many public lecture series dedicated to antiquity, including, the annual “The Villa Council Presents” series. Past events include Balancing Fact and Fiction: The Ancient World of HBO’s Rome, Writing Historical Fiction: The Ancient World in Modern Literature, and Did the Ancient World Decide the Fate of the Modern World? Other lectures include those concurrent with the special exhibition on display or other topics related to the permanent collection. The Roman Triumph: The Dangers of Winning a War, Antiquity in the Twentieth Century: Modern Art and the Classical Vision, Watching the Fighters: The Roman Fascination with Gladiators, The Roman Triumph: The Dangers of Winning a War, Body and Armor: The Image of the Heroic Warrior are all examples of public lectures given at the Getty over the past five years that focus on war.

Symposia

The Greek symposia and the Roman equivalent the convivia, were drinking parties for the elite of society that consisted of debates, discussions, entertainment, food, and wine. Symposia today involve academic lectures, presentations, and discussions over an extended period focusing on particular topics. Ideally, a symposium would introduce or conclude one of the themes focused on by the museum programming. Guests could be academics, artists, museum professionals, and others who could write a presentation for the symposium or would have already written literature pertaining to the theme or themes. Unlike the usual symposia, these proposed symposia will follow the traditional Greek formula—except for, of course, the debauchery, excessive drinking, and more lewd entertainment and cavorting. Food, drink, and couches could be provided since it was typical to recline while at these social events. These affairs can be standard where five to seven speakers discuss their papers, the audience can ask questions, and then everyone is free to relax, lounge, eat, drink, and discuss matters of ancient Greek and Roman war.

Symposia at the Getty Villa usually coincide with a special exhibition. Such examples include: Excavating Aphrodite, a symposium in conjunction with the exhibition Aphrodite and the Gods of Love (March 28–July 9, 2012); Antiquity in the Twentieth Century: Modern Art and the Classical Vision, presented with the exhibition Modern Antiquity: Picasso, de Chirico, Léger, and Picabia in the Presence of the Antique (November 2, 2011–January 16, 2012); Artists and Actors: Iconography and Performance in Ancient Greece, a two-day symposium introducing the exhibition The Art of Ancient Greek Theater (August 26, 2010–January 3, 2011); Myth, Allegory,
Emblem: The Many Lives of the Chimaera of Arezzo, a two-day colloquium with the exhibition The Chimaera of Arezzo (July 16, 2009–February 8, 2010); Greek Art/Roman Eyes: The Reception of Greek Art in the Private Sphere in Ancient Italy, another two-day symposium linked with the Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibition Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture around the Bay of Naples (May 3–October 4, 2009); and, Rediscovering Color: New Perspectives on Polychrome Sculpture, a two day symposium paired with the exhibition The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present (March 6 – June 23, 2008).

Classics ‘n’ Coffee

The last few types of programs, including this one, directly engage and involve Generation Y. Classics ‘n’ Coffee will be a recurring program that can allow museum visitors to discuss a topic in a comfortable setting in or outside the museum. These discussions will be smaller than a led discussion or lecture, because intimate groups foster connections within the visitor's self experience and between the individuals, the work discussed, and the world itself.9 These formats will be informal, technology-friendly, and led by a museum educator or other trained personnel.

The discussion will consist of varied topics that allow the participant to express his or her opinions about the topic and may range from the general to the specific depending on the discussion. The museum educator will lead the discussion in the beginning posing questions and giving a general introduction of the topic using illustrations via the museum website that the participant can view through mobile technology, self-provided. Technology will enhance these discussion such as

using a laptop computer or smart phone to look up works of art via the museum website. I have titled this program type *Classics ‘n’ Coffee* to encourage an informal atmosphere with beverages or snacks provided by the location for purchase and in a comfortable setting, like a coffee shop, that Generation Y users tend to frequent. Specific examples of this programming highlighting topics are discussed throughout the thesis.

**Online Programs**

The advantage of online websites is the freedom of choice afforded the individual. A person can explore what interests them in the time they have available in however much depth they wish. At the same time, online programs cannot substitute for a museum visit and the direct experience of the original art. Ideally, the user will want to apply what he or she has learned and engaged with online to the actual museum. As well as enticements for visitors, some programs can serve as supplemental material, which will promote multi-modal learning. Using face-to-face meetings, with support and engagement from online technologies, can allow creation, processing, and archiving of knowledge for lifelong learning. Online programs may include weblogs, use of social networking sites (Twitter, Facebook, Myspace and so forth), public or group online forums, web-based seminars or webinars, video logs or vlogs, mobile applications, and mobile interactive games. These programs will provide varied opportunities for the individual, including, socialization, education, museum interaction, and engagement. Theoretically, it would be optimal to devote an online section of a museum website solely to the

10. Blume et al., 85.
Generation Y users through the Classics pages. It is also feasible to publish such programs in paper format as well, or at least have printer-friendly pages.

Currently the MMA and Getty Villa have extensive interactive websites all with videos, podcasts, audio files, artwork databases, Really Simple Syndication (RSS) feeds, weblogs, mobile application downloads, online educational resources and links, and so forth. They also take advantage of independent websites that host pictures, relay information, provide social networking or links including Twitter, Facebook, Youtube, Flickr, Foursquare, iTunes U, Delicious, and Artbabble. The Getty, in an evaluation of their Twitter participation in 2009, lists several objectives that can be applied to using online programming for museums. Essentially, these objectives describe distributing media about the museum not necessarily covered on their website to a worldwide audience, and intend this form of distribution to target new audiences while simultaneously reaching the current audience on a “personal platform.” Such objectives can be applied to all museum use of outside web programs as well as their own websites. By exploiting these existing websites and programs that tend to attract younger or “digitally native” audiences, this thesis will adapt some of these existing methods to address topics of war.

The use of weblogs or blogs is a way to contemporize ancient views by engaging classical content through a modern method. Multiple blogs can be created through a museum website all of which can be hyperlinked together to encourage more readers and traffic. Blogging is an ongoing activity and is therefore an investment in long-running narratives. Some museums currently have blogs, such

as the ongoing blog *The Iris*, the Getty blog, and *The Medieval Garden Enclosed* blog for the Cloisters Museum and Gardens. The MMA also has temporary blogs coinciding with the temporary exhibits such as the *Alexander McQueen Savage Beauty* (May 4, 2011-August 7, 2011) exhibition. However, the blogs listed later in this thesis will be more specific, relating to issues of Greek and Roman warfare. They are also continuous, relating to the permanent collection and not a temporary exhibition.

Social technologies or networks like Facebook, Twitter, and Foursquare are other online programs that museums can utilize, not only for inadvertent advertising, but also as a way of interconnecting fellow museum-goers. Examples are the groups on Facebook that cater towards specific audience members of the museum, like the College Met Group’s Facebook page. Topics and events are discussed on this group page and it is also a means for the group to touch base with one another without having to meet in person. Also, museums can adapt these social networks to create fictitious character profiles that are concurrent with the museum’s classical exhibitions, as a means to generate interest in the exhibition. These fictitious character profiles are discussed in the following topics, in particular the Soldier chapter where these social technologies could be most usefully applied.

Online forums are another avenue through which museum visitors can interact and form bonds outside the museum. These programs can promote socialization, learning, and possibly further visits. Online discussions also encourage greater candor, leading to more open conversation.15 Platforms like a museum Wiki page, allowing multiple people to write and edit collaboratively, would encourage

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15. Blume et al., 88.
participants to create and discuss issues together. Wikis could create a multi-level experience enhancing the actual physical program at the museum.¹⁶

Within online programs are mobile programs, which include applications accessible via mobile devices such as tablets, Smartphone, and other technologically similar devices. Mobile technology now has the capacity for educational formats and is called mobile learning or m-learning. Oksana Hlodan, in the article “Mobile Learning Anytime, Anywhere,” relates different examples in which schools are taking advantage of mobile technology by creating mobile lesson plans and education software, and experimenting with in-class use of mobile devices.¹⁷ Museum mobile programs will include an overall application or app that can be available through the museum website that focuses specifically on the classical galleries or collections. The app will provide access to select artworks, details, descriptions, locations, links to the blogs, and other useful information while in the museum or out.

Some museums today have museum applications that are accessible via a mobile device. Some relate to the whole exhibition while others relate specifically to special exhibitions. The MMA has recently provided iPhone/iTouch applications for their special exhibitions starting with the Guitar Heroes (February 9 – July 4, 2011) exhibition, as well as an iPad application for the exhibition Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty (May 4–August 7, 2011). The Getty also has an iPad application for their permanent collection, which encompasses the Getty Center as well. Although there is no general mobile application for the Getty Villa collection, there is the

option of using their website via a mobile device as well as using Google Goggles. The Getty is the first museum to use the Google Goggles program, which is an Augmented Reality (AR) program that enables a “real-world environment to be augmented by computer-generated imagery or information, creating a kind of ‘mixed’ reality.”\textsuperscript{18} Google Goggles allows viewers to photograph art in the museum and then instantly receive information about that object through a mobile device. More museums, such as the MMA, have started using this program since funding for such technology, such as mobile devices for educational purposes, has become more affordable.\textsuperscript{19}

Some larger institutions have branched out even further. The Smithsonian implemented an alternate reality game (ARG) —made by an independent gaming company—to enhance their accessibility, advertising, and programming. The game, \textit{Ghosts of a Chance} (2008-10), involved interaction and participation between museum-goers and the artifacts in the museum, all under the auspices of a fictional storyline filled with mystery.\textsuperscript{20} The International Spy Museum, also in D.C., employs a similar gaming strategy using a global positioning system (GPS) interactive device. \textit{Spy in the City} takes the visitor on a spy mission, in which they receive clues, codes, and audio intercepts while visiting landmarks around a two-mile radius.\textsuperscript{21} Blurring the boundaries between education and entertainment, through games in these

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Jeff Watson, “Ambient storytelling resources,” Remote Device, \url{http://remotedevice.net/resources/ambient-storytelling-resources/} (accessed June 18, 2012).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
cases, is a creative way of promoting interest in museum programs while still upholding educational values.

All of these online educational programs, as stated earlier, can be linked together through the museum website, preferably a webpage dedicated to the ancient art collection of the museum. All the online programs such as blogs, profiles, webinars, games, forums, mobile applications, and other outside websites would be on one page and accessible for use in and outside the museum. The reason for placing all these different branches and format together in one domain is not only for ease of use but also to aid potential exploration by the public user; even if the user is visiting the site specifically for one online program having all the online program options together could entice them to investigate the other online programs.

Having set the background and template, I will now detail my vision for programming the four themes of ancient Greek and Roman warfare, *The Soldier*, *Arms and Armament*, *The Enemy*, and *Death of the Soldier* within a museum context. Since museums have their curators, and educators decide on, formulate, and run these programs, the following topics and programs constitute my recommended approach for specializing and specifying particular topics for particular programs. All these programs are broad enough for application at any museum with a substantial collection of Greek and Roman antiquities, yet specific enough to highlight unknown, pertinent, and compelling instances of warfare. Following the conclusion, I have also supplied an appendix comprising a bibliography and relevant samples of programs.
2: The Soldier

Life of the Ancient Soldier

Ancient warriors were not merely pawns of war; they played a crucial role in maintaining freedom and preserving peace. They trained, fought, and served their homelands as they labored, loved, and perished. The following pages portray the soldier and his life in war through museum programs.

Rise of the Soldier Class

Excluding Sparta, both Greek and Roman early soldiers were working citizens who volunteered during war campaigns. 1 After a battle or campaign, they would go back to their land and resume normal life. As these countries won battles and acquired more land and wealth, the formation of a structured army became necessary to protect these acquisitions. Thus, the soldier class was born.

Tours are the best format for this topic. Tours can exemplify the lives of early Greek and Roman soldiers as shown in the art of those cultures, and even pair them with artistic representations of American soldiers of relevant periods, such as the American Civil War. Other tour topics could briefly show the difference between Greek and Roman soldiers. Ideally, these tours should provide both comparison and contrast between contemporary and ancient soldiers as represented in art.

Roman Ranks, Recruitment, and Retirement

The organization of the current U.S. military follows the model set by these ancient Roman predecessors. After the birth of the Roman Empire in the 1st century B.C., Emperor Augustus Caesar established the Roman army. This army was

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adequately equipped, trained, and provided with proper necessities and health care to live while on duty and afterward.²

The Romans were pragmatic and capable in the areas of administration and law, as expressed in their organized military system.³ To enlist as an infantryman in a legion (the main battle unit), the candidate had to be a 5’8” to 5’10” Roman citizen between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one with good health and eyesight. He also needed to understand Latin, and occasionally he needed to be able to read and write.⁴ Potential soldiers needed to pass the probatio (an initial examination), after which they took sacramenta (oaths of loyalty to the emperor). They were then issued signacula (ancient identification similar to modern dog tags), assigned to a unit, and given a travel allowance to join their unit at its location.⁵ The soldiers underwent basic training for four months. During this training, they participated in mock battles, strength training, and marching practices inside or near their garrison.⁶

Figure 2.1 Fragmentary marble head of a helmeted soldier, possibly from triumphal arch or column, Roman, 69 – 79 A.D., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

As in the United States, the magnitude of the infantry was divided into several ranks of legionary soldiers, all with opportunities for promotion. These

³ Ibid., 37.
⁴ Ibid., 132-133.
⁵ Ibid., 133.
⁶ Ibid., 136-137.
legionaries existed within a complex and efficient network of units within units inside a legion, each section having its own commander and officer entourages.7 Legionaries residing outside Rome had substantial salaries, making them the wealthier citizens of the empire. Infantrymen within Rome, however, were not as wealthy, often relying on the spoils of war as supplemental income.8 Recruits were able to attend festivals and allowed to marry after retirement. In the later centuries the marriage ban was lifted and they were allowed to marry during their enlistment.9 These restrictions were, of course, limited to the infantry; officers and other high-ranking officials were not constrained by such restrictions.

The general of a legion was given the title legatus. Directly beneath him in command was the tribunus laticlavii who was usually a prospective senator with little or no military training.10 Attached to the legions were the esteemed equites legionis (cavalry) and auxilia (foreign allied forces).11 Immunes or professional workers including engineers, architects, artillerymen, clerical staff, and medici (field doctors) were essential to any legion.12

The Romans also recruited adept soldiers, similar to contemporary military specialist corps, including speculatores (spies), exploratores (scouts) and cohors praetoria (Praetorian Guard)—the most elite and highest paid of the military forces whose purpose was to guard the emperor in Rome and during campaigns.13 Similarly to our U.S. military, laws were enforced by military police and the vast

7. Ibid., 90.
8. Ibid., 112.
9. Ibid., 145.
10. Ibid., 129.
11. Ibid., 102.
12. Ibid., 104; 233.
13. Ibid., 115; 226.
Roman empire required additional regional and local forces. Upon retiring after twenty-five years of service, a Roman soldier could continue his original profession or start a new business after receiving his pension and discharge papers. If he was not a Roman citizen he could be granted citizenship upon retiring as is indicated in the bronze diploma issued to a non-citizen in figure 2.11.

![Figure 2.11](image)

**Figure 2.11** Bronze military diploma, Roman, ca. 149 A.D., MMA, New York. Issued to a foreign soldier granting rights to marry and citizenship upon completing 25 years of service to Rome. *Source: www.metmuseum.org.*

Primarily, tours would showcase the ranks of the Roman legion and cavalry through highlighting artwork depicting the designation of rank, particularly sculpture. Armor especially distinguished the different ranks depending on the level of decoration seen in figure 2.12. Although epitaphs and soldier correspondence extant on papyri display rank as well, these sources are fewer and the tour would need to have additional references supplemented by the tour instructor in replica or image form.

![Figure 2.12](image)

**Figure 2.12** *Left:* Bronze cheek piece of a helmet, Roman, late 2nd ce. A.D., MMA, New York. From a high-ranking official. *Right:* Gold crossbow fibula (brooch), Roman, ca. 286 to 306/7 or 308/9 A.D., MMA, New York. Given to senior imperial staff. *Source: www.metmuseum.org.*

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14. Ibid., 123.
15. Ibid., 167.
The Farmer Militia of Greece

In Greece, not all city-states or poleis were so prosperous and vast as Athens and Sparta as to maintain full-time armies. Those poleis still relied on the citizen militia who were primarily comprised of wealthy farmer citizens.\textsuperscript{16} “Agriculture was the linchpin of all social, economic, and cultural life,” and consequently, when there was an outbreak of war, the farmers who owned the land were prepared to defend their homes and poleis.\textsuperscript{17} These wealthy citizens eventually developed into the hoplite class of soldiers.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure2.13.png}
\caption{Storage jar with two warriors, terracotta, Greek, 500-480 B.C., Getty Villa, Malibu. Source: www.getty.edu.}
\end{figure}

\textit{Hoplites} were heavily armed infantrymen whose name presumably originates from their \textit{hoplon} (bronze platted shield) and the collective \textit{hopla} (arms and armor).\textsuperscript{18} The \textit{hopla} signified the high status and wealth of \textit{hoplites} because it was self-provided and costly.\textsuperscript{19} The most proficient soldiers in Greece were the Spartans because they trained for war from the age of seven.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 17. Victor Davis Hanson, \textit{A War Like No Other} (New York: Random House, 2005), 38.
\item 19. Freeman, 91. The importance of bronze arms and armor is elucidated thoroughly in the Arms and Armor chapter.
\item 20. Cartledge, 29. Spartan warriors are discussed in detail later in this section.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
In Athens, *hoplites* had two years of private basic drill training in the *hoplomachia* (place of fighting with hoplite weapons) after joining the military at age eighteen.\(^{21}\) The phalanx was the standard infantry formation in Greece, consisting primarily of *hoplites*.\(^{22}\) Athenians also recruited allied troops of slingers and archers along with various commanders, marines, and employed lower class citizens as rowers for their famous triremes.\(^{23}\) The counterpart to a commander in the navy was a *trierarch*, a wealthy Athenian citizen providing financial backing to the trireme while another important leader was the *kubernetes* (steersman) who was a vital part of a trireme during battle.\(^{24}\) According to war historian Victor David Hanson, light armed troops, who were poorer and subsequently deemed less honorable, were used more heavily during the long and vicious battles between Athens and Sparta in the Peloponnesian War (431 - 404 B.C.).\(^{25}\)

**Why the Spartans were so Spartan**

A discourse on ancient warfare cannot be held without examining the legendary Spartans. The Spartans were a warrior race considered to be the “marines of the entire Greek world.”\(^{26}\) Since the founding of the Spartan *polis*, those citizens were able to maintain a professional military lifestyle because they controlled two territories, Laconia and Messenia, which provided all the state economy through labor and agriculture and thus made the Spartans in control of the largest territory

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22. Connor, 12.
23. Hanson, 91-92. The use of triremes as a weapon are discussed in Chapter 3, Arms and Armament.
25. Hanson, 91-93.
in Greece. The enslavement of the Helots (captives from the territories) forced Sparta to become an impenetrable fortress to prevent and defend against the many slave revolts. Even though slavery in the ancient world was accepted, many citizens in the fellow Greek community thought the Spartans were quite controversial and wrong in enslaving fellow Greeks and not the typical foreign barbarians.27 Because of their use of enslavement Spartan citizens were constantly on their guard against such attacks, which is why initially boys were trained from the age of seven or eight for their inevitable profession: the soldier.28 This constant readiness for attack and early military training may have been the main reason for the birth of this warrior race and their lasting military power throughout the centuries.

Outside the Laconian and Messenian territories were the population of Perioeci (dwellers-around), technically free peoples that were at Sparta's military and economical disposal.29 These small city-states, although sometimes over shadowed in Spartan history, were critical to Spartan art culture. The Spartan citizen was forbidden to engage in any craft, trade, or other economic activity unless it was linked to war. Although not as abundant or known, there are clearly examples of Laconian art, architecture, literature, and other forms of culture and the Perioeci were the main culprits, although commissioned by Spartan citizens. They also fought alongside the Spartans under the same name that the Spartans were often referred to as, Lacedaemonians. Perioeci handled the importing and exporting of goods, and also made the weapons and armor that the Spartans wore and used.30

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 73.
30. Ibid., 76.
This population needs to be addressed more in forms of lectures since both The Getty Villa and MMA lack Laconian art.

Another topic that is less known are the softer sides of the Spartans or at least the entertainment-seeking aspects. For instance, a topic could focus on the poetry by Tyrtaeus and Alcman, or the peculiar song and dances of the Spartans, giving an alternative perspective to Sparta’s warfare culture.

Figure 2.14 Lead figures of a warrior with helmet and shield, Laconian (Spartan), 6th to 5th ce B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

**The Spartan Code, Leonidas, and the Real 300**

The Persian Wars lead to one of the most notorious battles in the history of Greek warfare: the battle of Thermopylae. The Greek historian Herodotus described the battle of Thermopylae in his *Histories* and his account is the basis for the graphic novel, *300* (1998) by Frank Miller, which was later made into a film by the same name directed by Zach Snyder.³¹

Figure 2.15 Still of 300, Gerard Butler as King Leonidas. © 2007 Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc. All Rights Reserved. Source: www.warnerbros.com.

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³¹ Dan Vergano, ”This is Sparta? The history behind the movie '300',” *USA TODAY*, March 5, 2007.
According to Herodotus, the outnumbered Spartans and *helots* led by the Spartan King Leonidas, along with several allies, battled the Persians for three days on a narrow pass at Thermopylae. By the third day, Leonidas ordered most of the forces to retreat due to the Persians finding a secret pass from which they could attack the Greeks from the rear. Only Leonidas, his 300 Spartans, some *helots*, and a few other allies stayed to defend the pass. At the end of the battle all the Spartan men were killed, save a few allies who surrendered. The defeated Spartans and their allies were honored and lauded, even in death, for their extraordinary courage.

The actions of the men at the battle of Thermopylae demonstrate the Spartan philosophy of life: loyalty to the group and above all the state. Director Zach Snyder’s film *300* (2007) effectively portrays this philosophy even though the film contains historical inaccuracies. For example, military training and Spartan city life are enacted very convincingly in the film, but the men are not training in the nude as they would have done. Jonathon Stamp, historical consultant for the television series *Rome* (2005-2007) created by Bruno Heller, William J. MacDonald, and John Milius, asserts that a film’s primary goal is to entertain, not adequately inform. However, educators can use films to aid the learning process by presenting the accurate material and comparing it to the inaccurate material.

A museum program could use Snyder’s film *300* (2007) and compare it to actual depictions of Spartans and to the account by Herodotus. The film paired with a lecture would involve viewing clips while countering them with Herodotus’s

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33. Cartledge, 33.
account and illustrated accounts from Sparta and its surrounding territories. According to a *USA Today* interview, a renowned classicist specializing in ancient Spartans, Paul Cartledge, was consulted for the film. To solidify the accuracies and inaccuracies of the film, Cartledge would be a reputable authority to consult and a good candidate for a talk or lecture independent of a film program, thereby extending beyond the film’s content. An example of something interesting, yet not explored in the film, is the history of Leonidas. His brother was initially king of Sparta and died, leaving Leonidas as his heir. To show his prowess as new king, Leonidas opposed the admonitions of the elders of Sparta and headed to Thermopylae, fully aware that it was a futile but heroic decision. Developing this historical dimension in the film would have presented an entirely different perspective on this event that many audiences would most likely be unaware of.

**Sparta Versus Athens**

An interesting tour topic, besides the numerous examples of representations of *hoplites* on pottery, sculpture, funerary reliefs, gems, and elsewhere, is a comparison of Athenian soldiers versus Spartan soldiers: how they were depicted in the art of the period, today, and throughout their long reigns as leading city-states of Greece. This tour should elicit much discussion since Athens and Sparta are now considered famous historical and political rivals, exemplifying two opposing aspects of classical Greek society. However, this tour would need substantial supplemental material for Spartan (or Lakonian) art is sparse at these two institutions and even globally. Supplemental material could include photographs of Spartan art from other museums and also replicas if available.

36. de Souza, Heckel, and Llewellyn-Jones, 63.
Delving further into the difference between Spartan and Athenian cultures, a lecture concerning these differences in culture and art is appropriate. As mentioned earlier, Spartans were the marines of the world whereas Athenians were the rulers of the sea. Spartans were seen as austere and conservative, hence the term in English, *spartan* (marked by strict self-discipline or simplicity), whereas Athenians were seen as great innovators and artists. In the introduction by curator Nikolaos Kaltsas of the *Athens-Sparta* exhibition (December 6, 2006 – May 12, 2007) at the Onassis Cultural Center in New York City, the purpose of this exhibition is laid out. Sparta in the past has been overshadowed by Athenian art and culture and the exhibition simply highlighted great Laconian works alongside Athenian works throughout both city-states’ reign. It elucidated the changes and shifts of economic and political power as well as shifts in art production and styles. Neither *polis* overshadowed the other in this presentation and that is exactly what a lecture on this topic would do. It will bring to light the lesser-known aspects of Laconian art, such as metalworking, ivory sculptures, and pottery. It can also explain why there was less art in the public sphere in Sparta, contrasting with the many monumental works in Athens. For instance, the lack of monumental works in Sparta is possibly due to their aversion to opulence and grandeur, and their reverence for education, legislation, and politics. This lecture supplemented with numerous artworks from museums and archaeological sites around the world will bring Spartan art and culture more to the forefront where it can adequately compete with Athens, on a cultural plain and not just on the battlefield.

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Soldier ID Tags

At the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C., educators include supplemental literature to enhance the permanent exhibition, *The Holocaust.* Visiters may take the identification cards of individuals persecuted in Europe during the Holocaust and carry them throughout the exhibition. These cards help visitors to “personalize the historical events of the time.” Using this approach as a model, classical educational programs can humanize, describe, and personalize the ancient soldiers to their visitors by detailing the life of the soldier.

Booklets, pamphlets, or cards depicting the life of a fictional individual soldier in antiquity can serve the same purpose as the Holocaust ID cards, while also connecting specific works in the galleries pertinent to the details of the soldiers’ daily lives. These supplemental materials will be titled soldier ID tags or ‘ancient dog tags.’ Each handout would contain historically accurate information about a soldier’s background and occupation, and the particular campaigns or battles he fought in. Much of this technical information comes to us from primary sources such as soldier epitaphs, diplomas, discharge papers, and correspondence.

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Furthermore, these ID tags can also provide information on his family members, the circumstances of his death, or where he was from, all chronologically so as to follow his life story. These “dog tags” would also reference particular museum works illustrating this personal information. For example, if a visitor receives a “dog tag” for a Roman legion officer, an image map or number can locate an artwork that displays the armor that type of soldier would have worn. It could also direct the visitor to regional art showing what artworks and styles the soldier would have been familiar with. The detail and breadth of this information would depend on the preferences, circumstances, and collections of the museum employing this supplemental information. An example of a brochure is included in the appendix and is loosely the physical program of an electronic or mobile application discussed in the following pages.

**Profiling a Soldier**

A museum’s website can develop this personalizing concept even further online by creating intimate social networking profiles of soldiers as Facebook, LinkedIn, Myspace, and other internet platforms do for contemporary individuals. The ‘profile’ can explain the life of a particular fictional soldier from a specific time period, preferably the same soldier used for the supplemental literature previously mentioned, so as to link the museum visit with the individual’s personal life at home or outside the museum. All the information would be accurate and presented in a way that appeals to “Generation Y” members, i.e. using colloquial language to communicate classical ideas. This information again would be taken from extant sources as well as art objects in the museum. The online profiles can be maintained by creating different profile templates from various time periods and geographic
regions and then displaying them periodically on the museum’s website on a rotating basis. Finally, allowing blog space for comments on the profile would provide the opportunity for open discussions amongst the viewers.

**Soldier Diaries**

Another related program that delves more deeply into ancient soldiers’ daily lives involves creating blogs or online journals of various soldiers in a format that Generation Y members understand and appreciate. The blogs can serve as an extension of the original profiles and relate the daily activities of that soldier in a detailed blog format composed by trained interns or educators. These blogs can elaborate on such topics as what soldiers ate, drank, and wore, how they trained, spent their leisure time, received pay, communicated with their wives (letters to wives), received medals/awards, marched in parades, attended ceremonies, received trophies, incurred defeats, celebrated victories, attended funerals, witnessed and partook in sacrifices, and what art they saw in temples during religious rituals. The ‘soldier’ can post photographs of places they have been or post artworks from the museum illustrating their experiences. For example, if the soldier fought in a battle, an image of a vase depicting a battle can be shown. Also using extant soldier correspondence on papyri in addition to other sources provides a realistic component to the blogs and may further humanize the soldiers. A step further would be providing video blogs, wherein a volunteer can simulate a Greek or Roman soldier’s daily log. A more thorough example of a written blog is listed in the appendix from a Roman soldier’s point of view.
Figure 2.17 Letter in Greek, Roman/Egyptian, papyrus, from Egypt, early 3rd ce. A.D., MMA, New York. This letter from Heraclides to his brother Petechois entails more or less a list of items that Heraclides wants Petechois to bring to him. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

**Soldier Mobile Application**

A mobile application directly linking the artifacts in the museums to the visitor will help to solidify the life of the soldier as well as other topics discussed in this thesis. The application will be a conglomeration of all the programs discussed in the thesis through the life of one soldier that the visitor chooses. The main function of the application is for visitors to take a ‘tour’ of a soldier’s life through a gallery or several galleries, depending on the visitor’s preference of tour length. As previously mentioned, all soldiers are fictitious but based on inscriptions, historical facts, and artwork of the time or art period they ‘lived’ in. The person would tap on the link of the soldier life they wish to examine and the app would provide a gallery map, photographs of the artifacts illustrating the story of the soldier, and a biography of the soldier while touring the gallery. It will focus on all art objects and artifacts such as lamps, pottery, armor, and even decorative art for the soldier would have used all of these things. For example, if a visitor wishes to know more about a soldier in a gallery that primarily houses tombstones, the tour could direct the visitor toward a few tombstones that show a soldier and his accoutrements in life. The tour can
detail the honor and death of a soldier, or the public commemoration and military funerary procedures through a story.

Links to the mobile websites of the Soldier Diaries, Soldier Profiles, and other online programming should correspond directly to the soldier discussed in the gallery and should be available on the application main page. Illustrated in the appendix is a tentative design template or outline of the museum mobile application.

The Male Body

The following topics and programs represent the Greek and Roman cultural ideals of the male body as represented in their artwork, and how these have influenced contemporary conceptions of the masculine image. The subject is extremely relevant to directed discussions of war within these two societal contexts as both cultures emphasized the importance of a healthy, conditioned body for victory in combat. The perfect male body was also a prerequisite for athletics, attracting love interests of both sexes, for the Greeks enjoyed and encouraged homosexual relationships, and participating in other competitive activities. Greek art expressed this through the nude male body making the art unique in relation to Greece’s classical contemporaries. The Roman emphasis and proliferation of the male nude in art was not as abundant, but Greek influences on Roman sculpture are evident in the refining of Roman physical ideals.

Greek Nudity

The Greeks openly admired the nude male body. Their aesthetic revealed not only the beauty and accepted homosexual desire of the male physique, but also the
muscular strength essential for victory on the battle and athletic fields. Nudity was not uncommon in the Greek male world; it was encouraged in religious and secular rituals and epitomized a lifestyle for Greek men. Soldiers and athletes trained and competed in the nude or wore minimal clothing. Ancient Greeks trained and exercised in the gymnasium (place of nakedness), which “functioned as a military institution, public banquet-hall, court, auditorium, country club, and university.” Nudity during physical activities allowed for “an accurate judgment of a man’s physical fitness.”

![Figure 2.18 Victorious Youth, bronze, Greek, 300 – 100 B.C., Getty Villa, Malibu. Source: www.getty.edu.](image)

Larissa Bonfante claims nudity was a costume or uniform that “marked men’s status as citizens of the polis (city-state) and as Greeks.” Many of these citizens were wealthy and defended their polis as hoplites. Thus, athletic nudity was “brought about by the rise of the hoplites” because nudity was linked with their high status and their role as commissioners of artists to promulgate nudity in art. Nude

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42. John Boardman, Greek Art, 4th ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 158.
44. Freeman, 555.
45. Ibid., 569.
46. Ibid., 554.
statuary typically portrayed war heroes, deities, athletes, and some distinguished mortals. Greek males were exalted in nude sculpture or paintings whereas foreigners and women were rarely depicted nude until the Hellenistic Period. Wall paintings and Greek vases also depicted male nudes, especially young athletes, competing unclothed. The models for sculptures were young athletes who embodied the supreme figure, both physically and erotically.

Figure 2.19 Marble statue of a wounded soldier, Roman copy of a Greek original, 138 – 181 A.D., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

Nudity in antiquity represents multiple subtopics and themes that can be incorporated into several lectures and discussions and the Getty Villa and the MMA have already included them as topics of interest related to their collections. These subtopics are discussed in the following pages.

**Today’s Reception of the Nude**

Although contemporary American culture shares similarities with Greece and Rome, the ideals for public nudity are quite different. Modesty and privacy around issues of nudity are not modern attitudes. Even in antiquity, contemporary cultures of the Greek, such as the Persian and Egyptian, did not share the Greek

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47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., 554.
49. Ibid., 543.
attitude toward public nudity nor did they express it in their art. But, in Greek antiquity, nude statues represented a key aspect of daily life and were publicly accessible.

Today “classical sculpture offers an aesthetic prototype for representation of the sensual nude and combines with studies of the live model to produce classicizing images of human bodies,” just as it did in previous centuries. Casts of antiquities have been acquired for private collections and employed in art education since the Renaissance. In the U.S., beginning in the 18th century, plaster casts proliferated as decoration and objects of study, although they were never as popular with the public.

Casts were displayed at collectors’ homes before the advent of museums, yet, due to Puritan American modesty and the absence of relevant education, nude sculptures were seen as inappropriate. Inevitably, some of the casts were the targets of vandalism—most surprisingly after the women-only visits, whose attendees had not been previously exposed to such displays.

Eventually, casts lost their purpose and popularity in art schools and collections. Students instead shifted to live models and natural elements. Casts were no longer needed in museums to develop and refine American culture especially after the economic boom provided collectors with the means to purchase original

52. Ibid., 355.
works of art and afford shipments. The cult of the original took precedent and collections were relocated to storage rooms and were either forgotten, neglected, or intentionally destroyed. Although the popularity of classical art and culture decreased in the early 20th century, nudity in Greek art was conveyed through other forms of media. Male physique photography, especially magazines of the 1950s and 60s, such as Physique Pictorial, depicted well-muscled men in revealing clothing, such as a loincloth, posed next to or surrounded by classical paraphernalia. In contrast to the Greek aesthetic, however, the photographs “concentrated instead on highlighting the erotic suggestiveness of their classical props.”

![Image](figure2_2_left.jpg)  
**Figure 2.2 Left:** Page from *Physique Pictorial*, Vol 9, no. 3, 1960. *Source:* maleimagearchives.com.  
**Center:** Cover of *The Male Figure*, Vol 24, 1962. *Source:* www.queerarts.org.  

Today, we do not respond to displays of public nudity with the same exaltation that the Greeks accorded male nudity in their daily life and art. In American culture today, we tend to perceive displays of nudity as humiliating, vulnerable, or pornographic. And nudity in the contemporary art world now encompasses multiple implications and connotations. Modern depictions of the

57. Ibid., 60.
nude in art juxtaposed with Greek and Roman nude treatments provide numerous topics for discussions, coffee talks, and lectures. Talks dealing with nude censorship or, arguably, lack there of, in today's media and especially advertising where near nudity is acceptable versus the unique approbation accorded nudity by the Greeks would yield abundant discussion.

**Body Armor as Roman Costume**

In Roman culture, the toga, instead of nudity, was the costume of warriors and is thus represented in artwork. Public nudity was not as prevalent in Roman society except at baths and *gymnasia*, which were derivatives of Greek culture. Nude Roman sculptures do exist, copied from Greek artists and modified to suit Roman inclinations, tastes, and modesty. However, Roman artists tended to portray soldiers in full armor, while mythic personifications in sculpture were more sensual, yet still not entirely nude.59 The healthy body, and consequently nudity, held less importance in Roman culture, which even disparaged an athlete competing naked as it "was seen as degrading of his status."60 However, nude portraiture that did exist often times was a mix of two cultures, especially in the late Republic and early empire: a Roman veristic portrait head inserted into an idealized and generic Greek styled nude body.61 These were the exception, chosen by the individual who commissioned the art. The norm for portraiture was *togate* portraits depicting the Roman citizen, constricted in a toga and representative of senators.

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60. Freeman, 394.
Another way of presenting the Roman soldier and more often the Roman elite or ruler was the full body armor portrait. Roman portrait art portrayed virility and power not so much through physical fitness but rather by attributes and gestures, especially seen in iconographic portraits such as *Augustus Primaporta.*

The attribute or equipment of Augustus, specifically the elaborate cuirass, demonstrates authority, dignity, honesty, and piety: all requisites for an ideal ruler. It is safe to say, that the form fitting cuirass and body armor is attractive, aesthetically pleasing, and showing clear musculature, not unlike the nude portraits of Greece demonstrating the toned male body and quite possibly evoking erotic connotations.

Recent Hollywood films, either focusing on Greek or Roman cultures, adhere to the idealization of the body through armor, similar to the portraiture. For Rome, an adequate example that showcases the Roman male soldier ideal is the film *Gladiator* (2000) directed by Ridley Scott. The body armor is form fitting, elaborate, and even revealing at times. Other films showcase this type of tight muscled armor such as *The Eagle* (2011) directed by Kevin Macdonald, and *Centurion* (2010) by

62. Hölscher, 12.
Neil Marshall, both depicting various Roman officers in Briton. A program eliciting the Roman ideal body in full armor can use these film clips to depict Hollywood’s depiction of the Roman ideal body and then can compare it with the art of Rome.


This encompassing topic can also include gladiators, with their fame in Rome similar to that of sports stars today, their tight fitting armor and excellent combat skills, and the multiple portrayals in art. Again, for a more or less accurate portrayal of gladiators, the film *Gladiator* (2001) and the film and series depicting Spartacus, the slave and leader of a revolt, can illuminate these warrior portrayals in Rome and its empire.

Figure 2.23 Mosaic depicting gladiators, Roman, 2nd – 3rd ce. A.D., Villa at Saarland, Germany. © The Print Collector—Heritage-Images/Imagestate. Source: kids.britannica.com.

A program that elicits more discussion of male body appeal and ideal today compares sports stars to the warrior body in classical times. The discussion can
evaluate different photographs and portrayals of American sports players and pair it with portrayals of warriors and athletes in Greek and Roman times. This type of program could be implemented electronically via a forum or even a wiki format through the museum’s classical website.

A more open discussion possibly held in a Classics ‘n’ Coffee format could discuss the views of the perfect masculine body in Greece and Rome. Questions that could frame the discussion are ‘Why was the idyllic body nude in Greece?’, ‘Why were Romans seemingly more conservative in regards to the male body?’, or ‘Which costume emits more erotic connotations, the toned bare-chested body or the muscled cuirass of warriors?’.

**Greek Male Beauty Pageants and the Modern Equivalent: Bodybuilding**

Qualities of masculinity, fitness, and beauty were intertwined in classical Greek society. Due to their competitive nature, the Greeks conducted and participated in contests that judged these attributes. Male beauty pageants were commonly performed in *gymnasia*, but are also mentioned in relation to the Pan-Hellenic festivals. These pageants were just as compelling for the spectators as for the participants with the young men performing in the nude as “the focal point of the competition.” There are three known contests that relied on beauty and physique as the determining factors for victory while also evaluating moral and mental attributes. The *euexia*, according to Nigel Crowther, was a physique competition where “symmetry, definition, tone, bearing and especially a general fit

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and healthy appearance” were the likely criteria for success.”66 The euandria, sometimes defined as a military display of good discipline and equipment maintenance, displayed the essence of “manly spirit and courage.”67 A third contest based on beauty alone was the kallisteia.68

Bodybuilding is debatably the closest equivalent to Greek male beauty contests in contemporary society. Ironically, the idyllic classical male body is the original inspiration for bodybuilding.69 In the late 19th century, when classical culture and art were at an apex, bodybuilding began as a circus act. The act included a muscular bronze-painted man who posed and mimicked famous classical statuary to music while enclosed in a glass box.70

Figure 2.24 Left: Eugen Sandow as Farnese Hercules, 1897. ©Mansell Collection/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images. Source: www.britannica.com Right: Farnese Hercules, 1562, engraving Jacob Bos, MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org

It was not until later that these men started performing exhibitions of strength or muscle-man competitions. The most famous of these men was Eugen Sandow who is pictured above in figure # imitating the Farnese Hercules. Eventually,

68. Johnson and Ryan, 58.
69. Wyke, 51.
70. Ibid., 54.
these acts conceptualized the modern definition of bodybuilding. In her article “Herculean Muscle! (1997),” Maria Wyke details the history of early bodybuilding in the U.S. and its connection to Greek and Roman culture and art. She explains that, after the inception of the muscle-man competitions, images of the ideal male body proliferated through photographs, magazines, and films, all with classical undertones.\(^71\) Her article, along with comparisons of the 19\(^{th}\) century ideal bodies onwards and the ancient Greek ideal physique, can successfully attract and educate a Generation Y audience. And, rather than primarily using slides or photos to illustrate these issues, current bodybuilders could model live for this lecture or program. Male physique photography can also be discussed and used to highlight this program, especially the work of photographers such as Bruce Bellas, Bob Mizer, and Don Whitman. Their photographs were presented at the Jeff Bailey Gallery in New York and featured over seventy works.\(^72\) A mock Greek male beauty pageant following original guidelines is another related program possibility.


Another program in this category is a film series showcasing the Hercules films from 1957-1964 by the Italian director Dietro Francisci. These films,

\(^{71}\) Ibid., 60.
belonging to the genre known as “pepla” (a short skirt attached to the front of the waist) featured the American bodybuilder Steve Reeves. A screening of one of these films could also precede or follow a lecture detailing the classical roots of bodybuilding, simultaneously highlighting classicism’s appeal in popular film and photography as opposed to other art media.

73. Wyke, 62-65.
3: Arms and Armament

Weaponry

The Greeks and Romans used an array of weapons and armor that evolved over time and occasionally differed regionally. Not only did they use short and long-range combat weapons, but also siege machinery. Short range weapons in the Roman and Greek battle world included bronze and iron swords, daggers, and spears. Long-range weapons consisted of javelins, bows, and arrows.

Figure 3.1 Left: Bronze spear-butt, Greek, ca. 500 B.C., MMA, New York. Right: Figure Head of sword or dagger, copper alloy, Roman, 2nd-3rd ce. A.D., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

Ancient authors like Thucydides, Vitruvius, and Herodotus describe the use of siege artillery and machinery as well. By the Hellenistic age, engineers focused heavily on inventing similar machinery. For instance, the Greek engineer, Aeneas Tacticus, created various catapult machines, scaling ladders, and arrow launchers.  

The Romans improved siege artillery, and also invented single and dual-armed artillery weapons that fired metal bolts similar to the rapid succession of a machine gun today.

Ships as Weapons

Another topic of importance is naval warfare. Athens had an impressive army, but its main military strength came from the sea by the use of triremes. The

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trireme was powerful in battle and could capture, disable, or destroy entire enemy ships all with just a single ramming attack at high speeds.\textsuperscript{3} Triremes were slender, about 120 feet long, and made from light wood, enhancing their swiftness.\textsuperscript{4} The term \textit{trieres} means ‘rowed by three’ referring to the 170 rowers or oarsmen, in tiers of three that propelled the trireme.\textsuperscript{5} At the height of their maritime empire they controlled more than 150 city-states along the coast and islands from the southern Aegean to the Black Sea.

![Figure 3.11 Olymipias, photograph, January 30, 2011. The replica of the 5th century BC vessel has 170 oars and is the fastest human-powered vessel on the planet. Source: www.ekathimerini.com.](image)

John R. Hale’s history of the birth and demise of Athenian seafaring is an excellent resource for all that revolved around the trireme in Greece and especially Athens. There are multiple topics within naval warfare in Greece, which cannot possibly be touched upon in depth in this thesis. Some topics, however, can be highlighted briefly: how the trireme relates to crew or rowing sports today, a workshop on how the triremes were built; a demonstration of triremes or long ships either in video format or live action; a lecture detailing the rise of democracy, the arts, philosophy, and other Athenian achievements coinciding with the birth of the trireme fleet; a film series or lecture that erases the stigma about ancient rowers

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., XXIV.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.
and crew members being verbally and physically abused when in fact they were treated with respect for they were freemen, fighting an unseen enemy with bravery (they were below decks trusting their steersman); a lecture discussing the Piraeus, Athens’ port city that was the hub of international commerce and the center of foreigner acceptance more so than any other place in the ancient Greek city-states; and bravery versus cunning: how warships contradicted the heroic ideal with tactical maneuvers and blind bravery.

Figure 3.12 Terracotta kylix: eye-cup (drinking cup), Greek, ca. 520 B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

**Armor**

To counteract such weapons, adequate protection was developed and employed. Armor is probably the most iconic element of ancient warfare. It covered the soldiers from head to toe just like the armor worn by modern soldiers. The standard Roman armor was made in various styles from metal to leather materials. More decorative and extensive armor indicated a soldier with higher rank.6

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6. Southern, 156.
Roman armor was mostly made from iron, with the use of bronze and gold for decoration purposes, and linen for tunics and under armor. Greek armor was normally made entirely of bronze. The standard Greek hoplite attire was comprised of helmets, adorned with plumes of horsehair, greaves (a shin protector), breastplates, and shields. Poorer soldiers had less armor that was made with lighter materials such as linen.

Tours, gallery talks, classes, and workshops are the most appropriate vehicles for traditional weapons and armor education. Comparison tours between the Greek and Roman civilizations, the differing art and time periods, styles and types of arms and armor, and the varying media depicting them are ample material for the guide. A tour can focus on a particular weapon and armor pair or concentrate on a broader, more contemporary subject like the use of weaponry in modern
warfare shown through art. A tour can also explore the details and various styles of armor. Comparing Greek and Roman armor and even comparing the weapons along with the armor is also feasible. Again, these themes are numerous and it is the decision of the guide on where to direct the audience. In addition to the discussion and questions prompted by the guide, supplemental materials can also be used. Models and replicas, images, and materials for activities are excellent resources for a theme.


Classes and workshops constitute another approach to learning about weapons, specifically those that explore the techniques of production or provide experiences to sculpt, paint, or draw the tools of war as they were depicted in the art of the period. Basic techniques of armor building can also be taught through these contexts.

A third hands-on approach comprises a program that enlists local reenactment groups specializing in Greek and Roman warfare. Such reenactment groups are located throughout the U.S. and are devoted to the display and demonstration of armor and weapons. These reenactment formats could also allow visitors to touch, hold and wear the weapons and armor and even attempt to replicate the techniques used for battle. As an all-day event, this type of program
would include live displays, demonstrations, discussions, and workshops that allow visitors to practice wielding a weapon or to don armor. The design is similar to a renaissance festival; however, lectures and discussions are included alongside the experiential aspects. The Getty Villa has used their local Roman historical reenactment group, Legion VI Victrix, to present Roman dress in the program *Project Romeway*. In contrast, my concept of an all-day event is more detailed, hands-on, and encompassing.


**Importance of Armor and Weapons**

A major aspect of Greek arms and armament was the emphasis placed on bronze armor. The Greek world converged around the *hoplite*, the soldier who protected and increased each city-state’s wealth. Therefore, Greek warfare consolidated around the bronze armor, as it was a key accessory of the *hoplite*.

Armor was expensive, especially bronze armor; so, in order to be a soldier one had to possess the necessary funds to attain the armor. Possession of bronze armor therefore signified status of wealth between soldiers and also within Greek society. It also denoted a major distinction between the Greeks and barbarians, for the

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barbarians were not civilized enough to have such elaborate and fine armor.\(^8\) Lastly, armor symbolized freeman status, a highly valued distinction, for soldiers were citizens not slaves. Occasions of warriors preparing and departing for battle are depicted with gravity in vase painting partially for these reasons.\(^9\) Eventually, soldiers’ armor changed to linen layered breastplates, which were lighter to wear and more cost effective. This shift marked the end of the *hoplite* era and, soon after, Greece’s dominance over the Mediterranean.

![Figure 3.15 Bronze cuirass (body armor), Greek, 4th cent. B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.](image)

The importance of bronze armor is a significant enough topic to merit a lecture. The status of the *hoplite* through the use of armor can be compared to contemporary indicators of wealth and status. Modern soldiers are not usually part of the wealthy class in the U.S. unless they are high-ranking officers who are arguably more inclined to the political arena. This topic would make for a good comparison between today’s culture and that of ancient Greece.

Another topic along the same lines is the public presentation of objects and symbols that represent wealth and status in today’s society. Cars, houses, clothing, even dogs that fit in purses, and other material items can indicate status. But, unlike armor for the classical Greeks, these modern items do not also represent honor.

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Their relationship with bronze armor did not define the Greeks as materialistic—at least by today’s standards—but rather denoted honor. Overarching questions within this discussion format would be, ‘What are the signs of wealth nowadays and why are modern soldiers not the elite in our society?’, ‘How do we reward military heroes in contrast to the Greeks?’, and ‘How do the modern and classical definitions of heroism differ in light of status indicators?’

For Greek soldiers, losing one’s armor in battle signified losing honor, while stripping the armor off a dead enemy meant victory and profit. The armor of the enemy, especially their shields, was used as a victory marker at the end of a battle or campaign and would be displayed during processions upon the soldiers’ return in both Greece and Rome. One topic of discussion in these formats can focus on the significance of losing armor, especially shields, and compare this experience of the classical soldier to today’s practices, armor, and weaponry. Today, it is not a matter of honor if a soldier loses a weapon or piece of armor; rather it concerns liability, safety, and peril. Nevertheless, a modern soldier can be fined if he (or she) loses a weapon and in Roman times this was also the case.

Multiple programs can be derived from the discussion of shields in classical Greece. Shields held additional significance because the soldier’s personal device was initially inscribed in bronze or paint in the blazon and then, in later years, replaced with the emblem of his city-state.¹⁰ As stated previously, early Greek shields were decorated with a motif of the soldier’s choice such as a scorpion, hornet, or cobra symbolizing intimidation, just as is done with modern weapons. Modern aircraft and naval vessels in particular are often named after something

menacing and even painted to reflect such names.\textsuperscript{11} These “grotesque shield insignias” were also matched with “incised artwork on the bronze breastplates and greaves” and in combination these elements probably “heightened the psychological terror” during the battle.\textsuperscript{12} Another lecture could examine the purpose and techniques of shield decoration by the classical Greek and Roman soldier. A follow-up program can be implemented as well that involves the actual making of shields and symbols.

Figure 3.16 Left: Terracotta column-krater (bowl for mixing wine and water), attributed to the manner of the Göttingen Painter, Greek, ca. 500 B.C., MMA, New York. Right: Terracotta stamnos (jar)Attributed to the painter of London B 34, Greek, 6\textsuperscript{th} ce. B.C., MMA, New York. \textit{Source:} www.metmuseum.org.

\textbf{Insignia}

Not surprisingly, the weaponry and armor used in antiquity is grossly inferior in comparison to the guns, bombs, biological and chemical weapons employed in modern warfare. However, similarities in the use of modern insignia decoration of armor and weapons can be attributed to the Greeks and Romans. The Roman use of standards, which were staffs designed to differentiate between the titles of the legions and units, is very similar to the American use of flags and military unit insignia. The importance of the standards is shown by the standard-

\textsuperscript{11} Adrienne Mayor, \textit{Greek Fire, Poison Arrows and Scorpion Bombs: Biological and Chemical Warfare in the Ancient World} (Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 2003), 183.
\textsuperscript{12} Victor David Hanson, \textit{A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War} (New York: Random House, 2005), 137.
bearer’s rank. He who held the standard, the *signifer*, ranked directly beneath the *centurion*, the superior officer of a century unit.\(^{13}\) The eventual symbol of the Roman legion was the eagle, which the U.S. has adopted for the nation’s patriotic insignia.\(^{14}\)

![Image 1](image1.png)

![Image 2](image2.png)


Discussions of flags, insignia, and other patriotic or differentiating symbols can be formulated into various lectures. A program would show the aspects of U.S. military and patriotic emblems that are directly derived from the Roman military world. As stated above, the U.S. emulated the Romans in choosing the eagle as a national symbol. Likewise, the gesture of placing a hand over the heart during the national anthem or the pledge of allegiance was adopted from the Romans as well. The significance of a soldier carrying or wielding the American flag is clearly a patriotic and honor-filled duty derived from the Roman use of standards. These cultural parallels are not mere coincidence and can be explored in-depth through educational programs.

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13. Southern, 100.
14. Ibid., 95.
15. This Capricorn symbol was adopted as the lucky star of Augustus. It was used on coinage as well as military standards.
The recent movie, *The Eagle* (2011) directed by Kevin Macdonald, is an excellent example of the honor encompassing the Roman standard as well as the disgrace of losing armor and weapons in battle. During the Roman Empire, losing armor was not only dishonorable, but also punishable.\(^\text{16}\)

**Biological and Chemical Warfare**

The last topic in the weapons category addresses the use of lesser-known weapons in antiquity. These weapons were the precursors of chemical and biological weapons. In the book, *Greek Fire, Poison Arrows and Scorpion Bombs* (2003), Adrienne Mayor brings to light the extensive use of these unconventional weapons in antiquity. Weapons ranged from poisoned and fire arrows, noxious substances made from pitch and sulfur, to the intentional spreading of plagues. Armies also employed more complicated weapons, such as *naptha*, the precursor to napalm, flamethrowers, and other incendiary devices or bombs.\(^\text{17}\)

Chemical and biological warfare is extremely destructive and has constituted a serious and growing global concern since its use during World War I. While government leaders and officials were attracted to the devastating power of biological and chemical warfare, they also feared its potency and inhumane effects.

\(^\text{16}\) Southern, 147.
\(^\text{17}\) Mayor, bk.
In antiquity, commentators also expressed hesitance and abhorrence of these types of weapons, especially in light of the Greek and Roman value of honorable combat as the highest code of military conduct. Similar to the Geneva Convention, ancient Greece had a council called *The League* that banned certain methods of conquest and subjugation; it was prompted by the genocide of an entire village through the intentional poisoning of their water supply.¹⁸ Likewise, in the United States, former President George H. W. Bush adopted a plan for the destruction of chemical weapon production facilities and the remaining stockpile of chemical weapons in the U.S. during the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1992.¹⁹

Greek and Roman historians do not often address the employment of chemical and biological weapons, which makes this topic especially pertinent and appealing. Mayor has excellent and engaging examples of similarities between modern and ancient use of these armaments. Her book discusses many themes that can be incorporated into several lectures: myth mirroring reality; plans for designing artwork and myths to warn future generations away from burial sites of chemical weapons; and influences of other countries on the Greek and Roman use of chemical warfare.

Unfortunately, not many weapons, armor, and clothing are extant due to their perishable materials including wood, gold, bronze, linen, and leather; there are more surviving Roman artifacts thanks to their use of iron.²⁰ Nevertheless, art is one of the main sources, albeit more stylized and idealized, for reconstructing and learning about Greek and Roman arms and armaments.

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¹⁸. Ibid., 105.
²⁰. Southern, 158.
4: The Enemy and the Other in War

Figure 4.1 Terracotta relief of a warrior dragging a captive, Greek, 540 B.C. – 520 B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

The Greek male citizen lived life through a black and white lens. There were only polar opposites: human and monster, Greek and non-Greek, citizen and slave, male and female. These distinctions between the Greek male and “The Other” in the 5th century were an attempt to define and maintain the Greek male citizen prototype and are expressed through literature, politics, philosophy, and most importantly the arts.\(^1\) The emphasis on difference between two kinds of beings also asserted Greek male superiority and can be interpreted as stereotyping and the origination of racism. War played a huge role in this mode of thinking as the activity that delineated the differences between mortals and immortals, freedmen and slaves, men and women.\(^2\) The Romans followed suit, substituting themselves as the superior beings in place of the Greeks, although their laws were technically accepting of others. This mode of reasoning, having trickled down from the classical age, is embedded in our culture today and has affected the liberties of various peoples, especially in times of war.

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\(^2\) Ibid., 81.
Greek Monsters’ Evolution

In early Greek history, prior to the Persian Wars (490 – 479 B.C.) allegiances were constantly shifting within Greek society. The concept of a ‘foreign’ enemy was alien to Greeks and the rules, rituals, and representations of war reflected this. Battles were fought in regulated forms with heavy emphasis on individual valor and glory. There was a shared sense of mortality because Greeks were fighting against Greeks, not a collective foreign enemy. In art these sentiments are apparent. Scenes of fighting never indicate particular distinctions between Greeks; men are men and are equal. There is as yet no awareness of barbarism and de-humanization of the enemy.

The depiction of enemies in art during the Archaic period comprised Greek soldiers of myth, such as the Trojans. Fantastical or monstrous enemies derived from mythology ranging from Amazons, Centaurs, Giants, and Sphinxes to Hydras, Harpies, and Gorgons were rendered as well and throughout the Hellenistic period. In the Archaic period these creatures denoted the “alienness of the gods.” These styles in the Archaic period seem to illustrate the whole of humanity joining forces against the obvious enemies from the realms of fantasy and myth. Tours can show the progression of enemies from Trojan soldiers to monsters.

4. Ibid., 9.
5. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 238.
8. Ibid.
Homer’s *Odyssey* demonstrates this archetype of humans versus monsters. Lectures that incorporate the *Odyssey’s* monsters combined with visual examples will provide the audience with ample understanding of why and how the Greeks depicted monsters as enemies during Archaic Greece. The *Odyssey* also portrays a survivalist world, which reflects the general mentality of the ancient Greeks regarding war. War from this standpoint is a means by which to conquer or be defeated, and Homer’s epic poem voices such survivalist instincts through Odysseus’s ordeals against an array of terrifying monsters in order to arrive home safely. A more visually stimulating program is a viewing of the television mini series *The Odyssey* (1995) directed by Andre Konchalovsky and other similar Greek monster films.

In the Classical period Centaurs and Amazons shifted from being obvious enemies of humankind to a specific type of enemy. They were now the “enemies of culture” who endangered the convention of marriage. Amazons, a strong warrior race of women, blurred the boundaries between men and women. If women are similar to men, they are not suppliants and are not as easily exchanged in marriage. Thus, defeating the Amazons protected men’s right to marriage and “denie[d] the viability of single-sex female culture.” Centaurs also violate the marriage ideal in a less metaphorical way. Centaurs raid the marriage festival of the Lapiths and rape the attendants thereby destroying the marriage. They are also enemies of culture. Amazons and Centaurs invaded Greek culture, threatened to bring chaos, and in the end were suppressed.

9. Ibid., 237.
10. duBois, 150.
11. Ibid., 111.
12. Ibid., 119.
During the Persian War, Greek artists depicted hordes of Centaurs, Giants, and Amazons as barbarians representing real contemporary enemies, not just enemies of culture.\textsuperscript{13} These mythological creatures, once respected foes, became symbolic embodiments of the invading and defeated Persians as well as other foreign peoples.\textsuperscript{14} A common form of artistic media from this period that displays these groups of monsters is the \textit{metope}. In \textit{metopes}, or building friezes, Centaurs and Amazons battling Greek soldiers symbolize Greek conflict with and victory over the Persians. They also clarify the differences between the two groups of combatants, emphasizing the Greek male who is neither animal, nor barbarian, nor female.\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure4_11.png}
\caption{Terracotta Nolan neck-amphora (jar), attributed to the Alkimachos Painter, an Amazon and warrior fighting, Greek, 470 – 460 B.C., MMA, New York. \textit{Source: www.metmuseum.org.}}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure4_12.png}
\end{figure}

\begin{itemize}
\item 13. Osborne, 237.
\item 14. John Boardman, \textit{Greek Art}, 4\textsuperscript{th} ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 268-269.
\item 15. duBois, 110.
\end{itemize}
As a society changes and evolves, so do its definitions of enemies and monsters, as indicated above. Analyzing how the Greeks and Americans view these categories of “Other” shows how these views are modified. Lectures linked with film series are one way to illuminate these adapting views and compare today to yesterday. Arguably, interpretations and representations of these creatures today are not at all similar to those created in classical Greek periods. Amazons today might signify female liberation and strength. The Marvel Comics superhero Wonder Woman is an Amazon who helps save mankind and is one of the leading superheroes in popular culture. Although there are still cultural and legal limitations for women in some contemporary societies there is debatably less need to affirm the power of marriage or control over women in contemporary American society.

Therefore our Amazons are more likely the heroes than foes. Centaurs portrayed in the Harry Potter franchise films and books are viewed as wise, benevolent creatures akin to unicorns and other supernatural beings. Other monsters such as Hydria, seen in Herculean films and computer games, specifically God of War, are still the enemy because they are savage creatures possessing neither conscience nor worthy aspirations.

Figure 4.13 Left: Terracotta amphora (jar), a Centaur battling a soldier, Greek, 560 B.C. – 550 B.C., MMA, New York. Right: Terracotta volute-krater (bowl for mixing wine and water), attributed to the Painter of Woolly Satyrs, Amazonomachy (battle between Amazons and soldiers) and Centaurs battling Lapiths, Greek, ca. 450 B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.
Ancient Women

Soldier Wives in Greece

Marriage was seen as a peaceful complement to war.\textsuperscript{16} Families exchanged their young women to create or strengthen political connections and perpetuate the lineage of the \textit{polis} by producing heirs.\textsuperscript{17} Women performed all domestic roles, delegated household activities and staff, and raised children. Roles and professions for women outside the home included laborers, slaves, courtesans, and priestesses.\textsuperscript{18}

Although designated many difficult duties within the domestic sphere, Greek female citizens were segregated even at public events, isolated within the home, and rarely allowed outside un-chaperoned.\textsuperscript{19} Greek art provides evidence for the clear social distinctions made between men and women.\textsuperscript{20} In red figure vases, women were painted white and men red. The white color represented a femininity marked by a life indoors without physical labor. The darker (red) complexion employed in vase-painting techniques defined a masculinity associated with training in the nude and outside exertion. When color distinctions declined in vase-painting, women were painted in softer round forms compared to the angular forms of men.\textsuperscript{21} Tours can demonstrate easily these distinctions made between men and women in art throughout the classical period in Greece, pointing out the consistency of definite distinctions between the two sexes despite the changes in style.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 111.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} duBois, 115.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 111.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
Even though Greek women in varying levels of society had little or no voice and were clearly segregated in life and in art, they were able to attain a sense of identity, camaraderie, and community with their fellow females through women-only festivals, women symposia or gatherings, and celebrations.\textsuperscript{22} These events included drinking, feasting, socializing, and sacrificing, and some were state-sanctioned and sponsored by local female officials so that all women could attend.\textsuperscript{23} Such gatherings presumably furthered men’s anxiety about women since they did not entirely know what these women did or conversed about. Banquets or feasts hosted by women were traditionally held by high-level courtesans to boast their prestige, similarly to men’s dinner parties.\textsuperscript{24} It was not until the Hellenistic period that wealthy and respectable women started hosting such banquets as well.

**Spartan Women**

Literature, such as *Histories* by Herodotus, describes the real lives of non-Athenian and foreign women. What sets these women apart from Athenian women is that they had more of a voice in their *polis* or city. Herodotus also reports on

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Joan Burton, “Women’s Commensality in the Ancient Greek World,” *Greece & Rome* 45, no. 2, Second Series (Oct 1998): 150-151. It is important to note that symposia were men only events except for the ‘entertainment.’
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 151.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid, 156.
\end{itemize}
Spartan women. Although a Spartan woman’s primary function was to produce healthy warriors, this was seen as a great privilege as well as a duty.\textsuperscript{25} They were given more freedom than women in the other Greek \textit{poleis}, including an education, athletic training, and the right to inherit property.\textsuperscript{26} They were not confined to their homes and did not even live with their husbands until they were much older.\textsuperscript{27}

A nice counterpart program to the Soldier Diaries elucidating the lives of women is the Household Diaries. Just as the online program for the soldier dictates, the Household Diaries also set up profiles and online blogs for fictional women, linked to the existing soldiers, who are of varying ages, occupations, classes, and cultures. The following topics throughout the Ancient Women section can be incorporated into the Household Diaries as well. Other programs can emphasize the difference between Spartan and Athenian women in film, literature, and art.

**Women’s Role in War and Warrior Women**

As illustrated here, it is largely assumed from varying literary sources that Greek women were passively patriotic, loyal to the \textit{polis}, and supportive of their men in war. However, less assumed is that women had a more active role in war, especially in foreign campaigns.\textsuperscript{28} When attacked in their home city-state women would support and encourage the men while protecting their family. Cowards were shameful and men sought bravery through various venues especially through their wives. Spartan women were even more averse to cowardice and would send letters to their sons or husbands in battle urging them to be valiant or to die. This idea is

\begin{footnotes}
\item[25.] Freeman, 295.
\item[26.] Higgins, 77.
\item[27.] Freeman, 295.
\end{footnotes}
echoed in a famous saying from a Spartan woman to her son, recorded by Plutarch: ‘Come back with your shield or on it.’

Women also supported war by financing it willingly through donations and were sometimes forced to relinquish their property for war purposes. They could also be in charge of food production and arms and armor maintaining during a siege. There are also some instances where they were tasked with more war related activities in defense of the city, such as digging trenches, burying the war dead, and nursing the wounded. Even the rarest of cases have been attested that women started throwing roof tiles or stones at the invading enemy, or even committing suicide or murder. Debatably women in the polis seem like the modern equivalent of nurses in the World Wars and onward.

Outside the home and polis some women actually participated in war. The most famous examples are the royal women of Macedon, including Alexander the Great’s mother, half-sister, and other women relatives joining the battlefield (albeit always in safety). At one point, the women relatives of Alexander the Great even


30. Loman, 40.  
31. Ibid., 51.  
32. Ibid., 41.  
33. Ibid., 44.
waged war against one another.³⁴ Even more notable are the long lines of women that were more or less generals of large armies in Egypt including the famous Cleopatra VII. Alas, these women were not very successful in their military exploits and more often than not, the battle disasters of these women are most known, such as the ultimate defeat and suicide of Cleopatra VII and Eurydice’s (half-niece of Alexander the Great) loss of military control resulting in her death shortly thereafter.³⁵

Figure 4.16 Photograph from the Make Love Not War Editorial, photograph by Stephen Meisel, Vogue Italia, September 2007. Source: www.mymodernmet.com.

Common Greek women, especially during the Hellenistic period could accompany their husbands while on campaign, whereas previously only officers brought their family.³⁶ On campaign they might do things similar to what they would do at home: sharpen spears, dye plumes, and perhaps even help manufacture armor and weapons.³⁷ Other roles for women included entertainment to ensure the men were happy and ready to fight during a campaign.³⁸ Some types of entertainers were musicians, dancers, and prostitutes. Today our troops still invite and enjoy entertainers for the same reasons they were needed in antiquity—to relieve boredom and harsh living conditions.

³⁴. Ibid., 45.
³⁵. Ibid., 47.
³⁶. Ibid., 51.
³⁷. Ibid., 52.
³⁸. Ibid., 53.
Various art and media including vase paintings, film clips from the television series *Xena: Warrior Princess* (1995-2001) created by John Schulian and Robert Tapert, the film *Alexander* (2004) directed by Oliver Stone, Cleopatra films, and other similar series or movies portraying active women are appropriate. Programs like these will challenge historical Greek views of women while presenting with modern ideas of feminism and women’s role in ancient war. Their role can also be compared to women’s role in war today. Women are now soldiers with seemingly equal positions, responsibilities, camaraderie, and respect; until recently this has not been the case. It has taken and arguably is still taking women a long time to gain equal footing with men and discussing ancient warrior women and women soldiers today would illustrate that great and perhaps continuing struggle.

**Greek Women as Enemy**

During the Peloponnesian War, external distinctions previously deduced through appearance and language, defining the enemy as an outsider, could no longer be made.\(^{39}\) Fighting became internecine and political, on a different scale than before.\(^{40}\) The art and literature of the period translated these internal conflicts occurring in the *polis* into conflict between women in the *oikos* (home) and their men.\(^{41}\) The main character in the tragedy *Medea* by Euripides represents the problem of “The Other” living within the *polis* and “threatens to detonate violence which was previously seen as external to the Greek state.”\(^{42}\) The character of Medea encompasses the three primary forces opposing the Greek male citizen, namely,

\(^{39}\) duBois, 115.
\(^{40}\) Ibid., 115; 118.
\(^{41}\) Ibid., 118.
\(^{42}\) Ibid., 119.
woman, animal, and barbarian; thus she is the ultimate enemy.\textsuperscript{43} Women were simultaneously valued and feared: valued for their nurturing qualities and ability to provide heirs to the \textit{polis}; and feared for their perceived insatiable sexual appetites, and passionate and emotional nature. Due to these perceptions, Greek men thought it crucial to control women.\textsuperscript{44} Medea, as a woman no man could control or conquer, embodied the opposing forces feared most by Greek male citizens.

![Figure 4.17 Marble relief fragment with the head of Medea, Roman copy of Greek original, 1st – 2nd ce. A.D., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.](image)

Dramatic characters like Medea did not reflect real women. Greek women, the Athenians being those we possess the most information on, had no voice in politics, war, or society.\textsuperscript{45} However, in Greek theater women were often portrayed as vivacious, active, and outspoken.\textsuperscript{46} Always played by male actors, many of these female characters dealt with the consequences of war simultaneous to their daily lives. Wives, daughters, and sisters of soldiers were all highlighted in plays, some as the enemy and others as the heroine. Discussion-based programs such as \textit{Classics 'N Coffee} can discuss the roles of women in antiquity, how art and literature portrayed

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43. Ibid., 117.
45. Higgins, 84.
46. Ibid., 81.
\end{flushright}
them stylistically yet realistically as ‘enemies’, and how contemporary art addresses the subject of women.

**Roman Soldiers and Empirical Wives**

The Roman infantry was forbidden to marry because families proved burdensome for the mobility of troops; however, this ban was more or less unenforced to keep the men happy, and many would later marry their mistresses after their service.\(^{47}\) A majority of the women they had liaisons with, or married, were foreigners, a circumstance not uncommon today for soldiers deployed abroad. There were no distinctions between non-citizens and citizens in regard to these marriages according to funerary inscriptions.\(^{48}\) High-ranking officers were exempt from the marriage ban and their wives resided at the forts where their husbands commanded.\(^{49}\)

In the U.S. military, wives or husbands of enlisted soldiers or officers are allowed to live with their spouses on or off their military base or post. An unaccompanied tour is the only time when spouses are separated due to the soldiers’ deployment to hostile areas or for war. Spouses and families were an important part of life for soldiers in the classical world just as they are today. Scenes of departure of warriors in art illustrate the bonds between men and their wives and can even relate to military spouses of today. Television series such as *Army Wives* (2007) created by Katherine Fugate and, especially for the next section, *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012) created by Marc Cherry can illuminate the lives of the spouses of soldiers and women at home although in a more fictional and

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\(^{48}\) Ibid., 145.

\(^{49}\) Ibid.
entertaining way. Other programs can also compare and contrast military families today and in classical times. Another point to elicit discussion is the lack of contemporary art depicting soldiers and the abundance of it in classical Greece and Rome.


In contrast to foreign wives of Roman citizen soldiers, citizen-wives of Roman nobles were of a different ilk. They appear to have had more influence and voice than Greek women even though they were contracted out to the men to “seal interfamilial bonds and political ties.”\(^{51}\) It is highly plausible that Roman women had a direct influence on politics through their male family members and the social circle of their family or clientes.\(^{52}\) The most notable Roman women were members of the royal families such as Livia, wife of the first emperor Augustus, Agrippina the younger wife of Emperor Claudius and mother of the infamous Nero, Pompeia Plotina wife of Trajan and instigator in the succession of emperor Hadrian. All these women were influential in their time and can be compared to other important women of our time who had influence, power, and control over their men.

\(^{50}\) Not only did these women have power over men but also had power in fashion. Their hairstyles paved the way to new trends and styles for women throughout the Roman empire.\(^{51}\) Holt N. Parker, “Why Were the Vestals Virgins? Or the Chastity of Women and the Safety of the Roman State,” *The American Journal of Philology* 125, no. 4 (Winter, 2004): 572.\(^{52}\) Nancy Myers, “Cicero’s (S)Trumpet: Roman Women and the Second Philippic,” *Rhetoric Review* 22, no. 4 (2003): 339.
Female Gladiator or Gladiatrix?

Another class of women, probably most pertinent to war-like activities such as physical combat, was the women gladiators. The presence of such women is extremely rare, but according to literary sources, an archaeological excavation of a grave presumed to be of a woman gladiator (nicknamed Gladiatrix), and the sole art example, they truly existed in the Roman Empire. There are mentions of a female charioteer, beast hunters, and training sessions for women gladiators attested to Petronius, Martial, Dio, and Juvenal. There is no historical information regarding women gladiators but we can deduce that they were lower class or slaves, contracted just like men. It is also assumed that they trained, fought, and used the same gladiatorial paraphernalia as their male counterparts.

Figure 4.18 Marble relief commemorating the release from service of two female gladiators, Amazon and Achillia, Roman, 1st-2nd ce. A.D., British Museum, London, UK. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Source: www.britishmuseum.org.

Sources relate that when an elite or emperor sponsored a gladiatorial event to display wealth, power, and status, women gladiators were more likely involved. Also they were possibly from a wealthy or noble class. These women were not contractually obligated like the lower class women gladiators and it is mentioned that a few bans were placed forbidding women of equestrian and senatorial blood to

54. Ibid., 199.
55. Ibid., 202.
enter an arena. Women in the arena were not common, and therefore presumably more expensive to hire or use at such an event almost exclusively for men. They were a novelty, used to display decadence and luxury, while at the same time upsetting strict gender roles and shocking the audience.

In popular culture, images of gladiator-esque women are seen in the previously mentioned Television series, *Xena: Warrior Princess*, computer game characters like *World of Warcraft*, and also novels. In recent times, armor to provide adequate protection and fit has been tested for female soldiers. In a blending of popular culture, antiquity, and reality, the armor is shaped to the contours of the female body and supposedly ‘inspired’ by such fictitious female characters as Xena. Powerful women can be compared to women warriors of today: female soldiers. However, due to the lack of extant art and sources, this would be a short lecture, possibly a Classics ‘n’ Coffee discussion, where popular culture images can be discussed together with primary sources to formulate or perhaps research a clearer picture of gladiator women.

Figure 4.19 The U.S. military is starting to design new body armor for female soldiers with “Xena: Warrior Princess” in mind. First to model the fashions in the field are the women of the 101st Airborne, Daily New Photo Illustration, July 9 2012. Source: www.nydailynews.com/news/national/hip-huggers-heavy-hitters-military-gals-armor-inspired-xena-article-1.1110921.

**Roman Women as Enemy**

Another role for Roman women, apart from wives of Roman noblemen and soldiers, was found in religion, specifically the chastity cults. The Vestal Virgins were
women owned by Rome who embodied the city and its citizenry and were thus married to Rome.\textsuperscript{56} They were descendants of the wives, sisters, and daughters of Roman kings and performed rituals to protect the state. Control of these women represented control of Rome; when Rome slid towards instability, the belief was that this was due to the improper control of these women and they were deliberately punished by beatings or at worse execution decided by the \textit{Pontifex Maximus} (male patrician high priest).\textsuperscript{57} Vestal Virgins essentially served more or less two purposes: one, providing a scapegoat for Roman political and military problems; the other, modeling a legitimate example of combined state and religious control over women as the inferior sex.

![Image of Temple of Vesta, Rome](https://www.getty.edu)

Figure 4.19 \textit{Temple of Vesta, Rome}, Daguerreotype by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, 1842, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. \textit{Source: www.getty.edu}.

Women other than the Vestal Virgins were also targeted as scapegoats in the name of Rome. According to Holt Parker, “in times of panic, the society can easily be restored to health by sacrifice, exile, or punishment of wives, who are central to the family yet not fully members of it; who are necessary to produce children yet expendable; who are in short human but less than human.”\textsuperscript{58} Lectures, especially Coffee Talks, can elicit much discussion about the Vestal Virgins and their paradoxical role as the subjects of idolatry and denigration in Roman society.

\textsuperscript{56} Parker, 567.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 588.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 592.
The Foreign Enemy

Hoi Barbaroi

The definition of barbarians shifted throughout Greek history due to war. Initially, foreigners or *barbaroi* were seen as different only in the language they spoke. The term *Barbaros/oi* derived from onomatopoeia for “bar bar bar”, which represented incomprehensible gibberish. Language, not necessarily race or cultural customs, was crucial in differentiating barbarians from Greeks. The *Histories* of Herodotus (440-430 BC) offers a classical Greek account of barbarians. His travels showcase varying stories and information of foreign lands that he visited or had heard about through first hand accounts. Gallery talks and tours will demonstrate that early Greek sentiments towards barbarians, as depicted in art, were neither derisive nor derogatory, but merely illustrative of exotic and subtle differences between peoples.

Figure 4.2 Left: Terracotta neck-amphora (jar), attributed to an artist near Exekias, Memnon between his two Ethiopian squires, Greek, ca. 530 B.C., MMA, New York. Right: Terracotta pelike (wine jar), attributed to the Painter of Munich 2365, battle between Griffins and Arimaspeans (a race Herodotus describes), Greek, 375 – 350 B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

It was during and after the Persian wars that negative and derogatory imagery of foreigners (barbarians) emerged. The Greeks no longer perceived

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59. duBois, 79.
60. Freeman, 185.
61. Hölscher, 10.
foreigners as different solely because of language; they based their delineations of differences on culture, ideals, and politics as well. Greeks valued their self-identity all the more on these new grounds and used them to justify the polarization of the East as a whole. Both art and literature depict the Greek debasement of the Persians and other Eastern cultures, which can be seen as the beginnings of Orientalism. The Persians, a drama by Aeschylus, depicts foreigners as "freedom-hating, slavish, decadent, luxurious," and cowardly. These descriptions show the East “as an exotic realm that harbors dangerous pleasures and fosters despotism...”

Persians were now seen as different and strange. They were labeled as cowards because they fought at a distance with bows instead of close up with spears. They were viewed as effeminate because they were soft and white like women. Persians in art were shown in unusual dress and portrayed as more effete than their Greek counterparts.

In Greek art, there are distinctions made between the victor and the defeated other than racial attributes and gestures. In archaic art, the differences between the

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63. Ibid.
64. Hölscher, 5.
65. Bonfante, 555.
victor and his enemy are evinced in upright and thrusting actions on the part of the former versus crouching and recumbent actions from the latter. During the classical period, the vanquished display inaction through static poses while the protagonists exhibit agility. Moving into the Hellenistic period, the heroic aggressors are still active and vigorous while the conquered are less static, but only through self-inflicted gestures such as suicide. The distinctions between enemies and victors expressed throughout these periods encompass vigor versus subservience, action versus stasis, and assertive versus self-inflicted force. These characteristics further the poles of opposition between enemy/other/foreigner and hero/Greek/male citizen. Emphasizing these divergent representations of conquerors and their enemies throughout the Greek and Roman pre-classical and classical periods is yet another concept for a tour theme.

Figure 4.22 Fragment of a marble grave stele of a warrior, Greek, 390 B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

**Peregrini Romae**

Although Romans were prejudiced against other races, they primarily fought wars to gain territory or profit rather than assert cultural superiority. Nevertheless, they did place all blame on the enemy and each cause for war was justified by *bellum*.

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66. Hölscher, 11.
67. Ibid., 12.
68. Ibid.
They sometimes fought wars to assist another state, kingdom, or tribe, but did not necessarily annex the territory unless a profit could be made.

Throughout history, Rome welcomed foreigners (*peregrini*) into the city and integrated them into society. Therefore many different languages, customs and religious practices were allowed to flourish under Roman rule. Although their legal rights were inferior to Romans and they were not allowed to carry arms, *peregrini* could serve in the town council and obtain citizenship. *Peregrini* could even become emperors such as the Spanish emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Rome was also tolerant of most cults and local customs unless the religious practices interfered with Roman interests.

![Bronze relief of a Roman soldier and barbarian, ca. 200 A.D., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.](image)

However, despite this broad-based tolerance, some foreigners were not welcomed by the Roman state. Rome viewed itself as the center of the world and as such was against everybody else: barbarians of the North and Asians of the East. Like the Greeks, cultures from Asia exhibited presumed effeminate qualities that

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69. Southern, 171.
70. Ibid., 50.
71. Ibid., 41.
72. Ibid., 77.
73. Ibid., 83.
74. Hölscher, 10.
made them appear servile.\textsuperscript{75} Lack of masculine attributes represented poor fighters in Roman eyes, the opposite of ‘real’ men.\textsuperscript{76}

![Figure 4.24 Marble sarcophagus fragment: head and torso of a Gaul, Roman, 160 – 180 A.D., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.](image)

Art examples demonstrate certain gestures and attributes of the attackers that represent the claim and mentality of the Roman world empire towards a masculine superiority. Enemies are seen almost naked, with long hair, and often with baggy pants.\textsuperscript{77} Enemies are shown to be humiliated, de-humanized, and barbaric. Although there are some works that show sympathy toward enemies, the Romans are still depicted in more prominent positions as seen for example on the 
*Ludovisi Sarcophagus.*\textsuperscript{78} Notice in the image below how the Romans are shown in full military regalia, standing upright, and in more visible positions, whereas the enemies are shown partially dressed, in cowering or lying positions, and are almost overlapped by their Roman counterparts.

\textsuperscript{75} Benjamin Isaac, “Proto-Racism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity,” *World Archaeology* 38, no. 1, Race, Racism and Archaeology (March 2006): 44.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 44.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 303.
American ‘Bad Guys’

During WWII and subsequent wars, art and propaganda that debased the so-called enemy was prolific in society and even apparent in films. According to Sumiko Higashi, media during World War II, especially newsreels, “reinforce color lines, demonize the ‘Other,’ and articulate beliefs that race was an indivisible essence determining cultural traits, especially morality.” A more modern conception of the enemy as “Other” can be found in contemporary views of Muslims or Arabs. Shaheen describes all the films since 1896 up to today that portray Arabs as the ultimate enemy who are “brutal, heartless, uncivilized religious fanatics and money-mad cultural ‘others’ bent on terrorizing civilized Westerners, especially Christians and Jews.” Programs focused on discussion are best for this topic. Propaganda films and contemporary films or documentaries devaluing the enemy paired with Greek and Roman art debasing foreigners make good material for comparative discussions and link recent Western Orientalist sensibilities to those of the Greeks and Romans.

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They can also show how war elicits such responses continuing up to the present day as shown in the ‘bad-guy’ Arab films.

**Proto-Racism and Stereotypes of the Other in Antiquity/American enemies**

Contemporary Western culture owes much of its enrichment to the Greeks and Romans. They gave us philosophy, democracy, epic poetry, high artistic ideals, rituals for commemorating the dead, and timeless stories of honor and love. Paradoxically, in contrast to these paradigms that affirm human integrity, they also provided us with a systematic justification for racism. Benjamin Isaac asserts that the Greeks “not only contributed the first attempt to think systematically about, e.g., political systems, but also the first effort to find a rational and systematic basis for their own sense of superiority and their claim that others were inferior.”

The views expressed and conformed to by the Greeks, and later the Romans, justified slavery of defeated peoples and a philosophical hierarchy of races and gender, collectively legitimizing the premise for imperialism. Eventually, these ideas fed into the Enlightenment and infiltrated into Western society.

In Greece at the end of Peloponnesian War, barbarians and enemies were no longer outsiders to the Greek community but were living within it. Following the defeat of Athens by Sparta, there were power struggles within and between the Greek poleis resulting from shifting political attitudes. Barbarous acts during this time led to devastation, social conflicts, and civil wars. One result of this social dissidence was a widening divide between the social classes and the slave population. Plato describes a human hierarchy advocating the natural superiority

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81. Isaac, 33.
82. Ibid., 37.
83. duBois, 123.
84. Ibid., 130.
of men within a *polis* over women, women over slaves, and slaves over animals.\(^8^5\)

Previously, all citizens of the *polis* were seen as “identical parts of the culture of the *polis.*”\(^8^6\) These earlier attitudes were also mirrored in art, or what was left of the art of those periods. Public works of art, civic architecture and even tragedies were not commissioned at this time, and art was intended more for the individual rather than the community.\(^8^7\)

The hierarchy Plato mentions can be seen somewhat in past U.S. military actions. As mentioned earlier, stereotyping stems from biases in Greek and Roman thought. The U.S. government has echoed these predilections through exclusion, stereotyping, and discrimination between cultures and peoples. As with the ancients, these views are frequently executed through the vehicle of war and are not remote in our own history. Three major incidents during our recent history illuminate the ways in which the US has revoked the civil liberties of certain peoples on account of race, political ties, or citizenship: the discrimination of Japanese Americans during World War II; the persecution of innocent U.S. citizens during the McCarthy Era; and, the protocols enacted after September 11, 2001.\(^8^8\)

Today, exclusion does not stem so much from the desire to control other people or appear in the guise of outward imperialism. Exclusion and alienation places blame on “The Other” so that a war appears justified to the oppressors through the presence of a collective enemy. Simplifying conflict through moralistic posturing of good versus bad makes it is easier to uphold accepted qualities while

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85. Ibid., 152.
86. Ibid., 135.
87. Ibid., 131.
rejecting those that are considered degrading; thus, the citizen is “good” and the non-citizen or foreigner is “bad”.89

5: Death of a Soldier

War in the classical period was also a means to acquire prestige, and in ancient times such conflicts were unavoidable.¹ In light of this, the Romans, and the Greeks in particular, ritually honored those who fought and died for their homeland. Death, although glorious in battle, was also a source of loss. The meaning of death is found through the concept of sacrifice; to comprehend and honor those sacrifices is to mourn the dead.² The Greeks revealed their mourning and reverence for the deceased with elaborate and public funeral rituals, commemoration, and decorative grave markers. In Rome, private commemoration and mourning were more prevalent. Public commemorations and parades were reserved for the Roman victors, not the fallen soldier.

The United States’ views and obligations towards honoring the military dead are similar to those of the classical world, including the installation of permanent commemorations.³ Some of the United States war memorials are modeled after Greek and Roman examples stemming from Neoclassicism. The following sections explore the duty bound sacrifices of Greek, Roman, and American soldiers in war, and discuss how their deaths were and are venerated.

Honor and Fear in Death

Pain and possible death are inevitable risks accepted by a soldier of any period. It was considered virtuous for a Greek citizen to kill or die for the polis no

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2. James Tatum, The Mourners’s Song: War and Remembrance from the Iliad to Vietnam (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), XI.
matter how trivial or important the cause. Attaining immortal fame and glory in death was strongly desired over the humiliation and punishment of desertion or fleeing amidst a battle. However, death was still death and soldiers, while accepting the possibility of it, also feared it. The heroic ideal of death in battle, although desirable to the Greeks and Romans, de-emphasizes the harsh reality of individual sacrifice for a greater cause by proffering the panacea of eternal fame and honor. Glorifying death in war “conflates the mortal with the immortal, thus disorienting the human from turning toward its proper direction, toward finitude.”

These ideas are not unfamiliar to contemporary society and were expressed and illustrated in antiquity even though they did not adhere to the underlying or omnipresent heroic ideal. Greek and Roman art express the ideal of courageous sentiments in death, but also acknowledge the mortal tendency to fear.

In the Iliad, Achilles embodies the archetypes of both honor and fear in death. He attains eternal renown because his life is cut short for glory and for Greece; however, he is a humanized hero who admits his fear of death and as such challenges the heroic myth of a glorified death in war. He did desire immortality, but he did not want to die young in war. He confesses to Odysseus in the Underworld that he would have preferred a dull and laborious long life than an early glorious death. These dimensions of the Iliad dealing with questions of eternal glory and honor versus death and mortality can support multiple discussion-

4. Runciman, 738. The heroic ideal of death in battle declines after the Peloponnesian War. The willingness to risk one's life in battle like their admirable ancestors diminished. Courage and endurance was replaced with less risk for greater reward, similar to warfare today. (Runciman 744)
5. Ibid., 743.
7. Ibid.
based programs comparing classical and contemporary views on these topics while referencing artistic renderings of the epic.

The heroic ideal in Rome celebrated the empire as a whole, rather than the individual soldier. The Romans believed that death in war brought glory to the empire, but only if the sacrifices resulted in victory. Death in battle could generate defeat and shame over loss and grief for the fallen on an empirical level. Death delineating glory as well as defeat is a major difference between the Greek and Roman cultures. Greek culture resonates through Roman funerary art primarily in style rather than content and meaning.

Comparing these views of antiquity to those of today’s society is one way of illuminating the past and can again be presented in numerous discussion-based programs. Soldiers today risk their lives not only for a greater cause or to be immortalized as heroes, but to protect their fellow soldiers; a clear sense of brotherhood exists among soldiers today. For example, fatalities are avoided at all costs and are always honored. Sustaining life during military combat is paramount over victory or dying honorably. Programs can include films as well as discussions that highlight the fear and honor of death, especially contemporary television miniseries like Band of Brothers (2001) and The Pacific (2010) both produced by Steven Spielberg and Tom Hanks, films like Oliver Stone’s Platoon (1986) and All Quiet on the Western Front (1930) directed by Lewis Milestone, and even first hand documentaries such as Gunner Palace (2004) directed by Petra Epperlein and Michael Tucker. These films that emphasize the saving of lives in war and fear of

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dying will illustrate both deep contrasts and parallels between classical societies and our own. These sympathetic or more realistic views of battle lead us onto the next section detailing the treatment of the military dead.

**Treatment of the Dead**

The appropriation of fallen warriors and their accoutrements in the Greek world symbolized victory.\(^{11}\) Enemy equipment and occasionally bodies were used as victory markers demonstrating physical subordination and triumph. After a battle, the enemy deceased were eventually returned, a sign of the “morality of the victor.”\(^{12}\) Unspoken laws regarding the treatment of the bodies were recognized and followed.\(^{13}\) The military sometimes went to great lengths to recover the dead by conceding defeat or halting a battle as attested to by Thucydides and Plutarch.\(^{14}\)

Throughout most of Greece during this period, once the dead soldiers were recovered and identified their bodies were cremated and buried on the battlefield.\(^{15}\) In some city-states, most notably Athens, the ashes were brought back in a casket inscribed with the soldiers’ affiliated tribe.\(^{16}\) This involved not so much religious views, but rather issues of identity.\(^{17}\) The treatment of the dead in Athens by recovering, identifying and transporting home is strikingly similar to U.S. military customs and disposition. The Mortuary Affairs of the U.S. Army handles the treatment of the fallen and has done so since the Seminole Indian Wars of Florida in

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12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Runciman, 739.
16. Ibid.
17. Hope, 88.
the early 1800s. Unlike most other nations, the U.S. spends exorbitant funds to fulfill its mantra ‘no man left behind.’ This even extends to locating soldier remains from previous wars. During battles, fellow soldiers risk their lives retrieving fallen comrades. Unlike other professions, soldiers have a unique bond and shared life with each other.

Michael Sledge in 

Soldier Dead: How We Recover, Identify, Bury, and Honor Our Military Fallen (2005), reports the sense of brotherhood, family, and camaraderie shared and experienced by soldiers. These bonds enable them to risk their lives to recover their fallen brothers. Gladiators in Rome were also said to have camaraderie and a code, where they would not aim to kill their opponent for it was frowned upon and he was most likely a friend. In the U.S., an example of such peril in recovery is the 1995 Black Hawk helicopter incident in Somalia where soldiers battled almost for 24 hours trying to retrieve the men shot down. The film, directed by Ridley Scott, based on this event, Black Hawk Down (2001) along with other films such as the series Band of Brothers (2001), or Saving Private Ryan (1998) directed by Steven Spielberg all show brotherhood and compassion retrieving or saving comrades and are essential to a modern audience museum program.

The Greeks shared the same sentiments for their fallen, so it is not surprising that the most common scene on pottery, second to battle scenes, is that of rescuing the fallen. Tonio Hölscher states that valor was not obtained so much by killing or victory, but through the quality and spirit of the soldier. That quality and spirit applied to rescuing fellow soldiers. 

Comparison of U.S. and Greek treatment and

18. Sledge, 32.
retrieval of the soldier from battle can be demonstrated in several programs supplemented and illustrated by various media. Contemporary and modern art and film (those listed previously) coupled with the extensive scenes of the fallen comrade retrieval found in vase painting provide connections between modern society and the classical world. Art depicting fallen comrades is abundant; therefore, many tours and gallery talks could highlight this topic.


Figure 5.11 Fallen Soldier, Banksy, 2012. Source: www.banksy.co.uk. A contemporary and ironic take on the ‘fallen soldier’ imagery.

In contrast, the Romans, who adhered to rituals and burial guidelines more so in times of peace, were more practical in the treatment of their dead. Following a battle, dead Roman soldiers were stripped of their armor, cremated, and buried in

a mass, unmarked grave. Health concerns and avoidance of future desecration were the main reasons they were buried on the battlefield and in unmarked graves. Also, Hölscher states that because these men were professional soldiers, not upper class citizens as in Greece, they were not as highly regarded. Their deaths mattered less on a collective level; again, only victories mattered. However, in a broader context, many of the urban poor may have been buried in mass graves and disposed of with as little ceremony as the soldiers, elucidating this custom as a practicality of the Romans, not necessarily a prejudice.

Roman practicality also extended to returning the war dead. Repatriation of multiple remains was impossible, especially with the rapid empire expansion. The historian Appian suggests that repatriation could deter recruitment into the army and lower community morale. Some men of higher ranks might have had their remains returned home, but this was the exception. Although the U.S. government and military strives to retrieve fallen soldiers there are often times when it is impossible or the family members wish for the remains to stay where they were initially buried or in some cases where they died. For instance, the cemeteries in Normandy and Meuse-Argonne, both in France and major battle sites of both World Wars, hold thousands of U.S. citizen remains.

22. Ibid., 87.
24. Hope, 93.
25. Ibid., 87.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., 89.
The Fallen Warriors Return: Greek Funerals and Roman Processions

In the Histories of Herodotus, an Athenian negotiator claims that the Athenians will not side with the Persians in the Peloponnesian War because Greeks share a common religion, common customs, and a common language. This is primarily an Athenian view, but more or less applies to Greek commemoration of their fallen in every polis. All Greek poleis commemorated the dead based on their different political ideologies and community customs. The funeral rituals in Greece were so important that even the Pan-Hellenic festivals supposedly originated from past funerary games in honor of Greek war heroes. At the Dionysia Festival, sons of deceased soldiers participated in a parade in full warrior armor to honor their dead relatives.

The clearest picture of Greek war funerals and customs comes from Athens due to their extant literature and monuments. At the end of campaigning season, by the late 5th century BC, a civic burial took place, including oration in honor of the

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32. Low, 109.
fallen, funeral games, and a funeral feast for the relatives of the dead. The communal mentality in Athens extended to the funerary rituals in that “participation in the service of the city [was] open to all citizens; and all citizens who serve[d] the city properly [would] receive equal honor.” That honor was translated into expensive funerary rituals that were unbiased in terms of wealth status. A strictly Athenian practice was the carrying of an empty decorated bier in the funeral procession representing the missing. The Greeks honored all men, even if they were never recovered.

Eulogies, another Athenian practice, emphasized the glorious sacrifice the soldiers made for their community. According to the scholar Nicole Loraux, funerary oration in Athens was “a paradoxical lesson in which virtue of the citizen is eclipsed by the valor of the soldier, in which military activity is offered as a model for civic practice.” The famous eulogy presented by Perseus retold by Thucydides

33. Connor, 17.
34. Low, 100.
35. Ibid, 99.
36. Runciman, 738.
37. Low, 100.
38. Runcimam, 739.

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is an example of such values. It is also comparable to renowned speeches in modern history such as the Gettysburg Address by Abraham Lincoln.\(^{39}\)

In the U.S. there have been no major public processions commemorating the fallen since the two World Wars. Even then, such processions were sedate and solemn. Processions, burials, and the return of the deceased are all private affairs today. Active soldiers escort those fallen in war from the Dover Air Force Base in Dover, Delaware, to their family residences, where the family arranges the funeral procedures.\(^{40}\)

![Figure 5.14 President Obama saluting return of soldier at Dover Air Force Base, photograph by Susan Walsh/AP, October 28, 2009. Source: www.guardian.co.uk.](image)

In Rome, there were no civic burials, public funerals, or other rituals for the fallen. Mourning had a potential “demoralizing effect” and was usually a private affair.\(^{41}\) The public during the war against Carthage was only allowed to mourn for 30 days and had to repress their lamentations.\(^{42}\) However, they did observe anniversaries of defeats and military disasters calling them *dies nefasti* (black days).\(^{43}\)

\(^{39}\) Higgins, 57.

\(^{40}\) Sledge, 177. Media is allowed but only if the family permits it.

\(^{41}\) Hope, 88.

\(^{42}\) Ibid.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., 84.
Commemorating the Greek Fallen: Grave Markers, Tombs and Cemeteries

Following the civic burial and public commemorations, Greek families could erect funerary monuments, tombs, and other grave markers that were primarily located outside the city. Important citizens such as city founders or heroes could be buried in the city.\textsuperscript{44} Cemeteries became places where artistic achievement and citizen wealth and status could be permanently featured.\textsuperscript{45}

![Figure 5.15 Left: William Howard Taft memorial cenotaph (1930) at Arlington National Cemetery (1864), photograph by David July, 2009. Source: www.flickr.com. Right: Marble akroterion of the grave monument of Timotheos and Nikon, Greek, 350 325 B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.](image)

Funerary markers, like the public memorials, rarely provided much information about the deceased and were simply generalized.\textsuperscript{46} Early grave markers in the Archaic period were colored bas-relief or low relief sculptures on\textit{ stelai} (tall shafts) topped by sphinxes or palmettes. They depicted a generalized standing portrait of the deceased according to age and profession: youths as athletes, or men as warriors, all in an upright stance similar to\textit{ kouroi}.\textsuperscript{47} In Classical Athens, gravestones became more detailed and complex. They would generally depict two to three figures primarily in domestic scenes, such as man and wife or woman and

\textsuperscript{44} Low, 103.  
\textsuperscript{45} Robin Osborne, \textit{Archaic and Classical Greek Art} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 130.  
\textsuperscript{46} Osborne, 197.  
\textsuperscript{47} John Boardman, \textit{Greek Art}. 4\textsuperscript{th} ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 97.
When soldiers were sculpted, the scene is a farewell to a soldier departing for war. In Sparta, although few grave monuments exist, their monuments were also highly stylized and general with a consistent snake motif possibly serving as a heroic emblem. If a soldier did not die in war his name would not be inscribed on the gravestone, thus emphatically glorifying the death of the soldier.

Funeral monuments were occasionally banned in Athens because such displays of wealth and status were detrimental to the ideals of the polis and its democratic philosophy. Prior to the Hellenistic Period, emphasis was placed on tomb offerings and pottery such as the white ground lekythoi. After the ban was lifted in the late 4th ce. B.C., funerary reliefs and sculpture became more emotive and mimicked the contemplative style of the lekythoi. Artists employed gestures, poses, and facial expressions that enhanced the conveyance of grief through funerary artwork. Grief was also evoked through the higher relief cut of the grave markers.

48. Boardman, 158.
49. Osborne, 16.
51. Osborne, 195.
52. Ibid.
that emphasized the “effect of both spatial and emotional depth.”

The emotion of these works elicits a stronger relationship with the viewer, establishing empathy for the dead on the part of the living while also celebrating the life of the deceased.

Funeral monuments usually show the life of the dead person, their funeral, and sometimes include their journey to the underworld. When the ban was not enforced, many gravestones reflected the increasing skills of the artists and competed in workmanship and beauty with architectural friezes and sculpture.

Personal versus private commemoration is also distinct here; even though gravestones were privately commissioned, they were erected in public places—so public, that they could have been banned by the ruling government to preserve democracy. Gravestones, tombstones, and funerals are strictly a private affair in the U.S., and it is up to the deceased or the family members to decided how to proceed with the burial details.

**Funerary Pottery**

Pottery was equally as important in funeral settings as it was in domestic settings. At first it was used solely as grave markers. After the 7th century, ceramics were used as grave offerings. Lekythoi or oil/libation flasks dominated grave pottery for centuries. They were small in capacity, but large in surface area decoration. One type of lekythos used almost exclusively for graves was the white-ground variety. Artists used the larger surface area to expand their creative expertise. The painting outlines on white-ground lekythoi were a matte color instead

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53. Boardman, 163.
54. Osborne, 201.
55. Boardman, 237.
56. Osborne, 189.
of the distinct black, and featured more contemplative scenes rather than action scenes.\textsuperscript{57}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure5_17_left}
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure5_17_right}
\caption{Left: Oil jar with a departing warrior, Attributed to the Phiale Painter, Terracotta, Greek, ca. 450 B.C., Getty Villa, Malibu. \textit{Source: www.getty.edu}. Right: Terracotta lekythos (oil flask), attributed to the Painter of the Yale Lekythos, white-ground technique of warrior cutting his hair with a sword, Greek, 470 B.C. – 460 B.C., MMA, New York. \textit{Source: www.metmuseum.org}.}
\end{figure}

White-ground \textit{lekythoi} allowed for the emergence of new artistic techniques as well as innovative and bolder iconography, which communicated alternative attitudes concerning the dead and their commemoration.\textsuperscript{58} Previous works were more preoccupied with the life lived or the brutality of death by monsters or soldiers.\textsuperscript{59} The subjects and scenes depicted mourning, departure of the dead, tomb visits, or Hermes or Charron coming to take the dead away.\textsuperscript{60} Iconography on funerary pottery during this time was uniquely confrontational in its evocation of death, the funeral, afterlife, and people left behind.\textsuperscript{61} This topic merits a workshop or course on the style and techniques of vase painting, especially \textit{lekythoi}, examining how the white-ground lekythoi led to more reflective scenes due to their coloring and surface area. This topic can also provide material for a history discussion or

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{57} Boardman, 208.
\bibitem{58} Ibid., 191.
\bibitem{59} Osborne, 190.
\bibitem{60} Ibid.
\bibitem{61} Ibid., 192.
\end{thebibliography}
lecture on burial pottery practices, why these pots were used for centuries, and how they differ from other Greek pottery.

Another lecture or discussion speaking further to Generation Y members is the use of grave goods and the equivalent today, such as burying soldiers with their uniform or even giving the American flag to the surviving family members. Questions that can elicit discussion are ‘What are our grave goods today and what do they mean to us?’ and ‘Do we value them or use them as the ancient Greeks did?’.

This discussion topic along with most others in this chapter are sensitive, and the program Classics ‘n’ Coffee would best suit this for it would involve a small group in an informal and hopefully comforting setting.

**Venerating the Fallen in Rome: Private/Individual Memorials**

Grave markers in Rome focused on the individual soldier’s identity more so than in Greece, presumably because soldiers were encouraged to make payments for a burial fund and because funerals were a private affair for the individual soldiers and their family or fellow soldiers similar to the U.S.\(^6^2\) Much of what we have learned about the Roman soldier derives from the commemoration of the dead through tombstones, grave markers, and monuments and includes name, age, and unit to military dress, status, and achievements.\(^6^3\) Tombstones were stylized, standard in content and design, and promoted military symbolism.\(^6^4\) They were made and erected during peacetimes, never marking men who died in battle, and constructed of stone to represent stability and permanence.\(^6^5\)

\(^{62}\) Hope, 86.
\(^{63}\) Ibid., 85.
\(^{64}\) Ibid., 87.
\(^{65}\) Ibid., 86.
During the early empire in particular, funerary memorials were set up outside forts depicting the service and death of soldiers; however, these commemorations were not customary prior to that period because soldiers were regular citizens before the empire. Other types of grave markers, such as cenotaphs, whose purpose was to mark the empty graves of those who died elsewhere, resembled tombstones in design and décor. Tombs were for higher-ranking officers and offered more detail about their careers, celebrating their lives rather than the tragedy of their deaths.


Ways of Commemorating the Collective Fallen: Old and New

Commemorative monuments recognized the glory and pathos of war. Through them, acknowledgement was publicly accorded to individual citizens, members of the polis, who died for their community. They evoked the political power of patriotism and shared identity, especially as they were employed in Athens. To emphasize these sentiments, the memorials were balanced with reliefs

66. Ibid., 84.
67. Ibid., 89.
68. Ibid., 88.
69. Hölscher, 16.
70. Low, 108.
71. Hölscher, 15.
of symbolic battles representing the deceased. The battle scenes displayed on the monuments symbolized superiority and strength over their enemies. Memorials in Athens were placed within the city in the agora (marketplace) because this location honored the dead soldiers while they continued to defend their polis symbolically, even in death.

Figure 5.19 Fragment of a marble relief from a funerary monument, possibly war monument, Greek, 390 B.C., MMA, New York. Source: www.metmuseum.org.

As mentioned in an earlier section, Rome’s commemoration of dead soldiers was in general a private matter, and what commemoration they did have was not for the soldier, but for the victory of the empire. Public art in Rome allowed the empire to celebrate its strengths and dignity, and commemoration of the fallen was a private affair. For the majority of the Roman population, there exists no extant memorial recording of the names of the deceased, except for an altar. Through ancient texts, authors and emperors expressed a desire to justify and avenge the Roman blood spilt in military conflict, and some monuments were mentioned as doing so. Processions, arches, coins, and columns, which are the closest examples

72. Osborne, 15.
73. Hölscher, 14.
74. Low, 103.
75. Hope, 92.
76. Ibid.
of monuments or memorials, commemorated victory and occasionally displayed the horrors and brutality of war during the later Roman Empire. The processional march displayed booty, defeated enemies, loyalty, and military strength providing entertainment, not solace, to the populace. A triumphal arch was an erected honor voted by the senate to confirm the successes of an army at the end of the processional march. Monumental columns showed the exploits of the military victories during the campaign or war and were usually in honor of the emperor. Trajan's column shows his exploits during the Dacian Wars and the column of Marcus Aurelius depicts two campaigns in Germany. Arches and columns show relief scenes of the defeated, war spoils, battle scenes, and enemies, along with other war rituals not seen elsewhere in art.

Figure 5.2 Left: Civil War Soldiers and Sailors Monument, 1882, Buffalo, New York. Angel Art LTP © City of Buffalo. Source: www.ci.buffalo.ny.us. Right: Trajan's Column looking through the Basilica Ulpia, photograph by Peter Rockwell and Claudio Martini. © Peter Rockwell. Source: www.stoa.org.

Figure 5.21 Left: Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch in Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn, New York, 1892. Source:www.nycgovparks.org. The Arch of Hadrian, Athens, Philippos Margaritis and Philibert

77. Ibid., 82.
78. Ramage, 163.
79. Ibid., 198.
80. Hope, 83; Hölscher, 14.
Modern Memorials Comparisons

Fixing a “moment of mourning in dirt and stone” is a tradition still continued today. Some physical structures built and erected to commemorate the fallen are based on the ancient prototypes in style and form. Several memorials in the U.S., especially in the capitol, demonstrate this allusion to the classical Greek and Roman eras.

A notable example of such a structure in the U.S. is the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (1982) designed by Maya Lin. This monument, which stands in the National Mall in Washington D.C., echoes Greek memorials in particular by listing the names of the fallen who died in Vietnam between 1959-1975 totaling 58,196 and counting. The construction of the memorial draws us in with mirror-like walls where we see not only the names, but also our own reflection. Instead of solely instilling a sense of community and consequently patriotism as in Greek memorials, the full names of deceased American soldiers emphasize the individual as part of a greater community in death. Maya Lin explained that the name also elicits memories that evoke more emotion, understanding, and realism than a statue or frieze. The memorial’s acknowledgment of death, grief, and loss to such a degree is unprecedented in official American war commemorations. It expresses these sentiments with simplicity and honesty and avoids overt patriotism since the Vietnam War was not a declared or victorious war, with devastating results to many.
Americans and their families. Thus Kirk Savage, in *Monument Wars* (2009) accurately refers to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as the nation’s first victim memorial.

Figure 5.22 Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Maya Lin, D.C., 1982. *Source: public domain.*

In classical decoration and motif, the National World War II Memorial (2004), also in D.C., echoes the ancient monuments in style. The memorial honors the soldiers who served, died, and supported the war. It symbolizes unity, democracy, patriotism, achievement, and freedom through neo-classical design elements. Pillars, reliefs, arches, eagle and laurel wreath sculptures, battles and state names inscribed, and famous quotes from the war emphasize American patriotism, democracy, and unity while recalling their Greek and Roman predecessors. Instead of listing names, the Freedom Wall contains stars representing the 400,000 soldiers who died during the war. Compared to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Freedom Wall is very traditional, patriotic, and closely mirrors the ancient memorials in style and sentiments. The WWII Memorial

86. Ibid., 3.
celebrates power and victory over enemies, as did the Roman columns and arches, and evokes the reverence and honor for the individual soldiers found in the Greek memorials.

Programs can be developed that illustrate and compare different memorials today with those from antiquity. Some memorials still abide by more traditional and conservative renderings of the fallen, as the National World War II Memorial, while others are more innovative and creative such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. In order to engage visitors in discussing memorials and their ancient predecessors it would be better to engage directly with memorials in their own environment. In New York City alone, there are a plethora of monuments, new and old, to be visited, discussed and compared enough so that even a monument tour could be proposed with enough supplemental images to reinforce the link to Greek and Roman war society. In the Los Angeles area where the Getty Center and Getty Villa are located there are also ample numbers of memorials to use. If a museum is located in an area lacking public war memorials, which is highly unlikely, the Classics ‘n’ Coffee program could be implemented using extensive images of modern memorials throughout the U.S. The topics introduced in the following paragraph would also benefit the Generation Y members in the Classics ‘n’ Coffee format.

Another topic these programs could address is whether or how modern memorials evoke the same sentiments and feelings as their predecessors did. A larger discussion would encompass how the public commemorates or does not commemorate soldiers today, in public processions, funerals, and veteran holidays such as Memorial and Veterans Day. Other controversies involving monuments such as the recent Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial where the inscription is a poorly paraphrased quote from one of Dr. King’s sermons, rendering him as an ‘arrogant twit,’ according to poet Maya Angelou.90

![Figure 2.4 Northwood Gratitude and Honor Memorial, photograph by Rick and Sandy Horn, 2010. Source: www.northwoodmemorial.com.](image)

The last program under modern memorial comparisons is a course or workshop enabling participants in a studio/class setting to discuss, learn about, and design their own modern memorial, drawing upon ancient Roman and Greek memorials for inspiration. A pertinent issue is the lack of a national and permanent memorial for the current Gulf war. Temporary commemorations are sometimes set up by fellow soldiers at the local military campsite before the remains are returned home. This has been the practice since the Civil War.91 These are now iconic symbols of fallen soldiers that display the deceased soldier’s helmet and/or dogtags,

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90. Laura Bly, “D.C.’s MLK Memorial is one of many monumental controversies,” USA Today, February 13, 2012.
atop the rifle, grounded by the boots. These mini memorials are for fellow soldiers alone, because some, bound by duty, cannot attend the formal soldier funeral. Organizations have even made permanent bronze sculptures of this emblem for purchase. The family or friend can then personally engrave them. However, these are not for the public, but are more for private and personal settings.

![Figure 5.5 A soldier’s battle cross memorial. ©2010 Battle Cross for the New Greatest Generation. Source: www.battlecrossgeneration.org. Right: Life size Battle Cross statue, sculpted by Stan Watts, ©ICON bronze. Source: iconbronze.com.]

Some institutions have tried to remedy this lack of public memorials via website contests eliciting artist submissions for designs. Some of these are more genuine with actual winners and/or concluded and awarded by artist exhibitions organized by such projects as the www.iraqimemorial.org, which is “an online and physical exhibition of memorial proposals and projects dedicated to the many thousands of Iraqi civilians killed in the War in Iraq.”92 This ‘memorial’ is unusual compared to typical memorials for it honors not just American casualties, but also civilian casualties. Among the many artworks exhibited was an augmented reality public art project that presented a visual representation of soldiers killed on both sides of the war since March 19, 2003, through a mobile application.93 After using

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the camera feature on the device, images of caskets, which represented the fallen, are superimposed onto areas in the North East U.S., “enabling the public to see the caskets integrated into the physical location as if it existed in the real world.”

Below is a view of the Washington Monument seen through this application.

![Washington Monument](image_url)

**Figure 5.6 U.S./Iraq War Memorial augmented reality public art project application screenshot, 2007, Mark Swarek and John Craig Freeman, *Augmentationist Internationale*. Source: www.usiraqwarmemorial.wordpress**

Other websites and organizations have created similar calls for artist memorial proposals, although some more satirical than serious in design. Combining these two types of formats, using the Internet as a form of communication and also using art for a collection of ideas, this course or workshop could be especially enticing for young artists of Generation Y. After completing the course focusing on modern and ancient memorials, participants would ‘submit’ their own proposal for a modern memorial for any war. Submissions would also be posted online to the classical collection website where participants and nonparticipants alike could discuss the submission in a forum format eliciting steady dialogue. Below are two sample designs and statements of purpose from the memorial website www.nationaliraqmemorial.org.

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94. Ibid.
Statement of Purpose:
The memorial will consist of two replica twin tower models that are scaled down and constructed of solid concrete; this is to represent how America sticks together. Through it, a model plane fashioned from pure white marble will represent the tragic impact. The marble plane will have a small cockpit where a lifelike model of Bin Laden will sit (2 and 4). This represents the head of terror that America fears. The cockpit will be lit at night for easy viewing of Bin Laden and a soldier will guard the memorial against probable vandalism. Bronze statues of brave soldiers will surround the cockpit, their guns aimed at Bin Laden. This represents America's struggle against terror. One soldier remains sitting on the ground (7), arms crossed. This represents the part of America that is against the war. Spectators walk through the Pathway to Freedom (5) and hear passengers scream from the plane above via motion activated speaker system (1). This allows spectators to reminisce over the terror that happened that day. A loud bell will also randomly ring from the same speaker system which will represent that awe inspiring phrase, "Let freedom ring."

Statement of Purpose:
Rather than implying a certain viewpoint on the Iraqi War, the memorial comes to respect fallen soldiers. The memorial aims to respect that purpose and honor those deaths in a personal manner without the controversy involved. Recalling personal experiences for every visitor, the memorial recalls those who have died in the Iraq war.

The memorial consists of a memorial wall; a right triangle sandstone wall that connects with the ground and inclines towards the sky. The wall comes to an end at its highest point but its inclined line seems to reach into the sky, symbolizing eternity and remembrance. A timeline of chronological information is etched into memorial wall. The slight light brown hue of the wall accounts for the environmental color in Iraq. The inclination of the memorial wall away from the ground represents the separation from time. This suspension of time manifests the importance of this event. The wall breaks from daily rhythms and points itself toward the skies into its own peaceful haven for those who have fallen. Trees around the wall provide a peaceful haven for visitors. The memorial wall is also a large sundial clock, effectively utilizing the movement of time and light together and making the memorial a constantly changing force. The sun's movement will create a revolving shadow that will move through the etched names of fallen soldiers and a walkway that will surround the perimeter of the memorial, beginning at one side of the wall and ending at the other side. A memorial is never static. Remembering those who have fallen is an eternal process. So should a memorial also be moving through time. Thank you.

The Iliad

An encompassing thematic subject to apply as an underlying guide to all the previous sections and programs is Homer's epic the Iliad. The Iliad thoroughly identifies the ideals of death held by Greek military society in the forms of fear, rage,
grief, brutality, revenge, recovery, burial, commemoration, and brotherhood. Essentially, it is an epic about death and its ramifications and its themes can be applied effectively to examinations of both the Roman soldier and the American soldier. It is significant for the many parallels it holds and for the art that stems from this great epic.

The softer sides of war are, arguably, communicated through literature whereas the glory, valor, honor, and bellicose nature of soldiers, as seen throughout this thesis, are primarily conveyed through art and architecture. Readings and theater performances of the great plays of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus comprise programs designed to emphasize loss in war. A deep and intimate look at the Iliad, which contains death and mourning in abundance, can also evoke sorrow and loss in war.95 Readings and even informal dramatic productions of the Iliad or other Greek and Roman plays could communicate these ideas in an engaging way.

These approaches can also be extended and applied to modern war literature, poetry, and even lyrics because they are varied, powerful, and germane to today’s society. Most importantly the views, feelings and themes expressed are everlasting due to the nature of literature and might even be considered more permanent than any material relic.96

95. Tatum, xi.
96. Ibid., 82.
This thesis has presented an extensive approach to make classical collections engaging for the Generation Y audience. A powerful aspect of this format consists of exposure to Ancient Greece and Rome as an alternative reference point for Generation Y to understand their current culture. By returning to the roots, so to speak, Generation Y can better understand where aspects of their culture come from and how much these have changed in various ways.

War was the most relevant topic for this thesis for its many relationships to contemporary society and the potential impact on Generation Y. However, the Generation Y programs are not entirely limited to war, or exclusive of it, and war is not the only parallel to our society. The western world has gained and can learn much more from these ancient societies; politics, propaganda, technology, innovation, love, and literature are just a few of the topics employed within the programming detailed here. It is also important to note that artwork from all time periods and places is useful in illustrating the programs, and museums are not
limited entirely by their classical collection. Lastly, my intention is to have museums adapt and draw upon the ideas I have presented here for they are flexible and can be specifically formatted depending on a museum's collection, staffing, educational goals, and topic choice.

Ancient Greece and Rome are by no means lifeless cultures or even "ancient", and continue to live on in various forms and guises in the culture of today. The programs in this thesis present this argument with the hope of revitalizing the ancient past into the present.
Appendix

Sample Roman Soldier Blog....................................................................................................................................118
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3 days before the Ides of March, the 18th year of our lord Trajan [March 13, 105 A.D.]

Again, this day could not end sooner. The men are quite restless as am I. I have no great aversion to garrison life, but as a member of the Legio XIII Gemina, I crave stimulation other than garrison repairs and training. I am a soldier, not an engineer. It has been six whole months since our Lord Trajan conquered the Dacian cities and the King Decebalus. We have had time to recover, grieve, and rebuild. I even had enough share of the considerable booty to be able to bribe my officer a few times to get extended leave. I’ve met a very friendly girl outside the garrison in Apulum, who takes my mind of the endless mundane days we have now. We all itch for action; some more than others. A man from a different century was almost flogged for getting into a fight with other members of his century. I say that man needs to get permission for leave and visit a friendly girl such as mine!

There are rumors that the defeated Decebalus, is finished licking his wounds and quite possibly preparing for a rebellion. I am still confused as to why Emperor Trajan did not just annex Dacia and kill Decebalus. Sigh, these matters are not for a grunt like me, I suppose.

Praise to my ancestral gods and good health to my family and brothers here.

Iulius Clemens, a soldier

*Links to information about the events, locations, and people mentioned can also be provided through the classical collection website. The MMA already has an extensive resource and educational database through their website which can be referenced.*
I am Telesarchos, a noble athlete and soldier, born near Athens in 480 B.C. [MMA: gallery 153]. Find the volute-krater with Amazons and I’ll tell you some of my story…

This scene of an amazonomachy and centaurs is an allegory for the enemies in Greece. Obviously there were no such battles between these creatures, even though my grandmother insists in their existence. There were battles between foreigners (the barbaric Persians) who were sometimes represented mythically and romantically as these otherworldly creatures. We knew the devastation and the cause of wars, and who we were fighting, and didn’t need a vase to give us realistic depictions of such barbarians. Decorations aside, this was actually used to mix water and wine, for our wine was much too strong for immediate consumption. Look at the label for more specifics regarding this pot.

I was a nobleman, but above all I was an athlete and warrior. This sculpture head was commissioned for my successes and victories at contests. Although, this is a Roman copy, my original sculpture would have been in bronze. My wife, Amaltheia, tells me that this is no likeness to my own self, however this was what the ideal man should look like, and it was what I aspired to and admired. A toned nude body reflected excellent health, prowess, and masculinity, and was certainly necessary for my adventures in battle, especially during my tour in the Peloponnesian War against the laconic and dull Spartans!

My most favorite event is the diskos. These were one of my most prized possessions and were intended for my tomb. Because I was wealthy, I was able to have such dedications and elaborate grave goods. The diski were passed down from my father who was also a great diskos thrower. Like father, like son. I also enjoyed wrestling, especially in the gymnasion and hoplomachia (combat training place). One of my favorite drinking vessels depicts wrestlers.

Learn more about my story on my profile, blog, and letters to and from my wife. [links]
This diagram shows each layer of the application through different colors. The two tour sections would be identical (except in length), linking to 6 different soldier tours. However, only the Brief tour through a soldier is highlighted in this design segregated by the dashed line.


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