

THE RECEPTION OF THUCYDIDES IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

References to Thucydides in American public debate, especially in discussion of foreign policy matters, have become the focus of increased attention from classicists in recent years. Scholars have noted the importance of Thucydides, to the near exclusion of other classical authors, in the academic discipline of International Relations theory, and also the status he is accorded in the American War Colleges, where the highest-ranking military leaders are trained.

This thesis considers not only these trends but also a previously unexamined sphere, that of political speech in the US Congress. It describes what role Thucydides plays in each of these spheres of discourse and how Thucydides, as opposed to any other writer (classical or non-classical), came to fulfil that role. What emerges as a clear, unifying thread between these disparate receptions is the influence of practices within American higher education over the twentieth century, which have helped to shape how educated but non-specialist readers access and interpret classical works. The ‘Great Books’ pedagogical model and popular movement, in which well-known works of Western literature are read via English translations without extensive reference to their historical background, has had the greatest impact on this process.

Comparison with England, a country which does not have an equivalent to the Great Books model in its educational tradition, reveals surprising absences and presences of Thucydides in those spheres that correspond to the American ones under scrutiny. The thesis concludes by suggesting how analysis of these trends can contribute to our theoretical understanding of classical receptions, and proposes an evolutionary metaphor for reception which takes into account both the wider context and the material resources through which the classical world is interpreted today.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANB</i>	<i>American National Biography</i>
<i>CCQ</i>	Catalogue of Congressional Quotations, 1991-2011 (pages 287-318)
<i>CRO</i>	<i>Congressional Record Online</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>

INTRODUCTION

Perspectives and Contexts

Although written many years ago, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* has just been reissued by the Grove Press, and this fictional account of the day-to-day life of an English gamekeeper is still of considerable interest to outdoor minded readers, as it contains many passages on pheasant raising, the apprehending of poachers, ways to control vermin, and other chores and duties of the professional gamekeeper.

Unfortunately, one is obliged to wade through many pages of extraneous material in order to discover and savor these sidelights on the management of a Midlands shooting estate, and in this reviewer's opinion this book cannot take the place of J.R. Miller's *Practical Gamekeeping*.¹

The satirist Ed Zern's review of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* for *Field and Stream*, although a hoax, encapsulates one of the major problems for scholars in the area of classical reception studies: that of the reader's own focus. In studying a 'text' (which word I use broadly in the poststructuralist sense to include words, events, and objects)² to discern the role of classical material in shaping it, we are liable to ignore the whole forest in favour of our one favourite flower, our research question, because that is what interests us. That very question skews the answer so that it runs the risk of privileging the classical influences over those others which might have been more important, and acknowledged as so within the writings of another academic discipline with different specialist interests. A study that concentrates on one author

¹ Zern (1959).

² Martindale (2013b) 246.

alone is particularly vulnerable to this danger, which as Ralph Hexter has pointed out is a ‘seeming inevitability’ of such an enquiry, and can result in ‘unimaginative’ and ‘repetitive’ scholarship.³

Another danger of this practice that Hexter does not mention is that it can privilege positive over negative findings, favouring studies which validate the pursuit of classical reception as a methodology. Classical reception studies as a subfield of Classics⁴ has not yet reached the point at which it is ready for the equivalent of the ‘negative results’ or ‘all results’ journals that are growing in influence in the sciences. These journals publish the results of experiments that have been properly conducted and completed, but have yielded surprising outcomes or ones that contradict either the desired outcome or current scientific orthodoxy. The journals’ rationale is that the criteria on which research is published (and judged as ‘successful’ or positive) in mainstream journals are too biased and arbitrary to help to expand our understanding of science substantively, whereas supposedly ‘negative’ results can contain extremely valuable information that can challenge dogma and significantly contribute to the development of scientific knowledge.⁵ One such suite of journals, covering nanotechnology, chemistry, biology, and physics, justifies its publication strategy with the following policy:

More than 60% of experiments fail to produce positive results or expected discoveries. This high percentage of research generates high level knowledge. But generally, all these experiments have not been published anywhere for being considered useless for our research target. The objective of ‘The All Results Journals’ focuses on recovering

³ Hexter (2006) 27, 29.

⁴ Throughout this thesis I will use the capitalized term ‘Classics’ to refer to the name of the discipline of which classics (not capitalized), the culture of ancient Greece and Rome, is the subject. Both these terms are different from ‘the classics’ which is frequently used to refer to important and well-known works of literature from a broader range of historical and geographical eras.

⁵ Examples include *The Journal of Negative Results in BioMedicine* and *The Journal of Negative Results in Ecology and Evolutionary Biology*. ‘Negative’ results in classical studies would therefore demonstrate the *insignificance* of classical material in a text rather than its significance, and differ from works of scholarship which were intended to happen but did not materialize, such as Nettleship and Mayor’s Latin dictionary (Stray (2011)).

and publishing these negative results, valuable pieces of information in Science. These experiments should be taken into account as a vital key for the development of science and the catalyst for a real science-based empirical knowledge.⁶

Mutatis mutandis, this publication bias could very well be used to describe classical reception studies, in which the bias which creates a ‘successful’ result drives research towards instances where an act of classical reception is very clearly to be found. No classical reception scholar yet writes about a text in which classical influence is minimal or completely absent, or concludes that emphasizing classical reception might be an ill-suited perspective to take, even though the vast majority of texts in modern Western culture do not immediately proclaim their classical roots, if they have any. Classical reception studies therefore privileges the minority of texts in which the evidence for classical influence is clearest, and shies away from contemplating the majority in which it is not.⁷

Yet, on the occasions when a clear instance of reception of the classics has taken place, the very *absence* of receptions in comparable environments, like the ‘negative’ results in science, can provide extremely important contextual information.⁸ Occasions of classical reception are in fact especially meaningful *because* they are uncommon in twentieth and twenty-first century Western culture, and have occurred where they might not, on the basis of the majority of evidence, have been expected to exist. When seen from this perspective, classical reception becomes more rather than less significant, because it can highlight moments of reception that have happened despite predominant trends rather than because of them. When

⁶ (n.d.) *The All Results Journals*.

⁷ Alistair Blanchard tentatively raised the question of when classicists should *not* do classical reception in a response session at the close of the ‘Democratic Turn’ conference, Open University, Milton Keynes, 18-20 June 2010 (unpublished).

⁸ Stray (2010-2011) identifies the importance of books that have not come into existence for providing contextual information about those that did in fact get published.

focusing on how the classics have been received *in spite of* factors that would indicate the contrary, the very uniqueness of the classical material comes to the forefront of the investigation. That classical material has been selected by a writer, poet, artist, filmmaker, director or politician on a specific instance, when in the vast majority of modern cases it is not selected, indicates that there is a quality to the classical material which cannot be provided by another, more frequently chosen, source. In other words, what can the allusion, reference, reinterpretation, or quotation of that particular scrap of *classical* material provide that other material cannot? If classical reception studies does not approach its material this way, I believe that, like the fictional reviewer of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, we might find ourselves dismissing a forest of 'extraneous material,' which we need in order to appreciate fully the significance of our favourite flower.

Chapter 1(i) therefore describes the forest, and provides context for the subsequent chapters. This chapter is concerned with how Greek and Latin literature and history in general (but on occasion just Thucydides) features in American universities and colleges, in courses outside traditional classics departments. The character of American higher education today is of course culturally specific to the USA, and is a consequence of the trends and pressures which affected the entire nation during the twentieth century, most important of which were the First and Second World Wars, the Vietnam War and the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and in more recent history, the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The most important single contextual factor affecting the reception of the classics among the college-educated American public, as I will show over the course of this thesis, is the existence of 'general education' in American universities, the 'Great Books' courses which often fulfilled an element of general education, and other survey courses in Western culture. Chapter 1 focuses on how the Great

Books movement developed in American universities, and in particular how it began, with a move that privileged the notion of the contemporaneity and relevance of the classical world to the modern world over that of teaching linguistic skills and competence at translating the classical languages. The consequences of this through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are then explored in the subsequent chapters, at first within the academic world and then through various stages into a wider societal context before, in my final chapter, I consider these developments in a comparative context.

Appropriation and Quotation

In the light of Hexter's concerns above, how can a single-author study such as this on Thucydides justify itself? Hexter proposes that one way to mitigate the dangers posed by the single-author study is to focus on one year and one geographic location, in order to 'write a thick description of the literary context.'⁹ A single year offers too narrow a scope to provide substantial results, however, so I have selected certain distinct but interlocking spheres on which to focus. These spheres correlate to and interact with one another, but are different enough in their receptions of Thucydides to demonstrate the importance of the 'thick descriptions' of the reception context in each case, and provide to an extent a comparative context within themselves.

The importance of the reception context has a consequence for a comparative approach, however. Too broad a scope (such as Thucydidean receptions in Europe, or even a small

⁹ Hexter (2006) 30.

number of European countries, compared to those in the USA) runs the risk of eliding precisely those significant and revealing differences that appear at the level of the sociolect, and constraints of space would deny the possibility for the ‘thick description’ recommended by Hexter. To achieve both the advantages of the comparative method and diminish the dangers of over-generalization, I have selected one comparative case only for the American receptions: that of England.¹⁰ It will become clear through my thesis that there is considerable cross-fertilization of ideas between the USA and England over the last hundred years, but this comparison through its detailed analysis investigates how ideas (sometimes the same ideas) about the value and meaning of the classics have been received and subsequently developed in each country, and asks whether a completely different academic environment has allowed similar or different flowers to bloom.

The spheres I have chosen, those of higher education, military education, International Relations theory, and discourse in the US Congress might seem a somewhat arbitrary selection, but they form a congruent set in two ways.¹¹ Firstly, all these spheres together build up a broad picture of how Thucydides is received by a group that could be categorized as the ‘professional non-specialist.’¹² The professionals that I focus on (military officers, international relations

¹⁰ The cultural variations (especially in the education sphere) between Scotland, Wales, and Ireland would merit consideration on their own; hence the comparison is specifically with English rather than British receptions.

¹¹ The American university is extremely heterogeneous, and it is not possible to give in detail the stories of all the different types of institutions that exist; for this study, I therefore concentrate on the developments at the universities of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and Chicago, as their curricula have had the greatest influence over those of other colleges through the twentieth century, although it would be inaccurate to suggest that this would give a complete portrait of colleges throughout the entire nation. Numerous more specific studies focus on different categories of higher educational establishments, such as Prose (1943) on Catholic women’s colleges, Schmidt (1957) on liberal arts colleges, and Lovett (2011) on historically black colleges and universities.

¹² This is not to say that the professional non-specialist may not also be very well educated or knowledgeable about Thucydides (or the classics more broadly), but that the purpose of their professional work is not the elucidation of ancient history, unlike that, for instance, of academic classicists, schoolteachers, and other occupations in which knowledge acquisition, arrangement, and dissemination is the goal, such as museum curators.

theorists, senators and members of Congress) are alike in that their primary goal is not to increase or disseminate knowledge about Thucydides (or any other classical author), nor to engage with the author for a creative or artistic purpose.¹³ Instead, each profession has incorporated Thucydides into its discourse in order to achieve a completely different goal – be that to become a better officer, more authoritative theorist, or more successful politician. The subordinate position of any discussion about Thucydides to that of the major professional goal is therefore one of the primary contexts within which to interpret the receptions of Thucydides that feature in this study.

This category of reception acts is labelled as ‘appropriation,’ a term even more laden than either ‘tradition’ or ‘heritage.’ Appropriation within art is a critically recognized technique for questioning established norms and provoking reflection and reconsideration of ways of understanding the past and the artist’s relationship to it, even though that relationship is often anything but straightforward either in practice or in theory, as Hinds’ examination of appropriation in Latin poetry demonstrates.¹⁴ Translation is necessarily an act of appropriation in that it transports a work into one’s own language, but ‘appropriation’ is often used to imply a tendency toward the instrumental, and towards the refashioning of the original work to suit a new agenda: thus Miola describes how ‘early moderns eclectically appropriated ancient texts to new ends, freely reconstructing ancient characters in the process.’¹⁵ Similarly, Venuti argues that Pope’s translation of the *Iliad* deliberately domesticized Homer in order to make his poem appealing to a broad cross-section of society, emphasizing how Pope’s copyright arrangements

¹³ The majority of classical reception studies focus on reception within works of literature and the performing and visual arts, spheres more inclined towards an ‘artistic’ (in which the consideration of the material itself is the primary goal) rather than an instrumental use of cultural material.

¹⁴ Hinds (1998).

¹⁵ Miola (2013).

made the translation highly lucrative for the poet, and described his style as ‘an appropriation of the “wild” Greek text to display the refinement of his literary talents.’¹⁶ The term is also used, with both positive and negative connotations depending on the critic’s point of view, to describe acts of reception that have strong political overtones. Vandiver notes that there were appropriations of Homer for both pro- and anti-war purposes at the start of the First World War;¹⁷ whereas for Rood, considering the use by the Nazis of Tacitus’ *Germania*, appropriation of classical history for political purposes can be a fraught and dangerous activity.¹⁸ For McConnell and for Greenwood on the other hand, appropriation of classical material, such as the *Odyssey*, is a powerful tool for post-colonial writers to use to invert the very power structures that oppress them,¹⁹ structures which were themselves based on appropriations of the classics by colonizing forces.²⁰ The connotations of the term ‘appropriation’ also include a certain openness about having borrowed from another’s source, which can be considered either honesty (as opposed to theft) or brazenness (as opposed to a more sophisticated allusion).²¹ Outside classical reception studies, the social scientist Helene Shugart sees Margaret Atwood’s poems ‘Orpheus (1)’ and ‘Eurydice’ as feminist appropriations of the Orpheus myth, worthy of the term ‘appropriations’ precisely because ‘the reference to the original artifact... is fairly immediately apparent and unambiguous.’²² These characteristics of appropriation, being its use of an earlier work for a new goal, often perceived as a political one, and also its frankness about

¹⁶ Venuti (2000) 57-58.

¹⁷ Vandiver (2008) 453.

¹⁸ Rood (2013b).

¹⁹ McConnell (2013); Greenwood (2009).

²⁰ Greenwood (2008) 102; Vasunia (2009) shows how the classical languages became incorporated into the examinations for the Indian Civil Service to favour Oxford’s Greats students.

²¹ Hinds (1998) 21ff.

²² Shugart (1997) 227.

borrowing its material, are both recurring features of the use of Thucydides in the spheres that I consider in this thesis.

Secondly, each of these spheres deserves special attention because of the significance of Thucydides compared with other classical authors within that sphere. Within military officer education, Thucydides has a role far more important than that of other classical authors, a phenomenon which has only recently begun to be studied,²³ and so in Chapter 1 (ii) I investigate how this has developed since the overhaul of the curriculum at the Naval War College by Stansfield Turner during the Vietnam War. My second chapter concerns International Relations (IR) theory, a field in which the question of ‘why Thucydides?’ has already and repeatedly been asked both by classicists and by scholars within IR itself, because of the extraordinary prominence of the author again compared to other classical authors. Chapter 3 is about a sphere that has been relatively unconsidered by classicists up to this point, that of speech in the US Congress.²⁴ In each of these three spheres, Thucydides is referred to not allusively but with candour: his history is read by students in the war colleges and quotations from it used in military talks, articles and on military websites; in IR theory Thucydidean quotations litter books and articles that are entirely unrelated to his *History*, and there are many studies focusing primarily on Thucydides besides; in the US Congress quotations attributed to Thucydides or Pericles are regularly given by senators and congressmen, and his quotations appear more frequently than any other classical author’s but one.²⁵

²³ Gaddis (2011); Stradis (forthcoming, 2014).

²⁴ The overall rarity of classical references in this context has led to its being overlooked; but Thucydides and Cicero stand out as the two classical authors who are quoted more often than all the other classical authors put together.

²⁵ The exception is Cicero, who is quoted very slightly more frequently than Thucydides.

Just because Thucydides' appropriation in these spheres appears openly and most often takes the form of quotation does not necessarily mean that its significance is straightforward, however. In modern literary analysis, quotation has up until very recently occupied a position inferior to the more glamorous and alluring allusion, a consequence of the attitudes epitomized by, for example, Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*, in which Bloom argues that the 'strength' or quality of a poet can be adduced by their ability to break free creatively from their forebears rather than slavishly imitate them.²⁶ Quotation's very obviousness might be taken as an invitation to deny it any deep meaning. The idea that a thoroughly worked-in allusion has more significance than a mere quotation or explicit reference gives authority to critical interpretations (and to the scholars that produce them) that rely on extensive knowledge of other texts, and to a methodology that is dependent on utilizing an ever wider set of texts to demonstrate ever subtler intertextual paths.²⁷ Quotation may seem to be playing Snap to allusion's Glass Bead Game, but the work of recent scholars in a variety of disciplines has demonstrated that the dynamics of quotation are anything but straightforward.²⁸ Morson has demonstrated how quotation functions as a literary genre that has its own characteristics as well as the ability to infiltrate other genres,²⁹ while Finnegan's studies of the Mass Observation Exercise in England show how quotation habits are determined by social mores and expectations determined by variables such as class, age and gender.³⁰ Rumbold's examination

²⁶ Bloom (1997) 30. Even the editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* is at pains to prove that studying quotation is 'as rewarding a study as other more recognized areas of the linguistic field.' (Knowles (2008) 22).

²⁷ Recognition and interpretation of allusion also serves the purpose of connoting membership of an exclusive group (in this case, academic literary critics), which Tim Ruback identified among International Relations scholars quoting Thucydides (Chapter 3), and Chris Stray observed among Victorian politicians quoting the classics (Chapter 4).

²⁸ For classicists, quotation takes on an extra function when it is used (or even appropriated) as a source for lost works, although Pelling (2010a) has analysed how risky it can be to approach quotations this way (in the case of Plutarch's quoting of Augustus' *Memoirs*) without taking their context into account.

²⁹ Morson (2011).

³⁰ Finnegan (2011).

of Shakespearean quotation in the eighteenth-century novel illustrates how quotations, rather than simply being indicative of an author's admiration for a predecessor or merely ornamental, serve a 'deliberate, active function of characterization rather than a passive nod to [Shakespeare's] greatness.'³¹ This notion of 'characterful quotation,' through which a literary creation performs their character, correlates with the research of Ruback in the social sciences who has demonstrated that the references to Thucydides by International Relations theorists serve the purposes of delineating their own discourse as recognizably 'International Relations' scholarship and also marking out their own credentials for taking part in that scholarship.³² Thucydides himself has even been dubbed 'the father of the quotation,' because of his habit of writing using both familiar and neologized abstract nouns, which invite the reader to consider the specific instances described by the concept, and to consider the abstract noun to describe the specific details he provides.³³ Thus the quotation summarizes the entire story, and at the same time demands to be explained at length: the aphorism breeds the novel, and the novel the aphorism.³⁴

These studies show how quotation is anything but superficial, but rather is integral to the meaning of the work in which it appears. To take Western academic writing as an example, the fundamentally performative aspect of quotation has even been identified in this genre by the scholar of linguistics, literacy and communication, Ron Scollon, who highlighted how the use of citation in modern academic discourse has developed over time, and is specific to today's Western discourse. He first describes how the form of the genre has changed over time:

³¹ Rumbold (2007) 26.

³² Ruback (2011).

³³ Sharlin (2004) 24.

³⁴ Morson (2012).

There has been a movement away from the use of the pronoun 'I' toward the use of passives which place the authorship of academic research articles into the shadowy background where principalship is less clearly attributed. There has also been a tendency toward the decrease of verbs in lamination and an increase in the use of active verbs. 'I found that X is Y' has moved through 'It was found that X is Y' to 'X is Y' (name, publication date).³⁵

This is anything but a cosmetic development, since Scollon notes, quoting Swales:

The art of the matter, as far as the creation of facts is concerned, lies in deceiving the reader into thinking that there is no rhetoric... that the facts are indeed speaking for themselves.³⁶

Within the genre of academic writing, citation and quotation is not just window-dressing, but is practically compulsory; not only is the failure to quote accurately considered plagiarism, it is also not conforming to the dictates of the genre. Citation practices that aim to hide the subjectivity of the scholar speak volumes about the way that knowledge is constructed within the culture that promulgates it, and in the West great importance is attached towards accrediting an individual as the originator of a particular opinion or piece of knowledge.³⁷ Scollon argues that responsibility in discourse (and the 'academic voice' which conveys it) is constructed very differently in Western English-speaking countries compared to, for example, Southeast Asia, for the following reason:

I believe that the emphasis on original coinage of words and concepts along with the concomitant emphasis on ownership of those coinages represents not the inherent nature of discourse, but the ideology of the rational, autonomous, free individual put forward first during the period of the Enlightenment in Europe and given force through the

³⁵ Scollon (1994) 38.

³⁶ Scollon (1994) 38, quoting Swales (1990) 112.

³⁷ Thus, in a modern twist, Finnegan (2011) leaves out all academic references in the main body of her book *Why do we quote?*, corraling them to an appendix which she opens with self-conscious irony: 'This appendix provides the occasion for inserting some of the ponderous academic quotation and allusion expected in an academic monograph. I didn't include much of this in the opening chapters, preferring to get into some specific examples before boring on about my knowledge of earlier scholarship. But given the quoting requirements of this kind of scholarly text I don't quite have the nerve to omit it altogether.' (p.286). Grafton (1994) details how historians' use of the footnote has developed since Jacques-Auguste de Thou, with emphasis on Gibbon and Ranke.

economic view of human nature advanced by Utilitarian thought and economic analysis since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries... I would argue that we could view the emphasis on quotation from original sources in academic writing as a manifestation of this same historical evolution in discourse.³⁸

Not only do Western academics convey their identity *as* an academic through their performance of citation, but they even indicate their own intellectual and disciplinary affiliation by their choice of *who* to cite, and also define the target audience for their work.³⁹ The way in which a writer (in any sphere) engages openly with their predecessors through citation and quotation is therefore far from superficial or ornamental to the meaning of their work, but is indicative of many cultural factors at both the macro and the micro level, from a culture-wide conceptualization of the individual to that of the specific genre, be that academic writing across all fields, political rhetoric, or a novel.⁴⁰ A quotation has the capacity to convey ideas, information and connotations far beyond that of only the words themselves.

Not only is quotation highly illuminating about the meaning of the text in which it appears, but it is also a ubiquitous and resilient genre in its own right. Not only are quotations found across texts of all descriptions in the Western world, but quotations themselves cross boundaries of time and space, genre and language. They travel through time not only in specialized conveyances such as anthologies, a practice dating back to Cato's *Distichs*, Erasmus' *Adagia* and the medieval *florilegia*, but are preserved within other texts of all types,

³⁸ Scollon (1994) 43, 44.

³⁹ Finnegan (2011) again draws attention to the constructedness of this discourse by reconditioning it into the personal voice: 'Let me attempt, then, to relate my own path to that of the multiple others in the fields of scholarship where I have been walking, and do my own bit of quoting. Starting this way is to follow an academic fashion common in many humanities and social science monographs today of doing something to reveal my own personal stance and working procedures.' (p.286) But the dictates of the genre still hold sway, as at this point Finnegan includes a footnote referring to other theorists of quotation.

⁴⁰ The interrelationship between scientific writing and scientific knowledge, for instance, has received detailed attention from scholars of applied linguistics and communication such as Latour (1987) and Myers (1990), especially in the wake of the publication of Kuhn's groundbreaking and controversial *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962).

from literary and paraliterary works to inscriptions and via oral repetition in the forms of proverbs and folk sayings. On the internet's ever-growing store of quotation repositories, quotations from Homer, Cicero and the Bible rub up alongside words of wisdom from today's soap stars and cartoon characters. Quotation is one of the most widely accessible literary genres (the internet is one channel through which quotations can travel easily, but the short length and memorable character of many quotations means that they can travel through many different channels) and is also non-hierarchical, because it does not privilege certain sources over others (in that quotations are generated from high as well as popular culture and all ranges of texts, and by everyone). It is more 'open' in character rather than exclusive, unlike allusion which relies on the receiver's having the 'right' knowledge to interpret the allusion's referents correctly. Quotation is therefore one of the most democratic literary genres, whose study contributes a vital piece to the burgeoning study of the 'democratic turn' in classical reception studies.⁴¹ Because of its ability to collapse the chronological distance between us and the classical past, to be at once contemporary and at the same time manifestly of the past, quotation is an ideal subject for theorizing about the nature of classical reception.

⁴¹ Hardwick and Stray (2008) pinpoint the democratic turn as one of the major debates in classical reception analysis (p.3, 4, 8); the forthcoming *Classics in the Modern World: a democratic turn?* by Hardwick and Harrison will extend the discussion still further.

Thucydides as a case study for classical reception

Finally, why should Thucydides be a good choice for an investigation into the workings of classical reception? Not only is there substantial evidence of his being used by professional non-classicists, but the very characteristics that make him a complicated and even intimidating subject for classicists to study in fact make him a perfect subject for later eras to adapt and appropriate. Is Thucydides an historian, exile, general, statesman, rhetorician, philosopher, or tragedian? As he is all of these, he appeals to different groups, be they political philosophers, social scientists, soldiers, or politicians, each of whom recognize something of themselves in him and recreate him in their own image.⁴² Not only is there not one name to apply to him, but the difficulty and frequent ambiguity of Thucydides' language has led to divergent translations, particularly of important passages, because individual translators have had to use more of their own judgement, subjective and culturally determined, to create adequate and coherent translations of each Thucydidean puzzle. Also, the length, complexity and multivalency of *The History of the Peloponnesian War* have demanded that it very often be abridged, simplified, or explained, and therefore on each occasion its meaning has been recreated at each moment of its

⁴² For instance, V.D. Hanson's over-heroic characterization of Thucydides is 'a man of action, an elected official, a captain, a traveller, and a pragmatic individual, a successful combatant against warrior and disease alike, hardbitten and intimate with both privilege and disgrace, a man who suffered with and outlived most of the greatest men of his time.' (Strassler (1996) xi).

reception.⁴³ These two questions, of what *name* is given to Thucydides, and what *excerpts* are selected from his work, will be recurrent themes throughout this thesis.

Even among professional classicists, scholars do not completely agree on what the most significant parts of Thucydides' work are; when this comes to presenting what 'Thucydides' is to a non-specialist audience, the problem is most acute and the answer is very subjective. As an illustration of this, Figure 1 compares the selections chosen by three classical scholars for their edition of Thucydides, each aimed at a general, non-classically-trained audience; the latter two are used across American universities today in survey courses of Western literature and Great Books courses. Each has abridged the text; R. W. Livingstone's 1943 *Thucydides' Peloponnesian War* contains 517 out of 917 chapters, 56% of the text. Moses Finley's *The Portable Greek Historians* contains 27% of Thucydides' work (251 chapters), and Paul Woodruff's *Thucydides on Justice, Power, and Human Nature* contains 26% (234 chapters). Although the comparison illustrates many interesting points, I will discuss here just those pertinent to this discussion about how each edition presents Thucydides.

Each edition makes two claims: to present a narrative of events, and to present 'Thucydides' to the reader previously unacquainted with him, but they each paint a rather different 'Thucydides.'⁴⁴ Even though Livingstone's edition contains twice the text of the other two editions, it does not contain every chapter that the other two editions selected, and each editor has selected chapters left out by the others (Finley's includes 1.24-56 and 6.2,6-7, 55-60; Woodruff's is the only edition to include anything beyond 8.1; Livingstone does not include

⁴³ The outstandingly successful exception to this rule is Strassler's Landmark edition (1996), which has gained a particularly wide following in the sphere of military education, because of its detailed maps showing individual battles and its appendices describing ancient Greek war tactics for the lay reader (Cook (2006) 355).

⁴⁴ Livingstone (1943a) v; Finley (1959) 20; Woodruff (1993) viii.

6.54). Each editor applies a different technique of editorship: Livingstone (who I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 2) prefaces the passages of Thucydides with domesticizing references, while Woodruff includes more background notes in his own words, which means that he excerpts the text more heavily (the way that he deals with Book 8, using only a few sentences from some chapters, demonstrates this). Finley does not include the Melian Dialogue as he argues that it had little basis in historical fact, but was merely made up by Thucydides.⁴⁵ This may seem like a surprising decision given that, in the twenty-first century, the Melian Dialogue is almost as well known as the Funeral Speech as being a trademark ‘Thucydidean’ passage. But Finley’s interest was in Thucydides as an historian, and therefore he includes more *erga* than Woodruff, who inclines towards political philosophy. Thus among academic classicists, there is not a complete consensus on what ‘Thucydides’ is: to some, he is a political philosopher, to others an historian.

⁴⁵ Finley (1959) 12.

FIGURE 1. Comparison of the chapters of Thucydides included in three twentieth century editions.

	Livingstone (1943)	Finley (1959)	Woodruff (1993)	Passage (Passages common to all three editions are in bold type.)
Book 1	1-23	1-23	1-23	Introduction & Archaeology
		24-56		1 st complaint: Epidamnus
	66-88	68-88	68-88	1st Spartan congress: speeches of Corinthians, Athenians, Archidamus and Sthenelaidas
	89-98			Pentecontaetia
	118-39			2 nd Spartan congress, Pausanias and Themistocles
	140-146		140-146	Pericles' 1 st speech
Book 2	1-7		1	War begins
	8-27		8	Most of Greece supports Sparta
	34	34		Setting the scene for Funeral Oration
	35-54	35-54	35-54	Funeral Oration, Plague
	55, 57-67, 70-78		55-78	Pericles' 3 rd speech, Thucydides' view of Pericles, military operations, Plataea besieged
	83,84; 93,94			Athenian naval tactics; Brasidas attacks the Piraeus
Book 3	1-6,8-26			Mytilene revolts and appeals to Sparta; escape from Plataea
	27-28,29-34	27-28		Mytilene surrenders to Athens
	35-36	35-36		1 st Athenian resolution on fate of Mytileneans
	37-50	37-50	37-50	Mytilenean debate
	51-68,69		51-68	Plataean debate
	70-80	70-80		Corcyraean revolution
	81-83	81-83	81-83	Stasis in Corcyra

	84-85		84-85	84: description of stasis (spurious?) 85: insurgents set up base at Mt. Istone
	86-89, 104, 116			Earthquakes; purification of Delos, Etna erupts
Bk 4	2-23, 26-41			Pylos and Sphacteria
	46-48		47-48	End of Corcyraean insurgents
	55,58-69, 74, 80-81			Hermocrates' speech; Athens attacks Megara; Brasidas' successes
	84-88		84-87	Speech: Brasidas at Acanthus
	97-99, 103-108, 117			Dispute after Delium, Brasidas' success at Amphipolis
Bk 5	6-11			Brasidas vs. Cleon at Amphipolis
	14-28		26	Peace; 2 nd preface
	43-45, 66, 68-75			Alcibiades' diplomacy; Battle of Mantinea
	84-115, 117		84-116	Melian dialogue
Book 6	1	1-2		Early settlers in Sicily
		6-7		Egestan overtures to Athens; end of 16 th year of war
	8-26	8-26	8-26	Debate at Athens between Alcibiades and Nicias
	27-53	27-53		Hermes; departure and journey of fleet; debate at Syracuse
		54	54	Thucydides debunks popular myth about fall of Peisistratids
	61-73	55-74		Harmodius and Aristogeiton; Alcibiades vanishes; Sicily campaign
	75-87			Speeches of Hermocrates and Euphemus
	88	88		Athenians and Syracusans reach out to allies for help
	89	89	89.3-6	Alcibiades' speech
	90-91	90-91		Alcibiades' speech
	92	92	92.2-4	Alcibiades' speech
	93; 95-103	93		Spartans take Alcibiades' advice and aid Sicilians

	Livingstone (1943)	Finley (1959)	Woodruff (1993)	Passage (Passages common to all three editions are in bold type.)
Book 7	2-16, 18-19, 21-30			Gylippus arrives; Nicias' letter; Sparta attacks Athens; Plemmyrium taken; slaughter at Mycalessus
	36-41	36-41		Preliminary skirmishes in Great Harbour
	42-56	42-56	42-56	Epipolae, departure from harbour delayed twice
	59-68	59-68		Preparations for battle: Nicias and Gylippus' speeches
	69-87	69-87	69-87	Destruction of expedition
Book 8	1		1	Reaction at Athens
			48.5-6	Phrynichus' argument to preserve democracy
			64.5	Newly oligarchic cities such as Thasos revolt
			89.3	The Four Hundred fight amongst themselves
			97	The Five Thousand are established

There are only 139 chapters (15%) of the entire work which all three authors decided to include in their editions. Comparison of the text selected by these three editors for their brief volumes demonstrates the difficulty in abridging Thucydides, but also all the editors have one similar habit. Of the ten passages that are included by all three editors, five centre on debates or speeches (first Spartan congress, Funeral Oration, Mytilenean debate, debate between Nicias and Alcibiades over Sicily, Alcibiades' speech). Three focus on Thucydides' own analysis of events (introduction and archaeology, plague, stasis) even though such passages are relatively rare (Thucydides' opinion about Nicias and judgment on the Sicilian expedition in 7.86-7 fall into this category, and again are included by all editors). Only two long passages of what is primarily narration of a military campaign are included by all the editors, and both passages are

from the Sicilian expedition (and include Nicias' speech at 7.77), due to its overwhelming significance for Athens. Other than Sicily, each editor has selected different military campaigns for inclusion. All the editors have included a disproportionately high number of the speeches, even though the entire history contains more *erga* than *logoi*, and is a finely-tuned balance between *ergon* and *logos*, between the different campaigns and battle narratives which tell the flow of the war on one hand, and the interpretation of and motivations for these events by the main players at the time (including Thucydides). Despite their different preferences, for all these editors, Thucydides has become more of an artist, a dramatist, and a theorist of human nature than the archetype of the recorder of events 'wie es eigentlich gewesen,' as Ranke portrayed him in the nineteenth century. Oswyn Murray's observation that descriptions of the Greek *polis* are determined by the cultural and national values of the person doing the describing holds equally true for today's classicists receiving Thucydides.⁴⁶ We will see how much more this applies to those whose acquaintance with his work is much less extensive, to whom I now turn.

⁴⁶ Murray and Price (1990) 2-3.

CHAPTER ONE

Thucydides in American Higher Education

Introduction

At the heart of this chapter is the question: what does a typical college-educated American know about Thucydides? This is an impossible question to answer for many reasons. There is no ‘typical’ person who has been through the American higher education system, and the system itself is anything but homogeneous, consisting as it does of thousands of private and state colleges and associations of self-regulating accreditation bodies. Any potential answer to this question would be applicable only to a short period of the one hundred year history of the USA under scrutiny in this thesis. Even a study of syllabuses and curricula cannot be taken to represent the knowledge that students have when they leave college. For the reasons given in my introduction, however, this is a suitable subset of the American population with which to begin thinking about the reception of Thucydides across American culture, given that the vast majority of American military officers, International Relations theorists, and senators and members of Congress are educated to at least the college level. A more cautious and achievable, but less succinct, way to phrase the question is: what can we infer, judging from the history of higher education in the USA over the last hundred years, that someone who has been through the American higher education system could have learnt about Thucydides from his or her

college courses? This is the question that I will be answering in this chapter, but the former (unanswerable) question still stands as the motivating force behind it.

Where does Thucydides appear in American universities' curricula? Students majoring in Classics or in History are potentially more likely to read Thucydides (either in English or in Greek) than those in other disciplines. There are only a small number of Classics majors per year, however,¹ and the breadth of the discipline of History, combined with every college's having its own criteria of courses required for a History major, makes a clear number of the number of students studying specifically ancient Greek history through this route impossible to estimate.² Yet a much higher proportion of American college students are likely to encounter the *History* than just those who finish university with a bachelor's degree in either of these subjects. Certain characteristics of the structure of American higher education contribute to this. First of all, the system of majors and minors allows many students to study an additional subject in some detail without it being their primary degree field. Statistics for the number of students annually awarded a minor in Classics or History do not exist, but it must increase significantly

¹ The digital humanities expert Ben Schmidt has correlated the National Center for Education Statistics' records for 2011 with 'Classification of Instructional Programs' (CIP) codes (indicating degree titles) in order to provide detailed figures about what Bachelor's degrees were awarded in 2011. Schmidt (n.d.) indicates that there were 1,578 students across fields immediately identifiable as Classics (Classics and Classical Languages, Literatures and Linguistics 1,197; Latin Languages and Literature 81; Ancient/Classical Greek Languages and Literature 37; Classics and Classical Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, Other 19; Classical, Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies and Archaeology 123; Ancient Studies/Civilization 121). British first-year undergraduates are a suitable point of comparison to statistics on American Bachelor's degree recipients, as their major field of study at university has already been chosen. In the UK in 2009-10, 5.7% of all first-year undergraduates were studying languages (in which Classics is counted), a much higher proportion than in American universities (1.33%). Of these, classical languages and classical studies accounted for 5%, or 1,295 out of 30,085 students. (Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency).

² Schmidt's figures indicate 32,551 students majored in History in 2011, but there is no CIP code for Ancient History as a distinct major within the field of history (CIP codes are 'History, General', which accounts for 35,221 out of the 32,551 students (99%); American History; European History; History and Philosophy of Science and Technology; Public/Applied History; Asian History; Military History; History, Other). However, it is very likely that most students majoring in History will have taken an introductory or survey level course in the history of Western culture, which I discuss below, or at least one course in classical, religious, or comparative history as part of breadth requirements for the major.

the number of students who leave college with some specialist knowledge of classical antiquity. While the majority of colleges have History departments and can offer (depending on their curricula) minors in History, there are in addition to the 330 colleges and universities in the USA offering a BA in Classics, approximately 70 colleges which do not offer a major in Classics, but offer courses in Classics and may have thriving minors programs.³

Secondly, Thucydides has an important status outside the Classics and History faculties as well as within them. Excerpts from Thucydides' *History* appear, in translation, in a wide range of courses within the fields of Political Science (often using texts such as Woodruff's which I examined in the Introduction), including Political Philosophy and Government courses as well as International Relations, areas of study that are more popular among students than either Classics or History and, on current figures, double the number of students potentially accessing Thucydides' work.⁴ Taking all these subjects together (both the social sciences, History, and Classics) still accounts however for only approximately 5% of the total number of degrees awarded.⁵

Thirdly, some colleges and universities award interdisciplinary degrees in the Humanities or the Liberal Arts, and offer a course in (and some even structure their entire curriculum around) the reading of a selected list of 'Great Books.' Such interdisciplinary

³ Figures from the APA (Committee on the Status of Women and Minority Groups) Reports on Departmental Surveys. The number of departments offering courses in Classics has fallen slightly from 415 in 2001, to 409 in 2004, to 399 in 2007. The figure of 70 institutions offering no major in Classics is from the 2004 survey, which records that 16% (72) of the 450 American and Canadian institutions offering courses in Classics are categorized as American 'No Majors' colleges: these correlate to the 'Great Books' colleges which I discuss below. 2004 is the only year for which these statistics are available.

⁴ Schmidt's figures for 2011 show 39,959 students taking Political Science and Government as well as 9,719 taking International Relations compared with 36,799 for all Classics and History combined (Schmidt, (n.d.)).

⁵ 86,477 out of 1,816,062 Bachelor's degrees awarded in 2011 (Schmidt, n.d.).

degrees account for a further 4% of all Bachelor's degrees.⁶ The contents of a Liberal Arts or Humanities degree vary both according to the political and aesthetic tastes of the institution's professors and according to the number of credit hours dedicated to the Great Books element of the course. But the majority of Great Books courses, even when going by a name other than 'Great Books,' are based to a greater or lesser degree on works from ancient Greece or Rome, with classics of British, French, German, Italian, American literature, and some Russian and world literature components sometimes added. Seth Schein considers these courses to be 'the predominant educational context for the reading of the Homeric epics in the United States during the 20th century,'⁷ and this holds for many of the other classical authors too that are included in the canon. Many of these courses include extracts from Thucydides alongside the playwrights, poets and philosophers of Athens and Rome.

Finally, the interdisciplinary structure of college degrees in the USA provides an avenue through which a far greater number can access classical works than just those students alone who major or minor in the subjects above or in Liberal Arts. In the first two years of a bachelor's degree, students usually study a broad range of subjects. This is often achieved by a general requirement that a range of subjects is covered, spanning the humanities, mathematics, social sciences, and sciences, with the result that graduates will have a smattering of knowledge across a variety of different fields, in addition to more detailed knowledge within their chosen

⁶ The Association for Core Texts and Courses provides a list of 166 colleges and universities which offer a major in liberal arts based almost entirely on a Great Books program, and estimates an approximate minimum of 65,000 students take these courses annually. Casement's list on behalf of the ACTC is still in development and is not complete, and some of the colleges on the list have not provided numbers for the students taking the course, so the final figure may be higher than the 64,964 students indicated (Casement (n.d.)). Schmidt's figures support Casement, however, and calculates a total of 67,828 such degrees awarded in 2011, comprising: Liberal Arts and Sciences, General Studies and Humanities 47,099; General Studies 15,053; Humanities/Humanistic Studies 2,607; Liberal Arts and Sciences, General Studies and Humanities, Other 3,069 (Schmidt, n.d.). Following the customary form, I will use the term 'Great Books' (capitalized) to refer to the name of the courses and the resulting social trend.

⁷ Schein (2007) 268.

major. In many institutions, these general requirements include (or can include) a watered-down version of a ‘Great Books’ course in the form of a survey course of the landmarks of Western literature, philosophy and history, often going by names such as ‘Introduction to Western Culture’ or ‘Survey of Western Civilization.’ The number of students taking this type of course is highly significant for building an image of college students’ general knowledge about the classical world. 23.4% of students who left high school in 1992 and then completed a bachelor’s degree (in any subject) took at least one college course in Western Civilization or Western Culture.⁸

Less Classics, more cultural literacy

Although not all political science, History, Great Books, or Western Civilization courses include Thucydides, these three factors given above mean that even students who have never taken a course in classics *per se* may still have read excerpts of Thucydides’ *History* (such as the Funeral Oration or the Melian Dialogue) or know the names of Thucydides and Pericles. This has been confirmed by some research into the general knowledge of literate Americans. The American educator and professor of English Literature E.D. Hirsch, in his 1987 book *Cultural Literacy: What every American needs to know*, addresses the problem of poor reading ability and communication skills in American children. He describes studies on reading ability in children and adults, and proposes that what affects reading speed and comprehension most of all is the readers’ knowledge about the subject being read, and their general background knowledge. This knowledge allows them to contextualize what they are reading and also to

⁸ Humanities Indicators: Indicator II-6 *Most Frequently Taken College Courses*. More recent data is not available. Indicator II-6 indicates a slight downward trend in the popularity of these courses from 29.8% in 1972 to 28.2% in 1982; I discuss the reasons behind the decline in popularity of such courses later in this chapter. Even if the proportion of students taking such courses today is significantly lower than 23.4%, it is likely to still represent a higher proportion of all undergraduates than just those with the Bachelor’s degrees specified above.

understand unglossed references made by the writer to commonly known concepts. The second half of his book contains a list of approximately 5,000 words and phrases, carefully compiled from magazines and newspapers, general books, reference books, dictionaries and other material as a preliminary list by Hirsch and his collaborators, and tested by over 100 consultant editors. These are the words and phrases that a 'literate' American could be presumed to know. Hirsch is careful to point out that he is not prescribing any particular field of knowledge and defining what cultural literacy ought to encompass, but reflecting American culture as he and his collaborators have found it to be (although he appreciates how precarious this position is, and that his work is likely to be abused in two ways: by being treated as a list to memorize on the one hand, and on the other criticized for not including enough women or minority figures on the list).⁹ Of these 5,000 entries, which include all sorts of historical figures, places, proverbs, songs, wars, and fairytales, there are over 170 classical references, and an additional 100 untranslated Latin or Greek words which have been incorporated into the American cultural diet. Among *caveat emptor*, the Sword of Damocles, Minerva, the Corinthian order, Medea, and many other gods, goddesses, authors, phrases and places, nestle 'Thucydides', 'Pericles', and also rather surprisingly, 'The Peloponnesian War.' Many of the classical entries on Hirsch's list derive from mythology available in many guises to children (such as the names of gods, goddesses and heroes), but others such as *Antigone* (as the title of the work as well as the mythical heroine), St Augustine's *Confessions*, or the Peloponnesian War itself, all make frequent appearances in Great Books and Western Civilization syllabuses, and may have these

⁹ Hirsch (1987) 103; these criticisms were manifested by Anson (1988), Christenbury (1989), Zurmuehlen (1989) and Broudy (1990), but Kerewsky (1989) defended the concept as a teaching tool when used innovatively, and Reedy (1988), writing in *The Classical Journal*, used Hirsch's book to encourage classicists to rethink their attitudes about broad civilization courses and the importance of teaching the classical languages together with the historical background and literary contexts. Simpson (1991), writing with the perspective of distance, takes a view that is more balanced but sceptical of the concept of 'cultural literacy' overall.

courses to thank for being considered general knowledge for literate Americans. The value of these syllabuses for introducing students to classical works is recognized by one of Hirsch's more sympathetic critics, a classicist, who writes that, 'From *Cultural Literacy* we gain a renewed realization of the importance of "civilization courses", commentaries, and even of footnotes,'¹⁰ a perspective markedly at odds with those critics (also sometimes classicists) who consider the Great Books courses and methodology to be flawed.¹¹ Hirsch's research cannot be separated from the discourse of the 'culture wars' that penetrated all aspects of American society from the 1970s onwards, and his findings have often been interpreted along political lines. Some critics are highly sceptical of the imperializing influence that such a list creates, and argue that 'cultural' literacy is a highly subjective term which has the effect of subordinating some cultures while privileging knowledge about others.¹² To consider Hirsch's work in the context of its critics reveals the extremely politicized condition of the Great Books movement by this point, the consequences of which are extremely evident today in arguments about the importance or relevance of a 'canon' of predominantly male, Western, socially privileged writers to a student body that is much more diverse than it was in the 1950s.

This chapter therefore addresses the turning points in American higher education that have had a direct impact on the extent to which Thucydides is read by and familiar to American college students, and has contributed to the state of 'cultural literacy' described by Hirsch. I do not focus on the specialist courses offered by Classics departments for Classics majors, since the general education courses that I have just described are taken by far more undergraduates. I address these turning points in two parts. Part (i) addresses civilian colleges. The most

¹⁰ Reedy (1988) 43.

¹¹ Schein (2007) sees the teaching of Great Books courses to be extremely unsatisfactory as it is ahistorical, too ideologically motivated, and frequently carried out by non-specialists.

¹² Anson (1988).

important event in the history of the reception of Thucydides in the USA in the twentieth century was the birth of the Great Books course in the 1920s, the brainchild of John Erskine of Columbia University, which brought classical works for the first time in translation into the undergraduate curriculum and formed one half of what would later become Columbia's 'Core Curriculum.' Although this shaped subsequent general education in the USA (and therefore the position of Classics in courses outside Classics departments) it has been studied very little by classicists. I will show how, contrary to the established narrative about the invention of this course, John Erskine was strongly influenced not by the ideology of Matthew Arnold or his American contemporaries, but by the Hellenist revival of the late Victorian and Edwardian era (of which Gilbert Murray was the most high profile advocate), and his experiences in France of military education and soldiers during World War One. Secondly, Erskine's mode of study was then gradually incorporated into many more universities across the USA as the need for general education of undergraduates grew for a variety of socio-political reasons, and evolved into a wider public movement in the 1950s, stemming from the work of Mortimer Adler and Robert Hutchins at the University of Chicago. This movement proved extremely popular for a short period in the 1940s and 1950s, but soon began to come under attack during the 1960s and 1970s in the face of the civil rights and feminist movements, by which time the act of reading the Great Books had changed from being perceived as radical and progressive (as it had been during Erskine's time) to being considered the last bastion of the conservative traditionalists. Part (ii) concerns military education, which I treat separately because its culture is inherently very different to that of civilian education, being more specifically targeted at providing information and skills pertinent to military officers. Admiral Stansfield Turner overhauled the curriculum at the US Naval War College in the 1970s and placed Thucydides, but not any other

classical authors, at the centre of its strategy course, a move which fanned out across the other War and Staff colleges and military academies and resulted in the reading of at least sections of Thucydides becoming a *sine qua non* of the education of America's (and consequently now also Britain's) most senior generals.

Part (i)

The birth of the Great Books course

An important route through which many non-Classics or History majors have come across Thucydides is through courses loosely configured around the Great Books concept, in which a selection of important works of Western and (now often) world literature is read, at a fast pace and with little or no time spent attending to the historical background of the text or to secondary criticism. Some colleges, the most famous of which is St John's in Annapolis and Santa Fe, structure their entire curriculum around the Great Books, using them to learn not only about literature and philosophy but also the sciences and mathematics. Many respected but more mainstream universities and colleges such as Yale, Columbia and Notre Dame offer a course built around the Great Books idea, and still more offer survey courses of works of Western or world literature, in which students can gain a passing acquaintance with the works in the Great Books canon.

The Great Books curriculum is a phenomenon peculiar to the North American continent, and the traditional account of its birth begins at Columbia University in New York.¹³ The bare facts are that, in the academic year 1920-21, John Erskine (better known among classicists for his novel *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*) conducted an experimental course called 'General Honors,' in which a list of just over 50 works of literature that he had selected personally were read, at the rate of one per week, and then discussed in a small seminar-style group of 25 to 30 students with the instructor leading the discussion, but not lecturing. He had had great trouble in

¹³ Great Books colleges also exist in Canada, such as the Liberal Arts College in Montreal's Concordia University. The pedagogic model spread to Canada as it grew outwards from Columbia and Chicago.

establishing the course: he had initially proposed it in 1917, in response to what he called ‘the fashion among many of my older colleagues to refer with regret, and certainly not with respect, to the literary ignorance of the younger generation,’¹⁴ but those colleagues reacted very strongly against the notion that a great book should be read either in translation or at such a fast pace of one per week. His response did not ameliorate the situation, in that he ‘publicly offered them my sympathy for never having read the Old Testament, nor the words of Christ. Of course the Old Testament was possible for any colleague who knew Hebrew, but there was no text extant of the words of Christ in the language he spoke.’¹⁵ Before he could rile his colleagues any further, Erskine left to go to France when the USA entered the First World War, and there he set up and ran a university for American servicemen at Beaune during the demobilization.¹⁶ On his return in late 1919, he proposed his course again, and once more encountered great resistance from his colleagues who felt that great books could not be read in a week. Erskine countered them:

When the great books were first published, they were popular, which was the first step in toward their permanent fame, and the public who first liked them read them quickly, perhaps overnight, without waiting to hear scholarly lectures about them. I wanted the boys to read great books, the best sellers of ancient times, as spontaneously and humanly as they would read current best sellers, and having read the books, I wanted them to form their opinions at once in a free-for-all discussion... Here would be, I believed, the true scholarly and cultural basis for human understanding and communication.¹⁷

¹⁴ Erskine (1948) 165.

¹⁵ Erskine (1948) 166.

¹⁶ Allen (1983) asserts that Erskine taught his proposed course while he was at Beaune (p.81), but it is strange that Erskine does not mention this fact in either of his very detailed autobiographies, especially when they were written after General Honors had gone on to become such an important milestone in American general education.

¹⁷ Erskine (1947) 343. This description of the classical literature which he selected for his course could be described generously as a stretch. The point that Erskine is making, albeit anachronically, might be defensible at some level: Homeric epic, tragedy and comedy were clearly extremely popular and a great number of the listeners and audiences must therefore have enjoyed their performance. It would be difficult however to make

His course, when it began in the autumn of 1920, was a success and became a cornerstone of the ‘Core Curriculum’ at Columbia, and, thanks to a large extent to Mortimer Adler who had been a student in Erskine’s very first year of the class and an instructor in its second, it grew into the Great Books movement. Yet these simple facts raise large questions. What motivated Erskine to start such a radical course, and what made his course so successful? How did he choose the books on his list? This story is important not only because of the pervasiveness of the movement which it seeded, but because of its importance in the reception of the classics in America outside the academy. Finally, the story of the beginning of this course is a vital one for classicists to consider, partly because, as I will argue, a classicist was extremely influential on Erskine, and secondly because it forms a paradigm about the importance of classics in times of crisis which will be repeated in the stories later on in this thesis.

John Erskine was an alumnus of Columbia University, and he returned from his post at Amherst College as Professor of English to teach at Columbia in 1909.¹⁸ At this period, Columbia University, as well as many other institutions, was undergoing a crisis in defining its educational mission, just at the time when its student body and the city were growing extremely quickly due to the very high rate of immigration into the USA. The model in German education of intensive gymnasial schooling followed by research and professional training in the university was increasingly setting the agenda for American universities, replacing the former liberal arts curriculum which had a strong emphasis on Latin and Greek. Preparing students for their future careers was the direction towards which Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia from 1902 to 1945, decided in the early years of his presidency that Columbia

this argument for an author like Thucydides who was explicitly avoiding the *μυθώδεις*, or for many of the later political philosophers in his selection.

¹⁸ Erskine (1947) 193.

University should also tend, with the support of the professor of history, political science and international law, John W. Burgess.¹⁹ Butler viewed the current state of classics teaching as at odds with this turn towards the relevant and the vocational, and claimed that teaching methods were especially uninspiring, recalling from his own undergraduate experience at Columbia:

The teaching of the classics in those days was almost wholly of that dry-as-dust type which has pretty near killed off classical study in the United States.²⁰

Columbia's requirements for students to study Latin and Greek, the crux of the liberal arts education which the college had embraced in the nineteenth century, were in the process of being gradually removed. In 1897 the number of years that an undergraduate was required to study Latin at Columbia was reduced from two to one.²¹ The admission requirement in ancient Greek was also removed, meaning that entry was opened up to much greater numbers of young men and immigrants who had not already learned the language at school, rather than only to the socially elite who had previously made up the student body. In 1916, the one-year Latin requirement was removed.²² The rapid developments in fields such as the sciences, technology, and social sciences meant that the pressure was on the universities to allow students to specialize early in their time at college in order to be prepared for in-depth graduate work. At the other end of the spectrum, John Dewey criticized too much fragmentation in the undergraduate curriculum for creating incoherent and poorly integrated courses of study.²³ The effort to find a central path between specialization and vocational training on the one hand and a general, liberal education on the other caused at Columbia 'a prevailing unrest, a clash of opinion, and on every side a belief that everything went by chance or perhaps sometimes by

¹⁹ Bell (1966) 15.

²⁰ Hight (1949) 491. Butler refers specifically to Dr. Drisler's and Professor Charles Short's teaching methods.

²¹ Cross (1995) Ch. 1.

²² Cross (1995) Ch. 1.

²³ Lucas (1996) 212.

favor,’ which Presidents Seth Low and subsequently Nicholas Murray Butler did well to assuage.²⁴ But what in the event solved these curricular crises was the marriage of two initially unrelated courses to create a ‘core curriculum’ which has lasted until the present day. The two courses were John Erskine’s ‘General Honors,’ and the ‘Introduction to Contemporary Civilization’ course that grew from the ‘War Issues’ course student officers were taking at Columbia in 1918.

The idea for the General Honors course which John Erskine eventually managed to establish in 1920 was conceived in the 1910s, but the question of how Erskine developed his idea has been hotly contested by scholars. One cause for the debate is that in the two detailed autobiographies Erskine wrote, *The Memory of Certain Persons* and *My Life as a Teacher*, he did not specify which people of the many that he discusses had a formative effect on his decision to implement the General Honors course. It is perfectly possible that he was not influenced by anybody directly and that the course was entirely his own idea, but he still devised such an innovative course within an intellectual and pedagogical context formed by his contemporaries and predecessors in academia. Most scholars cite as influences on Erskine figures such as Charles Mills Gayley or George Woodberry, his beloved literature teacher, and, looking further afield into the Victorian world, Sir John Lubbock and Matthew Arnold.²⁵ The question of ‘influences’ on literary works is a contested one in the field of classical reception studies,²⁶ and the caveats which apply to an overly simplistic description of influences of one work on another (or one person on another) obtain in this historical inquiry too. There is however one important context which has not yet been considered by scholars. There is good

²⁴ Keppel (1914) 29.

²⁵ Lacy (2008) pinpoints Gayley, Lubbock, Woodberry, and Arnold.

²⁶ Eg. Budelmann and Haubold (2008).

evidence that Erskine, in the midst of the dissent over the curriculum and with the threat of war looming, found a source of inspiration in the figure of Gilbert Murray. Given Erskine's own description of Murray and their similar interests, and the correlations of the times of Murray's visits to Columbia with developments in Erskine's own pedagogy, I cannot help but wonder whether Murray's views may have bolstered Erskine's resolve to develop a new way of reading the classics.²⁷ The other figures who inspired Erskine, while clearly important, did not quite have the characteristics in their teaching styles or writings that chime so closely with the tone of Erskine's pedagogical aims. I argue that Murray proved the intermediary, the conduit, through whom some of the British Victorian ideals that were associated with Arnold and his contemporaries, and were flourishing so vividly in the Hellenic revival of Edwardian Oxford, reached Erskine in an engaging, human form.

For instance, the term 'Great Books' had been popularized by, among others, Sir John Lubbock through the list of 100 best books which he published in *The Pall Mall Gazette* on January 11th, 1886.²⁸ A course called 'Great Books' had also been taught by Charles Mills Gayley at UC Berkeley annually since 1901. Gayley's course was wildly popular, but it was a course based on lectures; the appeal was the figure of the glamorous and idiosyncratic Gayley himself, rather than the subject on which he was speaking. Gayley's biographer Benjamin Kurtz described the appeal of the course's leader:

²⁷ Erskine's 1926 novel, *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*, reflects exactly this approach to the classics: to popularize and make it recognizable. Winterer (2004) described how, 'The best-selling novel in America in 1926 was John Erskine's *Private Life of Helen of Troy*, which featured an impenitent Helen ("He never would have taken me if I hadn't wanted to go"). Erskine explained that his goal was to show readers that "Helen, instead of being a wicked villainess, was an almost conventional illustration of American life, even in the suburbs." '(p.146). Erskine's detaching of Helen from her mythical status is reminiscent of Euripides' Clytemnestra in his *Electra* when compared with her portrayal in the *Oresteia*: a character detached from her former incarnation as powerful villainess who has become merely a bored housewife.

²⁸ The game continued even after the word of Erskine's course had spread to Chicago. In 1937, the advertising and marketing guru Daniel Starch commissioned 100 'qualified persons' such as literature professors and critics to select the 100 greatest books from a shortlist of 281. Thucydides came in at Number 48 (Starch (1946) 182-91).

The lectures, from year to year, ranged over all literature. Students, inspired by the lecturer's enthusiasm, read the epics of ancient India, of Greece, and of Rome.... The lectures were reported at length in the *Daily Californian*. One of the attractions of the course was that again and again the announced sequence of talks would be suddenly interrupted. Gayley would appear, boiling over with enthusiasm for something he had been reading during the week, and with flashing eyes would plunge into rapid, eloquent praise of it before his enthusiasm had a chance to settle. It was an excellent device, for it was a vivid illustration of that absorption in reading which the lecturer coveted for his students. Once, for example, he inserted a lecture on Stephen Phillips between Job and the *Mahabharata*; Sienkiewicz suddenly appeared between Plato's *Republic* and Epictetus.²⁹

Erskine's motivation for his course was a concern over the number of young men graduating from university without any knowledge of truly 'classic' texts. His colleagues at Columbia shared this concern, but disagreed with Erskine's solution. Erskine's proposal was for the students to discuss the texts themselves, rather than listen to the opinions of a professor, even one with such remarkable charisma and talent as Gayley. That the students determine their own, albeit unscholarly, responses to the texts, read in translation, was Erskine's crusade, which he preferred over 'lectures by professors who have no gift for lecturing, and ... even brilliant lectures on books which are not great.'³⁰ In addition, Erskine does not mention Charles Gayley in either of his autobiographies.

Neither is Matthew Arnold mentioned with any significance or enthusiasm on Erskine's part in his autobiographies.³¹ He would not have heard Arnold's talks during the latter's lecture tours of America in 1883 and 1886, given that Erskine only was born in 1879, but even if he had done so, it is unlikely he would have been impressed. Arnold was not an immediate hit in the USA, but had become 'a national joke' and his 1883 tour was a 'disaster':

²⁹ Kurtz (1943) 153.

³⁰ Erskine (1948) 170-1.

³¹ Erskine mentions Arnold's well-known description of Oxford as the 'home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs' in *The Memory of Certain Persons* (Erskine (1947) 180), and names him as one of nine late nineteenth century writers worth reading in *My Life as a Teacher* (Erskine (1948) 20).

The first lecture that Arnold gave in New York before a distinguished audience of over a thousand spectacularly bombed because he was barely audible in the hall. General Grant, hero of the war, walked out.³²

Erskine himself described Arnold as ‘the self-reliant, somewhat estranged servant of culture, expecting or desiring from men neither comprehension nor contact.’³³ Even though he was using these words to explain Arnold’s attitude towards Shakespeare rather than to insult the man directly, the terms are scarcely admiring. In *The Moral Obligation to be Intelligent*, the essay which made Erskine’s name, he criticizes Arnold’s ‘famous plea for culture’ by saying that it is not a clear enough call for the reinstatement of intelligence as a modern virtue, and he concludes that ‘I doubt that Arnold has taught us much.’³⁴ Erskine then leaves the subject of Arnold to explain that the ‘social inheritance’ from which Americans ought to draw most is the Greek rather than the English; not the Arnoldian ‘best’ in all cultures, but a Murraysque Hellenism. Tim Lacy, in arguing for Arnold as an important influence on Erskine, describes how ‘the great books idea was a mental construct’ for the late Victorian intellectual elites, who ‘wrestled with the great books idea both inside and outside institutional structures,’ and secondly that they ‘saw the idea as useful beyond their communities of discourse... as means by which to dream of a democratic culture.’³⁵ I believe Lacy is conflating two different incarnations of the Great Books idea here, and that the Victorian Great Books notion was significantly different from Erskine’s, which was much more geared towards a ‘dream of a democratic culture.’ Arnold’s reason for promoting the classics and the Great Books was that they were the *best* that there were, and that reading the *best* books would benefit people’s appreciation of aesthetic quality most. But Erskine’s perspective was different. For Erskine,

³² Goldhill (2002) 214-5.

³³ Erskine (1915) 116.

³⁴ Erskine (1915) 18-19.

³⁵ Lacy (2008) 399.

democratically minded rather than elitist, the great books should be read primarily because they were *relevant* to everybody, and secondarily because of their literary excellence, as a great book is first and foremost, according to Erskine, ‘one that has meaning, and continues to have meaning, to a variety of people over a long period of time.’³⁶ This notion of relevance, and most importantly of the importance of literature for citizens of a democratic nation, fits Murray’s *modus operandi* better than it does that of Arnold, and equally well describes Erskine’s pedagogic aims.

The figure of Woodberry is more convincing at first glance. In a letter to Dr. F. Champion Ward of North Bramford, CT, Jacques Barzun explained:

The origins of the [sic] Humanities course, a whole year compulsory for freshmen, were: first, the writings of George Edward Woodberry who inveighed against teaching literature from thin extracts in a single textbook with stuffy commentaries.³⁷

This is also the view taken by Tim Cross and W. B. Carnochan, although the latter is more suspicious of the ‘cult’ of Great Books and emphasizes Woodberry’s racist and Erskine’s apparently sexist attitudes.³⁸ There is more evidence of Erskine’s admiration for Woodberry than for Arnold, and Erskine wrote of Woodberry:

I assumed that his attitude to literature and education would be in the spirit of the future. Had I not thought so, my preparations for a teaching career would have been troubled, for my greatest wish was to hand on in my own way, as I could, something of what he had given to me.³⁹

³⁶ Erskine (1948) 168-9.

³⁷ Barzun (2006).

³⁸ Cross (1995) Ch.2 and Carnochan (1994) 80ff.

³⁹ Erskine (1947) 108.

Woodberry departed from Columbia in 1904 saddened by his students' lack of appreciation for what he saw as traditional values and too consumed by modernity, especially materialism,⁴⁰ although his love of literature clearly infected Erskine, a passion which remained constant throughout his life. However, Erskine was of a more resilient and positive nature and said of his own educational 'experiment' that, 'Lectures may be inspiring or otherwise useful, but they have no place in the natural social approach to literature,' by which he meant his own, seminar-style classes, driven not by one inspirational professor but by the students' own responses to the work in question.⁴¹ The quiet lecturer Woodberry, who retired from Columbia to the house in which he had been born and remained living with his unmarried sister and brother until his death, did not subscribe to the same belief in the socially transformative power of literature or the conviction of the relevance of the classical world in dealing with modern problems which so motivated both Gilbert Murray and then John Erskine.

Gilbert Murray first visited Columbia in 1912, only a few years after Erskine arrived at Columbia, where he delivered his subsequently famous lectures, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*. Erskine found Murray 'unforgettable,'⁴² and wrote of these lectures that:

I never heard true scholarship articulate itself with more charm, and the incomparable presentation quite as much as the stimulating ideas captured me completely. I saw the Greek world in a new light, and found a new philosophy with which to face the contemporary dilemma.⁴³

⁴⁰ Graff (1987) 93.

⁴¹ Erskine (1947) 170.

⁴² Erskine (1948) 79.

⁴³ Erskine (1947) 206. He continues, from his perspective in 1947, 'In their published form these lectures continue to persuade and inspire, and since the condition of the world is no better now than when they were first delivered, the need of them is as great as ever.' Unfortunately, Erskine did not specify the nature of the 'contemporary dilemma' and could have been referring to the international political situation, to increased immigration into America, or to the crisis within higher education and the perceived importance of the humanities for challenging precisely those problems of modernity which so vexed Woodberry.

Murray's perspective had a profound effect on Erskine in two aspects: firstly concerning the international political situation, and secondly concerning the relevance of classics to citizenship. Erskine felt Murray to be more knowledgeable than him about the contemporary threats to peace.⁴⁴ In addition, there was a circle of scholars around Murray whose works in the early 1910s epitomized the liberal, internationalist, if imperialist, sentiment inspired by an idealized view of fifth century Periclean Athens as the best model for the contemporary world.⁴⁵ This consisted, among others, of Alfred Zimmern the classicist turned internationalist, Arnold Toynbee the historian, and Richard Winn Livingstone, later to become president of Corpus Christi College and vice-chancellor of Oxford from 1944 to 1947. Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth* and Livingstone's *The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us* share with Murray's lectures on Greek religion a focus on the relevance and the importance of the spirit of the ancient Greeks to the Western world.⁴⁶ As Livingstone put it, 'the classics introduce us to modern problems,'⁴⁷ in history, thought and politics, and therefore all modern inhabitants of the West were and should be the inheritors of the precious Athenian notion of active, intelligent, democratic citizenship. This sentiment, seeded during the Victorian era and flourishing in Edwardian Oxford, clearly influenced Erskine's own thinking when he wrote, not long after Murray's visit to Columbia, of Americans:

They differ from each other, but... they are confederated in a Greek love of knowledge, in a Greek assurance that sin and misery are the fruit of ignorance, and that to know is to achieve virtue. They join forces at once with that earlier arrival from Greece, the scientific spirit, which like all the immigrants has done our hard work and put up with our contempt.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Erskine (1947) 207.

⁴⁵ Mazower (2009) 76ff.

⁴⁶ Zimmern (1911); Livingstone (1912).

⁴⁷ Livingstone (1916) 186.

⁴⁸ Erskine (1915) 23.

Lionel Trilling understood Erskine's manifesto for his new course to be contained within *The Moral Obligation to be Intelligent*, and that Erskine 'believed that the best way to make oneself intelligent and thus to prepare oneself to function well as a citizen or as the practitioner of one of the professions was through a happy and intimate acquaintance with the great intellectual and artistic works of the past.'⁴⁹ Concerning his own philosophy for teaching literature, Erskine even elided Murray's attitudes with those of his own favourite college teacher of Latin, Mr Burchell, and, by association, with his own:

Many professors of the classics are conservatives of the worst kind; they conserve the wrong thing... Mr Burchell made Horace a contemporary, as Gilbert Murray a decade later made Euripides, and a popular contemporary at that. But some professors of Greek took pains to suggest that Gilbert Murray's scholarship left much to be desired – in other words, that his gorgeous translations were not the kind of translation they would have written, had they written any. And though Mr Burchell left Columbia, other teachers remained to carry on a strictly scholarly tradition, by exhibiting Herodotus, Sophocles, Vergil and Lucretius, as though each were that triumph of the conserving art, a mummy.⁵⁰

Erskine may well have felt some sympathy for Murray's being an object of disdain in the eyes of some of his scholarly colleagues because of his work in 'popularizing' the classics. Erskine and Murray were both objects of some disapproval from their academic peers for their approach to their subjects. Erskine was not a stranger to conflict or criticism for his teaching methods: in the academic year 1909 -10, he and some colleagues had been chastened for encouraging freshmen to read essays on contemporary ethical, social and political subjects and to write

⁴⁹ Trilling (1982) 164. Lindenberger sees a direct line between Arnold and the Columbia Great Books courses, although erroneously traces this via Lionel Trilling rather than Erskine: 'It hardly seems accidental that one of the key teachers of the Columbia course for many years was Lionel Trilling, Arnold's disciple and intellectual biographer, whose own writings can be viewed as extensions at once of Arnold's concerns and of the concerns guiding the course itself.' (Lindenberger (1990) 154). Trilling did teach Erskine's course once it had started being run, but was not involved with its conception and establishment.

⁵⁰ Erskine (1947) 80-1. Lloyd-Jones, for instance, wrote that Murray 'brought too much of the modern into his treatment of the ancient world... [His] translations are false not only to the letter but to the spirit of the originals.' (Lloyd-Jones (1991) 203-4)

English compositions on them following classroom debates, dispensing with the traditional themed essays. Murray was well-known for his opposition to the compulsory Greek requirement at Oxford, which had been in contention since 1870. His commitment to ‘Greece, not Greek’ led to his proposal of a ‘compromise position’ in 1909-10 which was unsuccessful,⁵¹ although under the recommendation of Lord Curzon the requirement was finally abolished in 1920. Erskine’s colleagues were similarly resistant to his proposed course, and on similar grounds to Murray’s colleagues in Oxford. At the heated faculty meeting in 1917 at which Erskine proposed his new course, there were clear indications of his sympathies with Murray’s interests when he countered his colleagues’ arguments by saying:

The audience who thronged the ancient theatre to enjoy a new work by Aeschylus or Sophocles were not classical scholars; they were merely the human beings for whom the play was written. I added, not at all tactfully, that the lectures of scholarly classicists sometimes ignore the fact that the Greek dramatists wrote plays for human beings.⁵²

In these comments Erskine may very well have been recollecting the productions of Greek tragedy that were at that time experiencing a resurgence of popularity in the USA, primarily in the form of Gilbert Murray’s translations. Specifically, he may have been thinking of the 1915 productions of Murray’s translations of Euripides’ *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and the *Trojan Women*. In cooperation with the Women’s Peace Party, two theatre companies (run by Harley Granville-Barker and by Maurice Browne) had toured performing the two plays in over 31 cities across America in 1915 (only two years before this faculty meeting), at theatres and university campuses and women’s clubs, reaching a combined audience of more than 33,000. Over 7,000 people attended the two outdoor performances of the *Trojan Women*, and 5,000 that of

⁵¹ ODNB: (George) Gilbert Aimé Murray.

⁵² Erskine (1948) 166-167.

Iphigeneia in Tauris, at the College of the City University of New York.⁵³ Not only were they seen by many people, but the performances were popular and widely praised.⁵⁴ By the end of the war, Murray's *Trojan Women* had sold more than 30,000 copies worldwide.⁵⁵ Not only would the popularity and accessibility of Murray's translations have bolstered Erskine's arguments that great works were eminently readable in translation, but the contemporariness of the subject of *The Trojan Women* offered an obvious instance of precisely the eternal relevance – and suitability as a locus for debate – of the Great Books that Erskine argued was their dominant characteristic. This was precisely the agenda of Gilbert Murray, who 'eschewed the apparatus of professional scholarship' in order to 'breathe life into the old Classics' and become 'the spreader of the word... and especially of the *spirit* of the ancient Greeks to a larger public,'⁵⁶ and he had outstanding skill as an ambassador and popularizer of the ancient Greek world. In the same way, Erskine's course in General Honors was intended to repopularize great literature itself among students. Murray's beautiful and popular translations of Greek drama provided an argument for teaching the classics in translation, despite Erskine's colleagues' reservations.⁵⁷ Murray's activities as a broadcaster, writer of readable, accessible books, and theatre practitioner, reveal his motivation, shared by Erskine and possibly ahead of its time, to make the classics relevant and immediate to modern audiences who did not share the scholar's specialized interests. For both Erskine and Murray, great literature (and particularly classical

⁵³ APGRD Performance Database: *Trojan Women* (1915), and *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1915).

⁵⁴ Foley (2012) 40 ff.

⁵⁵ West (1984) 91, 99.

⁵⁶ Stray (2007d) 51, 53, 55.

⁵⁷ The recommended translations of Euripides' plays (*Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Electra*, and *Hippolytus*) that were on the reading list for General Honors were all by Murray. The absence of the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and the *Trojan Women* from this selection could be evidence of their popularity rather than their insignificance. The rationale for not including modern or American authors in the General Honors course reading list was 'no slight upon our national literature; certainly Whitman, Poe, Emerson and Hawthorne can hold their own with many of the writers here listed. It was found, however, that the students in Columbia College were likely to have made the acquaintance of these authors before they entered the General Honors course.' (Columbia University (1924) Preface). Potentially the same argument could be applied to these two plays, which had received such widespread publicity.

Greek literature)⁵⁸ would speak to any receptive reader, even one untrained and through the medium of a translation. Erskine wanted his students to engage with each other's views and discuss the books through what he called the 'natural, social approach to literature,' reading the books with other students and discussing their responses with one another, rather than through lectures or detailed interrogation of criticism about the work.⁵⁹ Both Murray and Erskine believed in the socially transformative power of knowing great literature, when it was read and discussed by as large a portion of the citizen body as possible; and I feel that it is highly likely that Murray, whom Erskine described as presenting 'British scholarship at its best,'⁶⁰ provided a role model which inspired Erskine's own intellectual and pedagogical career.

Murray's visit to Columbia, or his scholarship and pedagogical approach, had clearly made a strong enough impression on Erskine that he wished Murray would visit again. Erskine proposed to Nicholas Murray Butler for the summer of 1916 a conference of international scholars for the 'Summer Session,' an extension program with which Erskine was involved and which offered the universities' courses to any men and women who wished to take them. Erskine suggested that Butler invite Murray, as he believed this to be a cause close to Murray's heart: Murray's dedication to the Home University Library, the Workers' Educational Association, and the University Extension movement in Britain was well known.⁶¹ The Director of the Extension Program at Columbia, Professor James C. Egbert, could also have been alluding to Murray when he said in an interview:

⁵⁸ For the authors on Erskine's list, see Figure 2. One session in Erskine's earliest courses was also devoted to Greek Art, using as a 'text' Percy Gardner's 1914 *Principles of Greek Art*. The absence of Cicero, Livy or Tacitus indicates that this list was not composed with reference to the authors that were important to America's Founding Fathers (see Lutz (1984) 194).

⁵⁹ Erskine (1947) 169.

⁶⁰ Erskine (1947) 207.

⁶¹ Stapleton (2007).

The movement to democratize education and bring it down to the masses is one of the most interesting educational developments this generation has seen. It had its origin in England, but this country was quick to see its importance, and it met an immediate response here. Its possibilities seem unlimited, and new evidence of its hold upon Americans is frequent.⁶²

Erskine wrote to Professor Egbert that Butler's letter inviting Murray to the conference was 'fine, and ought to win Gilbert Murray if any invitation could.'⁶³ In the end, Murray did visit Columbia again in the summer of 1916 as a cultural emissary with his wife Lady Mary, and spoke at Columbia between 14th and 24th July. Erskine himself, despite having petitioned Butler to invite Murray, was away at Chautauqua at the time of Murray's visit.⁶⁴ Murray's role was also to discern and assess American intentions about entering the War, which Butler understood and supported.⁶⁵ Erskine had been surprised by the enthusiasm of some of his colleagues for the war in 1914, taking a far more cautious line himself, although he sympathized with the British and French cause, due to his British ancestry and admiration for French culture.⁶⁶

It was not only Murray's achievements as an educator that Erskine seems to have admired, but his interpretation of the war itself. Despite his early hesitation in 1914, once the USA did enter the war in 1917, Erskine immediately prepared to play his part, and he left for France in January 1918 to work in the educational arm of the YMCA which had been tasked by the War Department with supporting the morale of the American soldiers. Initially Erskine worked in one of the 'foyers du soldat', bases just behind the front line in which soldiers could

⁶² (1915) *New York Times*. The adult education movement in the USA extends further back into the nineteenth century, but Egbert's characterization of it as belonging to 'our generation' indicates that he at least understood it as having seen significant recent growth.

⁶³ Erskine (1916).

⁶⁴ Although invited by the Chautauqua president, Murray did not visit Chautauqua to lecture, as he had already decided not to tour the USA but to restrict his visit to New York.

⁶⁵ West (1984) 162; Wilson (1987) 228. In his invitation letter, Butler wrote, 'Your first reflection might be that you did not feel able to come to America while the war continues, but there is much to be said for an opposite view. A visit here next summer would enable you to feel pretty closely the pulse of American public opinion, and to contribute in various ways to its enlightenment.' (MSS Gilbert Murray 30, Folio 102).

⁶⁶ Erskine (1947) 241.

rest and recuperate for a few days before returning to the trenches. His main task subsequently was to set up and run a university for American soldiers to attend after the Armistice and during demobilization. He established this at Beaune, and it ran successfully, although briefly, in the spring and summer of 1919. Erskine's role as director of the university was as much about securing and maintaining good relations with the French as keeping thousands of American soldiers suitably employed while they waited for their ferries home. One short article which Erskine wrote at this time, for distribution to French schoolchildren, was intended to set out America's reasons for joining the conflict. Having called the war 'a war of ideas,' Erskine explains that the ideas for which America was fighting were those dictated by the human soul rather than egoistic tendencies, continuing:

The greatest nations are those that have followed this last philosophy, of which you find the best expression in Greek literature. Athens is indeed the most famous example of a land which achieves this noble dream: to consider man as a being capable of mastering nature and of using its powers for enlightened goals.⁶⁷

But even the greatest could succumb to self-interest, he explains:

This lamentable degradation of that which was a noble philosophy arose at Athens and precipitated its downfall. In the conflict with Sparta, she decided in her own interest that the inhabitants of Melos ought either to ally themselves with their neighbours, or be exterminated, and when they did not approve of the way that she followed, she massacred them, invoking military necessity. Their own wise men recognized even at the time that the days of its grandeur were over and the rest of Greece saw in her, no longer the queen of arts and sciences, but the enemy of humanity.⁶⁸

He went on to explain that this was what had happened to Germany, and hence America had to enter the war.⁶⁹ His choice of the campaign against Melos as a comparison for Germany's

⁶⁷ Erskine (1919). My translation.

⁶⁸ Erskine (1919). My translation.

⁶⁹ By the time he wrote his 1947 autobiography, his opinion was subtly different: 'The reluctance of the United States to enter the war was, as we now see, inevitable. Americans will always be slow to join any European war... Our friendship with Germany was tradition, and though the callous invasion of Belgium and France shocked us,

behaviour was very likely also attributable to Gilbert Murray, whose translation of *The Trojan Women* had received such wide circulation in 1915. In the introduction to the play, Murray specifically mentions the destruction of Melos, and although he takes pains to emphasize that ‘Euripides does not mean Melos when he says Troy, nor mean Alcibiades’ fleet when he speaks of Agamemnon’s,’ it is clear that he saw the *Trojan Women* as being written in the aftermath of Athens’ destructive act, adding that, for Thucydides, it constituted ‘the great crucial crime of the war.’⁷⁰ If Hall’s argument is correct that Murray was the first person to make the connection between Melos and *The Trojan Women*,⁷¹ that this is the interpretation of the Melian affair that Erskine is employing in his explanation to French schoolchildren for why America entered into the war indicates that he had not only read Murray’s version but also was still considering its content closely during his years abroad which immediately preceded his launching of his new course on his return to Columbia.

In sum, it seems evident that Gilbert Murray’s views about the relevance and importance of classical Greek literature to democratic citizens were shared by Erskine and are evident in the latter’s decision to establish what was to become a very important course in the history of American higher education. The idea of ‘Great Books’ itself was neither Erskine’s nor Murray’s. Although the 51 authors that Erskine included all appear on previous Great Books lists such as John Lubbock’s top 100 books, it is not this tradition that he is promulgating: his list is much more selective, has a higher proportion of classical authors than Lubbock’s, and inclines markedly towards the Greek rather than the Roman world, most likely due to the

we could not at first see what good would come from joining the fight. Our normal pacifism was increased rather than overcome by British propagandists who rang variations on the theme that by staying out, we had lost our souls. The implication was that they, by going in promptly, had saved what souls they had, or had acquired new and superior ones. Most Americans resented the argument. It seemed that the superior souls had still something to learn in manners.’ (Erskine (1947) 248).

⁷⁰ Murray (1915) Introductory Note.

⁷¹ Hall and Macintosh (2005) 511.

Hellenism of Murray and his colleagues such as Zimmern, Toynbee and Livingstone.⁷²

Livingstone stated that there is ‘no intellectual supremacy’ in Latin literature, ‘no spirit of living reason moving through and ordering human life,’ although he admitted that Horace, Virgil and Lucretius are ‘first rank,’⁷³ and these are the only Latin authors selected by Erskine for his course.⁷⁴ His course was not intended to give students the veneer of an elite education in a handy 100-book list, but to provide students with a means of being able to discuss important ideas together and to demonstrate that ‘classic’ works were relevant to them, in an era when vocational, career-orientated subjects were becoming more highly regarded: hence its name *General* Honors, as it was the centre of a general education. In fact, he did not use the term ‘Great Books’ for his course in the beginning, but ‘General Honors’ at the start, precisely to avoid the overtones of elitism associated with the term ‘Great’.⁷⁵ The format of his course, based on structured discussion rather than lectures, may not have come directly from Murray, but the vision of the older scholar, at that time at the peak of his career, certainly seems to have resonated with Erskine, and provided him with a model which inspired him both pedagogically and politically.

⁷² Lubbock’s list contains 21 out of 100 ‘classical’ authors, compared to 15 out of 51 on Erskine’s (of which one is Greek Art, not included by Lubbock).

⁷³ Livingstone (1916) 123.

⁷⁴ Erskine declared he had a stronger passion himself for the Greek than the Roman world; partly this was due to his having had a wonderful Greek teacher at school, Dr. Bacon, who had taught him Greek using the direct method, although ‘perhaps the term had not yet been coined.’ (Erskine (1947) 63).

⁷⁵ He became happier to use it later on, for instance in the title of his 1928 book, *The Delight of Great Books*, although his awareness of the overtones of the name still shines through in its opening lines: ‘The fact that a book is famous is enough to scare off some people who, if they had the courage to open the pages, would find there delight and profit. We make the mistake of fearing that the immortal things of art must be approached through special studies and disciplines, and we comfort ourselves ... by deciding that even if we were prepared to read the classics, we should find them dull.’ Adler also refers to the readings as being called ‘Classics of Western Civilization’ within General Honors, although Erskine did not seem to use this title (Adler (1977) 55). The name of the course regularly changed, and was named ‘Readings in Important Books’ in 1924, and in 1932 it was the ‘Colloquium in Important Books.’

Yet what Erskine created was an American course for an American culture after the First World War, rather than for mid-nineteenth century Britain at the height of the Empire. Hence none of the non-Western books included by Lubbock, such as the Koran, the *Arabian Nights*, the *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, Ferdowsi's *Shamaneh*, Confucius and the *Shih-ching*, that all attest to the position of Britain as a global power and a cosmopolitan culture, are present on Erskine's list, which instead includes *The Federalist* and the American psychologist and philosopher William James.⁷⁶ When the Great Books movement gathered pace in the wake of the Second World War, this Western bias would become even more pronounced.

Although Erskine may not have had the inspiration for the seminar-based teaching style of his course from Murray, he would doubtlessly have heard of his prowess as a teacher. During his visit to the USA in 1912, Murray visited Amherst, which Erskine had only left three years previously, and not only lectured but also gave some of his trademark translation classes there too. These were written up with rapturous adulation in the *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, to which Erskine regularly contributed articles and poetry. The editor of the June 1912 issue wrote a glowing report of the classes, and that Murray showed 'scholarship at its noblest – accessible, attractive, magnetic, not posing as erudition, not scorning the dull and ignorant,'⁷⁷ and also included an extremely complimentary account from one of the students in Murray's translation class, who was particularly awestruck by Murray's ability to ask 'apparently simple questions, which, nevertheless, predicated knowledge not merely of the whole Greek literature, but of the literatures and civilizations of other nations and eras.'⁷⁸ The Oxford-style tutorial might be visible under the surface of Erskine's course, in that the instructor's role was to ask questions to

⁷⁶ Lacy (2008) also includes, as well as Lubbock's and Erskine's list, Charles Eliot's list which also had a strongly Western flavour (of Lubbock's non-western titles, it only includes *The Thousand and One Nights*).

⁷⁷ (1912) *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, 290.

⁷⁸ Fraser (1912) 329.

make the students think rather than to provide answers. Mortimer Adler describes how he modelled his own teaching of the General Honors course on Erskine, who according to Adler had an ‘idiosyncratic, and therefore inimitable, style of questioning.’⁷⁹ Adler was lucky enough to co-instruct with Mark Van Doren, who ‘opened the first evening of their group with the question, “What is the ruling passion in the *Iliad*?”,’ a question designed to spur debate. Adler also describes how the questioning approach was crucial to the success of the course:

As the number of sections of General Honors increased and new instructors were added to the program, latecomers who had not sat under Erskine or been inspired by his style reverted to type. They would begin the year by carrying the burden of the discussions themselves, but when books came up which they regarded as “out of their field,” they would invite a specialist to come to their seminar to lead the discussion. The result was disastrous – no seminar at all.⁸⁰

On the other hand, the other course which was taught through seminar-style classes was Columbia’s new course ‘Introduction to Contemporary Civilization’ which had launched a year before Erskine’s in September 1919 on the back of the ‘War Issues’ course taught to trainee officers.⁸¹ Frank Aydelotte, the national Director of the War Issues Course, explained how the teachers that he wanted to be employed to teach the course in each college or university needed certain qualities:

The aim of the course should be to present facts rather than propaganda; the method should be that of the teacher rather than of the orator. The men who are giving the course should not be merely good lecturers, not merely men who have made a special study of the issues of the war, but also men who are patient and successful in getting their classes to ask questions. The ideal of the work should be to make the issues of the

⁷⁹ Adler (1977) 57.

⁸⁰ Adler (1977) 57.

⁸¹ The ‘Introduction to Contemporary Civilization’ course and Erskine’s General Honors are sometimes amalgamated by those writing about the beginning of the Great Books courses, because by the 1930s the latest incarnation of General Honors and Contemporary Civilization together formed the ‘Core Curriculum’ at Columbia.

war a living reality to each man. Its purpose should be to develop the minds of the men as well as to enhance their morale.⁸²

These characteristics are highly reminiscent of those prized by Erskine, who had also been in charge of teaching young officers and soldiers while running his university in Beaune. Unlike Erskine's, this course had enjoyed great institutional support from Columbia because of the success of the War Issues course, which had been devised to a large extent by Columbia faculty and been rolled out to all the 540 universities housing Student Army Training Corps across the nation. It was compulsory for all trainee officers and covered the recent political, economic, and social history of Europe, including the outbreak and the main developments of the war as well as America's decision to enter it. Almost by accident, this course provided the goal of a 'liberal education': a common background which students could use to discuss the pertinent issues facing their society. The Dean, Frederick Woodbridge, wrote in the *Columbia Alumni News* of the War Issues course, which was about to be reshaped into Contemporary Civilization, that:

Born of the consciousness that a democracy needs to know what it is fighting for, it has awakened a consciousness of what we, as a people, need to know if our part in the world today is to be intelligent, sympathetic, and liberal... If education is to be liberalized again, if our youth are to be freed from a confusion of ideas and standards, no other means looks so attractive as a common knowledge of what the present world of human affairs really is. The war has revealed that world with the impelling clearness which tragedy alone seems able to attain. That our student soldiers may see the issues, is of immediate consequence. But the war and its issues will be the absorbing theme of generations to come.⁸³

Although he is talking of the Contemporary Civilization course, Woodbridge's comments seem equally applicable to Erskine's course, and the comment about 'tragedy' is illuminating: although he is referring to the all too real tragedy of the First World War, his comments resonate with the opinions about the value of studying Greek tragedy voiced by many at the

⁸² War Department's Committee on Education and Special Training (1918).

⁸³ Woodbridge (1918).

time, of whom Murray was in the vanguard. Contemporary Civilization flourished from 1919, and was in fact joined together with Erskine's course at the end of the 1920s to form the Core Curriculum at Columbia. Through its General Honors and Contemporary Civilization courses, Columbia had found a solution to the dilemma of specialization versus liberal education which was afflicting all the undergraduate colleges, causing them all to experiment with and reassess their teaching practices. Although the Core Curriculum continued to adapt and alter itself, it stayed true to its two mainstays and to its ideal of 'general' education, which has provided a model in general education (despite metamorphoses, some radical and some superficial, along the way) that has been frequently emulated elsewhere.⁸⁴

The consequences of General Honors

I have dwelt on Erskine's course at length because it signalled an extremely important turning point in the reception of the classics in American higher education, consisting of two elements: the teaching of classical works *in translation*, and the detachment of some classical authors (the ones on Erskine's course list) from their historical contexts, which had previously provided the main lens through which the works were interpreted. In some ways, this may be seen as having been a prescient and even necessary move at a time when Latin and Greek were being squeezed out of the college curriculum.⁸⁵ But Erskine's concern was not with the discipline of classical studies. His justification for running the course was that students were neither reading nor

⁸⁴ Cross (1995) Ch.3.

⁸⁵ By comparison, at the University of Birmingham in England, an 'experiment' in teaching ancient Greek texts (Homer, tragedy and Plato) in translation had been instituted, in order to allow access to the Greek world to those who did not already have Greek. Its goal was subtly different from Erskine's and was directed more at understanding the classical than the modern world, since the purpose of the former was 'rounding off [the students'] knowledge of classical antiquity,' and the literature was supplemented 'by connecting with it a course of lectures on history.' (Sonnenschein (1908) 169-70). The Birmingham option addresses the lack of classroom time available to be given to the study of Greek language, but Erskine's course was largely made up of non-classical literature and was intended to encourage students to read books which they might otherwise have hesitated to read.

engaging wholeheartedly with high quality literature, both classical and subsequent. Figure 2 lists the works and authors on the General Honors course. The range of the course is immediately apparent, as is the fact that fewer than one in three of the authors are Greek or Roman.

FIGURE 2

Erskine's list of works and authors to be read for General Honors *

Homer	St. Thomas Aquinas	Adam Smith
Herodotus	Dante	Kant
Thucydides	Galileo	Goethe
Aeschylus	Grotius	<i>The Federalist</i>
Sophocles	Montaigne	Victor Hugo
Euripides	Shakespeare	Hegel
Aristophanes	Cervantes	Lyell
Plato	Francis Bacon	Balzac
Aristotle	Descartes	Malthus
Lucretius	Hobbes	Bentham
Virgil	Milton	John Stuart Mill
Horace	Molière	Darwin
Plutarch	Locke	Pasteur
Marcus Aurelius	Montesquieu	Karl Marx
St. Augustine	Voltaire	Tolstoy
<i>The Song of Roland</i>	Rousseau	Dostoevsky
<i>The Nibelungenlied</i>	Gibbon	Nietzsche
		William James

*Lacy (2008) 440-441; Adler (1977) 60.

The most obvious characteristic of this list is also the most important: in most cases, the authors' names are given rather than the titles of the works read, a practice which went back to Erskine's original course. The course was assessed partly through a multiple choice examination paper on which the students had to match a quotation to the *author* of the work in

which the quotation appeared.⁸⁶ On this paper, there was no indication, as there is in the list above, of the relative chronology of the authors, and even the translations selected did not hint at the relative antiquity of the author (prose authors sounded contemporary, while verse had more elevated language and diction). The consequence was that the character of the *author*, rather than of their work, appeared more important: not only were these to become known as the Great Books, but the sentiments expressed within them were those of ‘Great Men.’ This characterization of the canon as a collection of (elite, male, white) voices, in discussion with each other across the barriers of language and time, is one of the most striking features of the later Great Books movement.

The result of Erskine’s course was to create a distinction in American higher education between studying classical works via the classical languages as part of learning about the culture of ancient Greece and Rome, and reading them, detached from their historical (and linguistic) context, for their value in the contemporary world and for their contribution to the history of Western thought. As part of this second discourse, classical authors could justifiably – and in fact, given the goal of the course, arguably should – be considered in dialogue with other writers of different eras and cultures, without an accusation of anachronism being incurred. At the root of this pedagogical approach is the notion that the authors designated as ‘great’ – whether classical or not – had authority when speaking to the concept of an eternal and universal human condition, no matter the historical circumstances of their own lives. From this attitude stemmed not only the wider Great Books movement of the 1950s, but also, as I will explain in Chapter 2, the justification behind Thucydides’ role in later International Relations theory.

⁸⁶ I will discuss the methodological aspects of this examination paper, and its significance as an object of classical reception, further in the Conclusion.

The development of general education in the 1930s to 1950s

Thucydides, with a place in Erskine's General Honors course, was carried along with the other selected classical authors to other universities and colleges that were also innovating in the 1920s. The movement continued to spread out beyond the confines of the universities into wider society through 'extension courses' (college-style classes for the general public run by university professors), Chautauqua gatherings, reading groups, and radio broadcasts.⁸⁷

Alexander Meiklejohn, Amherst's president and a friend of Erskine's, established an experimental college as an offshoot of the University of Wisconsin in 1925 to teach a two-year prescription of Columbia's General Honors and Contemporary Civilization courses, but it could not weather the depression of the 1930s and it was closed in 1932.⁸⁸ A far more long lasting legacy was created by Erskine's pupil Mortimer Adler, based at the University of Chicago from 1930. Adler had made a strong impression on Robert Maynard Hutchins, the new and charismatic president of the university, who rapidly became a convert to Adler's Great Books scheme, based on Erskine's course at Columbia which Adler had taught in the 1920s. The rest of the Chicago faculty was less impressed with Adler, and Hutchins was forced to give Adler a post in the Law faculty rather than that of Philosophy. Just as Columbia had been when faced with Erskine's proposed course, Chicago professors resisted the implementation of radical change in the undergraduate curriculum, especially in this case for political reasons: it was being introduced by a new president who had little contact with ordinary faculty members and liaised mostly with the departmental deans. Hutchins and Adler did have some partial success:

⁸⁷ Rubin (1992) Chs.3, 4, and 6.

⁸⁸ Nelson (2001) 140ff.

Chicago introduced in 1931 a 'New Plan' for general education for the undergraduates' first two years: it was split into four sections, with the biological and physical sciences on one hand and the humanities and social sciences on the other.⁸⁹ The humanities section, devised by Professors Schevill, Scott, and Keniston, consisted of readings of many of the authors on Erskine's list, including Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides.

As Hutchins' national influence grew throughout the 1930s and at the same time the Depression settled in, he became more convinced of the importance of the Great Books as a way to provide general education, and his 1936 *The Higher Learning in America* was largely a manifesto for the introduction of Great Books courses, which he deemed (borrowing Whewell's terms) 'the permanent studies,' to contrast with 'the progressive studies' and with the transient professional training which many colleges offered to a more than willing citizen body.⁹⁰ On the other hand, a complete introduction of Adler's Great Books vision met with incomplete success closer to home at Chicago. Stringfellow Barr and Scott Buchanan, two former Rhodes scholars whose sympathies lay with the Great Books approach to the problem of curricular reform, had already failed in their attempts to propose just such an Honors program at the University of Virginia. They worked with Adler and Hutchins in 1936, but Hutchins' efforts to install Barr and Buchanan at Chicago to teach the Great Books were blocked by the faculty, and instead they took up the opportunity, as President and Dean, of revamping the flagging St John's.⁹¹ In 1937, St John's College inaugurated its radical Great Books program in a last-ditch attempt to

⁸⁹ Boyer (2006) 52. Boyer describes Adler as 'young, brash and highly controversial' (p.88) and also emphasizes the role of Ferdinand Schevill in drawing up the initial scheme for the 'New Plan' in the 1920s (p.32), before the arrival of Hutchins and Adler.

⁹⁰ Hutchins (1936) 106, 74. Whewell had discussed the contrast between the 'permanent' and the 'progressive' studies, although Hutchins does not mention him

⁹¹ ANB: Stringfellow Barr; Scott Buchanan.

rescue the college from financial ruin.⁹² Although a very small college, St John's attracted a great deal of publicity for its unique curriculum, and has remained a bastion of the most extreme form of the Great Books ideal throughout the turbulent 'culture wars' of the 1970s and 1980s. At St John's, Thucydides was read in full, together with even more authors than were included in Erskine's list, in order to teach every subject according to the Great Books philosophy.⁹³

During the 1940s, similar movements towards general education occurred at Harvard and at Yale.⁹⁴ Since the early 20th century, Harvard had been staunchly in the 'electives' camp. Charles William Eliot, its president from 1869 to 1909, had gradually reorganized the entire curriculum to support the elective system, vocationalism and preparation for graduate work, but after his retirement he took a step in the opposite direction with the editorship of the newly established 'Harvard Classics.' With these 50 volumes of selected authors and works, he claimed that anyone could achieve a liberal education simply through fifteen minutes of reading per day.⁹⁵ This incarnation of the Great Books for the purpose of fashioning the 'cultivated man' was an early, pre-Erskine model which Adler and Hutchins sought to rival and overcome, deliberating pitching their *Great Books of the Western World* series at the same market, and claiming to offer an even better product, at least by virtue of the two additional inches of

⁹² Beam (2008) 165ff.

⁹³ Erskine himself believed this to be an exaggeration of the design of his course: 'Science... should be studied in the laboratory, not in the literary gropings toward sciences before laboratories existed; and to confound all the racial and personal variations of history in one philosophy is...to abandon that training which enables us to observe accurately and make distinctions.' (1947: 343). Today at St John's, Thucydides is still read but not in full.

⁹⁴ Stanford had already launched such a course in 1935, called 'Western Civilization,' which drew directly from Columbia's teaching materials. (Lindenberger (1990) 152).

⁹⁵ Eliot (1910) 8. Eliot's selections overlapped but differed significantly from Erskine's. Eliot's arguably more lightweight classical offerings included Epictetus, Aesop, Cicero, Pliny, and Herodotus' description of Egypt, but left out the *Iliad*, Thucydides, Aristotle, Lucretius, Horace, and Thomas Aquinas. The history of classical Athens is approached through Plutarch's *Lives* rather than Thucydides, and the chronological index in Volume 50 makes no mention of the Peloponnesian War.

shelving required to house it.⁹⁶ Although Harvard avoided the pedagogical turmoil experienced elsewhere during and after the First World War, it experienced its own along very similar lines to that of Columbia during and after the Second. President James Bryant Conant, also like Eliot a chemist and a man who had spent a great deal of the war away from Harvard working on the development of the atomic bomb,⁹⁷ headed a committee of Harvard scholars who published the famous report which became known as the ‘Red Book,’ *General Education in a Free Society*. This investigation was commissioned in 1943 in recognition of the changing role of the university in light of the social upheavals being brought about by the war: the anticipation of a large number of servicemen returning to or enrolling for the first time into higher education, a renewed focus on teaching democratic citizenship, and a sense of the importance of educating those citizens for their role on a global stage. In words highly reminiscent of those used to describe the purpose of the ‘Contemporary Civilization’ course at Columbia in 1918, it stated:

The primary concern of American education today is not the development of the appreciation of the “good life” in young gentlemen born to the purple. It is the infusion of the liberal and humane tradition into our entire educational system. Our purpose is to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and are free.⁹⁸

The Harvard Committee’s report surveyed all general education in the United States before recommending changes to the Harvard curriculum, including the introduction of general courses in the humanities, social sciences, and science and mathematics. The name of the compulsory course proposed in the humanities was ‘Great Texts of Literature’ and the ethos recognizably that of Erskine’s course, in that the original context of the work was not important:

⁹⁶ Beam (2008) 13.

⁹⁷ ANB: James Bryant Conant.

⁹⁸ Conant (1946) xiv-v.

The aim of such a course would be the fullest understanding of the work read rather than of men or periods represented, craftsmanship evinced, historic or literary development shown, or anything else. These other matters would be admitted only in so far as they are necessary to allow the work to speak for itself.⁹⁹

Both Conant and Erskine proposed their courses at the end of each World War, when America had experienced a sudden increase in status internationally and was poised to take up a new position as a world power. This confidence and the urge to serve the nation through education are revealed, I think, in the pedagogy of the Great Books course, in which the books are assessed on their ability to speak to the citizens of the most powerful democratic country in the world.

It is therefore puzzling that Conant did not include Thucydides on his proposed course. He was far more cautious than Erskine about the number of books that could be satisfactorily covered, and pared the list to the absolute minimum of ‘Homer, one or two of the Greek tragedies, Plato, the Bible, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Tolstoy.’¹⁰⁰ Thucydides does not make the cut, which is surprising given that Conant’s introduction opens:

“We need no Homer to praise us. Rather, we have opened the whole earth and sea to our enterprise and raised everywhere living memorials to our fortune.”

Pericles, as reported by Thucydides.¹⁰¹

Conant followed this quotation with an excerpt from Plato’s *Republic*, about the impressionable minds of the young and the responsibilities of adults to censor what the young are exposed to,¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Conant (1946) 205. Harpham (2011) describes the development in terms which tally even more closely with that of Erskine’s in World War One: ‘The challenge was to create an educational system that made available to vastly expanded numbers of people the cultural advantages hitherto available only to a few. The fundamental idea was a democratization of culture and education.’ (Ch.6)

¹⁰⁰ Conant (1946) 207. Conant’s classical selections contain only poetry and philosophy, more easily extracted from their contexts than the work of the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, who had been included by Erskine.

¹⁰¹ Conant (1946) 3.

and drew a comparison between them to illustrate exactly the paradox which the report was designed to address: how can a society which professes to be free, and claims that its greatest achievements have been won through precisely this freedom, then impose on its most important citizens, its young, a rigid and inflexible educational regime, even if it is for their own good? This was the question which Harvard had answered for decades through a curriculum designed around electives, and which Conant was now challenging. He wrote that Pericles' statement 'breathes the pride of a free society which, through the released energy of its citizens, had achieved a power, wealth, and height of material progress unknown until that time,'¹⁰³ thereby assimilating classical Athens and the USA and implying that the United States was at the peak of her powers in the late 1940s, just as Athens was in 430BC. He was also echoing, although unlikely deliberately, precisely the idea which proved so attractive to Erskine: that of the proximity, and therefore the relevance, of the concerns of the classical Greeks to those of his own contemporaries. Despite Thucydides' text not appearing on the proposed literature course, fifth century Greek history still featured, but in the social sciences requirement instead (which reflected the Columbia syllabus where the Contemporary Civilization course had been gradually incorporating more and more ancient works into its reading list).¹⁰⁴ The compulsory course was to be called 'Western Thought and Institutions' and would include at its outset excerpts from

¹⁰² Plato, *Republic* II.377b. The version by Conant (closely approximating to Lee (1955) 69) has since taken on a life of its own in discussions of educational and pedagogical theory in the USA, and was possibly influenced by Livingstone (1944).

¹⁰³ Conant (1946) 3.

¹⁰⁴ Hawkes (1937) refers to the time during which 'the course in Contemporary Civilization... was for some years developed as a study of the insistent problems of our time with much less emphasis on the remote background than appears in the course as now presented.' (p.33). In 1930, another overhaul had brought original texts into Contemporary Civilization for the first time; by 1941 Aristotle and Cicero among others were migrating from the Humanities into the Contemporary Civilization course, weaving the two courses even more closely together in forming the college's Core Curriculum. (Cross (1995) Chs.3, 4). By the 1990s, the Bible, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Plato's *Republic*, and Thucydides were the only authors incorporated in both Contemporary Civilization and Literature Humanities (Denby (1997) 67).

Plato and Aristotle and ‘some lectures on the character of the Greek city-state,’¹⁰⁵ which might have included the Funeral Oration, if no other excerpt from Thucydides’ *History*. In the event, Conant’s proposals were not adopted at Harvard, although the Red Book was extremely influential on the 1947 Presidential Commission ‘Higher Education and Democracy’ that then set national policy.¹⁰⁶

The need for general education to be reinvigorated at the end of the war was also felt at Yale and Princeton: Yale’s report was produced by its history professor (and historian of Yale itself) George Pierson in 1943, ‘A Planned Experiment in Liberal Education,’ and resulted in the establishment in 1946 of ‘Directed Studies,’ its name coming from the fact that instead of choosing their own subjects, the students were directed by the faculty for the first two years. Directed Studies was coordinated by the Dean, William DeVane, and the literature professor Maynard Mack, and consisted, for those students who chose to take it, of compulsory courses in science, mathematics, languages, literature and history, with a two-year course in philosophy that was central to the program.¹⁰⁷ Plato and Aristotle opened the philosophy course, and the literature course included ancient epic and drama,¹⁰⁸ but Thucydides does not seem to have appeared until Donald Kagan’s reforms of the course in the 1970s. Although Directed Studies did not thrive at Yale to the same extent as the similar courses in Columbia and Chicago, it was clearly from the same stable and resembled Great Books courses.¹⁰⁹ At Princeton, the ‘New Plan’ adopted in the autumn of 1947 dictated students take at least two courses across four different fields: natural science, social studies, arts and letters, and history, philosophy and

¹⁰⁵ Conant (1946) 215.

¹⁰⁶ Brubacher & Rudy (1958) Ch.11.

¹⁰⁷ Zaremby (2006) 37-43.

¹⁰⁸ Zaremby (2006) 37, 40.

¹⁰⁹ Zaremby (2006) 70.

religion. There were no specific ‘core subjects’ within each field, to allow students to choose according to their own interests within the options available.¹¹⁰ Not only in these major universities, but all across America, the concept of general education took hold and the Great Books methodology spread with it as a way to fulfil any humanities requirements. This was aided by projects such as the Carnegie Corporation’s Internships in General Education, running from the late 1940s until the middle of the 1960s, through which professors, particularly young academics, from elsewhere in the USA could teach for one year in the general education schemes at the elite institutions of Columbia, Chicago, Harvard or Yale, and from there bring their skills in teaching the Great Books back to their home institutions.¹¹¹

Yet Adler’s ambitions for the Great Books extended beyond the confines of a university lecture or extension course. Adler had no compunctions about using the term ‘great’ or doubts about its superiority to any other title:

At the end of the twenties, when I tried to convey to Bob Hutchins, after he became president of the University of Chicago, the excitement I felt about Erskine’s General Honors course, I think I used “great books course” as an abbreviated reference. The phrase stuck and, in my judgment, it is a much better title for the books than “classics.” That word carries an archaeological connotation of unearthed monuments from the past rather than living documents in the present.¹¹²

Although Erskine had initially shunned the term ‘Great Books’ for his course, Adler embraced it in the wake of the Second World War as a marketing tool to convey the association between the Great Books idea and that of America’s growing sense of its own new role in the world. The Great Books Foundation was established in 1947 and the *Great Books of the Western World* series was published by Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1952. Thanks to door-to-door selling, the

¹¹⁰ (1945) *Vassar Chronicle*.

¹¹¹ Zaremby (2006) 48.

¹¹² Adler (1977) 55.

series was an enormous success, and it was followed by its spin-off products such as *The Great Ideas Today*, *Great Ideas from the Great Books*, and *Gateway to the Great Books*.¹¹³ Although in many ways this movement appropriated these works as semi-propaganda against communism, and was guilty of having homogenized and oversimplified extremely sophisticated and complex works, what it certainly did achieve was to convey and confirm the message Erskine began, that these books were accessible and important, and to bring them to a far wider audience than ever before.

The political aspects of the boom in the new general education courses in the 1940s cannot be ignored. Erskine's course had created a distinctively American, pragmatic and presentist approach to the Great Books (and left out the non-Western literature from the Victorian British lists) at a time when the end of the First World War and high levels of immigration were reshaping American society.¹¹⁴ During and after the Second World War, international and domestic politics again shaped educational practices, when the G.I. Bill of 1944 once again led to a burst of student veteran enrolments similar to that after the First World War. Classical Athens, in its incarnation as the 'cradle of democracy,' provided a paradigmatic ideological opposition, together with the Christian tradition, to that of communism. Martin Wight subtly linked Great Books with anti-communist propaganda by mentioning not only Thomas Aquinas, well-known as Adler's favourite author, but also Marx, in his recollection of Hutchins' handling of the 'Walgreen affair' at Chicago in 1935:¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Beam (2008) 95, 111.

¹¹⁴ Schein (2007) cites immigration as one of the top three reasons for the development of general education, together with opposition to the German model of specialization and the desire to reinvigorate classics teaching (p.269).

¹¹⁵ Charles Walgreen (of the chemist chain) was infuriated to find that his niece had read Marx at Chicago, and demanded that Marx be removed from the syllabus lest students become indoctrinated; Hutchins had persuaded him that the other books also taught would provide stronger counter-arguments so that Marx would be

There are those who argue that the West will not be able to resist the attack from Communism unless the West discovers a creed as powerful as Communism; that only ideas can destroy ideas, that if Marx is to be beaten at all, he will be beaten by Thomas Jefferson, or Thomas Aquinas.¹¹⁶

Hutchins took the line that the very reading of the Great Books themselves, unabridged, helped create the ideal democratic citizen with the ability to resist propaganda and marketing through ‘strengthening their minds so that they can appraise the issues for themselves.’¹¹⁷

There was also some support from Britain in promoting this as the value of a classical education, and through this channel Thucydides once again began to come to the fore. Richard Winn Livingstone, following Murray’s lead in the 1910s and 1920s, was vigorously promoting the relevance of ancient Greek literature to modern life in his role as president of Corpus Christi College and vice-chancellor of Oxford, both through his books in the 1940s, and his lectures and published talks in the 1950s following his retirement. A passionate believer in liberal education, Livingstone’s books and pamphlets such as *Greek Ideals and Modern Life*, *Education for a World Adrift*, and *Plato and Modern Education* offered the Greek authors as the remedies for the malaise in contemporary life and a recuperative solution for the deficit left in spiritual life by the horrors of the Second World War and what he perceived as a rejection of Christianity.¹¹⁸ In *The Future in Education*, Livingstone promoted lifelong learning through liberal arts and the reading of classical literature, a philosophy shared with Adler’s and Hutchins’ Great Books movement.¹¹⁹ Erskine records that in 1943, Hutchins wrote to him suggesting members for the editorial advisory board for the Encyclopaedia Britannica’s *Great*

definitively contradicted and more effectively neutered than had he not been read at all; so effective was Hutchins’ argument that Walgreen was persuaded to fund the university to the tune of \$500,000 for a new project studying ‘American institutions.’ (ANB: Robert Maynard Hutchins).

¹¹⁶ Wight, Bull and Butterfield (1966) 89.

¹¹⁷ Hutchins (1952) xiii.

¹¹⁸ Livingstone (1935), (1943b), (1944).

¹¹⁹ Livingstone (1941).

Books of the Western World series. The job of the board would be ‘to criticize by conference and correspondence the list, texts, translations, and any other matters arising.’ Hutchins wrote to Erskine:

Since you are the father of this kind of study in the United States, I have thought first of you. The others who have occurred to me are Mortimer Adler, Stringfellow Barr, Scott Buchanan, Clarence Faust, Dean of the College at the University of Chicago, Sir Richard W. Livingstone, Joseph Schwab,... and Mark Van Doren.¹²⁰

Livingstone’s own edition of Thucydides, published in the middle of the war in 1943, illustrated how his views chimed with those of Hutchins and Adler. It opened with a pedagogical mantra which, although certainly not accepted by the elite universities in England, would appeal to a Great Books audience:

It is part of a liberal education to know the greatest things in the world, and Thucydides is probably the greatest of historians. The object of this volume is to provide a translation, with such introduction and notes as will enable a person who knows little of Greek history to read him without difficulty.¹²¹

American classicists were also not slow to make use of this opportunity to raise the profile of their own discipline among the general public. Academics such as Moses Hadas and Meyer Reinhold, who had both been at Columbia and involved with the Core Curriculum, published introductory books of Greek and Latin literature, summarized and in English, aimed at the general reader and based on their course textbooks and the range of authors on the Columbia syllabus.¹²² Naphtali Lewis’s output included books for the general public, as well as

¹²⁰ Erskine (1948) 174.

¹²¹ Livingstone (1943a) v.

¹²² Reinhold’s *Essentials of Greek and Roman Classics: A Guide to the Humanities* was first published in 1946, and rapidly reproduced, reaching its thirteenth printing in 1958; Hadas’ *History of Greek Literature* (1950) and *History of Latin Literature* (1952) were similarly popular. Even though these scholars were enthusiastically communicating the early history of the West to the general public, Finley, Reinhold and Lewis were still among the great many targeted by the communist-hunting governmental committees of the McCarthy era (Tompkins (2006) 95-126).

his research intended purely for his fellow papyrologists, and educators like Edith Hamilton produced books such as *The Greek Way* and *The Echo of Greece* which were even read by members of the Kennedy family.¹²³ Gilbert Highet also used the relatively new medium of radio broadcasting to bring classical culture into drawing rooms across America (and subsequently Britain and Canada too) via his popular weekly lecture series in the 1950s, ‘People, Places, and Books,’ and also continued to broaden the scope of classical scholarship itself in the field of what was then called ‘the classical tradition’ with his impressively researched *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*.¹²⁴ These academics joined in the revitalization of interest in the classics that both fuelled and was fuelled by the Great Books movement, and in doing so helped, in hindsight, to ‘ensure the survival of classical studies as a viable university subject: attracting healthy enrolments and appealing to a wide spectrum of students.’¹²⁵

¹²³ Hamilton (1930) and (1957). On RFK’s finding comfort after his brother’s death in Hamilton’s description of Aeschylus’ portrayal of the gods, see Thomas (2000) 286-7.

¹²⁴ Ball (2001); Highet (1949).

¹²⁵ Hallett (2009) 154.

The Culture Wars and Beyond

The heyday of the Great Books movement came to a sudden end in the 1960s, a time of extreme turbulence in the USA. The escalation of and protests against the Vietnam War, the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, the civil rights movement, second-wave feminism and the sexual revolution created changes across society and particularly in education every bit as fundamental if not more so than the two previous World Wars. Within higher education institutions, a polarization along political and pedagogical lines began to develop that accelerated throughout the 1970s into a full-blown schism culminating in publications such as Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*, the popularity of which fuelled the so-called 'culture wars' that permeated all aspects of society.¹²⁶ In an interview for the *Yale Alumni Magazine*, Donald Kagan recalled how it was his experience of the riots on the Cornell campus in 1969, and seeing the university authorities under the threat of violence agree to students' requests for black studies, that made him reject his earlier liberalism and become 'much more conservative.'¹²⁷ Grondin has argued that neoconservatism developed from currents or trends of responses to the protests against the Vietnam War.¹²⁸ One long-lasting consequence of the important social developments of the 1960s and 1970s is the great chasm that has opened between the left and the right and the desertion of the political middle ground, a situation that is still felt strongly in academia today and sometimes results in the most vitriolic and off-putting academic disputes.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Bloom (1987).

¹²⁷ Fellman (2002).

¹²⁸ Grondin (2005/6) 228.

¹²⁹ Participation in Western Civilization courses has declined, partly as a consequence of this infighting within academia, and also for other reasons such as the course being perceived as irrelevant or old-fashioned, the courses being closed down, and students choosing more career-orientated studies. The proportion of

Resistance to the Great Books therefore took a very different form in the 1960s compared to that of its earliest years, when the most strident criticism was from those who advocated a curriculum determined by student choice to allow more specialization and professionalization, and from Classics departments resistant to classical works being read in translation. The Great Books curriculum had been embraced in the 1940s and 1950s as the way to educate Americans for their role as free citizens in a democratic society,¹³⁰ but the 1960s showed that the former self-representation of American democracy was largely a construct by middle class, white males. Great Books as a pedagogical method became identified with inherent racism, sexism and elitism, or simply referred to as ‘Dead White European Males.’¹³¹ The notion of the relevance of the classics to the modern day was recast and the Great Books were deemed relevant only to those similar to their authors. There was great pressure from the liberal side to reshape the canon to include black and minority writers and women, or to scrap the entire project altogether in favour of a new ‘World Literature,’ to cancel out the Western orientation of the canon since Erskine’s time.

The reaction on the opposite side was a robust refortification of the traditional lines, with the arguments in favour of the Great Books methodology being stated in ever more strong terms. Strauss’ *Liberalism, Ancient and Modern* and Kirk’s *The Roots of American Order* traced modern American values back to the ancient Greeks and Romans in explicit defense of the Great Books.¹³² In 1976, Donald Kagan reinvented Yale’s flagging Directed Studies program of general education (which had been interdisciplinary, including sciences as well as humanities

undergraduate students who enrol dropped a small percentage from 29.8% in the 1970s to 28.2% in the 1980s, and then shrank sharply in the 1990s to 23.4%. (Humanities Subject Indicators: Indicator II-6).

¹³⁰ Criticism of the Great Books during the 1950s consisted of admonitions over lazy ways of reading the Great Books (as logic puzzles or with unthinking hero-worship), rather than a denouncement of its pedagogical goal *per se* (Hacker (1954)).

¹³¹ A famous instance of this term is the title of Knox’s book on Classics (1993).

¹³² Strauss (1968) especially Chs. 1 and 2; Kirk (1974).

subjects) as a Great Books course, structured around canonical readings in literature, history, philosophy and political thought, and including the majority of Thucydides' *History*.¹³³ The course was popular, because Kagan reduced its size and encouraged only the brightest students to take it, thereby (possibly unintentionally) perpetuating the idea that the Great Books were for a minority of society only. In the face of the development of critical approaches such as structuralism and deconstruction, which provided a theoretical basis for some of the political arguments of the left and the liberals, Great Books were lauded by the conservatives as the repository of traditional wisdom, values, and eternal truth, and the antidote to relativism and the influence of the zeitgeist. Bloom held up Socrates' rationalism as the cure-all for the contemporary malaise that he claimed stemmed from Nietzsche's nihilism, and argued vehemently that university education needed to embrace again the Great Books curriculum that it had been shunning:

The only serious solution is the one that is almost universally rejected: the good old Great Books approach... [O]ne thing is certain: wherever the Great Books make up a central part of the curriculum, the students are excited and satisfied... Programs based upon judicious use of great texts provide the royal road to students' hearts.¹³⁴

When he reproached modern university departments for rejecting in the Great Books, Bloom chose Thucydides to illustrate how the social sciences had rejected the writers of the Great Books canon:

I remember the professor who taught the introductory graduate courses in social science methodology, a famous historian, responding scornfully and angrily to a question I naively put to him about Thucydides with "Thucydides was a fool!"¹³⁵

¹³³ Zaremby (2006) 69ff.

¹³⁴ Bloom (1987) 344.

¹³⁵ Bloom (1987) 346.

Bloom included this anecdote in order to cast an unflattering light on the unnamed professor, but it also illuminates how Thucydides was perceived as a member (and in this case a representative) of the Great Books canon. What this meant for Thucydides was that he was assimilated along with the other Great Books authors into the conservative camp, and, as I will discuss in Chapter 2, Thucydides in particular came to be regarded as having a close association with neoconservatism.

Bloom's book, popular and controversial, spurred a backlash, and some academics tackled the conservative appropriation of the authors on the Great Books canon by reappropriating them for the political left.¹³⁶ The historian and pacifist Howard Zinn used the contents of this established canon and the pedagogic rhetoric of the Great Books courses to take apart the arguments of the conservatives in his influential 1990 *Declarations of Independence*, published while Bloom's work was still making waves. He deliberately presented historical periods well-known to 'culturally literate' Americans (to use Hirsch's term) such as the Vietnam War, the Second World War, the Jazz Age, and the voyages of Christopher Columbus in a manner 'outside of the orthodox' in order to challenge prevailing attitudes about their significance.¹³⁷ Zinn could not achieve his aim without first challenging the assumptions about these established meanings of the Great Books:

There is a list of famous political thinkers who are traditionally used to initiate discussion on these long-term problems [of political philosophy], including Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Madison, Rousseau, Marx and Freud... There are endless arguments that go on in academic circles about what Plato or Machiavelli or

¹³⁶ Others pointed out that the conservatives' claim to an authoritative, long-established pedagogy were fallacious; Levine pointed out that the post-classical works of the canon had not been taught in this way before Erskine's innovative course, noting how 'We keep hearing romantic calls for the "restoration" of the classical tradition in a Great Books version that is itself a relatively recent invention.' (Levine (1996) 52).

¹³⁷ Zinn (1990) 7.

Rousseau or Marx *really* meant... I don't really care about that... I assume that our job is not to interpret the great theorists, but to think for ourselves.¹³⁸

Although not mentioned in this catalogue of names, Thucydides was also a target for re-reading by Zinn, a fact that shows his history was an integral part of the Great Books canon. Zinn chose two of the best-known excerpts that were frequently included in Western Civilization as well as Great Books courses: the Funeral Oration and the Melian Dialogue.¹³⁹ In his discussion of just and unjust wars, Zinn began by emphasizing how classical Athens has been admired as a paragon of the democratic state,¹⁴⁰ and how Pericles' Funeral Oration is a perfect example of how the rhetorical presentation of the cause (democracy and freedom against totalitarianism) is used to justify war. Zinn gave Thucydides' description of the funeral rites and some highlights of Pericles' Funeral Oration before comparing Pericles' rhetoric to the modern American presidents Wilson and Roosevelt. But he pointed out that 'the claim that liberalism at home carries over into military actions abroad' needs to be examined and that 'the tendency, especially in time of war, is to exaggerate the difference between oneself and the opponent, to assume the conflict is between total good and total evil.'¹⁴¹ Zinn completely dismantled the rousing patriotism of the Funeral Oration, presenting it as a cover for Athenian cruelty, greed and aggressive empire-building, and rejected the conservative interpretation of Pericles which had become so orthodox throughout the 1980s. For Zinn, the ruthlessness of Athens' behaviour towards the Melians went far beyond Kitto's designation of 'a certain irresponsibility,' but

¹³⁸ Zinn (1990) 5.

¹³⁹ For instance, Anastaplo's 2009 *Reflections on Life, Death and the Constitution* is based on his notes from teaching Great Books for over four decades at Chicago. It opens with a chapter on the Funeral Oration and includes Hobbes' translation (2.34-47) in an appendix, thereby bringing it to even more readers than just those with a copy of Thucydides.

¹⁴⁰ This could not be further from the truth, Zinn argued, in the case of Athens which barely resembled a modern democracy given the very limited number of inhabitants who were enfranchised (Zinn (1990) 70).

¹⁴¹ Zinn (1990) 71.

instead showed the dangers of excessive, uncritical nationalism,¹⁴² thereby challenging the implicitly nationalistic agenda of the conservative Bloom.

To come full circle, Zinn had also clearly been impressed by at least one of that group of Edwardian Hellenists whose idealist attitudes (if not their admiration of the British Empire) he shared. He even holds him up as the epitome of the moral intellectual in his chapter on non-violent protest:

We recall the British historian Arnold Toynbee, surveying thousands of years of human history, and despairing of what he saw in the atomic age. He cried out,

“No annihilation without representation!”¹⁴³

Toynbee is an interesting figure to invoke at this point, since not only had Toynbee passed from the limelight that he had experienced in the 1940s and 1950s with his monumental *A Study of History* and was no longer considered fashionable, but he, just as Zinn had done, had been profoundly affected by his own experience of a World War, and found that his reading of the classics had altered as a result.¹⁴⁴ In a lecture of exceptional emotional honesty in 1920, Toynbee admitted to Oxford’s Literae Humaniores undergraduates that the war had affected his understanding of classical literature, as it would for anyone who experienced the War themselves:

This word *κάθαρσις* – purgation, purification, cleansing, discharge – has been the subject of interminable controversy among scholars, but I think any one acquainted with Ancient Greek literature who has lived through the war will understand what it means. Certainly I found, in the worst moments of the war, that some passages from the classics

¹⁴² Zinn (1990). Rather than the Athenians fighting for their freedom, Zinn’s argument was that, ‘An entire nation is made into mercenaries, being paid with a bit of democracy at home for participating in the destruction of life abroad.’ (p.73).

¹⁴³ Zinn (1990) 296.

¹⁴⁴ Zinn had been a bombardier in the Second World War.

– some line of Aeschylus or Lucretius or Virgil, or the sense of some speech in Thucydides, or the impression of some mood or bitterness or serenity in a dialogue of Plato – would come into my mind and give me relief. I felt that these men had travelled along the road on which our feet were set; that they had travelled it farther than we, travelled it to the end; that that the wisdom of greater experience and the poignancy of greater suffering than ours was expressed in the beauty of their words.¹⁴⁵

At the same time as Toynbee gave this lecture, which was part of Gilbert Murray's 'Seven against Greats' campaign designed to remedy the lack of attention paid to literature at Oxford after the Moderations exams, Erskine - fresh from running his soldiers' university - had been pushing for a radical new approach to great works of literature which would allow his students, many of whom would have just returned from the war themselves, to use their own experiences, rather than their intellectual training, to guide their responses to it. This different appreciation of the value of the classics was brought to the foreground neither by the left nor the right in the battle over the Great Books and the subsequent culture wars, but was highlighted in an extremely intriguing and unexpected sphere during a later period, that of the disastrous Vietnam War and afterwards: the world of military education.

¹⁴⁵ Toynbee (1921) 12.

Part (ii)

Thucydides in Military Officer Education

Insofar as humanistic study imbues people with a moral imagination, the real burden of the humanities, as opposed to their manifold pleasures and benefits, does not call on professors, students, or the culture-loving population in general. That burden is allocated to those whom society charges with the conscience-testing task of sanctioned killing. In a democracy with a volunteer military, the weight falls on that small number of people who have chosen to bear it by enlisting. For them it is, as Marlow puts it, always ‘a choice of nightmares.’ For the rest of us, the key is never spring-loaded, the flights are always simulated.¹

This sentiment concludes Geoffrey Galt Harpham’s reflections on teaching a seminar on Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* to members of the faculty at the U.S. Air Force Academy in 2007. One of those faculty members, Lt. Col. Thomas McGuire, wrote after the seminar about the importance of war literature in teaching students to become ‘reluctant killers’ by bringing them face-to-face with the personal cost of war to the individual, citing Weil’s reading of the *Iliad* which recognizes the dehumanizing effects of violence as described by Homer. He writes about teaching the poetry of Sassoon and Owen together with Sophocles’ *Antigone*, in order to address problems of ethical leadership and moral dilemmas.² The sentiment above also casts a new light on the discussion in the first section of this chapter about general education in the wake of the First and Second World Wars. When military duties were not voluntary and were required of a much higher proportion of the population, the ‘burden of the humanities’ was required to be carried by a greater number of citizens, if, as Harpham’s reasoning goes, those same citizens are to develop the ‘moral imagination’ which both causes them suffering because

¹ Harpham (2011) 201.

² McGuire (2008) 27.

of their actions as well as protecting their own moral wellbeing while performing those actions. The aesthetic of Greek tragedy is clearly relevant to this dilemma, but in this section I will examine how Thucydides, who was also deeply exercised by the dehumanizing effects of war on individuals and society, has been used to provide exactly the learning experience identified by Harpham above.

A clear trend from the previous section of this chapter is that there was renewed interest in classical Greek works during and immediately following each major war in the twentieth century in the USA. Student numbers spiked when young veteran soldiers returned home from combat eager to take advantage of the educational opportunities newly on offer to them, and after each war there was a greatly increased interest in the teaching of the ‘democratic citizen,’ the person who would be capable of living fully in a country for whose values others had recently died. Thucydides out of all of the classical authors seems most apt in this particular set of circumstances. In his book defending the relevance of reading the classics, Livingstone recalled an excerpt of a recent letter from a young officer writing home from the trenches in 1915, shortly before the battle of Loos:

Thucydides is a gentleman whose truth I never appreciated so thoroughly before. In his description of the last great effort of the Athenians to break into Syracuse he tells how the officers lectured and encouraged their men right up to the last moment, always remembering another last word of counsel, and wishing to say more, yet feeling all the time that however much they said it would still be inadequate. Just the same with us now. We’ve all lectured our platoons, but something still keeps turning up, and after all we can only play an infinitesimal part in Armageddon! Well, we’re parading in a minute.³

³ Livingstone (1916) 70.

The juxtaposition in Thucydides of the ideological, the political, and the operational mean that the situations he describes have been recognized not just by politicians, historians and political theorists, but also by practising military personnel. The above example dates from the First World War, when more of the serving officers would have been likely to have come across Thucydides in their education prior to the war. An article in the *Saturday Review of Literature* by Elmer Davis in 1939 recommends that the only two books that Americans need to read in order to prepare for the new war are *Mein Kampf* and Thucydides.⁴ In this section, I look at how Thucydides was employed again during another war which had a powerful impact on America, the Vietnam War, and focus on the use made of Thucydides within the sphere of military education, at the mid-career and advanced stages. The background of the growth of general education is important in this discussion, given the close connections drawn between the Great Books and ideas about American democracy that I have shown above.

The development of professional military education

In both the United States and Britain, colleges for precommissioning young officers had been set up in 1803, at West Point and at Sandhurst, but after that initial training there was no institutionalized army education for officers as their careers developed. Yet by the end of the century, revolutionary processes and technological advancements such as mass production and electrification were developing at a very fast rate, raising the standard of living, while at the same time causing unemployment as workers were replaced by machines. These socio-economic factors caused radical and much-needed changes in civilian education as I have addressed, and also great reforms in military education for similar reasons. The officers in the American Civil War were not prepared by their short education at West Point, long ago at the

⁴ Davis (1939).

beginning of their careers, for the realities of modern warfare including transport via railroad, communication using the telegraph, and advances in weaponry such as the accurate, lethal, and widely-used Minié bullet.⁵ Gilbert and Sullivan's 'Modern Major-General' in *The Pirates of Penzance*, who knew geometry and mythic history, but had no knowledge of modern tactics or 'what progress has been made in modern gunnery,'⁶ may not have been a completely unrecognizable figure towards the end of the nineteenth century.

To overcome this deficiency, ongoing training and education for officers throughout their careers became a priority. The Army School of Application for Cavalry and Infantry was set up at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, after the Civil War in 1881 by General William T. Sherman, rapidly followed by the establishment of the US Naval War College in 1884, in Newport, Rhode Island. Following suit, Elihu Root, a successful lawyer and later politician and Nobel Peace Prize winner (and a good friend of Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia), set up the Army War College in 1903, originally in Washington DC, although it moved to its current location in Carlisle, Pennsylvania via Fort Leavenworth in the 1950s. The original aim of the Cavalry and Infantry School was 'to help enlisted personnel keep their eyes aimed at their missions,' and it would eventually evolve into today's Command and General Staff College (CGSC), where mid-level officers learn about 'joint, combined, and multinational... operations across the range of threats.'⁷

The War Colleges however were different creatures, not intended to deal with the paucity of operational and tactical expertise among mid-level officers, but intended for senior officers who were to go into roles holding responsibility for strategy and policy. The purpose of

⁵ Murray and Sinnreich (2006) 56.

⁶ Bradley (1996) 219.

⁷ Watson (2007) 27.

the US Naval War College was to promote, as stated by its president Stephen B. Luce, ‘research on war, on statesmanship connected to war, and on the prevention of war.’⁸ Among its first faculty members was Alfred Thayer Mahan, who wrote the highly-regarded book *The Influence of Seapower upon History 1660-1783*, based upon his lectures at the College. This historical bent in the curriculum has remained a defining characteristic of the Naval War College throughout its existence. There has been over the course of the twentieth century a proliferation in military education facilities in the USA, mirroring the increased participation that occurred in civilian education, and in graduate education in particular. Each of the uniformed services has developed its own programs specific to the requirements of its own sphere, but the increasingly complex nature of modern warfare and the dictates of two World Wars and other conflicts necessitated subsequent, additional training in Joint Forces operations at inter-service institutions such as the National War College. These developments culminated in the eventual streamlining of the chain of command as set out in the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act, introduced to counteract heated rivalry between the services that was impairing operational effectiveness. Watson lists 26 of the current separate institutions providing different training and educational services for military personnel at all stages of their careers.⁹

Of the five War Colleges, the Naval War College retains the reputation within the services for being ‘the most intellectual, the most academic,’¹⁰ with a stronger emphasis than the other Colleges on research and a number of faculty members on ‘indefinite’ appointments, similar to tenured professors in civilian universities, to provide continuity and specialist knowledge. Steihm describes the Naval War College as ‘schoollike’ and ‘recognizably an

⁸ Stiehm (2002) 11.

⁹ Watson (2007) Ch.2.

¹⁰ Stiehm (2002) 10.

academic institution... it is conducted as a college is conducted. It emphasizes that the curriculum is a “thinking curriculum” and that the faculty “owns” the curriculum.’¹¹ With its emphasis on the importance of understanding the nature of war through integrating theory, technology and history, perhaps it is not surprising that it was in large measure due to innovations at the Naval War College that Thucydides gained a new lease of life as a serious player in the higher levels of modern professional military education.

I use the terms ‘modern’ and ‘serious’ to differentiate the way that Thucydides, as distinct from other classical authors, is read as a part of military education today from the use that has been made of him in the past. The 1915 letter from the trenches shows one way of reading Thucydides in wartime.¹² On the other hand, the military profession has frequently used the classics as a token indicating good birth and elite education. The lauded eighteenth century British Major General James P. Wolfe, although not of the nobility himself, recommended to Lord Townshend’s younger brother that if he was considering becoming an army officer, he should know mathematics, Latin and French, and read Thucydides and Xenophon, Caesar and Vegetius, and Jean de Folard’s 1727 *Commentaries on Polybius*, as well as seventeenth century commanders, a reading list that is as much a comment on aristocratic education as it is on useful military reading.¹³ Similarly, Gilbert’s Major General knew of the Battle of Marathon, probably from Creasy’s 1851 *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, and he also knew Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, but his privileged education had taught him nothing of military strategy. The novelty of how Thucydides is read in the twentieth century at the advanced stages of military education, and also, through a process of percolation, at the intermediate levels and in the military

¹¹ Stiehm (2002) 13.

¹² Footnote 3, p.75.

¹³ Kennedy and Nielson (2002) 5; Childs (1982) 91-92.

academies, is that he is valued for being a useful strategist and theorist on the relationship between the political and the military, rather than as a ticket into a perceived elite sector of society.¹⁴

In a brief aside, comprehensive modern military education also includes, naturally, some background in international politics, often covering history, current events, and theory. The violent history of the twentieth century has provided many opportunities for superficial parallels with the epoch-making Peloponnesian War, and some of the more two-dimensional, ‘portable’ conclusions about Thucydides’ work that have been made by International Relations (IR) theorists have certainly found their way into military academies and colleges, usually in introductory courses (which I will discuss more in Chapter 2). Thucydides the military historian and strategist is never far away from Thucydides the theorist of the nature of war and human society, and that is particularly so in military circles. This can have the unintended consequence that undergraduate students in military academies consider that they have ‘done’ Thucydides when they have read the Melian Dialogue in their IR course; their professors know otherwise.¹⁵

Thucydides the teacher of strategy

Towards the end of the Vietnam War, in order to address the tragic lack of strategic knowledge at the highest levels within the military services which the war had highlighted, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, tasked Rear Admiral Stansfield Turner, who had indicated an interest in naval education, with the Presidency of the US Naval War College. Identifying the early 70s as ‘a time of great military and naval crisis for the United States,’ and disturbed by the

¹⁴ There seems to have been an attempt a limited attempt to use accounts of naval warfare in classical history in order to grasp the contemporary changing nature of ship battles in the mid-nineteenth century (Kennedy and Nielson (2002) 7ff.).

¹⁵ Conversations with faculty at US Military Academy, West Point, and US Naval Academy, Annapolis. Fall 2011.

state of stagnation into which he felt the Naval War College had fallen, Zumwalt instructed Turner to do whatever he needed in order to achieve two goals: to ‘broaden officers who are often preoccupied with their area of specialty, and help them to learn to analyze problems.’¹⁶

Turner’s approach was every bit as radical as Erskine’s, and in many ways, what he created at the Naval War College was a Great Books course in miniature. He was determined to achieve a complete, sharp overhaul of the curriculum, and rather than talking to any of the officers currently at the College in the year running up to his appointment, he used his own connections from his time as a Rhodes Scholar in Oxford and at Harvard Business School and other universities to create a ‘think tank’ to redesign the curriculum.

In January and February 1972, at meetings of his assembled advisors that included graduates from the College, defense analysts, and businessmen as well as academics, what emerged was the need to educate the naval officer ‘not to accumulate facts, but to learn the process to best go about one’s profession.’¹⁷ Turner’s fundamental belief was ‘that student-officers needed to learn to reason through problems and to see that there was more than one answer to any problem.’¹⁸ Of his advisors, it was Dr. William R. Emerson, a military historian, former fighter pilot and Rhodes scholar who had been teaching at Yale before moving to the newly founded National Endowment for the Humanities, who recommended Thucydides’ *History* for inclusion and led Turner’s team in developing a new curriculum composed of three sections: strategy, management, and tactics, with Thucydides as the backbone for the first and most important part,

¹⁶ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984)276.

¹⁷ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984)277.

¹⁸ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984)278.

strategy.¹⁹ Teaching would happen in small discussion-led seminars rather than lectures, and there would be course essays, heavy reading, and the innovation of grading.

One of many advantages of using Thucydides was that, as far as the students were concerned, it ‘was an unknown book about an apparently irrelevant war by an author with an unpronounceable name.’²⁰ This seeming irrelevance and distance was a virtue in the eyes of those devising the course, since:

Modern history cannot be discussed dispassionately. If it is quite modern (Vietnam, Gulf War etc.), everyone has his/her own opinion and that is very difficult to break through with logic. Better far removed from the present so emotion does not play a part... We were trying to create a course that would endure throughout a person’s professional career and not grow outdated quickly as is the case with current events or recent history.²¹

I expect that Thucydides would have wholeheartedly concurred with this aim to make his self-confessed unromantic and challenging history into an enduring resource for military officers.²² But as with any radical change, there was resistance to Turner’s revolution, both from within and outside the College. Some officers on the new course resented precisely the fact that they were being forced to study outside their area of expertise, one of the goals of the reforms impressed on Turner by Admiral Zumwalt. One complaint wrote:

You are a professional historian. Suppose that in the middle of your career, say in your early forties, you had been told that you would have to take an advanced, graduate-level course in aero-dynamics, graded, and that you might even flunk. And...that if you

¹⁹ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984)279.

²⁰ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984)285. This sounds slightly at odds with the boom in Great Books education of the 1950s, when conceivably many of the officers at the Naval War College might have been undergraduates themselves. Possibly the students had forgotten what they had fleetingly read at college, or this phrase may have exaggerated their ignorance for rhetorical effect.

²¹ Personal correspondence with one of Turner’s team, October 2011.

²² Th.1.22.4.

flunked, your career as a historian and teacher would be finished.²³

While one aspect of this complaint, that students were being expected to do relatively complicated reading, was legitimate, another was not. The purpose of reading Thucydides was not to train the students to think like or become historians, but to make them better strategists; as Turner said in his inaugural address, ‘Scholarship for scholarship’s sake is of no importance to us.’²⁴ In the words of an advisor, ‘We were not creating a history course, but a course in decision-making.’²⁵ There are strong resonances with the origin of the general education movement and the War Issues course of the First World War: Columbia’s Contemporary Civilization course focused on ‘the insistent problems of the present,’ but addressed them through discussion rather than lecturing. Erskine’s General Honors similarly overturned the ‘scholarly’ approach to reading important works and replaced it with one centred on examining the perennial problems in human nature that they addressed instead.

Turner’s methodology for creating highly analytical officers capable of dealing with complex problems and ambiguous sources involved coming up against some of the most ingrained values of the military. The introduction of a different set of standards, those of academic achievement, into a system dependent on an already existing and strictly maintained hierarchy was bound to cause problems, as the description of the procession at the College’s opening ceremony in 1972 shows:

Turner directed that the opening ceremony would include an academic procession with the entire staff and faculty in appropriate academic robes. The combination of academic and military insignia created difficulty in establishing authority. Some senior officers with only bachelor’s degrees were offended at the thought of some of their juniors with

²³ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984) 285.

²⁴ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984) 284.

²⁵ Personal correspondence with one of Turner’s team, October 2011.

doctorates preceding them. At the same time, doubt arose as to whether it was appropriate to wear service dress or tropical white uniform under the academic robes. The most difficult problem was whether to wear an academic cap or a uniform cap. In the end, no caps were worn.²⁶

Not only is military culture very different from academic culture, but each individual branch – be it Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marines – and each educational institution, is proud of its own particular culture and identity, as distinct from those of the other armed services. Turner's overhaul was initially received with a certain amount of hostility from the other War Colleges, who felt their own methods to be implicitly criticized by his changes. The subtext of the conflict is illustrated by the book *Military Education*, written by a member of the National War College faculty in 2007. The book is a reference handbook on the topic aimed at National War College faculty and students, and is broken down into bite-size sections covering curricula and institutions, personalities and documents, with short sections on the history and evolution of military education (in which Turner's revolution is not mentioned). Its localized perspective, focused on the National Defense University of which the National War College is part, is characterized by the opening to its entry on George C. Marshall in the 'personalities' chapter:

A Nobel Peace Prize winner, secretary of state, secretary of war, and Army chief of staff, General George Catlett Marshall is the man after whom the NDU headquarters building is named.²⁷

I dwell on the nature of this book in order to put its subsequent 'personalities' entry on Stansfield Turner into context:

Admiral Stansfield Turner, USN, was one of the most innovative, bold thinkers in the Navy during the twentieth century. Often heavily criticized in his various positions,

²⁶ Hattendorf, Simpson and Wadleigh (1984) 283.

²⁷ Watson (2007) 70.

Turner had no doubt that there were changes needed to add rigor to the Naval War College curriculum and the work of the Central Intelligence Agency, both of which he ran. [After his Rhodes scholarship,] Turner returned to traditional service but was marked as an imaginative thinker from this point... [At the Naval War College] he instituted a controversial curriculum of classical works, such as Herodotus, on the grounds that these works would encourage meticulous thinking, which he believed senior naval officers needed at the end of the Vietnam experience. His curriculum received considerable criticism but has led to replication elsewhere...²⁸

Other than the fact that another four-syllable Greek historian has taken the place of Thucydides' name, opposition to Turner's actions is tangible. Watson portrays Turner's revolution as due entirely to his own character as an 'imaginative' and 'bold, innovative thinker,' qualities not necessarily to be encouraged in a bureaucratic organization in peacetime, no matter how much these same qualities are necessary in a leader in a time of war. She also emphasizes that he was 'often heavily criticized' and his curriculum 'controversial,' and lays the responsibility for the changes solely on Turner and his own beliefs in the need for change, rather than on the fact that he had been tasked by a senior officer to make certain changes, and given carte blanche as to how to do so.

As previously mentioned, Turner was inculcating a movement prioritizing education in a culture where training and respect for authority were valued over independent thinking. This was no easy task, but one classicist has reflected that Turner had picked exactly the right subject in order to overcome this military-academic divide, since, 'Thucydides is the perfect antidote because he resists reduction. He demands rumination. He requires reflection.'²⁹ Certainly,

²⁸ Watson (2007) 78.

²⁹ Rahe (2006) 98. Rahe avoids attacking the US military's educational provision with the sheer spite that Howard J. Wiarda indulges in (Wiarda 2011); instead, Rahe gives credence to as well as explanation for the stereotype of the military that the Thucydides-centred courses confronted: 'Like all bureaucracies, [military organizations] tend to cast a baleful eye on rumination and reflection. They regard the bookish for understandable reasons as

Turner was seen as high-handed and abrupt in his style by many, but as Watson admits, his changes caught on, because they were successful: students enjoyed reading Thucydides and threw themselves into the heavy reading schedule.³⁰ The value of the course was increasingly recognized and praised by senior officers, and similar courses, incorporating not only the reading of Thucydides but also Turner's other innovations such as small discussion-led seminars, began to spread to the other War Colleges.³¹

The turn to Thucydides within the traditionally conservative culture of the military also coincided with the fracturing of the civilian colleges along political lines. The Naval War College attracted influential conservative academics from elite civilian universities to teach Thucydides, helped by the growing rift between the right and the left in civilian universities and possibly by the conservatives' disillusionment at civilian institutions' rejection of the Great Books ideology and unwillingness to teach the timeless value of the classics. Williamson Murray, who had completed his PhD on military and diplomatic history under Donald Kagan and Hans Gatzke at Yale in the early 1970s, began to teach Thucydides in the Naval War College in 1975 and has held visiting professorships at a range of military and other institutions ever since.³² Similarly, Al Bernstein, Kagan's close friend and also a classicist at Cornell, moved to the Naval War College in the 1980s, and Allan Bloom himself gave the Alice McDermott Memorial Lecture at the US Air Force Academy in 1991, entitled 'Liberal

suspect. Among other things, the latter are apt to raise awkward objections and disconcerting questions.' (Rahe (2006) 98).

³⁰ Van Riper (2006) 40-41. Church attendance declined, as did takings at the Officers' Club bar.

³¹ Stiehm (2002) 182.

³² Murray (2013) 31.

Education and its Enemies,' in which he warned students against the takeover of the (civilian) universities by the politically correct left wing.³³

Thucydides after Turner's reforms

For these specific historical reasons, as well as for the content of his history, Thucydides is today a catchword for advanced strategy thinking across all the uniformed services and is often quoted in the same breath as Clausewitz and Sun Tsu as one of the classic writers of grand strategy. On the other hand, the extent to which he is read in the manner which Turner envisaged varies enormously, for the same reasons of the length of the work, time pressures and minimal focus on the historical background that led to Thucydides being taught in excerpted form on Great Books and Western Civilization courses. Martin Cook, a philosophy professor of the US Air Force Academy, criticizes the cursory treatment given to Thucydides in most military courses:

The reading of Thucydides is reduced to the famous 'Melian Dialogue'... used to illustrate realism... Typically, this discussion is given a single day in the curriculum and this is all of Thucydides military officer-students will read. In other words, the richness and complexity of Thucydides' entire work is reduced to the single teaching point of setting up the ideal-type of realism as a political theory.³⁴

This describes a completely different pedagogical aim to that of Turner's, although it closely resembles the preferred method of transmitting information in the military: through a briefing on relevant messages culminating in 'take-home' points, easily remembered. At the Naval War College, Thucydides is still very popular and the entire text is regularly still read,³⁵ a point on

³³ Wilson (1995)78-79; Ficarrotta (2001).

³⁴ Cook (2006) 353-4.

³⁵ This is usually in elective courses, such as 'Strategy, Leadership, and Ethics in Thucydides' Peloponnesian War' (Spring 2010). The text recommended is Strassler's Landmark edition (1996).

which Turner and his advisors were adamant, since ‘it was felt that by reading an entire book, students could see the logic of the whole story as laid out by the author.’³⁶

At the Army War College, there was a revival in interest in Thucydides in 1999, once again through a program designed to counteract a perceived shortcoming in the importance accorded to planning and analysis at the strategic level.³⁷ The new ‘Advanced Strategic Art Program’ was intended for high-level officers who were aiming to work at the inter-service level as strategic planners. Learning history was an important part of the six-month course, including study of the American Civil War and the Second World War. Thucydides was not only taught in full, but the students were also taken on a trip (a common learning method in military circles, known as ‘staff rides’ or ‘battlefield tours’) to Sicily in order to gain a fuller understanding of ‘the catastrophic campaign of Athenian amphibious forces against those of Syracuse during the Peloponnesian War.’³⁸ Cook also taught Thucydides at the Army War College between 2000 and 2005, and explicitly refers to ‘the Great Books method of classroom discussion’ as that which he practised in his own courses on military ethics and leadership and which produced the best results. He describes how Thucydides works flawlessly as a tool to teach ethics and leadership precisely because the text resists being simplified into the modern categories normally used to discuss the nature of war.³⁹ Cook’s elective course consisted of ten

³⁶ Personal correspondence with one of Turner’s team, October 2011.

³⁷ Murray (2000) 33. Another reason for refocusing on Thucydides at this point could have been the rising power of the neoconservative movement in American politics.

³⁸ Murray (2000) 35.

³⁹ Cook (2006) 355-6: ‘A thorough reading of the *History* works well for purposes of ethics education for experienced officers, precisely because it does not separate the ethical from the tactical, operational, and strategic-level military questions that drive the war. It allows the ethical questions to arise and be discussed in the context of the kinds of tactical and operational-level decisions these officers are already experienced in making, and introduces the strategic level discussion... quite naturally in the context assessing the decisions and constraints on the actors in the Peloponnesian War. It therefore allows officers to enter into the text at whatever level seems natural to them. For example, they might wish to start by discussing the strategic importance of Plataea from a purely military perspective. Their fellow students and faculty seminar leaders, however, could easily

sessions, each three hours long. After thirty hours of class time, in which long-established ways of compartmentalizing their understanding of war were broken down, perhaps it is not surprising that his students thought that ‘everything in the War College curriculum can be found in this book.’⁴⁰ The elective course was removed from the course offerings following a revision of the curriculum in 2005; possibly as a result of this, a detailed and thoughtful essay subsequently appeared on Thucydides in the 2006 edition of the *The US Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy*, written by one of Cook’s co-teachers on the ethics course.⁴¹ Previous and subsequent editions of the *Guide* only include fleeting references to Thucydides.

Courses for mid-career officers at the Command and General Staff College (CGSC) in Fort Leavenworth (the descendant of Sherman’s cavalry school), and courses for undergraduates at the Naval Academy in Annapolis and the Military Academy at West Point, include only some portions of the text, varying according to the focus of the course and the number of hours allocated to it. For example, Course A699 at the CGSC, ‘The Evolution of Military Thought,’ covers ‘a selection of military classics... books and theories of recognized and enduring significance,’⁴² and devotes two lessons to Thucydides. Significantly, it is compulsory for mid-level officers intending to go to advanced military study and become the highest-ranking officers.⁴³ Given the time constraints, it is difficult for the professors to choose

steer even the most operationally focused discussion into deeper and broader themes raised by the text.’ Cook’s description of the holistic methods he uses here sounds extremely similar to that of the Great Books methodology and also of the War Issues course, in that the teacher is facilitating the students’ own interaction with the text rather than imposing one particular interpretation or point of view.

⁴⁰ Cook (2006) 354. Cook’s program is now also used in the Australian Defence Force (Cullens (2008) 86).

⁴¹ Nation (2006).

⁴² Course description for A699 in the academic year 2010.

⁴³ Intermediate military education is not normally concerned with strategic level thinking, which comes at the higher levels, but is intended to provide mid-career officers with the knowledge of the military systems and structure (including inter-service operations) that they require in order to progress to command positions.

which portions of the text to include. A comparison of the syllabus for the course as taught by two different members of the faculty reveals the same selection problem that I discussed in the Introduction: not all the same passages have been chosen.⁴⁴ Both include most of Books 1 and 6, the Melian Dialogue and Pylos, while one also includes Pericles' Funeral Oration and the other, Book 8. One regards the main lesson of Thucydides as illustrating the 'unintended consequences of war,' and the other 'grand strategic thinking... [about] causes and processes.'⁴⁵ Both professors emphasize how they are trying to counteract the almost irresistible tendency of the prevailing culture at CGSC to summarize, condense, and above all, to instruct rather than educate.

A glance at the type of books for sale in the CGSC bookshop illustrates the prevalence of this methodology in the military culture at Fort Leavenworth (see Figure 3).⁴⁶ Other than the Landmark Edition of Thucydides and the Penguin edition of Arrian's *Campaigns of Alexander*, all the visible titles fall into two groups: firstly, 'self-help' and 'how-to' books on subjects such as careers, leadership, or the family, and secondly, biographical accounts from recent combat veterans, both of which genres are as didactic as Thucydides' work but in a much more straightforward manner.

FIGURE 3: CGSC Bookshop, Fort Leavenworth. Titles displayed include: *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*; *Nail the Job Interview*; *Leadership without Easy Answers*; *The Courage to Grieve: The Classic Guide to Creative Living, Recovery, and Growth Through Grief*; *When Duty Calls: A handbook for families facing military separation*; *A Parent's Guide to Building Resilience in Children and Teens: Giving Your Child Roots and Wings*; *A Chance in Hell: The Men Who Triumphed Over Iraq's Deadliest City and Turned the Tide of War*; *Why Marines Fight*.



⁴⁴ See Introduction, pp.16-21.

⁴⁵ Personal correspondence with two faculty members at CGSC (September 2011).

⁴⁶ Photograph used with permission of the CGSC (June 2011).

The problem faced particularly by teachers of Thucydides in military establishments, and common to many courses in which Thucydides is heavily excerpted, is precisely that which Turner and his advisors identified: that good strategic thinking cannot be broken down into sets of maxims or mantras to be learnt one by one, but comes out of an holistic and integrated worldview balancing all the different details that an author like Thucydides included in his description of a war. Unable to resist an acronym, or an ironic attempt to summarize the unsummarizable, military jargon has recently dubbed this inherent condition of human existence as ‘VUCA’: ‘volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous.’⁴⁷

Thucydides for veterans

Finally, it may be that one of the most valuable aspects of grand strategy that Thucydides can provide for military officers is one that is not included explicitly in the mission statements of any of the War Colleges, although they attempt to address it in other ways. John Lewis Gaddis, a teacher at the Naval War College in the very early days of Turner’s new curriculum, discussed in a lecture to the incoming students of 2011 how George Kennan’s knowledge of the classics, particularly Russian literature and Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, helped him to devise the policy of containment during the Cold War. Gaddis ends his talk with a reminiscence of one of his first classes on Thucydides at the College, in the autumn of 1975:

My students were all just back from Vietnam at that point. They didn’t want to talk about it. It would be very difficult, would have been impossible to organize an explicit seminar on the Vietnam War, although Turner was very interested in having the students come to grips with what had happened in Vietnam. But there were at that time no books on Vietnam, no good books to use, and it was far too touchy to bring it up in class and just say ‘what went wrong in Vietnam?’, and I’m convinced that this is one reason *why* Turner required all of us to read Thucydides and the *Peloponnesian War*, without any

⁴⁷ Stiehm (2002) 6, passim.

explanation. And of course when we got to the end of it, when we got to the Sicilian expedition, to this ill-fated expedition of the Athenian democracy, and to its own self-destruction as a result of this ill-conceived operation, when the parallels became evident, the effect was cathartic. I had students in tears in my seminar, over the account of the Sicilian Expedition. And while I never asked them why this moved them so much, I just took advantage of this teaching moment, without ever mentioning Vietnam. Nobody needed to mention Vietnam, but the memory of this was just indelibly imprinted on my mind. My sense is that my students felt that they were not alone, that because of Thucydides, they could learn, that someone else had once gone on a long, ill-conceived expedition, someone else had had to cope with defeat, someone else had had to think about how to recover from it, not very successfully, in the case of Athens. The fact that it was a democracy that had gone through this, in the so-called Athenian Golden Age, was all the more tragic and moving, but at the same time, it was close enough to their own experience for them simply to feel that they had not been alone in the despair they felt in what they experienced in the Vietnam War.⁴⁸

Gaddis' recognition of the cathartic effect of reading Thucydides resonates with that of Toynbee after the First World War.⁴⁹ The officer in the trenches in 1915 felt the proximity of the ancient Greek warriors,⁵⁰ and even today in Britain, senior officers with combat experience (for instance in the Balkans) who read about the civil war in Corcyra have been known to respond in a similar way to Gaddis' students.⁵¹ Such a profound response might be hard to elicit from other standard manuals of military theory such as Sun Tsu or Clausewitz, and in educational terms it is the opposite end of the spectrum to the 'take-home' point that so frequently appears in military training. But it is there in Thucydides, and it is an aspect of command at once most difficult to explain or teach and also one of the central issues facing senior officers, that waits to

⁴⁸ Gaddis (2011).

⁴⁹ Toynbee (1921) 12.

⁵⁰ See p. 75, footnote 3; also Vandiver (2013) Ch. 4.

⁵¹ Conversation with faculty member at JSCSC, Shrivenham, June 2010. In America, professors report that cadets and midshipmen (undergraduate students at West Point and Annapolis) who have not seen combat experience do not respond to Thucydides in the same way, despite often having friends or family that have been in war zones.

be internalized and carried within each officer as their own, highly personal, ‘possession for all time.’⁵²

⁵² The psychiatrist Jonathan Shay (1995 and 2002) uses the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to model and discuss moral injury among modern combat veterans, as does Peter Meineck through readings of Greek tragedy as part of the ‘Ancient Greeks, Modern Lives’ NEH-funded project. Both researchers use Greek literature as the catalyst for discussions about the impact of war on contemporary society, and have been struck by the therapeutic and cathartic effect for veterans of recognizing their own experiences paralleled by those of a fictional character from a long past, distant culture (Meineck 2012).

Conclusion

This chapter has described some turning-points in American higher education, where at each point different pedagogical modes have been in conflict. Erskine's General Honors course established a model for teaching literature as part of general education, the goal of the original liberal arts trivium and quadrivium, at a time when many universities were moving towards elective degrees which emphasized student choice, allowed early specialization, and encouraged vocationalism. Adler and Hutchins at Chicago established the concept of Great Books, both within and outside the academy, turning culture into a sellable, mass-market product and the Great Books into elegant but illegible ornaments precisely when the USA was defining its own values of freedom, democracy and capitalism in opposition to the communist East. In the 1960s, social revolutions were causing a widening rift between the American right and left, and the classics on the Great Books courses began to be upheld not as tragic warnings about the frailty of the human condition but as the source for everlasting values and incontrovertible truths, closing down precisely that dialogue which Erskine had intended his course to open up. As some conservatives began to gravitate towards the bastions of the military colleges, officers in those colleges were being deeply moved by the similarity of their own painful struggles to those of the beleaguered and long dead Athenians, an educational experience fundamentally at odds with the skills-based training which they had been exposed to so far.

And where does this leave Thucydides? To what extent is he actually 'read' by any of these groups? Only a select few in the military's War Colleges read through the entirety of

Thucydides in their courses, whereas in all other colleges that I have found, Thucydides is excerpted or summarized for students who may only have a few class hours to spend on him. As I discussed in the Introduction, when only parts of Thucydides' *History* are read, the selection process may create a skewed impression of the work, and runs the risk of over-simplification, if taken to extremes. In the *Great Books of the Western World* series, the editor-in-chief Robert Maynard Hutchins wrote in the preface:

We attached importance to making whole works, not excerpts, available. In all but three cases – Aquinas, Kepler, and Fourier – the 443 works of the 74 authors in the set are printed complete. The Advisory Board insisted most strongly that the great writers should be allowed to speak for themselves, with their full voice, and not be digested or mutilated by editorial decisions.¹

Even within colleges, the chance of this goal of reading 'wholly' being fulfilled is slim, since reading time per course is limited. Even in the early General Honors courses at Columbia, the entirety of Thucydides' work was recommended, but only selections were compulsory.² Within the colleges still offering Great Books programs today, I have found no college that regularly teaches the entirety of Thucydides, although it is difficult to assess national trends since courses can change from year to year depending on the instructor, and there is no national or agreed format for a Great Books course (or even the name of such a course, which can also change).

The amount of Thucydides' *History* for inclusion varies considerably from college to college.³ St John's teaches a large proportion of Thucydides, but leaves out Book 8 and some of

¹ Hutchins (1952) 28. The question of how to define 'wholeness' in those works of the canon that are unfinished is not raised, nor is the problem that his policy of including 'complete' works came at the cost of illegibly small type.

² Compulsory reading: Books 1, 2:1-71, 6 and 7. Together, these 'book-end' the work; they include the Funeral Oration but leave out the Melian Dialogue which was to become so well-known later on. This was the assigned reading in 1924; there is no extant record of passages selected for Erskine's first incarnation of his course, beyond the names of the works or authors.

³ All the courses listed in this paragraph have been offered in the last three years.

Books 4 and 5,⁴ while Columbia's 'Literature Humanities,' today's descendant of Erskine's course, assigns just over a third of the text, including excerpts from all books except 4 and 8. Notre Dame's 'Program of Liberal Studies' includes three-quarters of the text, and St Mary's College of California includes over half in its 'Integral Program,' but omits all of Books 8 and 4 (except for the Pylos campaign). Yale's 'Directed Studies' includes two sessions and two lectures on Thucydides, twice as much as is afforded to Herodotus.⁵ Shimer College in Chicago, Thomas Aquinas College, Earlham College, Harris Temple University in Tempe, Wyoming Catholic College and the newly opened Imago Dei College in Oak Glen, California, all select excerpts only, usually to a maximum of approximately half the *History*: Woodruff's *Thucydides on Justice, Power, and Human Nature* is used for Pepperdine's 'Great Books Program in the Humanities', St. Olaf's 'Great Conversation', and New York University's 'Social Foundations I' in the Core Curriculum for freshmen. From this broad snapshot of today's teaching practices, it is clear that editing Thucydides for students' digestion is the norm, not the exception.

A small handful of officers attend the War Colleges; some students go to Great Books colleges; but the great majority of American undergraduates meet the modern incarnation of Erskine's Great Books course in its current form as a survey course of Western literature or a Western Civilization course, for which they will most likely use textbooks. Wilkie and Hurt's *Literature of the Western World*, a popular anthology first published in 1984 and regularly reprinted, has some background notes and a few short sections from many Great Books authors but none in depth: from Thucydides, it includes the Funeral Oration and extracts from the Melian Dialogue.⁶ Another frequently used edition is MacKendrick and Howe's 1952 *Classics*

⁴ Correspondence with a St John's tutor, February 2011.

⁵ This focus on Thucydides is very likely due to Donald Kagan's close involvement in the program.

⁶ Wilkie and Hurt (1984).

in Translation, commissioned for the teaching of the University of Wisconsin's Great Books course. It included a heavily domesticized translation by Gerald F. Else of the 'usual suspects' from Thucydides: the preamble, the Funeral Oration, the plague, stasis in Corcyra, the Melian Dialogue, and the destruction of the Sicilian expedition. Almost the same passages (omitting the plague and Sicily) are included in Perry's *Sources of the Western Tradition*, aimed at the same market.⁷ In the large number of college textbooks serving this market, the same passages of Thucydides are frequently selected, with the result that a wide section of American society have a broad but shallow knowledge of the same snippets of literature: any student who has spent just one lesson on Thucydides, for instance, will be very likely to have studied the Funeral Oration, or the Melian Dialogue, rather than a less well-known section.

The consequence of this 'sourcebook' approach is a denial of the literary depth and complexity of many of the classical authors whose works were too long to be included intact, and this very likely holds true not just for Thucydides. In a move which anticipated the future use of Thucydides in military education, Else's introductory essay (and his translation) simplified Thucydides' *History* into a handbook from which a lesson was to be learnt:

His work was not literature but a testament for soldiers, diplomats and statesmen and those who wish to understand soldiering, diplomacy and statecraft.⁸

In this case, such a misrepresentation was rebutted by the sheer experience of reading Thucydides from beginning to end by those in the Naval War College a few decades later - even though they might have initially looked to Thucydides for precisely the lessons given above.

⁷ Perry (2012).

⁸ MacKendrick and Howe (1952) 231.

Although such publications as these anthologies could not offer a thorough understanding of Thucydides' work in its entirety, their presence on many undergraduates' reading lists and sheer popularity outside universities contributed to the state of 'cultural literacy' that Hirsch described, a state which has been achieved through an unusual combination of factors including America's position on the world stage, world war, cultural values and societal changes, as well as the actions of certain individuals at pivotal moments in America's educational history. What this means for Thucydides in American public discourse, the sphere that Hirsch and his co-researchers examined, I will discuss further in Chapter 3; but first, there was another sphere of reception for Thucydides which sprouted from the same impulses that drove the Great Books movement, and resulted in the author's remarkable prominence within International Relations theory.

CHAPTER TWO

Thucydides in International Relations (IR) theory

In the previous chapter, I examined the changes in American higher education over the twentieth century and how they have affected and determined how students in American colleges and universities might encounter Thucydides. In this chapter, I look at the twentieth century discourse in the USA concerning Thucydides within the sphere of International Relations (IR) theory, a specific branch of international studies which focuses on the theoretical aspect of how to explain, understand and predict the events on the international stage, and the connected fields of international relations and foreign policy, concerned with the more practical requirements of implementing government policy.¹

Of the three spheres within this study - those of IR theory, rhetoric in the US Congress, and higher education (civilian and military) - the first of these has received by far the greatest level of critical attention from academics, because of the sheer volume of publications within IR that refer to Thucydides. It is impossible to read modern scholarship in IR theory without coming across his name, and this has led some IR theorists, such as Ruback, Keene, and Lebow, to try to account for the phenomenon, which has also drawn the attention of classicists interested in reception.² It might seem surprising to see an author who is notorious for his

¹ I follow the conventional practice of using the capitalized 'International Relations' or 'IR' to refer to the academic discipline, and 'international relations' (without capitals) to refer to the subject covered by the discipline.

² Ruback (2011), Hodkinson and Macgregor Morris (2012), Tritle (2006). Morley and Harloe (2012) dedicated three chapters of *Thucydides and the Modern World* to Thucydides in IR and modern politics (by Forde, Lebow and Hawthorn).

complexity being invoked in a context so far removed from discussion of the rest of the classical world. But maybe it should not seem so strange for modern scholars of interstate activity and world politics to turn to Thucydides. After all, the major stumbling block for classicists is Thucydides' language, which even in antiquity was deemed hard to interpret,³ but for modern readers approaching him through the medium of a translation, this problem fades from the foreground.⁴ Secondly, Thucydides was clearly fascinated by exactly the same subject as they are today: the international arena and the functions of states within it, and the nature of power within that arena. But for that matter, many other classical authors also wrote about the same theme: why do these modern discussions not feature Herodotus or Tacitus, for instance, who were equally obsessed by questions about the nature of power, politics, and war? And why do IR theorists choose to refer to an author from such a distant period of history, about whose times their readers will in all likelihood know far less than they do about the modern world, when there are more convenient authors far nearer to our own age who have written on the same subject? The question of 'why Thucydides in IR theory?' forms the main enquiry of this chapter.

IR theory is only one small corner of a much larger web of current Thucydidean presences, however, in the wider field of foreign policy discourse that encompasses not only academia but the governmental departments of Washington, DC, the military establishment, and the public arena too. IR theory is considered a subfield of various areas within the social

³ Mynott (2013) 591-608.

⁴ The lack of knowledge of Greek among IR theorists does not completely account for either their use nor their abuse of Thucydides, despite the arguments of Eckstein (2003) who argues that much of the misinterpretation of Thucydides by realists and power transition theorists can be attributed to their 'habitual use of careless translations' of 1.23.5-6 (Eckstein (2003) 757). Realists invoke other passages (such as the Melian mantra that 'the strong do what they can, and the weak do what they must' or the Athenians' defence at 1.75 that they acted out of fear, honour and interest, both of which are commonly referred to using Crawley's translation) much more often than they do 1.23, and Eckstein does not consider how peripheral any Thucydidean quotation actually was to the core arguments of the early realists (as I discuss later in the cases of Morgenthau and Waltz).

sciences, usually sitting within international studies or political science departments, and ever since Hobbes's translation of Thucydides he has been an important figure in the discipline of political philosophy in English writings. In the most recent past, political scientists such as J. Peter Euben, Richard Ned Lebow, and many others, have been writing extensively about ancient Greek tragedy, philosophy, and Thucydides' *History*, aiming their work not necessarily at a audience well-versed in the classics, but at a larger range of students in the political sciences. It is well known that Donald Kagan and V.D. Hanson, both prominent ancient historians at prestigious American universities, have invoked ancient Greek history, and Thucydides in particular, to defend their neoconservative political views, via blogs, articles, books, and lectures. Their writings are frequently aimed at a non-specialist audience and their influence has been recognized by the honour of various high-profile prizes.⁵ References to Thucydides (sometimes relating to the networks or publications of Kagan or Hanson) are also sprinkled across articles in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal*.⁶ Thucydides is present in contemporary American political discourse at all levels, from the purely academic to the political, the military and the public.

But what is the relationship between the receptions of Thucydides in these very different contexts, and are their origins connected? Is the contemporary focus of attention on Thucydides

⁵ VD Hanson's blog, *VDH: Private Papers*, provides regular right-wing commentary on politics and foreign policy. He was also a recipient in 2007 of the National Humanities Medal and in 2006 of the Bradley Prize for Outstanding Achievement from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. Donald Kagan's books on Thucydides have been described as 'influential', and he offers in them 'compelling analysis of modern international affairs,' according to the 2005 National Endowment for the Humanities Chairman Bruce Cole ((2005) NEH Press Release). He has also won the National Humanities Medal (2002) as well as the Gerhart Niemeyer Award for Distinguished Contributions to Scholarship in the Liberal Arts (2003), and gave the prestigious National Endowment for the Humanities Jefferson Lecture in 2005.

⁶ Recent articles include *The New York Times*'s detailed description of the 'Thucydides' Trap' facing the imminent meeting between President Obama and President Xi Jinping of China (Allison Jr., 2013), and the *Wall Street Journal*'s review of the 'enduring lessons' of Thucydides in an interview with Kagan marking his retirement from Yale (Kaminski, 2013).

in IR mostly a consequence of academics such as Hanson and Kagan who use Thucydidean parallels in the public arena with authority and expertise, or does it relate to the use of Thucydides in military education institutions, or is it part of a longer tradition in international relations in which Thucydides has always had an elevated position, going back to the Cold War and beyond? How closely is the study of Thucydides in IR theory related to that in political science, or even to the use made of Thucydides in foreign policy discourse?

In this chapter, I propose a new and alternative explanation to the current orthodoxy of how Thucydides could have reached his level of importance in the discipline. I begin with Section One, ‘The Myth of Thucydides in IR,’ by looking at how the discipline of IR’s own explanations of its relationship with Thucydides are inconsistent, and show that the role of Thucydides in IR discourse, that of the discipline’s ‘founding father,’ is an *American* trope in particular. It then becomes necessary to explain how Thucydides has been treated in IR theory during the course of the discipline taking shape in the USA.

Next, therefore, in ‘Thucydides The Contemporary Historian,’ I examine how Thucydides was discussed in the spheres of public discourse and policy in the 1940s and early 1950s, and show that Thucydides is being referred to at this period for his *contemporaneity*, in that his history appeared to be immediately applicable to the world’s situation during the Second World War and just before the start of the Cold War. By contrast, in the works of the important IR theorists of the same period (Carr, Morgenthau and Wight), who are assumed by most critics today to have been heavily influenced by Thucydides (because of the importance of Thucydides in today’s IR theory) there is a notable absence of references to Thucydides in the 1940s editions, and an increasing number only in the later editions of the mid and late 1950s. This discrepancy between Thucydides’ contemporaneity being recognized at the public and

policy level and the IR theorists' shunning him was caused by the failure of utopianism (specifically Zimmern's utopianism), the dominant mode in IR thinking before the Second World War, and the necessity for IR theory to rebuild itself in the lacuna of theory that had been created by that failure. Yet such was the strength of Thucydides' perceived contemporary relevance that he was still invoked, even in governmental circles albeit not by IR theorists, as a useful parallel for the current situation, and ironically still through the very translation Zimmern wrote (although it was not circulated under his name).

In Section Three, 'Thucydides the Founding Father of IR,' I show how a fundamental shift occurred in the perception of Thucydides' importance in the late 1950s and early 1960s, which laid the foundation for his status in IR theory subsequently. He went from being considered an interesting and topical, not-so-ancient, historian to the first political theorist of international relations, and, more importantly, to the mouthpiece of the fundamental and unchanging nature of power relations. This shift happened not because of deeper research into Thucydides' work or his contemporary relevance, but because the Great Books movement, which I discussed in Chapter 1, was gaining enormous traction both within academia and in the public realm, partly as a result of the end of the Second World War and the start of the Cold War. It became fundamental to the perceived importance of the canon of Great Books that each item within it was the 'first' work of a particular type (or a unique example within a genre), and that it was also 'timeless,' and could speak to readers across all ages. The author of the work therefore came to occupy a particularly hallowed position as the 'founding father' of that particular discourse or question. This created, in Thucydides' case, a portrayal of him as the originator of political theory and the purveyor of timeless wisdom about power politics which imbued subsequent readings of him within IR theory with far greater authority than a simple

invocation of his contemporaneity had done, and made reference to him obligatory for any IR theorist wishing to denote their work had an importance that stretched beyond the immediate circumstances of its writing.

Finally, in ‘Thucydides and the end of IR theory,’ I will discuss how the end of the Cold War and the rise of American ‘imperialism’ in the 1990s and 2000s on one hand, and the proliferation of new theoretical approaches within academia on the other, have led to Thucydides being interpreted in new ways in IR theory over the last few decades. Together, all these insights will furnish answers to the questions not only of *why* Thucydides is such an important figure in this discipline, but also *how* he has come to be so, and also illuminate how the Thucydides in political and public discourse differs from that in academic IR and in IR theory.

First, it might be useful to sketch in extremely broad outline the major schools of thought within today’s discipline of IR theory before launching into the detailed discussion of Thucydides’ role throughout its history. IR theory is essentially ideological, in that it is separated into different theoretical schools, each of which is based on an axiomatic view about human nature.⁷ Thus, setting out from the somewhat pessimistic starting point that human beings are essentially self-interested and concerned only with their own survival, the theoretical school of ‘realism’ develops, which puts states and their struggles to gain relative power compared to other states at the heart of the international system. This is the school which has traditionally claimed Thucydides as its ‘founding father,’ and whose most commonly invoked modern theorists are Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Rousseau.⁸ At the more optimistic end of the

⁷ Snyder (2004).

⁸ Bell (2008) 1, 3.

spectrum, 'liberalism' advances from the principle that human beings are by nature co-operative and will work together with others to form overarching organizations such as democracies, trade networks and international institutions which limit the anarchy viewed by realists as inherent to the international system. Hence there is a belief in progress in the liberal school which is absent in that of realism. On the other hand, those who believe that human actions are motivated by values, ethics, culture and norms such as religion and tradition tend to cleave to the school of 'idealism,' more commonly known today as 'constructivism.' The theoretical approaches within these three main schools are numerous and constantly developing (for instance, neorealism is one of the better known offshoots of realism). Although each school and subcategory usually explains one aspect of the international situation well and could therefore be said to contain an element of 'truth,' to approach an understanding of the world using just one of these requires a deliberate effort of closing one's eyes to the evidence, historical and contemporary, that supports the perspectives of the other schools. Therefore, the discipline contains some inherent weaknesses. It is thrown into crisis by any surprise event which a particular theory did not anticipate, such as the relatively peaceful end of the Cold War or the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. Since its ultimate goal is to give advice on the basis of predictions about the behaviour of states at the international level, it cannot help but have or promote a specific political agenda, which lays the discipline open to the criticism of being simply a partisan tool.⁹

⁹ Hay (2002) Ch.1.

Section One

The Myth of Thucydides in IR

One example will illustrate the extremely numerous instances on which Thucydides is brought to bear in today's discussions of international politics and IR theory in the USA. In 1999, one of the political philosopher Leo Strauss' former graduate students, Abram Shulsky, and Gary J. Schmitt, both extremely influential figures in both the intelligence and policy worlds, co-authored an article about Strauss' impact on their own thought. When discussing the Iranian Revolution, they criticize the CIA for paying insufficient attention to Ayatollah Khomeini's preachings on religion, and comment that:

A reading of Thucydides' account of the role that religious passion played in causing the failure of Athens' Sicilian expedition would have sufficed to guard against that particular mistake: Athens was clearly the most "enlightened" of ancient Greek cities.¹⁰

This somewhat blasé statement makes Thucydides out to be almost a silver bullet, whose application will solve even the most intractable of international scenarios. But as the authors themselves ask in their opening paragraph, 'what possible connection could there be between the tumultuous world of spies and snooping paraphernalia, on the one hand, and the quiet life of scholarship and immersion in ancient texts on the other?'¹¹ This chapter examines not only the permeable barriers between IR theory and foreign policy practice, but also the ways in which

¹⁰ Schmitt and Shulsky (1999) 411.

¹¹ Schmitt and Shulsky (1999) 407.

these distinct but closely related fields have interacted with other fields in academia and also with the wider world at both a national and international level.

In his preliminary study of the citation rates of various historical thinkers key to modern IR,¹² Edward Keene has surveyed the authors cited in six important academic journals which concentrate on IR theory in order to compare the number of references to Thucydides with those to other authors in the early modern canon (Machiavelli, Grotius, Hobbes, Rousseau and Kant), and to other classical authors (Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Livy and Tacitus). His findings show that although Thucydides is not very much cited compared to the early modern thinkers (only contributing 15% of the total citations compared with Kant's 29% and Hobbes 18%), he is by far the most frequently cited classical author (producing 42% of the citations, far ahead of Aristotle with 29% and Plato's 18%). This is perhaps indicative of IR's attempts to differentiate itself from its sister subject of political philosophy.

Yet a breakdown of Keene's data into American and European journals indicates a still more informative picture of how the American discourse of IR is skewed towards Thucydides. Three of Keene's selected journals are European (*European Journal of International Relations*, *Millennium*, and the *Review of International Studies*), and three are American (*International Organization*, *International Security*, and *International Studies Quarterly*). While there is a natural caveat that there is no bar to authors from one continent publishing their work in a journal based in another, there are clear characteristics to the journals of different regions that a further breakdown of Keene's figures reveals. When separated according to their region, it is clear that the European journals are more likely generally to cite historical figures: they give 1,186 citations from the early modern canon in total compared to 794 in the American journals,

¹² Keene (2012).

and 410 citations of classical authors compared to 281. Both regions are therefore citing classical authors at exactly the same rate (26%). The different regions favour different authors, however. Compared to the early modern canon, European journals prefer Kant (30%), Hobbes (22%), Machiavelli (14%), and Grotius (13%), to Thucydides, who languishes on 11% of the citations. Yet he is far more prevalent in the American publications, where Kant still takes pole position (27%), but Thucydides is next at 20%, followed by Machiavelli (17%) and Hobbes and Rousseau (equal on 13%). In comparison with the other classical authors, moreover, Thucydides' pre-eminence is more marked in the American journals. The European journals cite most often Aristotle (33%), then Thucydides (32%) and Plato (21%), but in the American publications Thucydides steals the show with 56% of the citations, trailed by Aristotle on 22% and Plato on 15%. These comparative percentages show that there is a clear difference between the two regions in terms of which authors are the most likely to be cited, and therefore which ones are be considered more pertinent to the discipline (whilst taking into account the relative infrequency overall of these references to historical thinkers), with a definite bias towards Thucydides in American IR theory discourse, even compared to more recent authors. These preliminary findings point to the possibility that while Kant and Hobbes could be considered the most authoritative voices in Europe, although they stand at different ends of the philosophical spectrum, the motif of Thucydides as the undisputed 'founding father' of the discipline is more prevalent in American discourse.

Keene's data accurately diagnose the state of the discipline's current use of Thucydides, but they do not explain how *Thucydides* came to occupy this position, and why reference to him should be more pronounced in the USA than in Europe. Within IR theory itself, an orthodox explanation is most frequently offered by realists to explain why their own school of thought

has been the most pre-eminent in the discipline. Since the 1970s, they have named Thucydides as the ‘original’ realist thinker, in whose footsteps followed Machiavelli, Hobbes, and in the twentieth century, E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau, to create a canon of ‘classical realist’ authors reaching back through the millennia. Benjamin Frankel’s *Roots of Realism*, published in 1996, devotes over a quarter of its 440 pages solely to Thucydides, with Machiavelli and Morgenthau relegated to a chapter each, and one on the realist thought of Carr, Niebuhr and Churchill taken together. For Robert Gilpin, writing in 1984, there have been ‘three great realist writers... They are Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Carr.’¹³ Robert Keohane describes realism’s ‘long tradition dating from Thucydides,’ in whose *History* he claims that the three tenets of ‘classical’ realism can be found: firstly, that the main players on the international stage are states, secondly that these players are motivated by self-interest and the desire to increase their own power, and thirdly that they behave rationally.¹⁴ Joseph Nye in his review of Keohane’s book has no qualms about calling Thucydides ‘the founding father of Realism,’¹⁵ nor do many critics coming after him,¹⁶ such as Kugler who takes the argument even further to say that ‘the classic account of international war comes from the realist tradition in world politics.’¹⁷ The argument runs that if a realist existed two and a half millennia ago, and political thinkers have continued to adhere to realism since then, the theory must still have validity now. It is not just the realists who have laid claim to Thucydides, however: another approach answers the question of Thucydides’ prominence in the discipline by considering what role Thucydides plays for the discipline as a whole. Stanley Hoffman made light of the orthodox explanation offered by his own realist colleagues, conceding that ‘we can all trace our ancestry back to Thucydides, just as

¹³ Gilpin (1984) 291.

¹⁴ Keohane (1986) 181, 187.

¹⁵ Nye (1988) 245.

¹⁶ Kokaz (2001a) 27-28.

¹⁷ Kugler (1993) 483-484.

political scientists can trace theirs to Aristotle.’¹⁸ Lebow, a constructivist rather than a realist, admits that ‘to the extent that the field of international relations has a foundational text it is Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War*,’¹⁹ and Schmidt also states as a commonplace that ‘contemporary practitioners may wish to describe themselves as descendants of Thucydides or Kant,’ showing that this practice of ancestor-worship has come to include those in the liberal camp as well as the realists.²⁰ This trope began to appear in IR theory quite suddenly in the 1970s, however, and by the 1980s and 1990s was accepted as a commonplace, not questioned until realism came heavily under attack from other theoretical positions in the 1990s and 2000s.

The identification of a ‘founding father’ from the classical period for a discipline of study is certainly not one exclusive to the social sciences, or even to our own times. Cicero had no compunction about referring to Herodotus as *pater historiae*, in such a casual manner that it is clear that nothing unfamiliar or novel is being proposed.²¹ In modern times, Alfred North Whitehead’s observation is one of the most well-known examples, other than the Hippocratic Oath, of this disciplinary homage to the Greeks, that the ‘safest general characterization of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato.’²² But Whitehead admitted himself that the force of this programmatic statement is rhetorical rather than historical when he conceded that, ‘by stating my belief that the train of thought in these lectures is Platonic, I am doing no more than expressing the hope that it falls within the European tradition.’²³ By this argument, a discipline attempting to define itself can do worse

¹⁸ Hoffman (1977) 41.

¹⁹ Lebow (2012) 202.

²⁰ Schmidt (2002) 8. Cf. Mazower (2009) 66: ‘The idea that a stable world order should be morally righteous goes back at least to Immanuel Kant and his vision of perpetual peace, if not to medieval doctrines of natural law or indeed the Hebrew Bible.’

²¹ *De Legibus* 1.5.

²² Whitehead, Griffin and Sherburne (1979) 39.

²³ Whitehead, Griffin and Sherburne (1979) 39.

than select a classical forebear, and International Relations, being arguably a relatively young discipline, is no exception.

Evidence from contemporary scholars in IR indicates that this is exactly the role of Thucydides in the discipline today. Lebow, who takes a constructivist line, in his description of how the discourse seeks to justify itself through its relationship to tradition, has argued that the different theoretical approaches claim different ancestries:

Realists claim descent from Thucydides, Kautilya, Machiavelli and Hobbes, liberals from Smith and Kant, Marxists from the eponymous Marx, and constructivists root their enterprise in Nietzsche and twentieth-century philosophy and anthropology.²⁴

Lebow's own extensive engagement with Thucydides might cast this generalisation into doubt, however, and in fact Tim Ruback has shown that the very common passing references to Thucydides by recent IR theorists of all the theoretical schools, no longer just the realists, often conform to this practice. His research clarifies how the discourse of IR creates an impression of validity and authority for itself through the use in articles and books of opening phrases such as 'Ever since the days of Thucydides...'²⁵

Others are more sceptical about the mythologized genealogies proposed by IR theorists, and seek to replace them with an historical description of the academic discipline instead, in which Thucydides at first glance does not seem to feature so highly. According to Stanley Hoffmann again, writing in 1977 during the heyday of realism, the discipline was born in the United States in the aftermath of the Second World War, when America's power was increasing

²⁴ Lebow (2012) 201.

²⁵ Ruback (2011) *passim*. Waltz, for example, does not quote Thucydides in his highly influential *Theory of International Politics*, but merely mentions that, 'Since Thucydides in Greece and Kautilya in India, the use of force and the possibility of controlling it have been the preoccupations of international-political studies.' (Waltz (1979) 186).

and academic institutions were embracing the social sciences, creating the right soil for the discipline to grow.²⁶ Hoffmann argues that there was no need for a science of International Relations before increased democratization in the twentieth century made foreign policy the concern of the masses rather than the military and diplomatic elite, and before America became a world power following the two World Wars.²⁷ For Hoffmann, the discipline of IR (by which he means realism) in truth begins with Morgenthau in the 1940s, benefitting from the influx of scholar refugees from Europe, and from the political climate: after all, ‘the growth of the discipline cannot be separated from the American role in world affairs after 1945.’²⁸

Hoffmann’s version, which could be taken from its tone to be somewhat tongue-in-cheek, disagrees with the more conventional story of the birth of the IR discipline as told by twentieth century historians of IR, which holds that it began with the appointment of Sir Alfred Zimmern to the first Woodrow Wilson Chair in International Politics, at Aberystwyth University in 1919.²⁹ According to this version, less strongly influenced by the hegemony of realism in the USA after the Second World War that coloured Hoffmann’s account, modern international relations began in Europe with the end of the First World War and the emergence of the League of Nations, led by idealists such as Zimmern and Gilbert Murray whose ideas were soon to be challenged by realists such as E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau when the League of Nations, which Zimmern was so intimately connected with, was floundering. This version of the story portrays the discipline’s development through a series of ‘great debates,’ consisting of the first idealist-realist debate just mentioned, then the traditionalist-behaviouralist debate of the 1960s between the protagonists Hedley Bull and Morton Kaplan, and the more nebulous third debate,

²⁶ Hoffmann (1977) 45.

²⁷ Hoffmann (1977) 43.

²⁸ Hoffmann (1977) 47.

²⁹ Bull (1972).

a term used to refer sometimes to the conflicts between realists, pluralists, and structuralists of the 1970s, or alternatively to the post-positivist approaches of the 1980s which saw poststructuralist, feminist, and postcolonial attacks on classical realism. Ole Waever proposed that the third debate should properly be counted as at least two, creating a fourth ‘great debate,’ which he also argues is now coming to an end.³⁰ This story is clearly structured to account for the contemporary state of the discipline with its expanding number of theoretical approaches, but it has also been challenged and relegated to the status of myth by researchers such as Brian Schmidt.

Schmidt has argued that the discipline began far earlier, in the last half of the nineteenth century when it was beginning to define itself as a discipline rather than a subset of political science (in Britain at least). According to Schmidt, the idealist-realist opposition which appears in the interwar period was merely another instance of the previous and ongoing discussion in the mid-nineteenth century over the conflict between anarchy and sovereignty, which up to the end of the interwar period continued to revolve around the debates concerning international law and imperialism.³¹ Schmidt thereby undermines the overly-neat account of the three twentieth century debates, which Waever also questioned. Schmidt’s date for the beginning of the discipline would be contradicted by Mazower, who argues for the beginning of the nineteenth century when ‘Jeremy Bentham invented the conception of the “international” as a realm of governance.’³² Such a method of explaining the discipline’s history, by looking for the antecedents to its critical moments, can almost always be gainsaid, however, and in fact goes as far back as Thucydides and beyond: Keene has convincingly argued that to ‘get a real sense of

³⁰ Waever (1996) 174.

³¹ Schmidt (1998).

³² Mazower (2009) 67.

Greek international political thought, though, it is probably better to begin with Herodotus.’³³

And of course, when it comes to a thorough investigation of war, peace, and international politics, it would be difficult not then to include in the discussion the Urtext of Western literature, the *Iliad* itself.

It is clearly extremely difficult to find an objective ‘beginning’ of a discipline, since the topic under discussion is in this case much older than the modern name used to refer to that discussion. Schmidt may be essentially right in his conclusion that ‘a serious conceptual mistake is made when the history of the field is written in terms of the development of an epic tradition beginning with classical Greece or the enlightenment,’ but his additional insight that ‘the subject matter of IR is always constructed conceptually by the members of the field’ only adds greater significance to the fact that Thucydides has been a consistent part of the conversation about the nature of states’ interactions since before the academic discipline itself became established.³⁴ Given the difficulties described above in narrating the history of this discipline in a helpful way, I propose that Thucydides’ prominence occurred during and after the Second World War not only because of his immediate applicability to contemporary events, but also, because of the pedagogy of Great Books, he came to be viewed as having always been at the centre of international relations discourse and as being the ‘founding father’ of the discipline. This assumption that Thucydides has always been part of IR theory discourse, and in it as a realist, is one of the main myths which the discipline tells about its own history.

³³ Keene (2005) 44.

³⁴ Schmidt (2002) 8, 12.

Section Two

Thucydides The Contemporary Historian

The remark of George C. Marshall, the soldier turned statesman, on 22nd February 1947 at Princeton University on the importance of Thucydides is well known:

I doubt seriously whether a man can think with full wisdom and with deep convictions regarding certain of the basic international issues today who has not at least reviewed in his mind the period of the Peloponnesian War and the Fall of Athens.³⁵

It is taken, in isolation from its context, as evidence by classicists and historians that Thucydides was of great importance to foreign policy discussions in the 1940s,³⁶ although I will argue that Marshall was in fact only indicating that classical Athens made a useful parallel for the contemporary situation, and that he may not have been referring to Thucydides exclusively at all. From only a few years after it was made, this comment began to be taken as alluding to Thucydides. Robert Campbell, in *Life* in 1951, wrote a long descriptive piece about Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War, ending with the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami as narrated by Xenophon, but drawing the Thucydidean conclusion that what caused Athens' downfall was the failure of its own democratic system, expressed by its treatment of Melos and in the Sicilian expedition. In closing, he considered the wider implication of the events:

The tragedy of Athens – whatever its deepest sources – clearly enough demonstrates the vanity of any democracy so foolish to believe that, because its institutions are honorable,

³⁵ Marshall (1947).

³⁶ Connor (1984) 3; Taplin (1989) 246; Crane (1998) 2; Zagorin (2005) 2; Murray (2013) 43.

it has achieved immortality. This, perhaps, was what General George Marshall had in mind when, not long after the conclusion of World War II, he observed, 'I doubt seriously whether a man...'³⁷

Once *Life* magazine, with a circulation of over five million readers, has proclaimed something as true, can it be false?³⁸ Campbell's 'perhaps' strikes a cautioning tone here, and implies that the suggestion that he is making is not one that is in fact generally held, but is open to interpretation – or, especially given that it stands at the very end of Campbell's article, that it is Campbell's own interpretation, for which he has no evidence.

Marshall's crucial comment was also received on the British side of the Atlantic, via the *Department of State Bulletin* in which it was published after Marshall's address. On this occasion, more of the context of Marshall's comment was included:

One of the supreme books on power politics is the history by Thucydides of the great war between Athens and Sparta, commonly called the *Peloponnesian War*. It was this that General Marshall had in mind when he spoke at Princeton University in 1947: 'It has been said that one should be interested in the past only as a guide to the future. I do not fully concur with this. One usually emerges from an intimate understanding of the past, with its lessons and its wisdom, with convictions which put fire in the soul. I doubt seriously whether a man can think with full wisdom and with deep convictions regarding certain of the basic international issues today who has not at least reviewed in his mind the period of the Peloponnesian War and the Fall of Athens.'³⁹

Firstly it is clear that, looking only at the extended extract of Marshall's speech given in this quotation, Marshall's point is on the value of history learning *in general* rather than about Thucydides' history in particular. To give Marshall's speech its full context: Marshall gave it at Princeton on the very same day that the President of Princeton, Harold W. Dodds, unveiled the

³⁷ Campbell (1951) 96.

³⁸ *Life* circulation was over 5,200,000, according to its January 1950 cover. By 1956, McGregor considered Marshall's comment to mean that he 'recommended [Thucydides] as required reading' (McGregor (1956) 93).

³⁹ Wight, Bull, and Holbraad (1978) 24.

‘New Plan of Study’ to start the following autumn, and it was the first major public address given by Marshall in his new role as Secretary of State.⁴⁰ This is taken by subsequent commentators and scholars of classical reception, looking from a period in which Thucydides is already established as an important figure in military education and international relations, to be referring to Thucydides, to the extent that today it is even a commonplace to refer to it.⁴¹ In the light of the discussion in the previous chapter, it might seem instead that Marshall’s remark was intended as much as a comment of approval about the general education movement (and Dodds’ new scheme) as about Thucydides alone, as it is normally taken. This seems particularly likely given that the name of Thucydides himself is not mentioned.

The way that Marshall’s comment has been received in IR also indicates, when examined carefully, that it should not be taken as referring to Thucydides exclusively. The whole quotation above is from the 1978 edition of Wight’s *Power Politics*, first published as a short pamphlet in the ‘Looking forward’ series for the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1946. After Wight’s early death in 1972, his extensive remaining papers and lectures, including a revised and expanded version of *Power Politics*, were carefully edited and published by his widow and his colleagues. *Power Politics* was republished in 1978, edited by Hedley Bull and Carsten Holbraad, to include previously unpublished material by Wight. A comparison of the

⁴⁰ Halle (1967) 109.

⁴¹ Monoson (2011) 54. Rahe thought that Thucydides would have been pleased that Marshall referred to him for an understanding of modern political relations (Rahe (2006) 99). Lawrence H. Summers wrote a selection of proposed educational improvements for the future, and used a version of Marshall’s comment in which Thucydides has replaced Athens’ fall: “Courses of study will place much more emphasis on the analysis of data. Gen. George Marshall famously told a Princeton commencement audience that it was impossible to think seriously about the future of postwar Europe without giving close attention to Thucydides on the Peloponnesian War. Of course, we’ll always learn from history.” (Summers (2012)). Hodkinson also refers to this comment (Hodkinson and Macgregor (2012) 345) and mentions how ‘Marshall’s sole focus is on the lessons Americans should learn from the history of Athens: he does not mention Sparta or the USSR.’ Hodkinson’s focus is on the Sparta-Soviet analogy in American intelligence analysis, so he does not mention the significance of Marshall’s referring to the Peloponnesian War, his point of comparison for the Second World War.

first edition with the revised 1978 edition shows that the section referring to ancient Greece, and Thucydides in particular, has been expanded. It comes in the middle of an introductory discussion in the first chapter, in which Wight argues that the ancient Greek political system of independent and frequently warring city-states seems more familiar to modern eyes than the overarching structures of the Roman Empire or of Christendom.⁴² In the first edition in 1946, there was not only of course no mention of Marshall's speech (which had not yet been made), but also no mention of Thucydides either:

Looking back once more beyond the Roman Empire we see the familiar sight of a multitude of independent units, brilliant cities and large kingdoms, each jealous of its freedom and ambitious to expand, fighting and intriguing, making alliances and holding conferences, and all of them, in the end, conquered, pacified, and swallowed up by Rome, which had begun by being one of them. This political kaleidoscope of the great Greek and Hellenistic ages looks modern to our eyes, while the immense majesty of the Roman peace, and the religious culture of medieval Christendom, seem remote and alien. But a similar sequence of periods can be traced in the histories of Islam, India, China, and other parts of the world.⁴³

The second edition of 1978 has removed the final sentence about non-Western cultures in favour of a more extended discussion of ancient Greece and a focus on the importance of Western history. The sentence about the Roman Empire is largely unchanged, but then continues:

This political kaleidoscope of the Greek and Hellenistic ages looks modern to our eyes, while the immense majesty of the Roman peace, and the Christian unity of the medieval world, seem remote and alien. The political writings of the Greek period of antiquity have remained classical because their relevance and topicality have been experienced afresh by each succeeding generation. One of the supreme books on power politics is the history by Thucydides of the great war between Athens and Sparta...⁴⁴

⁴² Wight, Bull and Holbraad (1978) 24.

⁴³ Wight (1946) 7-8.

⁴⁴ Wight, Bull and Holbraad (1978) 24.

The editors' stated policy of not including anything which had not been written by Wight means that the reflection above on Marshall's speech, and the designation of Greek literature as 'classical' must have been written by him, but it is not clear at what point between 1946 and his death in 1972 Wight included this recollection about Marshall's speech in his revised manuscript. Wight must have read it in the *Department of State Bulletin*, where it had been published.⁴⁵ However, the context of the reference makes it clear that Wight included this note very much in retrospect. It is therefore highly likely that Wight was projecting the importance of Thucydides in later international relations discourse back onto Marshall's comments in the 1940s.

The commentator and political scientist Waldemar Gurian provides another voice from 1946, exactly contemporary with Wight's, but a year before Marshall's speech and from the American perspective. In a discussion about the teaching of IR, he gave an exemplary account of the high value attributed at the time to a broad study of subjects in universities, reiterating the arguments in favour of liberal education that Erskine, Gilbert Murray and his circle had offered:

It would be fatal if the study of international relations were to be determined solely by professional and specialistic interests. I was very glad to hear that this danger is realized by those responsible for the recruiting of the Foreign Service personnel in the Department of State. One of the leading American students of world affairs has remarked that some of these men told him: "We prefer a general liberal education to a specialized training. This specialized training can be acquired later, in actual experiences in offices and in the preparation for particular jobs." It is obvious that professional training is very useful, and that those who dedicate their lives to the study or to the handling of international relations must acquire special knowledge. Such professional and specialized training cannot replace a general, cultural approach – cannot be substituted for a liberal education.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Marshall (1947) 391.

⁴⁶ Gurian (1946) 276.

Gurian indicates that within the sphere of the American Department of State, a liberal education, and the knowledge acquired from it, will be held to be more authoritative than specialist vocational training. If classical Greek history in general, and Thucydides in particular, was held at this point to be essential, or specialist, knowledge over and above any other for the interpretation of international affairs, Gurian would in all likelihood have mentioned it. He continues to define how a course of study in international relations would incorporate geography, anthropology, philosophy, international law, economics, and history (either world history or American and European history), without mentioning Thucydides at all. He concludes:

The decisive feature is the endeavor to help the students understand the particular approach which brings the various subject matters together in the course. Then erroneous one-sided theories would be avoided, for instance, such theories which explain everything exclusively by geographical or economic determinism, by purely mechanistic power politics, by the distribution of raw materials, and by changes in the rate of population increase.⁴⁷

Gurian's words provide more context for Marshall's comment and also for Wight's; at this point there is no sense that Thucydides is the sole author, or even the main author, whose works must be read and whose period of history studied in order to comprehend the present; Wight also recommended studying non-Western cultures such as India or China to see the same patterns.

A second piece of evidence, which corroborates my interpretation of Marshall's comment and its subsequent reception, is the publication history of the seminal text *Politics Among Nations*, which was republished seven times between 1948 and 2006. In neither the first

⁴⁷ Gurian (1946) 281.

nor the second editions (1948 and 1954) does Thucydides' name, nor therefore any quotation attributed to him, appear. The fifth printing of the second edition, in 1955, includes the quotation attributed to Thucydides that 'identity of interests is the surest of bonds between states and individuals.'⁴⁸ The third edition, printed in 1960, includes not only this quotation, but also the other more well-known statement, that reads, quoting Morgenthau, 'of gods we know, and of men we believe that it is a necessary law of their nature that they rule wherever they can.'⁴⁹ These two quotations are then retained through the subsequent editions. Firstly, this indicates that in the early 1950s, Morgenthau decided that his already well-known book was lacking some Thucydidean references. Some scholars have noticed that the second quotation is a misquotation, which a straightforward reading in English, regardless of the Greek, makes clear.⁵⁰ The Crawley translation reads 'Of the gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a necessary law of their nature they rule wherever they can.'⁵¹ Yet that this misquotation has remained through the subsequent editions of the book is highly illuminating about

⁴⁸ Morgenthau (1955, 2nd Ed. 5th Printing) 8. Morgenthau lifted the entire sentence, together with an accompanying quotation from Lord Salisbury, from his 1952 article on the USA's national interest: 'The idea of interest is indeed of the essence of politics and, as such, unaffected by the circumstances of time and place. Thucydides' statement, born of the experiences of ancient Greece, that "identity of interest is the surest of bonds whether between states or individuals" was taken up in the nineteenth century by Lord Salisbury's remark that "the only bond of union that endures" among nations is "the absence of all clashing interests." (Morgenthau (1952) 972). For Morgenthau, classical Athens is clearly of no more special significance than relatively recent British history (see footnote 132, p.151).

⁴⁹ Morgenthau (1960, 3rd Ed.) 38. Morgenthau's use of the Crawley translation for both 1.124.1 and 5.105.2 indicates that he probably used either the Modern Library edition (published in 1951) or the *Great Books of the Western World* edition (published in 1952, before Morgenthau's December 1952 article), and not Livingstone's 1943 edition which rendered Th.5.105.2 as 'We believe that Heaven, and we know that men, by a natural law, always rule where they are stronger.'

⁵⁰ Pappas calls the mistake 'mildly amusing, and very revealing,' but does not explain what he considers it to reveal (Pappas (2000) 240).

⁵¹ Th.5.105.1. Gustafson noted this: 'The accurate quote from Thucydides (5.105) and common views hold that of gods we believe and of people we know rather than the interesting and misquoted reverse made by Morgenthau. Nevertheless, Morgenthau's purpose here is to help demonstrate that "the tendency to dominate, in particular, is an element of all human associations, from the family through fraternal and professional associations and local political organizations, to the state." '(Gustafson (2000) 176-177). Although Gustafson brushes off the difference between the two versions, they do point in subtly different ways: Morgenthau's implies that the assessment of humans' motivation is only a belief, rather than an assertion of fact as it appears in Thucydides' version.

Morgenthau's lack of real engagement with Thucydides' writings. Although Thucydides might have been considered important enough to be included in the first place, the content of his words was not necessarily pertinent enough to be referred to or investigated in depth.

This study of Marshall's well-known comment, and of the contemporary comments from Wight, Morgenthau, and Gurian, indicates that Thucydides was not considered an especially prominent figure in international relations theory in the late 1940s and very early 1950s, and on the occasions that he did occur in public discourse, such as in Campbell's *Life* article, there is no trace of the self-assured realist credo of 'might makes right,' but rather his history strikes a warning note about how even the most powerful-seeming nations, such as Athens or by assimilation the USA, can still crumble. The evidence tells us that Thucydides was not very instrumental in the development of the thought of either Morgenthau or Wight. Thucydides was included as an afterthought, a veneer to make their words fit in with another, later discourse. This has been noted, but perhaps its ramifications have not been sufficiently examined.⁵² Morgenthau and Wight were both *theorists* of international relations, interested in the underlying truths that govern interstate relations, while at this point, Thucydides was of interest to the general public because his writings sounded especially *contemporary*. The utopianism that had held sway in international relations theory up to this point had been proved by events to be inadequate for explaining and predicting the Second World War, and the USA had to finally move on from its policy of relative isolation and take a leading role in the rebuilding of Europe. As the Cold War began to establish itself, it became clear that a new way of thinking about the international situation was called for, on the back of which future policy

⁵² Lebow notes how little Carr and Morgenthau actually refer to Thucydides when writing that 'E.H. Carr in his masterwork in international relations theory, *The Twenty Years' Crisis* (1939), refers to ancient Greece on some half-dozen occasions but makes no mention of Thucydides.' (Lebow (2012) 204).

would be made. In fact, for thinkers looking to develop a theory of international politics, Thucydides was a particularly unattractive candidate for analysis at this period. Thucydides had strongly influenced the IR idealists such as Alfred Zimmern and the historian Arnold Toynbee. The prominent realist E. H. Carr would hardly have been likely to use Zimmern's own favoured author in order to rewrite an entirely new interpretation of world events rubbishing Zimmern's analysis, and hence Carr does not refer to Thucydides at all. However, a detailed study of the publication history of Zimmern's translation of the Funeral Oration yields surprising results, that show how during this period of the 1940s and 1950s, in which Thucydides' contemporaneity was being invoked at the public level, his translation had more of an impact than has previously been appreciated.

As I mentioned, the 'disciplinary history' of IR is often thought to begin with the establishment of the Aberystwyth Chair. Sir Alfred Zimmern, its first appointee from 1919-21, was a member of a close circle of friends consisting, among others, of Gilbert Murray, the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, the historian Arnold Toynbee (who was Murray's son-in-law as well as the mentor of Martin Wight at Chatham House), and Sir Richard Winn Livingstone. All, but Murray in particular, were vital figures in the resurgence of Hellenism in the second half of the nineteenth and the start of the twentieth century. Zimmern's thought, similarly to Gilbert Murray's, was predicated on a particular interpretation of Thucydides and the role of Athens in the ancient Greek world. Yet the scholarly attention paid to Zimmern in the IR world has been surprisingly sparse until recently and has focused on how 'muddled' his thinking is considered to be, according to a review of his *Nationality and Government* in 1918.⁵³ Liberals have struggled to rationalize his nationalism with his liberalism, whereas realists have

⁵³ (1918) *The Nation*.

criticized him for being utopian, as Carr did who lambasted him for his attribution of the failure to achieve international harmony to the ‘exceptional stupidity’ of the age.⁵⁴ Although he is now appreciated more as the best representative figure of the ‘idealist’ school of the interwar years,⁵⁵ *The Greek Commonwealth* was extremely well-received during Zimmern’s life, however, and was republished in 1931, and even used in instances not directly related to foreign policy discourse, such as in Justice Brandeis’ 1927 statement in the *Whitney vs. California* free speech case.⁵⁶

For Zimmern, Athens was the paradigm of the perfect state; in *The Greek Commonwealth*, a very title that betrays its author’s assimilation of British and Athenian international roles, he portrays the heyday of Athens in the fifth century as a prototype of the later British Empire. He was not of course the first to do this; C. T. Ramage’s 1864 collection of snippets and *bons mots* from the Greeks included, among many others from Thucydides, a passage from the Funeral Oration about the entrepreneurial nature of the Athenians and is headed ‘The British Empire foreshadowed.’⁵⁷ Zimmern takes a similar line in *The Greek Commonwealth*, in which he describes fifth-century Athens’ geography, politics and economics. In the backbone of the book, a chapter called ‘The Ideal of Citizenship: Happiness, or the Rule of Love,’ there was only his own translation of Thucydides’ Funeral Oration of Pericles, whom Zimmern calls ‘a hero’ and whose oration was composed ‘not in ink but in blood.’⁵⁸ Zimmern concludes the chapter by wondering:

⁵⁴ Carr (1939) 38.

⁵⁵ Markwell (1986) 297, 290.

⁵⁶ Monoson (2011) 49. Pericles continues to be identified with support of free speech in the Vietnam veteran and former PoW James Warner’s 1989 article ‘When they burned the flag back home,’ which I discuss in Chapter 3.

⁵⁷ Ramage (1864) 122. A short biography of this obscure figure is given in Stray and Ackerman (2006) 182-186.

⁵⁸ Zimmern (1911) 199.

These [Athenians] lived happy and died happy, fighting the enemies of Athena. But in the contest which we are going to watch fighting will bring no joy and victory no triumph. For the battle which Athens now has to face is not against the Lacedaimonians or any hosts of armoured men, but against the foe in her own household, the desires and ambitions she herself has nurtured. Shall she welcome them in their fulness and seek to furnish them with all they need? Or shall she try to put them from her, lest they corrupt her and wreck her peace? Or, while she is seeking a middle course, will they lay her glory in the dust?⁵⁹

Zimmern's reference here to 'Athens now' indicates that he is talking about Britain, and specifically her tenure over her empire. Throughout the work, Zimmern brings together Britain and Athens, and portrays them both as forces for good at the international level. Imperialist practices which are viewed by today's classicists with suspicion, such as the requirement of all subject city-states to refer all substantial court cases to be tried at Athens, or the imposition of common (Athenian) currency, weights and measures across the empire, were interpreted by Zimmern as conducive to international order, and even as beneficial for some non-Athenians such as resident aliens, so that 'one might meet in any port of the Mediterranean, as one meets Maltese and Cypriots and other British subjects to-day, men whose proudest boast, and sometimes (it is to be feared) safest excuse for wrongdoing, was their connexion with the queen of the seas.'⁶⁰

The rhetorical aspect of Zimmern's argument is just as critical to understanding his interpretation of international affairs as his logical one. For someone who fundamentally believed in the British Empire as a force for good, glory and morality in the world, however wrong-headed that now seems, there necessarily followed a duty to be loyal to it, and to persuade others to believe the same and to love it equally, just as Pericles urged the Athenians

⁵⁹ Zimmern (1911) 209.

⁶⁰ Zimmern (1911) 191.

to ‘fall in love with her as we see her,’ to use Zimmern’s own translation.⁶¹ Perhaps it is therefore not surprising that the historian Reginald Coupland, one of Zimmern’s students at New College, sent a comforting copy of *The Greek Commonwealth* together with Thucydides’ *History* to his friend Winston Churchill at the end of May 1915, when the latter was at a particularly low ebb following his disastrous campaign in Gallipoli. Zimmern’s rhetoric is precisely part of his logic, since he, as Gilbert Murray had proposed, believed that a fundamental development in the consciousness of humanity was necessary for worldwide harmony to be achieved, and that this could only happen through a shift in the will of the wider human race, inspired by the vision provided by a great nation.

This consideration of Zimmern’s use of Thucydides shows that in *The Greek Commonwealth*, at least, his thought had a level of coherency which is not often acknowledged, provided by his use of the historical parallel of Athens to Britain. Mazower questions how Zimmern could have come to the conclusion that the Athenian (and by extension, the British) empire stood for freedom and the rule of law, given the horrors during the Peloponnesian War that the Athenians both meted out on others, such as the Melians, and also suffered themselves in Sicily and after the destruction of their fleet at Aegospotami. This is the question invited by Thucydides in his deliberate placement of the narrative of the plague at Athens immediately after Pericles’ speech. The plague description casts into question precisely the virtues of independence, resourcefulness, and innate morality that have just been attributed to the Athenians by Pericles. For Zimmern, the point was that after Pericles’ death, the Athenians failed to live up to the standards previously demanded of them by their great general. These standards were ideal standards, not always achieved but at least expressible; for Zimmern,

⁶¹ Th.2.43.1.

‘Athens took her own duties, as she took everything, very seriously, and did her best, in an imperfect world, however complicated the problem, to mete out fair decisions.’⁶² Pericles’ ‘theory of imperialism,’ as Zimmern put it, was that ‘the invader feels no bitterness when he suffers at their hands, and her subjects no shame at the indignity of their dependence.’⁶³ Athens’ authority did not therefore rest on the inherent justice of the imperial system, but on the loyalty and admiration felt for her and for her ideals by her subjects and her enemies, an admiration for precisely those values and aspirations which Zimmern conveys through the powerful rhetoric of Pericles’ Funeral Oration. Pericles, Zimmern argues, had the ability to inspire those feelings in the Athenians and in their subjects, and to make them believe that under his leadership, and with the correct encouragement and guidance, they could achieve the ideals described; without Pericles, without the inspiration he provided, the Athenians ‘had nothing to fall back upon but naked force.’⁶⁴ Athens’ downfall is thus read by Zimmern, as it had been by Murray, as a sober warning of how fragile the pursuit of international (and internal) order is, and also how it can occasionally be achieved, through an exemplar who provides inspirational leadership. Once Pericles was gone, however, the door was open to ‘new-found advisors’ such as Cleon, the archetype of the politicians who ‘care nothing for moral issues, and take no heed of saving thoughts’, but rather ‘wise or foolish, they set their course by expediency and interest alone.’⁶⁵

Much has been made of how Zimmern’s legacy was very slight compared with his influence during his lifetime, because of the triumph of realism and the decline of idealism following the failure of the League of Nations and, following soon afterwards, the Second World War. His work has had a much greater influence than has previously been appreciated,

⁶² Zimmern (1911) 192.

⁶³ Zimmern (1911) 205.

⁶⁴ Zimmern (1911) 205.

⁶⁵ Zimmern (1911) 434.

however, although not through channels attached to his name. More significantly, Zimmern appreciated that empire is often justified through the appeal to almost unachievable ideals expressed through effective rhetoric, and he gave political rhetoric its due weight as a key ingredient in international politics. In this way, he anticipated the importance of rhetoric in foreign policy and domestic politics in the twentieth century (and to an extent, in IR theory itself in the twenty-first century), and in fact fuelled it himself, through his own powerful translation of Pericles' Funeral Oration. His translation is a rhetorical *tour de force*, of such power that Richard Winn Livingstone borrowed it for his own abridged edition of Crawley's translation of Thucydides. Via this route, which I now examine, Zimmern's translation was separated from his own name and became used throughout international relations discourse as well as in politics itself, even as a source for the quotations from the Funeral Oration in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*. As a result, it is frequently quoted even today in the US Congress by politicians (even though it is mostly forgotten by classicists) who are reaching back to Thucydides for some eternal words in praise of democracy or to honour the fallen (as I will show in Chapter 3).

Also an important figure in the Hellenist revival that occurred in Edwardian Oxford, Richard Winn Livingstone had an even more direct hand in promoting Thucydides in the USA during the 1940s and 1950s than Zimmern or even Murray did. His interest in promoting liberal education led to his involvement in the circle around Robert Maynard Hutchins that I discussed in the previous chapter; but his edition of Thucydides deserves special mention. Published in 1943, when the significance of the contemporary parallels would have been more urgent and acute than during a time of peace, this handily slim, pocket-sized book is an abridged version of Thucydides, which intersperses bite-size sections of Thucydides' text with Livingstone's own

short explanatory and introductory notes.⁶⁶ He used Crawley's translation primarily, with multiple updates and rephrases to make it more accessible to modern readers, and included his own translation of the stasis in Corcyra and the Melian Dialogue.⁶⁷ For the Funeral Oration, he used Zimmern's translation from *The Greek Commonwealth* word for word and clearly agreed with his friend's interpretation of its ideological importance, prefacing the speech with the comments: 'Has anyone given a better definition of the ideal of liberal democracy, or of the grounds and nature of patriotism? Or is there any better description of what a state should be?'⁶⁸ Livingstone broke the text down into short sections and offered his own, domesticizing, guidance in how to interpret important parts, such as before the Athenians' speech at Th.1.73-9: 'The Athenians justify their empire: their plea is mainly frank Realpolitik,' or of the Sicilian expedition: 'There can hardly exist elsewhere such a picture of the failure of a great undertaking owing to the blunders of politicians and people at home and of generals abroad.'⁶⁹ His presumed reader is interested in understanding contemporary international affairs more than in Greek history, as Livingstone's editorializing comments indicate, such as 'Note the theory as to the conditions of a successful alliance' (on Th.3.9-19) or, of Athenagoras' speech at Th.6.36-40: 'The following speech illustrates a familiar phenomenon – how party politics darken counsel in foreign affairs.' He is quick to draw parallels to modern conflict, such as before Hermocrates' speech at Th.6.76-80: 'Write Germany for Athens and Europe for Sicily and it will be clear that

⁶⁶ For the passages included in this volume, see Introduction, pp.18-20. For the preface describing the book's intended audience (the general reader), see p.66.

⁶⁷ Livingstone (1943a) v. He glosses quickly over 1.44-66 and leaves out the majority of the Pentecontaetia, and excuses everything after Bk 8.1 on the reasoning that, 'The war and the political intrigues are too complicated to interest the general reader, and the Eighth Book of Thucydides, which ends in a broken sentence while recounting the events of 411, is unrevised, and the least interesting part of his history. It is therefore omitted here.' (p.388).

⁶⁸ Livingstone (1943a) 109.

⁶⁹ Livingstone (1943a) 59, 274.

methods of aggression have not changed,’⁷⁰ and most of all in his introduction to the Melian Dialogue:

The discussion which follows – the famous ‘Melian Debate’ – might *mutatis mutandis* have taken place between Hitler and Dr Schuschnigg... Here is Power, acknowledging no limits except itself, denying any meaning to religion, justice and pity – a cold cruelty, not of passion but of the intellect, the nearest thing to the devil that human nature can achieve.⁷¹

These examples show how Livingstone’s careful segmenting of the text into short chunks has actually allowed him to avoid an oversimplified or overtly propagandistic comparison of Athens with Britain (or with America), of the kind that Zimmern indulged in his earlier *Greek Commonwealth*. Instead, Athens becomes Germany, Britain or America depending on her actions at each point, and Livingstone also highlights the nature of conflict common to both ally and enemy (such as his noting of politicians’ and generals’ blunders above). The most important difference is that Livingstone reserves his most effusive praise for Thucydides’ ability to present the different forces at play – realpolitik, liberal ideals, geographical constraints or military morale – rather than for the different figures that he portrays.⁷²

Livingstone’s edition of Thucydides, almost completely forgotten about by modern classicists (even though it was republished by Oxford University Press in 1960 following Livingstone’s death), has not been accorded the importance that it deserves. This was the particular edition of Thucydides that was recommended to general readers by Louis J. Halle, a civil servant in the U.S. Department of State, in a book intriguing for the insight it provides into

⁷⁰ Livingstone (1943a) 314.

⁷¹ Livingstone (1943a) 144, 295, 266. Kurt Schuschnigg was the chancellor of Austria from 1934 to 1938.

⁷² Livingstone tellingly answers the question of why to read the *History* with the phrase ‘To meet Thucydides,’ (1943a: xv); not, for instance, to learn about Pericles or Alcibiades, or learn about the Peloponnesian War or fifth-century Athenian democracy.

the gulf between academic international relations theory and the governmental departments responsible for developing foreign policy.

One of the earliest moves by General Marshall in his new role as Secretary of State in 1947 was to require George Kennan, whose nuanced and deep perspective of the current situation in the USSR had been the subject of his ‘Long Telegram’ of 1946, to set up an advisory department within the Department of State. The purpose of the newly-created Department of Policy Planning (now known as the S/P) was not only to develop a vision for the USA’s new foreign policy but also ‘to keep the Department’s vision in focus so that its members “saw life steadily and saw it whole”.’⁷³ The very lack of an effective theory about interstate relations made this very difficult, and the Department of Policy Planning’s first task was to develop theory within this existing state of *aporia*. Its role was to allow the Department of State to do more long-term planning than it could manage while solving its day-to-day, urgent but not important jobs. It had therefore a Janus-like character: in its formulation and expression of policy, it had to incorporate both practical issues and also convey overarching concepts, or to have ‘one foot in the mud and one in the clouds.’⁷⁴ This is an important context for considering Halle’s writings about Thucydides: the S/P was a new department without established modes of thought, looking to supply radical new approaches to extremely complicated problems, and having to unify the *logos* of communication and ideals with the *ergon* of policy implementation. It does not seem so surprising, therefore, that Thucydides remained important subsequently in this Department’s own rhetoric.⁷⁵

⁷³ Halle (1955) xix.

⁷⁴ Halle (1955) xx.

⁷⁵ Hodkinson, in his study of Sparta-USSR analogies in Cold War American intelligence analysis, notes that Alvin Bernstein, who wrote a detailed model of Soviet defence spending based on a comparison with Sparta, was the

Louis J. Halle, Jr. was a staffer in the S/P whose 1955 book, *Civilization and Foreign Policy*, has come to the attention of classicists for the emphasis it puts on Thucydides.⁷⁶ Halle puts the impetus for his book down to a year spent at the National War College just before he came to the S/P, where he says that during his extremely stimulating discussions with students, there were no forthcoming theoretical bases for any of their interpretations of current events.⁷⁷ On the failure of the peacemakers at the end of the Second World War, he admitted that ‘they could not succeed, no matter how great their cleverness, where their basic concepts were false, or, at least, impractical in their applications.’⁷⁸ For Halle, international theory provided by the academic world was inadequate, and had not kept pace with world events:

When I was an undergraduate almost twenty-five years ago the study of international relations attracted Utopian thinking and concerned itself excessively, it seems to me, with theories of salvation by international organization. This was the implicit bias of the teaching if not always the explicit content. Today, I think, a new generation of men may be arising or about to arise – men like George Kennan, Paul Nitze, and C. B. Marshall – who have had recent practical experience in making American foreign policy in the course of which they have found that our traditional theoretics offers virtually no help at all.⁷⁹

Halle was as unsatisfied by utopian theory as Carr, Morgenthau and Waltz were, but unlike the theorists, his purpose is explicitly practical and pragmatic, as well as theoretical: in order to meet his requirements, it had to be a theory of foreign relations that could be *applied*. And Thucydides, who was an experienced general and had also wished for his history to be useful,

Assistant Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Planning from 1989 onwards (Hodkinson and Macgregor Morris (2012) 369). Bernstein’s Soviet-Sparta model was written not long after he joined the department.

⁷⁶ Connor (1984) 3; Keene in Morley and Lee (forthcoming 2014); Kemos’s erroneous conjecture that Halle was the Director of the Department of Policy Planning (Kemos 1994) was subsequently picked up and disseminated (such as in Erna Paris’ *The Sun Climbs Slow*, about America’s relationship with the International Criminal Court: Paris (2009) 39).

⁷⁷ Halle (1955) xxiv.

⁷⁸ Halle (1955) xxv.

⁷⁹ Halle (1955) xxv.

provided Halle with the answer. When he was struggling over how to approach these difficult questions posed by his time at the National War College, the answers began to come to him:

The questioning and groping for answers went on... constantly nourished by the perplexities we faced on the Policy Planning Staff and by fruitful discussion with my colleagues... Occasionally I threw up some unfinished conclusions or other transitional material. I gave a lecture for which, as I knew at the time, the thought had been inadequately worked out. I wrote a paper on the lessons of Thucydides, and another on "Force and Consent in International Affairs" which appeared in the *Department of State Bulletin*. Then, one day, I found all this business crowding around my head so badly that, without forethought, I sat down to write the chapters of inquiry that follow.⁸⁰

The environment which Halle describes is one of intellectual exploration and experimentation, not at all one associated with the dogmatic realism with which Thucydides' name came to be associated in later decades. In fact, the paper that he wrote on Thucydides had been for a different purpose altogether, being originally a speech for the Literary Society of Washington: an extremely prestigious and learned organization, but once again, one in which originality of thought and cross-pollination between fields were encouraged.⁸¹

Halle's book could not be described as belonging to what would today be considered the realist camp of IR theory espoused by Carr, because, although he expressed a clear belief about the unchanging character of force in human affairs,⁸² he also emphasized that the world could be understood only as a product of its own time, its geography and history: 'Our foreign policy is also an expression of our national character, of the views, attitudes, interests and customs proper to us as a nation.'⁸³ Most importantly, he appreciated the value of the communication of ideals in order to formulate and reach policy goals. In his discussion of America's character, he

⁸⁰ Halle (1955) xxvi.

⁸¹ Halle (1955) 261.

⁸² Halle (1955) 17: 'We must suppose that as long as we men survive we shall be moved by our aspirations and shall collide with one another in our movements, for this is the nature of life.'

⁸³ Halle (1955) 21.

admitted readily that the high-minded ideals enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, of freedom, justice and equality, had only patchily and temporarily been achieved, but he did not allow that gap between ideal and reality to undermine the usefulness and relevance of the ideals: on the contrary, the ideals are an important guide, he argued, without which man would 'become largely mouth and belly.'⁸⁴

In Halle's appendix, 'A Message from Thucydides' (a reprint of his article in *The Foreign Service Journal* of 1952, which was clearly considered important enough at its publication to be recommended in other journals),⁸⁵ he extols the insights of the ancient author. The tone of his passage does not suggest that Thucydides was a particularly well-known or frequently cited author at the time in international relations circles: he does not introduce the author with the same confidence that later IR theorists employ, but rather he writes somewhat tentatively that, 'Perhaps the best single book on international relations is *The History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides.'⁸⁶ Also, his silence about General Marshall's 1947 comment is notable: had Marshall been meaning Thucydides exclusively in his speech at Princeton, it would have been extremely brave for an employee in his own department not to acknowledge his own Secretary of State's prior interest in the historian that he was now praising. He highlighted a few previous scholars who had also been struck by the relevance of Thucydides' writings to the modern day, especially Richard Crawley, Arnold Toynbee and Elmer Davis. He invoked these writers not explicitly for their interpretations of Thucydides' work, however, as much as for their sudden epiphanies about Thucydides' relevance to contemporary life (or limited relevance, in Crawley's case). For instance, he refers to Toynbee,

⁸⁴ Halle (1955) 28.

⁸⁵ For instance, it was recommended in the 'Periodical Literature of International Law and Relations' section of the *American Journal of International Law* 46 (1952) 771.

⁸⁶ Halle (1955) 261.

not to discuss Toynbee's interpretation of world history along Thucydidean lines, which might have been expected given the near celebrity status of Toynbee in the wake of the publication of the abridged version of the first six books of *A Study of History* in 1946, but to use a specific personal anecdote from Toynbee's 1948 *Civilization on Trial*, in which Toynbee explained how his view of Thucydides was fundamentally altered by his experience of the First World War.⁸⁷ Similarly, Halle reminds the reader of Elmer Davis' exhortation to read Thucydides from *The Saturday Review of Literature* in 1939, more because Davis emphasized Thucydides' immediate relevance rather than because Halle agreed with Davis' interpretation. His extended justification of his choice of author indicates that he was making a somewhat novel move, and searching for previous writers who had also referred to Thucydides (and emphasized his relevance) to justify his rationale.

It is clear, however, that what had the greatest influence on Halle was reading Livingstone's edition of Thucydides, which he recommended unreservedly, even in a period when other editions of Thucydides by well-known publishing houses had very recently been released (such as the Modern Library edition of 1951 and the 1954 Penguin).⁸⁸ All his own quotations of Thucydides, of which there are many long excerpts in the appendix, were taken from Livingstone's edition, and he quoted from Livingstone's own notes as though they held the same authority as the translation itself. Halle quoted Livingstone's own opinion on the difference between Pericles and his successors:

Pericles was an aristocrat... a friend of philosophers and scientists, whose interests he shared.... Cleon himself was a tanner, hard-headed and apparently honest... but a

⁸⁷ Halle (1955) 264.

⁸⁸ Given that the appendix was first written as a speech in 1952, Halle would not have had access to Warner's translation for it; he would have had to revise his appendix significantly in order to include it, which he evidently did not consider necessary.

comparison of the speeches of the two men will show how different is their spirit and how brutalized the idea of imperial policy has become under Cleon. There is no trace of idealism or education in him... he illustrates the danger of entrusting power to a certain type of practical man.⁸⁹

By assimilating Livingstone's opinion of Pericles and Cleon, Halle had in fact also absorbed the attitudes of outright admiration and idealization of Pericles of that other member of Gilbert Murray's circle, Zimmern. Zimmern's own translation of the Funeral Speech was then given pride of place at the conclusion of the appendix and of Halle's whole work, where Halle quoted extensively from Th.2.42-3. Livingstone's abridged version of Thucydides clearly had a profound influence on Halle's later writing as well: in his more famous *The Cold War as History*, in which he tried to model himself on Thucydides by writing about the history of his own times, it is still Livingstone's edition to which he referred in the index and from which he drew his quotations,⁹⁰ and Toynbee's *Study of History* is not mentioned.⁹¹

This discussion has shown that although Thucydides was not a big figure in the very early days of post-Second World War and early Cold War IR theory, in the circle of foreign policy development, he was still being considered with some seriousness for his relevance and ability to speak to the complicated circumstances at the opening of the Cold War. Of course there is overlap between the spheres of academic IR theory and policy development (Halle himself went from the S/P to positions at the University of Virginia and then at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva), but the different lights which the two fields trained on Thucydides are clearly visible when Halle's work is compared with Morgenthau's treatment of Thucydides. Halle's own job at the S/P was as much about policy implementation and

⁸⁹ Halle (1955) 271-2; Livingstone (1943a) 159.

⁹⁰ Halle (1967) 275, 321.

⁹¹ Halle (1967) 421.

communication as policy development. His perspective was informed by his interaction with the military and also his desire to find a way to explain the complexity of the problems faced by his department. Therefore he admired Thucydides because of the historian's ability to integrate policy with history, and events with rhetoric. Morgenthau on the other hand was writing in a field in which Thucydides was still associated with Zimmern and the currently unfashionable utopians.⁹²

However intriguing his opinion about Thucydides was, Halle is not a figure frequently referred to explicitly in International Relations today. Although he thought that Thucydides' history was the best book on international relations, and that Thucydides 'has been gaining steadily in the quality of contemporaneity', with the result that he 'has come still closer to us, so that now he speaks at our ear,'⁹³ his judgement of Thucydides' worth was qualitatively different to that of the IR theorists, and he makes no claim for Thucydides to be the founding father for the discipline. This type of claim for Thucydides began to appear from a completely different origin, from the Great Books movement, which had a much more profound effect on the discourse of IR theory.

⁹² Wight described how discredited the utopians had become: 'The new kingdom of the fairies that seduces the intelligence of men is not the Roman Church but the League of Nations, which is none other than the ghost of the Pax Britannica, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof, and the principal old wives who circulate its fables are President Wilson, Lord Cecil, Professors Toynbee and Zimmern, and the Winston Churchill of *Arms and the Covenant*.' (Wight, Bull and Butterfield (1966) 121).

⁹³ Halle (1955) 262, 265.

Section Three

Thucydides the Founding Father of IR

In Chapter 1, I discussed how after the end of the Second World War there was a reinvigorated interest in general education courses, and the Great Books movement was launched in earnest. It is not possible to separate the Great Books movement from the politics of post Second World War America, just as the First World War contributed to the social changes that necessitated overhaul of the curriculum at Columbia and elsewhere immediately afterward. As well as the publication of the *Great Books of the Western World* series in 1952 which included Thucydides (using the Crawley translation with revisions by Richard Feetham), other editions of Thucydides published in this period include (after Livingstone's 1943 edition) a reprint of the unabridged Crawley translation by The Modern Library in 1951, with an introduction by John Finley, and Rex Warner's 1954 translation for Penguin Classics, which was the first new translation of Thucydides since Charles Forster Smith's 1919 Loeb edition.⁹⁴ This led a scholar of the day to comment that Thucydides 'has enjoyed, during this past generation, a wider reading public than any other ancient historian,' because 'the events that he reports so vividly are constantly reminiscent of our own times.'⁹⁵ At first (following Erskine's reasoning) the Great Books were appreciated for their ability to remain relevant to a modern audience, but as the movement boomed and began to bust, contemporaneity alone was no longer a sufficient justification for reading, or buying, the Great Books. In the 1960s, Great

⁹⁴ Livingstone's edition was also reprinted in 1960.

⁹⁵ McGregor (1956) 93.

Books teachers such as Donald Kagan at Yale and Leo Strauss at Chicago began to make claims that the value of the canon lay in the ‘timeless’ quality of the works, as opposed to their contemporaneity. The contents of the canon were portrayed as the sources of modern day disciplines, and the Greek and Latin classics were thereby privileged beyond works from other historical eras.

Through the *Great Books of the Western World* series, many classical works, not just Thucydides, became easily accessible to a much broader portion of the general public than before. Both the *Great Books of the Western World* series and the 1951 episode ‘The Death of Socrates’ of CBS history series *You are There*, which Sara Monoson praises for its balanced use of sources and nuanced portrayal of the controversial nature of Socrates’ actions, emphasize the contemporaneity of the classical world and its relevance to modern life.⁹⁶ Without referring to the Great Books movement, Monoson has noted that in the 1950s there was ‘a resurgence of scholarly interest in the capacity of the ancient sources on Socrates and Socratic philosophy to inform contemporary democratic theory.’⁹⁷ Of the eighteen instances that she cites of popular reception of Socrates (in television and radio broadcasting, theatre, and historical fiction) between 1947 and 1961, all but two are from 1951 onwards, and half occurred in the four years between 1951 and 1955.⁹⁸ Monoson attributes this sharp increase to the era of McCarthyism, but the selection of *Socrates* in particular as a figure around which to discuss the nature of free speech in a democracy may be as much to do with the perception of the importance and relevance of ancient Greece and Rome created by the Great Books movement as to do with

⁹⁶ Monoson quotes Cronkite, the series’ anchorman, in a 2003 *All Things Considered* interview in which he stated of the series that ‘the farther back in time we went the more contemporary the parallels became.’ (Monoson (2011) 70). It is difficult to assess the role of hindsight in Cronkite’s comments here, but it does seem to align closely with that of other scholars of the time such as Halle.

⁹⁷ Monoson (2011) 47.

⁹⁸ Monoson (2011) 54-56.

Socrates' suitability for the role. Not an insignificant part of the ideology of the Great Books movement at this era was its Western focus and its discussion of 'Western culture' as a foil to communism, as I discussed in the previous chapter.

The role of the Great Books movement has also not been adequately examined by scholars working on the reception of Thucydides in IR. Lebow has accounted for Thucydides' importance in IR theory by correlating it to the spread of the concept of bipolarity; he argues that bipolarity did not come to be seen as a 'defining characteristic' of the Cold War until the 1960s, even though it was identified much earlier,⁹⁹ and implies that the increased importance of Thucydides in later theory (such as the extensive references to Thucydides in Gilpin's 1981 *War and Change in World Politics*) correlated with this way of analysing the Cold War. But I have shown that references to Thucydides began much earlier than this, and in this section I show how straightforward parallels between the ancient and modern worlds (such as bipolarity) were not in fact well received by IR theorists in the 1960s, and that their adherence to Thucydides came from another channel. Hodkinson has also shown how the parallelism of the conflict between Athens and Sparta on the one hand and between the USSR and the USA on the other was noted by journalists such as Walter Lippmann in 1952 and the peace campaigner and physicist Leo Szilard in broadcasts in the early 1950s, but that more detailed analogies of Sparta with the USSR did not start to emerge until the late 1960s.¹⁰⁰ I show how these later analogies developed from the notion that Thucydides was fundamental to understanding international politics because he was the creator of the discipline. Hodkinson notes that the relevance of ancient history to contemporary politics in the 1950s was widely appreciated, partly through the

⁹⁹ Morley and Harloe (2012) 197-8. Lebow cites William T.R. Fox, whose 1944 book *Superpowers* did not refer to Thucydides or ancient Greece at all.

¹⁰⁰ Hodkinson and Macgregor Morris (2012) Ch.9.

Great Books movement, but also the sense of relevance ‘was strengthened by Thucydides’ influence within the discipline of International Relations, as one of the key inspirations behind the theory of Realism, which exercised a significant sway over U.S. foreign policy thinking after World War II.’¹⁰¹ In fact, the connection more likely progressed the other way around: the broader sense of the relevance of ancient history to the modern world, and the presence of Thucydides in Great Books courses, led to the historian being appropriated by realists as an early proponent of their own views.

As the 1960s progressed, the popularity of the classics as parallels for modern times waned only slightly, partly due to developments on the international stage and partly due to the socio-cultural revolution inside the USA in which, as I have discussed in my previous chapter, the by-now traditional university syllabuses in Great Books or Western civilization became associated with conservative values and struggled to defend their educational worth in the face of criticism from the civil rights and feminist movements. Hodkinson has identified a decrease in the number of Peloponnesian War analogies in foreign policy analysis during this time, possibly caused by the slight thaw in USSR-USA relations following the nuclear Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963 and the *détente* in the latter half of the decade.¹⁰² Robert Connor, who himself read Thucydides for the first time in the 1950s and later recollected its applicability to the early Cold War period (superimposing the prevailing attitudes of the 1980s back onto that earlier period), noted how the escalation of the Vietnam War in the early 1960s forced him to reconsider Thucydides’ concern to portray accurately the sufferings inflicted on the ancient

¹⁰¹ Hodkinson and Macgregor Morris (2012) 345.

¹⁰² Hodkinson and Macgregor Morris (2012) Ch. 9.

Greeks by the Peloponnesian War.¹⁰³ At the most publicly visible level, J.F. Kennedy quoted from Thucydides and aligned classical Athens, in its Periclean incarnation as the ‘school of Hellas’, with the democratic USA in his political speeches.¹⁰⁴ A study of the treatment of Thucydides by the important IR theorists of the 1950s, Kenneth Waltz and Robert Keohane, and of Leo Strauss and Donald Kagan’s contributions to international political philosophy in the 1960s, shows how the discourse of Great Books strongly influenced the way that authority was created in the discipline of IR.

Kenneth Waltz was one of the most influential proponents of the realist (and later the neorealist) school of IR. The James Madison Award for a lifetime’s work in political science was given to him by the American Political Science Association in 1999, reflecting the importance of his contributions, of which the most significant were his PhD thesis, *Man, the State, and War*, and *Theory of International Politics*, in which he put forward his new theory of neorealism, and *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* in which he argued that nuclear proliferation would lead to a more peaceful world.¹⁰⁵ Waltz was clearly aware by 1979 of Halle’s *Civilization and Foreign Policy* and noted how impressed Halle was by the contemporaneity of Thucydides, just as Hobbes had been,¹⁰⁶ even though Waltz himself rarely mentioned

¹⁰³ Connor (1984) 1, 7. Connor’s evidence, beyond his own memory, for Thucydides being used in the early Cold War period is Marshall’s comment and Halle’s *Civilization and Foreign Policy*, which as I have already proposed may have had more traction in hindsight given the increased interest in Thucydides later on than there was at the time. Hodkinson (Hodkinson and MacGregor Morris (2012) Ch.9) also suggests that Connor’s interpretation may have been slanted by hindsight.

¹⁰⁴ Favourite quotations were from Pericles’ speeches: that Athens was no imitator but a model to others (Kennedy (1961), known as the ‘City on a Hill’ speech) and that the Spartans’ governmental regime was inferior to that of the Athenians (Th.1.141, using Crawley’s translation; Kennedy (1963)). Mowry (1966) details John F. Kennedy’s extensive use of the classics compared with that of other presidents.

¹⁰⁵ Waltz (1959) and (1979); Sagan and Waltz (1995).

¹⁰⁶ ‘One who believes that he can account for changes in international politics must also ask how continuities can be explained... To illustrate the point more generally, one may cite the famous case of Hobbes experiencing the contemporaneity of Thucydides. Less famous, but equally striking, is the realization by Louis J. Halle of the relevance of Thucydides in the era of nuclear weapons and superpowers (1955, Appendix).’ Waltz (1979) 65- 66).

Thucydides and never quoted him in *Theory of International Politics*.¹⁰⁷ Was Thucydides at all an important figure for Waltz in the development of his theory? A detailed reading of *Man, the State, and War* indicates that Thucydides does not have a more prominent position in Waltz's argumentation in 1959 than did many other classical and later writers, even though Waltz does, on occasion, refer to him.

Waltz had been an undergraduate at Oberlin College, and although he is likely to have heard the Oberlin professor Louis E. Lord's Martin Classical Lecture on 'Thucydides and the World War' given at Oberlin in 1943, it does not seem to have left a strong impression on his subsequent thinking about international theory. In *Man, the State, and War*, Waltz identifies three 'images' or levels at which the causes for the events on the global stage can be considered: those of the nature of mankind itself, the internal structure of a state, and the third 'image,' the international system itself. The third of these, he argues, is the most important for determining outcomes such as war, because it is the context in which the others operate.¹⁰⁸ Although Thucydides has been taken by more recent realist thinkers to speak to each of these levels, Waltz does not in fact invoke the historian a great deal at all, even though his work is wide-ranging in its use of examples from a broad range of writers and cultures. He included Thucydides in the same breath as Alexander Hamilton, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau as

¹⁰⁷ In addition to his mentioning the name on p.66 (see note 106 above) and p.186, followed by a note to it on p.187 (see note 25 above), Waltz only mentions Thucydides once, on bandwagoning: 'Secondary states, if they are free to choose, flock to the weaker side; for it is the stronger side that threatens them. On the weaker side, they are both more appreciated and safer, provided, of course, that the coalition they join achieves enough defensive or deterrent strength to dissuade adversaries from attacking. Thus Thucydides records that in the Peloponnesian War the lesser city states of Greece cast the stronger Athens as the tyrant and the weaker Sparta as their liberator (circa 400 B.C., Book v, Chapter 17).' (Waltz (1979) 127). Waltz misattributed this paraphrase of 2.8.4-5 to 5.17, another fact pointing to how peripheral Thucydides was to his core argument. Eckstein misinterprets this whole passage in Waltz as referring to 1.23.6 (Eckstein (2003) 761, n.3), but misses how Waltz accurately quotes Jowett's translation in his 1959 book but inaccurately references Crawley's in 1979 (see note 113 below).

¹⁰⁸ Waltz (1959) 238.

important figures who reject the importance of internal politics on external affairs, an overly simplistic view of Thucydides that even a cursory glimpse at Thucydides' comments on the impact of individual players on a state's international policy (2.65 or 6.15) would refute. According to Waltz, Thucydides, 'clearly foreshadowed' the theory of the balance of power on which Machiavelli, inspired by Thucydides, then played 'a number of intricate if not beautiful variations'.¹⁰⁹ Waltz's thinking on the nature of man is driven instead by St Augustine, whose writings he had studied in depth at Oberlin, and by Spinoza, Niebuhr and Morgenthau (Waltz refers to the 1954 edition of Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations*, in which Thucydides did not yet appear).¹¹⁰ There is no mention of the association of Thucydides with the mantra of the later realists that people are motivated by 'fear, honour and interest.' In his discussion of the second image (the state), his primary discussants are Hobbes, Mill, and Kant, and once again Thucydides makes no appearance, even though Waltz invokes Aristotle and Plato as holding opposing views about whether the military organization of a state is determined by internal or external factors.¹¹¹

Only in his third image does Thucydides begin to feature, even though Waltz draws in this chapter primarily from Rousseau's political philosophy.¹¹² Significantly, while Waltz is concerned with interrogating Rousseau's theory of international relations in detail, he uses Thucydides only as a source for historical parallels, rather than for theoretical insight. Thucydides provided Waltz with an illustration of the balance of power and the nonexistence of international law, but Thucydides' is not the only example used:

¹⁰⁹ Waltz (1959) 7, 198-9, 212.

¹¹⁰ Waltz (1959) Ch. 2.

¹¹¹ Waltz (1959) 125-6.

¹¹² Waltz (1959) 159 ff.

It is not an esoteric idea; it is not a new idea. Thucydides implied it when he wrote that it was “the growth of the Athenian power, which terrified the Lacedaimonians and forced them into war.” John Adams implied it when he wrote to the citizens of Petersburg, Virginia, that “a war with France, if just and necessary, might wean us from fond and blind affections, which no Nation ought eve to feel towards another, as our experience in more than one instance abundantly testifies.”¹¹³

Thucydides might provide Waltz with an interesting example, when supported with reference to another writer too, but the section in which he discussed Thucydides the most shows, ironically, how unconsidered his use of the historian is compared with that of the later theorists. In a short section, ‘Historical reflections of the third image,’ Waltz began with Thucydides, but was concerned only with selecting some decontextualized quotations:

Thucydides argues many of the policy considerations that lead to and follow from our construction. It is his opinion that “among neighbours antagonism is ever a condition of independence.” The opinion takes on substance in the statements he puts into the mouths of various participants in the politics and wars of the period. A brief sampling, with the names of speakers omitted, indicates that implicit in [Thucydides’] historical writings is a view of international politics closely related to Rousseau’s and to the third image. The following are summaries of and excerpts from some of the speeches he records: For our interests we go to war, and when our interests seem to require, we sue for peace. For we all know that “into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice only enters where there is equal power to enforce it.” Since states are “not at law” with one another, they cannot consider what is just – their object cannot be to reward the righteous and to punish the guilty...¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Waltz (1959) 159. On Waltz’ consistent (and accurately referenced) use of Jowett’s translation in *Man, the State, and War*, contrast Eckstein (2003) who does not discuss the reception of Jowett’s – nor, surprisingly, Hobbes’ – translations on modern realists, and implies that Waltz has been most influenced by Crawley-Wick’s version (which Waltz listed in his 1979 bibliography but never actually quoted). Waltz also quoted Jowett’s translation of Thucydides’ description of Tissaphernes’ ‘holding “the balance evenly between the two contending powers”,’ comparing this with Polybius’ account of Hiero’s alliances with both the Romans and the Carthaginians (Waltz (1959) 199).

¹¹⁴ Waltz (1959) 211. He used Jowett’s translation and included quotations from 4.92, 5.89, 3.44, 3.11, 1.124 and 6.18, providing for some (4.92 and 6.18) a relevant passage for comparison in Rousseau.

He summarized this subsequent list of five quotations with the weak conclusion that ‘The policy of a state, in short, is determined by its goals and its relation to other states.’¹¹⁵ He makes no effort to differentiate the speakers of these quotations, nor to differentiate any of them from Thucydides himself, as the quotation above illustrates. This lack of interest in investigating Thucydides’ writing closely creates a powerful contrast with his treatment of Machiavelli immediately afterwards:

That *The Prince* must be read in the context of *The Discourses* and both in the context of conditions in Italy at the time is often said but less often done. That Machiavelli was the theorist of *Realpolitik* makes it easy to assume that to have a general understanding of *Realpolitik* is to have an adequate understanding of Machiavelli himself. The great political philosophers demand being read and read again, and one finds that each rereading brings an enlarged and deepened understanding.¹¹⁶

That Waltz felt that historical writers deserved sustained attention is clear from this passage, and from the detailed discussion which he then reserves for Machiavelli. That he has treated Thucydides in such a perfunctory way, in contradiction to this statement about Machiavelli just before this passage, implies that for Waltz, Thucydides perhaps did not in fact deserve or require the same critical attention as the later political theorists. In fact, in the early 1950s, Machiavelli was more important to theorists of realism than Thucydides was. Descriptions of the discipline from the 1950s state that the doctrine of realism ‘prides itself upon being realistic and takes Machiavelli as its great teacher,’¹¹⁷ and another theorist comments that realists ‘all learn our politics from Machiavelli and our military strategy from Clausewitz.’¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Waltz (1959) 211.

¹¹⁶ Waltz (1959) 212.

¹¹⁷ Tannenbaum (1952) 173.

¹¹⁸ Halle (1955) 13. Thompson, in grappling with the problem of a lack of unifying international theory, also looks to Machiavelli for advice rather than Thucydides (Thompson (1955) 745).

Waltz's cursory treatment of Thucydides is similar in its superficiality to Morgenthau's, who adorned the later editions of a successful book with some Thucydidean quotations.¹¹⁹ The question then becomes, why include Thucydides at all, if Waltz's real discussants were other writers? His act of reaching back to the classics for an initial example, when he is more interested in a detailed study of a later writer, seems to owe more to the tenets of the Great Books movement, which insisted on the importance of classical originals for subsequent political thought, than to his reading of Thucydides, and he makes this clear in his introduction in which he situates his topic directly within the sphere of the Great Books:

To borrow the title of a book by Mortimer Adler, our subject is 'How to think about War and Peace.' The chapters that follow are, in a sense, essays in political theory.¹²⁰

His reference to Mortimer Adler, the founder of the Great Books movement, makes it clear how he conceived the argument of his book to be structured. In his broad-ranging introduction, he referred to other authors from the original Columbia General Honors program that are included in the *Great Books of the Western World* series but are not primarily associated with political theory, such as Voltaire and Milton, in order to situate his work as part of the wider discussion about the nature of mankind and his place in society that forms the backbone to the selections in the Great Books corpus. By including Thucydides, Waltz may very well have been taking part more in the discourse about the authority of the Great Books than in the importance of Thucydides above other works in the canon.

The influence of the Great Books movement is clear in both the works and also the life stories of other scholars of international politics of the 1950s onwards. The young Robert

¹¹⁹ See above, p.120ff.

¹²⁰ Waltz (1959) 2.

Keohane, later one of the founding scholars of the neoliberal school of international relations (which posits a larger role for co-operation and organization between states than neorealism, in which the international system is unrelentingly anarchic),¹²¹ was at Shimer College in Chicago in 1957 as an early entrant, a bright student allowed to enter college from the age of 16 as part of a scheme set up by the college's founder, Robert Maynard Hutchins, to compensate for what Hutchins felt to be the inadequacies of the state-funded school system. Of the curriculum at Shimer, Keohane wrote in a reflective biographical essay:

It had its own curriculum, centered on the "Great Books" of Western culture.... The faculty included a large number of brilliant unknowns – experienced and dedicated explicators of the Great Books who, for a variety of personal reasons, had never become professional successes. Intellectually, I was most attracted by history and especially by the humanities: by Thucydides, Trotsky's account of the Russian Revolution, Aristotle's aesthetics, and James Joyce.¹²²

After his graduation, Keohane remained drawn to the pedagogy of the small, Great Books-centred liberal arts college. After his PhD at Harvard, where he studied with Stanley Hoffmann, he took a position at Swarthmore where Waltz was teaching, and said of Harvard that 'with respect to both the excitement of conversations among students and student-faculty interaction, Harvard compared unfavourably with the unknown college in the cornfields from which I had come,'¹²³ a sentiment which, given his description of the curriculum at Shimer above and the importance in the Great Books pedagogy of explorative, open discussion between faculty and students, implies that he wished to return to this culture of Great Books teaching. Yet despite his avowed interest in Thucydides during his education, the historian does not seem to play an important role in the subsequent development of Keohane's own thought, nor is there the same

¹²¹ See p.104-105 above on the different schools in IR theory.

¹²² Keohane (1989) 22-3.

¹²³ Keohane (1989) 24.

expression in Waltz or in Keohane's early works that Thucydides is the 'original' realist, a sentiment which appears repeatedly in Keohane's 1986 *Neorealism and its Critics*.¹²⁴ That Waltz does not characterize Thucydides this way suggests that the topos of 'Thucydides, the founding father of IR' had not in fact yet become the commonplace that it was later to be.

Two further examples also indicate how over this decade, the discourse in Great Books about identifying the origin of disciplines was beginning to affect the field of social science and its subdisciplines of political science and international relations theory. As the political scientist Andrew Hacker wrote in 1954 in a response to Easton's *The Political System* (1953), which critiqued the 1950s behaviouralist approach in political science, that 'while political scientists seem to feel that political theory should be made the "heart" of their discipline, they will also have to acknowledge that the "heart" of political theory itself has been reading the "Great Books"'.¹²⁵ Eric Voegelin's seminal *Order and History* began to posit Thucydides as the first political scientist (although not the first realist or IR theorist) as early as 1956.¹²⁶ A professor of Government at Louisiana State University, Peter J. Fliess, upbraided anonymous political scientists in a 1959 article in *The Journal of Politics* for not paying sufficient attention to the philosophical content of Thucydides' history, despite his obvious relevance in a 'bipolarized' world. He recommends Thucydides to political scientists, claiming that, as a descriptive rather than an explicitly prescriptive writer, Thucydides has not received the attention he deserves, given how much political science relies on history, and how subtle Thucydides' interpretation

¹²⁴ Keohane (1986) 181, 7.

¹²⁵ Hacker (1954) 775.

¹²⁶ Voegelin (1956) 431: 'Thucydides has his place... as the first craftsman who tried to transform the empirical knowledge of politics into a science, using the science of medicine as his model for this purpose.' Voegelin's interpretation of Thucydides is much closer to that of the early critics in taking Thucydides to be criticizing, rather than praising, realism in the Melian Dialogue: 'There is an interesting sentence in the passage of the Melian Dialogue...: "all we do is to make use of [the law of rule by power], knowing that you and everybody else, having the same power as we have, would do the same as we do." This assumption of the nihilist that his personal nothingness is the measure of man is the great error of "realism".' (p.233).

of the Peloponnesian War was.¹²⁷ As Leo Strauss would do in the 1960s, Fliess acknowledges the problem, following Reinhardt, that Thucydides does not explicitly pass moral judgement on Athens' treatment of Melos.¹²⁸ Fliess' own view is far from the later Realist credo and has more in common with the tack that Halle had taken, that the story of the downfall of Athens from its height during Pericles' era should be interpreted as a warning to policy makers. In contrast, by the time of his 1966 study seven years later, *Thucydides and the Politics of Bipolarity*, the situation has changed and Fliess can acknowledge that 'the great war between Athens and Sparta has received renewed attention in recent years among an audience that goes well beyond professional students of classics and ancient history,' by which he clearly still meant political scientists, because he uses this statement to justify his exploration of Thucydides from a modern focus with an IR perspective.¹²⁹

At the same time, the assimilation of Thucydides with the origin of international relations is also only very tentatively beginning to be drawn. The British IR scholar Martin Wight had spent time at the University of Chicago in 1957, and his lectures given there would form the basis of his work on the three traditions of international theory;¹³⁰ his seminal essay of 1960, 'Why is there no International Theory?' addresses precisely this question of the lack of philosophical origins for international relations. Whereas political theory had the foundational figures of Plato and Aristotle, Wight argued that writings by Machiavelli and Kant, international relations' nearest equivalents for the theories of realism and revolutionism, had not achieved 'the status of a political classic.'¹³¹ The very question that his article posed would have seemed

¹²⁷ Fliess (1959) 592.

¹²⁸ Reinhardt (1960) 216-7.

¹²⁹ Fliess (1966) viii.

¹³⁰ Wight, Wight and Porter (1991).

¹³¹ Wight (1960) 35.

redundant had Thucydides already been completely accepted as the father of the discipline to all of his readers; only at the very end of his article does he begin to consider how Thucydides might feature:

It might seem puzzling that, while the acknowledged classics of political study are the political philosophers, the only counterpart in the study of international relations is Thucydides, a work of history.¹³²

Wight's mention of Thucydides is peculiar, because he does not in fact discuss the content of Thucydides' history at all. He seems sceptical about whether historical enquiry is sufficient to provide international politics with that service provided to politics by political theory, despite his conclusion that philosophy of history is probably the closest that it is possible to get to international theory.¹³³ Far from placing Thucydides at its head, he questions what the origin of the discipline could even look like. That he does not specify any other critic who has already made this claim for Thucydides indicates that, even though Thucydides could be described as an 'acknowledged classic', the description is not sufficiently well-known for Wight to interrogate Thucydides' claim to the position to any serious extent. His more tentative stance *vis a vis* Thucydides' value could indicate that taking Thucydides as a important figure in political science was peculiar to *American* discourse in particular at that time, a discourse with which Wight was familiar but in which he was not firmly embedded.

Only a few years later in 1962, the American political theorist William T. Bluhm, in contrast to the British Wight, indicated how the reason for discussing Thucydides was no longer first and foremost his immediate relevance and 'contemporaneity,' but his status as one of the

¹³² Wight (1960) 47-8.

¹³³ Wight (1960) 48,62.

authors in the 'Great Books' canon. Bluhm justifies his choice of topic (Thucydides on the causes of war, from which he extracts a theory of empire) by opening his article:

The 'Great Books' of our culture never go out of print because they have something to say about the concerns of every generation... In recent years the break in political science with an unimaginative empiricism and an effort at 'retheorization' has been leading students of politics to the classics of political thought in search of theories for our time, conceptual systems and hypotheses to give order and meaning to empirical research.¹³⁴

Bluhm performs a balancing act between claiming Thucydides' worth as a subject of study because of his contemporary relevance as a social scientist ('his method of political analysis has much in common with that of today's behavioural science,'¹³⁵ and 'like our own social scientists, Thucydides learned his method from the natural scientists of his time,'¹³⁶) and claiming universal relevance for Thucydides (which Strauss would soon develop further):

The greatest empire as it culminates and decays produces the greatest conflict. And a careful description, a case study so classic, so full-blown a particular is a useful way of revealing the universal... One case proves nothing, of course, about the universal, but we are treating Thucydides' findings only as hypotheses to be checked out by the examination of many cases.¹³⁷

For Bluhm, Thucydides' authority, and the justification for Bluhm's writing, stemmed from his position as a member of the canon of 'Great' writers:

I have tried to demonstrate that the conceptual framework of Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War* and the relationships which Thucydides posits between motivation, political forms, and power can be fruitful tools for contemporary political analysis. And I believe that careful consideration of others of the 'Great Books' will reveal a similar utility in them. Certainly the greatest minds in our intellectual history should be widely

¹³⁴ Bluhm (1962) 15.

¹³⁵ Bluhm (1962) 15.

¹³⁶ Bluhm (1962) 16.

¹³⁷ Bluhm (1962) 16-17.

consulted by modern political scientists, who have the same human concerns as they.¹³⁸

As the 1960s progressed, however, and Waltz and Morgenthau were beginning to become established in their own right as important realist theorists, their somewhat scanty and unconsidered references to Thucydides were challenged by academics such as Peter Fliess, Leo Strauss and Donald Kagan, who all offered a more detailed examination of the author. But significantly, it was not Thucydides' contemporaneity that was now being emphasised, and one attempt to paint the contemporary political situation in Thucydidean terms fell especially flat. Peter Fliess' 1966 *Thucydides and the Politics of Bipolarity*, which drew a close comparison between the Peloponnesian War and the bipolar conflict of the Cold War, was lambasted by Malcolm F. McGregor in for its countless misrepresentations of historical facts and lack of critical analysis of the sources. The ancient historian McGregor was repelled by Fliess' political science jargon such as 'security sphere', 'roof organisation' and above all, the very term 'bipolarity,' concluding that the book was to be avoided by 'the innocent or intolerant.'¹³⁹ At the other end of the disciplinary spectrum, Morgenthau himself wrote a much shorter but no less utterly crushing review of Fliess' book, in which he condemned the entire comparison of the bipolarity of the USA and the USSR to that between Athens and Sparta as irrelevant and inappropriate, along precisely the line taken by Raymond Aron in his magisterial *Peace and War*.¹⁴⁰ With a euphemism worthy of *Yes Minister*, Morgenthau summed up Fliess' enterprise

¹³⁸ Bluhm (1962) 35.

¹³⁹ McGregor (1967) 309.

¹⁴⁰ 'Commentators have alluded to Thucydides to emphasize the bipolar configuration, because the world after 1945 presents such a configuration. But obviously the Greek system differs by nature from the present system, just as the superiority of Athens and Sparta over the other cities was not of the same genre as the superiority of the two giants today.' (Aron 1966: 139). Aron's in-depth study however was somewhat of the exception to the rule of the period, in terms of its sophisticated treatment of Thucydides within political science (Sears (1977) 28).

with ‘an author who dares to consult Thucydides for lessons about the politics of bipolarity deserves high praise for his intellectual independence.’¹⁴¹

Strauss and Kagan made much stronger claims for Thucydides’ importance than previous critics (including Fliess), subordinating his perceived ‘contemporaneity’ in favour of asserting his superiority over other theorists. Donald Kagan’s 1965 *The Great Dialogue*, in the same vein as Voegelin’s *Order and History* but with a clear connection to his Great Books teaching at Yale, was his first major publication; it charted Greek political thought from Homer, via Hesiod, Pindar and Theognis as well as Aeschylus and Herodotus, and onto Xenophon and Isocrates and ending with Polybius, with a central section on Thucydides. Kagan’s overall theme is that political thought came into existence together with the *polis* and was therefore an invention of the ancient Greeks,¹⁴² and in his section on Thucydides, he argues for Thucydides being the inventor of ‘the science of politics,’ a phrase which he repeats throughout the chapter.¹⁴³ Kagan acknowledges the status quo, the idea that Plato’s works, ‘together with those of Aristotle, are generally the source of statements as to “what the Greeks thought”,’¹⁴⁴ but redefines Plato and Aristotle as heirs of an already existing tradition of political thought, created by Thucydides. Kagan takes the same universalizing line as Strauss in claiming Thucydides’ pre-eminence not only over other Western authors but globally as well; of the stasis in Corcyra, Kagan wrote that ‘the whole of human history may be better comprehended by a proper understanding of these events.’¹⁴⁵ Such an assertion goes far beyond that more cautious praise given by Bluhm above, and together, Strauss and Kagan have had probably the greatest impact

¹⁴¹ Morgenthau (1968) 239. Morgenthau’s comments here also help to explain the rarity of his own references to Thucydides: as a theorist, he was not looking to draw mere parallels between certain historical events and contemporary international politics.

¹⁴² Kagan (1965) x.

¹⁴³ Kagan (1965) 102, 106.

¹⁴⁴ Kagan (1965) 155.

¹⁴⁵ Kagan (1965) 102.

of all academics on the reception of Thucydides in contemporary international relations in the USA, by laying the foundations for Thucydides to become the darling of the American neoconservative movement.¹⁴⁶

Just the year before Kagan's *Great Dialogue*, Leo Strauss published *The City and Man*. It is difficult to assess accurately Leo Strauss' impact on contemporary American political thought, since even forty years after his death he remains an extremely important but controversial figure, discussion of whom polarizes academics into producing passionate arguments and even scathing *ad hominem* attacks.¹⁴⁷ His association with today's neoconservative movement is highly contested, and the term 'Straussian,' to refer to a person taught by Strauss or influenced by him, is either a term of adulation or condemnation.¹⁴⁸ In this section, I wish to examine Leo Strauss' work purely for its effect on the subsequent reception of Thucydides, since his work has been of great significance to IR theory.

Strauss' own pedagogy was firmly rooted in the tradition of the Great Books movement, which he taught at Chicago from 1949 to 1969. He was convinced that it was vital to study the classics in order to understand the present, as Halle and Livingstone had been, but Strauss' claim for Thucydides went much further than Halle's.¹⁴⁹ In *The City and Man*, which is split into

¹⁴⁶ Kristol (2003) 2: 'The favourite neoconservative text on foreign affairs, thanks to professors Leo Strauss of the University of Chicago and Donald Kagan of Yale University, is Thucydides on the Peloponnesian War.' Bearing in mind that Kagan's political views in the 1960s were different to his later stance (see p.68), we can conclude that his judgement about Thucydides in 1965, therefore, was not intended to promote a specifically conservative political agenda.

¹⁴⁷ Literature about Strauss is extensive. At the most extreme ends of the spectrum, Drury (1988, 1997) and Norton (2004) attack what they describe as a powerful network of Straussian officials and academics. Norton's arguments are rubbished by Costopoulos (2005) and Shaefer (2005), and Drury and Norton are in their turn criticized by Minowitz (2009).

¹⁴⁸ Robertson (2006) doubts whether the relationship between Strauss and the neoconservatives is as clear as is alleged by Drury.

¹⁴⁹ Strauss (1964) 11: 'Only we living today can possibly find a solution to the problems of today. But an adequate understanding of the principles as elaborated by the classics may be the indispensable starting point for an

three sections that discuss the political philosophy of Aristotle, Plato and Thucydides, he criticizes those who ‘believe that Thucydides, far from being simply opposed to democracy, was in sympathy with the imperialism which went with the Athenian democracy and that he believed in “power politics”.’ They are simply wrong who ‘hold that Thucydides’ comprehensive view is stated by the Athenians in their dialogue with the Melians,’ whereas those who ‘note the presence in [Thucydides’] thought of that which transcends “power politics”, of what one may call the human or the humane,’ are deemed ‘perceptive.’¹⁵⁰ Although Thucydides invited simplistic and inaccurate readings of the Melian dialogue by not including his own explicit judgement on the behaviour of the Athenians, Strauss’ philosophical stance (articulated in his *Persecution and the Art of Writing*)¹⁵¹ that classical works of political philosophy required very close reading in order to find their deep, hidden meanings necessitated in this case a more nuanced reading of Thucydides than had been offered by Morgenthau or Waltz. He also elevated Thucydides’ status as a political philosopher by his very placing of the writer not only on the same level as Aristotle and Plato, but also by his dedication of the longest, and final, chapter in *The City and Man* to Thucydides.

Strauss was sceptical about what he deemed the ‘modern project,’ part of what he saw as a long process through which political philosophy had become transformed into an ideology that prioritized and separated facts, science, and logic over and from values, morality, and

adequate analysis, to be achieved by us, of present-day society in its peculiar character, and for the wise application, to be achieved by us, of these principles to our tasks.’

¹⁵⁰ Strauss (1964) 145.

¹⁵¹ Strauss (1952). Strauss also attacked the modern project’s effect within political science, which he claimed was to distance the language of political theory from that used by political men. He also used Thucydides as a paradigm to illustrate this, although as not exclusively as he would later on: ‘No thoughtful citizen would dream of equating politics with something as vague and empty as “power” or “power relations.” The thinking men who are regarded as the classic interpreters of power, Thucydides and Machiavelli, did not need these expressions; these expressions as now used originate, not in political life, but in the academic reaction to the understanding of political life...’ (Strauss (1962) 321).

wisdom.¹⁵² Instead, he argued that it is impossible to ‘understand the presuppositions of present-day social science without a return to classical political philosophy.’¹⁵³ Part of the purpose of *The City and Man* was to reject the methodology of contemporary social science, which displayed the symptoms of the ‘modern project’ in seeking parallels among historical events as evidence for its conclusions without recognizing the value judgements inherent in that exercise, and to replace this methodology instead with a search for what Strauss described as the genuine universals implied in his title: the very nature of mankind and of the society in which he lives. Thucydides was an especially worthy subject for Strauss’ focus because his history achieved the status of being a ‘possession for all time’ through, in Strauss’ view, having managed to convey the universal in the singular: the universal nature of the city through the singular event of the Peloponnesian War.¹⁵⁴

The City and Man marked a watershed in the use of Thucydides in international relations: no longer was Thucydides’ history simply being used as an interesting or illustrative parallel to modern times, or being noted for seeming especially ‘contemporary’; rather, for Strauss as for Kagan, Thucydides conveyed a permanent or ‘sempiternal’ message, and fleeting similarities to current events were of less importance.¹⁵⁵ Not only were the lessons in Thucydides’ history eternal, but he was also the first person to express these lessons, as well as the best, according to Strauss. Without Thucydides, there could have been neither Aristotle nor Plato:

Political understanding or political science cannot start from seeing the city as the Cave but it must start from seeing the city as a world, as the highest in the world; it must start

¹⁵² Strauss (1964) 7.

¹⁵³ Strauss (1964) 10; Strauss Clay (2003).

¹⁵⁴ Strauss (1964) 143.

¹⁵⁵ Strauss (1964) 236.

from seeing man as completely immersed in political life: “the present war is the greatest war.” Classical political philosophy presupposes the articulation of this beginning of political understanding but it does not exhibit it as Thucydides does in an unsurpassable, nay, unrivalled manner. The quest for that “common sense” understanding of political things which led us first to Aristotle’s *Politics*, leads us eventually to Thucydides’ *War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians*.¹⁵⁶

Strauss’ argument goes into much further depth than that of Kagan’s, and is the most carefully articulated statement of the argument that Thucydides was, through the logic applied in this quotation, the father of international relations.¹⁵⁷ Kagan’s and Strauss’ argumentation imbues Thucydides with greater authority on the subject of international relations than any other classical or post-classical writer, including Plato or Aristotle. Once that authority had been established, it became necessary to decide on what Thucydides’ ‘deeper meaning’ and hidden message really was. Despite his deliberately elliptical writing style, towards the end of *The City and Man* Strauss finally made an explicit claim about Thucydides’ meaning:

The lesson of Thucydides’ work as a whole may be said to be that the order of cities which is presupposed in the most noble Spartan proclamations [to have no foreign relations at all] is altogether impossible, given the unequal power of the different cities which inevitably leads to the consequence that the most powerful cities cannot help being hegemonial or even imperial... The city is neither self-sufficient nor is it essentially a part of a good or just order comprising many or all cities. The lack of order which necessarily characterizes the “society” of the cities or, in other words, the omnipresence of War puts a much lower ceiling on the highest aspiration of any city toward justice and virtue than classical political philosophy might seem to have admitted.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Strauss (1964) 240.

¹⁵⁷ The question of influences on Strauss are too complex to allow a detailed examination here, and extend beyond the scope of this thesis, but it may be that Strauss was an important conduit for German scholarship in classics and political philosophy to reach American IR theory (in particular, through his readings of and interaction with Carl Schmitt, Werner Jaeger, and Karl Reinhardt).

¹⁵⁸ Strauss (1964) 239. Strauss’ reading of Thucydides was far more nuanced than simply realist, however, and he recognized the importance in Thucydides of suffering and pity too: ‘[Thucydides’] humanity... might seem to come to sight only on the margin of a power-political text but which is more likely to point to the boundary or limit separating lawful and unlawful politics. He reveals his compassion for the victims of angry passion or even

Strauss' conclusion here sails extremely close to that which he had earlier rejected, that Thucydides adhered to a philosophy of 'power politics,' and also hints at the neorealism of Waltz, who posited that the international system is essentially anarchic. That Strauss' writings could be interpreted this way, together with his assertion of the universal validity of the historian's presentation of human nature, made for a potent theoretical argument in favour of realism (with Thucydides at its head) with which to enter the debates of international relations. The equating of Thucydides with the roots of the discipline of IR by Kagan and Strauss meant the equating of Thucydides with realism, by far the largest branch of IR. This led to the extremely well-recognised and frequently observed situation which lasted from the 1970s to the 2000s in which to talk about IR was to talk about realism, which was, by association, to talk about Thucydides: most IR theorists either took for granted that Thucydides had 'always' been perceived as having this status, or else retrojected onto writers such as Waltz and Morgenthau a claim about Thucydides' importance which these earlier theorists never in fact made.¹⁵⁹

Therefore, Thucydides began to be claimed as the founding father of the discipline of International Relations to a large degree through the influence of the discourse surrounding the Great Books tradition in the late 1960s, which had begun to claim for the authors in its canon a universal relevance and a greater authority than non-canonical authors. In 1954, when the Great Books movement was gathering pace, Hacker ironically identified how one mode of Great Books reading and teaching was to look for the first person to state something:

murderous savagery most clearly when he speaks of the lamentable disaster which befell Mycalessus, a small town possessing a large school for children... He reveals himself above all in his remark about the fate of Nicias...' (150).

¹⁵⁹ Doyle (1990); Clark (1993); Ahrens Dorf (1997) 232, n.2 ; Garst (1989) even includes the 1978 version of Wight (1946) in this grouping.

They [Great Books teachers] usually frame such questions as: Who was the “father” of sociology? Who spoke first of sovereignty? Or Who originated the notion of natural rights? ... The difficulty with this approach is that the classicists are always ready at hand with Plato and Aristotle to show that they anticipated anything and everything that has since been said in political theory.¹⁶⁰

This is exactly what happened with Thucydides in IR theory, and what created the theoretical foundation for the author’s pre-eminence in the 1970s and 1980s, when Thucydides was so ubiquitous in the discipline. Due to the arguments of Kagan and of Strauss, and especially after the publication of *The City and Man*, Thucydides overtook his competitors for the title of ‘first theorist’ of international relations, a view which quickly gathered pace and became the status quo, especially for realists and then neoconservatives. In the early 1970s, the political philosopher Christopher Bruell’s sympathetic analysis of Athenian imperialism hinged on a detailed discussion of the Melian Dialogue and was self-confessedly ‘indebted’ to Strauss’ *City and Man*, as was the work of the professor of politics Richard D. Sears.¹⁶¹ Michael Palmer’s study of Pericles’ Funeral Oration in the 1980s was also explicitly based on Strauss’ reading of Thucydides,¹⁶² and by the 1980s Robert Keohane could safely claim Thucydides to be the proponent of realism.¹⁶³ The all-pervasiveness of the practice led to extremely superficial but common references to Thucydides of the type made by Schmitt and Shulsky that I mentioned at the start of this chapter. Even by 1975, discussion of Thucydides in international relations was so ubiquitous that the political science J. David Singer could comment, in a satirical essay mocking the academic habits and practices within his own field of the social sciences:

¹⁶⁰ Hacker (1954) 779.

¹⁶¹ Bruell (1974) 11; Sears (1977).

¹⁶² Palmer (1982) 825.

¹⁶³ Keohane (1986) 7.

When you're stymied on the measurement of one of your critical variables, put that project aside and write another essay on what Thucydides *really* meant.¹⁶⁴

The discipline had in fact made not a founding father but a behemoth for itself: the search for a figure to confer authority on the discipline had become in fact an authority over the discipline. Singer's ironic comment highlighted how, for IR theory, finding out what Thucydides meant had become a central tenet of the discipline, closing off other avenues. To own Thucydides was to own the discipline.

¹⁶⁴ Singer (1975) 20.

Section Four

Thucydides and the end of IR theory

The end of the Cold War produced a conundrum for international relations theory similar to that of the outbreak of the Second World War, in that the dominant theory of the period (utopianism after the First World War, realism after the Second) had failed to anticipate or account for it adequately.¹⁶⁵ As IR theory was thrown into crisis, not just by international events but also by the development of new theoretical approaches such as poststructuralism, postmodernism, and feminism which all rejected the notion of a central authority within a discourse, so was the authority of the figure of Thucydides also undermined, in specific stages. Almost as soon as the founding father of the discipline had been created, he was being torn apart. First, Thucydides was detached from realism and neorealism, the spheres that had claimed him since the late 1960s: the proliferation of articles and books about Thucydides across all spheres of IR theory resulted in, if not another ‘great debate,’ then an impasse, as Thucydides the Cold War realist was replaced by Thucydides, the jack-of-all-trades. Lebow claimed Thucydides was a constructivist, whereas Russett and Antholis even argued that the Peloponnesian War demonstrated the axiom of the democratic peace theorists (that democracies do not fight one another).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Lebow and (Barry) Strauss (1991) could say with some justification that at the end of the Cold War, ‘The whole question of the relationship of Thucydides and modern international relations... needs to be re-examined.’ (p.2).

¹⁶⁶ Lebow (2001), Russett and Antholis (1992).

The killing blow was struck by Laurie Johnson Bagby, in whose article, ‘The use and abuse of Thucydides,’ the three tenets of classical realism that Keohane attributes in their original form to Thucydides are shown to not in fact be supported by a close reading of the text.¹⁶⁷ Nor did Thucydides deserve, she argued, to be appropriated by the neorealists. Their arguments against differentiating states at the international level on the basis of internal characteristics were not at all supported by Thucydides, who ascribed the differences in strategy between the Athenians and Spartans as much to their different national characters as to their different geographical realms of influence. Misunderstood and ‘abused’ by both realists and neorealists alike, she argued that Thucydides should be read in order to ‘go beyond’ the blinkering effect of either realist or neorealist theory, in order to reveal the importance of political and ideologically motivated rhetoric, morality, and the impact of individual characters in states’ affairs – that is, to achieve what she calls a ‘Thucydidean approach’ with a stronger emphasis on human responsibility and the importance of deliberation than a reliance on the tenets of one particular doctrine. Once Thucydides was no longer owned by the realists, however, one of the main reasons for his very presence in the discipline had been removed.

This line of argument was taken still further by David Welch, whose provocatively titled article, ‘Why International Relations theorists should stop reading Thucydides,’ extended this criticism of realists’ and neorealists’ treatment of the author to the entire discipline of International Relations, in which he says scholars across the field, not just the realists, ‘bend him to [their] will’ and make Thucydides into ‘a mirror for [their] own assumptions, convictions, and biases.’¹⁶⁸ Instead of being used as a paradigm of realist thought, Thucydides had now become, or one could even say, been reduced to, a tool for the defence of every branch

¹⁶⁷ Bagby (1994).

¹⁶⁸ Welch (2003) 302.

of IR theory, and therefore of none. As such, his use to the discipline has in fact diminished, as, according to Welch, he has become little more than ‘a series of simplistic banalities,’¹⁶⁹ or a store of discrete examples that each defend a certain theoretical (although still most frequently realist) approach. The problem then lies in the fact that many of these such examples contradict each other, as do the speeches Thucydides gives his politicians, and that the more closely Thucydides is read, the more complex, indeterminate, and uncertain the meaning of each example becomes. And, as Welch explains, trying to find out the *meaning* of any text such as Thucydides’, in which the author very rarely put his own views across explicitly, is a question more frequently addressed in departments of English, History, Philosophy and Classics where interpretation is a central question, than in International Relations. What Welch had unwittingly put his finger on (without making the connection to the Great Books tradition) was that because Thucydides had come into IR theory through an discourse of authority surrounding the Great Books, which were at that time mostly associated with tradition and conservative values, those were the political views that were associated with Thucydides, even though they do not necessarily suit his whole text particularly well. In the light of this, Welch’s conclusion that ‘Thucydides may be the very remedy we need for the damage he unwittingly wrought’¹⁷⁰ is radical in many ways: not only does it imply a critique of the by now traditional, realist interpretation of Thucydides, but it calls for an entirely new way of reading Thucydides in IR theory – as a complicated and ambiguous author, rather than simply as the founding father of the discipline.

¹⁶⁹ Welch (2003) 302. Welch’s discretion precludes him from naming names, although he is clearly referring to the generalisations such as ‘Ever since the days of Thucydides,’ which so exercised Bagby and subsequently Ruback, and to an extent Eckstein.

¹⁷⁰ Welch (2003) 319.

The most developed argument along these lines drew methodologically from the deconstructivist approach, and provides, indirectly, more evidence about the relationship between Great Books and IR theory's use of Thucydides. A turn 'inwards' in IR theory, using the theories of Kristeva and Barthes to deconstruct the notion of power and voice in the discourse itself, threw into question the whole argument of Kagan and Leo Strauss that made Thucydides the 'father' of international relations.¹⁷¹ Timothy Ruback expanded on Welch's critique, drawing fodder from the extremely high proportion of passing, superficial, and banal references to Thucydides in IR. He coins two phrases, the 'Thucydides-function' and the 'Thucydides Industry,' to explain the role that Thucydides currently has in the discipline of IR theory.¹⁷² The first of these, the Thucydides-function, refers to, in Ruback's words, 'the practices that would attempt to establish an otherwise-absent common ground for the discipline.'¹⁷³ Thucydides functions as a centre for the discipline, its very own 'founding father,' largely by means of the artificial mythology, the Thucydides-Machiavelli-Hobbes-Rousseau trajectory, the purpose of which is to illustrate the transhistorical nature of IR theory as a subject. Ruback cites the theorist Richard Ashley's characteristics of this founding father role, also called the 'sovereign voice' or heroic practice, as those of:

...arrest[ing] ambiguity and control[ling] the proliferation of meaning by` imposing a standard and standpoint of interpretation that is taken to be fixed and independent of the time it represents. A narrative typically accomplishes this structuring by adopting a perspective from which it privileges the least complex, least ambiguous elements of a text it interprets, the least questioned constructs, the dominant tropes, the recurringly heroic figures... A narrative regards these textual elements, not in their historicity, but as the fixed, identical, and self-sufficient origins of meaning...¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Milliken (1999), Doty (2004).

¹⁷² Ruback (2011).

¹⁷³ Ruback (2011) 3.

¹⁷⁴ Ashley (1989) 263-4.

Ruback uses this to illustrate Thucydides' role in IR theory, but has (unintentionally) also pinpointed *how and why* Thucydides has come to be in this role: Ashley's description perfectly describes the pedagogy of the Great Books as it was fashioned by Adler and Hutchins. The Great Books pedagogy also removed its authors from their historical periods, and through teaching (usually) only portions of a text made each author seem more straightforward than was the case, while at the same time frequently proposing that there *was* a fixed meaning to each text, especially once the unsettled 1970s had got underway and the right and the left were beginning to part company.¹⁷⁵ Both Ruback and Welch assume that contemporary, superficial uses of Thucydides in IR have replaced more sophisticated ones; but to find those in IR, we would have to reach right back past the 1940s and to Zimmern and the Edwardian Hellenists.

This quotation highlights precisely the danger of practicing a discourse which closes off its own development rather than opening it, which is what Welch argues that the discipline of IR has fallen into through its lax handling of Thucydides. Ruback then proceeds to describe the dynamics of how the Thucydides-function is put into practice, that is, the Thucydides Industry. This consists of 'the collective set of citations, interpretations, and deferences to Thucydides, found in IR scholarship, that enact the Thucydides-function,'¹⁷⁶ but it is more than just a collection, as it refers also to the discourse for which these references are the evidence. That is, this answers the question, what are IR theorists doing when they cite Thucydides, and why? Ruback identifies three types of what he calls 'performative dispositions' which theorists can adopt when they refer to Thucydides, those of 'invokers, imperialists, and inquisitors'.¹⁷⁷ Invokers simply quote Thucydides without engaging with him in any detail, as a shibboleth to

¹⁷⁵ See Singer, p.157.

¹⁷⁶ Ruback (2011) 4.

¹⁷⁷ Ruback (2011) 59; each disposition is examined in depth, pp.60-98.

show that they are taking part in IR discourse; imperialists claim him as the founding text for their modern theory; and inquisitors start from an analysis of Thucydides' work to develop an allegedly 'Thucydidean' stance from which to develop (and defend their own) modern theory. Ruback's post-modern interpretation might seem to deny the potential for Thucydides to have any meaning at all for International Relations, either inside or outside its own intra-disciplinary discussions – but his three performative stances vis-à-vis Thucydides which IR theorists can adopt also apply to the Great Books discourse as well, via Ashley's analysis of the founding father function, and invite us to view Erskine as the inquisitor, approaching the text as he claimed 'with no philosophy and no method for a total education,'¹⁷⁸ and Adler, followed by Bloom, as the imperialists, using the Great Books canon to provide a sturdy rock on which to build up their own moral and pedagogical frameworks.¹⁷⁹ The invokers we will meet in Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁸ Erskine (1947) 343.

¹⁷⁹ Ruback's schema might therefore be applicable for any sociolect in which there is a strong 'father' or 'founder' figure, connoting authority on and shaping discourse – such as, for instance, the military environment.

Conclusion

If Ruback is right, what can be the future for Thucydides within the field of IR theory? Can he only be of interest to those interested in the history of IR theory or the reception of the classics, such as Lebow, whose findings mirror those of Ruback but are intended for classicists?¹⁸⁰ In the wake of Ruback's research, IR theorists have not stopped using Thucydides; in fact, he seems to have spurred some on to reconsider how to use the historian in a more nuanced way.¹⁸¹ Ruback's work would suggest that we might be on the verge of a 'rhetorical turn' in IR, in which we are going to see how the mechanics of discourse determine what is possible and meaningful in IR. To an extent, I think that this is already happening, although it is coming from an unexpected direction.

Even though 'Thucydides the realist' is a long-dead figure in IR theory, the classical author still maintains a central position in a slightly different arena of politics: that of neoconservatism, which shares, I think, some striking parallels with the Hellenist liberals of Gilbert Murray's circle. Zimmern's admiration of the Athenian empire under Pericles' leadership has a modern counterpart in the figure of the neoconservative Victor Davis Hanson, who, just like Zimmern, shows great admiration for Pericles. Hanson wrote in 2011:

The real lesson of the Periclean Oration is not merely that some Athenian values should be our own, but that in our place, according to our station, we too might have the imagination to articulate the singularity of our culture and the bravery to proclaim it

¹⁸⁰ Lebow (2012).

¹⁸¹ eg. Dolgert (2012).

without apology or qualification. To do otherwise, is to enjoy the unmatched bounty and freedom of the United States without gratitude to those of the past who bequeathed it, and without present awareness that what we enjoy makes us blessed beyond the comprehension of most of the six billion others on the planet. In short, Pericles reminds Americans that, should a great culture not feel that its values and achievements are exceptional, then few others will as well—a fact injurious to a small and insignificant state, but fatal for a power with aspirations of global leadership. A leader who relentlessly reminds his countrymen of their shortcomings will naturally apologize abroad for them as well, and what starts as self-critique becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy of national decline.¹⁸²

Hanson uses powerful rhetorical appeals, not the dry academic voice of a theorist, to marry the two notions – of a universal lust for empire on one hand, and praise for democracy on the other – within the one figure, Pericles, who becomes the authoritative, wise voice from antiquity. Hanson is a passionate patriot who believes that his country's empire is a force for good, just as Zimmern did – and particularly believes it to be a force for spreading democratic values around the world. V.D. Hanson and Donald Kagan are both, as Gilbert Murray and his circle were, academic classicists, and they all approach international relations from a strongly moralizing point of view. Neoconservatism combines theory and an appreciation for practical politics within its ideology; the interwar idealists, like today's neoconservatives, enjoyed close connections to government which give their views considerable traction within the administration.¹⁸³ The differences between their stances are still to come. For Gilbert Murray, Zimmern and Toynbee, Thucydides provided both a vision of an ideal that they would strive for, as well as an horrific warning to be heeded: and ultimately, their vision failed. It remains to be seen whether today's neoconservatives will be able to bring their Periclean ideals to fruition.

¹⁸² Hanson (2011).

¹⁸³ The role of neoconservatives in the Bush administration is also very well documented and still extremely controversial: denied by Max Boot (2004), and accused by Anne Norton (2004). On the role of the short-lived but arguably highly influential think tank PNAC (Project for the New American Century) and its signatories (including Donald Kagan, members of his family and some of his former students), see Grondin (2005), and the PNAC publication *Rebuilding America's Defenses* by Kagan, Schmitt and Donnelly (2000).

CHAPTER THREE

Thucydides in the US Congress

Today's audiences bring a much narrower set of mental references to the hall than did those of a few generations back. References to the Greek and Roman authors are almost useless, Biblical allusions are increasingly less effective, literary quotations carry ever more limited images. Motion picture and television references seem to generate the broadest recognition from the audience – but their half-lives seem barely to last through a thirteen-week season. In short, the challenge of the modern political speaker has never been greater.

With these words, the Assistant Director of the Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress summarizes the modern speaker's dilemma in his introduction to *Respectfully Quoted: A Dictionary of Quotations*, a treasure trove of the most commonly requested but difficult to source quotations that the Library has been asked to look into on behalf of puzzled or curious politicians over the last five decades.¹ US Congressional discourse, as well as many political speeches given by public figures outside the Senate or the House of Representatives, is packed with quotations from the types of sources mentioned above: classical, biblical, and from contemporary culture. On the other hand, as the number of people who study ancient Greece and Rome has dwindled over the last forty years, so, the argument goes, the utility of the classics has diminished as an effective reference point for politicians in search of a pithy and sound bite-length comment.

Or has it? Certainly the classics *per se* are read less than they used to be in the heyday of the Great Books movement, but are there other avenues through which some, albeit filtered,

¹ Library of Congress (2010) xiv.

knowledge of classical literature, history and culture still percolates into public discourse? One very obvious way is even drawn attention to by politicians:

Every school-aged child is familiar with the story of how the Founding Fathers modeled the framework for American government on principles first laid down and discussed by the ancient Greeks thousands of years ago. Thomas Jefferson called ancient Greece, “the light which led ourselves out of Gothic darkness.” Today, as we meet to celebrate Greek Independence Day, and celebrate the Greek-American heritage that continues to strengthen our communities and enrich our society, let us also recognize the influence the Greek people, past and present, have had on the strength of our democracy.²

The quotation above offers in passing a typical example of the widespread belief in the importance of the classics to America’s Founding Fathers,³ whose references to the classics, derived from their own educational journeys and often expressing their belief in the importance of history and a detailed knowledge of Greek and Latin, began a long tradition in which classical authors have held an elevated position in the political discourse of the USA.⁴

Thucydides was on occasion referred to by Jefferson as one of the historians whose work should be read, preferably in the original Greek, as part of a proper education in history, and as an aid to understanding current events.⁵ But Lutz, who conducted an analysis of which writers had the greatest influence on late eighteenth century American political thought, has shown that the

² Van Hollen, Christopher (MD) ‘Greek Independence Day’ *CRO* March 25, 2004. For the purposes of this chapter, I will refer to each instance of Thucydidean quotation with the quoter’s full name and state, the full date and the title of the speech, as these provide important contextual information for the quotation. All quotations attributed to Thucydides or Pericles between 1991 and 2011 are also contained within the Catalogue of Congressional Quotations (CCQ, pp.287-318), which I use when referring to multiple quotations at once.

³ Gunmere (1962) argues in a hagiographic tone that the classics were a vital influence on the Framers’ development of the Constitution, to the extent that of James Otis, Jr, he wrote that it could ‘be said of him that he *thought* in Latin’ (p.4). Gunmere writes that their employment of the classics was more than mere ‘window-dressing’ (p.4), a claim also defended by Briggs in Kallendorf et al. (2010), *contra* Cole in Onuf and Cole (2011). Miles (1974) argues that the turn to the classics by the Framers was a result of both their classical education and also a desire to disassociate their new political system from its most recent, Anglo-Saxon, model.

⁴ Reinhold (1984), Winterer (2004), Malamud (2009).

⁵ Letter to John Adams, January 21, 1812: ‘I have given up newspapers in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides... and I find myself much the happier.’ Cappon (1988) 291.

writings of classical authors were cited far less frequently among the works of the Founding Fathers and their contemporaries than the Bible or the works of the Enlightenment writers such as Montesquieu and Locke. The most commonly cited classical authors between 1760-1805 are Plutarch (1.5% of all quotations found, and fifth of all the most frequently cited authors), then Cicero (1.2%), Livy (0.8%), Tacitus (0.6%), and Plato (0.5%).⁶ Thucydides' appearances were extremely rare in the political discourse extant from the time, but there has been a marked shift in emphasis towards him over the last two hundred years. Today, when a far smaller proportion of political elites than in Jefferson's era have had the opportunity to study the historian's work in depth, either in Greek or in English, Thucydides appears with frequency and regularity as part of political discourse in Congress, much more often than any other classical author except for Cicero. These two authors stand out far ahead of the other classical authors as sources of quotations, between them being quoted in the US Congress more often than all the other classical authors put together over the period of this study (1991-2011).⁷ It might be surprising that the work should be cited so often and that its author be such a recognized figure, given the complexity, length, and historical specificity of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, but this thesis has shown that Thucydides is often accessed through a medium other than an edition of the complete text, such as a textbook on Western civilisation or through a quotation or excerpt.

In this chapter I examine the words attributed to Thucydides which have appeared within the central arena for political discourse in America, the US Congress, over the 20 year period since 1991, the end of the Cold War. As I discussed in my previous chapter, references and quotations from Thucydides within broader public discourse – newspapers, magazines, non-

⁶ Lutz (1984), 192-4.

⁷ Over the same time period (1991-2011), references to Polybius, Sophocles, and Plutarch – the next most popular classical authors - number between 20 and 30 each.

fiction books for a mass audience, blogs and the internet – are extremely numerous, and within each specific environment, different criteria affect how a quotation in general, and a classical quotation in particular, is to be construed. For this initial study of quotation, I therefore focus solely on the two houses of the US Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives.⁸

These instances in Congressional speeches and remarks reveal a wide range of channels through which Pericles, Thucydides, and the Peloponnesian War have come to be part of recognized – and useful – parlance within politics. Some of these originate from spheres of discourse I have already examined in previous chapters, such as the importance of Thucydides in International Relations theory and military education. Some speakers in Congress show their backgrounds in these areas – political theory, or service in the military – by drawing on an interpretation of Thucydides that is the customary version within those different groups. Others demonstrate their familiarity and agreement with neoconservative academics such as Donald Kagan or Victor Davis Hanson, who both write regularly for non-specialists about the Peloponnesian War and use Greek history to recommend certain courses of action in American foreign policy today. But most of the speakers who quote from Thucydides appear to be drawing from very different sources than these. This chapter is concerned with the occasions on which American politicians cite Thucydides, the sections of text that are selected, and the relevance and importance of these citations both within American political culture and for classicists interested in the use of classics by non-specialists. What points are political speakers trying to make when they use a quotation from the classics, and why are the classics chosen at

⁸ I leave out Congressional committees and subcommittees' proceedings and reports, as these are not necessarily distributed to the entirety of Congress. Also, committees are by their very nature focused in one area and therefore the discussants assume a higher level of specialized knowledge, rather than the broad general knowledge of the wider audience in the House and the Senate. Secondly, Congressional discourse is not completely separate from political speech outside Congress: politicians repeat speeches that they themselves have given or heard elsewhere, or read out (or include in the *Congressional Record*) letters, newspaper articles and reports. Therefore Congressional discourse includes elements of a broader spectrum of political discussion.

all when the detailed study of the subject in schools and universities is relatively rare? A close examination of these citations reveals that complex and subtle dynamics are at play when politicians refer to the classics, and that meanings are created through this highly specific discourse which may not have originally been present in Thucydides' text.

Quotations, extracts, and references

In this study, I focus on instances of quotation of words attributed to Thucydides or Pericles, rather than references. Lutz used a similar set of criteria to judge a writer's 'influence,' collating the number of citations, quotations and paraphrases of an author, as 'this would not only help to answer how widely a book was read but also how highly regarded it was.'⁹ References to the time of the ancients are commonplace, but often only function as a figure of speech to mean 'a long time ago' rather than as an invitation to consider the relevance of an historical figure's words today. These two examples illustrate this:

Since ancient Rome, communities have depended on fire departments to control and prevent fires to homes, businesses and public buildings.¹⁰

Yes, from the time of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome there were libraries, but always they were the closely guarded property of the rich and available only to the elite.¹¹

In the first case, the implication is that public provision of defence from fire is so clearly a social good that it is a 'universal' across Western society. The reference to Rome serves to create a sense of continuity across a wide sweep of historical time and space, and to imply that

⁹ Lutz (1984) 191. Lutz prefers this evidence-based approach to that of researching library holdings, booksellers' catalogues, or politicians' educational backgrounds, in order to try to work out which authors were most influential on political thought at the time.

¹⁰ Bachmann, Michelle (MN) 'Honoring the Cold Spring Fire Dept. on their 100th Anniversary' *CRO* October 7, 2011.

¹¹ Owens, Major (NY) 'Carl Elliott and Lister Hill: Two indispensable great angels for public libraries' *CRO* April 7, 2006.

any change to the status quo would be unthinkable. The second case however takes the opposite line. It is immediately preceded with the sentence, ‘Just as school systems for the masses never existed before they emerged in America, so it was with public libraries.’ The juxtaposition with the past now serves to highlight the difference between modern America and societies of the past, the progress that the nation has made, and emphasize American exceptionalism: to drive this point home, the speaker declares towards the climax of his speech: ‘In comparison [with America] the great Roman Empire was merely a village.’ These two contradictory portrayals of the classical civilizations lie comfortably side-by-side in Congressional rhetoric, to be summoned as the occasion demands. They are more frequent but less varied or complex in their significance than actual citations of the words of classical writers.

In the cases where an ancient writer’s words are cited, there is a difference between a short quotation and a longer extract in terms of their rhetorical use. A quotation can be merely a few recognizable words, such as ‘wait for that wisest of counselors – time,’¹² whereas an extract works differently. Timothy Ruback’s schema for categorizing the uses made of Thucydides by International Relations theorists, which I discussed in Chapter 2, is useful to delineate the differences between these two. To recap, Ruback identifies three ‘performative dispositions’ which theorists can adopt when they refer to Thucydides, those of ‘invokers, imperialists, and inquisitors.’¹³ Most of the examples of Thucydides’ words in Congress are of the first type: an invocation of a relatively well-known figure and their relatively well-known words, before the speaker moves on. But a speaker who adopts either of the other ‘performative dispositions’ (and this term is very helpful here for emphasizing the nature of Congressional rhetoric *as*

¹² Velazquez, Nydia (NY) ‘Concurrent Resolution on the Budget, Fiscal Year 1994’ *CRO* March 18, 1993. The quotation is attributed to Pericles, and Plutarch is not mentioned.

¹³ Ruback (2011); see p.162ff.

performance) requires a deeper engagement with – and knowledge of – the content of the passage under discussion. On rare occasions, politicians do exactly this, and give a detailed account of a passage from the *History*, in order usually to compare the situation to contemporary events. These examples have very different characteristics to those of the quotations, and therefore I will discuss the examples of these separately.

The power of quotation

Quotation is an extremely powerful tool in political rhetoric, and recognized as such by American politicians, in whose speeches quotations frequently occur.¹⁴ Greek and Roman writers are among just a few of the sources of quotations used by politicians to enliven their speeches with humour or to add gravitas: the Bible is far more popular, and understandably so given the importance of religion to many Americans.¹⁵ Quotations from modern literature, movies, television, and other well-known political figures and celebrities also feature very frequently. There are two main advantages to using quotation in these political speeches. Firstly, a quotation can succinctly convey a complicated notion or popularly known idea: the Library of Congress' handbook of the most commonly requested but obscure quotations needed by politicians explains that in today's world of televised speeches and sound bites, 'with the style more intimate and the length diminished, the quotations become a form of shorthand, a

¹⁴ Many of the speeches and remarks given in the US Congress are written not by the politicians themselves, but by speechwriters on their behalf. However, speechwriters both learn to imitate their politician's 'voice' (Swaim 2011a) and also adhere to the conventions of public discourse, of which the illustrative quotation is an important one. Of the 53 books on the reading list for speechwriters recommended by the Washington Speechwriters Roundtable, 27 are compendia of quotations. For the purposes of this study, there is little difference between a speech written by the politician him or herself, or by the speechwriter, since it is the job of the speechwriter to represent the character of the speaker.

¹⁵ The Bible was also the most frequently cited of the late eighteenth century sources (Lutz (1984) 192). On the fluctuating fortunes of classical quotation in British political rhetoric in the nineteenth century, see Meisel (2001).

distillation of a grander – longer – thought.¹⁶ These ‘longer thoughts’ might be stories, folktales, or historical events which cannot be summed up in so few words, in which case the impact of a quotation far exceeds that of a description. ‘We shall never surrender’ expresses the strategy of Churchill, as well as his determination to galvanize the British against the threat facing them, in a more direct, emotive, and compact way than an account of British foreign policy in the summer of 1940 could do. Secondly, by choosing to make or illustrate their point through a quotation, politicians can create for themselves a rhetorical persona, especially when they also give the source of the quotation: a reference to popular culture might demonstrate the politician’s ability to identify with the everyday American, whereas a quotation from the Bible could show how they uphold traditional values.

What value do quotations from classical sources hold today however? Even if the classical authors are ‘almost useless,’ as the Congressional Research Service’s Assistant Director has asserted, they still appear with surprising frequency, because of their ability to counteract precisely the problems of the modern political speaker. Popular culture is constantly changing, and a politician who uses references to it to make a political point runs a gamut of dangers, from seeming trite, or out of touch should the reference be inaccurate, to having a speech seem dated or simply be incomprehensible when repeated in the future. Quotations from Greece, Rome, the Bible, or well-known books have already demonstrated their ability to speak meaningfully to later generations. Within this group, the classics might be deemed ‘useless’ because of the assumption that the audience will not know the context or source of the quotation, but not only do some speakers go to the lengths of giving some preliminary background so that they can still make their classical quotation, but also some classical

¹⁶ Library of Congress (2010) xiv.

quotations (and authors) have achieved such recognizability that in certain contexts they do not even need such a preface. I aim to show that the value of classical quotation to politicians remains higher than the Library of Congress' doom-laden words might suggest, and has specific advantages over these other two sources of enduring wisdom (the Bible and post-classical literature), peculiar to its origin in Greek and Roman culture.

These characteristics of quotation as a rhetorical device I will call 'stickiness,' amalgamating the term as it is used in two different contexts. Firstly, Gary Saul Morson, in his book *The Words of Others*, defines stickiness as the power of a *quotation*, as opposed to a mere phrase or sentence, to conjure up particular associations: for instance, the term 'brother's keeper' connotes the Bible in the mind of the hearer that the term 'watcher of my brother' does not, even though it is an equally valid translation of the original.¹⁷ The importance of a few specific words for this characteristic of quotations cannot be underestimated: in the example from Churchill above, even a change from 'never' to 'not,' or from 'surrender' to 'give in,' destroys the allusion to Churchill, and therefore removes the association for the listener with the Allied resistance, even though the sense of the sentence is unchanged. The second aspect of my definition of 'stickiness' is that coined by the educators Chip and Dan Heath in their very popular 2007 book *Made to Stick* about how to communicate effectively. They explain that certain ideas have 'stickiness' in that they are easily and accurately retained in a listener's mind. Furthermore, they identify six traits shared by the stickiest ideas: they are simple, unexpected, concrete, credible, emotional stories. They argue, convincingly, that people will remember information when it is delivered in this format. Quotations often share many of these traits: the example of Churchill's 'we will never surrender' arguably fulfils all these criteria. The Heaths

¹⁷ Morson (2011) 104.

also show how quotations will evolve in order to acquire more of these traits, such as ‘Nice guys finish last,’ which is attributed to Leo Durocher, an American football coach. This ‘quotation’ evolved from the words he actually spoke, ‘Why, they’re the nicest guys in the world! And where are they? In seventh place!’¹⁸ I use the term ‘stickiness’ to convey both of these aspects: the power of a notion or phrase to embed itself in the listener’s mind and not be quickly forgotten, and also the power to conjure other specific associations. In the context of Congress, these are two effects that politicians are often looking to achieve.

Extracts and historical parallels

On January 11, 1991, Senator Wyche Fowler of Georgia gave a remarkable speech to the Senate. There were four days remaining until UN Security Council Resolution 678 ran out, after which member states would be empowered to use ‘all necessary means,’ including military force, to drive the Iraqi soldiers who were currently occupying Kuwait out of the territory. Senator Fowler felt impelled, amidst the heated debate surrounding the impending deadline, to recount in detail the confrontation between Nicias and Alcibiades in 415BC about whether to send an expedition to Sicily.¹⁹ He gave the context of the debate, taking place after nearly 20 years of semi-continuous conflict. Then he read long excerpts from Nicias’ first speech in the assembly, followed by Alcibiades’ response with his assurances of an easy victory. Finally, he told the senators the surprising result that the Assembly ‘confounded Nicias’ plan by approving the larger expedition, and then naming him and Alcibiades as two of the three commanders of

¹⁸ Heath and Heath (2007) 238-9.

¹⁹ This use of the Sicilian Expedition to strike a cautionary note against getting involved in the situation in Kuwait was not unique. The BBC had broadcast just three days before the deadline, the day after Senator Fowler’s speech, a version of John Barton’s play from the 1960s, ‘The War that Never Ends.’ It tells the story of the Peloponnesian War and includes extracts from Plato’s *Alcibiades* dialogues (set in Barton’s play the day before Alcibiades will give his speech on Sicily in the Assembly) to give extra emphasis to this turning-point in the Athenians’ fortunes.

the mission.’²⁰ Senator Fowler used this long extract explicitly to draw attention to the unpredictability of war, and to warn the senators against casting their votes on the assumption that a war in the Middle East would be short, straightforward and relatively painless. Implicitly, he was also inviting them to reflect on their own voting behaviour and their own responses to rhetorical appeals.

As Senator Fowler himself acknowledged, through his smiles to his fellow senators and his request that they ‘indulge’ him with a moment for the historical parallel, extended extracts such as these are not common in Congressional discourse, in which each individual’s speaking time is limited. Senator Fowler himself chose to abridge his speech on the floor of the Senate, but to include a much longer version in the *Congressional Record*.²¹ On very few occasions over the last 20 years have extracts from Thucydides been given in the US Congress comparable in length, and those most notable were by the remarkable Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who often drew on ancient history to illustrate his thinking and was renowned for his historical parallels. Even Barack Obama appreciated Byrd, the longest serving senator ever, for the ‘stemwinders [stirring speeches] he peppered with history.’²² His oratorical style was certainly distinctive in the Senate, and his use of history to shed light on contemporary politics was unequalled in the modern world. For example, modelling himself on Cicero, as Alexander Hamilton had done to criticize the leaders of the Whiskey Rebellion, he delivered 14 speeches in the form of historical lectures in the Senate between May and October 1993, describing in detail the history of the Roman Senate in order to express his opposition to the

²⁰ Fowler, Wyche (GA) ‘War in Iraq?’ *CRO* January 11, 1991. An extended version of his speech, including longer excerpts from Nicias’ and Alcibiades’ speeches, as well as Nicias’ second speech, was subsequently included in the *Congressional Record*.

²¹ C-SPAN video: Senate Session January 11, 1991.

²² (2010) Reuters.

proposed ‘Line-Item Veto’ which would give the President the power to veto individual items within appropriations bills.²³ The move would mean not only a change to the Constitution, but to Byrd it also indicated a step along the same path taken by the Roman Senate when it ‘willingly yielded hard-won powers to a succession of dictators and emperors.’²⁴ Senator Byrd’s favouritism for Thucydides, Cicero and Polybius, above the other staple authors admired by the Founding Fathers, was so renowned that Thucydides was even used intentionally and ironically against him.²⁵ In these anomalous cases of long historical digression, the concept of stickiness does not apply as it does to the shorter quotations, since the force of the citation lies more in the parallels which the speaker draws than in the immediate resonances that the quotation elicits in the listener’s mind.

The Congressional Record

All speeches, remarks, and exchanges spoken in the two chambers of the US Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, are recorded in the *Congressional Record*, the American equivalent of the British *Hansard*. It is important to remember that the *Congressional Record*, and similarly *Hansard*, is a constructed written record based (to a large but not complete degree) on an oral performance or exchange. According to its own description, the *Record* provides ‘substantially a verbatim report of proceedings,’ but ‘shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk.’²⁶ Gary Saul Morson describes how this works in practice in the field of journalism:

²³ Maddox (2006) provides a close examination of Senator Byrd’s ‘Philippics.’ On Alexander Hamilton’s appropriation of the name ‘Tully,’ see Richard (1994) Ch.2.

²⁴ Byrd (1995) x.

²⁵ George Brown (D-CA) compared Byrd’s pork-barrel politics to the Athenians’ behaviour at Melos: Brown, George (CA), ‘Conference Report on H.R.4624.’ *CRO* September 12, 1994.

²⁶ Laws and Rules for Publication of the *Congressional Record*.

In citing public figures, journalists usually give what the person clearly meant to say – without mid-sentence corrections, filler words, repetitions, and the sort of lapses in grammar committed by the most educated when speaking off the cuff. By convention, such alterations in accord with intended meaning are not considered inaccurate.²⁷

Political figures whose words have been reported completely accurately on occasion, such as George W. Bush and Sarah Palin, have discovered the cost of this convention being deliberately flouted.²⁸ For the same reason, literal transcripts are very hard to read. As a written document conveying information given orally, the *Congressional Record* is rendered according to the convention Morson describes. The differences between spoken and written language necessitate the creation of rules governing the transfer of information into the *Record*:

Documents such as Hansard make truth claims about historical speech events, and enter into political discourse as a means of referring back to speakers' utterances. The emphasis is thus primarily on conceptual accuracy (referential and propositional), rather than on the momentary realities of political interaction.²⁹

The rules of the *Record* allow for explaining the manner of delivery, through inserted notes between bullet points, in order to 'contribute to... historical accuracy.'³⁰ Also members of Congress can request material to be recorded in the *Record* which was not read out loud in Congress, as long as there is no objection. This usually applies to material to which the speaker is referring in detail, such as a report, or another person's speech or letter. The *Congressional Record* could be described as recording both what was said in Congress as well as the complete meaning of what was said, or, to use a parallel from Thucydides, ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων. John Marincola translates this critical phrase as 'holding

²⁷ Morson (2011) 107.

²⁸ Frantzich (2012) Ch.25 on Bush, and Ch. 37 on Palin.

²⁹ Chilton and Schaeffner (2002) 7-8.

³⁰ Laws and Rules for Publication of the *Congressional Record*.

itself as close as possible to the entire reasoning laid out in the speeches that were actually spoken,' which conveys well the apparent but actually non-existent discrepancy between spoken and written language.³¹

³¹ Marincola (2011) 331.

Overview of the citations:

patterns and trends

There have been 91 citations attributed to Thucydides or Pericles in the US Congress between January 1991 and December 2011. The chart below shows the number of citations of Thucydides per year during this period, compared with the number of citations attributed to Cicero. The citations themselves are appended to this thesis in a catalogue for ease of reference.³²

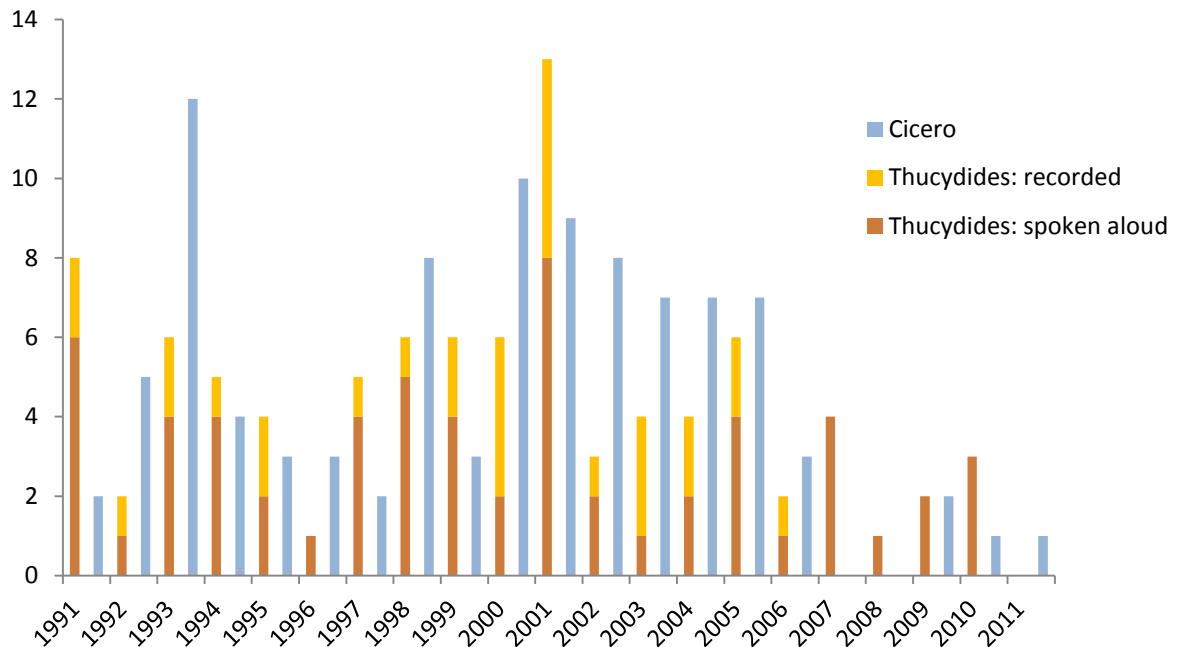


FIGURE 4: Citations of Thucydides and Cicero in the US Congress, 1991-2011

³² My analysis of 2012's citations will be published in Morley and Lee (forthcoming, 2014). Catalogue of Congressional Quotations (CCQ): pages 287-317.

The citations of Thucydides (and Pericles)³³ are separated into two groups: those that were spoken aloud in the House or the Senate, and those that were included in the *Congressional Record* without being spoken, usually for two reasons: the speaker either had limited time, and so their remarks were subsequently recorded in full in the *Record* after they spoke, or because the speaker requested that another person's newspaper article or speech be included in the *Record* as it contained vital support for their argument, and the quotation from Thucydides was within this secondary document. 30 of the 91 citations of Thucydides were not spoken out aloud, but were included in the *Congressional Record*. Although they may have had less impact when not read out aloud, their very inclusion at all still speaks to their perceived relevance and their appropriateness, especially when more recent parallels might conceivably make a suitable replacement.

The figures for the citations of Cicero consist of both spoken and merely recorded instances. Quotations from Cicero are very slightly more common, numbering nearly 100, but Cicero is the only classical author who is quoted more frequently than Thucydides. This is not surprising given that Rome was the republic *par excellence* for America's Founding Fathers, who are naturally still referred to with great respect and reverence by today's members of Congress. Cicero, as Rome's greatest defender, according to Meyer Reinhold held 'pride of place... among the numerous classical role models in America.'³⁴

There has also been a trend away from quoting both Cicero and Thucydides over the last five years: although there is an overall average of just over four Thucydidean citations per year

³³ I have included for this purpose quotations attributed to Pericles that are from the Funeral Oration of Pericles in Thucydides.

³⁴ Reinhold (1984) 98. The spike in Ciceronian references in 1993 was due to Senator Byrd's 'Philippics' against the Line Item Veto amendment to the Constitution, mentioned above (footnotes 24 and 25). Without this spike, the number of quotations attributed to Thucydides/Pericles and to Cicero would be almost exactly equal.

for the whole period, two-thirds of the instances come from before 2002, and there is a large spike in 2001. Nine of the citations are longer extracts with comments, and 82 are shorter quotations, consisting of anything from a few words to two or three well-known sentences. Of all these Thucydidean quotations and extracts, Senator Byrd is responsible for only ten of them; 55 other congressmen and women have also cited Thucydides during this period. Four congressmen contributed between three and six quotations each, and 11 have quoted Thucydides twice. This means that 40 other congressmen or women have cited Thucydides once on the floor of the Senate or House, or used a citation from him in their remarks for inclusion in the *Record*. There are only 435 seats in the House of Representatives and 100 Senators (two per state) at any one time, and that 56 members of Congress have cited Thucydides in the last 20 years indicates a significant proportion taking part in this manner of discourse (especially given that far more have referred to Greece or Rome without actually quoting Thucydides). There is also a difference between the parties: 61 quotations issue from Democrats, and 30 from Republicans.

The vast majority of the citations are taken from only a few passages of Thucydides. The most frequently cited is Pericles' Funeral Oration, contributing 69 instances, all of which are examples of quotation rather than longer excerpts. Other notable passages include the Melian Dialogue (four citations, of which two are excerpts), and Thucydides' comments on Sicily, revolution in Corcyra, and his own methodology. Ten of the quotations are mistakenly attributed to Thucydides. By looking at the five most frequently quoted passages, patterns begin to emerge about why the Funeral Oration in particular can be so useful for politicians trying to convey important and sometimes difficult messages. We will see how it is usually the version

with the greatest appropriateness and rhetorical impact, rather than the greatest fidelity to the Greek, that is used: that is to say, the version used is the one with the greatest ‘stickiness.’

First of the top five most frequently cited passages: 2.37.1

(i) Let me say that our system of government does not copy the institutions of our neighbours. (ii) It is more the case of our being a model to others, than of our imitating anyone else. (iii) Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. (iv) When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; (v) when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, (vi) what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses.³⁵

Sections from this passage occur 19 times in the US Congress, and I have labelled the separate parts in order to distinguish between the recurring parts clearly. Part (i) occurs once. Part (ii) occurs twice. Part (iii) is the most popular, being quoted 16 times, 14 of which include some or all of parts (iv) to (vi). Warner’s phrase ‘Our constitution is called a democracy’ is particularly rhetorically effective, occurring 12 times, and has advantages over Crawley’s version of the same sentence, which reads ‘its administration is in the hands of the many rather than the few; this is why it is called a democracy.’³⁶ Firstly, the word ‘our’ has strong rhetorical impact, drawing the speaker and his audience together, and secondly, onto the word ‘constitution’ is stuck in any Member’s mind the association with the US Constitution, as opposed to Crawley’s ‘administration,’ which implies the executive branch only. But Warner’s opposition between ‘the minority’ and ‘the whole people’ is rhetorically clumsy as well as inaccurate, and in Crawley’s, Forster Smith’s, and Zimmern’s translations it is rendered with a neater, more

³⁵ Warner (1972) 145. The numeral insertions are my own.

³⁶ Crawley (1951) 104.

punchy contrast of ‘the many’ with ‘the few.’³⁷ The remaining four examples of this quotation appearing in Congress all employ the distinction of ‘the many’ versus ‘the few,’ although they each draw from different translations otherwise.³⁸ It becomes clear that congressmen are doing one of two things: either using the Warner translation word for word, or they are drawn by the appeal of ‘the many versus the few,’ in which case what has stuck is the value of this contrast as a definition of democracy rather than the precise wording of the rest of the translation.

The Warner translation, accounting for most of these examples, has a unique context of its own. Each of its 12 appearances is in remarks in recognition of Greek Independence Day. This has been a day of celebration for Greek Americans since the start of their fight for liberation from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, and is celebrated by them on March 25th, the day of the Annunciation. However, in October 1986, Congress passed Public Law 99-532, ‘To designate March 25, 1987, as “Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy,” ’ a practice which was annually repeated. This gave the day a much higher profile than it had previously enjoyed, changing it from a day that was of significance mostly to Greek Americans into one potentially with national visibility. The text of the Law recognizes that ‘the ancient Greeks developed the concept of democracy’ and that ‘the Founding Fathers of the United States of America drew heavily upon the political and philosophical experience of Ancient Greece in forming our representative democracy’ in its reasons for enacting the law, in which ‘the President... is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe the designated day with

³⁷ ‘Our constitution is named a democracy because it is in the hands not of the few, but of the many.’ (Zimmern (1911) 204. Also published in Livingstone (1943a) 111). ‘Our government is called a democracy, because its administration is in the hands, not of the few, but of the many.’ (Smith (1919) 323).

³⁸ CCQ 1, 54, 62, and 84.

appropriate ceremonies and activities.³⁹ This presidential proclamation, and the remarks of the president that accompany its signing, echo both these sentiments every year. In no year is the name of Pericles mentioned or the quotation above given in either the official proclamation or the remarks, but within Congress itself Pericles is invoked almost every year in remarks by Members of Congress as the praiseworthy leader of the Athenian democratic regime, and very often this quotation is used to assimilate Greek and American democratic values.⁴⁰ It would appear that observing this day annually offers an opportunity to re-emphasize America's sense of its own identity as a leading light of democracy and freedom, possibly in contrast to its previous identification with the republican regime of Rome,⁴¹ to which the notions of freedom and democracy do not so easily adhere as does the spectre of the declining empire. In the 1980s and 1990s, the vigorous dissemination of the message that America was a free and democratic nation was a key aim for both the Reagan and Bush administrations. However, all the instances of this quotation being used on Greek Independence Day occur before 2001, although the designation of the day continues into the twenty-first century as before and Pericles is still mentioned often in remarks in the *Record*. It may be that the sentiment of the quotation was no longer felt to reflect the correct image of the country in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 and in the presidency of George W. Bush.

Two final points remain to be said about this intriguing quotation, which illustrates the dynamics of how quotations work rhetorically in Congress. First of all, it has fallen almost completely out of use in Congress since the end of 2001, with one notable exception. It was

³⁹ Public Law 99-532. 100 Stat.3024. Ironically, the Founding Fathers drew far more on the model of Rome rather than Athens, if they can be said to have looked to classical parallels with seriousness at all; see footnote 3 above.

⁴⁰ In 1989 alone (before the parameters of this study), this quotation was recorded by nine different members of Congress in their brief remarks recognizing the day.

⁴¹ Malamud (2009).

read out, in its entirety, in a speech in the Senate honoring Senator Byrd by Senator Leahy on June 28th, 2010, following the former's death. Senator Leahy prefaced the quotation by saying:

As a form of tribute I suspect Senator Byrd himself would appreciate--let me quote from Pericles' funeral oration from Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* about the inherent strength of democracy. Senator Byrd was well familiar with this passage, and with its relevance to our Constitution and our form of government. I heard him use it before. Pericles is said to have spoken this...⁴²

In fact, Senator Byrd had not used this particular quotation from the Funeral Oration in the last 20 years in Congress, although he may have done on other occasions outside Congress or earlier in his 57-year political career. But Senator Byrd was a staunch defender of the Constitution, as his resistance to the Line-Item Veto legislation mentioned earlier demonstrated, and he was proud to carry a copy of the Constitution with him at all times.⁴³ Therefore this quotation seems a most apposite one to use on this occasion, particularly with its opening phrases, (i) and (ii). The transfer is easily made in this eulogic context of the notion of being 'an example to others' from Athens to Senator Byrd himself, who did not copy other senators, but was an example, as well as a mentor, to many of them.

A similar transfer has occurred in the other instance of the use of this phrase (ii). The remarks of Daniel Patrick Moynihan at the dedication ceremony for the impressive new Federal Judiciary Building on September 30th, 1992, were published in the *Congressional Record* at the request of Senator John Chafee, speaking in the Senate the following week. Senator Moynihan said:

⁴² Leahy, Patrick (VT) 'Honoring Byrd' *CRO* June 28, 2010. Leahy's quotation then closely follows the Jowett translation, which had not appeared previously during this timeframe in Congress.

⁴³ Byrd, Robert C. (WV) 'Constitution and Citizenship Day' *CRO* September 18, 2006.

As President Kennedy would say Pericles would say, 'We do not imitate, but are an example to others.'⁴⁴

After reflecting on the classical influences on American architecture and focusing on Daniel Burnham's Union Station in Washington, D.C., Senator Moynihan praises the 'American genius' which he says is epitomized by the new civic building. He claims that although American architectural skill surpasses that of the Greeks and Romans, 'the antiphony persists,' and then uses Pericles' words to elide America and Athens as the cultural leaders of their respective worlds. Yet rather than just use Pericles' words, Senator Moynihan chose to consider those words within an even more specific context: as they were used by President-Elect John F. Kennedy to a Joint Convention of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, at the State House, Boston, on January, 1961, in what became known as the 'city upon a hill' speech:

For what Pericles said to the Athenians has long been true of this commonwealth: 'We do not imitate - for we are a model to others.'⁴⁵

This reinforces the message of American exceptionalism through combining it with the other sentiment which J.F.K. identified in the Funeral Oration: that of harmony between a nation's cultural and governmental accomplishments. An earlier example of J.F.K. expressing this ideal through allusion to Pericles comes from his letter to Miss Theodate Johnson, the publisher of *Musical America*, in 1960:

There is a connection, hard to explain logically but easy to feel, between achievement in public life and progress in the arts. The age of Pericles was also the age of Phidias. The age of Lorenzo de Medici was also the age of Leonardo da Vinci.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Chafee, John H. (RI) 'Dedication of the Federal Judiciary Building.' *CRO* October 7, 1992.

⁴⁵ Kennedy (1961).

Senator Moynihan uses the image of J.F.K. quoting Pericles to invoke precisely these two sentiments expressed above, and emphasizes his point by following the quotation of Pericles by saying, ‘Not only in the arts, but also in government.’ Just as Senator Leahy associated the Constitution with Senator Byrd through their both being ‘examples to others,’ so Senator Moynihan invokes the memory of a president deemed by many to be an ‘example to others’ for his erudition, knowledge and political skill. It appears that this phrase ‘we do not imitate, but are an example to others’ works most effectively at a rhetorical level when it is referring not only to a system of government, but also when it is implicitly alluding to a particularly exemplary *individual*: Senator Byrd or J.F.K. in these instances, and, in Thucydides’ *History*, Pericles himself.

Another example, which was included in the *Record* six times despite never being read aloud, illustrates again the self-identification of modern America with the ideal of democratic Athens. James H. Warner was a US Marine sent to Vietnam in February 1967. In October that year he was shot down over North Vietnam and taken prisoner. For over five years, he was tortured physically and mentally. His captors offered to free prisoners who produced anti-American propaganda, and used various means to try to turn Warner away from the West. Warner refused to cooperate, but retained a patriotic devotion to the United States. After his release, he completed a law degree and became Domestic Policy Advisor to Ronald Reagan. In 1989, he wrote to the *Washington Post* in response to the controversy over flag-burning sparked by the Texas-Johnson legal case that summer, which ruled that prohibitions to desecrating the American flag were invalid as they contravened the rights to free speech enshrined in the Constitution. Warner’s letter, published on the 11th July 1989, describes how his Vietnamese

⁴⁶ Library of Congress (2010) 21.

captors, hoping to undermine his resistance, had shown him a picture of Americans burning the American flag. But he countered that seeing the picture made him prouder of his country than ever: that Americans were unafraid to show their personal disagreement with their country's policy proved how free they were. He continued:

I have never forgotten that look, nor have I forgotten the satisfaction I felt at using his tool, the picture of the burning flag, against him. Aneurin Bevan, former official of the British Labor Party, was once asked by Nikita Khrushchev how the British definition of democracy differed from the Soviet view. Bevan responded, forcefully, that if Khrushchev really wanted to know the difference, he should read the funeral oration of Pericles. In that speech, recorded in the Second Book of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Pericles contrasted democratic Athens with totalitarian Sparta. Unlike the Spartans, he said, the Athenians did not fear freedom. Rather, they viewed freedom as the very source of their strength. As it was for Athens, so it is for America--our freedom is not to be feared, but our freedom is our strength. We don't need to amend the Constitution in order to punish those who burn our flag. They burn the flag because they hate America and they are afraid of freedom. What better way to hurt them than with the subversive idea of freedom?⁴⁷

Senator Byrd requested the letter be printed in the *Congressional Record* in 1995, when the Flag Burning Amendment briefly resurfaced. When the issue yet again arose in the late 1990s, the article was enclosed in a letter from Colin Powell to Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont on May 18th 1999. This was then read out and included in the *Congressional Record* a further three times before 2002, and yet again in 2006 by Leahy when the Amendment proposal was raised once more. This article has come to encapsulate one of the primary arguments against the proposed Amendment. Its effectiveness stems from its juxtaposition of Warner's vivid story of his own personal experience with the sudden catapulting of the reader from the present day into the Cold War and far back to ancient Greece. Warner's own story is hard-hitting, but focused on him alone. Aneurin Bevan's resistance to Khrushchev's taunt echoes Warner's own refusal to

⁴⁷ CCQ 12, 34, 45, 48, 67, and 68.

give in to his captors, but invokes a larger and more formidable opponent, that of the Soviet Union itself in the person of Khrushchev. By reaching back to the Greeks, he universalizes both himself and Bevan, creating a sense of a broader, long-lasting tradition of fighting for freedom against totalitarianism since ancient times.

Second of the top five most frequently cited passages: 2.43.3

For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men.⁴⁸

2.43.3 is quoted 13 times over this period.⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, it is used to commemorate those in the armed forces who have died in the course of their duty. Eight of these occasions are part of speeches given in recognition of Memorial Day, the last Monday in May, when Americans remember those who have died in war and visit their graves or military cemeteries. Three instances honour individual servicemen who have died, and one was given on September 14th, 2001, to remember those servicemen who died on September 11th. The applicability of the quotation to the occasion needs little explanation. It offers comfort to those remembering the dead. The reference to ‘columns and inscriptions’ is a reminder of the recently-visited grave, but the image of the memorial on men’s hearts reassures the listeners that the dead soldier has not and will not be forgotten. The unusual vocabulary of the Jowett translation above, with its now archaic-sounding ‘sepulchre’ and ‘graven,’ serves to elevate the sentiment and segregate it from

⁴⁸ Jowett (1879).

⁴⁹ CCQ 9,15,16,18,20,24,32,37,38,39,41,51, and 56. No. 41 is the outlier, in which Senator Byrd uses the quotation to illustrate the importance of knowing history.

everyday language, and it is used for six of the 13 quotations.⁵⁰ Whichever translation is used, however, this quotation is always put in the mouth of Pericles, not Thucydides, and in ten instances the specific context of a public funeral is also mentioned before the speaker reads the quotation, such as in this example:

Whenever Memorial day comes around, I am reminded of what may well have been the first, and is still one of the finest, memorials to fallen soldiers. Thousands of years ago: the Funeral Oration of the great Athenian leader Pericles, as recorded by the historian Thucydides, during the Peloponnesian War in the 5th century BC: ‘For this offering of their lives...’⁵¹

As opposed to 2.37.2, the context has stuck to the quotation and become an integral part of it: it has become an important aspect of its rhetorical force that this quotation was spoken by Pericles, the leader of democratic Athens. The reminder that this sentiment came from a funeral speech makes it even more apt for the occasion. Also, the quoting of this passage on the occasion of a memorial has an extremely long history: Edward Everett, whose two-hour long speech preceded Lincoln’s address at Gettysburg in 1873, opened it by describing the occasion of Pericles’ Funeral Oration in detail, and closed by recalling that:

No lapse of time, no distance of space, shall cause you to be forgotten. “The whole earth,” said Pericles, as he stood over the remains of his fellow-citizens, who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, ‘The whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men.’ All time, he might have added, is the millenium of their glory.⁵²

It has become a tradition which, even if it is not observed every Memorial Day, is a part of the American culture of honoring fallen soldiers. There is no requirement for the speaker to come

⁵⁰ Crawley’s is used three times, and Hobbes’ version twice.

⁵¹ Cleland, Max (GA) ‘Memorial Day’ *CRO* May 25, 2001. Senator Max Cleland, himself a disabled Vietnam veteran, clearly prefers the simple language of the Crawley translation, which he uses twice.

⁵² Wills (1992) Appendix III.A.

up with an original part of the Funeral Speech, just as the same sentence 2.37.1 could be repeated for Greek Independence Day; it is the very repetition of the known sentiment, recalling the two and a half thousand year tradition of holding public funerals for war dead, that in part provides the comfort for the listeners. Similarly, the reading of the stanza from Laurence Binyon's 'For the Fallen' is one of the rituals carried out at Remembrance Day services in Britain:

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.⁵³

This and the Periclean quotation remind the listeners that they are not alone, and create a resonance with former eulogizing speeches, thereby raising the status of the dead to that of others who have had public eulogies spoken for them in the past. The quoting of this passage, together with the image that has stuck to it of Pericles speaking a eulogy over the war dead, has become a recognizable tradition. This is an extract from a longer rap poem, composed by Congressman Major Owens, and read out in Congress on October 25th, 2001, as a response to the terrorist attacks:

For all the hijacked years
Cry rivers,
Feel the death chill
Iceberg of frozen
Bloody tears;

Defiant orations of Pericles
Must now rise
Out of the ashes
Jefferson's profound principles

⁵³ Binyon (1914).

Will outlive the crashes....⁵⁴

The whole poem expresses sorrow but also hope after the horror of the terrorist attacks. The emotions associated with Pericles' speech in this poem are resilience, determination, and patriotism: and again, Pericles is side-by-side with Jefferson in upholding the ideals of democracy, reinforcing the identity of the Founding Fathers, and subsequently America, as the heir and present-day defender of Greek democracy.

One final example demonstrates the persistence of this image of Pericles as funeral orator. Ronald Reagan had died on 5th June, 2004, and Senator Henry Hyde included this quotation in his eulogy to the former president:

He was a rare and subtly powerful speaker, able to instill in others a confident belief in their own capacities and goodness. And he could also inspire oppressed millions to demolish empires. His eloquence reminds me of the story of ancient Greeks who, when Pericles spoke, said, 'How well he speaks.' But when Demosthenes spoke, they said, 'Let's march.'⁵⁵

At first sight this is a puzzling quotation. It is a well-known phrase, although usually Cicero is in the place of Pericles. The quotation originated in 1906 with William Jennings Bryan,⁵⁶ and Adlai Stevenson used it in 1960 when introducing J.F.K.,⁵⁷ with Cicero instead of Pericles; the father of advertising James Ogilvy used it in his renowned *Ogilvy on Advertising* with Aeschines opposed to Demosthenes.⁵⁸ In his biography of Ronald Reagan, Dinesh D'Souza uses it to comment on the former president's oratorical style, pitting Cicero against Demosthenes,

⁵⁴ Owens, Major (NY) 'Designating September 11 as Patriot day' *CRO* October 25, 2001. Major Owens is known as 'The rappin' Rep' because of his political and progressive rap poetry. As this is not a quotation from Thucydides, it does not count towards the sum of citations.

⁵⁵ Hyde, Henry (IL) 'Mourning the passing of Reagan' *CRO* June 9, 2004.

⁵⁶ Bryan (1906) Introduction to Vol. 1.

⁵⁷ Martin (1977) 549.

⁵⁸ Ogilvy (1983) 7. Ogilvy was likely alluding to Cicero's *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*.

and saying that Reagan's style was more like Demosthenes': not intended to display his eloquence, but to win people over to his side.⁵⁹ Even Gordon Brown has used the trope to give rhetorical punch to the conclusion of a 'barnstorming' speech, saying:

When Cicero turned to the crowds in ancient Rome, people said, 'great speech.' When Demosthenes spoke to the crowds in ancient Greece and people turned to each other, they said: 'Let's march.' Let's march for justice, dignity and fairness.⁶⁰

As Cicero is more commonly quoted in the US Congress than Pericles, it might seem peculiar for Pericles to have been substituted here instead of the Roman senator. Hyde is effectively giving a eulogy, and I think that the association of the figure of Pericles with funerary rhetoric is strong enough to have affected this quotation. Reagan's military career was not outstanding or unusual enough for him to be honoured with one of the phrases from the Funeral Speech that is usually applied to fallen soldiers, and his primary identity is not as a veteran at all. As Major Owen's rap poem reveals, in a funerary or memorial context the mention of Pericles' name alone invokes the ideas of patriotism, glory, and distinguished service.

Third of the top five most frequently cited passages: 2.43.1

And when this power of the city shall seem great to you, consider then that the same was purchased by valiant men, and by men that knew their duty.⁶¹ *Thomas Hobbes, 1830*

'If Athens shall appear great to you,' said Pericles, 'consider then that her glories were purchased by valiant men, and by men who learned their duty.' That is the source of all greatness in all societies, and it is the key to progress in our own time.⁶²

Robert F. Kennedy, 1966

⁵⁹ D'Souza (1997) 30.

⁶⁰ Brown (2011); Brown gave this speech on May 3rd, 2010, to the Citizens UK Assembly in London. It was described by 'barnstorming' by Freedland (2010).

⁶¹ Hobbes (1830) 107.

⁶² Kennedy (1966).

This short extract from 2.43.1 appears ten times, and is a very powerful example of the ‘stickiness’ that a quotation acquires when it has been spoken by an influential person. Hobbes’ translation was adapted slightly by Robert F. Kennedy, and it is this quotation that appears four times, twice within repeats of the famous address of 1966 at Capetown, and twice under its own steam attributed to Pericles, without any reference to Kennedy’s use of the words. The other most popular version that appears is that of Alfred Zimmern, which is used three times.⁶³

Although Robert Kennedy used the quotation in 1966 to emphasize the importance of believing that with determination the world can be changed into a better place, giving the examples of Peace Corps volunteers and the many unknown resisters of the Nazis in occupied France, in the last 20 years this quotation has been used only to comment on the valiant and dutiful within the context of war, and this has also changed subtly since the start of the ‘War on Terror.’ As could be expected, all the Members of Congress who use this quotation that evokes Kennedy are democrats, with one notable exception given below. In the early 1990s, the phrase is associated with describing the President: other than two repetitions of Robert Kennedy’s speech to mark the commemoration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, it is used to praise George H. W. Bush for the success of the Gulf War campaign in March 1991,⁶⁴ and in 1993 to comment very scathingly on Bill Clinton’s lack of a wartime record. On this instance, a Republican Member of Congress has recorded a *Washington Times* article which reads:

One can't help but wonder how many men our own commander-in-chief would be worth on the battlefield. And the grim suspicion comes back: zero. [...]

Thucydides wrote: ‘Fix your eyes on the greatness of Athens, and remember that this greatness was won by men of courage, who did not stand idly by when the enemy

⁶³ Zimmern’s translation reads, ‘Fix your eyes on the greatness of Athens as you have it before you day by day, fall in love with her, and when you feel her great, remember that this greatness was won by men with courage, with knowledge of their duty, and with a sense of honour in action...’ CCQ 41, 81, 89.

⁶⁴ Byrd, Robert (WV) ‘Tribute to the President of the United States’ CRO March 7, 1991.

attacked.’ [...]

President Clinton is not a ‘baby boomer’ president (a term rapidly approaching worthlessness), he’s our first flower-child president.⁶⁵

To hammer his point home, the author of this article, Richard Grenier, has adapted the end of this quotation (and removed the clause about falling in love with one’s country and feeling its greatness) so that it no longer emphasises the courage and honour of the dutiful Athenian, but instead focuses on the image of the lazy citizen, in order to allude to Clinton’s not having been conscripted to fight in Vietnam. In 1999, the quotation is used twice to honour war veterans who have received medals of honour: The Knight’s Cross of the French Legion of Honour, and the Purple Heart.⁶⁶ Over the last ten years, however, it has been used to honour individual soldiers who died during Operation Iraqi Freedom.⁶⁷ The rhetoric used in the previous decade only for very highly distinguished officials has been adopted for praising otherwise unrecognized soldiers, raising them to the level of the most decorated.

I will discuss the fourth and fifth most frequently cited passages in reverse order, as the fifth most quoted passage continues the military theme which has motivated the second and third most frequently cited quotations, while the fourth most cited demonstrates a completely different treatment of the text. There is only one instance difference: the fourth most frequently cited passage is quoted seven times, and the fifth occurs six times.

⁶⁵ Grenier (1993).

⁶⁶ CCQ 49 and 50.

⁶⁷ CCQ 8 and 10.

Fifth of the top five most frequently cited passages: 2.40.3

But the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding go out to meet it.⁶⁸

The occasion for this quotation is again specific: it is used, with one notable exception, to mark the death of a public servant, and each time this same translation is always used, attributed to Thucydides rather than Pericles.⁶⁹ The rhetorical force of this version far exceeds that of any other translations of this passage, and it fulfils the Heath brothers' criteria for stickiness admirably: its message is simple yet unexpected, and the image of the final words as the warrior marches forward is very concrete, credible, and charged with emotion. The pull of the words 'glory and danger' prove irresistible if loose translations for *τά τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα* (and the reversal of the two words minimises the biblical echoes of 'power and glory'). The influence of this powerful translation on Henry Kissinger, a keen reader of Thucydides, is clear in the conclusion to his speech in Boston on US foreign policy in 1976:

Let us usher in an era of national reconciliation and rededication by all Americans to their common destiny. Let us have a clear vision of what is before us – glory and danger alike – and go forward together to meet it.⁷⁰

There is a double irony in the fact that this translation was written by a man whose ideas on international relations lay diametrically opposed to Kissinger's own, and that this quotation has remained in use only by democrats since that time. It was first used in 1998 by Nita Lowey, then in 1999 by Marcy Kaptur, two powerful Democrats who served on the House

⁶⁸ Zimmern (1911) 206.

⁶⁹ For my discussion of how Zimmern's translation was incorporated into Livingstone's edition, see Chapter 2, p.130-132. It is also puzzling that this is attributed to Thucydides rather than to Pericles, especially given the usual occasion of its being used.

⁷⁰ (1976) *New York Times*.

Appropriations Committee together. Marcy Kaptur is one of the longest-serving women in the whole of Congress, and Nita Lowey declined the race for the 2000 Senator for New York only in order to yield the position to Hillary Clinton. In 2001, the quotation was picked up by Jack Reed, who quoted it for the first time on September 12, and then twice on other occasions, and once by another democrat, Ken Salazar of Colorado. The association of this quotation with democrats adds a rather unexpected subtext to the most recent use of it. It is normally used in remarks honouring a public servant who has died in the course of their duty. But during the extended battle over health care reform which culminated in some success for Barack Obama when he signed the Health Care and Education Resolution Act into law on March 30th, 2010, Senator Jack Reed praised the President, describing his tenacity and determination in the face of vehement resistance from the Republican party, with the following words:

But he pressed on. Ultimately, it was his decision more than anyone else to try to do this that got it done. As Thucydides said: 'The bravest of the brave are those who, seeing both the glory and the danger, go forth to seize it.' These gentlemen - particularly the President - saw the danger and the glory and refused to retreat and went forward. We have a historic victory today.⁷¹

Senator Reed had last used this quotation only one week before, in remarks on the news of the death of the author, literary critic, and U.S. Army Air Corps veteran George Panichas,⁷² but to a reader sensitive to the context of this sentiment in the Funeral Oration, the use of this quotation conjures an ominous note about the consequences of this decision for Obama's future career. Even if Reed is not implying that the Act signifies the death-knell for Obama, his use of this quotation demonstrates a significant shift away from the context in which it was previously employed, and demonstrates the flexibility that a well-turned phrase that fulfils the Heaths'

⁷¹ Reed, Jack (RI) 'Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010' *CRO* March 25, 2010.

⁷² Reed, Jack (RI) 'Remembering George Panichas' *CRO* March 18, 2010.

criteria can have when divorced from its original context, and take on a new meaning. Also, Obama is not a president with a military record, but this lends a martial air to Obama's battle to achieve healthcare reform.

In the cases of these four most popular quotations, the spirit of the Funeral Oration has been retained, as well as its core messages: national pride, the undying glory of the dead, and exhortation to the living. The precise words that are used to convey these messages vary slightly but keep certain 'sticky' characteristics (democracy for the many not the few; the figure of Pericles speaking over the glorious dead), except in the case where a verbal formula has been achieved which presses all the right buttons, such as Zimmern's. The fourth most frequently occurring quotation demonstrates a different sort of use altogether.

Fourth of the top five most frequently cited passages: 2.38.2

Thanks to the greatness of Athens, the wares of the whole world find their way to us; we are in a position to enjoy the products of the rest of mankind as easily and naturally as we do our own crops from our own land.⁷³

Six of the seven citations of this passage are made by one man, Phil Gramm, each time on a different occasion but the same topic. Briefly a democrat, Gramm was the Republican Senator for Texas between 1985 and 2002, and McCain's senior economic advisor during the latter's presidential campaign. Gramm's primary focus is the economy, and he uses this quotation repeatedly to demonstrate the importance of imports in the world's first democracy, always following the same argument:

⁷³ Trans. Else, in MacKendrick and Howe (1952) 240.

I close with this point. It is interesting how differently we view the world today on this issue than it has been viewed historically. I go way back by quoting Pericles. When Pericles spoke in the funeral oration, and he was trying to sum up the greatness of Athens, it is interesting that the example he came down to was imports. ‘The luxuries of the world are as freely available in Athens as they are at those places in the world where those items are produced.’ The greatness of America is that people we do not even know, who do not even know us, are working to produce things to bring to our market that we can consume.⁷⁴

He sometimes uses the Crawley, sometimes the Warner translations, and sometimes, as in this case, a paraphrase of his own invention. This is also the only quotation from Thucydides that he uses. On two counts, he is misrepresenting Thucydides’ Pericles in this quotation. Firstly, the quality of the imports market was only a minor illustration of Athens’ many virtues described by Pericles, and secondly, the point in 2.38.2 is that imports have resulted in the cultivation of the tastes of the average Athenian as well as a display of the city’s power: this remark is prefaced with a note about the prominence in Athens of stimulating cultural pursuits such as sports contests and religious festivals. This appreciation of beauty and quality in objects familiar and unfamiliar that Pericles comments exists in private individuals’ houses has been replaced in Gramm’s reading by an ethic of sheer consumerism. The one instance of this passage being quoted by a congressman other than Gramm shows a slightly different reading occurring. Max Baucus invoked Pericles at the beginning and end of a detailed speech on America’s role as the greatest power in the world, in which he called for America to pay closer attention to her economic rival China, lest she suffer the same decline that befell Athens and, later, the British Empire:

A little less than 2500 years ago, in Athens, Pericles the king looked out from the Acropolis. In the bay beyond the port city, he saw some of Athens’ 200 ships, which

⁷⁴ Gramm, Phil (TX) ‘Andean Trade Preference Act’ *CRO* May 22, 2002. This is Gramm’s most recent use of the quotation; for the other instances, see CCQ 30, 42, 61, 65, and 76.

brought peace, commerce, and Athenian pottery to a free-trade area of more than 1000 Greek city-states. Pericles boasted: ‘The wares of the whole world find their way to us.’ Pericles stood astride one of the wealthiest, most culturally-advanced states of his time. Greeks had vanquished the evil empire of Persia to the east. Pericles had transformed the Delian League, a defensive alliance formed to contain Persia, into an Athenian empire. And Pericles advanced the world of ideas, advocating the new idea of democracy. Said Pericles: ‘Athens alone, of the states we know, comes to her testing time in a greatness that surpasses what was imagined of her... Future ages will wonder at us, as the present age does now.’ Pericles had every reason to believe that Divine Providence had smiled upon him and his city.⁷⁵

The aspect of the Funeral Oration highlighted in this passage is its overt and unapologetic praise of power and especially of empire, although the emphasis on imports has been replaced by trade both into and out of Athens, and the reality of Athens’ tight grip over its empire has been reimagined as a ‘free-trade area.’ But the rhetorical appeal of the alliterative and powerful ‘wares of the world’ translation is clear, and it has stood the test of time. Gerald Else produced it as part of his translation of excerpts from Thucydides that appeared in MacKendrick and Howe’s 1952 *Classics in Translation: Volume 1: Greek Literature*, together with selections from many other Greek authors.⁷⁶ As I discussed in Chapter 1, this volume was specifically designed to render the classics into modern idiom to be accessible to contemporary students, and Else’s translation proliferated throughout the USA in anthologies aimed at the burgeoning market catering for Western Civilization courses in American universities, with the result that it has remained in circulation and been picked up by today’s politicians. That Baucus has used two different translations within the same speech implies that selection depends not on a perception that one or another translation has more fidelity to the Greek, but that different translations are useful at different rhetorical moments.

⁷⁵ Baucus, Max (MT), ‘America’s Place in the World’ *CRO* June 24, 2005.

⁷⁶ Baucus’ second quotation, Warner’s translation, also appears in his fellow Member of Congress Steve Israel’s collection of military speeches (Israel (2007)), from where he may have taken it.

Summary of the most frequently occurring quotations

Some clear patterns have emerged from this survey of the most commonly cited quotations.

First, speakers in Congress often adapt a quotation in order to make it as rhetorically effective as possible, making use of resonances with other suitable ideas and abbreviating when required, but also making changes as necessary in order to make the quotation – or its speaker – fit their argument best. Using a classical quotation is not necessarily about making a speaker appear erudite, however: it can also be a performance as part of an important civic tradition, such as the recollection of the context of the Funeral Oration together with its quotation on the occasion of Memorial Day, and in eulogies for fallen soldiers. These types of quotation are self-perpetuating; they have come into existence as a result of being used, usually by an important figure, on a particular occasion, and are then repeated in order to evoke that occasion again. Misquotations and alterations to the tradition can also be very revealing, especially about the individual receiving the quotation, as the citations by Senator Gramm show. Secondly, quotation practices are highly specific: speakers do not often use just any quotation that they have heard that seems vaguely related to the subject, but use one that has been used before on a similar occasion and is from a recognized and apt source. In this way a quotation becomes ‘sticky,’ since its rhetorical power is tested and its form adjusted until it is most memorable, and then repetition of it further cements it into its context.

Further citations:

tributes, politics, and educational value

The most frequently occurring quotations account for just over half of the citations of Thucydides (52 out of 91). In order to trace patterns within the remaining, more disparate, citations, I have placed each example into one of seven categories, according to the topic under discussion that day in Congress. The categories of Greek Independence Day, James H. Warner's article on flag desecration, Senator Gramm on trade, and eulogy have been discussed in the most frequently occurring examples, leaving comments which fall into three groups: Thucydides' educational value, politics (both international and domestic) and tributes (to a living person or public body, as opposed to someone who has died) still for consideration.

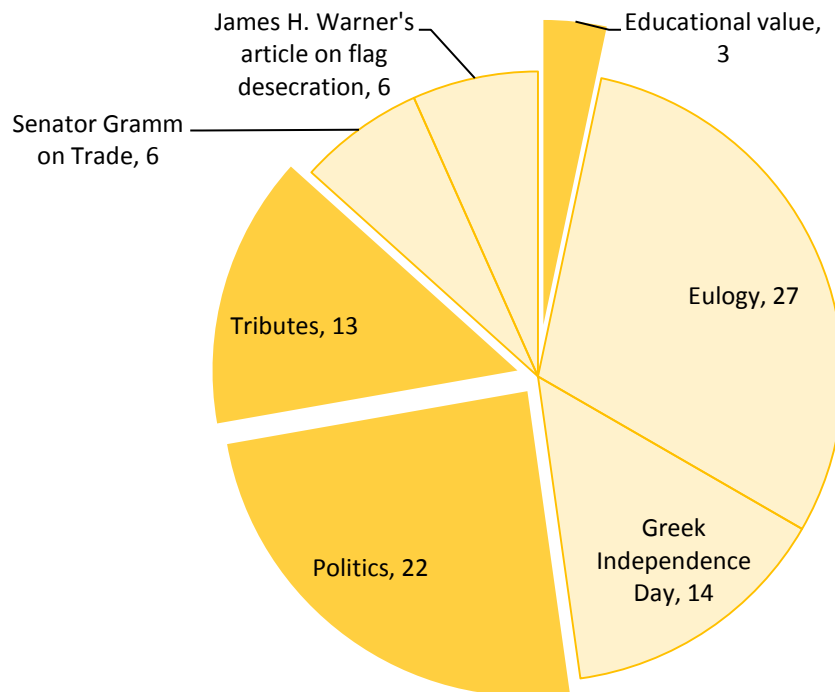


FIGURE 5: Citations of Thucydides by topic under discussion in Congress

Within these last three categories, a broad range of passages from Thucydides is used to comment on an even broader variety of issues, stretching from anthrax through fiscal responsibility to the situation in Kosovo in 1997. There are both pithy quotations and longer extracts, and it is largely within these topics that misattributions and misquotations occur.⁷⁷ The most frequently cited quotations which were examined earlier tend to be used to express one idea only, that of the concept which has stuck to that quotation, such as duty, patriotism, or courage. In these last three topics, Thucydides is used more flexibly, and can be called on to defend different opinions about the same issue. The answer as to why *Thucydides* in particular has been chosen as the exemplar of choice on each occasion is also different for each topic.

Further citations: tributes

It is clear in the topic of ‘tributes’ that the politicians are often drawing on the very tradition of Congressional discourse revealed by the most frequently cited quotations, through which the names of Thucydides and Pericles have already become familiar. These instances consist mostly of short speeches of appreciation for a still-living person (most often a politician), but otherwise the topic’s characteristics mirror that of eulogy in that the citations are drawn from the Funeral Oration and are given as quotations rather than longer extracts. A wider variety of quotations is used for this topic, however, than in the eulogizing context:

I am reminded of what was said about Pericles: ‘He was a lover of the beautiful and he cultivated the spirit without a loss of manliness.’⁷⁸

Senator Sarbanes’ vigorous and exemplary engagement in matters of public affairs undeniably epitomizes the following admonition from Pericles in his funeral oration more than 2,000 years ago that ‘we do not say that a man who takes no interest in

⁷⁷ The exception is Senator Gramm’s interpretation of Pericles on trade, pp.200-202.

⁷⁸ Pelosi, Nancy (CA) ‘Department of Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act of 1999’ *CRO* July 22, 1998.

politics is a man who minds his own business; we say he has no business here at all.’⁷⁹

These examples draw on the associations discussed above which have stuck to Pericles (at the cost of accuracy in the case of the first example, where Pericles is describing the Athenians): the epitome of the engaged statesman who combined capable leadership with artistic sensibility.⁸⁰

Further citations: politics

When a Member of Congress is using Thucydides to comment on politics, however, the situation is very different. In these cases, the politician’s background has sometimes led to their acquaintance with Thucydides. Familiar to those who have read any international relations theory, had military officer education, or been part of Cold War discussions where Athens and Sparta are compared to the USA and the USSR, Thucydides has acquired the identity in Congressional discourse of a useful and insightful commentator on the nature of power. In this category, the prominence of the Funeral Oration recedes (with only five mentions) and with it the name of Pericles, and the Melian Dialogue and Sicily come to the foreground (five and two times respectively), as does the name of Thucydides,⁸¹ resulting in quotations that are not in fact from Thucydides at all becoming attributed to him (four times). The name of Thucydides has become ‘sticky’ with the connotation of commentary about power and human nature, and the nature of war in particular. The two citations involving the Sicilian Expedition – both

⁷⁹ Snowe, Olympia (MA) ‘Farewell to the Senate’ *CRO* December 8, 2006.

⁸⁰ This image of Pericles as artistic patron is due to a large extent to J.F.K.’s portrayal of Pericles.

⁸¹ The focus on Thucydides’ name rather than Pericles’ is important here: 15 of the 22 examples in the topic of politics are attributed to Thucydides. Of the seven examples attributed to Pericles, one is a quotation recorded in Plutarch’s *Life of Pericles* so ought not be associated with Thucydides’ name (CCQ 80), one is a cliché misattributed to him (CCQ 5), and the remaining five are quotations from the Funeral Oration (CCQ 13, 14, 64, 71, and 88). What is therefore surprising is that Thucydides’ name has ousted Pericles’ name in the attribution of a few Funeral Oration quotations, despite that speech’s usual attribution to Pericles, *when they are being used to discuss politics* (CCQ 2 and 81).

including Thucydides' summary of the disaster at 7.78.5-6 – illustrate how Thucydides' warning about the unpredictability of war and the danger of entering into a conflict for the wrong reasons has hit home in the modern world. Senator Fowler's use of the passage has already been discussed, and he was followed in 1993 by Senator John McCain who employed the story to make precisely the same point when intervention in Bosnia and Somalia was imminent.⁸²

While the meaning of Thucydides' conclusion about the Sicilian Expedition is used unambiguously, the interpretations of the treatment of Melos, presented in the more complex form of a dialogue and lacking the authoritative stamp of Thucydides' own brief views summing up the affair, are more polarized. Whether the most well-known phrase from the Melian Dialogue, the credo fashioned by Crawley that the strong do what they can and the weak what they must, is found worthy of praise or criticism, changes depending on the opinion of the speaker. In this instance in 1991, Saddam Hussein is being described:

I believe that he subscribes to the ancient view, expressed in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, that 'Right as the world goes is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must.'⁸³

⁸² Fowler, Wyche (GA) 'War in Iraq?' *CRO* January 11, 1991, and McCain, John (AZ) 'Beyond Good Intentions: Using force in Bosnia and Somalia' *CRO* August 2, 1993. Although the lesson about entering a conflict for the wrong reasons has been grasped, both Senator Fowler and Senator McCain shy away from the other aspect of the expedition, that of the folly of Athens' perception of her own invulnerability. After quoting Th.7.87.56, Senator McCain concludes: I do not believe we face any such risk. We are too strong to suffer a major defeat of arms. We can, however, suffer a defeat that is even more important if we go into Bosnia without clearly defined and obtainable goals, or if we allow ourselves to take sides in the civil war in Somalia without having any ability to bring that war to a successful end.' Senator Fowler also adds after the same quotation, 'I am not for a moment suggesting that our forces would suffer the Athenians' fate. Indeed, I have every confidence that our military would prevail in any conflict it enters into with Iraq.' It appears that voicing doubts about America's capability in Congress would have seemed unpatriotic and was beyond contemplation, despite Athens' similar convictions of her own strength.

⁸³ Chafee, John (RI) 'On the use of all military force against Saddam Hussein' *CRO* August 2, 1991.

Yet 11 years later in the very different world of 2002, the perspective has been reversed when a credo clearly derived from this phrase is held up for admiration by Otto Reich, who had been head of the U.S. Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America during the Reagan administration, on the occasion of his swearing in to serve as Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs under Secretary of State Colin Powell:

The Greek philosopher Thucydides said that Justice is the right of any person to do those things which God gave him the ability to do. By that or any other definition, this is a just country.⁸⁴

These two examples are years apart and possibly they reflect the change in American foreign policy attitudes following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. But the Melian dialogue had previously been used to defend two different opinions about the same issue. During 1998 and 1999, the intervention of NATO during the Kosovan War was highly controversial, in particular the US-led bombing campaigns which were part of Operation Allied Force in 1999. In order to lend authority to their views about the situation, two senators referred to Thucydides, both Republican but on the issue of foreign policy one conservative and the other progressive. On 23rd September, 1998, Senator John McCain advocated US involvement in the Balkans with this argument:

The turbulence of the post-Cold War world demands a level of competence on the part of those entrusted with our national security and foreign policy that is sadly lacking. The history of the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo are histories of threats not carried out and of the strong being outmaneuvered by the weaker. This Administration's conduct of diplomacy with regard to Serbia, North Korea and Iraq is somewhat akin to what would happen if Thucydides' Melian Dialogue were reversed, and the weak were dictating terms to the strong.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Helms, Jesse (NC) 'Otto Reich is on the job' *CRO* March 14, 2002.

⁸⁵ McCain, John (AZ) 'Situation in Kosovo' *CRO* September 23, 1998.

McCain's adamantly realist views are backed up by a fleeting reference to Thucydides which is significant despite its brevity, since it is one of the rare instances of Congressional discourse which appears to echo that of IR theory.⁸⁶ McCain refers to Thucydides as though his audience would associate the theory of realism with his name, and were not only familiar with it, but familiar and unquestioningly in agreement with one particular reading of it only, that of taking it as a realist mantra. The implication is that ever since the time of Thucydides (to use the phrase often used in IR theory), these realist truths have held sway, and the situation in the Balkans should be restored to the status quo (with the strong in authority over the weak) from this unnatural condition, by American intervention if necessary. However, on the same issue in April 1999 Jim Leach made the following argument:

The question is will NATO, despite its might, find itself in the same position in the Balkans as the United States did in Vietnam and as the Soviet Union did in Afghanistan? Returning to history, the first great chronicle of the Western World relates to a land mass adjoining the Balkans, ancient Greece. Thucydides wrote that early in the Peloponnesian Wars which pitted the quasi-democratic and enormously uplifting culture of ancient Athens against the more militaristic Sparta, the Athenian Assembly voted to send a naval fleet to conquer the neutral island of Melos. Several days later the decision was reconsidered and a faster ship was sent to overtake the fleet and call off the invasion. Later in the war, however, the Athenian Assembly again decided to invade Melos and sent out a force which killed all the men and enslaved the women on the island. Thucydides' chronicles were intended to show how the world's most civilized city-state at the time had lost its way, and indeed from that point on Athens never again recovered its prior status.⁸⁷

This fascinating example deserves close inspection. That Senator Leach is mixing up Mytilene and Melos suggests that he was only familiar with excerpts, but on the other hand he is clearly aware of the overall structure of the narrative, possibly from his educational background in

⁸⁶ See Chapter 2.

⁸⁷ Leach, Jim (IA) 'Removal of US Armed Forces from Yugoslavia' *CRO* April 28, 1999.

politics and international studies.⁸⁸ He may have mixed up Mytilene and Melos because of their similar names and he has even tried to make the story coherent by saying that the ‘fact’ that Athens decided to invade Melos again is an indication of how it has ‘lost its way.’

Five points have stuck accurately in his mind: first, all the Melian men were killed and the women enslaved, and secondly, the detail about a faster second ship catching up with the first one and restraining it (although in Senator Leach’s account the first ship has now become a whole invading fleet). These are two concrete, emotionally charged images which make each story memorable or ‘sticky.’ Thirdly, he remembers that Melos was neutral, but the Athenians decided to attack it anyway. Fourth, at an early point in the war, Athens changed its mind about attacking or destroying an opponent (specifically an opponent that was not a threat to Athens, Mytilene because the rebellion was defeated, and Melos because of its neutrality). Finally, Senator Leach remembers that Melos was a ‘turning-point’ for Athens, but he has reconfigured the reason for this to accord with his new narrative: the rationale in his story attributes the Athenians’ decline in ethical decision-making either to their decision to invade a neutral state, or because they killed all the enemy men and enslaved the women and children. What he may be vaguely remembering, however, is that Melos was in effect the turning point narratologically, since it was followed by the Sicilian Expedition after which Athens certainly ‘did not recover its prior status.’ Senator Leach ‘knows’ that Melos denotes the height of Athenian hubris, just as McCain ‘knew’ that the Melian Dialogue meant that the strong should hold power over the weak. Although Leach has got the history confused, the meaning of the story has not in fact been twisted to the extent that, for instance, Senator Baucus misrepresented

⁸⁸ Senator Leach studied undergraduate politics, then completed an MA from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and then undertook further research at the London School of Economics. With this focus on international politics, he is likely to have come across Thucydides’ work in international relations. He also made a misquotation from Thucydides in 1991 (CCQ 91); see p.212.

Pericles' argument in the Funeral Oration. This is not the first time that Senator Leach has drawn this parallel: he used the example in 1985, making the same mistake in the details, to criticize America's actions in arming and equipping rebel forces in Nicaragua.⁸⁹ On both occasions, he side-stepped the most well-known quotation. Senator Leach and Senator McCain both use different elements of the story of Melos to bolster their opposing arguments, although neither of them, nor any other congressman on any occasion, explicitly refutes the other's interpretation of a passage of Thucydides with a contrary – or fuller or more accurate – reading of the same passage. This shows how these quotations are being used for their rhetorical effect rather than as a tool for in-depth discussion about current events.

The only example which comes close to such a use is an occasion on which Melos is deployed to comment on the nature of power in the domestic context. Congressman George Brown used the story to criticize Senator Byrd, who was well-known for his pork-barrel politics, or directing money towards his own state (West Virginia) in return for political support. Senator Byrd's exercising of his own significant personal influence is compared unfavourably to the Athenians' callous attitude towards the Melians:

I am going to steal a march from the distinguished Senator [Byrd]. He likes to quote the classics and so I will quote to you from Thucydides in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* in which the Athenians, at war with Sparta, were negotiating with the neutral Melosians, asking the Melosians to yield allegiance to Athens. And here is how Thucydides describes the negotiations: 'In a meeting between Athenian and Melosian envoys during the Peloponnesian War, in which the Athenians demand control of Melos, their envoys said, "The powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must." When the Melosians say that they would sooner be slaves, that they will appeal to the gods, the Athenians reply, "Of the gods we believe and of men we know that, by a law of their nature, wherever they can rule they will. This law was not made by us and we are not the first to have acted on it; we did but inherit it." ' Mr. Speaker, the appropriators today have inherited that law and they are practising it. That is wrong and

⁸⁹ Leach, Jim (IA) 'Making Appropriations for aid to Nicaragua' CRO April 22, 1985.

it will destroy the House.⁹⁰

In this example, it is Senator Byrd's own habit of referring to the classics which has led the other senator to find an apposite quotation with which to counteract his rhetoric. Senator Brown is not challenging Senator Byrd's interpretation of this particular passage, but is using Byrd's characteristic rhetorical style against him. In these examples, as in the cases of the most frequently appearing, the self-perpetuating quality of the quotations arises again: the fact that another senator has used the historical parallel opens the door for imitation by others, although not for discussion about different interpretations of the same excerpt. Senator Brown's reading of this passage also reflects the more cautious approach to the use of force which we also see in Senator Leach's use of the passage in 1985 and 1999, and in Senator Chafee's in 1991.⁹¹

The natural consequence of these infrequent but powerful references is that the name of Thucydides even attracts quotations from other provenances, because the name has become sticky with connotations of insight about power and human nature:

There is also in the Western tradition a hallowed tenet that the triumph of aggression, which the Greek historian Thucydides aptly described in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* as the stark process of 'putting people to it,' may constitute a greater evil than resort to violence to vindicate an unjust wrong.⁹²

As Thucydides once said, 'the society that separates its scholars from its warriors will have its thinking done by cowards and its fighting done by fools.'⁹³

The first example is a mere cliché, but that it has been attributed to Thucydides shows that his name seems to be a suitable vehicle for such sentiments. The second example is a quotation

⁹⁰ Brown, George (D-CA) 'Conference Report on H.R. 4624' *CRO* September 12, 1994.

⁹¹ See footnote 82.

⁹² Leach, Jim (IA) 'The just war doctrine and its implications' *CRO* January 10, 1991. The precise passage that Senator Leach is alluding to here is unclear, although it could be Th.3.82.2.

⁹³ Wittman, Robert (VA) 'Recognizing Captain Sean Welch' *CRO* December 11, 2009.

from *Charles George Gordon* published in 1889 by Lieutenant-General Sir William Francis Butler, a British army officer from Ireland. This quotation often occurs in military circles, particularly those connected to the US Marine Corps, where it may be that Thucydides was considered a more appropriate source for this quotation, given how important the classical author is in military education in the USA, or there might be a reticence among the American military to look for inspiration from a nineteenth century British officer. The most well-known of misattributions to Thucydides is that which is widely known to have been a favourite of Colin Powell, and which is quoted on two occasions in the US Congress:

Mr. Speaker, as the most powerful military power in the world, we need to also be reminded of a statement made centuries ago by Thucydides who said, 'Of all manifestations of power, restraint impresses most men.'⁹⁴

On his desk at the Pentagon when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell kept a quote from the great Athenian historian Thucydides: 'Of all manifestations of power, restraint impresses men most.'⁹⁵

These words are not part of any translation of Thucydides, but appear in the introduction to the 1919 Loeb edition, in which Smith used them to describe Thucydides' concise style.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁴ Faleomavaega, Eni (AS) 'Expressing support and appreciation for the president and members of the armed forces participating in Operation Iraqi Freedom' *CRO* March 20, 2003. This is a very interesting example of how politicized this quotation has become. Mr Faleomavaega, a Delegate to Congress from American Samoa, gave one minute's remarks in support of the resolution. He reminded the house that he was a Vietnam veteran himself, and that he was 'not here to debate the substance or the merits of the war, but only to express our support especially for the families' of those fighting. He ended with a quotation from Martin Luther King, that 'In the end, we will not remember the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.' His remarks submitted for the *Congressional Record*, however, differed from his spoken words only in that this quotation from Thucydides was inserted after the Martin Luther King quotation and before his closing line, 'Mr. Speaker, God bless our men and women in the armed forces.' This may have been accidental, although the Thucydidean quotation adds a political element to Faleomavaega's remarks that perhaps he wished to have noted in the *Congressional Record* without being spoken aloud, thereby complicating his otherwise straightforward message. The transposition of 'most' and 'men' is also noteworthy (although it could be an error of transcription on Faleomavaega's or a clerk's part), although it does not substantially change the message of the quotation politically: it remains that restraint is preferable to all-out action.

⁹⁵ Cleland, Max (GA) 'Global Roles vs. Roles of Government' *CRO* October 3, 2000.

⁹⁶ Smith (1919) xviii-xix.

phrase originated with F. B. Jevons in 1886, but percolated through Smith's Loeb (where it lost its identification with Jevons) via Walter Lippmann (who attributed it back to Thucydides) into *The Practical Cogitator*, a 1953 collection of literary excerpts and quotations, through which it likely reached Powell or his speechwriter.⁹⁷ It has gained such momentum that not only is this quotation, and its setting on Colin Powell's desk, frequently referred to in newspapers, but it has even been translated into French, still under Thucydides' name.⁹⁸

In sum, there is a significant trend, albeit weaker than that of quoting from the Funeral Oration, in which Thucydides is invoked as an authoritative voice on the subject of war, power, and human nature. Yet classicists know that his is not the only Greek or Roman text to focus on these questions, and is an especially difficult text to interpret. Partly, this very complexity serves to make him more suitable for excerpting: by including speeches, he provides multiple 'voices': that of the statesman Pericles whose words can be easily used by modern politicians wanting to emulate his praise of democratic ideals, or that of the realist Athenians in the Melian Dialogue, or that of his own authorial 'voice,' as much a creation as the speeches themselves. Some final quotations from Congress explain further why it is Thucydides' text that has developed this status, rather than the more straightforward works of other writers.

Further citations: educational value

Although few, these examples illustrate the value of Thucydides for politicians as a source for historical parallels over other ancient historians. Senator Byrd provided two of the three examples, in which he explained the importance of learning history in order to be equipped to

⁹⁷ Curtis and Greenslet (1945) 461; Morley (2013a) proposed this convincing derivation for Powell's quotation, which has been troubling commentators for almost a decade (Sharlin 2004).

⁹⁸ 'La manifestation du pouvoir qui impressionne le plus les gens est la retenue,' in Léotard (2008).

make sound political choices in the present. To an extent, Senator Byrd was an exceptional case in the degree to which he referred to history within the Senate, but the arguments that he put forward clearly motivated other politicians' use of Thucydides to a lesser extent or less explicitly. In one long speech, 'The State of History Education,' he posed the question, 'Why should American students study the Ancient Greeks?'⁹⁹ In answer to his own question, he quoted from Thucydides far more extensively than any other Greek author, including Th.1.21.2, 1.22.4, and 3.82 in detail as well as describing the topics covered in the *History*. There are three characteristics which Byrd attributed to Thucydides which explain his suitability as an historical case study. Firstly, Senator Byrd's initial response to his own question is 'It was from the Greeks we inherited our concept of democracy.' Not only is there this historical justification, but also Thucydides' work is genuinely very deeply engaged with the question of how a democracy functions and what its characteristics are, one ideal of which is epitomized in the Funeral Oration. This focus on democracy was stated as the reason for Thucydides' relevance in another speech on the importance of learning history by Senator Byrd, in which he said that 'Thucydides, the Greek historian, understood that the future can sometimes be best seen through the prism of the past,' and followed it with an extended quotation from the Funeral Oration.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, Thucydides' goal in writing his history is that it will be *ὠφέλιμα*,¹⁰¹ expressing a future-oriented perspective and a pragmatism which chimes strongly with American cultural values. His is a narrative of real events, rather than the mythic past or the tall tales of Herodotus: as Byrd said, 'He wanted to write factual story of real people and nations engaged in

⁹⁹ Byrd, Robert (WV) 'The State of History Education' *CRO* March 3, 1994.

¹⁰⁰ Byrd, Robert (WV) 'Flunking American History' *CRO* February 15, 2001.

¹⁰¹ Th.1.22.4.

a long war. He did not believe in knowledge for its own sake, but something that could be used.¹⁰²

Thucydides' stated goals and methods have also been found admirable and worthy of being quoted for their modern-sounding qualities. Not only is Thucydides perceived as having a pragmatic streak, but his status as the originator of analytical history is the focus of the third example discussing Thucydides' educational value, in which Senator Orrin Hatch quoted a speech by Dr Morris Martin which reads:

Herodotus is known as a father of History since he collected the stories told him by all and sundry... Thucydides was the first scientific historian to evaluate memory. He wrote, 'I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one as eyewitnesses gave different accounts of the same occurrence, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or another.'¹⁰³

This quotation echoes the sentiments from the Great Books tradition about Thucydides as the 'first' theorist. Although its characterization of Thucydides as a scientific, disinterested observer has a peculiarly old-fashioned tang to it, this stems not, I believe, from an especially dated opinion on the part of Senator Hatch about Thucydides' writings but from a desire to make Thucydides sound scientific, in a speech advocating funding for scientific research. On another occasion, when opening his comments on America's policy to Haiti, Congressman Hoke remarked:

¹⁰² Byrd, Robert (WV) 'The State of History Education' *CRO* March 3, 1994. On the importance of pragmatism in American culture, see Hollinger (1980) and Kohls (1984).

¹⁰³ Hatch, Orrin (UT) 'Additional Statements' *CRO* December 14, 2000. Dr Morris Martin, who had been an academic and campaigner with the social change group 'Moral Re-Armament,' gave this speech in November 2000 to the Literary Club of Tucson, Arizona, and Senator Hatch included it to express his support for funding of scientific research into memory loss.

George Santayana said, paraphrasing Euripides and Thucydides, that ‘Those who fail to remember history are condemned to repeat it.’¹⁰⁴

The casual association of Thucydides’ name as opposed to a different historian with the practical value of history re-emphasizes his identity in Congressional discourse as an authoritative and modern-sounding figure. Finally, Senator Byrd made explicit remarks about how ‘modern’ Thucydides sounds, citing his description of the effect of civil war on language at 3.82 (following Crawley’s interpretation), his dismissal of ‘prose chroniclers,’ and even ‘politicians who tried to deny bad news by attacking the medium that brought the news.’¹⁰⁵ The authorial voice chosen by Thucydides is evidently one which resonates strongly with modern Americans, and is a significant factor in the appearance of his writings in the US Congress.

¹⁰⁴ Hoke, Martin (OH) ‘Questions to be answered concerning America’s Policy towards Haiti’ *CRO* September 20, 1994. Thucydides’ professed aim at 1.22.4 chimes with this axiom, although there is no suggestion in Thucydides that human nature can be improved by this knowledge of history.

¹⁰⁵ Byrd, Robert (WV) ‘The State of History Education’ *CRO* March 3, 1994.

Conclusion

This survey of Thucydides in Congress has shown that, despite the assumption with which I opened this chapter from *Respectfully Quoted* that classical quotations are no longer valid coinage in contemporary America, Thucydides is still a prevalent originator of quotations in this particular sphere of political discourse. Some of the quotations that appear in Congress are themselves culled or repeated from newspaper articles and speeches given outside Congress, indicating a wider arena for this type of classical reference than that of Congress alone. We can see from these examples how quotations really are used in practice by not only members of Congress but also those individuals (in this case political journalists) employing the language of the ‘culturally literate,’ in E. D. Hirsch’s definition of the term.¹⁰⁶ For these groups, quotation is a useful and worthwhile shorthand, particularly in the age of the soundbite, as a way to remember and encapsulate complicated ideas, and to communicate those ideas to others. A remarkable characteristic, I think, of these citations from Thucydides is how many of them remain close to the spirit of the original text, especially those that come from the Funeral Oration: with a few obvious exceptions (such as Senator Gramm’s selections), these quotations are still used to convey notions of patriotism and sacrifice, and to try to create a sense of meaning at the time of the death of a citizen or citizens.

¹⁰⁶ On ‘cultural literacy,’ see my discussion of E.D.Hirsch’s 1987 *Cultural Literacy: What every American needs to know* in Chapter 1.

The prominence of Thucydides and Cicero over other classical authors is also an important consideration; although Cicero has clearly been of some importance since the days of the Founding Fathers as a source of wise quotations, Thucydides, or rather, Pericles' Funeral Oration, has become far more prominent than before. Although there is still a great deal of research to be done in this area, and a survey of the only last twenty years cannot be broad enough to provide any well-corroborated results, it does indicate directions for further research. The quotations attributed to Thucydides show a clear relationship to the ways that the author has been received in the discipline of International Relations theory, as well as the Great Books tradition and its consequent anthologizing publications. The tradition of quoting from the Funeral Oration may date from the turning point of the Gettysburg Address, as Thucydides features so little in the works of the early American political writers (studied by Lutz). There has been a great deal of research recently into the relationship between Pericles' Funeral Oration and this cornerstone of American political rhetoric,¹⁰⁷ and it could be that since Edward Everett's long speech about Athenian democracy, which culminated in quotations from the Funeral Oration just before Lincoln's much briefer address, there has been an association in American cultural memory between Pericles, funeral speeches, and the ideals of American democracy.

Finally, it is important to consider two opposing forces at play with an impact on this practice. First, the use of these quotations builds on its own existence: as long as quotations from Thucydides continue to be used in the context of political discourse, they will continue to be understood. One instance of the most frequently cited quotation, 'our constitution is named a democracy because it is in the hands not of the few but of the many,' was spoken in Congress,

¹⁰⁷ Wills (1992); Roberts (2012).

but what was being read out – and praised effusively – is a speech by Tiffany Monroy, a secondary school student at the Sacred Hearts Academy of Honolulu, who won the annual ‘Voice of Democracy’ competition sponsored by the Honolulu Veterans of Foreign Wars Association.¹⁰⁸ The version Ms. Monroy used is that printed in the popular *Bartlett’s Familiar Quotations*, which is also used extensively by political speechwriters.¹⁰⁹ Although classical subjects may not be taught often *per se* in schools, they are still regularly sought out and invoked by both schoolchildren and adults looking in repositories such as quotation books, internet quotation banks, and of course other people’s speeches.

On the other hand, there has been a sharp decline in the number of quotations from both Thucydides and Cicero in the last ten years.¹¹⁰ One factor may be the declining powers of Senator Byrd, who died in June 2010 at the age of 92. This may only be a very minor factor however, given that Senator Byrd’s contribution to the overall number of quotations was small, although his citations were substantial in themselves. A more significant factor could be the gradual ‘dumbing down’ of political language generally, which has been identified in presidential debates and more broadly in public political speech over the last 40 years.¹¹¹ A steady but consistent decrease in the complexity of Congressional language since 2005 has also

¹⁰⁸ CCQ 62.

¹⁰⁹ Bartlett and Kaplan (2002) 73. The translation is attributed to Livingstone, showing again the importance of his volume for disseminating Zimmern’s translation of the Funeral Oration. Although the precise quotations vary from edition to edition, *Bartlett’s* regularly contains over ten quotations from Thucydides’ *History*, the majority of which are from the Funeral Oration.

¹¹⁰ See Figure 4; Thucydidean quotations also occurred three times in 2012. There has been no trend of increase or decrease in the amount actually said in Congress overall that might account for the changed rate of references to the classics. For the period of this study, the corpus is between 15,000 and 30,000 pages of *Congressional Record* per session (roughly equivalent to a calendar year), down from over 40,000 pages per session during the 1970s.

¹¹¹ Ravitch (2001). Diane Ravitch comments on an analysis by the *Princeton Review* of the level of discourse in presidential debates up to 2000, which reveals that George Bush spoke at the level of a sixth-grader (12-year-old) and John Kerry as a seventh-grader. By comparison, Kennedy and Nixon communicated at tenth-grade level (that of a 16-year old) and Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass as eleventh- and twelfth-graders respectively. The inability of mass media to convey adequately the complexity of modern political and public discourse was recognized at an early stage by Postman (1986).

been observed by researchers, echoing a broader trend of perceived anti-intellectualism in public discourse more generally.¹¹² With the vastly increased level of public access to Congressional business and debates through C-SPAN, the public broadcasting network focusing on federal government which began in 1979 and due to the proliferation of cable networks in the mid 2000s now reaches 100 million American households with daily coverage of the proceedings of the House and the Senate, this same trait could now be manifesting itself in the everyday Congressional language speech by American congressmen and women.¹¹³ Which of these two forces – the ‘stickiness’ of an apt and provocative quotation, or the gradual simplification of political language - will prove to be the more influential force on American Congressional speech remains to be seen.

¹¹² Drutman (2012). Much recent anti-intellectualism has been attributed to the Bush Administration, such as by Jacoby (2009).

¹¹³ Bedard (2010).

CHAPTER FOUR

English and American Receptions Compared

The previous three chapters have described how Thucydides has been treated in the USA in higher education, IR theory, and Congressional discourse. They have shown how specific microcultures dictate the horizon of expectation, constraining both the writer and the reader, and determine what Thucydides ‘means’ when he is discussed within these different environments. Space restricts a similarly close examination of the reception history of Thucydides in England, so this chapter considers instead a few examples of how the English equivalents of those American microcultures treat Thucydides. It points out some striking instances where the comparative evidence might lead us to expect a Thucydidean presence and we are confronted with his absence, or vice versa. As I explained in my introduction, a study must consider cultural and historical background in order to provide reliable information about the significance of any receptions of Thucydides, so the observations that I make in this chapter will only illuminate how the reception of Thucydides in specific contexts in England compares with its American counterparts.¹ That being said, the English examples I will discuss in this chapter display consistent differences to their American equivalents, and these differences could point towards cultural or national trends in England concerning the reception of other classical material more broadly, which would be confirmed or disproved by detailed in-depth study.

¹ It would be inconsistent to assume that English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish receptions of Thucydides will have more similarities than differences, or that the situation in one country will automatically apply to another, especially given the extremely different histories of education in these different countries. Therefore in this chapter I will focus predominantly on receptions within England.

First of all, I will discuss a few trends that have characterized English higher education in the twentieth century. The entirety of the history of Classics in English higher education is too large a topic to go through here in detail, but there are some turning-points that correlate to those that contributed to the growth of the Great Books movement in the USA, and led to the development about attitudes concerning Classics which shape the public perception of the subject, much as the Great Books tradition has done in the USA. Secondly, a short consideration of IR theory as it is discussed in England provides evidence of how each nation has constructed its discourse differently, according to its own international standing and perspective. The nature of the references to the classics by the British IR theorist Martin Wight compared with his American contemporaries shows how the practices and curricula of schooling in Britain have shaped how classical material can then be used in academic discourse. This question I then examine from the alternative perspective of the attitudes towards classical quotation of a cross-section of English society (via the Mass Observation Exercise on Quoting and Quotation of 2006), before asking which of these attitudes appears to be more prevalent in contemporary discourse in the Houses of Parliament. Finally, some mysterious Thucydidean quotations that have recently occurred in Parliament are shown to be part of a long tradition of quoting Pericles' Funeral Oration that dates back to the First World War and the days of the British Empire. This is one instance of two circuitous routes through which Thucydides has 'by-passed' the English educational system and arrived in public discourse: in the most straightforward case, the American practice is being echoed in its equivalent English spheres, such as in military education and also in British neoconservatism. But in the second, more subtle case, we see how fragments of classical works can become lodged in the cultural memory of a nation: as the writings of the Founding Fathers and the American struggles in Vietnam

brought Americans face-to-face with the relevance and utility of material from the classical world, so Britain experienced a similar moment of contemporaneity with Athens when it was also in the position of fighting a world war while at the head of an empire.²

² Not just the First, but in particular the Second World War was thought to be a 'scholar's war': 'Demosthenes has been more often quoted since the rape of Austria than in the half-century preceding it; Catiline and Clodius are now longer the mysterious figures they were even ten years ago. And now Greece is at war with Rome, and British scholarship finds itself mercifully allied on the side with which its sympathies would naturally lie,' as an Oxford tutor put it (Anon. (1940) 81).

Greats, not Great Books:

Thucydides in higher education in England, 1919-1989

Thucydides claimed that his motivation for writing the history of the Peloponnesian War was his belief that ‘it should prove a great one (*μέγαν*), and most worthy the relation of all that had been before it.’³ He then defines the war’s ‘greatness’ in his next sentence: it will be extraordinary due to the number of city-states that would be involved and their levels of military preparedness. However, as well as a claim about its size, a value judgment is made on Thucydides’ part: the war will be *ἀξιολογώτατος*, most worthy of being related. The connection between size and quality may at first glance seem unproblematic, yet it strikes to the core of the questions of this thesis. The scale of the Peloponnesian War, in terms of expenditure in lives and money and the number of city-states involved, contributed highly to its worth as an historical subject, but was not the sole reason for its significance to Thucydides: it also was the greatest *κίνησις*, commotion or upheaval, which produced the greatest consequences. The First World War was and sometimes still is known as the ‘Great War’ not only because of its awful and unprecedented number of casualties, but also because of the global changes – political, social, and ideological – which it brought about. The quality of ‘greatness’ therefore connotes, as these two examples demonstrate, not just magnitude, but also a certain characteristic of having either the ability to define an epoch, or the power to create change. Events can be on a

³ Th. 1.1.1 (trans. Hobbes).

large scale, yet lack the quality of greatness if, once over, they leave the world fundamentally the same as it was before.⁴

The designation of particular books or a particular book as ‘Great’ draws strongly on this connotation of the word. There is an implication in the designation of a book as ‘Great’ that it has a power beyond that of other books, a power to change the reader. If read widely enough, it might even change society. This was the dream of Mortimer Adler and Robert Maynard Hutchins which led them to produce the *Great Books of the Western World* series. While America was rapidly rebranding certain classic works as ‘great’ in the twentieth century, however, what was England doing, and how did the English educational establishment view what was going on over the Atlantic? In England, Great Books, or rather, ‘Greats’ or ‘Great Go’ meant Classics at Oxford. The First World War did not result in an innovative new approach at Oxford to teaching classical texts as it had done at Columbia, even though the resistance against students devoting large amounts of time at university (and before university) to studying Greek and Latin grammar in an era of expanding scientific knowledge and increasing specialization was being felt on both sides of the Atlantic. The Greek requirement for entry into Cambridge was dropped in 1919; Oxford followed suit in 1920, in a change that Gilbert Murray supported in a bid to save Latin language and Greek culture by ‘throwing Greek to the wolves.’⁵ At Oxford, the new course of Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE), or ‘Modern Greats,’ was introduced at the same time (1920) but contained no classical material at all and was intended, as described by Mr. T. D. Weldon, to ‘provide a course essentially similar to that offered by Greats, for the benefit of candidates who either are interested rather in the problems of modern

⁴ When capitalized as a proper name – Alexander The Great, The Great Gatsby, the Great War – this effect is magnified still further. The *OED* records uses of ‘great’ to denote significance or importance of events, nations or people since at least the fifteenth century.

⁵ Stray (1998) 270.

history and civilization than in those of the ancient world or are precluded from a detailed study of the latter by lack of acquaintance with Greek and Latin.’⁶ The paradigm of Modern History, which after its launch in 1853 and the establishment of a separate faculty of History in 1872, proceeded to attract more undergraduates than Greats by the end of the century, provided a model that PPE would follow.⁷ At first, PPE was disparaged by classicists who rode on the back of the high status of *Literae Humaniores* in the pre-war days (despite the attacks made on it in the 1910s),⁸ a disdain which continued into the 1940s and 1950s, as long as classics remained pre-eminent within the university.⁹ E.W.F. Tomlin’s assessment of PPE in the 1930s still shows a marked prejudice against non-classical subjects *per se* (‘The desire to study only what is Modern is a desire that education should improve,’) and a complacency about why students were being drawn to the new course (‘let us pass over the unfortunate group of persons debarred from taking Greats owing to ignorance of the classics.’)¹⁰ Uptake numbers told a different story: the proportion of male undergraduates taking finals in *Literae Humaniores* dropped from 31% in 1913/4 to 18% in 1932, while PPE had by this year attracted 12% of finalists, and would go on to grow faster than any other subject between the wars, at a rate of 9.8% per year.¹¹ In some ways, there is a similarity between the attitudes of Erskine and the faculty of Classics at Oxford in the first decades of the twentieth century: both thought that knowledge of the classics would help to make young men into better citizens of their country (and thus deserved the accolade

⁶ Tomlin (1936) 345.

⁷ Soffer (2000) 362-363.

⁸ The 1914 *Oxford University Handbook* describes *Literae Humaniores* as ‘the oldest and is admitted on all hands the premier School in dignity and importance. It includes the greatest proportion of the ablest students, it covers the widest area of studies, it makes probably the severest demands, both on examiner and candidate, and it carries the most coveted distinction.’ (Harrison (1994) 111).

⁹ Harrison (1994) 218: before the Second World War, ‘Greatest prestige still attached to the faculty of *Literae Humaniores* and to the study of classical Mods and Greats.’ Morrell (1997) also discusses the prestige of Greats and its conservative force in resisting the introduction of engineering and other sciences to the curriculum.

¹⁰ Tomlin (1936) 352.

¹¹ Harrison (1994) 110, 115, 119.

‘great’);¹² the differences lay in their perspectives about whether classical literature could be accessed through the medium of translation well enough to achieve this aim, and whether it was necessary for more than a select few to receive this type of education at all. In 1920, Oxford classicists did not attempt to integrate the classics in translation into new course offerings, while Erskine did. Ironically, Gilbert Murray’s campaign for ‘Greece, not Greek,’ and Livingstone’s messages about liberal education’s ability to address modern problems through Greek literature, had a far greater impact in the USA than in the UK.¹³

After the Second World War, the Oxford Classics faculty continued to dismiss options for studying classical works in translation,¹⁴ or through any approach which did not have the mastery of the language at its core, such as the proposal for an anthropology and archaeology degree which was quashed in 1947, as was a ‘European Greats’ course that would have approached European civilization in an interdisciplinary manner similar to that of the successful PPE.¹⁵ By this time, the authoritative argument for the study of the classics was the ‘disciplinary value’ of the Latin language.¹⁶ When the USA was breathing new life into the seed planted by Erskine through the message of the *intrinsic* relevance of Greek and Latin literature promulgated through the Great Books courses (and the improvement in one’s life that reading them could offer), in England Latin was studied for its *instrumental* value only, its culturally constructed status as a signifier of intellectual ability and rigorous self-discipline that transcended all other disciplines (just as, decades later and on a smaller scale, Thucydides would become the signifier that a theorist who quoted him was qualified to take part in IR

¹² Harrison (1994) 218: The attitude prevailed into the 1930s that ‘Oxford was intended to be neither a medium of vocational training nor a centre of advanced research, but a nursery for citizens and gentlemen.’

¹³ Livingstone (1935).

¹⁴ OUP on the other hand was now publishing translations, and other universities such as Birmingham were experimenting with teaching in translation (Sonnenschein (1908) sets out Birmingham’s rationale).

¹⁵ Harrison (1994) 222-3.

¹⁶ Stray (1998) 271-297.

discourse).¹⁷ A very few unusual classicists bucked this trend and tried to remove the languages from this elevated pedestal: the lecturer at the University College of South Wales (later Cardiff University), Kathleen Freeman, in the introduction to her anthology of classical works in translation, *The Greek Way: An Anthology. Translations from Verse and Prose*, explained that learning Greek was ‘not nearly so difficult as people maintain,’ and that ‘the alphabet, which frightens beginners, can be learnt in a week.’¹⁸ Her aim was to make the language fun and appealing almost as a hobby, as Charis Barnett’s *Latin with Laughter* had done in the 1930s, by emphasizing how much more enjoyable it was to read Greek than to do crossword puzzles or play bridge. Her collection of excerpts from Greek prose and verse consisted of short, self-contained snippets as well as a great many proverbs and sayings, whereas Thucydides was explicitly left out because ‘that great man cannot for a moment be treated lightly.’ With this focus on pleasure, she maintained that it was ‘better to study alone with a good textbook than to put oneself into the hands of a worshipper of grammar.’¹⁹

This seemingly frivolous attitude to the language flew in the face of the ‘disciplinary rigour’ argument for learning Latin. Freeman was of course not the only academic committed to ‘outreach’: some high-profile academics such as Gilbert Murray were dedicated to making the classics accessible to ‘ordinary’ people. Murray was in regular correspondence with Freeman,

¹⁷ Stray’s description of how other subjects also piggy-backed on this perception of Latin provides an example of other fields using the classics to help them describe themselves: ‘Newer subject associations, particularly those concerned with modern languages, saw Latin as the acceptable face of classics – an exemplar of the (grammatical) discipline their opponents claimed they lacked.’ (Stray (1998) 277). Latin in this instance added an air of academic rigour to other subject areas, just as Thucydides would add an air of transcendent authority to IR theory discourse.

¹⁸ Freeman (1947) vi.

¹⁹ Freeman (1947) vii. Again, the implied designation of Thucydides as ‘great’ is that reading his work has (serious) consequences. Irwin’s excellent article charts Freeman’s unusual life and career, and proposed that her dedication to making the classics open to everyone may have stemmed from Freeman’s own, very ordinary background and education at a school which did not teach Latin or Greek (Irwin (2009) 49-60). Outside the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, students were more likely to need to take up the languages at university (Stray (1998) 283).

since he could see the way the land lay if the literary aspect of the classics continued to be ignored,²⁰ but would not have gone so far as to undermine the status of the ancient languages as a gauge of intellectual ability. Her approach was unconventional, though, and her scholarly efforts seem to have been received coolly by most established English classicists.²¹ Outside the Classics faculties, there were rumblings about the ‘*Ersatz* discipline (or grind),’ as F. R. Leavis termed it, that ‘as a way of introducing a stiffening reality into the literary curriculum can only make things worse.’²² Leavis was scathing about contemporary teaching of Classics for prioritizing technical linguistic competence over ‘critical sensibility’; for him, it was more important to start to understand the literature of one’s own culture before trying to grasp that of another, even if that other provided the root for one’s own.²³

Insulated by the sheer weight of tradition protecting the status quo of Greats and by the general acceptance of the disciplinary value of Latin, Classics at Oxford and Cambridge sailed through most of the 1950s relatively unscathed by the social changes brought about at the end of the war, allowing the decade to become what Elsner called a ‘catastrophically missed opportunity,’ in that no move was made to reinvigorate the teaching or relevance of the

²⁰ Stray (1998) 282.

²¹ A few examples suffice: *God, Man and the State* ‘can hardly be regarded as a safe guide’ according to Kerferd (1954); Hammond thought that *Greek City-States* was ‘light and attractive reading’ for the ‘general reader’ but ‘the connexion between the general aspect of Greek history and the particular details of the description is tenuous.’ (1951). Hamilton’s view of her *Companion to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers* was ‘this is not a book which can safely be recommended to undergraduate classical students’ (1949). *The Greek Way* was not even reviewed in English classical journals. In the USA, however, the book was more welcome (probably because it was appropriate for general education purposes), and according to *Greece and Rome*, ‘One could hardly imagine a better volume for non-Greek students who wish to know something of everyday life in ancient Greece.’ (1948, *Greece and Rome*).

²² Leavis (1948) 65. Leavis was clearly intrigued by reading Alexander Meiklejohn’s report on his Experimental College in the 1930s (Meiklejohn 1932), and envisaged the utopian ‘English School’ would be pedagogically halfway between the artificial rigour of Oxford’s Greats and the idealistic vision of humane education that was the goal of the Experimental College; he placed in this *via media* a moderately improved version of the Cambridge Tripos (Leavis (1948) 33-65).

²³ Leavis (1948) 134.

classics.²⁴ Humanities departments even benefitted from the influx of refugee scholars from Europe and of students from America, but only began at the end of the decade to feel the pressure applied to the broader arts and humanities by attacks such as that of C.P. Snow. His 1959 Rede Lecture, *The Two Cultures*, provided a parallel challenge to the humanities that the civil rights movement and feminism would do later on in the USA in the 1960s, even though the rationale was different, and it launched a similar conflict within the academy to that of Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*.²⁵ Snow predicted that the gulf in understanding that had developed between the practitioners of the sciences and the arts would be highly destructive to society, and made the intellectuals appear morally spineless. He blamed the absence of mutual understanding and respect on over-specialization in schools, both a symptom of and a contributing ingredient to the widening rift, and one exacerbated by the Oxford and Cambridge scholarship examination.²⁶ Snow acknowledged that the US had faced this problem of premature specialization in the first half of the century, and had tried to solve it through general education requirements (which incorporated the classics), but he faulted the American system for its lack of rigour – ironically, a rigour that had been knowingly sacrificed in favour of teaching Greek and Latin literature for their content and enduring relevance. When Oxford and Cambridge removed the Latin entry requirement in 1960 (although not without a fight, and

²⁴ Elsner (2013) 215.

²⁵ Leavis' unbridled, insulting response in his 1962 Richmond Lecture (Leavis 1962) was the most outspoken criticism of Snow's observations, and its poor reception may have helped to keep the debate at a more civil and respectful level subsequently.

²⁶ Snow (1959). The accusation of immoral treatment of their fellow men was particularly damaging to classicists, whose studies had by traditional wisdom prepared them for public life and who made up a majority of the civil service, both at home and abroad. Snow argued that scientists, because they were trying to improve the lot of the average person through technology, were in fact more moral than the humanities-trained intellectuals: 'Industrialisation is the only hope of the poor... It is all very well for one, as a personal choice, to reject industrialisation – do a modern Walden, if you like, and if you go without much food, see most of your children die in infancy, despise the comforts of literacy, accept twenty years off your life, then I respect you for the strength of your aesthetic revulsion. But I don't respect you in the slightest if, even passively, you try to impose the same choice on others who are not free to choose.'

in Oxford only for scientists with relevant A-levels in mathematics), this effectively denied the validity of the instrumental value of Latin, and tempted the reinvigoration and re-emergence of the insidiously recurrent question, ‘Why study the classics at all?’

The notion that there might be value to studying classical literature by any means *other* than through their original languages was so heretical in England that it could only be voiced by non-classicists or aliens from another planet. A 1966 article in *Didaskalos* by the pseudonymous ‘Rob. Yarrington’ recorded, Melian dialogue-style, an interview between the journal itself and a martian about ‘The crisis in the classics.’ Anonymity bred directness, and the martian pointed out:

You are failing to distinguish between three obviously separate elements in your problem. I mean *The Idea of a Classical Education*, *The Apparatus* – that is to say your Course Books, Syllabuses, Examination and Teaching Methods – and the *Excellence and Enduring Relevance of the Classical Heritage*...
The Idea of a Classical Education – that the best is in the past and the task of education is to transmit eternal paradigms towards which art, literature, language and conduct can merely aspire – obsolescent since the triumph of Christianity, can be seriously entertained only by those who have been driven morbidly conservative by the equation of felicity with affluence. *The Apparatus* is little more than the fossilized survival of some of the forms in which *The Idea* was embodied. Like other survivals which no longer serve any identifiable purpose it has developed its own vested interests, logic and language – or indeed languages. On the other hand the *Excellence and Enduring Relevance of the Classical Heritage* are facts which only fools or rogues could contest.²⁷

This attempt to separate the teaching of the ancient languages from the teaching of classical literature and history (and to re-evaluate the worth of the former) marks the growing sense in the 1960s that a new approach to describing the value of the classics (and teaching the subject) was needed.

²⁷ (John Sharwood Smith, writing as) Yarrington (1966) 178.

Although ‘European Greats’ did not become established at Oxford (because it would have involved ‘diluting’ the classics through being taught in translation together with other subjects), the interdisciplinary, schools-based (instead of faculty-led) approach that the proposed course had advocated was precisely that taken up at younger universities which did not have such institutional gravity to contend with. The IR theorist Martin Wight, whom I discussed in Chapter 2, became in 1960 the founding Dean of the School of European Studies at the newly established University of Sussex, the first of the great swathe of 23 new ‘plateglass’ universities to be granted Royal Charters in the 1960s.²⁸ Wight’s position on the importance of the classics in his university showed many similarities with that of the American Great Books pedagogy, which he had experienced during his time at Chicago in 1957. For Wight, the classical languages were not only not the best vehicle by which knowledge of the classical world could be conveyed, but ‘the mental discipline of the ancient languages [as a justification for learning them] is a horse that will no longer run,’ and more importantly, it was not the study of the languages which was the main value of the classics, but rather they should be studied because ‘the great works of classical literature have intrinsic importance and are life-enhancing.’²⁹ He defended the University of Sussex’s approach to integrating some study of classics into its School of European Studies through that school’s paper on ‘Foundations of European Civilisation.’ Wight emphasized how the purpose of the course was to provide the students with ‘communion with the finest minds, a study of some of the great works which, like Thucydides or Lucretius, the *City of God* or the *Divine Comedy*, transcend our limiting

²⁸ Even before the 1960s, there was a sense of a gulf between the ‘established’ universities (ie. Oxbridge) and younger ones; in his review of Freeman’s *The Work and Life of Solon*, Edward Mewburn Walker (of Queen’s College, Oxford) lamented: ‘That it should be necessary to furnish the reader with a translation of the fragments of Solon’s Poems suggests the somewhat melancholy reflection that Greek history is now being studied, at least in the newer universities, by those who cannot read Greek.’ (1927). The University College of South Wales had been founded in 1884, a mere 50 years before.

²⁹ Wight (1962): notice his use of the term ‘great works,’ echoing that of the American *Great Books*.

distinctions between the literary, the historical, the philosophical and the scientific.’ In a more polite manner than F.R. Leavis used, Wight was concerned about whether there was ‘perhaps a danger that the fascinations of Linear B and the prosopography of the Roman Senate may develop a new scholasticism, that will suffocate the simple moral and literary response to the classics as did degenerate philosophy for the generation of Nicholas Murray Butler and Housman?’³⁰

As the decade progressed, it was clear that the approach of ‘new universities’ was gaining ground, just as the PPE course had bloomed at Oxford in the 1920s, and that space would have to be found for both approaches. John Gould said in his inaugural lecture in 1969 as Chair of Greek at University College, Swansea:

I do not mean to deny all place to a different kind of knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, acquired wholly through the medium of translation – translation, that is, in the proper sense, the sense in which Richmond Lattimore’s translation of Homer or Louis MacNeice’s of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* are translation. Indeed, we have already established a Part 1 course which set out to offer this to students of English, Modern Languages, History and the like: acquaintance with Greek and Latin literature in translation is infinitely preferable to no acquaintance at all, or to that futile ‘knowledge about’ the literatures of the ancient world that comes from reading handbooks and digests of critical opinion. But such acquaintance, even when accompanied by an awareness of the nature of the distortions that translation involves, in is no sense a substitute for a direct response to the literature itself through the words of its own language. And it is with this response and with reading in this sense that a school of Classics is primarily concerned.³¹

There is no question here that there is a ‘two-tier’ system in operation, with the linguists on top, even though Gould was clearly trying to be diplomatic in this address and, through his own

³⁰ Wight (1963) 29.

³¹ Gould (2001) 3.

support of initiatives such as *Reading Greek* and language summer schools, to provide a bridge between the two sides of the debate.

In conclusion, the 1960s saw the firm establishment of this divide in England over the perceived value of the study of the classics, which still casts its shadow today. At the furthest end of the divide was the perception that the classical world is best (and should only be) studied in its original languages, and that at the heart of a classical education (the only education that is a *real* education) is the thorough knowledge of (at least) Latin and (preferably) Greek, a difficult and time-consuming occupation which will not be within the capability of the vast majority of people. This view was portrayed as outdated and characteristic of an ‘ivory tower’ mentality by those on the opposite side of the divide, whose numbers are increasing rapidly today and who view the classical world as containing material interesting, life-enhancing and significant to very many people. The role of a classicist of this mindset is therefore to make classical knowledge as accessible as possible to as many people as is practicable, through translation, adaptation and collaboration with other disciplines, although such activities entail the practitioner running the risk of being labelled superficial, a popularizer, or ‘not a *real* classicist’ by those of the first mindset. These two ends of the spectrum are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Gilbert Murray’s career being one example), and the words of Gould above demonstrate an attempt to straddle both sides of the divide, although in practice traces of these attitudes, and especially of the unattractive prejudice against the opposite ideology, still recur too often in both educational and public discourse.³²

³² That these attitudes are still prevalent is proved by how often they need to be refuted: in a recent *Politeia* publication calling for Latin to be an option available to all primary school pupils, Llewelyn Morgan stated, ‘Note here that no one, at least no one who knows what they’re talking about, is calling Latin ‘exclusive’ or ‘elitist’ any more. Latin is classless.’ (Pelling, Morgan and Lawlor (2010) 6).

The final straw was the absence of either of the classical languages from the National Curriculum, established in 1989: with the vast majority of the timetable taken up with core and foundation subjects, Latin and Greek were squeezed out from most schools. The consequence was that access to the classical languages at school became even more restricted to, and therefore a marker of, the most affluent classes.³³ The subject's survival depended on its established status in the top public schools and private schools that did not have to teach the National Curriculum, and the efforts of organizations such as JACT to support classical teachers across the country and to lobby for the reintroduction of Classics into the curriculum. Now that it is necessary to argue its case, the former 'disciplinary value' argument has been turned upside down, so that Latin is now defended for its capacity to increase *all* students' abilities in literacy, modern languages, and reasoning, and to understand better the contemporary world through knowledge of different cultures, rather than just being of use to the most able students as a way to demonstrate their intellect.³⁴

The attention paid to learning the classical languages is a constant presence throughout the English counterpart to that story that I have told about the USA. This rift mirrors that of the US higher educational establishment in which the general divide, ever since the socio-political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, has been along political lines (conservative versus liberal, traditional versus progressive, Republican versus Democrat) rather than over attitudes about the value of the ancient languages. However, this division also had its consequences outside

³³ Hughes (2010): '[Classics] was lost from schools partly because people said: this is an elitist subject. How do you make a subject elitist? By only teaching it in the most elite schools.'

³⁴ Pelling, Morgan and Lawlor (2010) 10-13. The most recent developments have seen new books for teaching Latin at primary level (*Minimus*) and the relaunch of classics in state schools through Classics for All and The Iris Project.

schools' and universities' Classics departments, both within academia and also in broader society, as I will now discuss.

The English School of International Relations

As I described in Chapter 2, Thucydides does not have the same status within International Relations in England as he does in the USA. Martin Wight, as the leading light in the so-called ‘English School’ of International Relations theory, did not follow the American paradigm in his treatment of Thucydides in his international relations theory in the 1960s.³⁵ The Great Books movement did not gain the same traction in English universities as in the American ones, despite Wight’s justification of teaching classics in translation, and the trope of referring to a ‘founding father’ for the discipline was not as much as a prerequisite for authority as it became in the USA. In England the discipline of IR theory, much smaller than its counterpart in the USA, therefore had a very different relationship with Thucydides, who rarely features at all in discussion.³⁶ Wight’s writings from the mid-1960s, contemporary with Strauss and Kagan who were firmly establishing Thucydides’ superiority over other IR writers, display a very different attitude to both the classics and to Thucydides. In his extremely perceptive article on ‘Western Values in International Relations,’ Wight discusses four concepts he considers critical to Western discussions in IR theory: the existence or non-existence of international society, the maintenance of order, intervention (in the internal affairs of other states or in their relations with each other), and finally international morality.³⁷ Were this an American article, the first of these

³⁵ IR theory in England is overall a smaller sphere than its American cousin, consisting mainly of the ‘English School,’ the circle of scholars at Oxford, Cambridge and the LSE who focus on the theory of the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius and whose major contribution to the discipline is the theory of a ‘society of states,’ carefully positioned between realism and liberalism (that contends that forces such as globalization, capitalism, or democracy help to create a more peaceful world). The central figures in the English school are Martin Wight and his colleague Hedley Bull, who edited many of Wight’s works for publication after his death; central works are Wight, Bull, and Butterfield (1966), Bull (1977), Keene (2002) and Hurrell (2007).

³⁶ Wight is the only member of the school to mention Thucydides at all: Bull, Keene and Hurrell take as their discussants Grotius and Hobbes.

³⁷ Wight (1966b).

concepts might be a prime place to discuss Thucydides, where many instances suggest the existence and even importance of international society, such as the custom of heralds, use of treaties and observance of Panhellenic religious festivals such as the Olympic games. Wight however leaves Thucydides unmentioned, but starts from a later period, (even though he uses the same formula as the American theorists) by saying that ‘Ever since Machiavelli and Hobbes, there have been those who take the view that there is no such thing as international society: that international relations constitute an anarchy whose social elements are negligible.’³⁸ Wight rarely refers to classical authors and draws much more from Grotius, Burke and a wide range of nineteenth and twentieth century examples from European and American political history, until he comes to discuss the notion of international morality, at which point he draws cautiously on some classical works. In crucial ways his views differ from Strauss’ and Kagan’s, however. First of all, he does not see Thucydides as the ‘founding father’ of the discipline of IR at all; instead, he saw Greek and Roman thinking on international relations as underdeveloped:

Modern Europe has acquired a moral sensitiveness, and an awareness of the complexities of politics, denied to a simpler civilization. The Greeks and Romans gave small thought to political ethics, still less to international ethics. It is striking that the civilization which invented political philosophy and political science gave so little attention to the relations between states... There was no Greek Grotius.³⁹

This final statement is especially damning, effectively denying the claim of Thucydides’ superiority to other IR thinkers which was being made in the USA at the time. As a consequence, Wight does not give pride of place to Thucydides among his classical examples, and although he mentions the Mytilenean debate (to show humane actions being defended on

³⁸ Wight (1966b) 92.

³⁹ Wight (1966b) 126-7.

the grounds of pure expediency) and the Melian dialogue in passing, he discusses in more depth the stories told by Cicero and Plutarch about Aristides.⁴⁰

There is a very human paradox in Wight's treatment of Thucydides, in that his discussions of the value of the classics in England sound more akin to the justifications of the Great Books learning in the USA, while his scepticism about the pre-eminence of Thucydides in IR theory bears the more cautious stamp of the historian. It is perhaps not completely illogical therefore that it is in a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* rather than, say, the *Review of International Studies* that Wight wrote:

I have found one of the richest rewards of a teacher in international relations in the student who comes back to one after reading Thucydides, saying 'This is absolutely fascinating. *It is all here.*' (Analysis of this sentence – *What* is all there? And in what sense *is* it all there? – carries one to the heart of a classical education.)⁴¹

Wight (who had read History at Oxford) does not seem to be contesting the notion that an education must include the classics as much as he is questioning how it can be used outside the educational sphere: not as a badge to show one's education and erudition, but as a way of making sense of the modern world. Wight was therefore taking a stance in the middle between the American idolization of the unrigorous Great Books and the equally flawed English system in which 'good students are still driven away from classical studies by philological pedantry and a reluctance or inability to teach supreme literature as literature.'⁴²

⁴⁰ Wight (1966b) 124-5. Aristides (according to Plutarch, *Vita Themistoclis* 20.2) deemed no plan more unjust (*ἀδίκωτέραν*) than Themistocles' idea to burn all the allied ships in Athens' harbour, even though it would leave Athens supremely powerful in Greece. Cicero dubbed Fabricius 'talis in hac urbe, qualis Aristides Athenis, fuit.' (*De Off.* 3.87).

⁴¹ Wight (1962).

⁴² Wight (1962).

Another significant difference between Wight's discussion of all classical material and that of the American IR theorists bears witness to this English attitude about the importance of the original language. Although Wight was critical of the grammatical focus of his classical colleagues at the traditional universities, he was still operating within a cultural environment that observed their values, and he was inevitably a product of his time. Wight quoted Latin much more than his American counterparts, not only phrases and maxims but also quotations from literature, as well as French and Italian phrases in their original languages.⁴³ He seems to have avoided having to use Greek wherever possible, by paraphrasing rather than quoting Greek literature. This could possibly be due to the necessity of having to choose whether to quote in English or in the original language (and therefore to give out subliminal messages about one's educational background), and also due to the more circumspect and indirect character of English discourse compared with American discourse, which may have led to the replacement in English writings of quotation with the perceivedly more refined or gentlemanly allusion. Hence F.R. Leavis, when describing a university that fulfils its mission *qua* university, spoke only for those who knew the Funeral Oration when he said that a university which achieved his described goals 'would have a good chance of becoming, if not the Athens of the English-speaking world, the unmistakable main focus of the Athenian function it had done so much to confirm to this country.'⁴⁴ By contrast, John F. Kennedy was not reluctant to describe the USA

⁴³ Wight went up to Oxford in 1931 to read Modern History (Hall (2006) 4), and Latin had been an important part of his own education. Just in Wight (1966b), he quotes Horace *Odes* iii.6 'dis te minorem quod geris, imperas' (123ff.), discusses 'fiat justitia et pereat mundus' (129ff.) and compares it to the Italian politician Antonio Salandra's 'sacro egoismo per l'Italia' and Robespierre's 'Périssent les colonies si elles nous en coûtent l'honneur, la liberté' (129ff). Latin for Wight was a type of shorthand: he describes pirates as 'hostes humani generis' and alludes to Dante's 'universalis civitas humani generis' as well as Calvin's conception of a 'civitas maxima,' and summarizes Kant's view of nature in 'volentem ducit, nolentem trahit' (Wight (1960) 38, 41, 44). His extremely rare examples of Greek he transliterates, such as '*parerga*' (Wight (1960) 37).

⁴⁴ Leavis (1948) 11.

in the following way when giving a speech in Massachusetts, just before being sworn in as President:

Its democratic institutions have served as beacon lights for other nations as well as our sister states. For what Pericles said to the Athenians has long been true of this commonwealth: 'We do not imitate--for we are a model to others.'⁴⁵

This is of course not comparing like with like: J.F.K. was giving a political speech whereas Leavis was writing an academic article – two genres with different rhetorical modes where different rules apply. On the other hand, research into people's quoting habits in England provides some interesting evidence to support this idea that the changing attitudes about the classical languages within higher education in the twentieth century have had an effect outside the academy, especially on political discourse. After discussing this evidence, I will conclude this chapter by looking at whether these findings are backed up by how quotation is used in the Houses of Parliament, as a foil to that study of the US Congress in Chapter 3.

⁴⁵ Kennedy (1961).

How the English quote the classics

The sociologist and anthropologist Ruth Finnegan's 2011 discussion of British quotation practices, based on the Mass Observation Exercise in 2006, contains extremely telling information about the public use of classical quotation in the mid-twentieth century.⁴⁶ The respondents consisted mostly of middle-aged and older people whose education had taken place before the Education Reform Act of 1988, and their responses about their knowledge of and attitudes about classical quotation display the influences of the educational debates discussed above.

Certain traits come to the surface in the responses: first of all, general quoting in everyday speech was something that people were wary of doing, at all and especially to excess, for fear of seeming boorish by spouting clichés. Many admitted that they probably did it more than they realized, given the pervasiveness of sayings, proverbs, songs, and jokes in daily life.⁴⁷ Conscious quotation was for certain occasions only: permissible in speeches, sermons, and examinations, more formal and regulated occasions of language use than everyday conversation.⁴⁸ The sources and types of quotations were manifold: the internet, television and films, family in-jokes and sayings of friends and colleagues, and of course literature, especially

⁴⁶ Finnegan (2011). This Mass Observation exercise consisted of detailed questionnaire responses on the topic of 'Quoting and Quotation' from over 200 volunteers. Fortunately for this present inquiry, the vast majority of them were over 37 years old (over 85%), and a large minority over 64 years (40%) in 2006 (only a few did not give their ages), so their education took place during the period in which Latin was still necessary for entry into Oxbridge (in the case of the over 66-year-olds), and before the advent of the Education Reform Act in 1988 which did not include Latin as one of the Core Subjects of the National Curriculum (in the case of the over 37-year-olds). They predominantly lived in England at the time of the Mass Observation Exercise, although this does not necessarily indicate where they were educated.

⁴⁷ Finnegan (2011) Ch. 2.

⁴⁸ Some admitted to owning quotation anthologies, although fewer to using these anthologies as a source for everyday speech. One respondent confessed to having included a quotation culled from a book to make his teacher think that he had read Emerson (Finnegan (2011) 58).

Shakespeare, the Bible, and books read in school. ‘Literary’ quotations were perceived as qualitatively different from the more informal or ‘popular’ quotations developed from a person’s life experience; the perceived sources of ‘literary’ quotations included not only the Bible and Shakespeare but also poets, especially de la Mare, Yeats, Kipling, Tennyson, Housman and Larkin, writers such as Wilde and Orwell, statesmen (above all Churchill), and of course, quotation anthologies.⁴⁹

Many participants brought up the subject of audience, touching on the ‘stickiness’ that I discussed in Chapter 3: different quotations were appropriate for different audiences, such as quotations that were meaningless outside the immediate family, because they were heavily associated with, or ‘stuck’ to, one particular person’s idiosyncratic or one-off use of the words.⁵⁰ Many participants knew far more literary quotations than they would ever say out loud in everyday conversation, as to use such a quotation would create an impression that they were ‘showing off,’ but among those people that they knew were familiar with the sources they could use them to communicate very quickly and effectively.⁵¹ This characteristic of literary quotations was also noted by Hirsch, who recalled that his father had used Shakespearean quotations in his letters to business colleagues as a form of shorthand, such as ‘There is a tide’

⁴⁹ Finnegan (2011) 20ff.

⁵⁰ Finnegan (2011) Participant: ‘My Father-in-law used the phrase “it was swimming” which apparently his own Mother had often used to him – if he caught a cold then she would say “It was swimming” [that caused it]. This has become a family joke and any unfortunate situation might provoke the comment “it was swimming.”’ (p.29-30).

⁵¹ Finnegan (2011) 56-7: ‘A receptionist exchanged literary quotations with people like her mother whose knowledge meant they could use quotes “as shorthand for many things”, but never at work where people already thought she was “posh”.’ Many others reported reciting literary quotations only in their heads – or to the cat (p.56, 58).

to convey the need for prompt action.⁵² This same quotation occurs in the Mass Observation Exercise, reported by an ex-headmistress:

My favourite Shakespeare one goes something like, ‘There comes a tide in the affairs of men, if taken at the flood, leads on to greater things’. I like that because I believe we make our own luck and must be ready to take the initiative. I don’t think I’ve ever quoted it to anyone, in case I was trying to behave in a superior manner.⁵³

In each case the use of the quotation reveals a great deal about the cultural values of the quoters: in the American example, the businessman considers the quotation to be a useful tool to improve efficiency in communication;⁵⁴ the English example shows a woman who, despite being a headmistress whose role includes educating and inspiring others, is still restrained by powerful social mores from speaking the quotation aloud.⁵⁵

Classical quotations in their original languages, however, were considered the absolute epitome of the ‘showing off’ type of quotation and drew the greatest negative emotional responses from the respondents, including feelings of being patronized or being made to feel inferior. One participant had ‘a particular loathing for those especially well-educated types who quoted in Latin or Greek (an utterly pointless exercise, except in the sense of intellectual

⁵² Hirsch (1987) 9.

⁵³ Finnegan (2011) 59.

⁵⁴ Steele and Redding (1961) identify American values of the 1950s, including the emphasis on ‘achievement and success,’ especially in business. ‘The modern ideal American is the competitive individual: the “self-made man who rose from rags to riches” has long been a dominant figure in the national folklore’ (p.86). Hirsch is therefore rhetorically aligning himself with these American values through his example of his father’s use of quotation for a business goal.

⁵⁵ Finnegan does not mention whether the headmistress felt that quotation to pupils as an educative tool would have been acceptable. Quotation may also be a strongly gendered activity, fitting with its performative nature. The spheres I have examined – military education, early twentieth century universities, academia, parliaments – consist mostly of men, and the ‘membership’ effect noted by Stray (1998), Lebow (2012), and Ruback (2011) appears to be a strong motivating factor behind the quoting behaviour. Fewer women quote Pericles or Thucydides in the US Congress, but on one occasion (CCQ 5) the context is a women-only evening in Congress, and the discussants may be imitating the ‘masculine’ discourse of everyday political speech. If quotation is gendered, reluctance or willingness to speak quotations aloud may be caused as much by gender as by national cultural behaviours.

display).’⁵⁶ On the other side of the coin were those who derived pleasure from exactly this practice:

One 59-year-old did mention puzzling people with Latin quotes, and there were occasional examples in other languages based on particular personal experiences. But non-English quotations were rare – a contrast to some generations ago when classical languages might well have figured large.⁵⁷

Finnegan herself gives a half-ironic example of this in her introduction:

I do occasionally enjoy showing off to non-Latinate relations by declaiming *Quadripedante [sic] putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum*, one of my father’s favourite lines – mine too – from Virgil.⁵⁸

Finnegan then justifies at length that her enjoyment of the quotation springs from its rhythm rather than the ‘showing off’ element, but the perception of that aspect of the classical quotations is hard to shake off. The irony that the Mass Observation Exercise results revealed was that although many of the respondents could recall almost word for word literary quotations

⁵⁶ Finnegan (2011) 68. On the other hand, one aspect that Finnegan does not consider (possibly due to the nature of her sample) is that of quotations on tattoos. There has been a marked (but as yet completely unresearched) and very recent trend towards text tattoos, including tattoos in classical languages, possibly made popular by the wide range of celebrities with Latin or Greek tattoos (such as David Beckham, Angelina Jolie, Colin Farrell, Danielle Lloyd, and Keith Urban. Freddie Flintoff and Kevin Pietersen have Roman numeral tattoos). I have come across ‘Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo’ on the arm of an assistant in a mobile phone shop (who liked the rhythm of the words as well as the sentiment, possibly via Freud’s interpretation); tattoos are very popular in the ranks of the armed forces, and some include quotations (such as regimental mottoes) that are in Latin; and I noticed recently an electrician’s assistant had large Greek letters on his arm (it was the name of his son; although he was not Greek, he had spent regular holidays with his son in Greece). Enquiries to the professional tattoo and piercing associations in Britain could yield telling results about, for instance, the prevalence of Latin and Greek words over Chinese characters, as well as the most popular phrases and images requested. It is possible that the very absence of Latin in schools has made these languages more mysterious, and also that, because they are known to be old languages, the sentiments expressed by them are perceived as having a permanent quality, much like that of the tattoo in the skin.

⁵⁷ Finnegan (2011) 22.

⁵⁸ Finnegan (2011) 28.

that they had learnt in school,⁵⁹ what had stuck concerning the classical material was less the quotations themselves and their meanings, but instead the social values attached to them, of exclusivity and of the perception that those who knew them must be especially privileged and think themselves intelligent. The very absence of Greek in Finnegan's results, let alone Thucydides or Pericles, emphasizes the important role of the curriculum for establishing not only what people know, but also, at a wider societal level, what lies within or completely beyond the realms of 'socially acceptable' references.

Yet how does this aspect of the public unacceptability of the classics affect its use in that environment which Chapter 3 demonstrated it is so well suited to – the rhetorical world, that of politics? Finnegan noted that in the 1940s, classical quotations appeared 'regularly' in the British Parliament, as so many politicians had had classical educations and could expect their fellows in the House to have done so too.⁶⁰ Stray has analysed how the use of Latin in the Houses of Parliament has declined over the course of the nineteenth century, from its start when Latin's frequent appearance indicated 'the solidarity of the male group' by means of 'a shared body of valued knowledge,' to its end when the arrival in Parliament of the working classes, without classical backgrounds, brought such 'cosiness' to a close.⁶¹ To an extent, each English generation has felt that it quotes the classics less than its forebears: Finnegan records how David Evans MacDonnel's 1797 *Dictionary of Quotations* laments how 'the learned Languages have sunk into Disrepute of late Years,' because of 'the Disuse of Quotations from them by our most

⁵⁹ School had in many cases been a long time ago: one elderly respondent could recall long portions of Shakespeare and the whole of Kipling's 'If' which she had learnt in school, even though she had left school at the age of ten (p.33).

⁶⁰ Finnegan (2011) 117.

⁶¹ Stray (1998) 65-7. Stray marked how the quoting group is strongly gendered in this instance. Meisel questions whether the decline in classical quotation was due to the changing membership of Parliament, and instead suggests that it could be due to Parliament's increasingly legislative role and also more press access (Meisel (2001) 60-78).

esteemed authors.⁶² Yet this process has clearly accelerated in the twentieth century: when the ‘disciplinary value’ of Latin came to the fore and subsequently classical education was rapidly eroded in England, what were the consequences for its utility in political discourse?

⁶² Finnegan (2011) 124.

Thucydides in Contemporary Political

Discourse in England

Classical quotations in *Hansard* over the twentieth century have not been systematically analysed, although according to anecdote they are becoming rarer.⁶³ Well-known Latin quotations do still occur, however, such as *delenda est Carthago*, *morituri te salutant* or *salutamus*, or the famous and popular *timeo Danaos*, and Cicero is a popular originator of pithy politically relevant quotations, just as he is in the US Congress.⁶⁴ Greek phrases, even the most well-known, are much rarer.⁶⁵ When compared with the frequency of Thucydidean quotations in the US Congress, the British Parliament is virtually silent by comparison. Over the same time period of the last twenty years (1991-2011), there have been only 12 instances of Thucydides' words being quoted in the House of Commons or the House of Lords, compared with 91 in the US Congress (see Figure 6).⁶⁶ What is the cause of such a discrepancy, which might seem strange given the rhetorical power of quotation which Chapter 3 illustrated, and the

⁶³ Lloyd-Jones and Wilson (1990: 126 and 1997:73) rely on Enoch Powell's certainty that after Neville Chamberlain defended his appeasement of Hitler by quoting *Antigone* 523, ancient Greek was never quoted again in the House of Commons. *μηδὲν ἄγαν* was quoted at least twice in Greek since then in the House of Lords (HL Deb 09 February 1966 vol 272 cc762-876, spoken by Sir Toby Low; HL Deb 10 November 1982 vol 436 cc254-349, spoken by Mr Jack Diamond). All parliamentary discourse in this chapter is recorded in *Hansard* (unless otherwise stated) and quotations are cited with their *Hansard* references.

⁶⁴ Over the period 1900-2005, *delenda est Carthago*, sometimes with another word replacing *Carthago*, occurs 19 times, *morituri te salutant* nine times, *morituri te salutamus* four times, and *timeo Danaos* has been quoted 83 times. Quotations attributed to Cicero and quoted in English between the period 2000 and 2005 alone include 'If you have a weak case, abuse the plaintiff' (HL Deb 20 January 2000 vol 608 cc1246-98), 'I tried to be brief; I hope I wasn't obscure' (HL Deb 13 May 2004 vol 661 cc445-506), 'Those who know nothing of the time before they were born will remain forever a child' (HC Deb 06 July 2004 vol 423 cc209-29WH), 'Amid the clash of arms the laws are silent' (HL Deb 01 March 2005 vol 670 cc116-219) and 'Probability is the very guide of life' (HL Deb 22 February 2005 vol 669 cc1136-206).

⁶⁵ 'Know thyself,' quoted in English rather than Greek, occurs seven times between 1900 and 2005, and twice in addition in Greek (see footnote above).

⁶⁶ There are also some occasions on which Thucydides' name is referred to without being quoted, just as there are many occasions in the US Congress in which the classical world is alluded to fleetingly.

tradition of classical quotations in Parliament in the nineteenth century, and arguably in the twentieth too? One contributing factor is the difference in rhetorical styles of the American and English parliaments. There are fewer set piece speeches in the House of Commons than in the House of Lords or the US Congress, and the more raucous character of the debate in Parliament makes speakers more vulnerable to any *ad hominem* attack (or chance to score points) from the opposition benches. In addition to this structural factor, a detailed examination of the few examples that there are shows how both of these competing forces – the public stigmatizing of the classics indicated by the Mass Observation results, and the tradition of classics being an indicator of the elite – influence what a reference to Thucydides can be taken to mean.

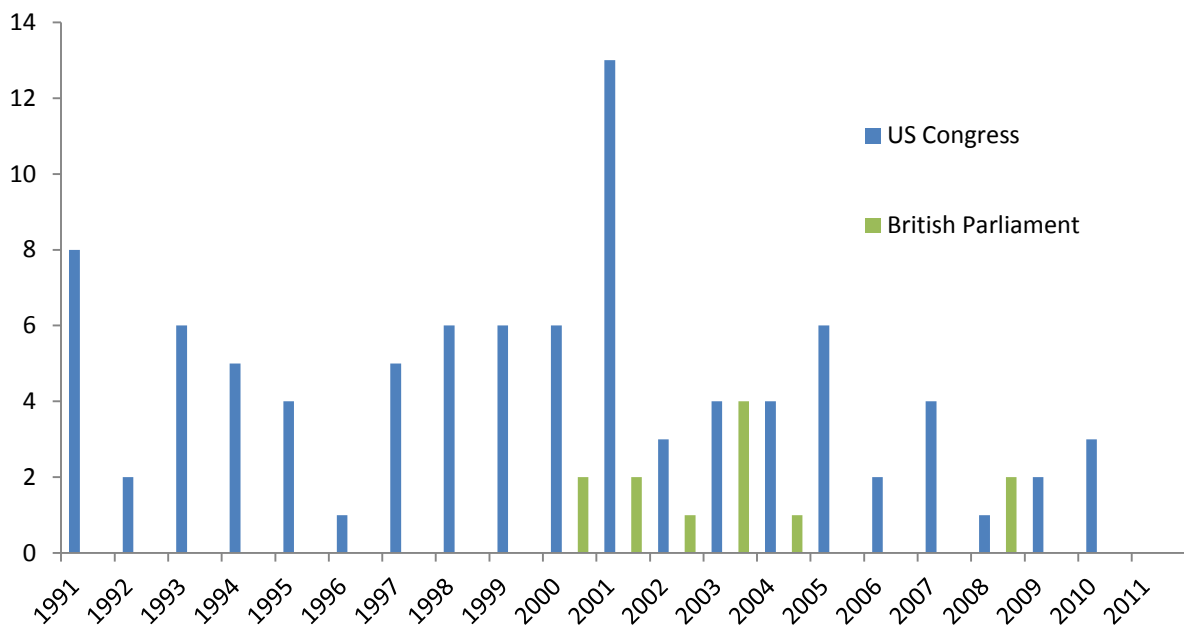


FIGURE 6: Number of quotations attributed to Thucydides or Pericles in the US Congress and the British Houses of Parliament (as recorded in the *Congressional Record* and *Hansard*), 1991-2011.

The few examples of English politicians quoting Thucydides today fall into three clear groups: those concerning the 2003 Draft Preamble of the European Constitution (five instances), those discussing very recent international politics and using Thucydidean quotations from American politics (four instances), and those echoing the quotations on First and Second World War memorials (three instances). Figure 6 also highlights that there are no quotations at all during the 1990s. This might have been caused by the stigmatizing effect noted above in Finnegan's findings (exacerbated by the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1989), a trait which then changed in 2000 when closer attention was paid to American rhetoric.

To take the largest group first: the doomed Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was drawn up in July 2003 by a committee headed by the President of the European Convention, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. The final EU Constitution Treaty was ratified by eighteen EU member states but its progress was halted when France and Holland did not ratify it in 2004 and 2005. The draft circulated in 2003 began its preamble with this quotation from Thucydides, given in Greek and then in English, using a variation on Warner's translation:

χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ... καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται.

'Our Constitution... is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the greatest number.'

Thucydides II.37

Conscious that Europe is a continent that has brought forth civilisation; that its inhabitants, arriving in successive waves from earliest times, have gradually developed the values underlying humanism: equality of persons, freedom, respect for reason,

Drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, the values of which, still present in its heritage, have embedded within the life of society the

central role of the human person and his or her inviolable and inalienable rights ...⁶⁷

After these words, the preamble continues in such a vein before announcing the Treaty proper.

The draft preamble was far from an unqualified success. The House of Commons Research paper on the subject, published on September 6, 2004, describes how it was received:

The Preamble contains lofty references to the historical and cultural heritage of Europe. [...] A quotation about democracy from the Greek historian and politician, Thucydides, that had headed the Convention text, was removed on the initiative of the Irish Presidency, giving rise to objections from Greece and Cyprus. [...] The English Government found the draft preamble 'nice'. [...] Andrew Duff, the Liberal Democrat MEP and Convention member, found the draft Preamble 'too flowery' and possibly 'erring on the side of the pretentious'.⁶⁸

The research paper also referred to a deeply scathing review of the entire preamble in *The Economist*. The review set out the objections of different EU countries to its content and tone by contrasting the complaints of many Roman Catholic states concerning the preamble's lack of any mention of Christianity with those of the secular nations. It was no gentler on Giscard D'Estaing's use of Thucydides either, condemning the quotation by saying of the Treaty that, 'Like an over-ambitious student essay it starts with a quotation from Thucydides (in the original Greek).'⁶⁹ The unspoken opinion in both *The Economist* and the Commons Research paper was that a quotation from Thucydides was unsuitable for the preamble, just as the preamble made an unsuitable opening to the Constitution, attracting such adjectives as 'lofty', 'over-ambitious', 'flowery' and 'pretentious.'

⁶⁷ (2003) *Official Journal of the European Union*.

⁶⁸ House of Commons Library Research Paper 04/66, page 8, published 06.09.2004. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the English Government's faint praise was intended to be equally damning.

⁶⁹ House of Commons Library Research Paper 04/66, page 8, published 06.09.2004.

The response to the choice of quotation was equally negative in Parliament. The Draft Treaty was discussed on July 9, 2003, and the first to bring up the Thucydidean quotation was George Osborne, backing up a colleague's point that the proposed constitution could mark a decrease in individual nations' sovereignty:

Mr George Osborne: 'My right hon. Friend's point is amply demonstrated by the very first line of the draft constitution...it is from Thucydides. It says, "Our Constitution... is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the greatest number." It uses the word "constitution" and talks explicitly about the "greatest number" – meaning the extension of majority voting and the elimination of the national veto.'

Mr Michael Ancram: 'I am grateful to my hon. Friend for reminding the House of that, and I congratulate him for his swift translation of ancient Greek, which might be beyond most of the rest of us.'⁷⁰

The first thing to notice, before considering the actual content of the quotation and how it relates to the substance of the treaty and to the government's verdict concerning it, is that the presence of a line from an ancient Greek author immediately elicits a comment on the education of the one referring to it. In this case, Michael Ancram's joking response was illogical, given that the translation of the quotation was plainly visible next to the Greek text. The explanation for this is the 'membership effect,' which Stray noted in the nineteenth century discourse of Parliament, in which specific knowledge indicates that one 'belongs' and reaffirms the identity and character of the group;⁷¹ in this case, knowledge of Greek is used to denote membership of the political 'elite' with an allusive reference to education in the classical languages. A recent extreme example of this 'membership effect,' the same effect that Tim Ruback observed in quotations from Thucydides in the field of International Relations theory, is offered by this

⁷⁰ HC Deb 09 July 2003 vol 408 cc1201-80.

⁷¹ See footnote 61, p.254.

quotation from the House of Lords in 1984, which had not been quoted in Parliament since 1866. It employs Cicero rather than Thucydides, but to the same end:

There is a sentence of his [Cicero] which I was forced to learn by heart as a schoolboy and which I shall repeat to your Lordships. I shall not read it, because I know it by heart. It is: ‘Non enim possunt una in civitati [sic] multi rem ac fortunas amittere ut non pluris [sic] secum in eandem [sic] trahant calamitatem’— which, for the benefit of the Welsh, means: ‘When a lot of people lose a lot, they draw a lot of others into the same ditch.’⁷²

The speaker, Bishop Douglas Feaver, was known for his outrageous and opinionated comments, but in this example he gives a clear illustration, despite his apparent irony, of the use which has been made of Latin and Greek as instruments for highlighting the difference in education and opportunity between the elites and those considered to be non-elite. This particular trait of referring to the original language as a way to demarcate the perceived elites from the perceived non-elites, sometimes hidden by a superficially jocular tone such as Ancram’s or Feaver’s, does not occur in the Thucydidean quotations from the US Congress at all, where quotations are never given in Greek, but always in English.

Returning to 2003, the conversation regarding the quotation in the Preamble continued down a still more intriguing path. Denzil Davies, the then Labour Member for Llanelli in Wales, challenged the quotation head-on, demanding to know why it had been used:

Mr Denzil Davies: ‘The hon. Member for Tatton [Mr. Osborne] mentioned the Greek quotation from Thucydides, which is the first sentence of the preamble to the constitution. The translation is, “Our Constitution... is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the greatest number.” I was surprised to see that quotation, and I cannot really understand why it is there. Perhaps it was to put us

⁷² HL Deb 09 May 1984 vol 451 cc923-1002; and previously on HC Deb 02 March 1866 vol 181 cc1407-80. The spelling of the 1866 quotation has only one mistake (*plureis* for *plures*), and the mistakes may be as much on the part of the *Hansard* compiler as on Feaver’s. In 1866, the speaker did not translate the quotation.

in awe of the erudition and learning of those who drafted the constitution or perhaps those wily Greeks slipped it in at night when nobody was looking.’

Sir Patrick Cormack: ‘Like a Trojan horse.’⁷³

Davies shows an immediate scepticism about the author’s motivations in including the quotation, pointing directly at the perceived ostentatiousness of using it (echoing the Mass Observation Exercise respondents’ attitudes), and also, like the previous speakers, including a joke. Yet, when he does come to examine its content, it is surprising how useful the quotation actually is for pinpointing his objection to Britain’s ratifying the treaty:

Mr Denzil Davies: ‘As Members know, Thucydides was referring to the democracy and constitution of the small city-state of Athens. From my memory of my studies of ancient history, the Athenian citizen could walk down the high street with a pebble in his hand and put it in a pot, or an urn. If he got enough pebbles in enough pots, he could change the law of Athens. The English citizen cannot change the laws of the EU, however... Finally, I have one request to make of my right hon. Friend. As we embark on these debates, could he do his best to remove Thucydides’ name from the cover of the document, as he does not really deserve it?’⁷⁴

His argument that ratification of the treaty would remove power from English citizens is vividly described through his – surely deliberately – exaggerated and oversimplified description of the average Athenian citizen’s influence on politics. Yet how should his verdict be interpreted, that Thucydides does not really ‘deserve’ to be in the preamble? Should we infer that a sentiment from ancient Greece has no place on such a document, or that it would be a misrepresentation of the goal of the treaty to summarize it with Thucydides’ words? The latter tallies more closely with the sense of the passage: Davies has obviously considered the meaning of the quotation, and used it to clarify his strong objection to the treaty. Any hint of the ‘membership’ effect of his discussing the quotation is absent (although he adds the caveat that

⁷³ HC Deb 09 July 2003 vol 408 cc1201-80.

⁷⁴ HC Deb 09 July 2003 vol 408 cc1201-80.

Members will know the historical background): he does not refer to the original language of the quotation, and is self-deprecating about his own classical knowledge. He also draws attention to his understanding of the situation of ‘the man in the street’ by echoing commonly held attitudes about the classics, and thus bolstering his own rhetorical persona as a man of the people.

The discussion is concluded by William Hague:

Mr William Hague: ‘It is obvious from the speeches that have been made so far that it would be advisable to remove Thucydides from the preamble to the document. The reference means a slave state to the right hon. and learned Member for North-East Fife [Mr. Menzies Campbell] and it reminds the right hon. Member for Llanelli [Mr. Denzil Davies] and I that Athenian democracy was a direct democracy in which every citizen had a vote. Any document that cites Thucydides in its preamble naturally requires a referendum. If the government want to avoid that implication, they should remove the reference.’⁷⁵

What Hague has correctly identified is that the mention of Thucydides stirs different associations in different people, and that these associations are not within the power of the author of the preamble (or a political speaker) to control completely.⁷⁶ This exchange is an example of how closely reference to the classics is connected in English political discourse with overtones of elitism and pomposity. It is the second of these characteristics which is brought up in April 2004 when the debate moves onto the question of a referendum in Britain about the treaty:

Mr John Maples: ‘The Euro-elite... see the constitution as a huge and wonderful way of extending their influence and power at an international level. That is given away by the incredibly pompous preamble—all about democracy and including quotes from Thucydides—to the Convention. I recommend it to anyone who wants a lesson in

⁷⁵ HC Deb 09 July 2003 vol 408 cc1201-80.

⁷⁶ Sir Menzies Campbell had pointed out (without quoting Thucydides) that the enfranchised inhabitants of Athens made up a very small proportion of its whole population, and that its democracy was based on slavery (HC Deb 09 July 2003 vol 408 cc1201-80).

pomposity. It says: “Our Constitution...is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the greatest number.” Well, we are about to find out.⁷⁷

This sentiment recurred that September when Mr Richard Shepherd described it as ‘undoubtedly grandiloquent... [the Preamble] quotes Thucydides, no less, in both Greek and English.’⁷⁸ Even though the quotation from Thucydides was not as high-flown as the rest of the preamble document,⁷⁹ it is the mention of the classical author that is picked up on by the British politicians as the most pretentious element. The association of the classics – and more specifically, the classical languages - with privilege and grandiloquence in Parliament has in fact made it a less flexible tool for politicians to use than it is in the United States, where references to the classics are not accompanied by allusions to the speaker’s education or with self-deprecating humour.⁸⁰

The second group of quotations relates to American politics, and therefore contains traces of American rhetoric, bringing with it quotations attributed to Thucydides. They relate directly to September 11, 2001: two are instances of the infamous ‘Colin Powell’ quotation, and are quoted by the same person (Lord Howe of Aberavon) in order to urge caution and delay on the part of those seeking revenge for the terrorist attacks, and which he repeated in 2002 near

⁷⁷ HC Deb 23 April 2004 vol 420 cc565-608.

⁷⁸ HC Deb 09 September 2004 vol 424 cc878-953.

⁷⁹ See the Preamble’s opening lines, p.248.

⁸⁰ The final instance of quotation from Thucydides as part of this discussion was in 2008, in the House of Lords discussion ahead of the Irish referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon (which incorporated aspects of the failed Constitution into a new treaty). Lord Owen read an excerpt from a letter to the *Financial Times* by the Irish correspondent Donal O’Brolchain that read, ‘On what basis do you assert... that putting the Lisbon treaty to a plebiscite is absurd? Surely the great strength of the European project is maintaining and enhancing peace while promoting a common prosperity in a democratic way. If so, let us ensure that the emerging entity is grounded in Pericles’ observation: “Although only a few may originate a policy, we are all able to judge it.”’ (HL Deb, 11 June 2008, c597). In this instance, the quotation is being used to summarize many ideas into a necessarily brief letter, not the least of which is a patriotic defence of the Irish policy of holding plebiscites in the face of criticism of that practice by an English newspaper.

the anniversary of the attacks.⁸¹ Peter Kilfoyle also repeated his words of advice following the attacks, invoking Archidamus' good sense that 'slow and cautious may be seen as wise and sensible,' to echo the prudence expressed by Colin Powell's maxim.⁸² These four quotations therefore show the clear influence of American rhetorical practices on British parliamentary discourse, in that there is no indication that the quotations had originated in a language other than English (which would have been impossible anyway in the case of the spurious Powell quotation) nor therefore of any 'membership' function in their being quoted. Rather, they all appear to be urging the USA to show restraint by using language that echoes American politics. Since the early 2000s, the influence of American rhetoric concerning Thucydides has become also visible in British politics outside Parliament, in the small but rapidly growing fringe movement of British neoconservatism which has developed in the last ten years. Douglas Murray, one of the most prominent British neoconservatives, invokes Thucydides and Pericles in books and speeches, deliberately imitating American neoconservatives and taking his inspiration in neoconservative theory directly and explicitly from Leo Strauss.⁸³ Murray's *Neoconservatism: why we need it* opens with a quotation from the Funeral Oration (2.43.1): not about patriotism or sacrifice, but about the importance of having the courage to emulate those

⁸¹ HL Deb 14 September 2001 vol 627 cc10-100 and HL Deb 24 September 2002 vol 638 cc870-1026.

⁸² HC Deb 16 October 2001 vol 372 cc1053-141, which Kilfoyle repeated at HC Deb 18 March 2003 vol 401 cc760-858.

⁸³ Murray (2006a) 9ff.

who have died and, like them, to confront the enemy.⁸⁴ This fits the tone of Murray's political ideology, which is centred on fighting what he calls the 'war against Islamic fundamentalism.'⁸⁵

The most recent instance of a Thucydidean quotation in Parliament, however, illustrates precisely the opposite of the American practice: the reluctance of politicians to quote from ancient Greek sources in Britain. James Arbuthnot selected a passage from Pericles' Funeral Oration on the subject of spending on the military:

The people are to blame, too, because they have forgotten what Pericles said in the Peloponnesian war—if they ever knew. He said that one cannot have happiness without freedom, and one cannot have freedom without courage. He probably said that in some language other than English, but it is crucial and necessary for the people to remember it as they look forward to demanding that a higher proportion of our gross domestic product should go to defence.⁸⁶

Arbuthnot's comments are intriguing: his apparent de-emphasis of the importance of the language Pericles used indicates how he is trying to focus on the content of the quotation itself, but the concessive tone in which he refers to the language element implies that some acknowledgement of the words being a translation is necessary. Arbuthnot is alluding here – and his emphasis on remembrance implies this – to the quotation from the Funeral Oration which appears on war memorials around the Commonwealth, that 'Freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it.' The final two instances of Thucydidean quotation are also this same passage: Mr. Christopher Gill (then MP for Ludlow)

⁸⁴ Murray (2006a) vii. Murray uses Smith's translation: 'And so these men then bore themselves after a manner that befits our city; but you who survive, though you may pray that it be with less hazard, should resolve that you will have a spirit to meet the foe which is no whit less courageous; and you must estimate the advantage of such a spirit not alone by a speaker's words, for he could make a long story in telling you – what you yourselves know as well as he – all the advantages that are to be gained by warding off the foe.'

⁸⁵ Murray (2006b). Murray also invoked Pericles in this speech, as in (2006a), as the ideal democratic leader who urged his people on to resist the Spartans despite the Athenians' setbacks.

⁸⁶ HC Deb 30 October 2008 Vol 481 c.1102.

used the quotation twice in quick succession on May 11 and November 23, 2000, each time to paint himself as an English patriot. A former member of the Conservative party and now a member of UKIP and The Freedom Association (an English right-wing pressure group), he prefaced his criticism of the Common Agricultural Policy by saying:

I have consistently warned that it would all end in tears, and so it has. I shall end with a quotation from Pericles for my colleagues: ‘Remember that Prosperity can only be for the free, and that freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it.’⁸⁷

This particular passage, Thucydides 2.43.4, was used by both Arbuthnot and Gill to convey strong messages about the importance of patriotism and defence of the nation. It is a translation which has occurred only twice in the same period in Congress, which is surprisingly rare given the much greater frequency of Thucydidean quotations overall in Congress compared with Parliament.⁸⁸ The history of this quotation reveals a tradition completely separate from that of formal school education, and highlights an important and possibly unexpected similarity between English and American receptions of Thucydides, as I will now discuss.

⁸⁷ HC Deb 11 May 2000 vol 349 cc1024-109 and HC Deb 23 November 2000 vol 357 cc481-540.

⁸⁸ CCQ 4 and 22. On one occasion (CCQ 4), the quotation had been removed from its funereal context and was being used to criticize the Patriot Act.

The Circuitous Route of Pericles

onto War Memorials

On the RAF Bomber Command Memorial in London's Green Park, unveiled in 2012, there is a quotation, together with the more expected ones from Churchill, attributed to Pericles:

'Freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it.' The sentiment rings out proudly with the ideals of self-sacrifice, bravery, and staunch defence of liberty that the memorial was intended to praise, and its rhetorical power is undeniable. Thucydides' succinct τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον κρίναντες (literally, 'after judging freedom courage') has been expanded in this version into a rhetorical flourish that has been carved into soldiers' memorials the world over since the end of the First World War, and today is emblazoned across their societies' websites and email signatures.⁸⁹ But where did this translation come from, and more importantly, how has this quotation come to be used in a country where there is the antipathy towards classical quotation that was just identified?

The translation was not originally intended to be used on such permanent memorials, I believe, even though the translator was very well-known. The Victorian classicist Arthur S. Way is better known today for his very flowery and dated translations of the Greek poets and playwrights than his rarer versions of prose and Biblical extracts. After 22 years' teaching classics in English schools and ten years as Headmaster at Wesley College, Melbourne, he retired to the Isle of Wight from where he composed many of his translations and where he died in 1930. On June 28th, 1918, he very discreetly published in his local newspaper, *The Ventnor*

⁸⁹ Morley (2012).

Mercury, his own translation of just a short section from Pericles' Funeral Oration (2.41.5-2.44.4). The translation was every bit as high-flown as his poetic renditions, and 2.43.4 became:

Take these men, then, for your ensamples. Like them, remember that prosperity can be only for the free, and that freedom is the sure possession of those alone that have courage to defend it. Scorn to be haunted by thoughts of the horrors of war.⁹⁰

The article did not mention Way's name, but called him simply 'an eminent scholar and resident of Ventnor,' publishing the translation under the title of 'An Old-World Tribute to Our Heroic Dead' on the grounds that, 'The perusal of it will be a great comfort to those bereaved by the present upheaval of events.' Way may have genuinely intended it as an offering to help those who were experiencing exactly the same feelings of grief as the Athenians in 430BC, and therefore not wanted to draw attention to himself, or very possibly not wanted his name to be attached to what was at that point still a work in progress. Although Dr. Way's modesty may have prevented him from having his own name printed in his local paper, the same did not apply to publications abroad. The *Wesley College Chronicle* also published his excerpt from the Funeral Oration in its December 1918 edition, understandably under Way's name as he had been headmaster there, and also in March 1919 did *United Empire*, the journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, which Way no doubt knew well from his decade in Australia.⁹¹

Through *United Empire* it was disseminated not only across Australia into more regional newspapers such as *The Queenslander* of Brisbane, but also across the whole British Empire.⁹² Via this route it reached J. Murray Clark, a prominent Toronto lawyer and historian. An enthusiastic and staunch defender of the British Empire, he gave a speech at the Annapolis

⁹⁰ Way (1918a).

⁹¹ Way (1918b) and (1919).

⁹² (1919) *The Queenslander*, p.3.

Royal Historical Association on August 31st, 1921, on the bicentenary of the establishment of the first common law court in Canada. His speech was an unabashed encomium of the British Empire, on the grounds that English law had been the root of the law of Virginia, out of which Canadian law had been derived.⁹³ The speech was a powerful hymn of praise of common law as the incarnation of the good sense of a ‘civilized’ people and the bedrock of democracy, contained a blistering attack on socialism, and culminated in the image of the young men of Virginia, Canada and Britain all fighting in common cause together for democracy and freedom in the First World War. He concluded with a short section of Way’s translation from Pericles’ Funeral Oration (2.43.2-4):

But each one, man by man, has won imperishable praise, each has gained a glorious grave - not that sepulchre of earth wherein they lie, but the living tomb of everlasting remembrance wherein their glory is enshrined, remembrance that will live on the lips, that will blossom in the deeds of their countrymen the world over. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of heroes; monuments may rise and tablets be set up to them in their own land; but on far-off shores there is an abiding memorial that no pen or chisel has traced; it is graven, not on stone or brass, but on the living heart of humanity. Take these men, then, for your ensamples. Like them, remember that prosperity can be only for the free, that freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have courage to defend it.

Murray Clark’s speech was subsequently published as an article in the *Virginia Law Register*, then reprised in the *Canada Law Journal* (with the Periclean quotation reprinted in full) and recommended in other journals such as the *American Bar Association Journal*.⁹⁴ Murray Clark also promulgated the quotation to important Allied figures: he included the article in a letter that he wrote to Winston Churchill on April 10th, 1922, when Churchill was Secretary of State for

⁹³ It had developed from his article on this subject, clearly written before he had encountered Way’s translation of the Funeral Oration (Murray Clark (1920)).

⁹⁴ Murray Clark (1920) and (1922b); (1922) *American Bar Association Journal*.

the Colonies.⁹⁵ It is highly likely that Murray Clark was the ‘eminent Canadian’ who gave the quotation to Marshal Foch.⁹⁶ That the quotation is inscribed on the Soldiers’ Tower war memorial at Toronto University, where Murray Clark was an alumnus, indicates Murray Clark’s own involvement in its production. Work on this early monument dedicated to the fallen soldiers of the Great War began in 1919 and was completed in 1924. General Haig toured Canada in 1925, where he visited the Tower, doubtless saw the inscription and very likely also met Murray Clark. The importance of Haig’s encounter with this quotation was felt around the world remarkably quickly, and by 1926 a New Zealand account could state:

In an age when the classical languages and literature are sometimes supposed (quite wrongly) to be falling from their high estate, the circulation during the Armistice period of part of the funeral speech of Pericles deserves notice. The International Armistice Day Ceremonial Committee was responsible, and the idea had its origin in Canada during Lord Haig’s visit.⁹⁷

From the mid 1920s, the section of Way’s translation selected by Murray Clark proliferated throughout the Empire and even beyond into the USA, to a large extent due to the work of the Canada-based Armistice Ceremonial Committee, which organised the setting-up of memorials and promoted the observance of Armistice Day across all the Allied countries, and with which Murray Clark was personally involved. Before long, in a change that will not surprise any textual critic, the commoner word ‘examples’ gradually replaced Way’s unusual ‘ensamples.’⁹⁸ That it is still exactly the excerpt chosen by Murray Clark which is so frequently repeated

⁹⁵ Murray Clark (1922c).

⁹⁶ Aston’s biography of Marshal Foch closes on this quotation, comparing its sentiment to Foch’s life, and it is prefaced with how it reached him: ‘On a special occasion a few years ago an eminent Canadian brought to the attention of the late Marshal Foch a fine translation from a certain address... by Pericles... Foch gave the words a warm commendation. He proposed to make use of them for some opportunity which offered itself. Whether he eventually did we do not know.’ Aston (1929) 462.

⁹⁷ (1926) *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*. There must have been an element of anachronistic explanation by the *Advertiser*, since the quotation had been circulating in Australasia since 1919.

⁹⁸ (1924) *The Sunday Morning Star*; (1926) *The Brewster Standard*.

worldwide suggests that, despite the odd changed word, it was indeed through his selected excerpt that Way's translation reached a wider audience. Through the commemorative movement during the 1920s, in which the Armistice Ceremonial Committee played a large part, the quotation from Pericles was repeated throughout the Empire in both speeches and on inscriptions, and published in newspapers on Armistice Day editions. During and after the Second World War, the quotation was once more used in Canada, the USA and in Australasia on innumerable occasions to honour the dead and comfort the living.⁹⁹

The transmission of this quotation throws up some important points. Firstly, it is a particularly vivid and touching example of how each and every act of translation is contingent on its time, its writer and its intended audience. Secondly, even if the consequence of the classical languages being taught increasingly rarely in most British schools and universities is that politicians wishing to avoid the stigma of elitism do not refer to it in Parliament, this does not mean that there is no public reference to the classics at all in England, but rather that the routes through which classical material reaches the public consciousness may be other than the traditional educational one. This Periclean example shows how a quotation could spread around the world in the early part of the twentieth century via the British Empire; today quotations travel on the internet. To draw a straight line from Way's 1918 translation to today's Bomber Command Memorial would miss out the important role of the tangled history of the First World War, the collapse of the British Empire and the establishment of the Commonwealth, as well as to overlook the role of rhetoric in its creation and perpetuation. Thirdly, the rhetorical purpose of this quotation is entirely different to that of the other quotations used in Parliament, or referred to by the Mass Observation Exercise participants: no reference to the original Greek

⁹⁹ For instance, in 1942, the President of the University of Toronto, H.J. Cody, included the quotation in a letter to King George II of Greece during the latter's visit to Columbia University. ((1943) *Homage to Greece* 59).

has ‘stuck’ to this quotation, but it is remembered, inscribed, and repeated solely for the value of its sentiment. According to Tritle, for the Athenians (as for the Americans) the Funeral Oration was vital for re-imposing meaning on the moral chaos created by war:

The funeral speech, then, created more than simply a record of life and loss. It also founded a whole system of beliefs that Athenians of the classical era, just like Americans of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, treasured almost as a way of life. Ideas intrinsic to the rhetoric also established a collective cultural memory that was selective and occasionally utilitarian.¹⁰⁰

This description as we can see also applies very well to the memorials and commemoration process after the First World War in the British Empire involving Pericles’ Funeral Oration: it was repeated in order to create a story of what had happened with a meaning that people could live with, and could use to make sense out of their loss, and move on. This commemorative role for the Funeral Oration has parallels in the American practice that Congressman Major Owens alluded to in his rap poem, that at moments of mass national mourning, ‘Defiant orations of Pericles / Must now rise / Out of the ashes...’¹⁰¹ Yet if we compare the history of the A.S. Way translation with that of both English parliamentary discourse and American Congressional language, we can see a strange dichotomy between the discourse of Parliament and that of the public, memorializing context. In the combative arena that is Parliament, sentiments which ring of long-lasting, fundamental characteristics of human experience, and might draw together figures from all sides of the political spectrum, are generally avoided, save for exceptional circumstances. At the public level, however, in England, the USA and around the former British Empire, such sentiments have served and do still serve a strong social purpose, to provide a sense of solidarity and timelessness, and to give some meaning to extreme suffering.

¹⁰⁰ Tritle (2000) 158.

¹⁰¹ Owens, Major (NY) ‘Designating September 11 as Patriot day’ *CRO* October 25, 2001. See Chapter 3.

Even at the service of remembrance on March 18th this year at Lincoln Cathedral for the 70th anniversary of the Dambusters raid, the officer who led the memorial flight, Squadron Leader Dunc Mason, read out ‘an excerpt from the *Funeral Oration of Pericles*, which concluded, “Remember that posterity [sic] can only be for the free; that freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it.”¹⁰² I expect that this phrase, with or without its accompanying preceding sentences, will be repeated with greater frequency, and with even more variants and copyists’ errors such as in this RAF example above, over the next few years during the commemoration of the centenary of the First World War. It might be fitting to conclude (and to make a translation of the passage fitted specifically for this purpose), that Pericles was right when he said of the dead soldiers that:

ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ αἰείμνηστος
καταλείπεται.¹⁰³

Their renown is passed on, always remembered on each fitting occasion in perpetuity, both in the words spoken and on the artifacts.

¹⁰² (2013) *Royal Air Force News*.

¹⁰³ Th.2.43.2.

Conclusion

From this necessarily brief and cursory comparative examination of the reception of Thucydides in England with that of the USA, some important findings emerge.

The A.S.Way story highlights the contingency of classical reception when outside a strong institutional (educational) framework, and how adaptation and selection has led to its survival. At each stage in the process of its journey through the twentieth century, Pericles' Funeral Oration was abridged and edited for its particular audience, and it thrived or declined accordingly. Way selected only a small portion to publish in 1918, just enough to convey his message of condolence to those who had lost family in the war, and to offer comfort through demonstrating that they were not alone in their grief, but that long ago other families had suffered in just the same way. His translations of other speeches in Thucydides (including the rest of Pericles' Funeral Oration), and of the funeral orations from Plato's *Menexenus* and by Hypereides and Lysias, were published posthumously in 1934. This edition seems to have had very little impact on the public, and no other extracts from this volume have been repeated as much as the quotations from his earlier article, possibly because the book was not particularly accessible to a non-specialist audience: it had no introduction, no background on the Peloponnesian War, no clear indexing and very minimal notes to introduce each speech or place it in its context. Again, Murray Clark picked just the most pertinent part of Way's translation to bolster his own message in 1921: that men fighting for the cause of liberty (as he had defined it) would become heroes, and be known worldwide for ever. From Murray Clark's excerpt, just

one succinct phrase was, and still is, cropped for use as an inscription on memorials. Had Way not published just the most pertinent part of the speech in 1918, and in a medium which would achieve far greater readership than a mere book would have done, might it never have achieved the limelight that it did? And what if Murray Clark had chosen another set of phrases to praise the British Empire?

The quotations attributed to Thucydides in the US Congress are far more frequent than those in the British Parliament, but a higher proportion of the examples from England contain implicit or explicit comment on the education of the Member discussing the quotation. The subtle difference in the references to the Greek language is significant here, as it is a consequence of the structure of American higher education courses compared with the specialization favoured in the English model. In England, the decision to focus on disciplinary value as the main reason to study Classics, rather than the broad but superficial general education favoured in the USA where a larger proportion of students had some access to translated works via excerpts in anthologies, resulted in its being perceived as an elitist subject, not suitable for discussion by society at large.

The third finding from this material shows how important cultural considerations and tradition are in the reception of Thucydides, or the classics more generally. In America, quoting the classics is evocative of the Founding Fathers and therefore can sound patriotic. Similarly, to have improved one's prospects through hard work and to have achieved a college education, or to be an autodidact (as Senator Byrd was) is considered to be all part of the American dream. In England on the other hand, quoting the classics, especially in their original languages, can sound elitist and emphasize constructed social divides rather than highlight the consistent qualities of human nature - which is, ironically, one of the themes of the quotation from the

Funeral Oration: the constancy of suffering as well as human potential for bravery, sacrifice, and belief in a better world. In neither country is the classical parallel being drawn solely for its relevance to the topic under discussion, but is taking place within a nexus of other interlocking political and societal factors. For both this reason and because of all quotations' inherent 'stickiness,' change in political rhetoric occurs more gradually than the Library of Congress' warnings might imply. The very specificity of the associations 'stuck' to certain quotations, such as the A.S. Way example, can allow them to be remembered, re-cast and repeated, as part of the cultural memory of a country. Thucydidean quotations might decline more slowly in the US than we fear, but might become acceptable – and illuminating – currency in the English Parliament less quickly than we might like. Yet undercutting this difference that has developed from two different educational systems and paths of history and politics over the last hundred years is the sheer power of some of the most outstanding passages in classical literature, such as the Funeral Oration, to speak to aspects of the fundamental nature of human existence. A.S. Way's translation proved that, even when the odds are against it, you just cannot keep a good quotation down.

CONCLUSION

Reception as Evolution

Antiquity, modernity, and reception

In Chapter 1, I described how classical material has been remoulded in the USA throughout the twentieth century in times of national crisis. During the two World Wars, and afterwards when the country was reshaping its identity in the wake of the wars' destruction, courses in Western literature in universities addressed not only the needs of an ever larger and more diverse student body but also the questions of a nation experiencing and recovering from war, and in the process of redefining its own relationship to its past and its own identity – in America's case as a powerful Western democracy with roots that reached back to ancient Greece. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the widening gulf between the political right and left and the loss of the middle ground resulted in Great Books being co-opted by the politically conservative (just as the teaching of the classical languages in England became largely the preserve of only the elite schools), who held up classical texts and traditional religious morality as repositories for eternal truths and values in the face of the perceived relativism and uncertainty of the new left. The nascent discipline of International Relations theory then appropriated for its own ends the authority attributed to Thucydides as an author in the Great Books canon, while at the same

time during the Vietnam War, when soldiers were struggling over how to begin to frame mentally and come to terms with what they had endured in combat, the reading of Thucydides helped them to see their experiences within the larger scope of thousands of years of human existence. At the wider political level, Thucydides' work has become a vehicle for communicating broader concepts ingrained in a culture's psyche, be those democratic ideals, notions of patriotism, or at a universal, human level, a sense of comfort and meaning despite loss.

Tim Rood has written that 'reception seems too tame a word for the study of the political appropriation of antiquity.'¹ This certainly applies not only to the strictly 'political' sphere to which Rood applies it, but also to the range and power of the manifestations of Thucydides across American and English society in this study. As well as 'reception' or 'response,' terms such as 'tradition,' 'influence,' and 'appropriation' also have their own drawbacks. The 'traditional' account of Thucydides in IR theory is more constructed than historical, whereas the overtones of 'tradition' have a conservative and static, almost monolithic quality which does not convey the specificity and contingency of how Thucydides is used in the different spheres I have discussed.² 'Influence' on the other hand can imply a linear, oversimplistic 'cause and effect' model which is very difficult to ascertain either in literature or in history, such as in the turbulence of 1960s and 1970s America. 'Appropriation,' to reach back to my introduction, frequently implies a sense of instrumentality or political agenda behind the act of reception, and I discussed how many of the spheres in my study might be described as

¹ Rood (2013b) 201.

² The 'tradition' vs. 'reception' debate does not seem to be about to be resolved, but it does run the risk of creating a polarizing discourse that does not recognize the valid claims of the other side, in a manner not dissimilar to the American culture wars in its effect (eg. Rudd (1994), Settis (2006), Kallendorf et al. (2010), Budelmann and Haubold as well as the editors' own introduction, and passim, in Hardwick and Stray (2008), Bassi and Euben (2010), de Pourcq (2012)).

appropriation; but would it be correct to call the teaching of Thucydides to military officers appropriation, if in some instances they are in fact appreciating the text at a fundamentally humanistic level by recognizing the suffering of the Greek soldiers as the same as their own, and gaining a more holistic understanding of their own actions in the broader context of millennia of lived human existence? In addition, they appreciate aspects of the work currently somewhat sidelined (such as the details of the various campaigns, the *erga* which have ceded place to today's scrutiny of the *logoi*) and have an experience of command in warfare comparable to that of Thucydides that may contribute to their appreciation of his work. Similarly, although we can call modern appearances of Funeral Oration quotations inscribed on memorials or in speeches by American politicians on Memorial Day 'appropriation,' these uses are similar to the purpose of Pericles' Funeral Oration itself – to commemorate the dead and to comfort and rally the living – so this usage might be better called an 'application' of the Funeral Oration, since it does not involve the remodelling of the original material to a new goal at all, but closely imitates the original use. How can we therefore describe the role of classical material in today's world in a way that conveys its antiquity as well as its modernity, its dynamism and agency?

I approach this problem by considering two themes which have been running through this thesis and which have a bearing on classical studies more broadly: firstly that of selection, and secondly, quotation's 'immediacy.' Thucydides has been edited, excerpted, and repeatedly quoted for the widest range of purposes, possibly more so than many other classical authors whose extant works are shorter or more homogeneous.³ But each time the text is re-excerpted

³ Pelling (2010b) describes how even in antiquity Thucydides was used this way by historians: Appian, Cassius Dio, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch used Thucydidean-sounding phrases to invite comparisons between their descriptions of civil war in Rome and Thucydides' analysis of stasis in Corcyra, for instance.

and re-quoted, different attributes become ‘stuck’ onto the ever-smaller nugget of Thucydidean material. A notion similar to that of ‘stickiness’ which I used in Chapters 3 and 4 to discuss how quotations work has also been applied to the field of classical reception by Julia Gaisser, who wrote that texts are ‘not teflon-coated baseballs hurtling through time and gazed up at uncomprehendingly by the natives of various times and places, until they reach *our* enlightened grasp; rather, they are pliable and sticky artifacts gripped, molded, and stamped with new meaning by every generation of readers.’⁴ I agree with Gaisser about the ‘sticky’ characteristic of texts, but do not think that an image of moulding or stamping goes far enough to convey the extent to which these ‘artifacts’ are not in fact whole at all so often as they are mere scraps of chunks of artifacts that may never have even existed in their complete form: Thucydides’ unfinished history is a case in point, within which his speeches range from a Thucydidean ‘stamp’ on a speech given by another to a probable fabrication that may have expressed contemporary sentiment, if not an actual conversation (such as the Melian dialogue).

In the spheres which I have discussed, and for the vast majority of the human population that does not read ancient Greek, the extra dimension of translation comes even more to the fore: Gaisser’s American baseball might become translated into an English rounders ball and then into a cricket ball in some parts of the world, or perhaps distorted into a rugby ball. Each sphere, from the micro level of sociolects such as IR theory to the macro level of national discourse, creates its own Thucydides according to the dictates of that sphere and how Thucydides has already been received within that sphere, a process which Martindale identified when he stated that ‘our current interpretations of ancient texts, whether or not we are aware of it, are, in complex ways, constructed by the chain of receptions through which their continued

⁴ Gaisser (2002) 387.

readability has been effected.⁵ Twenty years on, Martindale's basic premise has been widely accepted, but the metaphor of the chain ignores the important element of context: the person interpreting the text very often determines what meaning will be created to a large extent by his or her *selection from* the texts available. Another metaphor for reception, Highet's 'river' or stream of Greek and Roman influence,⁶ avoids the linearity of Martindale's image, but still does not pay enough attention to the extent to which the receiving culture determines the range of meanings for the text through a continual process of selection and re-selection of the classical material available to it.⁷

The synthetic concept of 'Thucydides' that exists within certain sociolects today, transmitted through quotations in email signatures, blogs, articles or political speeches, and that originated from translations such as A.S. Way's newspaper article, Smith's 1919 Loeb edition or the edited volumes by Woodruff or Livingstone, has a great deal in common with the remnants of any one of the fragmentary classical authors who have reached us only through extracts, quotations and references within the works of other writers. The growing academic interest in 'reception within antiquity' means that it is even more important to consider how to theorize about such a ubiquitous and versatile medium of reception, that of the quotation, and also to consider once more whether 'reception' is the best term to describe a process which takes place even within the earliest classical works.⁸ Thinking actively about the large amount

⁵ Martindale (1993) 7.

⁶ Highet (1949) 541.

⁷ Stray (2008) shows the importance of the receiving culture in his discussion about the apocryphal quotation attributed to Thomas Gaisford: 'Nor can I do better, in conclusion, than impress upon you the study of Greek literature, which not only elevates above the vulgar herd, but leads not infrequently to positions of considerable emolument, both in this world and the next.' Stray demonstrates how this quotation, purportedly from a sermon, developed and illustrated Gaisford's legendary pomposity as well as the association of Oxford classicists with the Church in the nineteenth century.

⁸ Even when there is barely any information about an historical work's contemporary culture, critics can still perceive the 'traditional referentiality' of oral epic (Foley 1991).

of classical material that survives either only within quotations or consists largely of quotations of other writers, and also as material that has already been and is constantly being ‘received’ (although this may not be the best term) is useful for two reasons: firstly, the very fact that the material has been selected has made it contemporary, both relevant to its immediate surroundings and also distinctly ‘other’ and antique, and secondly, we have the opportunity to examine what has stuck to it on its journey.⁹ To explain my meaning further, I return for one final time to Erskine’s General Honors course.

⁹ Elliott (forthcoming, 2013) discusses the importance of considering Ennius’ fragments as quotations, since a different ‘Ennius’ emerges from the different authors who each quoted him, and she presents the extant fragments in appendices with their quotation context, organized according to their source.

Erskine's General Honors as Reception:

The immediacy of the quotation

Son of Man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images...¹⁰

Although Thucydides says that it was the Corinthians who built the first trireme, probably during the 8th century BC, some historians attribute its construction to the Phoenicians of Sidon, who had a long naval tradition.¹¹

Many of the quotations attributed to Thucydides, especially in IR discourse, share a key trait with the example above: 'Thucydides says.' The impression created by the present tense is that of Thucydides' immediacy, as though the distance of time separating the reader from the author can be swept aside and the writer can speak, like a modern commentator, directly to today's audiences. This characteristic of quotation is one fundamental to the study of classical reception. If, as Martindale wrote, meaning is created at the moment of reception, and, as this thesis has demonstrated, the attribution of an author to a quotation is integral to how the quotation is interpreted, what is the effect when the name of a classical author is stripped of any

¹⁰ Eliot, *The Waste Land*. Lindenberger notes both the Great Books teachers and T. S. Eliot 'used... quotations to establish an immediacy of contact between the modern reader and a swiftly vanishing cultural past; the fact that Eliot, unlike these teachers, presented the quotations in their original languages worked to increase the experience of immediacy.' (Lindenberger (1990) 153). I would disagree with Lindenberger's conclusion and suggest that Eliot's non-English quotations in *The Waste Land* in fact emphasize the foreignness or 'otherness' of these quotations, and how the quotation has originated elsewhere and fits imperfectly into its new surroundings, whereas Erskine's domesticized quotations make even very long dead writers sound like contemporary Americans.

¹¹ Bagnall (2004) 57.

historical context and instead attached only to short quotations? The General Honors course designed by Erskine did precisely this, and a brief investigation into how the course was examined throws interesting lights on this question.¹²

The course was assessed through four examination papers at the end of the year. Given the course's overtly democratizing aims and its de-emphasis of the historical background of the works, it seems appropriate that the final assessment involved a quotations-based examination paper.¹³ This consisted of 250 multiple choice questions, each one being a quotation and a choice of four possible authors, and the students had to match the quotation to its original author.¹⁴ This might at first glance seem to be an exercise in exactly what Arnold despised: the accumulation of a portfolio of quotations like a plumed headdress or lapel of badges, but the reality was more complex.¹⁵ The quotations all contain within themselves the nucleus of an idea, and although it is impossible to determine the precise relationship between the examination paper and the actual discussions held in class every week, it is quite likely that these quotations might have been used to initiate weekly discussion or, as quotations are used in academic discourse today, to corroborate a certain line of argument. The quotations do not appear on the paper in any particular order, chronological or thematic, which would give a clue as to their authorship.

¹² The earliest extant examination paper dates from 1928, some years after Erskine's course began and by which time the authors on the course had widened already – the authors in this chapter can be compared with the short list included in Erskine's original course in Chapter 1 (Figure 2). Whether Erskine himself was responsible for the creation of a quotations-based examination paper does not affect its use as an illustration of the dynamics of quotation.

¹³ The course that Hutchins and Adler developed at Chicago had a similar examination method that involved discussion of quotations (Boyer (2006) 88). By comparison, examination papers identifying quotations in the Latin or Greek require more focus on the linguistic elements such as genre, period and style (Stray (1999) describes the interwar Cambridge examination of this type).

¹⁴ The examination paper is anonymous and unpublished, but is archived in Columbia University Archives, Historical Subject Files.

¹⁵ Arnold (2009) 32-3.

It was the *author* of the work in almost all cases, rather than the name of the particular work in which the quotation appeared, that was to be identified by the student, even though the course included in many instances multiple works by the same author. This creates an impression that there is consistency across all of an author's work, and it also flattens the distinction between what the author thought and what was said by the characters he created. With the exception of Homer, the general prominence of the author-figure over that of the individual work is very striking, and has the effect of diminishing the sense of distance between the author, in most cases long dead, and the reader: the author is in effect 'speaking' directly and immediately to the reader through his quotation. This impression is further strengthened by the quotations in which the authors on the syllabus are seen in discussion with one another, despite the breadth of time separating them. These quotations create a sense in which the authors are part of one larger conversation with each other (especially as the answer options frequently offer both ancient and modern choices as sources for the same quotation), both spanning and outside of time and space, and it presents the authors that the students have been reading as living people. Without the imposition of a timeline that might privilege recent authors and put those more distant at risk of seeming irrelevant, these quotations help to explain the relative chronology of the texts and the impact of one author on another's thought:

QU. 2. 'But Aristotle was out of patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him, and he asked whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves.'

1. Horace 2. Rabelais 3. Swift 4. Erasmus

QU.172. 'There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought.'

1. Milton 2. Kepler 3. Montaigne 4. Descartes

Similarly, E. M. Forster rejects a metaphor we saw deployed earlier to describe antiquity's influence, that of the stream, and advocates instead as a model for interpretation of the English novel an image closely approximating these examples above, of discussion between authors in a dimension free from temporal constraints:

Time, all the way through, is to be our enemy. We are to visualize the English novelists not as floating down that stream which bears all its sons away unless they are careful, but as seated together in a room, a circular room, a sort of British Museum reading-room – all writing their novels simultaneously... They are half mesmerized, their sorrows and joys are pouring out through the ink, they are approximated by the act of creation.¹⁶

This sense of making an author seem to be a living, contemporary person is strengthened still further by the range of quotations selected from each author's work on the examination paper. They seem to be chosen in order to build up a sense of the writer's character. For instance, the following are all the quotations from Thucydides on the paper:

QU. 3. 'Nor are you so far behind the enemy in experience as you are ahead of him in courage; and although the science of your opponents would, if valour accompanied it, have also the presence of mind to carry out at an emergency the lesson it has learnt, yet a faint heart will make all art powerless in the face of danger.'

1. Marcus Aurelius 2. Thucydides 3. Vergil 4. Cervantes

QU. 52: 'Now for having it recited, perhaps the unfabulous character of my work will appear less agreeable but as many as shall wish to see the truth of what has happened, and will hereafter happen again, according to human nature, the same or pretty nearly so – for such to think it awful [sic] would be sufficient.'¹⁷

1. Herodotus 2. Thucydides 3. Cicero 4. Sophocles

¹⁶ Forster (2005) 27. *Aspects of the Novel* was first published in 1927, the year before this examination paper was written, although to draw too close a connection between these two facts might be stretching the point.

¹⁷ The copyist's error of 'awful' for Crawley's 'useful' is very striking, although it is difficult to draw any certain conclusions from it. The paper is somewhat poorly proofed and may have been hastily put together (for instance, Quotation 57 and Quotation 250 are the same, which might indicate a bank of quotations from which the exam quotations are taken; Quotation 96 reads, 'Let me find thee, old man, among the hollow ships...' for what should

- QU.131. 'But with regard to the facts of what was done in the war, I did not presume to state them myself on hearing from any chance informant; nor as I thought probably myself; but those at which I was personally present, and, when informed by others, only after investigating accurately in every particular, as far as was possible.'
1. Thucydides 2. Herodotus 3. Machiavelli 4. Hobbes
- QU.168 'For we study taste with economy, and philosophy without effeminacy.'
1. Locke 2. Hobbes 3. Bacon 4. Thucydides
- QU.247 '...since you know as well as we do that right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak do what they must.'
1. Machiavelli 2. Nietzsche 3. Grotius 4. Thucydides

From this selection of quotations, it is possible to build up a broad picture of the 'character' of Thucydides. There are two methodological quotations (52 and 131), two on the character of warfare and conflict between city-states (3 and 247), and one about national character (168). Were we to have just these quotations without the rest of Thucydides' work, he might be characterized as an historian concerned with historical method and accuracy, the nature of war, patriotism and the characteristics of foreign policy: a characterization which, as I mentioned in my introduction, is not a totally inaccurate reflection of how the author is characterized in the twentieth century.¹⁸ On the basis of these few quotations alone, enough of a sense is created to imagine a personality for Thucydides and to fill out a hypothetical conversation with him about topics other than the Peloponnesian War (as V.D. Hanson did, writing an entire 'interview' with 'General Thucydides' about the Iraq War, composed cento-style, solely of quotations from

be 'Let me *not* find thee, old man...' and Quotation 180 says 'When, ye Fabii, will painting praise o'ertake you?' for '*panting* praise...'). It would be a long leap to suggest any Freudian slip on the part of the examination setter or typist, and such errors do creep in, as the example from the Dambusters memorial demonstrates (see Chapter 4, p 263-264), understandably more often in the days of typewriters, and when quotations are transcribed by those who do not know the work extremely well.

¹⁸ See pages 17-21. Once again, the *erga* of the Peloponnesian War are left out.

Thucydides – and, at the opposite ideological pole, as Ned Lebow had already done in 1979).¹⁹ The whole combination creates a powerful impression of a contemporary, recognizable, knowable character for the writer, rather than to convey the fact that the writer is long dead and little can be known about him for certain.

This process of reading for quote-culling and of using quotation to characterize an author may reflect a reading aesthetic more akin to that of some of the Renaissance humanists than the Aristotelian notion that parts of a literary work are best understood through their relationship to the whole, an attitude which prevails in the academic study of the humanities today.²⁰ Morson writes:

We ... overlook that a quite different sense of reading [to the Aristotelian] is possible: sometimes the whole, though significant in itself, is nevertheless also – or perhaps even primarily – a container of parts that can stand on their own.²¹

The idea of a quotation having a meaning of its own that can be transferred to other contexts exists in its most extreme form in the *sortes Homericae*, the *sortes Virgilianae*, and the *sortes Sanctorum*, but towards the more rational end of the spectrum, the use of a quotation as a part to represent the whole is much more widespread, especially where the intention is to communicate ideas and morals or to educate, rather than to produce a ‘close reading’ of a particular work. Heraclitus’ pithy paradoxes are a prime example: each one functions completely as a stand-alone unit, to provoke thoughtful reconsideration of the everyday physical world, and they may never have been designed to coalesce into a coherent treatise as we might imagine it today.²²

Thomas of Ireland’s *Manipulus Florum* – his ‘handful of flowers’ – of 1306 contained the most

¹⁹ Hanson (2001a); Lebow (1979).

²⁰ *Poetics* 1451a.

²¹ Morson (2011) 263.

²² Robinson (1987) 3ff.

choice quotations from Christian writings, especially those of the Church Fathers Tertullian and Origen, and it was widely used as a sermon-writing aid, as were other works in the mediaeval *florilegia* genre – collections of wise sayings culled from larger works, mostly biblical. In her analysis of the pedagogical methods of the early modern humanists such as Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives, Bushnell argues that they advocated that their students read books like gardens from which the choicest *sententiae*, quotations and proverbs should be picked like flowers, to be admired for their own intrinsic value even when ‘plucked’ from their text, and used by the students themselves subsequently in their own writings.²³ Such an approach is still preserved in today’s *Wheelock’s Latin*, a very widely-used American college textbook, where every chapter’s exercises are comprised of *sententiae antiquae* from a named Latin author, selected not just for their value in demonstrating the chapter’s grammatical points but also to convey a moral message or philosophical stance.²⁴ This aesthetic views a work (with some validity) as made up of passages of greater and lesser quality, from which the best passages (and quotations) have merit in and of themselves. Just as they do in the General Honors examination paper or in the editions of Thucydides by Finley and by Woodruff that present Thucydides as more of an historian or a theorist respectively, these passages then come to characterize the author.²⁵ The history of Western thought is a story of trying to puzzle out events from partial

²³ Bushnell (1996) Ch. 4.

²⁴ Wheelock’s daughters wrote that ‘The genesis of, and inspiration for, *Wheelock’s Latin* was the 1946 G. I. Education bill which granted World War II Veterans a college education upon their return from service,’ although it was not published until 1956 (Wheelock and LaFleur (2000) ix). *Wheelock’s Latin* is a product of the post Second World War reinvigoration of the classics in America which interconnects with the Great Books boom, and hence it contains very many examples from Cicero’s writings (full of moralising *bon mots*) and even some from Erasmus’ *Adagia*. Caesar’s, on the other hand, are ‘studiously avoided because of the view that... more desirable reading matter can be found’ (Wheelock and LaFleur (2000) xiv), a marked difference from the books used in English schools at the same period, such as L. A. Wilding’s *Latin Course for Schools* (first published in 1950) which is full of excerpts about Caesar’s invasion of Britain.

²⁵ See Introduction (p.12-16) and Conclusion to Chapter 1 (p.95-100). The extent to which certain Thucydidean passages – the most obvious examples being the Funeral Oration, the Melian Dialogue, and the Sicilian expedition

evidence, of using patterns to create a theory, and thus to form a working understanding of an incomprehensible world. Therefore, not only do quotations stand alone, but through this practice of selection of the ‘best’ parts and subsequent revivification of an author, quotations can build a skeleton on which a real human body becomes fleshed out. They have formed not a heap of broken images, but a fully functional mirror.

– have continually been re-read and reproduced across the different spheres discussed in this thesis, indicates that such a reading aesthetic, in which the ‘wheat’ is separated from the ‘chaff,’ still has great tenacity today.

Quotation and Evolution

The effect of making the Great Books authors appear to be almost living people has been only noticed in passing by critics writing about Great Books courses,²⁶ but it is an essential one when considering the process of classical reception. Martindale has written that in Jonson's re-workings of Martial, Johnson 'was trying to find out what sort of a poet Martial is, constructing him and his tone of voice,' and quotes Eliot, writing of Jonson that 'to see him as a contemporary does not so much require the power of putting ourselves into seventeenth-century London as it requires the power of setting Jonson in our London: a more difficult triumph of divination.'²⁷ This description accurately conveys the dynamics of reception of Erskine's General Honors examination paper, which was attempting to discuss and understand the *present* through a regenerative process that invoked people from the past in the form of contemporary, living, voices. What is needed is a model for classical reception which emphasizes this *active process* as well as the all-important *context* within which it occurs. Just as Rood judged 'reception' to be not dynamic enough a term for political appropriations of Xenophon,²⁸ Goldhill feels that, '“Reception” is too blunt, too passive a term for the dynamics of resistance and appropriation, recognition and self-aggrandizement that make up this drama of cultural

²⁶ Lindenberger (1990) 153: 'Many educators believed – often with what can best be described as a kind of missionary zeal – that if students could read the very words uttered by the great men of the West (albeit usually in translation), they would be better able to cope with the cultural crisis that the most advanced thinkers of the time took to be a fact of contemporary life.' Lindenberger's description of writers' works as their 'very words uttered' reflects this impression of the immediacy of the writer.

²⁷ Martindale (2010) 299.

²⁸ See p.269

identity,' describing it instead as a process of 'constant and active reconstruction.'²⁹ To extend this notion of 'reconstruction' a little further, I propose that a useful metaphor, at least to describe the receptions of Thucydides described in this thesis, is that of a process of evolution.

The crucial elements for this evolutionary model are those of reproduction, variation, adaptation and selection, all terms which are used already in classical reception studies. An evolutionary model, although it may seem to be importing a scientific model into a humanities subject, is not one wholly unfamiliar to all areas of the classics: textual critics, in tracing variants in manuscript traditions back to common ancestors, examine the changes that have occurred through each iteration, or reproduction, of the text. The first element of this, reproduction, needs little explanation. Walton has already described how translation 'involves a bond between source as mother and target as child' and that 'theatre translation serves as midwife between the playwright's pregnancy and a living, breathing performance baby.'³⁰ Every act of reproduction, as a product of two or more different things, will create variation: but in an evolutionary model, the diversity produced by this variation strengthens a species, since it allows adaptation to occur. As an example, we can see how in the political world some quotations wither in their environment, some are more appealing or more suited to certain political climates than others, and that they adapt to fit their surroundings, developing more rhetorically effective characteristics each time they are reproduced, in the hope of survival. Hence Mary Beard's evaluation of Thucydidean slogans that, 'As a general rule, the catchier the slogans sound, the more likely they are to be largely the product of the translator rather than of Thucydides himself,'³¹ is mostly true, but is so because the slogans have evolved through a long

²⁹ Goldhill (2002) 297.

³⁰ Walton (2008) 153.

³¹ Beard (2010).

process of selection, reproduction and variation, into the forms that they are currently in, with different forms within different environments. In the academic environment, translations are also ‘largely the product of the translator,’ but will be a product of his or her interaction with the Greek editions and commentaries available, whereas in the political environment translations will be the offspring of a rhetorical tradition and will be geared towards making the most appropriate political impact. The power of the receiver is also emphasized in this model, in which his or her selection of classical material determines the new product to be created.

The ‘evolution’ of the classics is therefore the natural result of the democratization of knowledge within the wider political and cultural environment, which in turn determines the shape of the discipline itself. A new ‘Thucydidean’ offspring is created each time a classicist, historian, IR theorist, teacher, publisher, politician, journalist or blogger, in the role of parent, reproduces with the ‘Thucydides’ that exists within his or her environment. The parent selects breeding material from the ‘Thucydides’ that he or she knows that is the ‘best fit’ for the particular environment in which he or she wants the offspring to live. Hence different books are written for different markets, thereby (as we have seen in this thesis) creating different ‘Thucydideses’ (sometimes even by the same writer in an intentional act of variation to improve each offspring’s chances of survival).³² The more extreme the environment, the more likely it is that specialized variants sired by that environment’s classical species together with other

³² Lendon’s *Song of Wrath* (2010) and Bagnall’s *The Peloponnesian War* are two specifically Thucydidean examples in which Thucydides has evolved for the different markets of the American and the British military respectively: the first glamourizes Athens and the bloodthirstiness of hoplite warfare, while the second is concerned only with laying out the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of the military engagements, so eliminates all the speeches – but points out in passing Greek islands which featured in the Gallipoli campaign of the First World War (Bagnall (2004) 33, 43).

products of its extreme conditions might actually survive within it, only to perish outside those unusual climes.³³

The other advantage to the evolutionary model is that it makes a large enough allowance for chance in the explanation of the history of classical reception in the West. As Lowenthal explains, ‘Because historians feel professionally compelled to give history a more rational shape than that of present crude experience, an ordered clarity contrasting with the chaos or imprecision of our own times, they themselves are partly responsible for confirming, if not generating, the illusion that the past has a pattern.’³⁴ An evolutionary model, which is descriptive rather than prescriptive, takes such vagaries of history into account by its very nature, since reproduction causes variation in order to protect against the destructive power of chance, and the model explains how different species with classical genes have survived, and sometimes even thrived, as a result of unexpected and unintended incidents: A.S. Way’s Funeral Oration translation is a prime example, its DNA now preserved in the amber of war memorials worldwide.

To conclude, how can classics avoid the spectre of extinction? Evolutionary science indicates that all species adapt in order to survive, and there is a strong argument that the revival of classics is coming about through a shift towards the perspective of reception. As Gary Wills argues, ‘all classical revivals have relied very heavily on translation,’³⁵ as we have seen in the case of Erskine’s course and the Great Books courses. Not only the variety of classical

³³ Helen Roche’s research on the idealization of Sparta in Nazi education reveals a clear example of this process (Roche 2013) - as opposed to it occurring through the democratization of the classics.

³⁴ Lowenthal (1989) 1279; see also Pelling (1999).

³⁵ Wills (1997).

organisms, but also their attractiveness as potential mates, will determine their success. Wills argues that it is the perceived modernity of the Funeral Oration, or of Sappho or the ancient novel, which is driving a 'classical revival,' and that most importantly:

It is a mistake to praise the classics as something to pit against 'relevance.' The classics only become classics when they are relevant again. They are like the ghosts Odysseus met in the underworld. They cannot speak until Odysseus performs the sacrifice that gives them fresh blood to drink. Multiculturalism has supplied blood for the ghosts, and the ghosts are speaking again.³⁶

It is only through the messy process, therefore, of bloody reproduction and sacrifice that a classical infant is produced. But not to forget the environment: less poetically, but more practically, Porter puts it that, 'classical studies have long been predicated on the reception of the Greek and Roman past outside of Classics for their very own survival.'³⁷ The professional non-specialists of my study are precisely those who do influence the future of classics, in their roles as policy makers, readers of books for the general public, consumers of popular culture on the stage, screen, and radio, and finally, as parents. Yet humanity is diverse too, and uniquely among the animals it has a particular strength at adapting its environments to suit its own purposes: the microcosms of universities and schools can and should provide secure, if captive, breeding grounds for the perpetuation of those rarer species that will remain a source of wonder, fascination, inspiration and study long into the future.

³⁶ Wills (1997).

³⁷ Porter (2008) 469.

Catalogue of Congressional Quotations, 1991-2011

A catalogue of the quotations attributed to Thucydides and Pericles recorded in the *Congressional Record*, 1991-2011.

The purpose of this catalogue is to provide a quick reference guide and the immediate context for the quotations that are discussed in Chapter 3.

- The quotations are numbered from 2010 backwards to 1991. There were no quotations attributed to Thucydides or Pericles in 2011.
- ‘Title’ refers to the title of the Congressional discussion during which the quotation occurred. If it is unclear from the title what the context of the quotation was, I have added it in parentheses.
- ‘Topic’ and ‘Source’ are my own categorizations.
- ‘Details of Quotation’ provides the quotation as it appears in the *Congressional Record*. Very long quotations have been edited or summarized.

Q	Year	Date	Title	Speaker	Topic	Source	Details of quotation (<i>summary only if in italics</i>)
1	2010	28-Jun	Honoring Byrd	Leahy (D-VT)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Pericles is said to have spoken this: 'Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. Our government does not copy our neighbors, but is an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while there exists equal justice to all and alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward of merit. Neither is poverty an obstacle, but a man may benefit his country whatever the obscurity of his condition.'
2	2010	25-Mar	Health Care & Education Reconc. Act of 2010	Reed (D-RI)	Politics	Funeral Speech	As Thucydides said: 'The bravest of the brave are those who, seeing both the glory and the danger, go forth to seize it.'
3	2010	18-Mar	Remembering George Panichas	Reed (D-RI)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	I think the only way to end these few words for a great gentleman is to recall the words of another Greek--Thucydides--who said: 'The bravest of the brave are those who see both the glory and the danger and go forth to meet it.'
4	2009	11-Dec	Recognizing Captain Sean Welch	Wittman (R-VA)	Eulogy	(false attrib.)	As Thucydides once said, 'The society that separates its scholars from its warriors will have its thinking done by cowards and its fighting done by fools.'
5	2009	09-	Fiscal	Foxx	Politics	(false	Pericles said, 'Just because you don't take an interest in politics, doesn't

		Mar	Responsibility	(R-NC)		attrib.)	mean that politics won't take an interest in you.'
6	2008	20-Nov	Honoring Staff Sergeant T. Walker	Salazar (D-CO)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	The Greek historian Thucydides wrote that, 'The bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding, go out to meet it.'
7	2007	29-Oct	Lt. Michael Murphy	Israel (D-NY)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Let me close, Madam Speaker, with a passage that could have been written about Michael Murphy, although it was uttered almost 2,500 years ago. This is what Pericles said at the funeral of fallen soldiers: 'In the fighting, they thought it more honorable to stand their ground and suffer death than to give in and save their lives. So they fled from the reproaches of men, abiding with life and limb the brunt of battle, and in a small moment of time, the climax of their lives, a culmination of glory, not of fear, they were swept away from us.' So and such they were, these men, worthy of their city.
8	2007	24-Oct	Honoring our armed forces: Staff Sergeant Jarred Seth Fontenot	Salazar (D-CO)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Mr. President, how can we properly honor the deeds of a man such as Jarred Fontenot, so devoted to his country, his family, and to those with whom he served? No words can match the magnitude of his virtue. Pericles, the great Athenian general, suggested that we honor the sacrifices of soldiers like Jarred Fontenot by reflecting not only on his life and loss, but also on the rewards that he and other soldiers have delivered to the nation for which they fought. At a funeral oration to honor soldiers who had died in one of the first battles of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles told the crowd that: 'Any one can discourse to you for ever about the advantages of a brave defense, which you know already. But instead of listening to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled

							with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonor always present to them, and who, if ever they failed in an enterprise, would not allow their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her as the fairest offering which they could present at her feast.’ In this Chamber, the greatest deliberative body in the world, I ask that we honor Sergeant Fontenot by fixing our eyes on those freedoms which, for more than two centuries, have endured and prospered in this Chamber and across America. [SPEECH CONTINUES...] ‘For where the rewards of virtue are greatest,’ Pericles reminded the departing Athenian crowd, ‘there the noblest citizens are enlisted in the service of the state.’ Jarred Fontenot was among the noblest of our citizens. May his legacy endure in the strength of our democracy.
9	2007	24-May	Memorial Day	Byrd (D-WV)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	In 430BC, after the first year of the Peloponnesian War, the Greek historian Thucydides recorded the funeral oration delivered by Pericles, the great Greek general. Thucydides records that Pericles did not speak of the battles but, rather, of the glories - the glories - of Athens and what a privilege it was - what a privilege it was - for each Athenian to live in such a perfect place. Pericles said that the sacrifice of those fallen in battle to keep the nation strong left them with the: ‘Noblest of all tombs--the noblest of all tombs, I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but of that in which their glory survives.’ Pericles felt there could be no better place to live than Athens and no place more deserving of a soldier's sacrifice. Almost 2,500 years later, I feel confident that every soldier, sailor, airman, and marine who has fought

							and died in Afghanistan and Iraq probably felt the same way--yes--about the United States.
10	2007	05-Feb	Sergeant Henry Ybarra Post Office Building	Doggett (D-TX)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	As Pericles once spoke of ancient Athens, so it is with our democracy today: 'If it should appear great to you, consider then that her glories were purchased by valiant men, and by men who learned their duty.'
11	2006	08-Dec	Farewell to the Senate (Sarbanes' departure)	Snowe (R-ME)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	Senator Sarbanes' vigorous and exemplary engagement in matters of public affairs undeniably epitomizes the following admonition from Pericles in his funeral oration more than 2,000 years ago that 'we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say he has no business here at all.'
12	2006	26-Jun	Flag Desecration amendment	Leahy (D-VT)	Flag Desecration	Funeral Speech - Warner's Article	Aneurin Bevan, former official of the British Labor Party, was once asked by Nikita Khrushchev how the British definition of democracy differed from the Soviet view. Bevan responded, forcefully, that if Khrushchev really wanted to know the difference, he should read the funeral oration of Pericles. In that speech, recorded in the Second Book of Thucydides' <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i> , Pericles contrasted democratic Athens with totalitarian Sparta. Unlike the Spartans, he said, the Athenians do not fear freedom. Rather, they viewed freedom as the very source of their strength.

13	2005	24-Jun	America's place in the world	Baucus (D-MT)	Politics	Funeral Speech	A little less than 2500 years ago, in Athens, Pericles the king looked out from the Acropolis. In the bay beyond the port city, he saw some of Athens' 200 ships, which brought peace, commerce, and Athenian pottery to a free-trade area of more than 1000 Greek city-states. Pericles boasted: 'The wares of the whole world find their way to us.' Pericles stood astride one of the wealthiest, most culturally-advanced states of his time. Greeks had vanquished the evil empire of Persia to the east. Pericles had transformed the Delian League, a defensive alliance formed to contain Persia, into an Athenian empire. And Pericles advanced the world of ideas, advocating the new idea of democracy. Said Pericles: 'Athens alone, of the states we know, comes to her testing time in a greatness that surpasses what was imagined of her... Future ages will wonder at us, as the present age does now.' Pericles had every reason to believe that Divine Providence had smiled upon him and his city. [SPEECH ENDS] We must get to work. But if we do, we can make an America that, in Pericles's words, 'comes to her testing time in a greatness that surpasses what was imagined of her.' If we do, America can continue to 'stand with the allies of freedom' throughout the world. And if we do, 'Future ages will wonder at us, as the present age does now.'
14	2005	15-Jun	Science, State, Justice... Appropriations Act	Ms. Wasserman Schultz (D-FL)	Politics	Funeral Speech	Pericles, a 5th century B.C. Athenian statesman, once said that, 'freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it.'

15	2005	24-May	Living Word Baptist Church Memorial Service	Burgess (R-TX)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Mr. Speaker, and so it was said by Pericles, the Athenian leader some 24 centuries ago, ``Not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions, but there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men."
16	2005	06-Apr	Honoring Captain Mark Stubenhofer	Davis (R-VA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	As Pericles, the great orator, builder, and general of Athens said, 'For to famous men all the earth is a sepulcher; and their virtues shall be testified not only by the inscription in stone at home but by an unwritten record of the mind, which more than of any monument will remain with everyone forever.'
17	2005	02-Feb	Nomination of Gonzales to Attorney General	Reed (D-RI)	Politics	3.82.2	Ages ago, Thucydides wrote: 'War, depriving people of their expected resources, is a tutor of violence, hardening men to match the conditions they face . . . Suspicion of prior atrocities drives men to surpass report in their own cruel innovations, either by subtlety of assault or extravagance of reprisal.'
18	2005	01-Feb	Honoring Captain Mark Stubenhofer	Davis (R-VA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	As Pericles, the great orator, builder, and general of Athens said, 'For to famous men all the earth is a sepulcher; and their virtues shall be testified not only by the inscription in stone at home but by an unwritten record of the mind, which more than of any monument will remain with everyone forever.'
19	2004	09-Jun	Mourning passing of Reagan	Hyde (R-IL)	Eulogy	(false attrib.)	His eloquence reminds me of the story of ancient Greeks who, when Pericles spoke, said, 'how well he speaks.' But when Demosthenes spoke, they said, 'let's march.'

20	2004	24-May	Fallen Heroes	Burg-ess (R-TX)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	And so it was said by Pericles, the Athenian leader some 24 centuries ago, 'Not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions, but there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men.'
21	2004	01-Apr	Congratulating Byrd on 17,000th vote	Byrd (D-WV)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	Pericles, the brilliant Athenian statesman, gave mankind one of the greatest funeral orations ever made. This address was delivered in 431 BC as a memorial to the first Athenian soldier who fell in the Peloponnesian War. In this address, Pericles said: 'It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old, nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life as some give out, so much as honor.' And so it is honor itself that never grows old. I thank my colleagues for the honor they show today.
22	2004	25-Feb	Commem- orating PoW & MiA	Pom-eroy (D-ND)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	The ancient Athenian leader Pericles, a proponent of democracy, once said, 'Freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it.'
23	2003	22-Jul	In remembrance of Strom Thurmond	Byrd (D-WV)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	In the words of Pericles: 'It is only the love of honor that never grows old.'

24	2003	23-May	Memorial Day	Byrd (D-WV)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Honoring the fallen in battle is an ancient custom, extending at least to the ancient Greeks. Thucydides provides us with one example....After the first battles of the Peloponnesian War, the brilliant politician and general, Pericles, was the orator. He used his speech to honor the dead but also to pay homage to the state for which they had fought. His love and admiration for Athens reflects the feelings of patriotism, pride, and love for the United States that have swelled in our breasts since the terrible events of September 11, 2001, and since the brave performance put on by U.S. forces in Iraq this spring. Pericles said, in part, 'Fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonor always present in them, and who, if ever they failed in an enterprise, would not allow their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives as the fairest offering which they could present at her feast. The sacrifice which they collectively made was individually repaid to them; for they received again each one for himself praise which grows not old, and the noblest of all tombs, I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but that in which their glory survives, and is proclaimed always and on every fitting occasion both in word and in deed. For the whole earth is the tomb of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stones but in the hearts of men.'
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25	2003	16-Sep	A Speech by Admiral James O. Ellis	Skelton (D-MI)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	The Greek warrior Thucydides said, 'We secure our friends not by accepting favors, but by doing them.'
26	2003	20-Mar	Honoring armed forces	Faleomavaega (D-AS)	Politics	Colin Powell	Mr. Speaker, the words of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. rings well in my ears tonight. He said, 'In the end, we will not remember the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.' Mr. Speaker, as the most powerful military power in the world, we need to also be reminded of a statement made centuries ago by Thucydides who said, 'Of all manifestations of power, restraint impresses most men.'
27	2002	18-Nov	Tribute to Senator Strom Thurmond	DeWine (R-OH)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	The great Athenian general Pericles once noted that: 'Where the rewards of virtue are greatest, there the noblest citizens are enlisted in the service of the state.' Our American democracy, like that of the Athenians, is designed to reward virtue with the opportunity to represent and defend fellow citizens. Certainly there is no man of our time better fit for and dedicated to these difficult tasks than Strom Thurmond. Indeed, he is a tribute to the American ethic of public service that the framers of our nation envisioned over two centuries ago.
28	2002	22-May	Andean Trade Preference Act	Gramm (R-TX)	Trade	Funeral Speech	I close with this point. It is interesting how differently we view the world today on this issue than it has been viewed historically. I go way back by quoting Pericles. When Pericles spoke in the funeral oration, and he was trying to sum up the greatness of Athens, it is interesting that the example he came down to was imports. 'The luxuries of the world are as freely available in Athens as they are at those places in the world where those items are produced.' The greatness of America is that people we do not even know, who do not even know us, are working to produce

							things to bring to our market that we can consume.
29	2002	14-Mar	Otto Reich is on the job	Helms (quoting Reich) (R-NC)	Politics	(false attrib.)	The Greek philosopher Thucydides said that Justice is the right of any person to do those things which God gave him the ability to do. By that or any other definition, this is a just country. Our nation is not perfect, but it allows its citizens to do that for which God gave them the ability. To say that I am proud to be an American is the height of understatement.
30	2001	18-Dec	Agriculture, Conservation & Rural enhancement Act of 2001	Gramm (R-TX)	Trade	Funeral Speech	I am reminded of Pericles, who gave the funeral oration each year in Athens to honor those who had died during the Peloponnesian War. Other than the Gettysburg Address, probably the most famous speech ever given was Pericles's funeral oration. It is very interesting that of all the things Pericles could have chosen to show the greatness about Athens, he picked out trade, and specifically, imports. He didn't pick out exports, although he could have said that if you go all over the world you will find products from Athens. But he didn't say that. He said: 'Because of the greatness of our city, the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us, so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.' To Pericles, that fact represented the greatness of Athens.
31	2001	17-Dec	Anthrax	Byrd (D-WV)	Politics	Plague	Some medical historians believe that the 'plague of Athens,' 430-427 B.C. as recorded in Thucydides' <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i> , was probably anthrax. Thucydides describes symptoms of fever, bleeding, and 'small pustules and ulcers,' all consistent with a severe form of the anthrax infection.

32	2001	14-Sep	Authorizing use of United States armed forces...	Markey (D-MA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	In his Funeral Oration, the great Athenian leader Pericles said, 'Heroes have the whole earth as their tomb, and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.'
33	2001	12-Sep	Terrorist attacks against the US	Reed (D-RI)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Ages ago, the Greek historian Thucydides reminded us: 'The bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding, go out to meet it.' Yesterday we saw the bravest.
34	2001	18-Jul	Flag Desecration amendment	Moore (D-MA)	Flag Desecration	Funeral Speech - Warner's article	<i>See Q.12</i>
35	2001	21-Jun	Tribute to the late Honorable John Joseph Moakley	Neal (D-MA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	When I saw how he thought about that particular achievement in his life, it brought to mind the wonderful words of Pericles, 'It is by honor, not gold, that the helpless end of life is cheered'
36	2001	06-Jun	Expressing sorrow at the death of the Honorable John Joseph Moakley	McGovern (D-MA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	When I saw how he thought about that particular achievement in his life, it brought to mind the wonderful words of Pericles, 'It is by honor, not gold, that the helpless end of life is cheered.'

37	2001	25-May	Memorial Day	Cleland (D-GA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Whenever Memorial day comes around, I am reminded of what may well have been the first, and is still one of the finest, memorials to fallen soldiers. Thousands of years ago: the Funeral Oration of the great Athenian leader Pericles, as recorded by the historian Thucydides, during the Peloponnesian War in the 5th century BC: 'For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulcher, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration. For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.'
38	2001	24-May	Recognizing members of armed forces killed since end of Vietnam war	Cleland (D-GA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Whenever Memorial Day comes around, I am reminded of what may well have been the first, and is still one of the finest, memorials to fallen soldiers, the Funeral Oration of the great Athenian leader Pericles, as recorded by the historian Thucydides, during the Peloponnesian War in the 5th Century BC. 'For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulcher, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration. For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast

							a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.' In that spirit, today I have introduced a resolution calling upon all Americans to especially dedicate Memorial Day of 2001 to those brave American men and women who have given their lives in service to their country since the end of the war in Vietnam.
39	2001	23-May	Memorial Day 2001: Courage and Heartache	Delahunt (D-MA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	More than 20 centuries ago, Pericles offered a tribute to fallen Greek warriors that echoes to us through antiquity: 'Not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions, but there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men.'
40	2001	20-Mar	Celebrating Greek Independence Day	Kennedy (D-RI)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	In an address that could have been written by one of our founding fathers, Pericles wrote over 2,000 years ago, 'Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of the minority but of the whole people... equal before the law.'

41	2001	15-Feb	Flunking American History	Byrd (D-WV)	Education	Funeral Speech	Thucydides, the Greek historian, understood that the future can sometimes best be seen through the prism of the past. The following is an excerpt from the funeral oration of Pericles as reported by Thucydides in his <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i> : 'Fix your eyes on the greatness of Athens as you have it before you day by day, fall in love with her, and when you feel her great, remember that this greatness was won by men with courage, with knowledge of their duty, and with a sense of honor in action . . . So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchers, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives. For you now it remains to rival what they have done and, knowing the secret of happiness to be freedom and the secret of freedom a brave heart, not idly to stand aside from the enemy's onset.'
42	2001	22-Jan	Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions	Gramm (R-TX)	Trade	Funeral Speech	Trade has brought untold benefits to our people not the least of which are high-paying jobs, increased consumer choice, increased economic competitiveness. When Pericles spoke of Athens in his Funeral Oration, he might well have been speaking of us: 'The magnitude of our city draws the produce of the world into our harbor, so that to the Athenian the fruits of other countries are as familiar a luxury as those of his own.' Those who peddle defeatism as they clamor for protectionist measures are subverting our best means of growth. As President Reagan warned in

							1988, 'protectionism is destructionism.'
43	2000	14-Dec	Additional statements	Hatch (R-UT)	Education	1.22.4	Thucydides was the first scientific historian to evaluate memory. He wrote, 'I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one as eyewitnesses gave different accounts of the same occurrence, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or another.'
44	2000	03-Oct	Global Role V: Roles of the Government, the People, and the military in war-making	Cleland (D-GA)	Politics	Colin Powell	On his desk at the Pentagon when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell kept a quote from the great Athenian historian Thucydides: 'Of all manifestations of power, restraint impresses men most.'
45	2000	29-Mar	Flag Desecration amendment	Kerry (D-MA)	Flag Desecration	Funeral Speech-Warner's Article	<i>See Q.12</i>
46	2000	28-Mar	In recognition of Greek Independence Day	Gejdenson (D-CT)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	In an address made over 2400 years ago, Pericles explained, 'Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not a membership of a particular class, but

							the actual ability which the man possesses.'
47	2000	28-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Weygand (D-RI)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	'Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not a membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses.' The statement, Mr. Speaker, was not made by our Founding Fathers, but by Pericles in an address more than two thousand years ago.
48	2000	28-Mar	Flag Desecration amendment	Leahy (D-VT)	Flag Desecration	Funeral Speech-Warner's Article	<i>See Q.12</i>
49	1999	05-Aug	In honor of Private Harry Margolis	Nadler (D-NY)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	Mr. Speaker, Pericles said, while speaking at a funeral for fallen soldiers, 'If our country should appear great to you, remember that her glories were purchased by brave and valiant men, by men who knew their duty.'
50	1999	01-Jul	Mr John Topolewski awarded France's Knight's Cross	Kaptur (D-OH)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	The Greek historian Thucydides wrote 'remember that this greatness was won by men with courage, with knowledge of their duty, and with a sense of honor in action . . . but the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding go out to meet it.' As a young man at the dawn of his adulthood, John Topolewski embodied these words.

51	1999	27-May	Memorial Day	Specter (R-PA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	The Athenian leader Pericles had these words to say about those who lost their lives in the Peloponnesian War over 24 centuries ago: 'Not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions, but there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men.'
52	1999	28-Apr	Removal of US forces from Yugoslavia	Leach (R-IA)	Politics	Melos/ Mytilene	<i>Confusion of Mytilene and Melos</i>
53	1999	25-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Maloney (D-NY)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	'Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not a membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses," This could have been written by Thomas Jefferson, but it was written by Pericles in an address made in Greece 2,000 years ago.
54	1999	25-Mar	Greek Independence Day	McNulty (D-NY)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	Greece is the birthplace of American democracy. We will always remember the words of Pericles: 'Our administration favors the many instead of the few: this is why it is called a democracy. The laws afford equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, but we do not ignore the claims of excellence. When a citizen distinguishes himself, then he will be called to serve the state, in preference to others, not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward of merit; and poverty is no bar.'

5	1998	23-Sep	Situation in Kosovo	McCain (R-AZ)	Politics	Melos	This Administration's conduct of diplomacy with regard to Serbia, North Korea and Iraq is somewhat akin to what would happen if Thucydides' Melian Dialogue were reversed, and the weak were dictating terms to the strong.
56	1998	28-Jul	Tribute to Officers John Gibson and Jacob Chestnut	Cleland (D-GA)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	I am reminded of a passage from Thucydides' 'Funeral Oration of Pericles': 'So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchers, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives. For you now it remains to rival what they have done and, knowing the secret of freedom a brave heart, not idly to stand aside from the enemy's onset.'
57	1998	27-Jul	Honoring memory of Dt. Gibson & Pte 1st Class Chestnut	Lowey (D-NY)	Eulogy	Funeral Speech	When I think about the choice which Officers Chestnut and Gibson made to serve the public as police officers, I am reminded of what Thucydides once said, 'the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding, go out and meet it.'
58	1998	22-Jul	Appropriations Act, 1999	Pelosi (D-CA)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	I am reminded of what was said about Pericles...'He was a lover of the beautiful and he cultivated the spirit without a loss of manliness.'

59	1998	25-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Maloney (D-NY)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of the minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts if not a membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man or woman possesses.' This sounds like it could have been written by our Founding Fathers, but it was actually written by Pericles in an address made in Greece 2,000 years ago.
60	1998	03-Feb	A Question of Honor	Talent (R - MO)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	In the Funeral Oration, Pericles said, 'For it is only the love of honor that never grows old; and honor it is, not gain as some would have it, that rejoices the heart of age and helplessness.'
61	1997	05-Nov	Reciprocal Trade Agreement of 1997 - Motion to Proceed	Gramm (R-TX)	Trade	Funeral Speech	When Pericles was delivering his funeral oration, honoring the dead of Athens, one of the great speeches in history, he talked of trade as a sign of greatness. Once a year, they had a ceremony where they would bring the bones of Athenian warriors who had died defending Athens during that year, and they would all be buried together. When Pericles came to the point in the speech where he wanted to explain how you could know that Athens was a great city, here is what he said, and interestingly enough, he measured the greatness of Athens by its imports. What a far cry it is from today; what he understood, we have forgotten. And he understood it 2,500 years ago: 'The magnitude of our city draws the produce of the world into our harbor, so that to the Athenian the fruits of other countries are as familiar a luxury as those of his own.'

62	1997	17-Sep	Tribute to Tiffany Monroy	Abercrombie (D-HI)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	Democracy is able to maintain itself above and beyond any other form of government because of the level of participation democracy calls for from those who are governed. It calls on everyone to participate in their government because democracy is the form of government in which rule is by the people. As Pericles of Athens said, 'Our constitution is named a democracy because it is in the hands not of the few, but of the many.'
63	1997	21-Mar	National Day of Greece	McNulty (D-NY)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	American democracy was born in Greece. Two thousand years ago, Pericles declared, 'Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law... And when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not a membership of a particular class, but the actual ability an individual possesses.'
64	1997	04-Mar	Balanced budget amendment to the Const.	Byrd (D-WV)	Politics	Funeral Speech	The 5th century Athenian statesman, Pericles, delivered a funeral oration to commemorate the soldiers who gave their lives at the battle of Salamis. Upon that occasion he said, 'It was for such a country, then, that these men nobly resolving not to have it taken from them, fell fighting and every one of their survivors may well be willing to suffer in its behalf.' I thank God for a continuing supply of these noble men and women in our own time, 'willing to suffer' on behalf of our country and its Constitution.

65	1997	21-Jan	Increasing Coverage	Gramm (R-TX)	Trade	Funeral Speech	Lately, one does not hear much talk about the Japanese economic miracle, and Germany's double-digit unemployment rate finds few admirers. Instead, what Pericles said of ancient Athens in the days of that city's glory may without fear be said of us. 'The magnitude of our city draws the produce of the world into our harbor, so that to the Athenian the fruits of other countries are as familiar a luxury as those of his own.'
66	1996	20-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Klink (D-PA)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	I understand the State Department talks about the fact that both Turkey and Greece are important to the United States. I will go back in closing, and then relinquishing the time back to my friend. I would like to just give a couple of quotes. One quote says: 'Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority, but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law. When it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which man possesses.' That statement could be made by anyone on the floor of the House, any President of the United States, but it was made by Pericles in an address made in Greece 2,000 years ago. Our Nation is founded on that democracy. Likewise, the comment that 'Democracy is a charming form of government. It is full of variety and disorder and dispensing a kind of equality to equals and unequals alike.' It was not made on the floor of this House during our debates with one another and our differences among parties or regions. It was made by Plato in 'The Republic' in the year 370 B.C. From Thomas Jefferson, whom we all revere, he said 'To the ancient Greeks we are all indebted for the light

							which led ourselves,' speaking of the American colonists, 'out of Gothic darkness.'
67	1995	11-Dec	Flag Desecration amendment	Dorgan (D-ND)	Flag Desecration	Funeral Speech-Warner's article	<i>See Q.12</i>
68	1995	11-Dec	Flag Desecration amendment	Leahy (D-WV)	Flag Desecration	Funeral Speech-Warner's article	<i>See Q.12</i>
69	1995	24-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Dole (R-KS)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	On this day, it is important to remember that American democracy would not exist today had the Greeks not believed in the power of the people to govern. As Pericles said some 2,000 years ago, 'our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of the minority, but of the whole people * [text missing] * everyone equal before the law.'

70	1995	24-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Klink (D-PA)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	When you look back at the quotes that have been made about this Nation, about this great Nation of the United States that we are so proud to live in, and you look at the quotes that were made about Greece, it is hard to differentiate one from the other. For example, I will read a quote. It says, 'Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of the minority, but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law. When it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not a membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which that man possesses.' Those comments were not made in this Nation although they could have been made. They were made by Pericles in an address in Greece 2000 years ago and Plato of 'The Republic' said democracy is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a kind of equality to equals and unequals alike.
71	1994	01-Dec	Sheldon White-house' Thoughts on Democracy	Pell (D-RI)	Politics	Funeral Speech	Democracy is never going to be easy; and we shouldn't expect it to be easy. The ancient Greeks had one name for those who participated in their democratic process and another name for those who did not. Those who were involved were called civites. From this ancient word comes a host of modern terms: civil, civilization, civic, city, citizen, civilized. Those who were not involved were called idiots. Perhaps the Greeks were giving us a hint. Indeed, Pericles said of democratic Athenians that they 'regard the man who takes no part in public affairs, not as one who minds his own business, but as good for nothing.' Not only is democracy not easy, it's getting harder.

72	1994	20-Sep	America's Policy towards Haiti	Hoke (R-OH)	Politics	(false attrib.)	George Santayana said, paraphrasing Euripides and Thucydides, that 'Those who fail to remember history are condemned to repeat it.' It is a lesson which apparently is tougher to learn than has been thought.
73	1994	12-Sep	Conference report on H.R. 4624 (ie. Pork)	Brown (D-CA)	Politics	Melos	I am going to steal a march from the distinguished Senator [Byrd]. He likes to quote the classics and so I will quote to you from Thucydides in his <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i> in which the Athenians, at war with Sparta were negotiating with the neutral Melosians, asking the Melosians to yield allegiance to Athens. And here is how Thucydides describes the negotiations: "In a meeting between Athenian and Melosian envoys during the Peloponnesian War, in which the Athenians demand control of Melos, their envoys said, 'The powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must.' When the Melosians say that they would sooner be slaves, that they will appeal to the gods, the Athenians reply, 'Of the gods we believe and of men we know that, by a law of their nature, wherever they can rule they will. This law was not made by us and we are not the first to have acted on it; we did but inherit it.' " Mr. Speaker, the appropriators today have inherited that law and they are practicing it. That is wrong and it will destroy the House.

74	1994	25-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Sarbanes (D-MD)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	The prominent American historian Henry Steel Commager has described the extent to which the architects of the American Revolution and authors of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were ardent students of the classics, Thucydides, Plutarch and others, and the ancient Greek ideas of liberty and citizenship. To be sure, Pericles' profound words of 2,000 years ago are just as pertinent today as they were in America in its early days; 'Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not or a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses.'
75	1994	03-Mar	State of History Education	Byrd (D-WV)	Educational	Educational value of Thucydides	<i>Ktema eis aiei; Corcyra and breakdown of language; war a harsh teacher</i>
76	1993	20-Nov	NAFTA	Gramm (R-TX)	Trade	Funeral Speech	Finally, I have just remarked how the world changes. When Pericles in his great funeral oration talked about the greatness of Athens, I think it is very instructive that he spoke about trade. He said, 'because of the greatness of our city, goods are brought here from all over the world and we consume them as freely as they are consumed in the countries where they are produced.' That was the greatness of Athens. It is the greatness of America. Trade and free enterprise and democracy built America.

77	1993	02-Aug	Beyond Good Intentions: Using Force in Bosnia and Somalia	McCain (R-AZ)	Politics	Sicilian Exped. <i>Th.7.87</i>	Military leaders have good reason to remember the cost of trying to use force without a basis in sound policy, without clearly defined objectives, without adequate means, without the ability to retreat or escalate, and - most importantly – without public support....This lesson describes Athens' reckless commitment to intervention in Syracuse that was the key factor in the destruction of the world's first real experiment in democracy and in creating a new world order. Thucydides' words are as relevant today as they were then: 'This was the greatest event in the war, or in my opinion, in Greek history; at once most glorious to the victors and most calamitous to the conquered. They were beaten at all points and altogether; their sufferings in every way were great. They were totally destroyed--their fleet, their army, everything--and few of many returned home. So ended the Sicilian expedition.' I do not believe we face any such risk. We are too strong to suffer a major defeat of arms. We can, however, suffer a defeat that is even more important if we go into Bosnia without clearly defined and obtainable goals, or if we allow ourselves to take sides in the civil war in Somalia without having any ability to bring that war to a successful end.
78	1993	29-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Edwards (D-CA)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	Two thousand years ago, the Greek philosopher Pericles proclaimed, 'Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people...What counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses.' These principles of justice and equality had an undeniable influence on the formation of our American democratic system. Jefferson and Mason, students of the ancient Athenian democracy of Pericles, championed one of the first human rights documents in history,

							the Bill of Rights. Madison and Hamilton, also students of Pericles, were instrumental in developing the Federal structure of our government.
79	1993	25-Mar	Greek Independence Day	Dodd (D-CT)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	In his famous address more than 2,000 years ago, the Greek statesman Pericles proclaimed: 'Mighty indeed are the marks and monuments of our empire which we have left. Future ages will wonder at us, as the present age wonders at us now.' Pericles was remarkably prescient, Mr. President, but the marks and monuments left by the ancient Greeks are not those we might at first glance associate with them. As much as we admire the enduring monuments of Greek architecture--the Coliseum, the Parthenon, the Akropolis at Athens--we remember, honor, and cherish the ancient Greeks for their love of an idea. That idea is democracy.
80	1993	18-Mar	House Concurrent Resolution 64	Velazquez (D-NY)	Politics	Plutarch	I urge my colleagues to support this budget and then heed the call of Pericles to 'wait for that wisest of counselors – time', for time will prove this package to be right for America.

81	1993	04-Feb	(Attacking Bill Clinton's stance on allowing homosexuals in the military)	Helms (R-NC)	Politics	Funeral Speech	Thucydides wrote: 'Fix your eyes on the greatness of Athens, and remember that this greatness was won by men of courage, who did not stand idly by when the enemy attacked.' And the answer to what men would most want to be has for hundreds and hundreds of years been: brave. Civilizations have come and gone-with widespread worldly desires to be rich, handsome, intelligent, witty, sometimes kind-but in most men's heart of hearts the answer is still: brave.
82	1992	07-Oct	Dedication of the Federal Judiciary Building	Chafee (R-RI)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	As President Kennedy would say Pericles would say, 'We do not imitate, but are an example to others.'
83	1992	25-Mar	Morning Business: Greek Independence Day	Sarbanes (D-MD)	Greek Indep. Day	Funeral Speech	Surely our Founding Fathers marveled, as we do today, over the words of Pericles 2,000 years ago, when the Athenian statesman observed that: 'Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses.'

84	1991	15-Nov	Harriett B Macht Honored	Roth (R-WI)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	I believe this spirit is encapsulated in the great funeral oration Pericles delivered in the winter of 431 B.C. I can imagine him standing on the steps of Athens, honoring the valiant who had died defending that great city, and giving those brave residents-as well as those of us today who still cherish democracy-that code that must bind us. One that occasion, Pericles said: 'It is called democracy because power does not rest with the few, but with the many, and in law, as it touches individuals, all are equal, while in regard to the public estimation in which each man is held in any field, his advancement depends not on mere rotation, but rather on his true worth; nor does poverty dim his reputation or prevent him from assisting the state, if he has the capacity... Our belief is not primarily in munitions and concealment, but in our own spirit in action... We are seekers of beauty, but avoid extravagance-of learning, but without unmanliness. For us wealth is an aim for its value in use and not as an empty boast, and the disgrace of poverty rests not in the admission of it, but more in the failure to avoid its practice... We do not win friendship from benefit received, but from service rendered.'
85	1991	02-Aug	(Amndmt.104 0: use of all military force v. Saddam)	Chafee (R-RI)	Politics	Melos	I believe that he [Saddam Hussein] subscribes to the ancient view, expressed in Thucydides' 'History of the Peloponnesian War', that 'Right as the world goes is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must.'
86	1991	07-Jun	Commemorating Robert Kennedy's Capetown	DeLauro (D-CT)	Tribute	Funeral Speech (quoting RFK)	If Athens shall appear great to you,' said Pericles, 'consider then that her glories were purchased by valiant men, and by men who learned their duty.' That is the source of all greatness in all societies, and it is the key to progress in our time.

			Speech				
87	1991	06-Jun	25th Anniversary of Address of RFK at Univ. of Capetown	Dodd (D-CT)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	If Athens shall appear great to you,' said Pericles, 'consider then that her glories were purchased by valiant men, and by men who learned their duty.' That is the source of all greatness in all societies, and it is the key to progress in our time.
88	1991	22-May	Concurrent resolution on the budget conference report	Byrd (D-WV)	Politics	Pericles' speech, 2.62; Funeral Speech	'You cannot decline the burdens of empire and still expect to share its honors.' ... As Pericles also said, 'Our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters.'
89	1991	07-Mar	Tribute to the President of the United States	Byrd (D-WV)	Tribute	Funeral Speech	Pericles, who lived in the fifth century before Christ, said to the Athenians, 'Fix your eyes upon the greatness of your country and remember that her greatness was won by men with courage, with knowledge of their duty, and with a sense of honor in action.'
90	1991	11-Jan	The Persian Gulf Crisis	Fowler (D-GA)	Politics	<i>Sicilian Exped.</i>	<i>Detailed account, warning of danger of hubris in war</i>

91	1991	10-Jan	The Just War doctrine and its implications	Leach (R-IA)	Politics	(false attrib.)	There is also in the Western tradition a hallowed tenet that the triumph of aggression, which the Greek historian Thucydides aptly described in his History of the Peloponnesian War as the stark process of 'putting people to it', may constitute a greater evil than resort to violence to vindicate an unjust wrong.
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