

CLAS 388, Fall 2013: 4 units  
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(Office #: 213-740-3683)

## **WARFARE, STATE, AND SOCIETY IN THE ANCIENT WORLD**

VKC 154, MW 2-3:20pm;

**Office hours:** M. 3:30-4:30pm and W. 10-11am or by appt.; **Office:** THH 256K.

### *Purpose, description, and structure of the course:*

The purpose of this course is to explore the connections between warfare and political institutions, social organization, and cultural developments. Based on a survey of literary, documentary, and archaeological evidence, this class introduces students to warfare in the ancient world and its correlation with state formation. It explores the changing relationship between warrior class and citizen body as well as the image of the ideal warrior, the memory of war, and the anxieties associated with warfare. In our discussions, we will at times compare ancient and modern warfare and imperialism.

Our investigation of the organization and role of armies starts in Egypt and the Near East in the second and early first millennia BC, which allows us to examine comparatively war making in Greece in the first millennium BC. We will trace the different strategies and techniques emerging in Greece, in particular hoplitic warfare and its relationship with the development of new social organizations and political institutions. In the same way, we will explore how the Roman army developed from a militia to a professional army and how it gradually included soldiers with different ethnic backgrounds while the empire was expanding. To broaden our comparative perspective, we will also examine the development and effect of war making at the other end of Eurasia.

By comparing the options available to different types of states in terms of mobilization and economic power, we will shed light on the mechanisms of state formation and the role of soldiers in the story of the rise and fall of empires until the Arab conquest. We will examine the status of soldiers at different moments of the state formation process: what was their relationship with the civil population or with different ethnic groups? How did their socio-economic status change over centuries? Where did they come from? Were they conscripts, professional soldiers, or mercenaries? How and how well were they paid? Were they settled on land? We will also discuss how the image of the soldier as reconstructed from documentary sources relates to the figure of the soldier in different literary genres and military imagery.

### *Objectives:*

By the end of the semester, students will have a sound knowledge of the political and military history of the ancient Mediterranean from the second millennium BCE to the seventh century CE. They will become skilled at analyzing and contextualizing different types of primary sources (in translation) thanks to prompts given in advance and to close attention to the texts in class. They will be able to formulate questions and arguments on the practice and experience of ancient warfare and the effect of war on society that will be articulated in a final paper of their choice. In participating consistently in discussion, they will develop their critical thinking and will learn to think historically about the connections between warfare, state, and society – reflecting on changes and continuities as well as differences and similarities between the societies under examination and between past and modern societies.

Course requirements and grading:

- 20% Participation in class: includes participation in discussions (please sign the attendance sheet), oral analysis in class of documents, short responses (100-200 words) on your blog for this class (see below) and peer-review of one final paper; you can miss two classes without negative effect on your grade (but please email me before class). Further arrangements can be made **only** in exceptional cases.
- 15% Three written reports of 2-3 pages discussing a selection of key documents for 3 sessions (to be sent by email to [fischerb@usc.edu](mailto:fischerb@usc.edu) the day before class by 8pm)
- 10% Oral presentation of your fourth written report of a selection of the readings for one session with one-page handout to be distributed in class (selection to be approved in advance; report to be sent by email to [fischerb@usc.edu](mailto:fischerb@usc.edu) the day before class by 8pm)
- 20% Mid-term exam on **Wed. Oct. 23 (week 9)** during class meeting: combination of factual questions, short essays, and source analysis based on all the material covered in class and readings
- 35% Final paper due on **Sunday December 8 by midnight**: 12-15 pages; it is highly recommended to set up an appointment with me during week 9 or 10 or before. (out of the 35%: 5% for outline and annotated bibliography due on **Wed. Oct. 30 by midnight (week10)** and 5% for oral presentation during **weeks 13-15**, schedule tba; first draft to be sent to another student for peer-review – with me in Cc – by **Mon. Dec. 2 by noon (week 15)** + your comments on a paper due by **Wed. Dec. 4, noon**.

Required textbook and sourcebook

- Raaflaub, K., Rosenstein, N. (1999) *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, Harvard University Press [isbn: 9780674006591: paperback, \$19.50)
- Van Wees, H. (2004), *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, Bristol Classical Press, London [isbn: 0715629670]
- Primary sources: available on Blackboard (BB).

Blog posts: create your own blog on wordpress.com and send me your url by email by W. 09/28. I will link it to our course website at <http://warfareusc2013.wordpress.com> under “student blogs”. For each blog post (= short response) that you write, you may (or not) password protected it (for legal matters if we post images etc.): please all use **the same password** “Warfare2013”. You are more than welcome to give the password to friends and family.

Statement for Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me (or to TA) as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.

Statement on Academic Integrity

USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. General principles of academic honesty include the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one’s own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another’s work as one’s own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these principles. Scampus, the Student Guidebook, contains the Student Conduct Code in Section 11.00, while the recommended sanctions are located in Appendix A: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/publications/SCAMPUS/gov/>. Students will be referred to the Office of Student

Judicial Affairs and Community Standards for further review, should there be any suspicion of academic dishonesty. The Review process can be found at: <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/>.

*Final paper:* specific guidelines to be distributed in class

The final paper is due on **Sunday December 8, by midnight**. Please send it to me in a Word file by email. **Late papers will be penalized** (5 points are removed from the grade for **each DAY** that passes, starting after the time indicated above. **After three days** the assignments will **not be accepted**). Checklists of how to write good papers and how papers are evaluated will be given in class with the guidelines.

Use Times New Roman 12 font, double space for the text, size 10, single space for the footnote, 1" margins at top and bottom, 1.25" margins on sides. Please justify the text, indicate the **word count** below **your name**, and use the spell-check. Spelling and grammar are also considered in the evaluation: you may ask a friend to proofread your paper and do the same for him/her.

When you **use scholarly articles** or websites, cite your sources: indicate with quotation marks what you are borrowing from them and add in a footnote the author, title, year, or the website and the date when you accessed it. In total, your quotes should not go over (ca. 15% of your paper). If you are paraphrasing someone's argument, you have to indicate the author's name and the article in a footnote too. Often it is clearer to borrow one sentence correctly with quotation marks than to write an approximate paraphrase. Do not give someone's opinion without explaining why you think this is correct (or erroneous) – for instance relate his/her claim to a primary source – or on what the author's claim relies. For the bibliography you may use the MLA or Chicago style.

## **PART I: Warfare and early state formation**

### **WEEK 1: Introduction to warfare in the Ancient world**

M. 08/26: *Introduction: purpose and organization of the course*

W. 08/28: *Origins of warfare; modern historiography of ancient warfare: questions & debates; warfare and state formation; Mesopotamia*

**Readings on BB** (unless from required textbooks):

- Ferrill, A. (1997) *The origins of war*, "Prehistoric warfare, p. 9-31
- Raaflaub, ch. 1: "Introduction" and ch. 15: Ferguson "A paradigm for the study of War and Society"
- Richardson, S. F. C. et al. (2011) *Recent directions in the military history of the ancient world*, Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians 10, ch. 1 "Mesopotamia and the "New" Military History"

### **WEEK 2:**

M. 09/02: NO CLASS LABOR DAY

W. 09/04: **Egyptian imperialism (New Kingdom)**

*What is an empire? Warfare, state formation, and state collapse: the development of the first standing army and of the first international system; warfare and diplomacy in the ancient Mediterranean; chariot warfare and its impact on social structure*

- Sources on BB: DOCS in Kuhrt (1995) *The Ancient Near East*, p. 204-209 (peace), p. 214-16 (Kadesh from Hittite side), 217-19 (army); Inscription of the battle of Kadesh;
- Cline, E., Graham, M. W. (2011) *Ancient empires. From Mesopotamia to the Rise of Islam*, Cambridge: Introduction, what is an empire?, p. 1-9 (try to answer the questions)
- Raaflaub, ch. 4: Gnirs, "Ancient Egypt", p. 71-92

Special assignment (wiki): Can we learn anything from experimental archaeology? Write a short paragraph (on your blog) on a 10 minute documentary (Ancient Discoveries Egyptian Warfare 3/5 @ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmFMjoQbj7M>)

### **WEEK 3:**

#### **M. 09/09: The rise of multi-ethnic empires in the Near East (first millennium BCE)**

*Unification of the Near East and Central Asia: Assyrian ideology*

- Sources on BB: DOCS in Kuhrt (1995)
- Cline, E., Graham, M. W. (2011) *Ancient empires. From Mesopotamia to the Rise of Islam*, Cambridge, ch. 2, "The rise of the age of ancient empires", p. 33-54

#### **W. 09/11: Meanwhile in Greece: Homer and heroic warriors (8<sup>th</sup> c. BCE)**

*Heroic warriors in Homer; the experience of combat*

- Sources: Homer's Iliad (Book 4.422-544; Book 16 in full)
- Van Wees, H. (2004), *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, London, part V intro and ch. 11, p. 151-165

### **WEEK 4:**

#### **M. 09/16 The (Achaemenid) Persian empire**

*Cyrus and the Persian empire; how to handle a multi-ethnic army?*

- Sources on BB: Herodotus, book I (selections); Cyrus cylinder, Behistun Inscription and other DOCS in Kuhrt (1995)
- Raaflaub, ch. 5: Briant, "The Achaemenid empire", p. 105-124

*Optional:* Mann, M. *The Sources of Social Power*, ch. 8, revitalized empires of domination: Assyria and Persia, focus on p. 237-249.

#### **W. 09/18: Guest-speaker: John Lee: The Achaemenid army**

*Ideal of Kingship and leadership; strategic challenges; battle arrangements*

- Sources on BB: selections from **Kuhrt** (2007) *Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources*: pp. 502-508 kingly and martial virtues, pp. 712-717 and 720-723 on soldiers; **Herodotus** 9.19-9.70 (battle of Plataea); **Xenophon**, *Anabasis*, book one, especially 1.7.1-1.10.19 (battle of Cunaxa)

<b>Part II: Were the Greeks really special?</b>
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### **WEEK 5: From heroic warriors to middle-class militia: a myth?**

#### **M. 09/23 Debating the "hoplite revolution"**

*From aristocratic to hoplitic warfare; debate on the effect of hoplitic warfare on the birth of the Greek polis; Examination of ideology in Greek warfare; Could the Persians have won the war? Has the Greek phalanx anything to do with the victory against Persia?*

- Sources: Herodotus (selections); Aristotle's *Politics* I & II (selections); archaeological and iconographical sources on hoplites and phalanx.
- Van Wees, H. (2004), *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, London, ch. 4 and 6
- Raaflaub, ch. 6 "Archaic and Classical Greece", only p. 129-141

#### **W. 09/25 Sparta, a militaristic society?**

- Sources: Herodotus (selections); Aeschylus' *Persians* (selections); Tyrtaeus (selections); Plutarch (on Sparta – selections);
- de Souza, P. *et. al.* (2004), *The Greeks at war 499-386 BCE*, Oxford, p. 40-79

- Van Wees, H. (2004), *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, London, ch. 12-13

### **WEEK 6: The Greek city-states at war**

#### **M. 09/30: The Peloponnesian war and the memory of war**

*War and diseases; coping with defeat*

- Sources: Thucydides (selections); iconographical material
- Steinbock, B. (2012) *Social Memory in Athenian Public Discourse: Uses and Meanings of the Past*, (selections)

#### **W. 10/02: Ships, men and money**

*Evolution of naval warfare throughout the fifth century; effect of new military development on state and society.*

- Sources: Thucydides (selections); Old Oligarch
- Raaflaub, ch. 6 "Archaic and Classical Greece", only p. 141-148 on Naval warfare
- Van Wees, H. (2004), *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, London, ch. 14-15 and conclusion
- Hall, J (2007) "International relations" in Sabin, P. et al., *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman warfare = CHGRW* (electronic resource through USC)

<b>Part III: Greco-Macedonian empires and mercenaries</b>
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### **WEEK 7. The growth of Macedonia: Philip and Alexander the Great**

*How to explain Philip and Alexander the Great's successes? Combination of the sources of social power & Macedonian state formation; just war?*

#### **M. 10/07: Macedonia**

- Sources: Demosthenes' *Philippic* (selection); Aristotle (selection)
- Raaflaub, ch. 7: Hamilton "The Hellenistic World", only p. 163-173

#### **W. 10/09: Alexander**

- Sources: Arrian and Plutarch on Alexander (selections)
- Engels, D. W. (1978) *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley, p. 1-25
- Strauss, B. (2012) *Masters of commands: Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar and the genius of generalship* (selections on Alexander)

Special assignment: short report on the representation of battlefields in Oliver Stone's movie Alexander

### **WEEK 8: Alexander and his Successors**

*War and the ideology of Hellenistic monarchs; effect of war on religion, kings as saviors; the memory of war; costs and profits of war; war as a science.*

- Sources: Polybius and Diodorus (selections); Tacticians (selections); papyri and inscriptions (selections from Austin 2006)

M. 10/14

- Raaflaub, ch. 7: Hamilton "The Hellenistic World", only p. 173-185

W. 10/16

- Austin, M. M. (1986), "Hellenistic kings, war and the economy", CQ, 36, p. 450-66.
- Chaniotis, A. (2005), *War in the Hellenistic world: a social and cultural history*, Oxford, ch. 4; 8; 11

### **WEEK 9: Hellenistic Soldiers, mercenaries, and their relation with the civilian society**

M. 10/21: *Settling soldiers; ethnic interaction; image of soldiers; the figure of the mercenary in comedy*

- Sources: papyri and inscriptions (selections from Austin 2006); Menander (selections)

- Chaniotis, A. (2005), *War in the Hellenistic world: a social and cultural history*, Oxford, ch. 5 “War as a profession” and 6 “The Gender of War”

W. 10/23: MIDTERM EXAM

#### **Part IV: The Roman military machine?**

#### **WEEK 10: Roman army: from militia to professional army**

M. 10/28 & W. 10/30

*Organization; Punic wars & Hannibal; what are the consequences of the conquest of the Mediterranean on state and society? Civil war and professionalization; land for the veterans; how was Augustus's taming of the army possible?*

- Sources: Livy (on Punic wars); Appian (civil wars); Augustus' *Res Gestae*; Cicero (selections)

- Raaflaub, ch. 8: Rosenstein: “Republican Rome”

- Sidebottom, H. (2007) “International relations” in Sabin, P. et al., *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman warfare* = CHGRW vol. II, ch. 1 (electronic resource through USC)

- Adams, C. (2007) “War and Society” in Sabin, P. et al., *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman warfare* = CHGRW vol. II, ch. 6, only p. 198-211 (electronic resource through USC)

#### **WEEK 11 TO 13**

We will choose three or four of the following topics, according to the students interests and presentation topics;

(1) *Comparisons: Evaluating risk taking: Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar;*

(2) *Comparisons: Early China;*

(3) *Soldiers and Veteran's life in the Roman provinces;*

(4) *Warfare and second-state formation at the margins of the Roman empire;*

(5) *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine army;* (6) *What made the Arab conquest possible?*

#### **WEEKS 13-15: Students' presentations of final papers**

- detailed information to be given in class

#### **WEEK 15:**

M. 12/02: students' presentations

W. 12/04 students presentations & **Conclusions**

*Final reflections on the relations between warfare, state, and society; the legacies from ancient societies*

- Hillingsø, K.G.H. (2001) “War in History. Doctrine, Leadership and Effect on Society” in Bekker-Nielsen, T. H. L. (ed.), *War as a cultural and social force: essays on warfare in antiquity*, Copenhagen.

- Raaflaub, ch. 16: Hanson and Strauss, “Epilogue”