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INTRODUCTION

Marian W. Makins and Bettina Reitz-Joosse

1 The ‘landscape of war’

In 1917, the journal *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie* published an article entitled ‘Kriegslandschaft’, later translated into English as ‘The Landscape of War’.¹ The article’s author, a Berlin-educated Polish Jew named Kurt Lewin, would later flee Nazi Germany for the USA and come to prominence there as a pioneering social psychologist. In 1917, however, he was just twenty-six years old, a newly minted PhD whose studies had been interrupted by the First World War. Despite marked anti-militaristic and anti-nationalistic leanings, Lewin – along with both of his brothers and their brother-in-law – had enlisted as a private in the German army in 1914. By the time of his discharge at war’s end, he had risen to the rank of lieutenant and received the Iron Cross for bravery.²

Lewin wrote ‘Kriegslandschaft’ during a long hospital stay while he was convalescing from wounds received in action. Psychological work, fueled by what biographer Alfred J. Marrow has called Lewin’s ‘unquenchable curiosity’, seems to have offered a refuge from the horrors and tedium of war, both in hospital and at the front.³ Yet the observations set forth in the article stem directly from those experiences of combat. He describes with great clarity, for example, how soldiers in the field experience the landscape differently as they move in the direction of the front.⁴ As long as the front remains distant, Lewin observes, the landscape seems to extend ‘to infinity in all directions alike’. But this expansiveness – typical of peacetime landscapes – disappears as the soldiers continue their march. A new sense of restriction, of *boundedness*, sets in; ‘the area seems to come to an end somewhere in the direction of the Front’. And whereas previously they had experienced the landscape as *round*, it now appears to be *directed*, with ‘a front and behind that do not relate to those marching, but firmly pertain to the area itself’. This impression both increases and shifts when the boundary, the invisible but all-important line between ‘our’ territory and ‘theirs’, comes into view:⁵

¹ Lewin (1917); English translation in Lewin (2009). We thank Jenny Strauss Clay for directing our attention to this fascinating text during her response at the ‘Landscapes of War’ panel at the Celtic Conference in Classics in Montréal in 2017, at which this volume originated.

² On Lewin’s early life and military service, see Marrow (1969: 3–12); with Lewin (1992: 15–21).

³ Marrow (1969: 10–11); cf. Lewin (1992: 21).

⁴ Lewin (2009: 201–2).

⁵ Lewin (2009: 202).

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The area presents itself as a *zone* running roughly parallel to the boundary. While in the previous region the direction *towards* the boundary was experienced as the direction of the landscape, now the expansion along the boundary defines the direction of the landscape. A border zone emerges, whose character as such intensifies rapidly in the direction of the enemy.

The foregoing represents only a small portion of Lewin's observations about war landscapes.⁶ And it is important to note, as Lewin himself does, that the specifics of his account reflect his experience as a field artilleryman; other types of soldiers, or soldiers fighting in other combat settings, would experience the landscape in other ways. But one of the crucial points implied by Lewin's work is precisely that war landscapes will *always* be experienced differently than peacetime ones. Or – seeing as phenomenology is only one of many approaches to the study of landscape – we might even say that war landscapes possess distinctive properties, which impact both how they are experienced and the ways they might be imagined or represented. Lewin's work also illustrates two fundamental aspects of landscape in general: that subjective human experience is an important part of what constitutes a landscape (as opposed to 'land' or 'terrain'), and that landscape is essentially a dynamic and shifting phenomenon. By adopting these premises, Lewin points forward to recent critical trends in landscape studies that have informed our own approach to landscapes of war in this book.

Neither the Latin nor the Greek language has a word equivalent to the German 'Landschaft' or the English 'landscape'.⁷ Unlike 'space' or 'environment', the word 'landscape' foregrounds human perspective and human experience. Following Cosgrove's influential definition, we take 'landscape' broadly to mean 'the external world mediated through subjective human experience'.⁸ Landscape encompasses the natural world, its cultural overlay and human experiences of it: 'not merely the world we see, . . . [but] a construction . . . of that world'.⁹

Essential to our understanding of landscape is its dynamic nature. Landscapes are far more than simply a static setting or backdrop for human activity. A landscape is constantly in flux, and 'never inert, [as] people interact with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it'.¹⁰ One of the ways in which landscapes are contested and re-worked is through military conflicts and their memories. Landscapes are often the object of military conflict, as their ownership is contested and reestablished. As the result of war, landscapes can be physically altered, damaged, or re-zoned. But they are more than only the passive objects of war: landscapes act on those within them. The nature of the terrain impacts the course of fighting and the strategic decisions of combatants, and the surroundings influence combatants' experience of war, their actions, and their memories.

⁶ See below for an application of some of Lewin's concepts to a passage from the *Iliad*.

⁷ On the etymology of the word 'landscape' and its uses in different languages and contexts, see Antrop (2018).

⁸ Cosgrove (1984: 13).

⁹ Cosgrove (1984: 13).

¹⁰ Bender (1993: 3).

This book is dedicated to exploring this complex interrelationship between landscape and armed conflict in the ancient world of Greece and Rome. To do so, we offer neither military-historical nor topographical accounts of ancient wars. Instead, we focus on the representations of war landscapes in ancient literature. We believe that this allows access to insights no less essential than the exact locality of battles or the probable movement of troops: namely, how war and its spaces were perceived and experienced, what they meant and what they were made to mean in antiquity.¹¹ Individual chapters in this book deal with questions such as: How did the Greeks and Romans represent the effects of war on the natural world? What distinctions did they see between spaces of war and other landscapes? How did they encode different experiences of war in literary representations of landscape? And how did memory become tied to landscape in wartime or its aftermath? By answering these questions, we will gain a better understanding of ancient 'lived space' and ancient experiences of war.¹²

Within the term 'landscapes of war', we embrace not only battlefields proper, but all landscapes that have in some way been altered or impacted by armed conflict, physically or conceptually. By our definition, a landscape of war may be a particular site where fighting has occurred, but also a space which in some other way bears the traces of war, its commemoration or forgetting – or is perceived as doing so. Landscapes of war in this volume therefore include such well-known battlefields as Salamis and Pharsalus, but also the Rubicon (a famous landmark of the Roman civil wars, even if no fighting took place there) and even the Palatine Hill in Rome, where painful civil war memories were negotiated.¹³

Several chapters also discuss modern artistic responses to war landscapes, from British and Australian First World War literature to a series of post-Second World War monuments erected in former Yugoslav nations.¹⁴ Such material appears in the volume both because ancient literary war landscapes have undeniably influenced later ones – and thereby also more recent experiences and representations of war – and secondly because comparison with modern examples can often yield fruitful approaches to understanding ancient texts.

2 The case of Scamander

Before delineating the individual sections and chapters of the volume, we first turn to one of the earliest and most influential war landscapes in western literature: the Trojan

¹¹ Larsen (2004: 470): 'Literature investigates the possibilities, the modalities, and the conditions of a relationship, or, to put it briefly: literature *constitutes* a relation between war and landscape, not on the conditions of war or of the landscape, but on the conditions of literature as a means, an *organon* in the original Greek sense, of the cultural interpretation of human life. Literature offers a perspective on the relationship at the same time that it constructs a specific version of it.' (Emphasis in the original.)

¹² On lived space in ancient literature, see Heirman/Klooster (2013: esp. 5–6).

¹³ See the chapters of van Rookhuijzen (Salamis), Zientek (Pharsalus), Meijer (Rubicon) and Weiner (Palatine).

¹⁴ See the chapters of Brockliss and Mackie (First World War literature) and Weiner (post-Second World War monuments).

plain.¹⁵ Specifically, we offer here a reading of the Scamander episode in Book 21 of the *Iliad* to demonstrate key features of literary war landscapes, to introduce the main themes of this volume, and to show how literary texts can offer insights not accessible to strict military-historical or topographical accounts of ancient wars.¹⁶

In Book 18 of the *Iliad*, after killing Patroclus and seizing from him the armour of Achilles, Hector persuades his fellow Trojans to make a second strike against the Greek ships on the following morning. The folly of this plan becomes clear when Achilles, clad in the new armour made for him by Hephaestus, rejoins the fighting in a fury over the killing of his companion. Book 20 ends with a vivid description of a blood-spattered Achilles on the rampage, trampling men and armour beneath his chariot as he single-handedly repels the Trojan advance. It may come as a surprise, then, that the poet starts Book 21 by pulling back from his tight focus on Achilles and emplacing the action in the landscape to a degree rarely seen in the epic's battle sequences. This focus on landscape centres on the river Scamander, who is enraged at having his stream clogged with Trojan corpses and rises to do battle with Achilles. The Greek hero escapes with his life thanks to Hera and Hephaestus, who subdue Scamander by scouring the entire Trojan plain with fire.

A play of perspectives

The Scamander episode offers valuable insights into how combatants experience landscape during battle, and how literature can communicate those experiences to the audience. The first eleven lines are especially rich from this standpoint, and are worth quoting in full:¹⁷

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ πόρον ἴξον ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο
Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς,
ἔνθα διατμήξας τοὺς μὲν πεδίον δὲ δίωκε
πρὸς πόλιν, ἧ περ Ἀχαιοὶ ἀτυζόμενοι φοβέοντο
ἧματι τῷ προτέρῳ, ὅτε μαίνεται φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ. 5
τῆ ρ' οἷ γε προχέοντο πεφυζότες, ἡέρα δ' Ἥρη
πίτνα πρόσθε βαθεῖαν ἐρυκέμεν: ἡμίσεες δὲ
ἐς ποταμὸν εἰλεῦντο βαθύρροον ἀργυροδίην.
ἐν δ' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ, βράχε δ' αἰπὰ ρέεθρα,
ὄχθαι δ' ἀμφὶ περιμεγάλ' ἴαχον: οἳ δ' ἀλαλητῶ 10
ἔννεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλισσόμενοι περὶ δίνας.

¹⁵ On the interrelationship between war and landscape in the *Iliad* in general, see e.g. Minchin (in this volume), Bouvier (1986) and Brockliss (2018).

¹⁶ Our subsequent analysis of the Scamander episode makes little claim to originality: its aim here is rather to draw out, through a necessarily brief reading of this endlessly rich episode, some of the thematic threads which will tie together the chapters of this volume.

¹⁷ The text of the *Iliad* is taken from Munro and Allen (1920); translations from Green (2019), slightly adapted.

But when they came to the ford of the swift-flowing River,
 eddying Xanthus, whom immortal Zeus engendered,
 Achilles now split the rout. Some he pursued across the plain
 towards the city, where the Achaians were fleeing in panic
 the day before, when faced with illustrious Hector's fury – 5
 they'd broken, fled in disorder, and Hera had spread
 a dense mist in front to confuse them – but half the Trojans
 were herded into the River, deep-flowing and silver-edded.
 In they splashed with great outcry: the deep streambed resounded,
 both riverbanks echoed the tumult as they went swimming 10
 this way and that, still shouting, spun round by the eddies.

These lines help Homer's audience envision the action taking place on the battlefield and keep track of the participants' positions, in relation both to each other and to fixed topographical points such as the coastline, the river, and the city of Troy itself.¹⁸ The passage highlights how different participants in war experience the landscape differently. Lines 1–5 point to what Lewin terms the 'directedness' of war landscapes. Unlike a rounded, expansive peacetime landscape, the Trojan plain during the siege has a front and behind, with a boundary zone running perpendicularly along the river. The orientation to front and rear is different for the Greeks than for the Trojans, however. Achilles, who is the grammatical subject of the first main verb (δίωκε), here propels himself with the same powerful *forward* momentum he possessed at the close of Book 20. For him, moving from the ships to the river and beyond, means advancing toward his ultimate (military) objective: Troy. The Trojans' intuitive understanding of forward and behind is the opposite of his, since their objective is to pin the Greeks back against their ships and destroy both along with the camp. Lines 4–5 reinforce this point. This morning, the Trojans are being put to flight, driven back across the plain toward the only secure refuge that remains to them. But we are reminded that yesterday – when Hector, not Achilles, was raging (ὄτε μαινέτο φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ) – it was the Greeks who fled in terror over the same ground. The directionality of their flight, and their experience of it, was then the same as the Trojans' is now (away from danger, across the boundary, back to safety behind their own lines), although the absolute *direction* was the exact opposite.¹⁹ The river, meanwhile, is a common element in both groups' orientations to the landscape, functioning as the

¹⁸ A comprehensive spatial reading of the *Iliad* and its landscape and landmarks is Clay (2011) – see especially chapter 3 on the Trojan plain. Cf. also De Jong (2012a) for a narratological analysis of space in the Homeric epics.

¹⁹ Clay (2011: 45–8) emphasizes that 'left' and 'right' remain stable throughout the poem, the narrator's self-positioning providing 'a fixed point for viewing the action' from the perspective of the Greek camp. 'In sharing that perspective with the poet, we, the audience, become active spectators of the events in his narrative' (48). However, this fixity of narratorial perspective does not prevent the poet from indicating, as in the scene cited, that the directionality of the landscape is contingent and closely related to an individual's experience.

boundary that divides the contested space between the city and the camp.²⁰ By mentioning the ford (πόρος) in line 1, however, Homer stresses the permeability of the boundary and the lability of perspective in a dynamic combat landscape. The ford permitted the Trojans to sally forth and approach the Greek camp this morning; but it may now permit Achilles to cut a swath of destruction all the way to their gates.

This is a type of insight afforded by literary representations of combat: a text can offer its audience the opportunity to share in the perceptions of multiple individuals, to understand the same terrain as, in effect, multiple landscapes corresponding to multiple subjective experiences. In lines 6–11 of this passage, Homer ceases to emphasize the freedom and velocity with which Achilles blazes across the plain, scattering the panicked Trojan warriors before him, and conveys instead the Trojans' experience of being driven, confined, and confused. First, we hear that Hera restrains (ἐρυκέμεν) the men who are fleeing toward the city by spreading a thick cloud in their path. Then we learn that the rest of the Trojans are being crammed into the river (ἐς ποταμὸν εἰλεῦντο), where they make no headway trying to swim 'this way and that' (ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα) against a current literally spinning them in circles (ἐλισσόμενοι περὶ δίνας). The same river that has at other times helped organize the terrain, separate the armies, and orient us as the audience of the poem – the river that has perhaps played a part in limiting the extent of space the Greeks might safely occupy – now completely *disorients* these men, and us along with them.

Literary texts can also make their audiences experience a landscape of war to some extent, by evoking the kinds of sensory impressions normally unavailable to anyone not present in the spatial and temporal zone of combat.²¹ Throughout the Scamander episode, Homer employs a blend of description and metaphor to bring to life not only the harrowing sights of the battlefield, but also the ambient noise and other sensations experienced by the combatants. We 'hear' the resounding roar of the river and screams of the drowning (9–10), the groaning of men slashed by Achilles' sword (20–1), and, later, the terrible clanging of his bronze armour when he flees from an enraged Scamander (254–5). Then, when Hephaestus scours the entire plain with fire at Hera's command, a pungent simile likening the river to a cauldron of bubbling pork fat engages the senses of both hearing and smell (361–4):²²

ὡς δὲ λέβης ζεῖ ἔνδον ἐπειγόμενος πυρὶ πολλῷ
 κνίστην μελδόμενος ἀπαλοτρεφέος σιάλοιο
 πάντοθεν ἀμβολάδην, ὑπὸ δὲ ξύλα κάγκανα κείται,
 ὡς τοῦ καλὰ ῥέεθρα πυρὶ φλέγετο, χέε δ' ὕδωρ.

365

²⁰ Clay (2011: 108) argues that the Scamander episode 'dramatically mark[s] the crucial point in Achilles' advance' when Achilles for the first time starts slaughtering Trojans on the 'Trojan' side of the river.

²¹ On the spatial and temporal dimensions of the 'war zone', see McLaughlin (2011: chapter 3). On sense impressions and the war landscape of the *Iliad*, see Minchin (in this volume).

²² Richardson (1993: *ad loc.*) also draws attention to the onomatopoeic effects of lines 363–4, suggesting first the 'sizzling of fat in the cauldron' and then the 'dry crackling' of wood.

As a cauldron will boil over when forced by a hot fire,
 that's rendering down the lard of a fattened porker,
 bubbling up all round, dry firewood stacked beneath it –
 so the River's sweet streams blazed, and their water bubbled.

365

Although this simile is directly applied to the river, it suggests as well the twin odours of charred flesh and wood-smoke, which would have been present on the battlefield thanks to Hephaestus's having just set fire to both the bodies of Achilles' victims (343–4) and the many trees and plants growing along the banks of the Xanthus (350–2).

War and the natural world

In addition to illustrating the capacity of literary texts to convey experiential dimensions of war landscapes, the Scamander episode dramatizes the relationship between war and the natural world. The potentially devastating impact of war on the natural environment emerges strongly here as first Achilles, and then Hephaestus do violence to the non-human elements in the landscape. The fact that Scamander is a deity, empowered to speak and act in some ways like a person (212–13), means that we get to hear a river describe its own experience of being dammed up and polluted.²³ In an initial plea to Achilles to cease throwing bodies into the water, Scamander explains the discomfort he is feeling (218–20):

πλήθει γὰρ δὴ μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα,
 οὐδε τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἄλα δῖαν
 στεινόμος νεκύεσσι, σὺ δὲ κτείνεις ἀϊδήλως.

220

'My lovely streams are currently all awash with corpses;
 I can't get to discharge my waters into the bright sea,
 I'm so choked with the dead, while you ruthlessly keep on killing!'

220

Scamander later experiences pain of a different kind when, after first cremating the bodies of the men slain by Achilles, Hephaestus 'turn[s] his blazing flames' against Scamander (349). The river is set alight (356; καίετο); his water seethes (361; ἔφλυε) and boils (365; ζέε); and he halts once again, lacking the will to flow on (365; οὐδ' ἔθελε προρέειν, ἀλλ' ἴσχετο).

The onslaught of intense heat causes other sorts of damage as well. While Hera's principal aim in deploying her flame-throwing son is to punish Scamander, who has angered her with his assault on Achilles, she also explicitly commands Hephaestus to burn the trees along the river's banks (337–8; σὺ δὲ Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας | δένδρεα καί',

²³ Holmes (2015: 38).

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ἐν δ' αὐτὸν ἴει πυρί).²⁴ Hephaestus complies, and the effect on the landscape is described in a catalogue of environmental destruction remarkable in its detail (350–5):

καίοντο πετέλεαι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἢδὲ μυρῖκαι, 350
καίετο δὲ λωτός τε ἰδὲ θρύον ἢδὲ κύπειρον,
τὰ περὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα ἄλις ποταμοῖο πεφύκει:
τείροντ' ἐγγέλους τε καὶ ἰχθύες οἱ κατὰ δίνας,
οἱ κατὰ καλὰ ῥέεθρα κυβίστων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
πνοιῇ τειρόμενοι πολυμήτιος Ἥφαιστοιο. 355

The elms caught fire, and the willows and tamarisks, 350
the celandine burned, the rushes, the galingale – everything
that grew in abundance along the sweet course of the River,
and the eels and fish in the eddies were sorely distressed,
somersaulting this way and that along the sweet streams, 355
tormented by the fire blast that wily Hephaestus discharged.

These lines challenge our assumptions about Scamander's nature by showing his punishment shared out among the many species of plant and animal life that depend on him for their existence. It is as if 'Scamander' in a sense embodies an entire riparian ecosystem, the vulnerability of which undercuts our previous understanding of him as an immortal god.²⁵ The river will survive the conflagration, but without the trees that shade his banks, the rushes that grow where his waters are shallowest, the fish and eels that swim in his depths – we might wonder if he will truly be the same river as before.²⁶

Earlier in the episode, the poet makes a similar point in a different way. When describing Achilles' panicked flight from the river in the moments before Hera's intervention, he compares the murderous Scamander to an irrigation ditch that gets away from a farmer seeking to shape it with a mattock (21.257–66):

²⁴ It is important to remember that the struggle between Scamander and Hera/Hephaestus is part of the Theomachy ('Battle of the gods'), which commenced at the beginning of Book 20 and only concludes late in Book 21 (513). Compared to the other main pairings of Olympian oppositions (Poseidon vs. Apollo; Ares vs. Athena; Hera vs. Artemis; and Leto vs. Hermes), which never really amount to much, the brutal domination of Scamander by Hephaestus illustrates the defeat of the pro-Trojan gods in a particularly graphic way. From a narrative standpoint, it also removes one last barrier to the destruction of Troy, since Scamander vows under duress never to try to protect the city again (Holmes 2015: 44).

²⁵ Against such devastation, some of the other environmental impacts mentioned in the Scamander episode – a spear that pierces the earthen riverbank up to 'half its length' (169–72; μεσσοσταγῆς), for example, or a soldier's guts spilling out onto the sand at the river's edge (180–1) – may seem minor; yet it is difficult, amidst such a strong use of personification, not to feel the impact of that hard-thrown spear as a kind of wound. The burning of Scamander here also prefigures the city's actual burning and destruction, which lies in the future, though not within the scope of the poem (Holmes 2015: 47).

²⁶ Scamander appears almost eerily quiet at 24.349–51, when Hermes and Priam stop to water their mules and horses on their way to Achilles' encampment. Cf. Holmes (2015: 51) on Scamander's 'narrative dormancy' after Book 21, and Mackie (1999: 488–91) on Scamander's Stygian overtones in Book 24.

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ὀχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου
 ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ῥόον ἡγεμονεύη
 χερσὶ μάκελλαν ἔχων, ἀμάρης ἐξ ἔχματα βάλλων
 τοῦ μὲν τε προρέοντος ὑπὸ ψηφίδες ἅπασαι
 ὀχλεῦνται τὸ δέ τ' ὤκα κατειβόμενον κελαρύζει
 χάρῳ ἔνι προαλεῖ, φθάνει δέ τε καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα
 ὥς αἰεὶ Ἀχιλλῆα κινήσατο κύμα ῥόοιο . . .

260

As a man who digs a channel from a dark-water spring
 to the plants in his garden will guide the water's flow,
 mattock in hand to clear obstructions from the channel,
 and, as the rill flows on, all the pebbles that litter its bed
 are swept along with it while it chuckles quickly down
 a slope in the channel, even getting ahead of its guide –
 just so did the River's bore keep overtaking Achilles . . .

260

The inadequacy of this comparison to the situation at hand ironically highlights the very great distance that lies between the landscapes of war and peace, and raises the question of when or even whether the inhabitants of the Troad will be able to return to the agricultural and pastoral tasks that animate the peacetime landscape.²⁷ Nor is this the first time a simile has been used to raise such a question. In Book 2, in a passage immediately preceding the Catalogue of Ships, we hear that as the Greek tribes poured forth from their ships and shelters onto Scamander's plain (465–8),

αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθῶν
 σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.
 ἔσταν δ' ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι
 μυριοί, ὅσά τε πύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρη.

465

Beneath the tread
 of men and horses the earth re-echoed, a fearsome sound,
 and they halted and stood, in Scamander's flowery meadow,
 thousands strong, like leaves and blossoms in their season.

465

This apparently charming simile comparing the Greeks to leaves and flowers has a darker side. Whereas the meadow between the Xanthus and the sea is customarily filled with leaves and flowers 'in their season', it is now filled instead with armed invaders,

²⁷ Edwards (1987: 24–41) offers an excellent overview of the function of similes in Homer. De Jong (2012b: 22) notes that the majority of Iliadic similes show men engaged in a struggle against hostile nature (e.g. storms, flooding rivers, wild animals); peaceful subjects like irrigating a garden are the exception, which heightens the contrast between this simile's subject and the grim battlefield situation in this particular instance. See also Minchin, pp. 33–4 below, on the description at 22.153–6 of the two springs and adjacent stone washing tanks 'where the wives and lovely daughters | of the Trojans would formerly wash their glistening garments | in the days of peace, before the Achaeans' sons arrived'.

for whom one assumes there *is* no proper season – and whose continued active presence there may well prove detrimental to the native flora.²⁸ The dominant feature of the plain after nine years of fighting is, after all, dust.²⁹

Fighting for control

Implicit in much of the foregoing discussion have been issues relating to the control of landscape. Combatants in a war tend to evaluate and make use of whatever features of their environment help them stay alive and achieve their objectives. In this episode, for example, we can see how the ford in the river has become a ‘combat formation,’ something that was once part of the normal peacetime landscape and is now defined chiefly by its use to the soldier.³⁰ In that, it resembles the tamarisk bushes Achilles uses as a spear-rest when preparing to leap into the river carrying only his sword (21.17–18; δόρυ μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ’ ὄχθη | κεκλιμένον μυρικήσιν). But of course, this landscape demonstrates in no uncertain terms that it will not willingly submit to being used or controlled by anyone, least of all Achilles. ‘Scamander’s agency is a force that, unchecked, threatens to derail the plot.’³¹

Confronted with Achilles in his fury, Scamander reveals himself to be a formidable opponent, and one loyal to the Trojans. He exhibits this partiality in various ways throughout the episode, as when, angered by Achilles’ scornful flinging of Lycaon’s corpse into the water, he ‘ponder[s] in his mind how to make noble Achilles | stop his war work, how to fend off calamity from the Trojans’ (136–8; ποταμὸς δὲ χολώσατο κηρόθι μάλλον, | ὄρμηεν δ’ ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὅπως παύσειε πόνοιο | δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα, Τρώεσσι δὲ λοιγὸν ἀλάλκοι); or when he instils courage in the Trojan Asteropaeus, himself the grandson of the river Axios (145–7; μένος δε οἱ ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκε | Ξάνθος, ἐπεὶ κεχόλωτο δαίκταμένων αἰζηῶν, | τοὺς Ἀχιλεὺς ἐδάϊζε κατὰ ῥόον οὐδ’ ἐλέαιρεν); or when, at last, he calls upon his brother-river Simois to help protect ‘King Priam’s great city’ (309; ἄστρ μὲγα Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος) from destruction at Achilles’ hand. Then, when at last he is roused to face Achilles in physical combat, Scamander displays all the might one would expect from a son of Zeus. Not only does he forcibly eject from his waters all the corpses Achilles has deposited there, heaving them up onto dry land *en masse* while simultaneously sheltering living Trojans underwater ‘in his eddies, which were both large and deep’ (238–9; ζωὸς δὲ σάω κατὰ καλὰ ῥέεθρα, | κρύπτων ἐν δίνησι βαθειήσιν μεγάλησι), he also puts Achilles to flight and causes the seemingly invincible hero to fear for his life.

There is an oddly personal dimension to the way Achilles struggles for dominance over the river. Even before Scamander rises against him, Achilles shows a marked

²⁸ On the ‘impossible season’ of the *Iliad*, see Bouvier (1986: 238–41). Cf. also Holmes (2015: 29–30 with n. 4), on the natural forces’ evacuation of the Trojan plain, leaving behind a ‘weatherless space’; and Minchin below, p. 31 with n. 26.

²⁹ See Minchin below, p. 31; Bouvier (1986: 241–6).

³⁰ Lewin (2009: 205): ‘That which lies within the combat zone belongs to the soldier as his rightful property, not because it has been captured . . . but because, as a combat formation, it is a military thing, which is naturally there for the soldier’s benefit.’

³¹ Holmes (2015: 48).

contempt for rivers. While taunting and despoiling the mortally wounded Asteropaeus, Achilles repeatedly denigrates the other man's descent from a river, especially when compared to his own Olympian lineage (21.190–3):

τὼ κρείσσω μὲν Ζεὺς ποταμῶν ἀλιμυρήντων, 190
 κρείσσω αὐτε Διὸς γενεῇ ποταμοῖο τέτθεται.
 καὶ γὰρ σοὶ ποταμός γε πάρα μέγας, εἰ δύναται τι
 χραισμεῖν: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι Διὶ Κρονίωνι μάχεσθαι.

'So, as Zeus is mightier than all seaward-flowing rivers, 190
 Zeus's line likewise outranks a River's ancestry!
 You may have a great River beside you – always supposing
 it can protect you: but still there's no fighting Cronus's son
 Zeus!'

This scornful attitude soon resurfaces when Achilles fears he will die in the sudden, violent flooding. Scamander harries him on, one moment beating down on him from above, the next moment tiring out his legs with strong current, and all the while pulling the ground from beneath his feet (21.268–71). At last Achilles cries out to Zeus, complaining of the disgraceful death he now faces. According to him, it seems, it is honourable neither to be born from a river, nor to be killed by one (279–83):

ὡς μ' ὄφελ' Ἑκτωρ κτεῖναι ὃς ἐνθάδε γ' ἔτραφ' ἄριστος: 280
 τὼ κ' ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἔπεφν', ἀγαθὸν δέ κεν ἐξενάριξε:
 νῦν δέ με λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι
 ἐρχθέντ' ἐν μεγάλῳ ποταμῷ ὡς παῖδα συφορβόν,
 ὃν ῥά τ' ἔναυλος ἀπέερση χειμῶνι περῶντα.

'If only Hector had killed me, the best-bred warrior here, 280
 then noble had been the slayer, noble the man he slew –
 whereas now it's my wretched fate to perish miserably,
 trapped in a great river, like some swineherd's boy
 who's swept away by the torrent he tries to cross in winter.'

In this moment, we watch Achilles come to grips with the fact that the landscape has established mastery over him, and not the reverse.³² His outrage at losing control of his destiny may be familiar to soldiers who have worried about dying in some similarly 'inglorious' or 'unheroic' way.³³ Achilles' words, and especially the simile he uses to

³² Holmes (2015) explores Scamander's 'objectifying powers': see esp. 31–2.

³³ Such concerns are often articulated in diaries and literary accounts of the Western Front during the First World War, where soldiers spent much of their time underground and where the inescapable mud, already saturated with the dead, claimed not a few soldiers' lives through drowning. As Saunders (2004: 9) writes: 'By smothering soldiers with debris, or sucking them down into glutinous mud, it seemed as if the earth itself was alive.' See also Gilbert (2013) on this and other antipastoral themes in First World War poetry.

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describe himself dying in the torrent ('like some swineherd's boy'), suggest that such a death would erode his reputation as a brave man and perhaps even his identity as a warrior. It would also entail a loss, not just of bodily autonomy – death always takes that from us – but of his body, and with it the chance of receiving proper funeral rites.

Landscape and memory

We now come to the last key aspect of war landscapes illuminated by the Scamander episode, namely their association with memory. The struggle between Achilles and Scamander demonstrates especially clearly how the landscape of war may be implicated in an individual soldier's concern for his memory. In the culture of the *Iliad*, it was crucial that a fallen warrior's body be found and returned to his comrades or family for funerary rites and that a tomb or σῆμα be built to provide a focus for cult and remembrance later. This tomb would anchor his body, his name, and the orally transmitted record of his deeds in the (cultural) landscape, not unlike the Tomb of Ilus, the eponymous hero of Ilium (Troy), mentioned repeatedly in the poem.³⁴ To have one's tomb built in the landscape of war itself might not be a bad thing, as the known associations of the site would add luster to the burial even as the presence of a hero's monument would influence the way later visitors would navigate and interpret the site.³⁵

In battle, however, the landscape itself may pose a threat to any who desire such an outcome. If a soldier's body cannot be recovered from the landscape of war, there will be no focus for mourning by his community, no natural locus for commemoration. That is the danger the river presents in this episode to those who die in or beside his waters. Achilles voices this threat initially when he taunts Lycaon, whom he has just run through with his sword and thrown into the river (122–7):

ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κείσο μετ' ἰχθύσιν, οἳ σ' ὤτειλῆν
αἶμ' ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες; οὐδέ σε μήτηρ
ἐνθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος
οἴσει δινήεις εἴσω ἄλος εὐρέα κόλπον: 125
θρῶσκων τις κατὰ κύμα μέλαιναν φρήξ' ὑπαῖξει
ἰχθύς, ὅς κε φάγησι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν.

'Lie there now with the fishes, that'll lick the blood
from your wound, quite indifferent to you; nor will your mother
lay you out on a bier and wail over you: rather will Scamander
roll you away in its eddies to the wide gulf of the sea, 125
and fish darting through the waves will surface amid
their black ripples to nibble Lycaon's white lustrous fat!'

³⁴ 10.415; 11.166, 372; 20.232, 236; 24.349. The last of these references is particularly important because the tomb of Ilus is part of series of markers that identify the boundary of the city of Troy beyond which Priam must venture to ransom the body of his son Hector.

³⁵ On *tumuli* in the Trojan landscape and the accretion of social memory around them, see Minchin (2016).

The very fate here described soon befalls Asteropaeus, when Achilles abandons his body at the water's edge and fish and eels begin to tear at the flesh (203–4); it seems not even the river's partiality for the Trojans can prevent nature from taking its course in this way. And Scamander himself is clearly aware of the potent threat he poses, since he says in his appeal to Simois (316–23):

φημί γὰρ οὔτε βίην χραισιμησέμεν οὔτε τι εἶδος
 οὔτε τὰ τεύχεα καλά, τὰ που μάλα νειόθι λίμνης
 κείσεθ' ὑπ' ἰλύος κεκαλυμμένα: κὰδ δέ μιν αὐτὸν
 εἰλύσω ψαμάθοισιν ἄλις χέραδος περιχεύας
 μυρίον, οὐδέ οἱ ὅστε' ἐπιστήσονται Ἀχαιοὶ
 ἀλλέξαι: τόσσην οἱ ἄσιν καθύπερθε καλύψω.
 αὐτοῦ οἱ καὶ σῆμα τετεύξεται, οὐδε τι μιν χρεῶ
 ἔσται τυμβοχόης, ὅτε μιν θάπτωσιν Ἀχαιοί.

'For I tell you, neither [Achilles'] violence nor his good looks will save him,
 nor his fine armour, which in some flooded pool of mine
 will lie, all coated with mud; while the man himself
 I'll wrap in sand, pour over him an abundance of shingle.
 That way the Achaeans will have no idea where to gather
 his bones, under such a mass of silt I shall entomb him!
 Here will his grave be prepared, and he'll have no need
 of a burial mound, when Achaeans perform his funeral rites.'

Scamander thus proposes to bury Achilles under his own version of a tumulus, one that would not memorialize the hero but rather condemn him to the same kind of erasure, of both body and memory, that Achilles has already tried to inflict on his many Trojan victims.

Memory and commemoration function in this part of the poem in more abstract ways as well. For example, we might read Achilles' entire killing spree, his strewing of the plain and stuffing of the river with dead Trojans, as an attempt to construct a gruesome kind of landscape memorial to Patroclus. Homer's audience knows that Patroclus would not have wanted such a tribute, and even Lycaon intimates as much when he mentions Patroclus's gentleness (96; ἐταῖρον . . . ἐνηέα) to try and elicit pity from Achilles. But as we have seen, Achilles' attempt to construct any such 'memorial' is doomed to fail, since Scamander and Hephaestus together deprive him of its 'monuments' or *topoi* by first removing the bodies of his victims from the river and then incinerating them. In a similar way, we know from Book 12 that the Trojan rivers will eventually join forces to tear down the Achaean wall, an act that has been interpreted as an attempt to ensure that the Trojan landscape will not be dominated by memories of the Greek invaders.³⁶ And even hundreds of years later, we can see the Roman poet Lucan

³⁶ Holmes (2015: 35).

renegotiate the dynamics of remembrance and forgetting in this same landscape of war, when Caesar tours the Trojan plain in Book 9 of the *Bellum Civile*. This Scamander is indeed a very different river from the one who rose to stand against Achilles; Caesar steps right over him without recognizing or even seeming to notice the trickle of a stream beneath his feet.³⁷

3 This volume

1. Perception and experience of war landscapes

People experience landscape differently in wartime. Combatants, for example, will tend to interpret landscape features from a tactical standpoint, valuing them according to the extent to which they offer help or hindrance, hazard or refuge.³⁸ Equally, people experience different things in wartime landscapes than they do in peacetime ones, inasmuch as combat involves a complex multisensory experience unavailable to anyone outside the war zone.³⁹ Moreover, landscapes of war often provoke intense emotions less often encountered in peacetime landscapes, such as rage, fear and dread.⁴⁰

Authors of literary texts are able to communicate some of these perceptions and experiences of war landscapes to their audiences, whether that means reminding combat veterans of their experiences, or giving people who have never been in combat the merest hint of what it might be like. The chapters in this section deal with just such issues of perception and experience in literary war landscapes, focusing in particular on questions such as: What impressions and experiences from war landscapes do Greek and Roman authors communicate to their audiences? What techniques do they use to do so? And what purposes, literary or metaliterary, do such representations serve?

In the first article in the section, Minchin uses theories from the work of cognitive psychologists H. A. Taylor and B. Tversky to explore techniques used by Homer to bring his audience into the landscape of the Trojan War. She explains how he provides, on the one hand, sparse but economical/strategic 'locative information' (selected topographical landmarks) for the audience to use in creating a 3D 'spatial mental model', and on the other, 'nonlocative information' pertaining to the realm of experience (e.g. visual and auditory impressions, similes, descriptions of contrasting landscapes) from multiple points of view, with which the audience builds a 'cognitive collage'. In this way, Homer is able to create an immersive experience, analogous to

³⁷ Lucan, *BC* 9.974–5. See Weiner (in this volume) with further references. Cf. also Labate (1991: 182–3) on Lucan's debt to the scene in the *Aeneid* where Aeneas visits the 'little Troy' (3.349; *parvam Troiam*) – complete with 'a dried-up stream going by the name of Xanthus' (350; *arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum*) – mapped onto the Chaonian landscape by Helenus and Andromache.

³⁸ Appleton (1996) with McLoughlin (2011: 91–5). See also Lewin (1917).

³⁹ McLoughlin (2011: chapter 3).

⁴⁰ On fear, see Tuan (1979); on dread, Felton and Gilhuly (2018).

that available in the First World War galleries of the Australian War Memorial, but using only words.

In the second chapter, Fabrizi takes up another important dimension of war landscapes, namely atmospheric phenomena. While far less durable than topography and other landscape features, weather conditions nonetheless exert a powerful influence on how combatants perceive and experience the landscapes they fight in. Fabrizi focuses in particular on representations of atmospheric phenomena in Livy's battle narratives. She takes an essentially narratological approach, in that she is interested not only in how these phenomena condition soldiers' experiences of landscape in the *AUC*, but also in how including these details helps Livy achieve his narrative goals. She shows that Livy's depictions of the dynamic relationship between topography and weather reveal the war landscape to be a living environment that not only can help or hinder human action 'on the ground', but which an author can use to reflect characters' morals or psychological states and to involve the reader more deeply through focalization or by creating suspense.

The last chapter in the section, by Feldherr, continues the focus on weather conditions and narrative technique in Livy's history. Feldherr focuses primarily on one battle narrative (Lake Trasimene) and compares it closely with Polybius's account of the same battle. In a similar vein to Fabrizi, Feldherr reads the mist in Livy's account of Lake Trasimene – or, rather, Livy's representation of the Roman soldiers' *experience of the landscape in the mist* – as symbolizing something about the Roman army as a whole, namely the lack of strategic cognition and strong leadership that led to the men's lack of preparedness and, ultimately, many deaths by drowning. But Feldherr's main interest lies in the way Livy and Polybius use their representations of the same event to make different metaliterary points about historiography and the extent to which it can – or even should – attempt to make the reader see events like they were there themselves. Lake Trasimene makes a powerful case study for Feldherr's study of *enargeia* and the challenges it posed to ancient readers, precisely because of the way the internal audience experienced the landscape of battle: making readers see Trasimene like they were participants, would mean blinding them (and, in Livy's case, making them experience complete sensory disorientation).

These three chapters thus furnish fruitful examples – both Roman and Greek, in both poetry and prose – of literary war landscapes that give readers some sense of what it might have been like to be there in the landscape themselves. Furthermore, Minchin, Fabrizi and Feldherr are united in their interest in the *how* and especially the *why* of this: *How* did writers like Homer and Livy communicate soldiers' perceptions and experiences to their audiences; *why* did they do it; and *why* did they do it in the way that they did? It turns out that literary war landscapes were sometimes shaped by the nature of literature as much as by that of war.

II. Landscapes of ruin and recovery

The relationship of war to the natural world is both vexed and complex. This is the territory staked out by the chapters in this section, all of which approach ancient literary

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landscapes of war from an ecocritical perspective.⁴¹ In general, war tends to exert a negative and destructive influence on the environment. This was true even in antiquity, when military operations caused environmental problems such as wildfires, deforestation, the diversion and pollution of water courses, and the destruction of crops.⁴² These and other environmental impacts could last beyond the duration of the conflict, delaying or preventing the inhabitants' return to farming and other peacetime activities. Ancient writers crafted powerful responses to such concrete environmental consequences: for example, Zientek in this volume studies Lucan's treatment of agricultural fertility as it is compromised by armed conflict.

All three authors in this section also deal to some extent with representations of war's impact on landscape that veer from the realistic into the symbolic. Idealized conceptions of landscape often come into play during war, not because warfare makes landscapes idyllic, but because, on the contrary, it brings the threat of land being seized, ruined, or rendered hateful by association with painful memories. Just so, Brockliss finds in modern war poetry a useful model for understanding an ancient text that presents an exaggeratedly idealized version of what was in fact a landscape of tension and violence. Makins, like Zientek, deals with poems depicting the lingering effects of war on the natural world; but here, as in the text treated by Brockliss, the impact of the depiction derives from its fantastical nature.

The chapters in this section thus demonstrate the range of effects authors can achieve by engaging, either implicitly or explicitly, with images of idealized landscapes in the context of war and its aftermath. Such images can inspire and console; they can elicit painful longing and nostalgia; and, especially when the failure of environmental recovery is emphasized, they can express concerns about the lingering impact of conflict on the broader social landscape as well.

Laura Zientek's chapter, the first in the section, explores the theme of agricultural recovery in Lucan's war landscapes. After discussing key literary and historical precursors, ranging from Aeschylus to Plutarch, Zientek shows how Lucan both alludes to and departs from his predecessors: he disrupts the war-recovery cycle enshrined in earlier literature by highlighting the desolation and toxicity of post-war landscapes, as well as the self-perpetuating nature of war.

William Brockliss adopts an innovative approach in his chapter, arguing that comparison with First World War poetry can yield valuable insights into Sophocles' treatment of landscape in *Oedipus at Colonus*. By reading the landscapes of the *Oedipus at Colonus* alongside poems by Wilfred Owen, Ivor Gurney and others, Brockliss reveals the idealized nature of Sophocles' descriptions of the Attic countryside and explores how a contemporary audience might have reacted to them in the aftermath of the Deceleian War.

⁴¹ Simply put, ecocriticism is the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment' (Glotfelty 1996: xix). Recent work applying ecocritical approaches to Greek and Roman literature can be found in Felton (2018) and Schliephake (2017).

⁴² Hughes (2013).

In the third and final chapter, Marian Makins examines post-war landscapes in the *Elegies* of Propertius through an ecocritical lens. Focusing on landscape descriptions associated with the Perusine War, the Roman conquest of Veii and the battle of Actium, Makins looks at how personification allows these literary landscapes to express positions that challenge both the dominant narrative of Augustan peace and the poet's own authoritative voice.

III. Controlling landscapes and the symbolism of power

Landscapes are fought over in a bid to gain control over a territory and its inhabitants. Such control may be established in a variety of ways, both physical and symbolic. In this section of the volume, we investigate how literary texts represent attempts to control landscapes, and the ways in which such control can fail. We also investigate how texts themselves can play a part in establishing and challenging such control over landscapes.

Control of landscape is at issue in combat on a tactical level: soldiers attempt to master the terrain in which they fight, while the make-up of the terrain influences armies' strategy and tactics. The chapters in this section explore the underlying reasons which authors suggest for failed efforts at control, such as inadequate geographic understanding or a lack of moral fibre in an army or commander in the face of natural challenges.

Establishing control over terrain is often made more challenging when aspects of the landscape appear to 'fight back'. Language used in combat often hints at this, as we hear of terrain 'aiding' or 'hindering' one side or the other, even at times appearing to switch allegiances or betray one group when their positions and objectives change. Such resistance can come in the form of seemingly intractable elements of the terrain, such as marshes, or even inclement weather conditions like rain or fog.⁴³ But authors of war literature frequently amplify this type of conflict between humans and landscape through personification and other types of metaphor. We have seen already how a river's defiance, usually regarded as figurative, becomes literal in the Scamander episode. The chapters in this section further investigate how and why landscapes themselves are depicted as resisting their would-be conquerors' efforts at controlling them.

Finally, control over landscape can be expressed and established symbolically. Literary texts reflect on such symbolically charged displays of control, which include the erection of trophies or the construction of bridges.⁴⁴ Texts can also themselves be part of efforts to communicate and thereby establish territorial control, for example when geographical or ethnographical exploration functions as a tool for the expression of control, or when literary authors manipulate or overwrite historical narratives connected with particular places.

In the first chapter in this section, Esther Meijer focuses on Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. She explores the general's superficially successful

⁴³ Biggs (2019), Östenberg (2018), Van Broeck (2018).

⁴⁴ See generally Hölscher (2006).

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attempt to control the landscape physically: the river swells in protest, but cannot prevent the illegal crossing. Through the performance of a mock-fetial ritual, Caesar attempts to transform the river from a legal boundary into a material obstacle. Even though he momentarily seems to achieve physical and legal control over this liminal landscape, Meijer argues that Lucan in fact turns Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon into an emblem of the geographic and political disorder and lawlessness that forms the theme of the entire *Bellum Civile*.

Bettina Reitz-Joose discusses Roman literary representations of Parthia as a 'landscape of defeat' during the principate. She argues that Roman authors construct inadequacy of geographic and ethnographic understanding as the basis of Roman military failures in Parthia, and considers how these writers envisage the lasting effect of Roman defeat on the landscape of Parthia. In writing Parthia as a 'landscape of defeat', Ovid, Propertius and other authors depict the failures of established Roman modes of understanding, conquering and controlling landscapes in Parthia.

Finally, Karine Laporte argues that in Herodian's *History of the Roman Empire*, the depiction and staging of war landscapes and their manipulation in the course of fighting are made to symbolize the individual characters of his protagonists. Focusing on the war between Pescennius Niger and Septimius Severus in 193–194 CE, she investigates how Herodian uses landscapes of war to build his story and reveal the key features of the main characters. Herodian's representation of the city of Byzantium, a pass at Mount Taurus and a plain near Issus are used to articulate the characteristics of the contenders and, more generally, the nature of imperial power.

IV. Memory in war landscapes

Landscapes play an important role in the processes of remembering and forgetting armed conflicts, and the papers in this section explore the way in which literary texts and their narratives participate in and reflect on these processes. 'Memory studies' have now been flourishing for decades, and the chapters in this section build on some of the central tenets of the field: that memories are not only individual but also created and formed collectively and across generations; that such communal memories are constitutive for identity formations of groups and societies; and – most importantly in the context of this volume – that such memories often crystallize around certain 'sites'.⁴⁵

An understanding of the working of memory is crucial to an investigation of landscapes in the richest sense. Schama, in his seminal study on 'Landscape and Memory',

⁴⁵ For an introduction to the field see e.g. Erll and Nünning (2010); for a recent overview of memory studies and the Classics see e.g. the introduction to Galinsky (2016). The strong relationship between place and memory has been inherent in the field of inquiry from its inception: cf. Maurice Halbwachs's trailblazing study on collective memory and the sites of the Holy Land (Halbwachs (1941)). Pierre Nora's influential 'lieux de mémoire' conceive of 'sites' in a metaphorical rather than topographical sense, but the concept has often been developed as a means of considering the relationship between place and memory specifically: for example, Winter (2010: 61), writing about the 'shadow of war', defines 'sites of memory' as 'physical sites where commemorative acts take place'.

famously writes that ‘... landscape is a work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock.’⁴⁶ In their investigation of war landscapes and their memory, van Rookhuijzen and Weiner both deploy Assmann’s concept of the ‘mnemotope’, a term which Assmann originally introduced to describe an entire landscape serving as the medium of cultural memory.⁴⁷ While this concept and terminology might initially be thought to foreground the stability and situatedness of memory across time, all three authors of this section in fact stress, in line with more recent trends in memory studies, the essentially dynamic nature of memory formation in relation to places.⁴⁸ In their investigations they explore, for example, processes of layering (Mackie), reinvention and resituation (van Rookhuijzen), and overwriting and ‘mutation’ (Weiner) in war landscapes, foregrounding the agency of texts and narratives in these processes.⁴⁹

In his chapter, van Rookhuijzen interrogates the relationship between landscape and war memory in a case where the ‘landscape’ is, in fact, the sea. Focusing on the battle of Salamis, he elucidates the process of the creation of mnemotopes of the battle, which grew up around the peculiarities of the coastal terrain, community practices of commemoration, physical monumentalization, and storytelling and literary engagement with topographic features of the coastline.

Mackie’s chapter focuses on the landscape of the Dardanelles, which he reads as a landscape ‘defined by war more than any other single area of the ancient Mediterranean world.’⁵⁰ His chapter moves beyond the often stressed Homeric war topography in the region, emphasizing how the landscape of the Dardanelles was already in antiquity the site of many (mythical and actual) conflicts: from the precursors of the Trojan War to the Persian campaigns, the Peloponnesian War and Alexander’s Macedonian campaigns. The memories of these conflicts and their physical and literary memorials already overlay, reinforce and jostle one another in antiquity. Mackie also looks forward to the Gallipoli campaign, showing how striking continuities of conflict in the area inform our understanding of ancient war narratives; and, conversely, how ancient sites of

⁴⁶ Schama (1995: 7). An excellent overview of the relationship between memories and landscapes, with a focus on its dynamic nature, is Holtorf and Williams (2006)’s exploration of ‘accumulative landscapes’.

⁴⁷ Assmann (1992: 60): ‘Sogar und gerade ganze Landschaften können als Medium des kulturellen Gedächtnisses dienen ... die konkrete Verortung von Erinnerungen in einer erinnerungssträchtigen, bedeutungsgeladenen Landschaft’ (our emphasis).

⁴⁸ For example, ten years ago, Erll and Rigney (2009: 2) sensed in the field ‘a shift towards understanding cultural memory in more dynamic terms: as an ongoing process of remembrance and forgetting in which individuals and groups continue to reconfigure their relationship to the past and hence reposition themselves in relation to established and emergent memory sites’.

⁴⁹ Rigney (2010: 350–2) argues that we should think of texts as both ‘agents’ and ‘monuments’: texts can be agents, in that they relay, stabilize or destabilize memories, and they can also (and often at the same time) be the objects of recollection, which, by virtue of being recalled, are continually revised and recoded. Holtorf and Williams (2006) argue that ‘in landscapes where people experienced war, migration or death, all of which are largely invisible and easily “forgotten”, selected memories can distil in other media ... Memories can be present in landscapes of the imagination’ (239–40). Makins (2013) and Reitz-Joosse (2016) specifically investigate instances of ancient literature shaping the power of landscape to recall wars and their consequences.

⁵⁰ Mackie (in this volume: p. 229).

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war and their mnemonic power impinged on the experience of participants in the grim battles of the First World War.

Finally, Weiner's contribution concludes the volume with an investigation of particularly divisive *loci* of memory production: civil war landscapes. Through a reading of monuments in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, contrasted and compared to Yugoslav war monuments and their contemporary and later reception, Weiner argues that wars and their monuments create landscapes of memory that are dynamic and unstable. He shows how Lucan's depiction of a number of Roman monuments both problematizes and performs their 'mutability', comparing this process to the way that Tito's *Spomeniks*, designed to commemorate the Second World War in a unifying and healing way, soon engendered anger and neglect in a changed political situation of renewed civil war. While monuments remain mnemotopes, the memories they anchor and produce can change drastically.

The themes explored in these four sections are naturally not confined only to their respective chapters. For example, the theme of memory and its relation to landscape is explored most fully in the final section of the volume, but also discussed in the chapters of Makins, Meijer and Reitz-Joosse; the interrelation between landscape and the personality and character of those engaging with it is especially explored by Feldherr, Fabrizi and Laporte; and the agency of landscapes in war and conflict surfaces in all four sections and almost every chapter, explored from a variety of different angles. Indeed, we hope that upon reading this volume, it will become clear that the chapters are interconnected by a whole web of thematic threads. We and all authors have aimed to translate some of the spirited debates which engendered this book at the 2017 Celtic Conference in Classics onto the printed page, and we hope that our readers will feel inspired to join the conversation and continue it into the future.

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