When Classics Gets Creative: From Research to Practice

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There is currently an explosion in interest in creative reworkings of the ancient world.[1] From fiction, with Madeline Miller's Orange-prize-winning *Song of Achilles* (2012) and best-selling *Circe* (2018) to television drama with the BBC's *Troy: Fall of a City* (2018) and Netflix's *Roman Empire* (2016-2019), theater (Kristin Scott Thomas as Electra in Frank McGuiness' adaptation of Sophocles in 2014), independent film and Hollywood (with *Pompeii* and two *Hercules* blockbusters released in 2014), the stories of the ancient world "find themselves centre stage once again" (*The Guardian*, 2017).[2] Demand for books, media, films, television series and video games that restage and engage with the classical world is high. The latest video game in the Assassin's Creed series, *Odyssey*, released in 2018 and set in the Peloponnesian War, sold better in its first week in the US than any other title in the series. Over three million viewers tuned in to the first episode of the BBC's highly-anticipated *Troy* drama series.[3] Kamila Shamsie's *Home Fire*, a reworking of Sophocles' *Antigone*, won the Women's Prize for Fiction 2018 and was longlisted for the Man Booker Prize 2017, and Daniel Mendelsohn's *An Odyssey: A Father, A Son and an Epic* (2017) was named a best book of 2017 by NPR and the Library Journal and won Kirkus' Best Memoir of 2017. Meanwhile, there is also public interest in Classics itself — aided and abetted by social media (for better or, in some cases, worse).[4] A Twitter account called *Sententiae Antiquae* run by academics Joel Christensen and Elton Barker providing "original translations of lines from ancient Greece and Rome" has over twenty-four thousand followers.[5] Emily Wilson's translation of the *Odyssey* was named by *The*

New York Times as one of its 100 notable books of 2018. Mary Beard, outspoken classicist and media presenter, has become a "cult" icon across the UK and internationally.[6]

Clearly there are classicists, like Beard, Mendelsohn and Wilson, who are trailblazing the way to making Classics public, opening up access to ancient history and ancient texts, and introducing to a wider audience a critical discourse about how we think about the past. In many ways, using a trained critical eye to analyze the past (as Beard does), or philology to produce a novel translation (as Wilson) are both logical extensions of the scholarly endeavor—though this is by no means to say that either approach is easy, nor that they lack artistry. But how does creativity on a larger scale fit into our idea of Classics? Many of the interpretations listed above—Miller and Barker's fiction, Harris and Brozel's *Troy: Fall of a City*, McGuinness' *Electra*—are produced by what we might call "creatives"—writers and directors outside the academy (Mendelsohn is an obvious exception).[7] But is imagination and inventiveness the province of non-academics alone? And what are we, as classicists, doing to respond to the demand for creative classical interpretations?

These are questions I have often asked: because, as well as being a classicist in the conventional sense of the word (in that I have a PhD in the subject and am fortunate enough to hold a university post), I am also a "classical creative" (to coin a phrase) — an author of a trilogy of historical novels that rework Greek myth. I am not by any means alone in doing so, nor the first. Scholarship and the art of writing are not mutually exclusive: in fact, one could even say that they went hand-in-hand in the past. It is indicative, for example, that the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1902 was awarded to Theodor Mommsen as not only "a brilliant scholar with a tremendous grasp of detail and a powerful talent of organization" but also "a vivid and powerful writer."[9] In subsequent years other scholars have combined research and creative writing. Peter Green wrote several novels, among them *Achilles His Armour* (1955), as well as being a prolific ancient historian. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood published a detective story

featuring female characters and a female perspective based on her research under the name Christiana Elfwood (*Murder Most Classical*, 2007). Anne Carson, renowned poet, translator and classicist, crosses in her essays, poetry and translations between creative and academic spheres. More recently, Daniel Mendelsohn published his critically acclaimed memoir, *An Odyssey* (2017), weaving together an interpretative exploration of the *Odyssey* with an autobiographical account of Mendelsohn's interactions with his father. Such endeavors show how many have not just crossed the bridge from scholarship to creativity but rather made any apparent boundaries between them seem meaningless.

And yet, in spite of the important work being done by Carson, Mendelsohn and others to make Classics and creativity not only complementary but essential partners, there is a deeper issue in how these kinds of creative reworkings are seen as fitting in with the discipline of Classics. Part of the problem is in how we see and define our discipline, and what we think it takes to be a scholar of Classics. In large part this is the vexed issue of philology, and the extent to which Classics should be seen as primarily – or only – a "discipline of making sense of texts", following in the wake of Wilamowitz's pronouncements on the future of philology (1872) and the old historicist/humanist debate.[10] Following Wilamowitz and the centuries of assuming the primacy of "classical" (that is, Greek and Latin) literature and culture, philology has in fact come to be seen as synonymous with and unique to the study of Greek and Latin texts – what we now (problematically) call "Classics"[11] – in spite of its centrality to multiple other fields, from biblical studies to South Asian studies to the study of Near and Middle Eastern languages and literature, to name but a few.[12] In the early twentieth century, as philology came under pressure with the rise of literary and area studies, Classics' retraction into philology led to a continued expectation in graduate programs and on the job market that classical training required years of specialized grammatical analysis of ancient literature.[13] This, in turn, has had problematic repercussions in terms of access to the field—the socio-

economic background of the kinds of students who have had training in the languages and can afford to pursue them at a higher level, as well as the self-selection involved in who applies for graduate-level study in Classics[14]—and in the "outputs" which are seen as valid and sanctioned within the discipline. Worse still, the shrinking number of jobs in Classics in recent years and the problematic shift in hiring towards part-time teaching staff rather than permanent posts[15] means that this philological conservatism may perhaps be amplified among graduate students and adjunct or pre-tenure faculty, where there could be a worry about those higher in the hierarchy questioning commitment to the scholarly enterprise, endangering the prospect of good recommendations, success on the job market—or all three.

Paradoxically, then, while some established and prominent scholars like Carson, Beard and Mendelsohn are able to challenge the boundaries of the discipline, the retraction of philology into Classics and the training required to "make it" in an ever-shrinking academic economy may mean that the next generation of scholars might feel that creativity is the last skill they want to develop – and that it might even count against them. This was certainly how I (perhaps incorrectly) perceived it. I wrote my first two novels at the same time as completing my PhD, which looked at contemporary women writers' receptions of the women of the classical world. I spent my mornings analyzing Margaret Atwood's *Penelopiad* (2005), and my afternoons diving into the world of the Trojan War as I wrote *For the Most Beautiful*, reimagining the *Iliad* from a woman's point of view. But it never occurred to me to bring these two aspects of my work together. If anything, I was keen to make sure that my credentials as a classicist were not going to be brought into question because of my desire to write fiction for a general audience, and I was careful to present myself as "an academic", not sharing my fiction-writing with faculty mentors in my PhD program and attending conferences and talks in a purely academic persona, even those focusing on women's writing or classical reception. At a colloquium on "Reworking Ancient Greek and Roman Myths in the Twenty-First

Century" in 2016, for example, a few months after the publication of *For the Most Beautiful*, I presented a section of my PhD dissertation on Atwood. When an audience member asked why I hadn't talked about my own book, I responded in some surprise that this was an academic conference.[16] A few years later, during a talk at Boston University's Department of Classical Studies, now with my doctorate (though not yet permanently employed) and feeling a little bolder, I ventured further to include a few remarks on *For the Most Beautiful*. When a senior professor asked if I would perhaps return to give another talk, I asked: "As an author, or as an academic?" Looking puzzled, he replied, "Why not both?" I was genuinely stumped: I had not even conceived of the fact that I might be able to inhabit both identities without somehow impairing or infringing on one or the other of them. This became the beginning of a long reflection on if, and how, it might be possible to play a role as *both* an author and an academic classicist; which, after all, had been the drive to write classical historical fiction in the first place.

It is the perceived tension between Classics and creativity that I want to explore here—and to suggest that the two can in fact be mutually productive, complementary, even vital partners. I ask how, as classicists, we may be blinkering ourselves unnecessarily to the possibilities that are already being explored at the boundaries—and, vitally, *across* the boundaries—of academia and creative practice. What might classicists of all levels and backgrounds have to contribute to the conversation around creative responses to the ancient world? How can practice support and enrich research? What pedagogical tools might we use to incorporate artistic responses into our curricula, both at schools and in higher education? What assumptions lie behind our privileging of current research practices over creative engagement as "authentic" or "scientific" methods of responding to antiquity—and how do we, as scholars, best engage with such criticisms to ensure that creativity can be practiced with rigor? How can the value placed on engagement and impact in the UK's Research Excellence

Framework (REF) and the Excellence in Research for Australia assessment (ERA), for example, be extended or built upon to create models that encourage more creative collaboration and public engagement in sustainable and academically-validated ways? These questions are intended as something of a map of reflections on the relationship between research and practice which can be engaged with, extended, altered, challenged. It is all a part of the dynamic development of what it means to do Classics, and classical reception.

First, however, a brief note. There is enough pressure on all of us to do more and produce more. I don't want to suggest that this is yet another requirement, that everyone needs to add writing a novel to their growing to-do list. Often it is more about a change of mindset, an adjustment of norms in the way we think about what we do—and, as much as it is about actually producing creatively, it's also just as important to simply allow creativity to be there as a possible and valid approach.

<a>Good ideas and good writing: Bringing creativity to research<a>
How can we think about adding a creative element to the research we do? And how can we see creativity as broader than just "creating"?

There are several different ways I want to suggest that we can bring more creativity into our research, though of course, it depends in part on the area we're working in, and some will lend themselves more readily than others. Here, to begin with, is an example from the area I work on: recovering the women of the ancient world. The discipline of Classics is often in large part about grappling with the lack of sources—and in the case of women in antiquity, this is especially true. Women's experiences, voices and texts were already marginalized in the ancient world, and, when recorded, were often ventriloquized (and censored) through men.

One example of a way in which we can access ancient women in a new light is through fiction. The aim of my work as a writer is to give the women of the ancient world a voice by

recreating their lives and their perspectives, to validate their experiences and thus to broaden accessibility to the wider public. This has, quite organically, fed back into my research on the reception of Classics in women's writing, challenging me to think in new ways about why contemporary women writers are turning back to re-voice the women of the ancient world, from Margaret Atwood to Ursula Le Guin. The recovery of female voices is just one example of the many areas in which creative work has been used to explore new and important issues in the study of the ancient world, from queering the *Iliad* (Madeline Miller's *Song of Achilles*, 2012) to migration and colonialism, refracted through the *Odyssey* (Dinaw Mengestu's *How to Read the Air*, 2010).[19] At the same time, it is also possible (and important) to bring research to our creativity. Many readers have commented that they particularly enjoyed the author's note which I include at the end of my novels, explaining the historical and scholarly background to my choices as well as the wider context of the myths and texts studied, and that this has encouraged them to dive further into the ancient world. Different artists and different authors invariably engage with the ancient world in their own ways, and a historical note – particularly one written by an author with an academic background – can be an effective way of explaining some of the less-well-known myths, sources or historical events for readers interested in both learning more and understanding the artistic choices that have been made.

But—aside from the example of fiction and the ways it can co-exist beneficially with research—I want to suggest a broader definition of creativity *within* our own research. In this sense of the word, creativity does not imply simply the composition of a novel, work of art or poem, but something more along the lines of stepping beyond the boundaries of the conventions of the field. One of my favorite articles is Mary Ebbott's "Seeking Odysseus' sister" (2017), which intersperses reflections on the textual background for Odysseus' sister Ktimene with lengthy creative re-imaginings of her story—"I left home, left Ithaca, just like my brother did, even though I was younger and a woman. But I suppose my journey, to the

home of my new husband on the nearby island of Same, wasn't special enough to be told in song".[20] The article almost models how we can draw out women's stories through a combination of fiction and close philological engagement with ancient texts — for example, in a re-reading of *Od.* 16.117–20, where Ebbott points out that "Odysseus's son Telemachos describes himself as an only son of an only *son* of an only son… Telemachos happens to be an only child, but Odysseus need not be. He just doesn't have any *brothers*" (original emphasis). This leads into re-imaginings of "Ktimene's story" at various points in her life, each drawing from and feeding into comparative passages elsewhere in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

In a guest post on *Sententiae Antiquae*, Deborah Beck recently made a call for changing the definition of what we see as "good" scholarly writing. Instead of writing "the kind of 'insider baseball' footnotes that remind knowledgeable readers of scholarship they have already read, while leaving everyone else frustrated and confused," Beck suggests, we need instead to aim "to present a scholarly argument in a clear and straightforward way that can be understood by anyone familiar with the ancient evidence."[21] This is, in many ways, a creative project—writing with an eye to the craft of writing, privileging the clarity and accessibility of the prose as well as just the subject matter. (Not that this is a new phenomenon: as we saw earlier, Mommsen's ability as a writer was what earned him a Nobel Prize in Literature). It is a movement which is gaining more traction in Classics, particularly classical outreach, with the success of new online open-access journals like *Eidolon*. The journal's mission statement makes clear how good writing can combine with rigorous scholarship: "The discourse has been monotonous for too long, and that's not only unjust: it's boring. We care about personal voices, we want to bring out idiosyncratic tones, volumes, pitches, cadences, and speeds in the articles that we publish. We don't want to eclipse the good work that the academy's doing—we want to supplement it. We want to be just as intellectually rigorous, but we also want to take full advantage of the leeway to be freer and funnier than traditional scholarship. Above all, we want

to create a space where good ideas meet good *writing*" (original emphasis).[22] At the same time, in a different genre, popular non-fiction like Tom Holland's *Dynasty* (2015), Mary Beard's *SPQR* (2015), Eric Cline's *1177 B.C.* (2015) and Michael Scott's *Ancient Worlds* (2016) is showcasing how "history in which fact and fiction overlap" can be a "compulsively good read."[23] And it is academics like Beard, Cline and Scott who are working hard to make sure that this kind of work is united with scholarship and seen as not only legitimate but an important part of the scholarly endeavor.[24]

At the same time, creative research doesn't just have to mean imaginative responses to antiquity giving us new eyes on ancient problems, or writing with craft and accessibility — it can also mean working with practitioners who are currently bringing their talents to bear on the ancient world. Nancy Rabinowitz has worked with and published on Rhodessa Jones' *Medea Project: Theatre for Incarcerated Women/HIV Circle*, which brings Greek tragedy and classical mythology to women's prisons.[25] Henry Stead has collaborated with musician Jef Oswald of Codeshift and artist Elisa Muliere to produce cross-media audiovisual translations of Catullus.[26] These are just a few examples of the many collaborations that are already starting to break down the barriers between universities, practitioners and the wider public, acknowledging that we are all engaging with the ancient world in different, complementary and interesting ways.

A dismantling of the academic/creative divide is important in and of itself—and it also, as I have shown above, feeds back positively into research (and teaching). Another example that brings to the fore academic-practitioner collaborations is a network which my colleague Helena Taylor and I are establishing to bring together contemporary women writers whose work engages with Classics, and academics working on classical receptions in women's writing. Initially conceived within the discipline of Classics, it soon became clear that there were researchers across modern languages, history and English, working on women's creative

receptions of Classics in multiple cultures, languages and historical periods, who have been operating in isolation due to disciplinary boundaries in the academy. By looking at the problem from the point of view of the reception which they all share in common, and *not* the disciplines that study it, we came to conceive of bringing together researchers across disciplines, and thus to pose transdisciplinary and methodological research questions which we might not otherwise have considered. Not only are these collaborations important in opening up universities to creative collaboration in and of itself, then — they can also have an impact on the kinds of work we do, the questions we ask, and how we continue to engage with our disciplines and the ways they work together.

Acknowledging the place of creativity in research also means, of course, that it must work alongside knowledge and experience, the ability to analyze and communicate, and technical skill. An assumption that the "scientific" techniques of observation and analysis are all that we need can lead us to suppose falsely that creativity is opposed to rigor. When used alongside recognized research approaches, as explored above—whether in fiction-writing in tandem with a research article, in well-crafted academic prose, in popular non-fiction, or in collaborations with artists and practitioners, as appropriate to the research context and forum— creativity can be more than an important and complementary tool to research. It can be one of the key skills in coming up with good ideas and translating them into good, accessible writing.

<a>Creative educators and educating for creativity<a>

For the Most Beautiful, in spite of its connections to my research interests in women in Homer, actually found its origins in a course I took at Yale during the first year of my PhD. Titled "The Invention of the Classic," and taught by Irene Peirano Garrison, the course was billed as "a study of the discourse of classicism from antiquity to contemporary debates over the value of the classics in education and the emergence of classics as a discipline." In the final week, we

read Margaret Atwood's *Penelopiad*, a postmodernist take on Homer's *Odyssey* which takes Penelope's perspective to dive into some of the "dark alleyways" of the *Odyssey*.[27] As I read Atwood's version of the tale, I was captured by her ability to rework the *Odyssey* from a different point of view to shed light both on the woman's voice, and on the scholarly controversies surrounding Penelope's characterization. I asked if I could write my final paper, not as a purely research-based project (as the syllabus stated), but as part-fiction part-analysis, with an excerpt from a fictional reworking of the *Iliad* from a female perspective along with an explanation of my creative choices and a comparison to other Iliadic receptions. Thanks to the open-mindedness of my professor (certainly not something to be taken for granted), it was agreed that I could: and so *For the Most Beautiful* was born.

I often reflect on how different things might have been if I had been told to stick to the syllabus. The stimulus I was given to begin writing rested in large part on the creativity of my teacher, who was able to see that an imaginative response (combined with research-based critique) was just as valid a way of engaging with the texts we had read that term as a standard research paper. These kinds of innovative approaches to teaching Classics are, fortunately, becoming more and more common. A few years later I was a Teaching Assistant for a History of Art lecture course taught at Yale by Diana Kleiner, where the final project was either a traditional research paper, an analysis of an object in the Yale Art Gallery, a discussion of Roman art and film, or a design for a fictional Roman monument with a full sculptural program. Some of these monuments were astonishing in their originality, from an arch of Hadrian in the Roman Forum linked to the Tel Shalem triumphal arch, to a monument to Unity imagined to have been commissioned by Plotina in Trajan's memory in Roman Dacia. Crucially, it was not only the architectural and sculptural schemes (on which I am convinced students spent more time and effort than those who chose the "traditional" research papers) which demonstrated the students' attention to detail—it was the research that also accompanied it, discussing the

political background and implications of the artwork, the monuments from which they had drawn inspiration, and the ways in which the sculptures tied into traditional tropes and stylistic expectations in Roman art of the period.

Meanwhile, at the University of Exeter in the UK, the Creative Interpretative Project (brainchild of Sharon Marshall and Karen ní Mheallaigh)[28] is a third-year module which gives students the opportunity "to engage critically with the ancient world specifically through creative and imaginative practice."[29] The module description opens with the tempting invitation: "Ever imagined what it would be like to recreate Achilles' shield? To tell a mythical tale in textile form, like the blanket in Catullus 64? To capture the thrill of Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclops in clay-animation? Or write a musical interpretation of the Sirens' lost song…?" Lynn Fotheringham at the Department of Classics at the University of Nottingham, who provided advice in the planning of the creative module at Exeter, is a key contributor to Nottingham's Independent Second Year Project—"the department's flagship non-traditional assessment module, and a cornerstone of our employability programme"—which has run for over twenty-five years.[30] And at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, a junior and senior seminar run this year by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, titled "Classical Studies Today: Writing for a General Audience," teaches students to "write about scholarly issues in a way that makes them accessible to broad non-specialist audiences".[31]

These are just a few examples of how creative projects are being used in tandem with research-based teaching to develop exciting, innovative courses in Classics across the US and UK, and no doubt there are many more. Education research is demonstrating that encouraging creativity is crucial in a rapidly evolving learning landscape to prepare for innovative, fast-changing workplaces.[33] Other studies have shown how creative learning can lead to improved motivation, alertness, curiosity, concentration, and achievement;[34] while a two-year longitudinal study published in 1972 by Sidney Parnes and Ruth Noller found that students

who completed a sequence of creativity courses significantly outperformed control students in their ability to cope with real-life situational tests and apply their learning to educational and social problems, showing year-to-year improvement and increased productivity in their non-academic achievement where creative performance was required.[35] More recently, a 2019 survey of the most sought-after job skills on LinkedIn found that over half of senior leaders said that soft skills were more important than hard skills, with creativity listed number one in the soft skills most looked for by employers this year.[36]

The good news is that, given how many taught undergraduate courses incorporate creative elements and the success of courses like Exeter's Creative Interpretative Project and Nottingham's Independent Second Year Project, it seems that many academic classicists are already expressing their creativity in their teaching. So what would a possible next step be, along with doing more of the same (which we certainly should)?

One huge benefit I have found to my own writing is that it has come to inform what and how I teach. In a class I teach at Exeter called "Women Writing Classics," we look at classical receptions by contemporary women writers from Madeline Miller to Margaret Atwood, with the opportunity for students to produce their own creative response to the ancient world along with a critical analysis of their choices. But it also incorporates some of my own reflections on the connections between women's writing and Classics, both from my academic work and from my experience as a woman writing Classics. Here, my identity as a classicist and my creativity are inseparable—as, in a way, I am arguing they should be. In this sense, it is in the classroom, in teaching interdisciplinary reception and modulating between the angles of critical researcher and creative practitioner, that we can bring together the two elements to creativity I have outlined above: to enable the scenario of a creative researcher teaching creatively.

But I think it does even more than that. Focused on generating syllabi and course materials, making up the next assignment and getting our grading done on time, we sometimes forget that how we model what it means to be a classicist to our students is just as important as what we teach them. One memorable comment I received from a student at a talk I gave was that she "had always loved creative writing and Classics, but had never seen how they could go together"—now she saw that it was possible to do both. It was at that point that I realized that the work I was engaging in was not only outreach in terms of the subject matter—spreading Classics to a wider population, making it accessible, giving a new angle to the ancient world, which had always been my goal. I was also making room for a new generation of innovative young scholars and artists who could come forward and apply their own imagination to Classics in new and exciting ways. In this sense, it isn't simply that students are experiencing creativity in the classroom when we enable them to engage in creative projects—when we teach as creators as well as researchers, we model and make space for more creativity in the wider world of Classics, too. And that does not just mean fiction-writing, but creativity in the arts, from music to visual media — as well as other areas, from designing a new agricultural ecology in engagement with Sophocles to exploring ancient sites through virtual reality.[37]

<a>From research to practice<a>

Creativity is unpredictable — you never know where it is going, or where it will go next. I have no idea what the next creative project in classical reception will be. I don't know what the next novel reworking the stories of the classical world will focus on, what Mary Beard's next popular book on antiquity will look like, how Hollywood's next ancient-world-themed blockbuster will pan out. But I do know that when I have allowed creativity to sit alongside research—sometimes complementing it, sometimes in tension with it, but always productively so—I have enjoyed Classics the most, and that I have been able to impart that enjoyment in

inquiry to others. And, in turn, I have enjoyed and learnt from the remarkable creative work being done by other classicists across all kinds of media, drawing on the many diverse aspects of the ancient world. In the end, it is about understanding that there are many different ways to be a classicist. It is about acknowledging the incredible, innovative ways we are all already engaging with the ancient world, and recognizing the huge potential of creativity to inform our research and our teaching, and to open up new worlds of human expression.

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1. Craig 2018. "The phenomenon by which groups of animals all suddenly begin to copy a new behaviour—such as blue tits learning to open milk bottle tops—has been called morphic resonance. Something similar to the blue tits' discovery seems to be happening to

fiction. In the Fifties, Mary Renault made ancient Greece so much her own, with bestselling novels such as *The King Must Die* and *The Bull from the Sea*, that few dared to go near it. In the past few years, that has suddenly changed. Kamila Shamsie's 2017 *Home Fire* updated Antigone, and Colm Tóibín's *House of Names* and Natalie Haynes's *The Children of Jocasta* tackled The House of Atreus. Madeline Miller, in *The Song of Achilles*, reworked the *Iliad*, and then, with this year's *Circe*, the *Odyssey*. Now Pat Barker has joined the throng with *The Silence of the Girls*."

2. Hughes 2017.

3. Though its ratings subsequently fell as viewership reduced to an average of 2.3 million: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/06/30/bbc1-audience-figures-lowest-16-years-saturday-night-drama-experiment/.

4. Zuckerberg 2018: 3: "Social media has led to an unprecedented democratization of information, but it has also created the opportunity for men with antifeminist ideas to broadcast their views to more people than ever before—and to spread conspiracy theories, lies, and misinformation."

5. Christensen and Barker 2019.

6. Higgins 2018.

7. Though note that Miller has an MA in Classics from Brown University.

9. Frenz 1969.

10. Pollock 2009: 934, on Wilamowitz's 1872 pamphlet *Zukunftsphilologie!* ("Future Philology"); on Nietzsche's philology, to which Wilamowitz's paper was a response, see Porter 2000. For an introduction to the rise of philology in the nineteenth century, see Güthenke 2015.

11. Porter 2006: 1–65.

12. Pollock 2009: 934, and see the collected essays in Pollock, Elman and Chang 2015.

13. Pollock 2009: 945; Stock 1969: 2.

14. Quinn 2017.

15. Kezar and Sam 2010, Nica 2018, Childress 2019.

16. Though in fact it featured several fascinating presentations by artists, poets, playwrights and actors, including a question-and-answer session between academics Elena Theodorakopoulos and Fiona Cox and poet Josephine Balmer: see Cox 2018: 172–86.

19. Sinha 2017; McConnell 2016.

20. Ebbott 2017.

21. Beck 2018.

22. *Eidolon*. 2017. "Eidolon's Mission Statement." Accessed April 9, 2019. https://eidolon.pub/eidolons-mission-statement-d026012023d5.

23. Dennison 2015.

24. Bagehot 2019.

25. Rabinowitz 2008.

26. Stead 2010. Filmed April 2010 at The Jam Factory, Oxford, UK. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9eRbRBHd6HI.

27. Atwood 2005: xv.

28. Marshall 2017.

29. University of Exeter. 2019. "CLA3267 - Dialogues with the Past: Creative Interpretative Project, 2019/0 Module description." Accessed April 10, 2019. https://intranet.exeter.ac.uk/humanities/studying/undergraduates/modules/CLA3267/2019-0/.

30. Fotheringham 2015.

31. Wesleyan University. 2019. "Classical Studies Today: Writing for a General Audience." Accessed August 7, 2019. https://owaprod-

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33. McIntosh 2013; Harris 2016; Craft 2010; Craft, Jeffrey, Leibling, eds. 2001; Fasko

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34. Torrance1981.

35. Parnes and Noller 1972.

36. LinkedIn. 2019. "The skills companies need most in 2019." Accessed April 11

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37. Morton 2012; Anderson 2019.