

## Oxford Bibliographies: Classics and the Victorians

Edmund Richardson

### Introduction

Victorian classicism was world-bending and omnivorous. From Oxford lecture-rooms to Afghan hillsides, the ancient past shaped and transformed the present. For many Victorians, looking back to antiquity was not about withdrawing from the contemporary world, but engaging passionately with it (the ancient world appears on both sides of most big Victorian arguments, whether about the rights of women, or the wrongs of war). Prime Ministers and paupers, great scholars and great con-artists, the colonizer and the colonized, the oppressor and the oppressed, made the classical their own. Even by the standards of classical reception, this was a kaleidoscopic discourse. How, then, should we tell its stories? Should an account of Victorian classicism be one of public schools and English gentlemen? Or one of opium addicts and hucksters? Should it be centred in Berlin or Bengal? Should it be dominated by men or women? These questions have been in play ever since the nineteenth century (there is little in twenty-first century academic debate which can match the vitriol and volume of the most famous Victorian arguments over the ancient world), and the most influential recent accounts of Victorian classicism acknowledge this: not insisting on the inevitability of their narratives, but allowing space for complexity and contradiction, diversity and connection. Thus, for instance, a famous *tragedienne's* production of *Medea* ought not to be understood in isolation, but perhaps in dialogue with its cross-dressed burlesque, a few streets away (a burlesque to which the *tragedienne* came, and howled with laughter at). The professor should not just be seen in his lecture-room, a fearsomely rational pillar of the establishment; we might also visit him in the séance-room to which he repaired at the end of the day, to sit in conversation with the spirits of antiquity. In this interconnected world, many of the divisions used in this bibliography are, in consequence, somewhat artificial: a study of performance reception, for instance, will inevitably engage with (and advance) questions of politics, gender, and a host of other fields. The vital importance of education and scholarship will, however, be a constant: most Victorians first came into contact with the ancient world through the education system – and classics monopolized the curriculum in Britain's leading schools. This bibliography does not claim to be all-encompassing, but rather sets out to highlight some of the most striking and ambitious interventions in Victorian classical reception – scholarship that surprises, unsettles, and begins conversations – along with some of the latest digital research tools. Victorian classicism has always been a moving target, and lately it has been moving fast.

### General Overviews

Very different pictures of Victorian classicism, and approaches to its study, emerge from these works. Jenkyns 1980 and Turner 1981 are centred around the legacy of Greece, while Edwards 1999 and Vance 1997 tell the (sometimes less familiar) story of Victorian engagements with Rome. Goldhill 2003 remains perhaps the most significant articulation of the dominant methodology in contemporary classical reception, centred around close attention to the social and political discourses within which receptions take place. Zooming out, Grafton, Most & Settis 2010, Hardwick & Stray 2008 and Kallendorf 2013 provide overviews of the field, particularly valuable for those making their first foray into classical reception.

Edwards, Catharine, ed. 1999. *Roman presences: receptions of Rome in European culture, 1789-1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Collection of essays on the reception of Rome in European art, literature and historiography, with several chapters focused on nineteenth century material, from Simeon Solomon to Macaulay.

Goldhill, Simon. 2003. *Who needs Greek?: contests in the cultural history of Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

One of the most influential works in the field. Its insistence on the need for deep historical understanding of the context in which classical receptions take place has shaped much recent scholarship.

Goldhill, Simon. 2011. *Victorian culture and classical Antiquity: Art, opera, fiction, and the proclamation of modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

A dizzying, virtuoso ride through Victorian culture, from the paintings of Waterhouse to Wagnerian opera.

Grafton, Anthony, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis, eds. 2010. *The classical tradition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

A wide-ranging, dictionary-style guide to the afterlives of antiquity. With many useful entries on Victorian material, this would often be a good starting point for researching a new topic.

Hardwick, Lorna & Christopher Stray, eds. 2008. *A companion to classical receptions*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.

While this volume contains several valuable chapters on Victorian material, such as a study of Gladstone, its real value is theoretical and methodological: many of the most respected scholars in the field, thinking aloud about how to approach classical reception.

Jenkyns, Richard. 1980. *The Victorians and ancient Greece*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

An enduring and learned account of the Victorian fascination with ancient Greece. Symonds, Pater, Browning and Eliot are among the protagonists.

Kallendorf, Craig, ed. 2013. *A companion to the Classical tradition*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishing.

An overview of the field, which by necessity must at times employ a broad brush, but which has real value as an introductory work.

Richardson, Edmund. 2013. *Classical Victorians: Scholars, scoundrels and generals in pursuit of Antiquity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

The underbelly of Victorian classicism: gin-fiends, master forgers, failed child prodigies and homicidal schoolmasters.

Turner, Frank M. 1981. *The Greek heritage in Victorian Britain*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Particularly valuable in the field of intellectual history: from Victorian Platonism to the debates over ancient democracy.

Vance, Norman. 1997. *The Victorians and ancient Rome*. Oxford: Blackwell.

From empire to decadence, the enduring presence of Rome in Victorian literature and culture.

## Journals

Studies of Victorian classical reception appear regularly in a wide range of journals. The broadest range of material is to be found in *Classical Receptions Journal* and *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, both of which regularly move beyond consideration of specific case-studies to engage with wider theoretical and methodological questions related to classical reception. *Arion*, based at Boston University, aims to engage scholars from a wide range of disciplines, and regularly features articles on the nineteenth-century reception ancient art and literature. The long-running *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* primarily focuses on earlier material, but will be of particular use for work on the reception of material culture. For all these journals (and this is very much a virtue) a 'house style' is elusive: editors encourage a range of perspectives and methodologies to coexist.

\**Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*[<https://www.bu.edu/arion/>]\*. 1990–.

Engaging and learned articles, which frequently engage with questions of Victorian classical reception, as well as frequent reviews of books in the field.

\**Anabases: Traditions et réceptions de l'Antiquité*[<http://anabases.revues.org/>]\*. 2005–.

Ambitious new journal, with a focus on the interdisciplinary receptions of the ancient world. Frequently offers fresh perspectives and theoretical approaches.

\**Classical Receptions Journal*[<https://academic.oup.com/crj>]\* 2009–.

Respected leading journal of the field, published by Oxford University Press. Frequent themed special issues.

\**International Journal of the Classical Tradition*[<http://link.springer.com/journal/12138>]\*. 1994–.

The longest-running journal focused on classical reception. Edited until recently by Wolfgang Haase, now relaunched under three new editors-in-chief.

\**Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*[<http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/publications/journal-warburg-and-courtauld-institutes>]\*. 1937–.

Well-established interdisciplinary journal, with a particular interest in intellectual history and classical traditions, founded by the Warburg Institute.

## Series

The market for studies of Victorian classical reception has grown rapidly in recent years. The ground-breaking Classical Presences series, edited by Hardwick and Porter, has been responsible for publishing a great deal of the most significant work in the field, both in terms of monographs and edited collections (frequently arising from a conference or workshop). Classical Presences has now been joined by Cambridge's Classics after Antiquity, Bloomsbury's Studies in Classical Reception and De Gruyter's Transformationen der Antike, all with wide-ranging remits which include Victorian classicism. The I.B. Tauris series Ancients and Moderns offers more focused studies of the reception of specific concepts, while Brill's Companions to Classical Reception is rapidly building its collection of volumes on the receptions of individual authors.

Ancients and Moderns. 2009–. London: I. B. Tauris.

Theory-led series focusing on the legacies of specific concepts and disciplines, such as medicine and war.

Bloomsbury Studies in Classical Reception. 2012–. London: Bloomsbury.

Innovative new series focusing on fresh approaches to the field.

Brill's Companions to Classical Reception. 2014–. Leiden: Brill.

Ambitious and growing fast, this series is home to an increasing number of specialized 'guidebooks' to the reception of particular authors and genres.

Classical Presences. 2005–. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A pioneering series, featuring many of the most important recent monographs and edited volumes in the field of classical reception.

Classics after Antiquity. 2013–. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A new series from Cambridge: not just the receptions that 'come after' antiquity, but those that 'go after' antiquity as well.

Transformationen der Antike. 2007–. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Companion series to the major German 'transformations of antiquity' project. Particularly strong in the receptions of material culture.

## Reference Works

### Archaeology & Historiography

Pursuing the past, in the nineteenth century, was both intensely political and intensely complex. Archaeology can rarely be detached from discourses of nation, empire, and identity – and the business of excavation rarely ran smoothly, either. (Discovering a lost city often turned out to be the easy part. What to do next, as many archaeologists found, was harder.) Hamilakis 2009 offers a sophisticated account of the role of archaeology in the formation of Greek national identity. Hingley 2000 and Swenson and Mandler 2013 explore the ways in which ancient archaeology and contemporary imperialism became (more or less successfully, depending on the circumstances) intertwined. Morley 2011 examines the enduring role of Thucydides in shaping Victorian ideas of what it meant to remember (and account for) the past. Hingley 2012 and Hales and Paul 2013 explore the reception of two of the most famous archaeological sites of the nineteenth century, Hadrian's Wall and Pompeii.

Hales, Shelley, and Joanna Paul, eds. 2013. *Pompeii in the public imagination from its rediscovery to today*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Explores the complexity of Pompeii's legacy, and introduces some of the characters who have pursued it – from archaeologists to treasure-hunters, scholars to poets.

Hamilakis, Yannis. 2009. *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

The powerful role of material culture in shaping the Greek national imagination. Rigorous and theoretically sophisticated, a particularly influential work.

Hingley, Richard. 2000. *Roman officers and English gentlemen: the imperial origins of Roman archaeology*. London: Routledge.

The intertwining discourses of imperialism and archaeology, in Victorian Britain – and the ways in which contemporary attitudes to empire shaped the understanding of the ancient past.

Hingley, Richard. 2012. *Hadrian's Wall a life*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

History on the grand scale: the enduring post-Roman life of Hadrian's Wall, including substantial material on its Victorian receptions.

Morley, Neville. 2011. *Thucydides and the idea of history*. London: I.B. Tauris.

The reception of Thucydides, particularly within the intellectual culture of the nineteenth century. Shows how shifting approaches to Thucydides reflected, and influenced, shifting ideas of the nature of historiography.

Swenson, Astrid, and Peter Mandler. 2013. *From plunder to preservation: Britain and the heritage of empire, c.1800-1940*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Interdisciplinary study of the insatiable British appetite for antiquity, and the intersections of colonialism, archaeology and classical scholarship.

### **Colonialism and Empire**

The discourses of Classics and colonialism were intimately connected, during the Victorian period. British officers dreamed of following in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. Latin dusted official reports and documents. Soldiers conducted excavations. While the ancient world may have been the north star of colonialism, recent research, led in part by the \*Network on Ancient and Modern Imperialisms[<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/classics/research/research-projects/imperialism/imperialisms>]\* has revealed a more complex picture. Longstanding traditions of classical appropriation within India and Afghanistan met and jostled with British accounts. The ancient world shaped anti-imperial discourses. For many, it became a dangerous precedent to follow: more than one 'second Alexander the Great' lost his head along the path to antiquity. Bradley 2010 offers a valuable overview of the field, including contributions from many of the leading scholars. Turning to India, Hagerman 2009 tells the story of British officers' obsession with Alexander, in India and Afghanistan, while Hall and Vasunia 2010 and Vasunia 2013 offer wider accounts of Victorian India, contrasting British and Indian voices.

Bradley, Mark, ed. 2010. *Classics and imperialism in the British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Edited collection exploring the ways in which Victorian classicism influenced imperial ideologies and practices, from the development of the British Museum's collections to questions of race and national identity.

Hall, Edith, and Phiroze Vasunia, eds. 2010. *India, Greece, and Rome, 1757 to 2007*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

A series of case-studies which introduce the diverse receptions of the ancient world in India: highlights include discussions of Indian productions of Greek tragedy, architecture and a Bengali *Iliad*.

Hagerman, Christopher A. 2009. "In the footsteps of the 'Macedonian conqueror': Alexander The Great and British India". *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 16 (3/4) (2009). 344-392.

The travelers, archaeologists and spies who set out in pursuit of Alexander, in Victorian India and Afghanistan – and found their paths taking them to strange and deadly places.

Vasunia, Phiroze. 2013. *The Classics and Colonial India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wide-ranging overview of Indian receptions of antiquity, including much valuable discussion of Victorian material. Particularly significant for its sophisticated analysis of what happens when Western and Indian appropriations of the same part of antiquity, such as the story of Alexander the Great, compete and collide.

### **Drama and Performance**

The study of the reception of ancient drama is now a well-established and dynamic field. Hall and Macintosh 2005 remains the standard introduction, and an essential foundation for current research. The \*Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama[<http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/>]\* has established a remarkable set of resources to support further work, including their \*Production Database[<http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/research-collections/performance-database/productions/>]\*. While no study of the reception of any ancient play (or author) can be comprehensive, Hall, Macintosh and Taplin 2001, Macintosh, Michelakis, Hall and Taplin 2005, and Hall 2013, showcase the possibilities of the field. The comic theatre is an increasing focus for research: Walsh 2016 offers a valuable guide to the reception of Aristophanes, while Monrós Gaspar 2015 introduces the fascinating genre of Victorian classical burlesques.

Flashar, Hellmut. 'Antikes Drama auf der Bühne Europas.' *Gymnasium* 100 (1993): 193-207.  
A wider perspective on performance reception, examining the staging of ancient drama across Europe.

Hall, Edith, Fiona Macintosh and Oliver Taplin, eds. 2001. *Medea in performance, 1500-2000*. Oxford: Legenda, European Humanities Research Centre, University of Oxford.  
From infanticide to the divorce laws, to perform *Medea* was never neutral: this collection shows how performances engaged with (and often disrupted) the social and political debates of their time.

Hall, Edith, and Fiona Macintosh. 2005. *Greek tragedy and the British Theatre, 1660-1914*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.  
Endlessly fascinating, richly researched cultural history of the performance of Greek tragedy in Britain. Arguably the foundational work in the field.

Hall, Edith. 2013. *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris a cultural history of Euripides' Black Sea tragedy*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.  
The endlessly surprising afterlives of Euripides' play, and the characters, from imperial archaeologists to political revolutionaries, who have turned to it.

Macintosh, Fiona, Pantelis Michelakis, Edith Hall and Oliver Taplin, eds. 2005. *Agamemnon in performance 458 BC to AD 2004*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.  
This collection of essays is valuable not just as a window into the rich performance history of *Agamemnon*, but also as a showcase for the range of methodologies currently practiced within the field of performance reception.

Monrós Gaspar, Laura. 2015. *Victorian classical burlesques: a critical anthology*. London: Bloomsbury.  
Victorian classical burlesques are troublesome texts, full of puzzles and half-comprehensible jokes, within which it is easy for the contemporary reader to go astray. This critical anthology is an excellent guidebook to some of the key texts.

Walsh, Philip, ed. 2016. *Brill's companion to the reception of Aristophanes*. Leiden: Brill.  
The reception history of Aristophanes is marked by absence as much as by presence: censorship, cancelled performances, and anxiety. This is the most comprehensive overview of the field.

### **Education & Scholarship**

The range of works here, and their contrasting approaches to the histories of education and scholarship, underlines the historical rootedness of all narratives of Victorian classicism. Contemporary reception studies is, in many ways, as entangled by its own subjectivities (and its own temporality) as nineteenth century classical scholarship was. Some recent works, such as Beard 2002 and Henderson 2006, make a virtue of that subjectivity, while others (Wyles and Hall 2016) offer sophisticated challenges to the

'great man history' so common in the histories of scholarship. The history of classical education and scholarship in the nineteenth century remains a contested field, one with great potential for further research. For those new to the field, Stray 1998 remains the most reliable guide, while Goldhill 2003 and Goldhill 2011 capture the passion and significance of Victorian debates over learning about the ancient world.

Beard, Mary. 2002. *The invention of Jane Harrison*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. A provocative 'anti-biography' of Harrison, which gives full weight to her scholarship but also explores the nature of academic celebrity – and the unacknowledged absences at the heart of almost every academic biography.

Briggs, Ward W., Jr., ed. 1994. *Biographical dictionary of North American classicists*. Prepared under the auspices of the American Philological Association. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

An excellent starting point for research: while the biographical entries can be brief, the references are comprehensive.

Henderson, John. 2006. *"Oxford Reds": Classic commentaries on Latin classics; R.G. Austin on Cicero and Virgil, C.J. Fordyce on Catullus, R.G. and R.G.M. Nisbet on Cicero*. London: Duckworth.

Academic objectivity comes under the microscope, here, as Henderson contrasts the objective rhetoric of the classical commentary with the rich subjectivities of the commentators' lives.

Lloyd-Jones, Hugh. 1982. *Blood for the ghosts: Classical influences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. London: Duckworth.

Influential collection of essays on making the past one's own: must scholars offer their blood to the ghosts of antiquity, in order to make them speak?

Pfeiffer, Rudolf. 1976. *History of classical scholarship from 1300 to 1850*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

The history of scholarship as grand narrative: from Petrarch to the rise of German philology and the nineteenth century rhetoric of the objective scholar.

Sandys, John Edwin. 1903–1908. *A history of classical scholarship*. 3 vols. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

An even grander narrative: classical scholarship from the ancient world to the end of the nineteenth century. A period piece, to be sure, but a remarkable one.

Stray, Christopher. 1998. *Classics transformed: Schools, universities, and society in England, 1830–1960*. Oxford: Clarendon.

The most influential overview of English classical education in the nineteenth century: richly detailed and meticulously researched, it has been foundational for much subsequent work in the field.

Stray, Christopher, ed. 2007. *Oxford classics: Teaching and learning 1800–2000*. London: Duckworth. Essays on subjects both familiar and surprising: from Oxford's classical elite to its classical outcasts.

Todd, Robert B., ed. 2004. *The dictionary of British classicists*. 3 vols. Bristol, UK: Thoemmes Continuum.

A strong selection of brief biographies of many prominent British classical scholars. Once again, a valuable starting point for research: its references and suggestions for further reading are particularly rich.

Wyles, Rosie, and Edith Hall, eds. 2016. *Women classical scholars: unsealing the fountain from the Renaissance to Jacqueline de Romilly*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

An exceptional volume, both a celebration and a revelation of the women who wrote themselves into the history of classical scholarship.

## **Gender & Sexuality**

Questions of gender and sexuality are intrinsic to research across the field of Victorian classical reception. Hall, Macintosh and Taplin 2001, for instance, shows how Medea was at the centre of Victorian debates over the rights of women within society. In Prins 1999, Sappho becomes an

emblematic figure for Victorian anxieties over female identity. Wyles and Hall 2016 writes Victorian female classicists back into the history of scholarship. The works cited here should be read in dialogue with these, and others in the field. Hurst 2010 explores the ways in which female writers were able to stake a claim on the ancient world. Dowling 1994 and Matzner 2010 reveal the connections between homosexuality and the study of ancient Greece in Victorian Britain and Germany respectively. Ingleheart 2015 explores the ways in which ancient Rome provided a foundation for modern homosexual identities.

Hurst, Isobel. 2010. *Victorian women writers and the classics: the feminine of Homer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Outstanding exploration of how, in the highly gendered world of Victorian classical scholarship, writers such as George Eliot and Elizabeth Barrett Browning were able to make the ancient world their own.

Dowling, Linda. 1994. *Hellenism and homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.

A Foucauldian reading of Victorian intellectual life (in many ways, intellectual culture was the non-identical twin of Victorian sexuality), binding together the trial of Oscar Wilde, the reforms of Benjamin Jowett and the writings of John Addington Symonds.

Ingleheart, Jennifer, ed. 2015. *Ancient Rome and the construction of modern homosexual identities*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

The unexpected role of ancient Rome in the formation of modern queer identities. This collection explores 'Romosexuality', from gladiators and slaves, to Hadrian and Antinous.

Matzner, Sebastian. 2010. 'From Uranians to Homosexuals: Philhellenism, Greek Homoeroticism and Gay Emancipation in Germany 1835–1915.' *Classical Receptions Journal* 2 (1) (2010): 60-91. doi: 10.1093/crj/clq002

Captures the fear and excitement around ancient sexuality in nineteenth-century Germany, and shows how the ancient world could play a fundamental role in the battles over contemporary sexuality and identity.

## Literature

Victorian literary engagements with the classical were remarkable both in their scope and in their ambition. This section makes no claims to completeness, and instead prioritizes capturing the variety and diversity of Victorian literary engagements with the ancient world. Vance and Wallace 2015 represents the finest introduction to classical reception in English literature during this period, while Jenkyns 1980, Turner 1981 and Vance 1997 also have valuable discussions of this landscape. Cook and Tatum's phenomenal survey of African American engagements with the ancient world (Cook and Tatum 2012) is essential reading. Riddiford 2014 tells the story of Victorian classical reception from the perspective of the Indian poet Michael Madhusudan Datta. Understanding classical reception in this period entails grasping the full spectrum of engagements with antiquity: from loud-mouthed appropriation to subterranean echo. Prins 1999 explores the ways in which uncertainty and ambiguity powered the reception of Sappho, with a theoretical sophistication which has become a model for much future work. Leonard 2015 and Martindale, Evangelista and Prettejohn 2017 use literary receptions of the ancient world to unlock wider questions about the nature and purpose of classical reception.

Cook, William W., and James Tatum. 2012. *African American writers and classical tradition*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.

The complexity, richness and power of African-American engagements with the ancient world: from the poetry of Phyllis Wheatley to the Ciceronian speeches of Frederick Douglass to the satires of Fran Ross.

Leonard, Miriam. 2015. *Socrates and the Jews: Hellenism and Hebraism from Moses Mendelssohn to Sigmund Freud*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Theoretically informed and always surprising account of the role of Judaism in shaping the modern reception of ancient Greece, including discussion of the work of Kant, Marx and Freud.

Martindale, Charles, Stefano-Maria Evangelista, and Elizabeth Pettejohn, eds. 2017. *Pater the classicist: classical scholarship, reception, and aestheticism*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.  
Wide-ranging account of Walter Pater as a classical scholar, with particular attention to the relevance of his work for understanding (and rethinking) contemporary approaches to classical reception.

Prins, Yopie, 1999. *Victorian Sappho*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.  
Remarkable account of the reception of Sappho during the nineteenth century. For Victorians, Sappho was both elusive phantasm and powerful presence: an enigma at the heart of literature and culture.

Riddiford, Alexander. 2014. *Madly after the muses: Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan Datta and his reception of the Graeco-Roman classics*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.  
As seen from Bengal, the story of Victorian classical reception becomes very different. Pioneering study of Michael Madhusudan Datta's poetry, and its significance in colonial and postcolonial encounters with the ancient world.

Vance, Norman, and Jennifer Wallace, eds. 2015. *The Oxford history of classical reception in English literature. Volume 4: 1790-1880*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.  
Landmark survey of classical reception in nineteenth-century literature, with contributions from many of the leading scholars in the field and extensive bibliography. An excellent starting point for research in the field.

### **Nation and Nationalism**

Nineteenth century debates over national identity were marked by their anxiety and competitiveness. Connecting contemporary discourses of nationalism to the ancient world was far from simple, as many Philhellenes had discovered in the Greek War of Independence. Antiquity could, however, play an active role in shaping attitudes to modern nations, as Güthenke 2008 explores. Stephens and Vasunia 2010 and Fögen and Warren 2016 both collect together a range of appropriations of the ancient world within Victorian discourses of nationalism, from Ireland to India. Both serve as valuable introductions to the field.

Fögen, Thorsten, and Richard Warren, eds. 2016. *Graeco-Roman antiquity and the idea of Nationalism in the 19th century: case studies*. Berlin: De Gruyter.  
Essays exploring the ways in which the classical world shaped Victorian ideas of nation and national identity, from monuments to military ideologies, cartoons to historiography.

Güthenke, Constanze. 2008. *Placing modern Greece: the dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770-1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
Explores the role of literature in forming attitudes towards modern Greece, using comparative, transnational perspectives, and engaging with a wealth of neglected material.

Stephens, Susan A., and Phiroze Vasunia, eds. 2010. *Classics and national cultures*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.  
Wide-ranging volume, adopting a global perspective on the role of antiquity in shaping discourses of nationalism: case-studies include discussions of Japan, China, South Africa and the Caribbean.

Steel, Catherine, ed. 2015. 'The Legacy of the Roman Republican Senate' *Classical Receptions Journal* 7 (1) (2015).  
Special issue of *Classical Receptions Journal* considering the ways in which the Senate has both made possible and made problematic the reception and appropriation of the Roman Republic.

### **Visual Culture**

Classical art played an outsized role in Victorian visual culture. But that role was rarely comfortable or comforting: one moment a sculpture might be a timeless inspiration, the next a moral outrage, the next a fake. Barrow and Liversidge 2007 provides a useful introduction to the field, along with extensive references for further research. Coltman 2009 explores the mania for collecting ancient sculpture – while Nichols 2015 explores the ways in which much of that ancient sculpture was actually encountered: via plaster casts in the Crystal Palace, next to the latest industrial goods. Jones, Craddock and Barker



1990 open up the world of Victorian forgery, and show how uncertainty was at the heart of some of the key debates over ancient art, in this period. Prettjohn 2012 looks both forward and back, arguing that modern art should be understood through its dialogue with ancient sculpture.

Barrow, Rosemary J., and Michael Liversidge. 2007. *The use of classical art and literature by Victorian painters, 1860-1912: creating continuity with the traditions of high art*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press. Wide-ranging survey of the importance of the classical for Victorian painters. Themed sections deal with topics including history painting, the influence of major archaeological discoveries and the interpretation of myth.

Coltman, Vicky. 2009. *Classical sculpture and the culture of collecting in Britain since 1760*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. Richly detailed, deeply researched account of the uncanny, salacious life of ancient sculpture in Victorian Britain.

Jones, Mark, P. T. Craddock, and Nicolas Barker. 1990. *Fake?: the art of deception*. London: British Museum Publications. The nineteenth century was the golden age of forgery – and this volume explores the ways in which doubt and uncertainty came to sit at the heart of classical discourse.

Nichols, Kate. 2015. *Greece and Rome at the Crystal Palace: classical sculpture and modern Britain, 1854-1936*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. At the Crystal Palace, plaster casts competed for attention with frying-pans, priceless relics with halfpenny souvenirs. This is the hidden, everyday life of the classical, in Victorian Britain.

Prettejohn, Elizabeth. 2012. *The modernity of ancient sculpture: Greek sculpture and modern art from Winckelmann to Picasso*. London: I.B. Tauris. Argues that modern art and ancient sculpture have been in dialogue since the nineteenth century – and explores the ways in which artists such as Rodin and Leighton were inspired by ancient art.

## Databases

Over the last decade and a half, electronic resources have had a transformative impact on research into Victorian classicism. The progressive digitization of books and newspapers has created new opportunities for scholarship, and vastly simplified the task of accessing many rare or out-of-print materials. These databases are not, however, perfect: the technology used to scan Victorian books and newspapers, and convert them into full-text searchable resources, frequently mangles or misunderstands the original words. Patience, and creative search terms, will frequently be needed.

Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama, Production Database. Available \*online[<http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/research-collections/performance-database/productions>]\*. An exceptional resource: a database recording almost every significant production (and many minor ones) of ancient drama since 1450 – some 11,500 at the time of writing.

Archive.org, Database of Texts. Available \*online[<https://archive.org/details/texts>]\*. Along with \*Google Books[<http://books.google.com>]\*, this is among the most comprehensive collections of digitized nineteenth century texts: from burlesque to historiography. Most texts are searchable (with uneven accuracy), and can be downloaded as PDFs or plain text files.

The British Newspaper Archive. Available \*online[<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>]\* by subscription. The most comprehensive collection of digitized Victorian newspapers available, including most major London titles.

The Library of Congress, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Available \*online[<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>]\*. Wide-ranging, though not entirely comprehensive, database of American newspapers. The collection can be freely searched, and relevant pages downloaded as PDFs.

The Times Digital Archive. Available \*online[<http://gale.cengage.co.uk/times.aspx/>]\* by subscription.  
The full archive of the London *Times*, Victorian Britain's newspaper of record.