abusus non tollit usum: The Weaponisation of the Classics

Arguably the most prevalent concern in the discipline of classics is the appropriation of the history and literature of ancient Greece and Rome to promote patriarchal and white supremacist ideologies. The study of classics is a contentious one, due to an uneasy amalgam of Euro-centricity and whitewashing contaminating its history, but increased awareness of the issues it raises has been accompanied with moves towards greater diversity, perspective, and sensitivity. Parallel to this, however, a cacophony of far-right voices, striving to undermine social progression, has emerged as the unwanted defenders of antiquity, claiming an aesthetic and ideological fascination with it. The Alt-Right, in a transparent effort to code white supremacist views as a celebration of 'Western' civilisation, uses classical allusions to lend cultural weight to their reactionary vision of ideal white masculinity. This weaponisation carries the threatening potential to reframe the popular view of classics in the modern era, and even cause the complete erosion of the discipline, through its association with such discriminatory views.

A brief glance at the Alt-Right corner of the Internet, self-branded as the 'Red Pill' or the 'manosphere', uncovers a thriving community of white supremacists, misogynists, and xenophobes, clamouring against the 'oppression' of white men in society. It does not take much searching to find articles, discussions, and memes glorifying the kind of classics that appeals the least to contemporary scholars. However, this practice stretches beyond anachronistic appeals to the work of Juvenal to justify misogyny¹. These communities appear to read themselves into classical antiquity, finding what they interpret as confirmation of their pre-existing views in order to appropriate classics for white nationalist agendas. Zuckerberg, in her book Not All Dead White Men, posits that such evocations of antiquity are used "to prove the incontestable value of patriarchy and white supremacy – and to argue for the reinstatement of those oppressive systems of power today."² By historicising such viewpoints, they are given a sheen of intellectual credibility; their propagators engage in pseudo-scholarly discussions in an attempt to provide academic foundation for extremist beliefs. For example, the fall of the Roman empire has been repeatedly attributed to immigration; this outdated and oversimplistic view is cited in the 'manosphere' as an explanatory parallel to modern Europe, feeding into reactionist narratives of cultural decline and xenophobia. The canon of antiquity is also used to idealise rigidly enforced patriarchal values, with members of the Alt-Right advocating a resurrection of the antiquated system of kyrieia or tutela perpetuating the belief that women should be controlled.

The adaption of the classics for the digital age is only the latest development in its millennialong appropriation for reactionary ideologies. Many societies, most notably Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, position themselves as the heirs of the classical tradition, a powerful declaration of grandeur. Similarly, the right is accustomed to express a kind of glorifying nostalgia for the traditional past, and, as a result, antiquity has long been co-opted into the politics of hate. This ranges from comparisons between Hitler and Alexander III, to fascist idealisation of the more uncomfortably xenophobic writing of Tacitus. In a similar vein, in 2006, a far-right political activist and white nationalist legally changed his name to 'Augustus Sol Invictus'³, a transparent attempt to ground his agenda in the classical tradition. Appealing to the respected Roman past, Invictus deploys it as a

¹ Juvenal made to support modern homophobia, xenophobia, misogyny, (2018), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics, <u>https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2018/02/09/juvenal-made-to-support-modern-homophobia-xenophobia-misogyny/</u>, (accessed June 2022).

² Zuckerberg, D. Not All Dead White Men: Classics and Misogyny in the Digital Age (2018) Harvard University Press, p.44.

³ The white supremacist with a Roman name: Augustus Sol Invictus, (2017), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics, <u>https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2017/12/15/the-white-supremacist-with-a-roman-name-augustus-sol-invictus</u>/, (accessed June 2022).

powerful rhetorical tool to bolster his own credibility. The same spirit is evoked by the 'American Fascist Manifesto', written by the white supremacist group 'Patriot Front', which foregrounds the idea that America was founded in the image of the Roman republic, and calls for "a new Caesar to revive the American spirit"⁴. Furthermore, as recently as 2021, the Alt-Right leaned upon the militarist values of antiquity as they urged Trump to 'Cross the Rubicon'; that is, to overthrow the republic, Caesar-style. The grounding of reactionary ideologies in classical studies is not new, but with the rise of social media, it has become more widespread, and even more virulent. As the appearance of reputable expertise has become such valuable currency, and as the connection between classics and elitism has strengthened, a nod to the classical past becomes a sign of credibility, and traditionalism. In fact, for almost every strand of Alt-Right ideology, classical references are found to lend heft to the rhetoric. 'Red Pill' members are adept at projecting their ideology onto ancient sources to bolster their most abhorrent ideas: that white men are the founders of civilisation, and most fit for power; that a militarist, imperialist society is a successful one; or that women's autonomy should be negligible. Due to their self-mythologising as heirs to the classical tradition, the idealised version of antiquity which lies behind their arguments is positioned as the only 'right' interpretation, claiming an ahistorical sense of identity with the ancient world.

Despite the specious academic interest, these are not the interpretations of discerning researchers, but rather a reflection of chauvinistic beliefs propped up by mainstream, often inaccurate images of antiquity. As argued by duBois, the study is travestied by those who validate their viewpoints through "a reductive, one-dimensional, shallow interpretation of Greek and Roman civilisation."⁵ This selective appropriation is informed not by the study of ancient literature, but by blockbuster hits, most notably Synder's '300' (2007). The historically complex Battle of Thermopylae is streamlined, glamourised, and forced into the straitjacket of the Hollywood action movie. The popularity of the film has generated the mainstream view of classical Sparta as a paragon of military and masculine might, and, more alarmingly, a template of the 'white' race taking a heroic stand to protect Western civilisation against the forces of barbarism. The film presents binary opposition of 'good' and 'evil', encouraging viewers to resent the Persians, portrayed as decadent, effeminate, and totalitarian, and to champion the Spartans as saviours of virtue and civilisation. These assessments, though entirely based on a superficial and misinformed interpretation of historical events, are nonetheless pervasive in the Alt-Right. During the Capitol insurrection in January 2021⁶, a considerable number of rioters wore Spartan-style helmets and hoisted flags bearing the defiant phrase 'molon labe' (come and take [them]), attributed by Plutarch to King Leonidas I. This distorted reference demonstrates the fetishization of an antagonistic, virile Spartan culture, used in the promotion of reactionary politics. By linking the insurrection with the Hollywood-processed presentation of antiquity, the Alt-Right styles such an attack as honourable resistance, or even defence, against a totalitarian, barbaric force. It does not require a surplus of lateral thinking to see the attempt to mould a stock figure for ancient Spartan culture as reductionist and ahistorical. Antiquity cannot be reconfigured retrospectively to fit certain political criteria; it is illegitimate and dangerous to align modern politics with antiquated motives over a gap of millennia. The attempt among the Alt-Right to lend gravitas to their arguments by means of an appeal to the classics is not only an illinformed one, based solely on popular culture, but a blatant distortion of history.

Although 'whiteness' is not a meaningful concept to apply to antiquity, white supremacists are primarily drawn to the study of the classics out of a desire to affirm their belief in an unblemished

⁴ "*American fascist manifesto*" begins with the Roman Republic. (2017). Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics. <u>https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2017/12/11/american-fascist-manifesto-begins-with-the-roman-republic/</u>, (accessed June 2022).

⁵ DuBois, P. (2001). Trojan horses: Saving the classics from conservatives. NYU Press, p.4.

⁶ *Capitol Terrorists Take Inspiration from Ancient World*, (2021), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics, <u>https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2021/01/14/capitol-terrorists-take-inspiration-from-ancient-world/</u>, (accessed June 2022).

lineage of 'white' Western culture that extends from ancient Greece to the present day. White supremacists monopolise classical culture as the exclusive achievements of white men, equated to the basis of Western civilisation. Thus, they can fabricate a cohesive transhistorical 'white' identity, and a continuity of 'Western' civilisation for themselves. As the ancient world has long been idealised, by classicists and non-classicists alike, those with nationalist agendas view it as an imagined golden age which they aspire to recreate. The idea of antiquity as an origin point for white men is a selfaggrandising narrative, allowing them to assert the imperative to restore the kind of white racial consciousness that they believe it exemplifies. For example, the culture of Ancient Sparta holds particular sway with white supremacists⁷, who believe that it foregrounded ethnic purity and male virtue. Alt-Right idealisation of the ancient world is founded on the assumption that the Greeks possessed innate psychological and biological characteristics that laid the ground for their 'superior' culture and predicated their natural right to dominate others. By vindicating an erroneous image of this 'white race', the men of the Alt-Right sees themselves as the heirs and defenders of the classical tradition. This motivation is exemplified in one white supremacist site which describes the Augustan Ara Pacis as "a manifestation of the Aryan spirit of the Classical world" and "an example of the artistic glories that our race can achieve once it is freed of the shackles of the decadent ethos of the modern era."⁸ This misappropriation of classical imagery reveals a widely held image of the past as a 'white' possession, comprised of 'white' achievements. When this image is assumed, it is easy to assimilate it to the idealised world endorsed by the Alt-Right, a resistance against the perceived oppression of white men. By styling themselves as guardians of Western cultural legacy, they can deflect any accusations of extremism; in their projected fantasy, they become the defenders, not the aggressors. In the same vein, classical texts that are universally applauded are then taken as proof of the intellectual and cultural superiority of white men, adding a veneer of pseudo-scholarly intellectualism to otherwise outrageous beliefs. The principles of the Alt-Right purport to be based in Western history, with the aim to cement their chosen narrative to undercut social progression.

In 2016, an American white supremacist group known as 'Identity Evropa' began strewing college campuses with reactionary posters, depicting classical and neoclassical statues, bearing an array of crypto-fascist phrases such as "Protect Your Heritage" and "Let's Become Great Again".9 Their evocation of antiquity, although devoid of true academic understanding, casts classical statues as emblems of white nationalism, a stance that is not only harmful in its ideology but also runs counter to historical actuality. Since the Renaissance, marble statues have become romanticised in the popular imagination as the paradigm of artistic refinement. This has achieved the status of cultural dogma to such an extent that evidence to the contrary has for years lost the battle against the ardour for whiteness. However, the consensus of modern scholarship is clear: Greco-Roman societies embellished their statues with bold colours of paint, viewing the work as incomplete without it. Many traces of pigments have been found, exposing the Western view of artistic beauty as collective ignorance. When classical statues began to be discovered, buried underground, in the 14th century, the erosion of the fragile pigments led to the widespread belief that white marble was the intended effect. The cult of unpainted artistic 'purity' permeated Europe, reflected in Goethe's declaration that "savage nations, uneducated people, and children have a great predilection for vivid colours ... people of refinement avoid vivid colours."¹⁰ This brand of Eurocentrism survives in the prevalent desire for

⁷ This is Not Sparta, (2017), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics,

https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2017/11/18/this-is-not-sparta/, (accessed June 2022). ⁸ Not just Hitler and Mussolini: Neo-Nazis love neoclassical architecture too. (2020). Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics, https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2020/02/20/not-just-hitler-and-mussolini-neo-nazis-loveneoclassical-architecture-too/, (accessed June 2022).

⁹ White nationalists' latest tactic to recruit college students: Paper flyers and tape. (2017). The Guardian. <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/05/white-nationalists-posters-college-student-recruitment</u>, (accessed June 2022).

¹⁰ Goethe, J. W. 1810 *Theory of Colours*. C. L. Eastlake (Trans.). Dover (2006).

aesthetic purity due to the mental image of pristine white marble, inextricably bound up in the popular imagination with the ancient world. However, archaeological discoveries of polychromy are not new phenomena. During the 17th century excavations of Pompeii, a host of colourful frescoes were unearthed, including one depicting an artist in the process of painting a statue, and others with completed statues, resplendent in vivid colour. Furthermore, Euripides' *Helen* has its titular character lament: "If only I could shed my beauty and assume an uglier aspect / The way you would wipe colour off a statue"¹¹, implying that to rid a statue of its colour was to disfigure it.

The multi-coloured finish of these works was integral to their meaning and immediacy, but despite these discoveries, the glorified white aesthetic has long been propagated as the accurate one. This neoclassical myth has been saturated with centuries of racist ideologies, embodied by Hitler's embrace of the white marble ideal during the 20th century, and culminating in its adoption by modern white supremacist groups. White marble has been erroneously conflated with white skin, and thus, white skin with beauty. As Bond argues, "the equation of white marble with beauty is not an inherent truth of the universe"¹², in an article that prompted a cascade of abuse and death threats from the Alt-Right. Behind the idealisation of white statues, there lie latent ties between barbarism and colour, civility and whiteness, thus inducing a tendency to view colour as 'garish'. What was once subliminal promotion of racist ideologies has morphed into an open challenge to historical fact through the campaigns of such groups as 'Identity Evropa', a persistent and deliberate ignorance which bears the sting of racial hatred. However, it must not be forgotten that even the most unnuanced, superficial examples of historical illiteracy are still dangerous in their attempt to leverage academia for the promotion of reactionary ideas, an issue that will not dissolve through disregard.

The popular view of antiquity as a 'white' culture is not limited to statues alone, but is an idea deeply rooted in Western society. Modern representations of the classical world tend to present it as populated almost exclusively by light-skinned people, from Peterson's 'Troy' (2004) to Lefler's 'The Last Legion' (2007). The fundamental whiteness of antiquity has been taken for granted for centuries, a pervasive idea that is not only erroneous, but potentially harmful. There is a consensus in classical scholarship that the Greco-Roman world was a multi-ethnic space; the notion that they identified as 'white', in the same way as modern Europeans, is a complete misreading of the evidence, misinforming a wide audience. At its height, the Roman Empire stretched from North Africa to Scotland, and so identity in the ancient world was by definition pluralistic. Furthermore, there is no evidence that Greco-Romans practised systematic racism; the slave population, instead of being comprised of people of colour by default, was drawn from conquered peoples, such as Gauls or Germans. In fact, the concept of 'whiteness' as a category held none of its modern weight in antiquity, and any application of it to the ancient world should be regarded as anachronistic. Modern notions of race clash irreconcilably with the thinking of the classical past, as the ancient Greeks and Romans did not carry a purely phenotypical understanding of race, nor would they have understood modern racial divisions.

To call a Greek man 'white' was not a marker of privilege, but of effeminacy. Athena is said to enhance Odysseus' appearance by making him 'black-skinned' (*melagkhroiēs*)¹³ again, exemplifying an entirely disparate attitude towards race that cannot be explained within the restrictions of modern vocabulary. The lack of 'colour' in the popular view of the ancient world is not based on fact but is the result of Western values. Despite evidence to the contrary, white supremacists have constructed and romanticised a mono-ethnic tableau of antiquity, which they weaponise to suit their own agenda. Brushing aside the complexity of scholarly discussion about race in the ancient

¹¹ Euripides, *Helen*, 262-3, Translated by R. Kannicht, Heidelberg 1969.

¹² Bond, S. Why we need to start seeing the classical world in color. (2017) Hyperallergic.

https://hyperallergic.com/383776/why-we-need-to-start-seeing-the-classical-world-in-color/, (accessed June 2022).

¹³ Odyssey, 16.175.

world, the Alt-Right crafts a narrative that begins with Greece and Rome, continuing right up through to the emergence of modern Europe. They rely on the construct of Western civilisation, which they interpret to mean 'white' civilisation. This rigid dogma manifests in the ire with which any attempt to correct such a monolithic viewpoint is met. Professor Mary Beard, after asserting the ethnic diversity of Roman Britain, faced "a torrent of aggressive insults" from social media, with one self-appointed defender of the 'truth' claiming that she was "literally rewriting history"¹⁴. Attempts to infuse discussions about the Greco-Roman world with nuance are invariably met with a similar tidal wave of abuse. Without their illusion of a mono-ethnic antiquity, the Alt-Right would no longer find the classics so particularly appealing.

The idealisation of a specific portion of history, one dominated by hierarchal forms of oppression, prompts the Alt-Right to become nostalgic for the patriarchal past, in which they had more power. Their compulsion to position themselves as the inheritors of the classical tradition extends to a longing for the return of systemic misogyny, bolstered by classical texts which condone antiquated gender norms, inapplicable to modern society. The Alt-Right looks to the ancient system of kyrieia as the ideal power structure with which to control female behaviour, and parallel to this, the increasingly prevalent concept of 'Neomasculinity' advocates a return to the classical ideal of manly behaviour (Roman virtus)¹⁵. By drawing heavily on such ancient models, the notion of an 'optimal' patriarchy is constructed, in which women, like their Greco-Roman counterparts, are stripped of all autonomy and restricted to the domestic sphere. Encouraged by a superficial interpretation of classical literature, the Alt-Right is becoming increasingly outspoken about their desire to resurrect longantiquated gender politics, reinstating ancient social conditions of men and women, a transparently anachronistic aim that is nonetheless dangerous. To cite a disturbing example, the misogynistic website Return of Kings published a headline proclaiming that "Feminists are Hysterical About Rape Because No Man Wants to Rape Them." The article, documented by Pharos¹⁶, invokes the story of the rape of Lucretia to support the appalling claim that rape is desirable for the victim, and to perpetuate the myth that such victims are exclusively attractive women. Such a provocative discussion reveals that the foundation of the classics' attraction for misogynists is that they believe that they view in it a reflection of their own reactionary politics, their own values, and can thus, like white supremacists, ground their unacceptable beliefs in a more intellectually palatable evocation of history. This attitude is grotesquely manifested in a popular meme disseminated across right-wing social media platforms in 2016: Cellini's 'Perseus with the Head of Medusa', adapted with Trump as Perseus and Clinton as Medusa's severed head¹⁷. This use of classical imagery aims to demonise Clinton as a woman with power, demanding her subjugation through male conquest. By drawing upon the cultural cachet of Greek mythology, Trump supporters aim to render their misogyny intellectual, or even understandable. When stylised in such a classically heroic light, the castigation of a woman with authority becomes almost sanctified.

Classical literature can largely be adapted to far-right ideologies, as reactionists anachronistically draw upon the deep well of ancient misogyny. In pseudo-scholarly discussions,

¹⁴ Mary Beard abused on Twitter over Roman Britain's ethnic diversity. (2018). The Guardian. <u>https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/aug/06/mary-beard-twitter-abuse-roman-britain-ethnic-diversity</u>, (accessed June 2022).

¹⁵ *Neomasculine site argues for the revival of Roman "manly character"*, (2017), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics, <u>https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2017/12/04/neomasculine-site-argues-for-the-revival-of-roman-manly-character/</u>, (accessed June 2022).

¹⁶ Lucretia invoked to illustrate the desirability of being raped. (2018). Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics. <u>https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2018/04/11/lucretia-invoked-to-illustrate-the-desirability-of-being-raped/</u>, (accessed June 2022).

¹⁷ *Violent misogyny, white nationalism, and anti-Clinton apparel* (2018), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics, <u>https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2018/01/18/antiquity-in-support-of-violent-misogyny-in-anti-clinton-apparel/</u>, (accessed June 2022).

ancient ideas such as Aristotle's theory of the inferiority of women are employed for their instructive exemplarity¹⁸. Ancient literature is saturated with misogyny simply because it is ancient, but the Alt-Right nevertheless use it to justify their sense of entitlement and political power over women. One of the most pervasive beliefs is that the ancient world somehow validates the misogynistic idea that there is a continuity of female behaviour from history to the present day, that all women throughout history share the same negative characteristics. They reason that if ancient authors expressed similar viewpoints to their own, they cannot be dismissed as unfounded bigotry. The illusion of continuity in female behaviour and in male intelligence which the Alt-Right promotes is an ideologically motivated strategy to resurrect the gendered mores of antiquity in the present day, and to brand their extremist views as not only natural, but thoroughly European. In a similar vein, through evocations of the concept of virtus, hyperbolic masculinity is marketed as having strong historical roots, with many Alt-Right members advocating a return to ancient ideals of virility which are so jarringly anachronistic for modern society. Furthermore, classical allusions are used to position feminists as the aggressors in the war over the vitality of the classics; they are stylised as both ideological and intellectual opponents of the classical tradition¹⁹. This perverse belief is not restricted to these extremists: it becomes increasingly difficult to operate as a feminist classicist when the study of antiquity is widely viewed as an advocation of patriarchal control. By emphasising the less palatable aspects of classics, these men attempt to dominate the field by making a 'feminist classicist' a contradiction in terms. Despite the layers of nuance that classical reception dons every day, many try to strip it to a binary opposition which prohibits any enjoyment of the subject in the absence of ideological agreement. Underlying this endeavour is the fear that a sophisticated version of classical studies will undermine the presentation of these men as the protectors of classical tradition and negate the use of the field to justify reactionary politics.

A final example that merits investigation is the overt trend amongst the 'manosphere' to promote beliefs through the guise of such venerated philosophical practises as Stoicism²⁰. At first glance, it surpasses comprehension that such a philosophy would lend itself to hate speech, since many prominent Stoics believed that virtue had no gender, that men and women are equally capable of employing reason to determine virtuous action. Theoretically, the Stoics aspired to an ideal cosmopolis, in which everyone lives as equal citizens, regardless of gender or ethnicity. However, through a distortion of Stoic principles, the doctrine is reshaped to appeal to the reactionary tendencies of these men. By means of a superficial study of the field, glossing over numerous ideological differences and disregarding centuries of contentious debate, they use a watered-down version of the philosophy, overstating the ease with which ancient texts can be applied to modern life. This is based in the conviction that Stoicism evidences the emotional and intellectual superiority of white men. By invoking a well-respected philosophical practise and conflating it with the 'white' men associated with it, they strive to show that male supremacy has deep historical and philosophical roots, as well as undeniable intellectual credibility. Through a veneer of scholarship, they opine that Stoicism 'proves' the superior capacity of white men to use reason to control emotion, among other perceived 'masculine' traits: they alone can view the world rationally. It takes no great stretch of the imagination to see this as the latest manifestation in the continuum of labelling women and people of colour as 'hysterical' in order to silence them. By quoting authors such as Marcus Aurelius and Seneca, men of the 'manosphere' project an appearance of emotional control to establish what they perceive as their rational superiority. Their analyses of Stoic ideas are rarely nuanced or informed but are used "to perpetuate their belief that they alone are rational enough to understand the world

https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2018/02/02/feminism-blamed-for-fall-of-rome/, (accessed June 2022). ²⁰ Stoic Philosophy masking Hate, (2018), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics,

¹⁸ Aristotle Enlisted to Justify Misogyny, (2017), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics,

https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2017/11/21/aristotle-enlisted-to-justify-misogyny/, (accessed June 2022). ¹⁹ Feminism blamed for fall of Rome, (2018), Pharos – Doing Justice to the Classics,

https://pharos.vassarspaces.net/2018/08/03/stoic-philosophy-masking-hate/, (accessed June 2022).

unemotionally, and therefore they should be in charge."²¹ Thus, harmful ideology is fuelled by the academic weight of such a scholarly philosophy, allowing these men to position themselves as the 'new Stoics', leading a wave of 'dispossessed' white men to rationally speak truth to those they perceive as intellectually inferior.

The primary pitfall that has indirectly generated this response is that the attitude of idealising antiquity is so firmly entrenched into the justification of classics' existence as a discipline, that the way in which we think about it is inherently flawed. As duBois argues, "there are too many scholars who believe that any realistic assessment of the contradictory and complex nature of Hellenic society damages the Greeks"22, and so, continue to fetishize a selective and distorted view of antiquity. It is not possible to disregard the dubious legacy of the classics, as the research of slave-owning, militarist, imperialist, patriarchal, xenophobic cultures, the study of which has long been dominated by upperclass white men. On the other hand, to employ a Roman maxim, "abusus non tollit usum" (the abuse does not negate the use). Classics is embedded in ideology regarded as bigoted by today's standards, but its past does not remove any possibility of a modern, nuanced interpretation of classics. Interest in the subject is not limited to those who most identify with the ideology of the ancients, and those who seek to upend it tacitly cede this point. It is not the case that the study of antiquity necessarily reifies patriarchal and racist hierarchies, and it need not and should not carry exhortation to resurrect such oppressive power systems. There is an imperative to resist reductive idealisations of antiquity and to construct a more intersectional version of classical studies, one that informs and enriches contemporary discussions, to ensure the survival of the discipline.

Beatrix Arnold

Word Count: 3997 (without footnotes)

²¹ Zuckerberg, D. *Not All Dead White Men: Classics and Misogyny in the Digital Age* (2018) Harvard University Press, p.176.

²² DuBois, P. (2001). Trojan horses: Saving the classics from conservatives. NYU Press, p.41.