GSEM 619 Death and Beyond: Ancient Greece and China
Wednesday 2-4, Carpenter 15

Professor Jie Shi
Office: Old Library 239
Phone: 5344
jshi1@brynmawr.edu
Office Hours: TTh 4-5 pm
or by appointment

Professor Radcliffe G. Edmonds III
Office: Old Library 245
Phone: 5046
redmonds@brynmawr.edu
Office Hours: TThF 1:00-2:00
or by appointment

Required Texts:

Course Description:
The question of what happens after the moment of death has always fascinated humanity - at one moment there is a living person, the next only a corpse; where did the person go? Every culture struggles with these questions of death and afterlife - what does it mean to die and what happens after death? This seminar will examine a variety of types of evidence - archaeological, poetic, and philosophical - to uncover ideas of death and afterlife in some of the cultures of the ancient world, with particular attention to the similarities and differences between ideas of death and beyond in the cultures of Greece and China. Van Gennep's model of death as a *rite de passage* provides the basic structure for the class, which is divided into three sections, each concerned with one section of the transition: *Dying* - leaving the world of the living; *Liminality* - the transition between the worlds; and *Afterlife* - existence after death. This anthropological model allows us to analyze the different discourses about death and afterlife.

In the first section (*Dying*), we will first look at ideas of death itself. One of the fundamental dichotomies in human culture is the split between mortal and immortal, and death can thus be seen as an essential part of being human. We will examine ideas of when and how a human being should or could die, as well as what happens in the process of dying and how that fits into larger cosmological ideas.

The next section of the course (*Liminality*) will examine the transition of the deceased into the world of the dead, from the perspective of both the deceased and of the living community. We will explore the various types of funeral rituals performed by the relatives and mourners of the deceased in different periods, paying special attention to the roles of women and the ways the community regulates funeral behavior. We will look at the ways in which the journey of the deceased from the realm of the living to the dead is imagined, focusing particularly on the obstacles in the journey and the consequences of a failed transition - monsters and ghosts.

The final section of the course (*Afterlife*) will deal with the stage after death, again from the perspective of both the deceased and the living. We will explore visions of the afterlife throughout Chinese and Greek literature and art, focusing particularly on the changing topography of the underworld and the privileges and punishments reserved for different types in the mystery religions and philosophical schools. This section will also include a study of the various kinds of rituals performed by the living for the dead, ranging from tendance at the tomb to hero cult.

The class will read selections from a variety of primary sources in translation, along with some secondary sources, both anthropological and historical. Most of these readings will be available on Moodle or on reserve in Carpenter, but some will be from the required texts for the class. Each week several students will be responsible for leading discussion on the special topics; these students will have...
additional readings to enrich their understanding of the topics (although all students are welcome to do these readings if time permits).

In addition to discussion in the seminar, each student will produce a substantial research paper on a topic chosen in consultation with one or both of the professors. A detailed proposal and preliminary bibliography will be due in the week before spring break. All the student proposals will also be read by the panel of experts who will visit the class later in the semester for a cross-cultural symposium. Every student will give a brief presentation of the research project in the second to last week of the semester, and the final papers will be due in the exam period.

**Seminar Schedule**

Week 1. January 23  **Introduction**

**Topics:**
- Death and Dying
- Afterlife and the community
- Ancient Greece and China

**Readings:**
- Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*
- Scheffler 2013, *Death and Afterlife*

Week 2. January 30  **Death in Greece: Dying - Who Dies? When and How?**

**Topics:**
- Mortals vs. Immortals
- Good Death and Bad Death
- Mechanics of Dying - departure of the psyche, dissolution of elements

**Primary Readings:**
- Plato, *Phaedo*
- Hesiod, *Works and Days*
- Lyric Poets: Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Semonides, Mimnermus, and Solon
- Homer, *Iliad* xvi, xxii
- Herodotus I.30-33 (Solon)

**Secondary Readings:**
- Garland, ch. 1-2
- Johnston 1999, ch.1
- Vermeule 1979, ch. 1 & 3
- Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, *To Die and Enter the House of Hades*
- Humphreys 1980, *Death and Time*

**Special Topics:**
- Mortals vs. Immortals
  - Vernant 1991, Mortals and Immortals ch 1
  - Loraux 1995, Therefore Socrates is Immortal
- Good Death and Bad Death
  - Simonides on the Battle of Plataea
  - Vernant 1991, A Beautiful Death ch 2
  - Vernant 1991, Panta kala ch 4
- Mechanics of Dying
  - Bremmer 1983, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* ch. 1-2
  - Vernant 1991, Psuche ch 10
Week 3. February 6  **Death in China: Perspectives on Death**  
**Topics:**  
- Is there a heroic death in China?  
- Good death and bad death

**Primary Readings:**  
Confucius, *Analects* Book 11  
Sima Qian, “Letter to Ren’an” “Biography of Boyi and Shuqi” “Biography of Nie Zheng”  

**Secondary Readings:**  
Durrant (2016), Intro; Ch. 3 51-70.  
Blakeley (2010)  
Searchris (2008)

**Special Topics:**  
- Death and Nature  
  Fraser (2013)  
  Galvany (2012)  
- Good Death and Bad Death  
  Olberding (2012), Chs. 4-5  
  Mak (2001)

Week 4. February 13 **Liminality for the Community in Greece: The Funeral Ritual and Mourning**  
**Topics:**  
- Ritual for the community  
- Miasma and Purification  
- Funeral ritual in different periods  
  - Funeral components - burial vs. cremation, offerings, lamentation  
  - Funeral Legislation - community regulates its rituals, the role of women  
- Parallels between funeral ritual and marriage ritual  
  - Assimilation of the transitions in myth  
  - the case of Persephone at Locri

**Primary Readings:**  
Homer, *Iliad* xxiv. 693-803  
*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*  
Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers*  
Sophocles, *Antigone*  
Lucian *On Mourning*  

**Secondary Readings:**  
Garland, ch. 3; 4  
Kurtz and Boardman 1971, ch. vii; xi  
Alexiou 1974, *The Ritual Lament* ch. 1  
Johnston 1999, ch. 2  
Vermeule 1979, ch. 5

**Special Topics:**  
- Miasma and Purification  
  Parker 1983, *Miasma* ch. 1-2, Cyrene Appendix
Lex Sacra from Selinous

- *Funeral ritual in different periods*
  - Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, A Trauma in Flux; Appendix to *Reading Greek Death*
  - Morris 1989, Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece
  - Nilsson Stutz 2015, A Proper Burial

- *Lamentation*
  - Alexiou 1974, Ritual Lament ch. 7-9 (on reserve in Carpenter)
  - Hame 2008, Female Control

- *Funeral Legislation*
  - Garland 1989, The well-ordered corpse
  - Stears 2008, Death Becomes Her
  - Toher 1991, Greek funerary legislation and the two Spartan funerals

- *Marriage and Death*
  - Seaford 1987, The Tragic Wedding
  - Rehm 1994, Marriage to Death, ch 1-2
  - Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri
  - Redfield 2003, Locrian Maidens

Week 5. February 20 **Liminality for the Community in China: The Funeral Ritual and Mourning**

**Topics:**
- Reinforcing kinship
- Serving the Dead as if they were alive
- Filial Piety

**Primary Readings:**
- Steele (1917), vol. 2, 45-105, chapters on *shisang* and *jixi* rituals.

**Secondary Readings:**
- Olberding (2008)
- Brown (2007)

**Special Topics:**
- Division of Souls
  - Brashier (1996)
- Corpse Preservation
  - Thorp (1991)
  - Brown (2002)
- Imagery of the liminal door and sexuality
  - Goldin (2001)

Week 6. February 27 **Liminality for the Deceased in Greece: The Journey and its Perils**

**Topics:**
- the journey - directions
- obstacles to the journey - need for burial, the water barrier, special knowledge
- Failed transitions - the fate of the unburied, unmarried, or untimely dead, Lamia and other female demons
- the use of ghosts - necromancy, defixiones
Primary Readings:

*Odyssey* 10-11, 24
Necromancy in *Kestos* of Julius Africanus & Aeschylus' *Persians*
Pausanias IX.39 on the Trophonius Oracle
Plutarch, *de genio Socratis* 589f-592f
‘Orphic’ Gold Tablets
Aristophanes, *Frogs*
Plato, *Phaedo*

Secondary Readings:

Garland, ch. 4
Johnston 1999, ch. 3
Vermeule 1979, ch. 6

Special Topics:

- failed transitions – demons and the restless dead
  Smith 1976, Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers
  Johnston 2001, Defining the Dreadful
- obstacles to the journey in the Orphic Gold Tablets
  Edmonds 2004, Roadmaps of Déviance
  Johnston 2007, Ritual Texts
- katabasis – the genre of the journey
  Bernabé 2015, What is a katabasis?
  Edmonds 2015, When I walked the dark road of Hades
  Gazis 2015, The Nekyia’s Catalogue of Heroines
  Herrero 2015, Traditions of catabatic experience
- the use of ghosts - necromancy, defixiones
  Faraone 1991, Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil
  Faraone 2005, Necromancy Goes Underground
  Ogden 2001, Necromancy

Week 7. March 6 Liminality for the Deceased in China: Posthumous Journey

Topics:

- Journey after death
- Division of the souls
- Death and transformation

Primary Readings:

Hawkes (1985), 219-231. The chapter on “summons of the soul”

Secondary Readings:

Yu (1987)

Special Topics:

- From Life to Death
  Lai (2005)
  Tseng (2011), 166-204.
- From Death to Life
  Harper (1994)
  Seidel (1987)
  Campany (1990)
- Corpse deliverance
  Cedzich (2001)
Week 8. March 13 Spring Break

Week 9. March 20 Beyond: After Death in Greece - the community regroups
Topics:
- secondary burial practices
- epitaphs and funeral orations
- visiting the tomb and hero cult

Primary Readings:
Homer, *Iliad* xxiii-xxiv
Thucydides 2.33-46, Pericles’ Funeral Oration
Lysias Funeral Oration
Demosthenes Funeral Oration
Hyperides Funeral Oration
Plato, *Menexenus*

Secondary Readings:
Kurtz and Boardman 1971 ch. xii; xiv
Garland, ch.7
Lattimore 1942, Themes in Greek & Latin Epitaphs
Parker 2005, Ancestral Gods, Ancestral Tombs

Special Topics:
- funeral orations
  - Loraux 1986, Address to the Dead
  - Tyrrell & Burnett 1999, Pericles' Muting of Women's Voices in Thuc. 2.45.2
  - Shear 2013, Their Memories Will Never Grow Old
- epitaphs
  - Meyer 1993, Epitaphs and Citizenship
  - Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, *Reading Greek Death* ch. 3
- visiting the tomb
  - Humphreys 1980b, Family Tombs & Tomb Cult
  - Shapiro 1991, The Iconography of Mourning
  - Oakley, Picturing Death in Classical Athens (book on reserve in Carpenter)
- hero cult
  - Antonaccio 1994, Contesting the Past
  - Rohde 1925, *Psyche* ch.iv
  - Whitely 1995, Tomb and hero cult in Archaic Greece
- funeral games
  - Brown 2003, Homer, funeral contests and the origins of the Greek city
  - Roller 1981, Funeral Games for Historical Persons
  - Grethlein 2007, Epic Narrative and Ritual. The Case of the Funeral Games in *Iliad* 23

Week 10. March 27 Beyond: Afterlife in China: Specters of the Past
Topics:
- Ontology of Ghosts
- The concept of underworld
- human-ghost relationship
Primary Readings:
Watson (2003), 97-112. “Explaining Ghost”
Wang (1962), 239-49. “All about the Ghosts”

Secondary Readings:
Poo (2008)
Poo (1995), 41-68.
Poo (2000)
Sterckx (2013)
Campany (1991)

Special Topics:
- Avenging Ghosts
  Cohen (1979)
- Exorcising the evil
  Sou (2016)
- Administering the Dead
  Nickerson (2006)

Week 11. April 3 Beyond: Afterlife in Greece - Topography of the Underworld

Topics:
- the changing location of the underworld - Elysium, Isles of the Blest, Hades
- the nature of life in the afterlife
- privilege and punishment
- Mystery Cults and Salvation
- Eleusinian Mysteries and Orphism
- Symposia of the Blest

Primary Readings:
Pindar Olympian II & Dirges
‘Orphic’ Gold Tablets
Plato: myths from Phaedo (107c-115b) and Gorgias (523a-527c);
Pausanias X.28-31 on Polygnotos (cp. Frazer’s commentary)
Lucian, Dialogues of the Dead
Plutarch de sera numinis vindicta

Secondary Readings:
Edmonds 2015, Imagining the Afterlife
Garland, ch. 5, 6
Vermeule 1979, ch. 2

Special Topics:
- post-mortem punishment
  Burkert 2009, Pleading for Hell
  Saunders 1991, Anxieties and Surrogates
- Mystery Cults and Salvation
  Burkert 1987, Mystery Cults
- Orphism
  Parker 1995, Early Orphism
  Edmonds 2008, Extra-ordinary People
Week 12. April 10 **Beyond the Afterlife: Remembrance and Ancestral Worship in China**

**Topics:**
- Memory and Identity
- Ancestor
- Death, Time, and Transformation

**Primary Readings:**
Cook (2016), 92-100. Shi Qiang Pan.
Shaughnessy (2007)
Ebrey (1980)

**Secondary Readings:**
Brashier (2011)
Bokenkamp, 1-32. Chs. 4 and 5 (Connect on Tripod)

**Special Topics:**
- Remembrance and Forgetting
  Owen (1986), Ch. 2.
- Stelae
- Mortality and immortality
  Shi (2012)

Week 13. April 17 **Beyond the Afterlife: Reincarnation or Nothing in Greece**

**Topics:**
- Alternatives to the Underworld
- Atomism and the afterlife
- Ethicization of reincarnation

**Primary Readings:**
Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Empedokles & Pythagoras
Plato on reincarnation: selections from Republic & Phaedrus
Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*

**Secondary Readings:**
Edmonds 2013, Life in the Afterlife
Henry 2009, Introduction (xvi-xxii) Epicurean Ideas of Death
Long 1948, A Study of the Doctrine of Metempsychosis
Obeyesekere 2002, Eschatology In Greek And Rebirth Soteriology

**Special Topics:**
- pre-ethicized reincarnation
  Obeyesekere, *Imagining Karma* (on reserve in Carpenter)
- Epicurean philosophy and death
  Philodemus *On Death* (on reserve in Carpenter)
Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus*
Warren, *Facing death: Epicurus and his critics* (on reserve in Carpenter)

- Neoplatonic ideas of reincarnation
  Neoplatonists on Reincarnation: excerpts from Plotinus, Proclus, et al.
  Baltzly, *Patriarchy, Metempsychosis and Women in the Neoplatonic Commentary Tradition*
  [Proclus, *in Remp. XVI*]

Week 14. April 24 **Student Reports**

Week 15. May 1 **Conclusions**
Bibliography

Chinese:


Lai, Guolong (2005), "Death and the Otherworldly Journey in Early China as Seen through Tomb Texts, Travel Paraphernalia, and Road Rituals.” Asia Major (Third Series) 18.1: 1-44.


Bibliography

Greek:


