

The background of the cover is a classical painting. It depicts a woman with long, flowing red hair, shown in profile from the chest up. She is looking down at a small, dark-skinned figure (the serpent) that is coiled around her arm. The serpent is holding a small, round, red fruit in its mouth. In the background, there are more red fruits and green foliage. The overall style is reminiscent of a Renaissance or Baroque painting.

GENDER, CREATION MYTHS AND THEIR RECEPTION IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Prometheus,
Pandora,
Adam and Eve

EDITED BY
LISA MAURICE &
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GENDER, CREATION MYTHS AND THEIR RECEPTION IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

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Edited by Lisa Maurice and Tovi Bibring

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*To my grandchildren
Kfir, Ayal, Manor and Ori*

To my one and only Shani

In memory of Dr Lana Schwebel z'l

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Lisa Maurice

INTRODUCTION

Lisa Maurice

The date was 15 October 2017. ‘If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write “me too” as a reply to this tweet,’ tweeted actress Alyssa Milano, and with this the ‘Me Too’ movement was born.¹ The manner in which it captivated the popular imagination and gained momentum is indicative of the fact that gender issues remain central to popular discourse, even in the twenty-first century. The issue of whether such differences are rooted in nature or nurture is one that has been debated throughout history, and goes back to the very myths of creation found in Western civilization, the reception of which has been influenced by, and influenced in turn, various aspects of that civilization. Prometheus shines above the lower plaza at the Rockefeller Center in Manhattan, in New York City. To open a ‘Pandora’s box’ is a phrase found in multiple languages. Similarly, Adam and Eve’s story, narrated in Genesis 2–3, has taken on an independent afterlife producing what Theresa Sanders calls a ‘cultural memory’ of its own that is often dramatically different from the version in the Bible.²

This book has evolved from a conference held at Bar-Ilan University in Israel in 2017, which examined the joint classical and Judaeo-Christian foundations of Western civilization, and their reception. The terms ‘classical’ and ‘Graeco-Roman’ refer in this work to those texts, artefacts and traditions from the ancient Near Eastern societies of Greece and Rome, and in the context of the theme of this book, specifically the stories and representations of Prometheus and Pandora. Similarly, ‘Judaeo-Christian’, despite the complexity of the term in its unification of disparate traditions, is used for the tradition emanating from the Bible and the works of subsequent Jewish and Christian theologians.

Although the book stems from the conference, it is not a conference proceedings volume in its usual rendering, providing a narrower focus than the original forum and with the addition of new material as well. The impetus for the conference was an understanding that both the classical and Judaeo-Christian strands have contributed to Western societies in areas as diverse as art, philosophy, politics and architecture, and in many cases, the two intertwine and play off each other. Yet very little sustained research to date has examined the two elements in relation to each other by means of incorporating experts from a wide range of different fields. These include Jewish Studies, Christianity, Classical Studies, European literature, history and art, politics and philosophy. A belief that such collaboration would lead to greater understanding was the inspiration behind both the original conference and the present study, which is intended to provide enlightenment in a way that individual researchers, in their own closed specializations, cannot.

Within this broad understanding, this book focuses on the topic of gender in both traditions, as highlighted through the creation myths of each. In general, we refer to gender rather than sex, in recognition that the issues raised are generally more concerned

Gender, Creation Myths and their Reception in Western Civilization

with the way in which society addressed the differences between male and female, and the roles that have been allotted to each. The study takes as its starting point the idea that the way in which a culture regards humanity, and especially the roots of humanity, both male and female, is crucial to an understanding of that society. Different models for the creation and nature of human beings, and their changing receptions at different periods and places, reflect fundamental evolutions and developments in society, particularly with regard to gender. This volume thus investigates the Graeco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian stories of the creation of the primordial couples, and their reception in the Western world. It sheds light on attitudes towards male and female on a range of influential periods and places, utilizing both general overviews of the subject, and more specific readings and interpretations of individual works or collections.

The central conceptual orientation of the volume is the examination of a number of questions that go beyond merely categorizing the various figures found in the creation myths under discussion. These questions include:

- What do the respective depictions of male and female reveal about the roles and perceptions of the different genders both in their original sources and in their receptions in later societies?
- How do the Judaic, Christian, Greek and Roman myths stand out from each other and also cross-fertilize between each other at different times and cultures?
- How have the tales been recast at various periods and for what purposes?
- How far do these creation myths, and their adaptations, reflect concerns of the societies producing and manipulating them?
- In what ways have variations of the creation myths been adapted for children and for different religious groups?
- How have these stories been exploited in order to target issues of gender?
- How far do the myths still have relevance in the modern Western world?

In short, this book considers the use, adaptation and abuse of two ancient creation myths and the gendered figures upon which they are centred, figures that, while different in nature, have been interwoven and combined within Western tradition. This study aims not only to examine both but also to tease apart and explain points at which they intermingled or separated, thereby deepening our understanding of the two main threads that are assumed to have given shape to Western civilization.

With regard to this assumption, it is necessary to make one more point: while the phrase ‘Western civilization’ was an uncontroversial term at the outset of this project in the first half-decade of the 2010s, this outlook has altered considerably since then, and it has become increasingly controversial in recent years to talk of Western culture or tradition, a change that perhaps only reflects how timely was the founding of the research group in 2016. Recognition of the role of Western Europe (and consequently of those areas settled by those originally from the West) in the imposition of its own ideas and values on native, non-Western cultures has led to an unwillingness to think in such

terms. Fears concerning the dominant influence of this culture, overlaid with connotations of colonialism, have led to attempts to replace a 'western template' with an appreciation of 'non-western' worldviews and a polarization has sprung up between West and non-West, Occidentalism and Orientalism.³ This is understandable. As one recent article stressed:

The cautions against western dominance and western templates [...] are anchored in a very understandable rejection of European empire building and the enduring global inequalities it produced. Understandable too, is the desire to reverse the negative identifications the west made of 'the rest' and thus to denounce a conviction that the west was best (more civilized, educated, democratic etc.) or that it arose from an untarnished enlightenment model of progress.⁴

Yet there is no reason to suppose, much less impose, a sense of cultural superiority in what is commonly regarded to be the Western tradition. While the roles it has played at various times in history are regrettable according to modern perception, that is no reason to deny or ignore the considerable impact that Western culture has had on the world as a whole; on the contrary, it is all the more important to recognize the myriad influences from this tradition, for better or for worse, and to analyse and dissect the various manipulations, agendas and practices that were employed at different times and places, and for a wide variety of purposes. Beyond this, it is important to bear in mind that the so called modern 'Western' civilization is actually a product of multiple traditions and ideologies, including elements as diverse as European capitalism, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, revolutionary America and the Abrahamic faiths.⁵ Teasing out the myriad strands and examining how they connect with each other makes us more aware of the depth of what has come to be regarded as a somewhat monolithic (and negative) concept, and to appreciate the different elements of 'Western civilization' in a more nuanced manner. Although we acknowledge the importance of current sensitivities regarding issues such as colonialism and the appropriation of the classical tradition to the West, nevertheless we feel that the term still has value as a shorthand for that long period of history in which, ignoring the rights and wrongs of the situation, European and North American cultures claimed both Graeco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions as their own.

Although this book focuses on the creation narratives, it differs from works such as Paul Morris and Deborah Sawyer's *A Walk in the Garden Biblical, Iconographical, and Literary Images of Eden* (1992) and, more recently, Bob Becking and Susanne Hennecke's *Out of Paradise: Eve and Adam and Their Interpreters* (2010), which examine only the Biblical narrative. By considering the reception of two different creation myths, this book has some overlap with studies of comparative mythology, such as Jean Puhvel's *Comparative Mythology* (1989), and comparative religion, such as Craig Martin's *A Critical Introduction to the Study of Religion* (2017), but has a much narrower focus than works such as these. It does not aim to look for similarities and differences between the two traditions or to decipher the roots of the myths; as such, it differs from works such

as Bruce Louden's *Greek Myth and the Bible* (2018), which examines the relationship of Jewish and Christian scriptures to Greek mythology, and sees the latter as deriving from the former. Similarly, the stress here is different from that of Sarah Iles Johnston who, in her *The Story of Myth* (2018), compares Greek myths to those myths of other cultures as well as to other genres ranging from fairy tales to television series, in order to examine both the role played by myth in Greek society specifically, and more generally the part played by stories and storytelling in every culture. While these issues have relevance for the current volume, this book does not look for universal themes or usages, nor try to compare the creation myths with other narratives, standing as a work of reception rather than comparison.

With regards to methodology, the work falls into the field of Classical Reception that has developed over recent decades, largely replacing the now redundant term Classical Tradition. Where the Classical Tradition considered how the Graeco-Roman world was 'handed down' to subsequent (inferior) generations, Classical Reception focuses on the ongoing ways in which later centuries and cultures connected with and reinterpreted those earlier texts and societies; thus the point of contact is a vital element in the discussion and a fundamental aspect of the new product.

Within this general framework, various theoretical approaches have been developed in recent years by classical scholars. Charles Martindale's original methodology recognized later receptions of the ancient world as valid interpretations and legitimate works in their own right.⁶ He went on to apply Kantian aesthetics to this idea, arguing that ideology is overly dominant in considerations of receptions, and that Kant's theory, as set out in the *Critique of Judgement*, can still provide powerful analytic tools for scholars. With this belief, Martindale clashes with other scholars such as Simon Goldhill, Lorna Hardwick and Edith Hall, who also take into account the social contexts of each work, seeing reception as a form of cultural history.⁷ David Hopkins, trying to bridge the gap between these two schools of thought, argues that receptions are part of a trans-historical *conversation* with earlier times, and that the consideration of reception should take into account not only how the ancient texts have been transformed, but also how modern understanding of these receptions influences comprehension of the ancient world in a two-way process.⁸ By employing the language of 'conversation', Hopkins avoids both the prejudicing of the ancient world over later periods, which is implicit in the term 'Classical Tradition', and the passivity inherent in the word 'reception'.⁹

Despite these diverse methodologies, one thing all the theories have in common is that they are concerned with *interaction*. Although research within this field explores how ancient Greece and Rome have connected both with each other and with aspects of societies in later periods, there is another element that is rarely considered within this context, namely how two different ancient traditions, the classical and the biblical, interact both with each other and with the receiving culture. This book is a step in this direction, examining how both the Judaeo-Christian and Graeco-Roman narratives of creation, and in particular of the questions of gender within these narratives, have evolved, both independently and through interaction with each other, at various times from the medieval period up to and including the modern day. Inspired by Hopkins'

ideas, it seeks to understand the ‘conversations’, both between the biblical and Graeco-Roman creation stories as seen in their various receptions and between those myths and the wider societies adapting the traditions at each point.

The book is divided thematically into five sections. Part I focuses on visual symbolism, examining how the iconography of the creation myths of the classical and biblical traditions has been employed. Visual representations have great power and reflect (and help create) societal assumptions, particularly when concerning subjects connected with a belief system. This is certainly the case in a less literate society, but is no less so in the contemporary world, as the papers in this section reflect. The first two chapters provide cases studies from different historical and geographical points: third-century Rome and late antique Italy. John Bradley’s chapter, the first of these, examines the use of Prometheus as an exemplar in the fresco decoration of a third-century tomb in Rome known as the hypogeum of the Aurelii. One of the frescoes in the upper chamber of the hypogeum has been interpreted as being either the earliest depiction of Adam and Eve together with an image of the Creator making the first human, or the proto-human couple moulded by Prometheus. Since the Aurelii were *liberti*, Bradley suggests that the ‘Creator’ image is not God or Prometheus but the *patronus* of the Aurelii in the guise of Prometheus, creating new human beings by granting liberty to slaves. By so doing, the *patronus* has carried out an act of fundamental metamorphosis from mercantile object to human in this example of the use of Prometheus in classical funerary decoration.

Isabelle Mathian considers a medieval reception of Prometheus in her examination of the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura at the time of its most recent restoration, towards the end of the thirteenth century. In this basilica, a half-bust Logos can be seen leaning out of a starry lunette directly above the Agnus Dei and a dove hovering over verdant hills; a man and a woman are arranged on either side, each in their own mandorla. These mandorlas, also called *clipei*, which express the divine nature of the man and woman inhabiting them, are, she argues, based on pagan iconography of the Promethean creation’s ‘*septemplex clipei*’, and present an example of how the Italian ecclesial environment between the tenth and thirteenth century reappropriated pagan iconography in creating the Genesitic nude, through the definitive assumption of a didactic responsibility expressed in Christian typology.

Jared A. Simard closes the first section with a survey covering the issues from antiquity to the modern day, tracing the mutual influence of depictions of Promethean and biblical creation by means of an art historical survey. Beginning in antiquity, comparisons are made between sarcophagi depicting Promethean and biblical creation. Close attention is paid to iconography demonstrating that early Promethean sarcophagi influenced depictions of biblical creation. As the survey moves into late antiquity and the early modern period, this chapter argues for a reversal of the trend, with depictions of God creating Adam and Eve influencing early modern depictions of Prometheus creating man. The early modern period witnesses a shift in Promethean creation imagery. Artists have borrowed key elements from depictions of biblical creation. They have also moved towards a more secularized Prometheus by self-fashioning themselves as Promethean. Finally, the chapter argues that this shift culminates in perhaps the most well-known

depiction of Prometheus, that of Paul Manship's *Prometheus* at the Rockefeller Center in New York City.

The second part of the book moves from visual symbolism to pinpoint specifics of the creation narratives, as it raises the issue of the depiction of the first men and women as ideals of marriage; since until very recently the male–female union was the central family unit upon which society was structured, consideration of the ideal nature of this relationship was of relevance to all.¹⁰ Thierry Alcoloumbre's chapter examines both the Greek myth and the Genesis creation story as received in Jewish belief, considering how the two different narratives work from a common basic premise and yet arrive at opposite conclusions about human reality. This, he argues, stems from contrasting attitudes in the mindsets of Greece and Judaism, a conclusion that highlights dialogue possible between the two traditions.

Lisa Maurice's chapter also draws together both the biblical and classical narratives, as she examines the depiction of Pandora and Eve in children's picture books. She argues that although neither Eve nor Pandora have traditionally been depicted in a positive light, and the messages that are often read from the stories are ones reflecting negative attitudes towards the female gender, the two females are treated differently from each other in this form of literature. This difference stems from the religious connotations which, even in the twenty-first century, still impact strongly on the Eve narrative in a manner that does not affect the Pandora story.

Revital Refael-Vivante presents another presentation of the perfect woman in her examination of receptions of the love story of Pygmalion narrated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Refael-Vivante discusses the complex avenues of this theme and the intercultural literary correspondence on this subject over the centuries, as she examines 'The Ring of the Dove' by a Spanish poet, Ibn Hazm of Andalusia (Cordova, eleventh century), demonstrating that while the Pygmalion effect generally has a positive connotation, Ibn Hazm's writings indicate that this is a negative, needless, disappointing and even dangerous phenomenon, apparently due to cultural and religious differences. She then traces the migration of this theme to the Hebrew literature that was written in Spain, and to Arabic *maqamas*.

From the ideals of marriage, the book then moves in the third section to examine more specifically the female, generally depicted as the source of evil in both Graeco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian traditions, and examines the concept of the ideal woman, opening with two complementary personal readings of the creation of woman in Genesis. Roslyn Weiss turns the spotlight on the biblical tale in Genesis 2, attempting to approach the text without an agenda and without prejudice, and deliberately without recourse to biblical commentaries, in an attempt to be open to the text and to hear anew what it is saying. In examining the text, she emphasizes that the relationship between male and female is asymmetrical and alters over the course of the narrative. While at first it is man who leaves his parents and cleaves to his woman, who is the more perfect of the two, after the sin of the eating of the forbidden fruit, God effects a radical upheaval in the course of nature, reversing the initial hierarchical order of the first human beings by placing man in a position of power over woman.

Yael Shemesh also scrutinizes Eve, seeing her as a female and, indeed, human archetype, whose choice to eat the forbidden fruit in Genesis 3 exemplifies the exercise of free will and independent thinking. This trait is demonstrated once again after Cain's murder of Abel, when she takes a positive attitude by producing and naming her son, Seth, in a proactive manner. Shemesh's chapter illuminates this aspect of Eve's personality, as a woman who makes conscious choices. She considers readers' own responsibility for how they interpret her decision to eat the forbidden fruit, an act that can be interpreted either negatively or positively, through the presentation of a range of views, from that of Ben Sira through to modern feminists.

Finally, Tovi Bibring focuses this debate on the Middle Ages, in a study that highlights works that resist misogynistic interpretations of Eve. Analysing two original meditations on Genesis composed by women, a fable by the twelfth-century Marie de France and a redaction composed in the thirteenth century by an anonymous woman, as well as the fourteenth-century *Livre de Leesce* by Jehan Le Fèvre, she shows that these works present a situation in which man and woman were initially created as equal, and that Adam and Eve share equal responsibility for the Fall. Through her analysis, Bibring presents some medieval voices that were rather more feminist in approach than might have been expected, and which oppose the prevailing traditional discourses that viewed Eve as physically and mentally inferior to Adam.

The utilization of the creation narratives to promote ideas about gender and relationships seen in parts II and III is brought into sharper focus in Part IV, where the exploitation of these tales for ideological purposes is the focus. Hava B. Korzakova looks at a society in which the Bible was alien, namely the Soviet Union, where the Bolsheviks established their own religion and tried to destroy any other religion in the areas where they came to power. Despite this opposition, a masterpiece of art was produced under this ideology. This was a puppet show called *The Divine Comedy*, based on the play by Isidor Shtok (1908–80), staged in 1961 and filmed for television in 1973. It was an extremely popular TV show, partly because it was almost the only way for Soviet children (and adults) to become familiar with the first story of the Bible. This work was also notable for the fact that Shtok was Jewish, as were a number of the actors, who added a, probably intentional, 'authentic' Jewish taste to the show. In this paper, Korzakova examines the reception of the biblical narrative in this creation within the Soviet, and specifically Soviet-Jewish, context.

While the Bible was the tradition rejected in the Soviet Union, in modern Israel it is the Graeco-Roman world that has been seen as alien, and the Judaeo-Christian root as the natural point of identification, as reflected by the two remaining chapters in this section, which examine Israeli receptions of the biblical tradition. The first, Vered Tohar's paper, explores the creation myth in two versions of one of the most popular Hebrew children stories from the twentieth century: the Israeli daffodil in the swamp. Composed in both versions (one a play and the other a picture book) by Levin Kipnis in the first half of the twentieth century and regarded as an Israeli classic, the story is an allegory of the hardships of the early Zionist immigrants. It tells of the generosity of a strange and ugly plant, who is the only one who agrees to live in the disgusting swamp, and for this receives

a divine reward, becoming a beautiful flower with marvellous petals and a strong and pleasing scent; it becomes the king of the swamp. Tohar examines the multiple layers of meaning in this story, demonstrating how it is rooted both in classical myth and the biblical creation story and also fits into the pattern of creation narratives, as it adapts this to the evolution of the new, young Israeli pioneer.

Still concentrating on the biblical tale, Susan Weiss's 'Genesis 3.15 and 16 and the State of Israel' focuses on two verses in the third chapter of Genesis, which place limits on Eve, both of them imposed on her by God. First, she is 'severed' from the snake, a symbol of the fertility goddess and female sexuality exercised freely and autonomously. Second, she is to be ruled by her husband, thus establishing the 'law' of patriarchy. In this chapter, Weiss shows through examples of actual laws, regulations and cases in Israel how this twofold construction of gender is very much potent today in the state of Israel, where personal status law compounds and legitimates these two notions, as the state both polices the 'free' sexuality of women and completely subordinates women to their husband in matters of marriage and divorce.

The final section turns from traditional readings to some rather less conventional depictions, reflecting the ongoing fascination with these creation myths, with the presentation of some postmodern contemporary receptions from the world of popular culture, covering popular fiction, anime and film. Benjamin Eldon Stevens presents a study of how modern science fiction features versions of the ancient Graeco-Roman mythic figure of Pandora. Closely linked to Prometheus in myths, Pandora evokes similar themes about the human relationship with knowledge and technology. As an artificial or synthetic creation who is also an archetypal woman, Pandora literally embodies how 'technology' and 'art' are intertwined with 'human nature', suggesting that mortals themselves are somehow intrinsically technological or artificial. Pandora is traditionally understood as a negative exemplar, but some Pandora figures in science fiction suggest instead that curiosity, including interest in technology, has more positive potential. Stevens demonstrates these differing interpretations through investigation of several Pandora figures in science fiction, considering how such figures enable us to see more clearly how modern classical receptions are shaped in part by science fiction.

Remaining with science fiction, Edmund Cueva's chapter focuses on Ridley Scott's 2012 film, *Prometheus*, which, as Cueva shows, is carefully constructed upon the ancient myth on a multitude of levels. While there is no one person or creature that is solely recognizable as Prometheus in the film, other than the scientific spacecraft that bears this name, elements of Pandora and Eve manifest themselves in the Elizabeth Shaw character, in that she is an inquisitive female who seeks knowledge no matter the cost or the warnings given in the pursuit of this knowledge, and, at the same time, serves as the mother of a new race. Analysing these elements, Cueva contends that Ridley Scott, Jon Spaihts and Damon Lindelof have re-envisioned the roots of humanity in a way that appeals to a modern, movie-going audience.

Moving from Prometheus to Pandora, Lily Glasner examines a book aimed at female young adult female readers: *Cruel Beauty* by Rosamund Hodge (2014). Envisioned as a

popular text, the book is a rather complex retelling of *Beauty and the Beast* (in itself a transformation of the classic myth of Cupid and Psyche). Within this general frame, the author plays with and weaves in several other sources, most notably the classic myth of Pandora and the box (or jar) of miseries. Glasner demonstrates that many of the central traits and issues of Hesiod's creation resonate in *Cruel Beauty*, as Hodge interprets the ancient myth and recreates it under a feminist agenda which seeks to empower women, through developing a new model of heroine.

Finally, moving from juvenile fiction to Japanese anime, Ayelet Peer scrutinizes the reception of the biblical creation of humans, which is combined with the Pandora narrative, in several examples of anime and manga. In this chapter, Peer demonstrates how the Japanese creators use these specific Judaeo-Christian and classical references to the creation of humans and reinterpret them in their works, arguing that such receptions of the source material are not randomly chosen and that the Japanese creators have deliberately used them to convey a message that is the result of a long and painful process of cultural integration that has taken place in Japanese society.

The papers in this collection cover a wide range of time periods, cultures, languages and media. Some use only the biblical narrative, others only the Graeco-Roman, while still others utilize elements of both. All of the receptions, however, use stories of the creation of humankind in ways that reflect and shape their own needs, and many are influenced not only by the original stories, but also by the later versions of them. Neither the Graeco-Roman nor the Judaeo-Christian tales of the creation of male and female have ever operated in isolation of each other, but rather have intersected and reacted against each other. This mixing was intensified through the merging of traditions as Christianity spread throughout the Roman Empire and became the dominant religion in the West, which was also the foremost propagator of the classical tradition, especially from the Renaissance onwards. In the concluding chapter, I attempt to elucidate some overall trends regarding how the different narratives have been adapted, where they overlap and where they differ, and what light these issues can shed on how the tales of creation of the two traditions have been utilized in Western tradition with regard to gender.

This introduction opened with reference to a contemporary debate concerning discourse regarding gender, in the form of the 'Me Too' movement. Yet the issues go much further than this, with ideas concerning issues of sexual orientation and gender identification having changed radically in the twenty-first century. Terms such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Cisgender and Transsexual, some of which were unheard of a century ago, now pepper the newspapers on a regular basis and are the topic of ongoing research.¹¹ The right to choose the gender with which one identifies, now widely accepted by Western society – and this is, despite the issues surrounding the term, a phenomenon only found widely in the West¹² – is a radical new direction, made possible in the modern age by medical advances and changing ideologies regarding personal freedom.¹³ Considering the ways in which gender has historically been considered in the civilization that now rejects much of these ideas is surely an exercise of paramount importance, and one to which we hope this volume contributes in some small way.

Notes

1. The phrase was actually coined more than ten years previously, by Tarana Burke, a survivor of sexual assault who wanted to do something to help women and girls of colour who had also survived sexual violence. It came to national and indeed global prominence with Milano's usage however.
2. Theresa Sanders, *Approaching Eden: Adam and Eve in Popular Culture* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009), 2.
3. C. Shiel, 'Developing the global citizen', *Exchange* 5 (2006): 15–20 (Higher Education Academy, York, Higher Education Research & Development); B. Szkudlarek, 'Through western eyes: insights into the intercultural training field', *Organization Studies* 30, no. 9 (2009): 975–86.
4. Glynis Cousin, 'Rethinking the concept of "western"', *Higher Education Research & Development* 30, no. 5 (2011): 585 (585–94), DOI: 10.1080/07294360.2011.598449. This last point is made by S. Hall, 'The west and the rest: discourse and power', in S. Schesh and J. Haggis (eds), *Development: A Cultural Studies Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 56–64, and cited by Cousin.
5. It should also be noted that these faiths were also themselves influenced by other Middle Eastern cultures such as Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite and Egyptian.
6. Charles Martindale played a central role in the development of the field, pushing classicists to theorize reception, first in his pioneering article 'Redeeming the Text: The Validity of Comparisons of Classical and Post-Classical Literature. A View from Britain', *Arion* (3rd series) 1, no. 3 (1992): 45–75, and then in a number of publications over the following fifteen years. These include *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993); 'Reception', in Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1294–5; 'Reception and the Classics of the Future', *Council of University Classics Departments Bulletin* 34 (2005), <http://www.rhul.ac.uk/classics/cucd/martindale05.html>; Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas, *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006); Charles Martindale, 'Reception – a new humanism? Receptivity, pedagogy, the transhistorical', *Classical Receptions Journal* 5, no. 2 (2013): 169.
7. Major works include Lorna Hardwick, *Translating Words, Translating Cultures* (London: Duckworth, 2000); Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, *A Companion to Classical Receptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); Edith Hall, 'Putting the class into Classical reception', in Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 386–97; Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer's Odyssey* (London and New York: IB Tauris, 2008); Edith Hall and Stephe Harrop (eds), *Theorising Performance: Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice* (London: Duckworth, 2010); Simon Goldhill, 'Cultural History and Aesthetics: Why Kant is No Place to Start Reception Studies', in Edith Hall and Stephe Harrop (London: Duckworth, 2010), 56–70.
8. David Hopkins, *Conversing With Antiquity: English Poets and the Classics, from Shakespeare to Pope*, Classical Presences (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1–14.
9. For a more detailed description of the various theories of classical reception and the history of the debate between them, see, L. Maurice, *Rewriting the Ancient World: Greeks, Romans, Christians and Jews in Modern Popular Fiction*, Metaforms: Studies in the Reception of Classical Antiquity (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 5–8.