One of the ways humans attempt to understand momentous events is to see if they have any precedent. Not long after the first reports of the devastating tsunami that originated on December 26, 2004 off the west coast of Sumatra, the press started to look for other tsunamis equally as destructive. In Indonesia, you need look no further than 1883 when the eruption of Krakatoa in the Sunda Strait between Sumatra and Java cost 36,000 people their lives, most of them killed by tsunamis. In the more distant past, 3,500 years ago, similarly powerful tsunamis may have struck in the Aegean Sea, as reporter Donald G. McNeil, Jr. noted:

Roughly three centuries before the Trojan War, the Santorini volcano, 200 times as powerful as the Mount St. Helens explosion, sent waves hundreds of feet high across the Mediterranean, devastating Crete, capital of the Minoan empire, its fleet and its coastal cities. Fatally weakened, the empire was conquered by the Mycenaean of the Greek mainland. (The New York Times, January 2, 2005)

McNeil repeats a well-known and remarkable theory to explain the destruction of the Minoan civilization by a volcanic eruption on Santorini (ancient Thera), an island sixty miles north of Crete in the Aegean Sea. But after the passage of so much time, how can we know if it is true? Immediately afterward, it was all too easy to see the horrific destruction wrought by the tsunami of December 26, but with time, that will no longer be so. Some of the Thai resorts hit by the tsunami reopened quickly. Now two years later, many towns, roads, and bridges throughout the region have been rebuilt. After 3,500 years, despite the excavation of numerous Minoan-era sites on Crete and the discovery of Akrotiri, a town buried under volcanic ash on Santorini (see Fig. 1), the evidence remaining of any tsunamis associated with the eruption of Santorini’s volcano is sparse, sometimes microscopic. In the absence of any written records, researchers have relied on pottery shards, buried volcanic ash, shell fragments, and tree rings.

The film 300, Warner Bros.’ brawny and compelling new addition to the genre of modern films about the ancient world, takes its name from the number of Spartan warriors who, led by their king Leonidas, held the narrow pass on the northern Greek coast at Thermopylae against the massive forces of the Persian army led by King Xerxes in 480 B.C. (see Fig. 2). On the film’s opening day (March 9, 2007), I joined about the same number of students from my epic film class at the local cinema where the audience was filled with boisterous fans.

The film is based on 300, the graphic novel by Frank Miller and colorist Lynn Varley (published in 1999). Miller was inspired by the earlier epic film, The 300 Spartans (1962), directed by Rudolph Maté. When he first saw the film as a boy, Miller recalls: “I stopped thinking of heroes as being the people who got medals at the end or the key to the city and started thinking of them more as the people who did the right thing and damn the consequences” (Lev Grossman, “The Art of War,” Time, March 12, 2007, 60). The historical battle of Thermopylae, one of the
The theory that the Santorini eruption devastated Crete and the Minoan civilization came not from an examination of the physical evidence that remains of the eruption but from an analogy made in 1939 between the Santorini and Krakatoa eruptions by Spyridon Marinatos, who later served as Director of the Greek Archaeological Service. What was known at the time was that the idyllic existence of the Bronze Age Minoans came to an apparently abrupt end in the Late Minoan period when the palaces and settlements in eastern Crete were destroyed and abandoned. The main palace at Knossos (Gnosos on the map) in north central Crete survived but showed evidence that the Mycenaean Greeks had taken over (see Fig. 2).

Sir Arthur Evans, who discovered and excavated Knossos beginning in 1900, thought an earthquake was the culprit. Knossos had previously been destroyed by a quake in 1700 B.C. and shows extensive rebuilding occasioned by minor quakes. Marinatos was skeptical that a quake wiped out the entirety of eastern Crete because, historically, earthquakes on Crete tend to have a more localized impact. So he turned his attention to the nearby island of Santorini and to Krakatoa, thousands of miles to the east.

Before erupting, the volcano on Krakatoa was one-half-mile high and the volcano on Santorini twice that. Afterwards, little was left of either mountain except a deep, watery caldera where the volcano once stood. Having read the official account of the Krakatoa eruption by engineer Rogier Verbeek for the Dutch colonial government, Marinatos knew that, during the eruption, a series of tsunamis, some as much as ninety feet high, broke on the coasts of Java and Sumatra and swept miles inland destroying villages and lives. Marinatos thought the consequences to Crete from the Santorini eruption must have been worse, in part simply because

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**Fig. 2. Ancient Greece and the Aegean.**

Map by Richard A. LaFleur and Tom Elliott.


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the Santorini eruption was larger – it created a caldera four times larger than the caldera left by Krakatoa’s volcano.

But for all the havoc Marinatos attributed to tsunamis, he recognized that wave impact on Crete would have been limited to the coastal plain. With Crete criss-crossed by three mountain ranges each 6,000 feet high or more, the Minoan palaces and towns of the interior would have been beyond the reach of any tsunami. The eruption on Krakatoa, however, offered other destructive possibilities. Ash spewed forth from the volcano on Krakatoa, turning day into night for one hundred miles around, and the blast from the explosion cracked walls to that distance as well. Marinatos hypothesized that, similarly, a “rain of mud and ashes, some cold, some blazing and burning” struck Crete. And to finish it off, a series of earthquakes occurred. The Minoans were dealt an “irreparable blow,” in Marinatos’ view, from the ash fall, tsunamis, and then earthquakes, and “from then onwards declined and sank into decadence,” leading to the takeover of the island by the Mycenaeans.

Marinatos explained his theory in a 1939 article in the English periodical Antiquity (13: 52, 425-439). At the time, the only archaeological evidence he had to support it came from the ruins of Amnisos, a harbor town north of Knossos. A pit in the lower levels of a building near the shore was filled with pumice, and at a villa further inland, foundation blocks facing the water were missing while the same type of blocks perpendicular to the shore were bowed unusually. Marinatos concluded that a tsunami washed away the upper levels of the building near the shore along with the foundation blocks of the villa that faced the shore; then, the receding tsunami pulled out of line the sides of the foundation perpendicular to the shore. A tsunami would not explain the presence of pumice in the lower level of the building near shore, however, because a tsunami, so powerful when it strikes the shore, is only a few feet high in the open ocean and could not have carried floating pumice from Santorini to Crete. Marinatos thought the pumice floated to Crete after the eruption and was deposited in the ruined building by a subsequent storm.

The editors of Antiquity, noting the dearth of evidence, took the unusual step of commenting at the end of the article that “the main thesis of this article requires additional support from excavation at selected sites.” Little did they appreciate the intense, if not immediate, interest in Marinatos’ theory. Not until the 1960’s did Marinatos get around to excavating at a selected site, Akrotiri, a Minoan town on the southern shore of Santorini. By then, he was not alone. Given the extraordinary possibility that a volcanic eruption brought an advanced civilization to its knees, it is not surprising that the subject has attracted the attention of archaeologists, geologists, and volcanologists worldwide, much of it encouraged by Marinatos and his successor at the Akrotiri excavation, Christos Doumas, who organized three conferences in 1969, 1978, and 1989 to discuss the implications of the Santorini eruption.

After persistent scientific scrutiny, some of Marinatos’ contentions have been rejected. The ash that fell on Crete was cold, not hot – the ash did not even burn wood in the houses excavated at Akrotiri – and any earthquakes associated with the eruption on Santorini were too weak to ruin buildings on Crete. Other contentions have been reworked. Marinatos’ rough comparison of the size of the Krakatoa and Santorini calderas does not quite fit because a portion of the Santorini caldera was created in an earlier eruption. Nonetheless, volcanologists still think the Santorini eruption was the more powerful of the two.

Although skepticism abounds, some evidence, but not unequivocal proof, has been found in favor of Marinatos’ theory. Take the ash fall, for instance. Exploration of the eastern Mediterranean has turned up some ash deposits to the southeast of Santorini, in the direction of the wind that prevails there during the late summer and fall. Ash blown in this direction would have fallen mainly on eastern Crete. This would be consistent with damage to that part of the island alone. But the latest findings suggest that ash fell mostly to the east of Santorini. Ten inches or more of ash fell on islands in this direction. On Crete, at most four inches, and probably more like two inches, fell on the eastern tip of the island, while near Knossos, less than an inch fell. According to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, four or more inches of ash can bury topsoil sufficiently to make it sterile for years, but two inches may or may not have an impact on crops, depending on their maturity and depending on whether rain, which frequently accompanies eruptions, compacts or washes the ash away, thereby decreasing the risk of harm. Also critical is whether the ash is acidic and scorches the crops. It is

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**Book and Audio Review:**

*Mater Anserina*

by Diane Johnson


This slender volume, which has the sturdy board cover and the bright, simply drawn illustrations of a book intended for children, contains twenty-eight English poems rendered into Latin. Each original English text is set out with its Latin version facing. Below the Latin text is “a list of words that the reader may not remember immediately” (Preface). Attached to the inside back cover is a CD containing performances, by vocalist William du Cassé and by the authors, of all of the lyrics in the collection: some are sung, others recited.

In their preface, Minkova and Tunberg describe their intended audience:

We not only hope that the Latin texts will provide delight, especially for the many people deeply familiar with the English songs since childhood, but will also help students of Latin develop their sense of the accentuation of Latin words. (1)

With this in mind, we must re-evaluate the collection’s subtitle, *Poems in Latin for Children.* *Mater Anserina* does indeed contain poems in Latin for children; the question of who these children are, and of how these poems are pragmatically to be approached, is not addressed. My own feeling is that readers must become as children in order fully to appreciate *Mater Anserina* and must introduce these verses to Latin students as older children to younger or as parents to toddlers in the ancient oral tradition of transmission.

I can attest to the delight the Latin verses convey. They are undeniably and irresistibly charming, for their charm taps the very source Mother Goose had accessed: simple, strong rhythms and end-rhymes. Each Latin version replicates the accentual pattern and does its best to retain the syllable count of the original. Here is “Hickory dickory dock” with the stress accents of the Latin lines provided by the authors.

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most heroic moments in Greek history, is recounted by Herodotus (The Histories 7.176-239), and the Spartans’ ultimate sacrifice is commemorated in the epigram by the Greek poet Simonides of Ceos (556-469 B.C.): “Go tell the Spartans, passerby: that here, by Spartan law, we lie.” Miller lifts this and other memorable lines directly from the ancient Greek sources. For example, when ordered by the Persians to hand over their weapons, the Spartan king Leonidas says, “Come and take them,” a line from Plutarch (Spartan Sayings 225c.11); or when the Persians warn that their mass of arrows will blot out the sunlight, a Spartan officer gives the reply, “Then we will fight in the shade” (Herodotus, The Histories 7.226).

Just as Miller draws on the Greek sources, so also director and co-screenwriter Zack Snyder follows Miller’s stirring narrative, images, and dialogue closely as he recreates the graphic novel’s austere aesthetic vision in his high-concept film. Snyder skilfully employs bluescreen technology in filming the actors, then computer technicians fill in the background imagery and digitally shade every frame in intense hues of smoke and metal. For anyone who did not have enough violence and sex for their tastes, 300 will be much more to their liking. The film is spectacularly violent, but the violence reveals a heavy dose of post-Matrix cinematic stylization: the battle scenes are edited in slow-to-fast motion technique, with computer-generated blood gushing from impaled torsos and severed heads. The result is a stunning virtual recreation of this authentic yet highly idealized moment in history when a band of Spartan warriors refused to surrender their freedom and so saved the Greek-speaking world.

With so much visual artifice, the only “real” thing in the film is the well-toned physical presence of the actors. As the noble King Leonidas, Scottish actor Gerard Butler is leonine and somber as he growls his famous battlefield one-liners through his bronze face-mask. While the Spartans most likely did not fight wearing just long, red capes and leather briefs, their bare abdominal muscles rippling with every sword thrust, the producers chose to stay true to the graphic novel’s pictorial vision. Snyder also wanted to create a film that would attract an audience beyond the young male fan base of the graphic novel: “The buff, largely unclad Spartans are also the producers’ main hope of getting anyone other than straight men to see 300” (Grossman, 61). After test screenings, the producers were astonished to discover that the film engaged female audiences to an extraordinary degree (Steve Daly, “Double-Edged Sword,” Entertainment Weekly, March 16, 2007, 38). Women viewers may respond to the film because 300 overturns the typical convention of epic films by showcasing a strong female lead character. Queen Gorgo, wife of Leonidas, played by British actress Lena Headey, gets a more prominent role in the film than in the graphic novel (see Fig. 3). Over Miller’s initial objection — “this is a boys’ movie,” he said — Snyder and his wife, Deborah (who is also his producing partner) decided to augment the queen’s role, believing that “Leonidas needed something specific to fight for and female ticket-buyers needed someone to identify with” (Daly, 38). 300 introduces Gorgo as a political and sexual equal to Leonidas: her prominence in the film accords well with the fact that Herodotus mentions Gorgo by name in two anecdotes that emphasize her morality and intelligence (The Histories 5.51 and 7.239). Early in the film, she joins her husband to meet the Persian envoy and nods her stern approval before Leonidas kicks him into a pit. Later in bed together, Gorgo encourages her husband to take on the suicidal task of warding off the Persians and then shares an erotic sequence with him that is atypical of the Hollywood epic film genre for its length and explicitness. Standing in a shoulder-high field of wheat, an emotionally-charged epic film scene ever since Maximus ran his fingers through the golden stalks in Gladiator, Gorgo speaks the famous “with your shield or on it” line to the departing Leonidas. The film also adds a new subplot for the queen: after Leonidas leaves to confront the Persians, Gorgo fights off the corrupt politician Theron (Dominic West), who extorts sex from her in exchange for his support of the war. Gorgo stirs excitement with her subsequent appearance in the Spartan council hall, where her act of revenge on Theron is the signature applause moment of the film.

The film has also drawn attention for the way it seems to tap into current debates about the American role in the Middle East, though the filmmakers unequivocally disavow any political subtext to the film. Moreover, the modern Greeks and Persians (now Iranians) have registered their reactions. The Iranian government decried the film as “insulting” to its civilization, calling it “psychological warfare” against its people.
Iran Condemns Hollywood War Epic,” BBC News online, March 3, 2007), and banned it from its theaters. Some Greeks have been troubled by the film’s presentation of “pompous interpretations and one-dimensional characters,” though one Greek film critic offers a voice of reason: “This is not a university lecture, it’s a movie” (“Greek Critics Lash Hollywood’s Ancient Epic 300,” International Herald Tribune online, March 8, 2007).

To be sure, the film and the graphic novel engage in the kind of politics of representation that would have been familiar to Greeks in the early fifth century. Soon after 480 B.C., the Battle of Thermopylae was mythologized in Greek art and literature as an epic showdown between manly, freedom-loving Greeks and the enslaved hordes of effete Asian tyrants. As ancient historian Victor Davis Hanson notes: “The Greeks themselves often embraced such impressionistic adaptation” in their vase-paintings and dramatic plays (“Viewers Still Get the Right Message in Dramatized 300,” syndicated column, March 25, 2007).

One of the film’s more controversial representations is that of the Persian king, Xerxes. Although he is not described in the historical sources, from ancient relief images we can surmise that the king probably wore a long beard and sat on his throne away from the front lines of battle. Yet Miller portrays Xerxes as a hairless giant who gets in Leonidas’ face and demands submission, and Snyder follows suit to intensify the threat: “What’s more scary to a 20-year-old boy than a giant god-king who wants to have his way with you?” (Daly, 38). In the film, Brazilian actor Rodrigo Santoro plays Xerxes as a sexually-ambiguous figure, covered in jewelry, with dark eyeliner and long fingernails. By showing multiple piercings on his body, the film offers a visual signal of his corruption that would have been familiar to the ancients, since the definition of a Greek citizen male was the impenetrability of his body (most recently: Marilyn B. Skinner, Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture [2005], 7). The Spartans, on the other hand, exhibit unpainted skin that is smooth but for battle scars. These contrasting images bring to mind the distinct visual contrast presented in Greek vase paintings between Persians with their elaborate clothing, including highly patterned leggings and caps with long ear-coverings, and the depictions of Greek warriors with their arms and legs bared in “heroic nudity,” images that may have resonated with an ancient Greek audience just as they do with modern moviegoers. Such images in the film are intended to encourage the viewing audience to identify with the Spartan hero-protagonists, a common strategy of the modern epic film. Yet the most sinister character in the film is not the gold-pierced Xerxes but rather Theron, the Spartan traitor who calls himself “a political realist.” Theron represents the true outrage in this beautiful, surrealistic world where three-hundred near-legendary warriors made a valiant last stand for the concepts of duty, honor, and glory.

The story of the Battle of Thermopylae is as awesome as any in history, and 300 does an exceptional job of offering a rousing, spectacular-looking recreation of the tale. When the film reaped a record-breaking $71 million on its opening weekend, with the largest-ever box-office total in March history and the third-highest for any R-rated film, one critic noted: “The industry was stunned by the magnitude of the Spartan victory” (Josh Rottenberg, “The Conquering Heroes,” Entertainment Weekly, March 23, 2007, 27). Viewers should keep in mind, however, that 300 is not a documentary: it is a film based on a graphic novel based on an earlier epic film that was based on a historical account of a war. Ultimately the film 300 challenges the viewer to engage with modern adaptations of the ancient past, especially the films and graphic novels that render antiquity so vividly imaginable, so we may continue to understand and define our ever-shifting contemporary relationship to the ancient world.

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“From Gatekeeper to Gateway”
Progress in the APA’s Campaign for Classics

As Amphora readers know, the APA has received an extraordinary Challenge Grant of $650,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a Campaign for Classics in the 21st Century. The Association has embarked on this campaign to generate the resources necessary to develop the next generation of educational and research resources and to involve a wider public in the work of classics scholars. You can obtain information about the campaign, follow its progress, and make a donation yourself on the APA web site: http://www.apaclassics.org/campaign/campaign.html.

Recent progress in the campaign includes:

• Former Senator Peter Fitzgerald of Illinois, a classics major at Dartmouth, has agreed to join Michael Putnam as Co-Chair of the Campaign Committee.

• Former Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland and his wife, Christine, a classics teacher for many years in Baltimore, have also become Co-Chairs.

• At the request of Ed and Betsy Cohen, the Arete Foundation has recently pledged a donation of $100,000. This is the first “six-figure” gift received by the Campaign, and we are grateful to the Cohens for the leadership they have shown with this contribution.

• The Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation has made a $40,000 grant that will permit the APA to expand the Minority Summer Scholarship program. We thank the Delmas Foundation trustees for their support of this important work.

• The APA has received over $300,000 in pledges and about $75,000 in partial and in some cases complete fulfillment of these pledges, and these funds are being invested.

• The first deadline for claiming matching funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities was January 31, and the gifts described above made it easy for the Association to claim and receive the full amount offered by the Endowment for the first year of the challenge grant ($10,000).

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THE HOPI MYTH FIELD MOUSE GOES TO WAR AND THE WORLD OF GREEK EPIC

by T. Davina McClain

What do the story of a dirty little field mouse and the epics of Homer have in common? The works of Joseph Campbell and David Leeming, in particular, have shown that similarities exist among the myths of different cultures. Although these writers are not without their critics, their works chronicle many examples of strikingly similar images and archetypes (the hero, the trickster, older women with magical powers, and others) in the myths of cultures from around the world. For those more familiar with the myths of the Greeks, learning about the stories of non-Greco-Roman cultures can provide new insight into the Greek myths through comparison and contrast and provide an opportunity for a new understanding of other ancient and modern cultures.

One Hopi story, Field Mouse Goes to War, offers just such an opportunity. The Hopi live in northeastern Arizona on the Hopi Indian Reservation, an area that surrounds and includes First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa, on which the Hopi live in long-established villages. The Hopi trace their ancestry to the Anasazi, the inhabitants of better known sites such as Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon, and archaeological excavations document the Hopi presence in Arizona to A.D. 500. The Hopi have a rich mythology about the origins of their people, the traditions of different clans, and a wide variety of individual characters. Although scholars have explored the Hopi stories of their origin and the stories of the Hopi trickster figure, the coyote, Field Mouse has not received any attention, perhaps because it was not included in either of the two early collections of Hopi mythology compiled by H. R. Voth ( Traditions of the Hopi, 1905) and Edmund Nequatewa ( Truth of a Hopi, 1936). Field Mouse, therefore, provides a wonderful new opportunity for comparative study of the hero myth in two cultures – Hopi and Greek – and a chance to ponder the affinities between geographically and chronologically distant traditions.

Field Mouse Goes to War (Tusan Homichi Tusvoté, in Hopi) was originally published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1944 as the joint project of Dr. Edward Kennard, the translator; Albert Yava, a Tewa-Hopi who provided the Hopi text; and now-renowned Hopi artist Fred Kabotie, who illustrated the story (see Fig. 4). The genesis of the recording of Field Mouse appears to be the Bureau’s response to a report in 1938 detailing its failure to provide services for American Indians (as required by the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act). As part of its mission to improve education, the Bureau began publishing written versions of Hopi stories in English and Hopi as a means for teaching English. Currently available editions of the story offer both English-only (Kiva Press, 2000) and bilingual (English and Hopi in side-by-side columns, Filter Press, 1999) versions. The story itself is about 2,500 words (English), with thirteen full pages of illustrations.

An unknown narrator begins by saying that the story is not an old one and that it happened in a specific place, in the Hopi village of Mischongnovi, a key Hopi village on Second Mesa when the villagers’ chickens – a recent addition to their food resources – began to disappear. (Chickens were brought from Europe to North and South America in the 1500’s.) The people had become very proud of their chickens, so although they had plenty of other food, they worried only about the chickens and talked as if the people would soon starve without them.

Then they discovered that a hawk living above the village on Corn Rock (a place sacred to the Hopi and near Mischongnovi) was taking the chickens. Everyone – the men, women, and children – knew that they must kill the hawk, but no one knew how. Tusun Homichi (Hopi for “Dirty Mouse”), who lived on the south side of the village, heard the fears of the people and felt sorry for them. He decided he would kill the hawk for the people. He went to the Chief of the village and asked that the village Crier announce a war dance. Although the Crier thought the Chief was crazy or perhaps that the mouse knew some magic, he carried out the request. After Tusun Homichi succeeded in killing the hawk, the people honored him.

For those familiar with the Greek epics, Field Mouse Goes to War offers the opportunity for a useful comparison. If we accept the argument of Milman Parry in The Making of Homeric Verse (1971, 451), one recently put forward again by Richard Janko ( Classical Quarterly 48 [1998], 1-13), that the versions of the Homeric epics which have come down to us were performances given for someone whose purpose it was to write down these works, we find a situation that closely approximates the way Field Mouse Goes to War became a written text. After the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which stopped the official systematic destruction of Native American culture, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to ask the Native Americans to tell their stories so that they could be written down. Thus, just as the Greek singer was asked to “tell” the Iliad to someone who wrote it down, so also someone was asked to tell this story so that it could be recorded. How this process may have affected the translation of the English version we have is unclear. (The existence of the Hopi version will allow other scholars the opportunity to examine that question.)

What else does Field Mouse Goes to War share with Greek epics like the Iliad and Odyssey? First, the Greek gods, goddesses, and heroes of the epics have their epithets: owl-eyed Athena, white-armed Hera, swift-footed Achilles. The mouse ( homichi ) too has his epithet – tusun (dirty). Since “dirty” is not a particularly appealing description, the translator appears to have chosen to leave it out in all but three occasions: he is called a “dirty little field mouse” once by the Chief, when he reports the offer of help to the Crier (25), and twice by the people who doubt his ability to kill the hawk (30 and 56). Thus, although Greek epithets tend to be complimentary or neutrally descriptive, Tusun Homichi’s epithet – at least to an English-speaking audience – casts him in a negative light.

Second, the Greek poems display repetitive language, especially in passages in which an envoy is asked to deliver a message in the Iliad (for example, Zeus’ command to Agamemnon at 2.11-15 repeated in a dream at 2.28-32; Agamemnon’s message for Achilles at 9.122-157 repeated by Odysseus at 9.264-299; and Zeus’ message for Achilles at 24.113-116 repeated by Thetis at 24.134-137). The rhythmic, repetitive nature of the language of Field Mouse Goes to War, especially when
the story is read aloud, begins to feel familiar to those who have also read Homer. When the mouse tells the Chief what to announce, the Chief repeats his words to the Crier in essentially the same form (24-27), and the elements of the announcement are repeated while the people make preparations (30).

Third, one of the hallmarks of Homeric society is the importance of the guest-host relationship. In The Stranger's Welcome (1993), Steve Reece details a pattern of hospitality in Homer's poems (6-7). There are many elements of interaction between the guest and host in the Greek poems, but three acts are constant: first, the guest is offered food; then, guest and host share an after-dinner drink; then, the host questions the visitor. There are clear similarities between the Greek process of receiving a guest and that of the Hopi in Field Mouse Goes to War. When Tusun Homichi comes to the Chief's home, and when the Chief goes to the Crier, their interactions reveal a set of rituals and rules very similar to those in Homeric society: first, food is offered to the guest and the guest eats; then, the tobacco brought by the guest is smoked; then, the guest answers the host's questions. Interestingly enough, Tusun Homichi is more careful about guest-host propriety than the Chief: the Chief begins to question Tusun Homichi before they have smoked, but the mouse brings out his tobacco and pipe and agrees to talk only after they have shared the tobacco.

Fourth, both the Iliad and Field Mouse Goes to War include detailed arming scenes as an essential part of preparation for battle. In the four arming scenes in the Iliad (Paris at 3:328-338, Agamemnon at 11:15-55, Patroclus at 16:130-154, and Achilles at 19:364-424), the warriors begin with the greaves and move up the body, ending with placing the helmet on their heads as the final part of the warrior's preparation. The warrior then goes right into battle. In comparison, Tusun Homichi begins by tying eagle feathers on his head and moves down his body as he dresses for battle. He does not go immediately into battle, but rather the narrator tells us that the mouse “sat down and thought about his songs. Dressed like a real warrior, he thought like a real warrior” (40). This contemplation is possible because of the time between preparation and battle, which for Tusun Homichi is preceded by feasting and a war dance. Unlike the fighters in the Iliad who are already in the midst of war, the mouse sits in his home and prepares for a single fight.

That Field Mouse Goes to War is about war at all makes it unusual among Hopi myths: as a rule the Hopi are a peace-oriented nation (their name comes from Hopituh Shi-nu-mu, “peaceful people”) whose myths focus on creation, sexuality, or the coyote (a trickster figure). As Richard Erdoes (a scholar and compiler of Native American myths) has pointed out in American Indian Myths and Legends (1984), the “Southwestern desert people have traditionally been too peaceful to generate a large body of war myths, though some tales of Apache and Navajo raids do exist” (246). That Field Mouse Goes to War does explore a battle may be attributed in part to the late date of its creation, after the coming of Europeans and after the introduction of chickens.

Fig. 4. The cover of Field Mouse Goes to War features Tusun Homichi, the mouse warrior brought to life by Hopi artist Fred Kabotie, dancing his war dance to lure the hawk to his trap. Used with the permission of Doris Baker, Filter Press.

Fifth, there is the boasting of the warrior. In the battle between the mouse and the hawk, the mouse dances and sings songs to anger the hawk — something similar to the boasts that Homeric warriors offer. Aeneas boasts that, if he had hit Meriones, he would be dead (Iliad 16:617-618); Meriones responds that Aeneas is mortal and will die if Meriones strikes him (16:620-625). Euphorbus boasts to Menelaus that he was the first to strike Patroclus (17:12-17); Menelaus responds that he will send Euphorbus' shield and head to his father when he kills him (17:34-42). In contrast to the Homeric boasts, which are aimed at frightening one’s opponent, Tusun Homichi’s declara-

tion that the hawk will not be able to kill him, even though it kills chickens and rabbits, is meant to draw his opponent into his trap: “The hawk kills chickens. The hawk kills rabbits. But the hawk won’t kill Tusun Homichi. Monster Hawk will surely die” (48).

Sixth, there is defeat by cunning. When the hawk finally does attack, he swoops low along the ground to seize the mouse, but instead he kills himself by slicing his neck on a sharp stick that Tusun Homichi has pushed up through the ground. This trick likens the mouse to Odysseus who defeats the Trojans with the horse and uses his cleverness and a sharp stick to defeat the Cyclops, Polyphemus (Odyssey 9.315-99).

Seventh and finally, just as Greek warriors earn rewards in the form of spoils or armor or slaves (especially women) for valor in battle, the people of Mishongnovi honor Tusun Homichi for defeating the hawk: the Chief and Crier present him with prayer sticks, prayer feathers, and sacred corn meal, and sprinkle him with medicine water; and the women bring all sorts of food to the door of his home. Although there are certainly differences between the Hopi world of Field Mouse Goes to War and the Greek world of the Iliad and Odyssey, these points of comparison give Tusun Homichi a place in the heroic tradition.

Field Mouse Goes to War deserves more study in its own right, especially for what it may reveal about a later stage of Hopi culture and storytelling. For those interested in Greek epic, this Hopi story offers valuable parallels for what can seem a complicated and foreign world. Especially for students coming to the Iliad or the Odyssey for the first time, reading and discussing Field Mouse beforehand can serve as a way to introduce key elements of the epic and heroic world. For anyone who loves the story of a hero, Field Mouse Goes to War is a wonderful tale that can provide a starting point for the exploration of Hopi culture and the world of the Greek epic.

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the following description of the geography of Orbis Grammaticus was obtained from a traveller from our land who was mysteriously transported thither in a fashion that he neither understood nor was capable of relating in any intelligible way. He reported that he had accidentally stepped out of our world by means of a mirror and lost his way in the land in which he thereupon found himself. Apart from hastily drawing a map and briefly describing the lands of Orbis Grammaticus, he would say no more (see Fig. 5). Not having explored these territories himself, the present author cannot vouch for the truth of all aspects of the account and merely offers it as a curiosity to travellers seeking paths to other worlds of enlightenment.

TERRA NOMINUM, perhaps the best known of the lands within Orbis Grammaticus, extends from the foothills beneath the Montes Gerundiorum in the northeast to the river running along its eastern border with Terra Adjecticorum. The inhabitants of this territory (called Nomina) are solid, down to earth, and imperturbable. They are also sound masters of military strategy, having almost completely subjugated their neighbors over the river. This country is dotted all over with small settlements of related Nomina; the rulers of the country are the Pronomina, who dwell in their own city. The Nomina and the Verba, who live beyond the Montes Gerundiorum and the Silca Conjunctionum, are the parties chiefly responsible for organizing the trade caravans that travel throughout Orbis Grammaticus on the main road, the Via Mercatoria. The social structure of the Nomina is a complex class system: various subgroups include the Abstracta, the Concreta, the Vulgata, and the Propria.

OPPIDUM PRONOMINUM is the greatest of the cities in Terra Nominum. Its residents, called Pronomina, are superior to the ordinary citizens of the country in that they are shape-shifters; they may at will assume the forms of other Nomina. Their city lies close to the caravan route running through Orbis Grammaticus, hence they frequently join themselves to passing travellers. They are extraordinarily small and nimble, and therefore they often earn their pay by travelling and conducting business on behalf of their larger and more ponderous fellow citizens.

TERRA ADJECTIVORUM is found in the south of Orbis Grammaticus, between the two rivers that flow from the Silca Conjunctionum. The servile inhabitants of these low-lying plains are entirely subject to those who dwell in neighboring Terra Nominum and exist only to serve the needs of the Nomina. On occasion, the Adjectiva slip unnoticed into their masters’ land, not by means of the bridge over which the caravan route passes but over a ramshackle crossing far to the south near the Scalae Substantiae, a series of natural steps that lead down from the tableland in the southwestern extremity of Terra Nominum to the western bank of the river dividing the aforementioned land from Terra Adjecticorum. Adjectica that manage to infiltrate Terra Nominum usually attempt to gain such profit as they may by impersonating Nomina, until the intolerant Nomina detect their true nature and deport them back to Terra Adjecticorum in chains.

TERRA VERBORUM, located in the northeast of Orbis Grammaticus, consists of rolling hill country in the west but gives way to plains in the east. The Verba, denizens of Terra Verborum, include horsemen, the Equitantia Actica, who gallop madly by day and by night over the countryside on errands of gallantry best understood by themselves alone. The Actica revel in action, unlike the Dormientia Passica, who pass most of their lives in slumberous repose, usually rolled into small balls with arms held protectively over their heads. The Passica may be found tucked into hollows in the hillsides, in which they seek refuge from accidents beneath the hooves of the Actica, or else in holes that they dig in the plains. Both the Actica and Passica delight in joining caravans that travel throughout Orbis Grammaticus, although the Passica insist on being rolled about in barrels by their fellow travellers, whereas the Actica ride proudly in train, sometimes bearing banners of crimson and green embroidered with gold.

Despite their obvious differences, the Passica and the Actica reckon themselves as belonging to the same tribe: the Indicatica. The two groups nevertheless rarely intermarry, for such unions often give rise to the alarming Deponentia and horrifying Hemideponentia, both of which are compelled to live in separate colonies upon maturity. The Verba are firmly convinced of the existence of a transcendent Caesum Subjunctivorum, the abode of the souls of departed Indicatica, to whom they address their prayers and wishes concerning things that may come to pass; their theology is ill understood and remains to be thoroughly examined but is reported shot through with elements of fear.

SILVA CONJUNCTIONUM is a dread forest at the very center of the Orbis Grammaticus, in which are to be found the Conjunctiones, fierce creatures that exist in bewildering variety. Small trading caravans must occasionally travel through the forest or under its eaves, and when the Conjunctiones discover several such caravans passing nearby, they occasionally venture forth from their dens to coordinate the caravans with each other or subordinate one to another. This is sometimes quite distressing for the travellers in the caravans but may work to their advantage, as the newly-linked caravans may be able to accomplish more than they would otherwise have done individually. Caravans nevertheless travel under armed guard whenever possible. Waters descending from the Montes Gerundiorum through the Silca Conjunctionum are divided into two rivers: one flows southeast through the Oppidum Adverbiorum and thereafter gives rise to the trackless marshes of the Palus Participiorum; the other runs southwest and divides the plains of Terra Adjecticorum from the tablelands of Terra Nominum.

OPPIDUM ADVERBIORUM is a bustling merchant city that straddles the river running between Terra Adjecticorum and Terra Verborum. Its residents, Adverbio by name, conduct trade between these two lands and also among themselves within their own city. Being merchants careful and shrewd, the Adverbio founded their city
not only on a main waterway but also on the caravan route.

CASTRA PRAEPOSITIONUM is a permanent outpost located in the foothills between Terra Nominum and the Montes Gerundiorum. It is inhabited by Praepositiones, mercenaries who occasionally raid the villages and lesser settlements of the Nominae, whom they often kidnap and compel into servitude. Such raids are generally launched at the behest of Verba (both Activa and Passiva), who reward the Praepositiones for their service, but wealthy Adjectiva sometimes hire the Praepositiones, and even the Nominae occasionally employ them against other Nominae.

NUBES INFINITIVORUM are silvery vaporous masses that may be seen in the upper atmosphere above Terra Verborum. Within these clouds dwell winged spirits known as Verba Infinitiva, which rarely descend to earth, for they are by nature somewhat haughty and therefore unconcerned with the ground dwellers and their affairs. Certain Nominae (especially residents of a village called Accusativum) and Verba, however, are said to be capable of summoning Verba Infinitiva as temporary servants at great need; although the Verba Infinitiva are reportedly reluctant to be so compelled, they have not found any way of freeing themselves from the burden of this servitude.

PALUS PARTICIPIORUM is an all but impenetrable swamp formed between Terra Adjectivorum and Terra Verborum by one of the two rivers flowing from the Silva Conjunctionum. As the plains become more nearly level, the river spreads and becomes not merely a shallow river, but a broad marsh, a trackless mire of shifting bogs and quagmires. The swamp is inhabited by fierce Participia, hybrid monsters formed by an unholy union of Adjectiva and Verba. They partake of the natures of both sides of their parentage but tend to favor the Adjectiva side slightly; hence they may serve the Nominae even as the Adjectiva do. The Participiae are also wont to creep up the Scaene Substantivae in order to impersonate Nominae (again mimicking the Adjectiva), but they are easily spotted in most of their guises.

MONTES GERUNDIORUM is a range of mountains in the northern portion of Orbis Grammaticus, lying slightly north and west of the Silva Conjunctionum. Were it not for the unhappy fact that these mountains are filled with the lairs of dangerous giants named Gerundiae who delight in nothing more than decapitating unwary travellers, all traders in Orbis Grammaticus would hasten thither to mine the various rare ores that may be found hidden in the stones here. As it is, however, the route through the mountains is only infrequently travelled, and those who pass unscathed through the mountains often have tales of horror and woe to tell.

[author’s note: the traveller whispered briefly of an especially fierce sub-variety of giant known as the Gerundiva but then blanched and fell silent.]

No more would the traveller divulge concerning his adventures in Orbis Grammaticus, although much more could doubtless be written by someone sufficiently bold to attempt a systematic exploration of these territories. Travellers with greater experience in these realms would assuredly be able to shed light on many obscure matters to which only the slightest allusion has been made here, yet if this brief account be of any aid, comfort, or delight to hardy souls embarking upon such journeys, the author shall be well satisfied.

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A PLUM EATER AMONG THE GOPHERS: TEACHING CLASSICS FIFTY YEARS AGO IN MINNESOTA

by Christopher Arnander

“N
o, No, Mr. Arnander, you are a plum eater and do not eat the cake.” With these words, Eduard Fraenkel, former Corpus Professor of Latin at Oxford University, poured cold water on my aspirations to devote my life to classical scholarship; he thought me, perhaps rightly, too much of a dilettante. It was the summer of 1956, and I was having tea with him before setting out for a job half way across the world – a one-year instructorship in the Classics Department of the University of Minnesota, home of the Golden Gophers. Norman DeWitt, its departmental head, was off on a sabbatical, and another pair of hands was needed to share the teaching load.

For a twenty-three-year-old Brit, it was a marvellous opportunity. Britain was poor, hungry, and gloomy – we had lost an empire, but not yet found a role, in the words of the American statesman, Dean Acheson. America was the land of the free and had rescued us in two world wars. It was also the land of plenty; I was to be paid the princely sum of $4,000 – not bad when I could get a reasonable breakfast at my local diner for a quarter and a pair of stout jeans for 99 cents on Hennepin Avenue, in downtown Minneapolis.

The journey was truly memorable. How can I ever forget standing on the deck of the Queen Mary and seeing for the first time, through the dawn mist, the Statue of Liberty, which had welcomed so many new Americans over the years? A Greyhound bus took me to Chicago, where I boarded the Burlington Zephyr for the Twin Cities; its observation car let me take in the Mississippi meandering through the autumnal landscape. I was soon billeted with an elderly lady, a short walk from my university, the University of Minnesota, home of the Golden Gophers. Norman DeWitt, its departmental head, was off on a sabbatical, and another pair of hands was needed to share the teaching load.

I started my new job in the midst of a presidential election. Soon, I was pitchforked into the awkward position of having to defend my country’s indefensible actions; Britain, France, and Israel had invaded Egypt and seized the Suez Canal. Universal outrage was the greater because the Soviets brutally crushed Hungary’s bid for freedom at the same time. When the Federal Reserve gave a nod and wink that it would not stop the run on sterling, Britain had to climb down or face bankruptcy. It was an early example of the sudden power of global money flows and a terrible humiliation for Britain. The wretched Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, was lampedooned as a sheep in wolf’s clothing in Punch and soon left the scene, his health and reputation in ruins.

Luckily, the Suez crisis was not held against me, and everybody was most welcoming. The atmosphere was informal and entertaining, though no less scholarly for that. One day, a student of mine appeared in class sporting an “It’s A Girl” badge and smoking a cigar; smokers were not yet treated as moral lepers, and my Winston cigarette (subliminally chosen by me for its Churchillian overtones) cost me far less than a smoke in England. My student was paying his way through college by working nights as an armed guard in a warehouse; between his hourly routine of punching time-clocks, he got a lot of reading done. Here was a big difference from Oxford, where manual or clerical work was considered demeaning for scholars. Working one’s way through college struck me as very practical and character forming; it certainly did not stop this student of mine and many others from going on to distinguished academic careers.

Another difference was in the specialist/generalist contrast. My knowledge and skills were profound in a few small corners of classical antiquity. I knew almost everything about Alexander the Great, but nothing about Xerxes or Marcus Aurelius; I translated a big chunk of Mallory’s Morte d’Arthur into Homeric hexameters but hardly knew a line of Ovid or Pindar. My students, on the other hand, mostly did not major in classics and were after the big picture, what the first President Bush called “the vision thing.” They wanted an overall vision of Greek tragedy or Roman poetry, illustrated by the work of the great poets, philosophers, and historians, preferably in English translation. The study of classics was secondary to their major subjects, such as literature, history, and religion.

My three full-time colleagues taught courses well beyond their special subjects. Bill McDonald had a global reputation for his archaeological work in Messenia. Donald Swanson was a learned and entertaining linguist, who taught me about gloctal stops. Margaret Forbes was a pioneer who translated Americana into Latin, thus popularizing classical studies; one of her pupils was Garrison Keillor, Minnesota’s best known, at least to the British, son (see Fig. 6). Margaret was an intellectual ancestor of the Eton schoolmaster, Peter Needham, whose Harrius Potter et Philosophi Lapis has received rave reviews. Tom Jones was a versatile head of Ancient History, who also wrote a splendid book on South America; he was an excellent cellist, with whom I used to enjoy chamber music evenings.

Across the lobby, a fast-growing beast was nibbling at our turf. This was the Humanities Department with its wide-ranging interdisciplinary courses. These courses were popular with students seeking the big picture and were presented by charismatic lecturers, among them lions of the American literary scene, such as Saul Bellow and Allen Tate. We classics scholars used to mock them with snide comments about their courses, calling them things like “English Literature: From Beowulf to Virginia Woolf in Eight Hours,” but we recognised in our heart of hearts that they were trying to do something important, even if it was a recipe for interdepartmental friction and there was a risk of superficial dilettantism. Professor Fraenkel would certainly have deemed

continued on page 19
Q Did the ancient Greeks and Romans keep cats as pets?

A Dogs were the most beloved of all pets among both the Greeks and Romans, but the domestic cat, while not exclusively a pet, has probably been, according to Donald Engels, of greater practical value to human beings.

The evidence we have about ancient cats (more than one might imagine) indicates that the ancient Greek and Roman domestic cat, and indeed all house cats throughout the world, had its origin in *Felis sylvestris libyca*, the wildcat of Egypt, which was domesticated around 2000 B.C. In Egypt, domestic cats (called *miu*) were valued for their ability to kill grain-eating and disease-carrying rodents. By killing rats and mice, they helped to protect the human population from starvation and illness. Cats were revered in Egypt and associated with Isis and the cat goddess Bastet. Herodotus wrote that cats were embalmed and buried in sacred receptacles and that, when a cat died a natural death, people sharing the house with it shaved their eyebrows (The Histories 2.66). In Egyptian art, a favorite scene was a cat (wild or feral) hunting water birds. This hunting scene made its way to the Roman world, and we find it on a mosaic from Pompeii (see Fig. 7).

Although the Egyptians did not officially export their sacred cat, Greece eventually became the important distribution point for domestic cats into Europe. Domestic cats have been identified on Greek artifacts from as early as the Late Bronze Age. The Greek domestic cat, which was called *aielouros* and *ailouros* after its quick-moving (aiolos) tail (*oura/orros*), was primarily valued for its rodent-killing abilities. Ancient Greek scholars of natural history made careful, and reasonably accurate, observations about the behavior and biology of the domestic cat, and Greek physicians recommended the use of cat excrement mixed with vinegar as an external medicament. We also find the domestic cat among the creatures described in ancient fables written by Aesop and others, both in the barn (as the bane of chickens) and in the house (as a crafty predator of mice).

Domestic cats were widely distributed beyond Greece in Western Europe by the third century B.C. and interbred with local wildcats. Although it is commonly believed that domestic cats came to Italy from Egypt around 30 B.C. after the defeat of Cleopatra and Antony, evidence from bones and Italian coinage indicates that domestic cats may have been in Italy much earlier, by the fifth century B.C., thanks to Greek colonization in southern Italy and to merchant ships that lost their useful rodent killers to the call of *terra firma*. Evidence of Roman domestic cats (called, in Latin, *feles*, *faeles*, *aelurus*, and much later *catus*, perhaps from the Berber word *kaddiska*) has been found in the imperial period at Roman military sites, villas, and towns. The Romans kept domestic cats as rodent killers, and among the not-terribly-abundant literary sources for Roman cats, we find Pliny the Elder’s accurate description of the way cats silently and patiently stalk birds and mice (*Natural History* 10.94 [202]). Epigraphical evidence from hundreds of tombstones erected for women from the Western Roman Empire with *Felicia* or *Felicula* (“Kitty”) as cognomina (nick-names) attests, perhaps, to the presence of domestic cats and to the popularity of cats among women in the imperial period. The cat was associated with Roman Diana (Greek Artemis), a goddess popular especially among women and connected with ancient witchcraft. Here we find the origin, perhaps, of the link between women, witches, and cats that led to the horrible atrocities committed against women and their cats from the thirteenth through the seventeenth centuries. But that is another story.


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**Fig. 7.** Cat with bird; Ducks and sea life. Floor mosaic from the House of the Faun, Pompeii. Before A.D. 79. Photo credit: Laura Maish and Bill Storage, from their catalogue of images of ancient Rome at http://www.servius.org/Pompeii. Used with permission.
PAKISTAN’S PESHAWAR MUSEUM, HOME OF GRECO-BUDDHIST TREASURES, CELEBRATES ITS CENTENNIAL

by David Pinault

Few buildings have functioned simultaneously as a dance hall and a showcase for exquisite ancient artifacts. Pakistan’s Peshawar Museum has done both (see Fig. 8). When it first opened a hundred years ago, the Victoria Memorial Hall (as it was then called) served as a social center for officials and soldiers of Britain’s Indian Empire. But it also displayed recently excavated Greco-Buddhist statues from India’s Northwest Frontier. Party-goers could pause between dances to admire the massive stone Buddhas and Bodhisattvas that lined the walls of the central ballroom. A second-floor balcony above the ballroom provided seating that allowed onlookers to admire the dancers and sculptures below or gaze upward at the coffered ceiling with its intricate leaf-and-flower pattern. The Indian Empire is gone, and Peshawar is now part of Pakistan. But the balcony and coffered ceiling are still there, as is the old ballroom, which is now the main hall of the Peshawar Museum.

Today the museum’s collection includes coins, manuscripts, Kashmiri shawls, and folk art from South Asia and Iran. But the Peshawar Museum is especially known for its Gandharan art— the largest such collection in the world. The term Gandhara refers to a land that in antiquity extended from Kabul (in what is now Afghanistan) to the Indus River valley of the Punjab. Gandhara formed the heart of the Indo-Greek empire ruled by successors of Alexander the Great, who conquered the region in the fourth century B.C. Later, the invading Kushans of Central Asia established control over the area in the first centuries of the Common Era. At that time, Gandhara formed part of the Silk Road linking China with Rome. Artisans and craftsmen from the Mediterranean joined the merchants and other travelers who ventured along this route.

In Gandhara, a style of sculpture and carving evolved that combined the iconography of the Indian subcontinent with the canons of Greco-Roman portraiture. The result: a unique and hellenized form of Buddhist statuary. Afghanistan’s Kabul Museum once boasted a superb collection of Gandharan art. Then came 1996 and the militant-Islamist rule of the Taliban. Despising Afghanistan’s pre-Islamic heritage as pagan, Taliban zealots systematically vandalized Kabul’s archaeological holdings. They did the same elsewhere in Afghanistan as well, destroying the colossal cliff-face Buddhas of Bamiyan in March 2001.

Luckily, Gandharian art survives elsewhere, most famously in Pakistan’s ‘Aja’ib-Gher (“Wonder-House”), otherwise known as the Lahore Museum. Anglo-Indian author Rudyard Kipling had a special affection for this place—his father worked there as curator. In his celebrated novel Kim (1901), Kipling described the Lahore Museum’s Gandharan artifacts: “In the entrance-hall stood the larger figures of the Greco-Buddhist sculptures done, savants know how long since, by forgotten workmen whose hands were feeling, and not unskillfully, for the mysteriously transmitted Grecian touch.”

Less well known, but far more extensive, is the Gandharan collection at the Peshawar Museum. I had the opportunity to see this collection in 2002 and again in 2005, when I took time off from my research on ritual practices among Pakistan’s religious minority populations. In touring the museum’s old ballroom-cum-display hall, I saw that the explanatory texts accompanying a number of the objects indicated that many pieces had been donated to the museum in the days of the Indian Empire by the Queen’s Own Corps of Guides.

How the Guides acquired these objects is a story in itself. The Corps of Guides (the first unit in the British Army to be issued khaki uniforms instead of conspicuous scarlet) was created in mid-nineteenth century India especially for reconnaissance and “collecting trustworthy intelligence beyond, as well as within, our borders,” as reported in Colonel G. J. Younghusband’s history, The Story of the Guides (1908). Captained by British officers, the Guides recruited tribesmen from throughout the Northwest Frontier—Afridis, Khuttucks, and Yusufzai Pathans, among others. The headquarters of the Guides was situated close to the old Afghan-Indian border, in the village of Mardan—which also happened to be just a few miles from the ruins of Gandharan sites such as Jamal Garhi, Takht-i-Bahi, and Shahbaz Garhi.

A number of officers of the Guides and Royal Engineers chose to use their leave-time excavating for Greco-Buddhist artifacts at these sites. Their boyhood education in classical studies endowed them with an enthusiasm (attested in the memoirs of various officers serving in India at that time) for any traces of Greco-Roman antiquity.
they might encounter in the ruins of Alexander’s Asian empire.

Some finds they donated to the British Museum in London; others found a home in the Guides’ mess hall in Mardan. There the artifacts shared space with other trophies in the dining room – heads of ibex and Marco Polo sheep, banners and swords taken in battle, and prizes for triumphs in polo. In his history of the Guides, Colonel Younghusband describes the Mardan dining hall as it looked a century ago: “The present mess is full not only of historical mementoes, as is only natural, but also of archaeological treasures.” He goes on to say of the Gandharan artifacts:

The archaeological treasures consist of sculptures and friezes of Greco-Buddhist origin, illustrating incidents in the life of Buddha, while the statues represent the life of Gautama and some of his disciples. Most of these are still in perfect preservation. . . They were all discovered, many years ago, within a few miles of the mess, and are naturally preserved with the greatest care. Savants from even so far afield as France, Germany, and America have journeyed to see them.

Nowadays, amateur treasure-hunting of this sort is illegal. But it might be worth keeping in mind something told me by Pakistani scholars I met in Peshawar. To this day, many tribesmen and peasants in the North-West Frontier Province still consider it an act of piety, if by chance they unearth a Gandharan figurine while plowing fields or planting crops, to smash the thing at once (after all, the Urdu term for idolatry is but-parasti “Buddha-worship,” a less-than-flattering evocation of the region’s pre-Islamic heritage). The only exception: if a looter is in the neighborhood and is ready with cash, the find might survive to appear on the illicit-antiquities market in Peshawar and abroad. In this instance then, the Guides’ careful preservation of such treasures at Mardan and subsequent donation of the artifacts to the Peshawar Museum have turned out to be essential to their preservation.

Among the Corps of Guides’ donations now on display at the Museum is a sculpted panel depicting a scene from the life of Siddhartha (see Fig. 9). The Buddha-to-be, accompanied by his attendant Vajrapani, is on his way to Bodhgaya (where he will sit in meditation until he attains enlightenment). On the way he meets a grass-cutter, who humbly presents a gift to Siddhartha of all he has to offer: a sheaf of mown grass (which the Buddha will use as a seat while he meditates). Sculptures such as this, illustrating the stages of Siddhartha’s spiritual evolution, were meant to be viewed by pilgrims and other worshippers at public shrines along Gandhara’s Silk Road.

The Buddhist iconography in this work is unmistakable – Siddhartha’s elongated earlobes, his halo and piled-up knot of hair (signifying spiritual knowledge). But even more remarkable are the marks of classical Greco-Roman influence: the toga worn by Siddhartha and the portrayal of Vajrapani. The latter figure, known as “the Thunderbolt Wielder,” was revered in the Gandharan era as a chastiser of sinners and protector of devotees in need. Here his beard, muscled figure, and club-like weapon raised in a clenched fist all suggest the hero Hercules.

Also showing influence from the Mediterranean world is a pair of sculpted Buddha portraits, both from Sahri Bahlol (a Gandharan site that was excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India from 1906 to 1926). The forehead of one, a pedestal-mounted sculpture (see Fig. 10), bears a gouge-mark that once held a gemstone signifying the “third eye” (representing the Buddha’s state of “enlightened perception”). The facial features of both Sahri Bahlol sculptures, together with the carefully articulated drapery of the second Buddha’s garment, however, are reminiscent of Hellenistic and Roman depictions of the god Apollo (see Fig. 11).

The main hall of the Peshawar Museum is crowded with panels representing scenes from the Buddha’s earthly life. One shows Siddhartha’s father, turbaned and shaded by a parasol, leading a procession (including an elephant bearing a royal howdah) to welcome his son home after young Siddhartha’s victory in an athletic contest (see Fig. 12). The elephant and line of celebratory figures recall Roman artwork depicting the god Dionysus and his triumphal march through India. Worth noting here is the historian Arrian’s remark that when Alexander reached Nysa (in the Kabul Valley region, near the present-day Afghan city of Jalalabad), his troops took the presence of ivy growing on nearby Mount Merus as an auspicious legacy of the ecstatic god’s conquest of the region.

On all the occasions I visited, I had the Peshawar Museum pretty much to myself. The few visitors I saw were local residents, who confined themselves to the newly installed manuscript gallery featuring exquisite hand-calligraphed
possible that some parts of Crete suffered severe crop damage from the ash. Geologists Floyd McCoy of the University of Hawaii and Grant Heiken of the Los Alamos National Laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico, in a review of the effects of the Santorini eruption presented to the Geological Society of America in 2000, concluded that, more likely, the ash created just a “gritty inconvenience.”

As for tsunamis, no one questions that the Santorini eruption created them, but there is considerable debate about whether they had any impact on Crete. Estimates have varied widely, but it is most unlikely that the Minoans had to face the towering tsunami imagined by Marinatos. A tsunami of monumental height is generated only if the run-up to shore is shallow, which it is not at Crete. A computer modeling performed by Japanese sedimentologist Koji Minoura predicted that a tsunami created by the final collapse of what remained of the Santorini volcano into the caldera, a collapse in which anywhere between four and nine cubic miles of rock crashed into the sea, would have generated a more moderately sized, but still deadly, thirty-foot-high wave in Amnisos harbor.

The geography of Santorini rules out a wave of this height according to geologist Dale Dominey-Howes of Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. Present-day Santorini is shaped like the mirror image of the letter C, with open water to the west (see Fig. 13). To Dominey-Howes, this means that any tsunami generated by the caldera collapse in the center of the island traveled west out the only available open water path, not south to Crete.

The Krakatoa eruption is here helpful to Dominey-Howes. To the west of Krakatoa, the Sunda Strait is open water. Tsunamis passed readily out of the Strait and crossed the Indian Ocean killing a woman as far away as Sri Lanka. But to the east, the Sunda Strait narrows, and islands blocked the way, preventing any significant harm to communities which lay in that direction.

That is not the end of the story, for volcanic eruptions can create tsunamis in many ways. Fast moving clouds of hot lava, ash, and gas, known as pyroclastic flows, and muddy landslides of volcanic debris, known as lahars, can cause tsunamis as well. Pyroclastic flows caused some of the Krakatoa tsunamis. Both pyroclastic flows and lahars played a role in the Santorini eruption as well, adding over a mile of new land to the south and east of the volcano. Tsunamis created by these volcanic forces could have traveled south toward Crete.

Minoura and Dominey-Howes have tried to find out whether they reached Crete by looking for onshore evidence. A tsunami leaves little behind when it recedes, but it can deposit a tell-tale layer of marine sand containing microscopic shells of planktonic organisms that live in the open ocean (as opposed to microscopic shells that live near shore washed up by an ordinary storm). Marshes are the best place to look for such tsunami residue because marshes are more likely to trap them than allow them to wash away. Crete is not, however, an ideal place to hunt for tsunami evidence because its coast lacks old marsh sediments. Not surprisingly then, when Dominey-Howes checked soil samples from forty different spots on Crete, he found none. Minoura did not exactly find compelling evidence on Crete either, just a layer of marine sand below a Santorini pumice layer at a site east of Knossos. He also found a layer of sand with microscopic offshore shells just below a Santorini ash layer at two old marshes in Turkey. Minoura thinks his findings, when put together, show that a tsunami struck Crete as well as


Turkey, but Dominey-Howes questions whether the tsunami Minoura purports to have found is associated with the Santorini eruption because, by all accounts, ash from the eruption fell on Crete and Turkey before any tsunami arrived – thus, the ash layer should be below, not above, the sand layer.

It is possible that a tsunami generated during the middle of the eruption could have washed away the initial ash fall and then deposited sand, which was then covered by ash that continued to fall, but at best, opinion is still divided on whether a tsunami struck Crete.


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Coming in Future Issues of Amphora

The Minoan Tsunami, Part II
Re-reading Laura Riding
A New Antigone
The Art Infusion Project at the U. S. Mint
What’s New in Sappho Studies
Theater in Chicago and
Mary Zimmermann’s Argonautika
Teutoburg Revisited
The Colony of Augusta Emerita in Roman Lusitania
Three historical novels about Alexander the Great were published in 2004 to coincide with the November release of Oliver Stone’s epic film on the conqueror: The Virtues of War by Steven Pressfield, who is best known for Gates of Fire (1998) about the Battle of Thermopylae; Queen of the Amazons by Judith Tarr, who wrote about Alexander once before in Lord of the Two Lands (1993); and Empire of Ashes by relative newcomer Nicholas Nicastro.

Empire of Ashes utilizes a frame format, narrating Alexander’s story within the larger context of the trial of Machon, a fictional Athenian in the retinue of Alexander. Machon stands accused of impiety and a failure to fulfill his oath. The tale itself begins in Chapter Two where Nicastro describes life in ancient Athens with a vividness that leaps from the page. The trial is seen from the point of view of a jurist nicknamed Swallow who first hears Aeschines argue the case against Machon and then hears the detailed defense, given – to everyone’s surprise – by Machon himself. Nicastro captures the timbre of ancient Athenian court rhetoric with Aeschines’ prosecution, but the bulk of the story is related in Machon’s more straightforward first-person narrative. Nicastro’s obvious familiarity with ancient writing styles should be well appreciated by classicists and historians of the ancient world, and his pacing moves the story along in a way that keeps the reader engaged.

Nicastro employs a bit of mystery involving Arrhidaios, Alexander’s half-brother, in order to hook the reader. He asks, “What if Alexander wasn’t the military genius that history paints him? What if what were Arrhidaios instead?” Nicastro’s Arrhidaios is an “idiot savant” – autistic – with this one extraordinary gift for strategy. Is this historically likely? Not really. But is it possible? Yes, of course – and that is all one needs for fiction. Those uncomfortable seeing Alexander displaced or who dislike historical novels that depart from the probable may not appreciate the twist. And although Nicastro’s Alexander is far from unsympathetic, those who prefer Mary Renault’s more heroic conqueror may also find themselves disappointed. I admit, however, that I was charmed by the notion of a teenaged Alexander with greasy hair and acne – an image characteristic of Nicastro’s humanizing approach. He avoids both apologetics and exaggerated sensationalism.

As an example of his more balanced approach, consider Nicastro’s treatment of Alexander’s sexuality. A number of modern critics of Stone’s film were either unable or unwilling to grasp that the ancient world might have seen sex differently than we do. Alexander, who reputedly said that “sleep and sex remind me I’m mortal” suddenly became the subject of a media exposé. Fortunately, Nicastro treats the matter with appropriate (and refreshing) nonchalance. He neither avoids mention of Alexander’s probable long-time attachment to Hephaestion nor dwells upon it. Empire of Ashes is not, however, without historical error, although most are minor. For instance, Nicastro mentions Macedonian military “buzz cuts” (19), which is far too modern, and his depiction of Olympias (74-75) might have benefited from reading the works of historian Elizabeth Carney to provide a more nuanced view of the polyamorous Macedonian court. Nicastro’s choice of biographies could have been more critical as well. He lists the popular works of Mary Renault, Robin Lane Fox, and Michael Wood but not the scholarly biographies of A. B. Bosworth, Peter Green, or J. R. Hamilton. The scholarship consulted on Greek culture and warfare (by James Davidson, Victor Davis Hanson, and Sarah Pomeroy, for example) is more authoritative.

In the Afterword, Nicastro does explain his choices about changes in the historical details in a sensible and logical fashion. Some of these chosen alterations were deliberate. Nicastro’s version of Alexander’s death is unusual, to say the least, but to reveal it here would spoil the scene. He mentions the possible pregnancy of Statiera, Darius’ wife, and her death in childbirth (141-143) but says nothing about Barsine, Alexander’s known concubine. It seems a strange omission, as Alexander’s involvement with Barsine was well documented, but anything with Statiera was rumor only. In fact, the name “Barsine” is used for Darius’ daughter and may account for the elimination of Barsine, Artabasos’ daughter – an attempt to avoid too many characters with the same name. Sometimes historical alterations are done to avoid confusing readers. As Nicastro himself says in his notes: “not all inaccuracies are mistakes” (367).

When reading a historical novel about Alexander, however, I am more interested in whether the writer has captured the overall feel of the ancient world, even if the story may contain some incorrect details. Nicastro has indeed done so, making Empire of Ashes one of the best recent novels on the conqueror.

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Book Review: Heroes: Saviours, Traitors, and Supermen

by Thomas J. Sienkewicz


Heroes is a twenty-first century British revision of Thomas Carlyle’s On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History (1841). For the Scottish historian Carlyle, great men were not self-made but “heaven-born” and “forces of nature,” and his definition of the hero was based upon the collective portrait of one mythological and nine historical figures. Similarly Hughes-Hallett, a critic for The Sunday Times, seeks a heroic epitome in Homer’s portrait of Achilles in the Iliad. She applies the character traits exhibited by the enraged Homeric hero to six historical subjects, all of whom are special, dynamic, and seductive men – not necessarily virtuous, and certainly not role models – but nevertheless the objects of hero worship both during their lives and after their deaths. Beginning with the fifth-century Athenian demagogue Alcibiades, Hughes-Hallett seeks Achilles-types in the first-century B.C. Roman Cato the Younger; the medieval Spanish knight Rodrigo Diaz, “El Cid”; the sixteenth-century English explorer and privateer Sir Francis Drake; the seventeenth-century German general Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein; and the nineteenth-century Italian freedom fighter Giuseppe Garibaldi.

Hughes-Hallett’s heroes stand alone. A well-ordered state has no room for her insubordinate heroes who demonstrate a pattern of conflict with their superiors. All these heroes raise issues of what is meant by “immortality” and challenge us to think about our own mortality. Thus, in a final chapter entitled “Odysseus,” Hughes-Hallett discusses the dead hero Achilles and his status in the underworld. The great hero of the Iliad, who chose a short but glorious life over a long life lived in obscurity, rejects the value of his fame and glory when his ghost speaks with Odysseus in The Odyssey. In death, Achilles reverses his choice and opts for life instead of fame, by affirming to Odysseus that he would rather be a slave on earth than king of the underworld (Odyssey 11.489-491). This final chapter of Heroes is not biographical in format. Instead, Hughes-Hallett here contrasts the heroic features of Achilles and Odysseus. She employs Odysseus’ story of travel and return to reflect on the ways her heroes have been transformed after their deaths, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, she shows how the liberator Garibaldi was emulated and invoked by the Italian poet Gabriele D’Annunzio and by Benito Mussolini in their early twentieth-century cries for Italian nationalism. In this way, the father of modern Italy became an unlikely model for Italian fascism.
So, too, the Nachleben, or cultural after-life, of these historical figures shows how the Achillean model is adapted, remodelled, and transformed into a national icon. Over time, Sir Francis Drake came to be viewed as a British imperialist, a role he certainly never played in real life. In the twentieth-century Spain of dictator Francisco Franco, the mercenary El Cid, who in real life sometimes fought against his beloved Spain, became a celebrated hero of Spanish glory and empire. The German leader Wallenstein became, in the twentieth-century, the conscious model for another dictator, Adolf Hitler, in whose Nazi Germany Thomas Carlyle’s On Heroes suffered radical political transformation and was read widely as a source on fascist hero-worship. These modern reworkings of the older heroes are, in large part, the result of Friedrich Nietzsche’s Übermenschen (Supermen). As a result, Drake, El Cid, and the others become “higher men,” as Hughes-Hallett calls them. They transcend the mundane in order to achieve a form of immortality founded on the acceptance of life, rather than its rejection. This is why Hughes-Hallett thinks that Odysseus, not Achilles, is the model for the twentieth-century hero, the hero of eternal return epitomized by the Ulysses of James Joyce.

All of Hughes-Hallett’s choices for hero status are conspicuously white Europeans. She argues that it would have been inappropriate for her to include heroes from Asia or Africa because the Achillean heroic tradition is “continuous and self-referential.” Her heroes, that is, share a specific cultural view of the heroic that can be traced directly back to Homeric ideals. The British Hughes-Hallett, however, does not explain why she limits her choices to the Old World, when many inhabitants of the Americas would appear to share the same cultural heritage as their Old World counterparts and could serve to illustrate the geographic extension of this heroic model.

While self-referencing may be a legitimate feature of heroic status in the Western world, studying the Western hero in such cultural isolation does not necessarily make sense. Indeed, the special features of the Western hero would be better understood and appreciated when compared to heroes from other cultures. To what extent is the model of the hero as “insubordinate loner” unique to the West? This is, unfortunately, a question that Hughes-Hallett does not pose.

All Hughes-Hallett’s heroes are also exclusively male. She has, in fact, intentionally excluded women from her list in order to avoid what she says would have been a “kind of emollient falsification.” Masculinity, she argues, is bound with heroic status in the Western tradition. Achilles dressed as a girl on Skyros is not a hero, while Achilles the warrior at Troy is. To search for female models of the Western hero would mean softening the definition of the hero to include females who displayed male characteristics. Yet comparing male heroes to some female counterparts would actually provide another powerful layer of definition of the white European male hero who so fascinates Hughes-Hallett.

While Hughes-Hallett’s study of the hero may appeal largely to readers interested in the biographies of the famous white European males whose lives she celebrates, her use of the Homeric Achilles as model for understanding the lives of these men is, nevertheless, a powerful reaffirmation of the continuing influence of Greek culture in the modern world.

The author and critic Rosemary Sutcliff has observed that “myths and legends certainly not meant for children in the first place have been largely taken over by them” (“History and Time” in Fiona M. Collins and Judith Graham, eds., Historical Fiction for Children [2001], 112). The Greek mythic corpus, full of complex and often quite adult themes, has to a large extent become the property of the young, in the belief that the act of imparting myth to children has socializing benefits. The stories of Pandora’s Box, Jason, and the Trojan War articulate the central ideologies of Western culture, providing paradigms for how we ought to live, or more often, how we ought not to live.

A text dedicated to communicating myth to a young audience is Saviour Pirotta’s The Orchard Book of First Greek Myths. Although written for children aged nine to twelve whose contact with mythology may be well underway, the inclusion of the word “first” in the title suggests that this book aspires to have a formative influence. The back cover proclaims that it is “the perfect introduction to Greek myths” and lists the stories included in the collection. Each is given an appealing title (some of them cleverly reference contemporary culture: “Goldfinger” is the story of King Midas, the man with the golden touch; and “Spider Woman” tells of Arachne, whom Athena transforms into a spider after she boasts about the quality of her weaving), which together with Lewis’ vibrant, quirky illustrations, makes the book immediately inviting.

The title-page illustration features a natural landscape, dotted with trees, and colored by a dramatic sunset. The antiquity of this setting is established by a classical temple visible in the distance. Dominating the foreground is a sturdy wooden box. Its lid is firmly closed, and emblazoned on its side is the logo of Orchard Books. The implication of this illustration is clear: the stories featured within the book are symbolically housed within this box, demarcated as the property of the publisher. The story collection is contained and complete; these are the myths, evidently, that children ought to be told.

The fact that this box shares an unmistakable correspondence with the “Secret Chest” of Pandora, which is described in the first story in the collection, has intriguing implications for the text’s representation of the function of Greek myth. The design, dimensions, and location of the two boxes are identical, suggesting that their contents are also to be equated. While it is easy to imagine why the author, illustrator, and publisher, on page 16, would want to associate their story collection with Hope (the spirit that brings “help to those who need it”), the reasons why they would also want to liken the stories to the other forces dwelling in Pandora’s Box (the “curses sent by the Gods to punish people for the things they had done wrong”) are less transparent.

The answer seems to lie in the book’s didactic treatment of Greek myth. The stories aim to have a positive influence on young readers, chiefly by presenting models of how not to behave. The stories – obey the instructions of your parents; – is reiterated in the tale of Icarus, who undergoes a polarized division of good and bad characters is reflected in the illustrations, where there is a straightforward link between disposition and physical appearance. The stories feature within the book are symbolically housed within this box, demarcated as the property of the publisher. The story collection is contained and complete; these are the myths, evidently, that children ought to be told.
heroes and heroines smile or, when in trouble, look concerned or confused. The nasty gods, kings, and pirates are easily identified by their knitted eyebrows, pointy noses, and even pointier beards.

The text also contrasts ignorant, sceptical adult characters with wise, well-informed children. As he is searching for the flying horse Pegasus, Bellerophon finds that it is not the old but the young who are able to guide him:

“Pegasus – what’s that?” asked one man. “A flying horse!” said another. “Are you mad?”

But a small boy told him, “Every night when the moon is shining brightly, Pegasus lands to drink from a spring in the hills.”

“It’s true!” said a small girl. “He stays on the ground for a few seconds, then he’s back up in the air, flapping his enormous wings.” (73)

In this story, children are more closely connected to the mythic realm. Much like Pegasus, a hybrid creature who inhabits both the earth and the air, these children have the ability to traverse the boundary between the mundane and fabulous spheres. This capacity, the text implies, is also open to young readers by way of their engagement with the stories in the collection.

Much as Pandora’s Box contains both Hope and bleak curses, The Orchard Book of First Greek Myths is a mixed text. It is committed to the promotion of Greek mythology to a young audience and gives children special roles that highlight their proximity to the world of myth. Yet its approach is extremely moral and, at times, overly simplified. It raises the question whether it is most important for Greek mythology to remain in circulation, regardless of how it is represented. As Daedalus reminds his wayward son, “we’ve still got a long way to go” (57). Perhaps the same can be said of the perception of myth as children’s literature.

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A PLUM EATER AMONG THE GOPHERS

continued from page 10

It food for plum rather than cake eaters.

Of my students, I have the warmest memories. From my first morning, when one of the graduate assistants told me that Minneapolis was “the buckle of the Bible Belt,” life was full of fun, surprise, and friendship. Several of my students were years, even decades, older than myself, and most of them were much more widely read; one of them wanted to talk about Kant and Hegel, who, being totally out of fashion in Oxford philosophical circles, were known to me only by name. Teaching classical literature, particularly poetry, in translation is not easy. In my Aristophanes course, I was flummoxed by the difficulty of explaining the puns, many of them of an extremely obscene nature. The English translation was, of course, well sanitized, and the plots, such as in Lysistrata, were usually clear enough, but a good deal of the fun and absurdity could not be brought out in translation.

All too soon my year was over, but Minnesota threads continued to appear in the texture of my life. After leaving the Twin Cities, I was interviewed by the Bank of Montreal, using a québécois version of the Minnesota Multiphasic psychological test. When I checked the preference box for looking at flowers rather than growing or selling them, they decided that I was quite unsuitable to be a banker. But a year later, I was with a London bank, and one of my first deals was to advise a great Minneapolis company, Pillsbury, in acquiring a cake mix company in England. One day, I received a call from a recently graduated classicist, Humphrey Maud, who had been offered a similar job to mine at the University of Minnesota; my spirits rose, as another over-specialized Brit would never have been taken on if my teaching career in the land of the Golden Gophers had been a total disaster. Subsequently, he had a very distinguished career as a British diplomat, having been our first Ambassador to Argentina after the Falklands War; today Sir Humphrey Maud serves as Chairman of an admirable organisation, the Commonwealth Disaster Management Agency.

As I look back at the study of classics half a century ago, it seemed then to be drifting into an elitist and eccentric backwater. Instead, it now flourishes strongly on both sides of the Atlantic. Why? Perhaps it is because the Greeks and the Romans anticipate so much of our lives today. Most branches of human endeavour, from athletics to zoology, trace their development, if not their origin, to the classical era. The adoption of the alphabet helped create and perpetuate a matchless body of literature, easily accessible in translation, but particularly rewarding in the original Greek or Latin – the building blocks of some of the most widely spoken languages of our time. The study of classics has even percolated into the world of psychology. In London, a new breed of counsellors, who use the works of classical philosophers, such as Plato and Epictetus, to help patients come to terms with the stresses of our age, has sprung up.

Then there are lessons to be learnt. History does not exactly repeat itself, but the Roman Empire’s chronicler, Edward Gibbon, tells us that it can be “usefully applied to the instruction of the present age.” Rome spent too much on consumption and warfare, manufactured too little, depended too much on taxes from foreigners, and ran out of bullion. The story has a familiar ring to it, except that we depend on the investments, rather than the taxes, of foreigners, and it is oil, rather than bullion, which is likely to run out. No doubt, as so often in recent decades, technology will come to our rescue, aided by the tools of economic management – an activity paid little attention and barely understood by the Romans, despite their great organizational skills. No longer can the advice of the painter Apelles to the cobbler be considered valid: Apelles is said to have told the cobbler, who first criticized his inaccurate depiction of a sandal and then his depiction of a leg, to stick to the sandal – in other words, to what he knew best. Like the cobbler, we too must have the courage to question (a skill that training in classics can teach us). We must all learn to adapt to globalization’s unruly momentum, which can turn our lives upside down in the twinkling of an eye.

After Minnesota, Christopher Arnander (christopher@arnander.co.uk) spent over forty years in the finance industry in the City of London and the Middle East. After retirement, he has come back to his long neglected classical studies. He has studied and has written about the roots of globalization in the classical era. His book Think Globally, Spend Locally (2003) is a simple guide to recent globalization, using New Yorker and Punch cartoons. Its web site http://www.thinkglobally.co.uk carries extracts from the book.
Nicolaus Hussovianus: Hunting the Lithuanian Bison

by Fred Booth

In 1521, Nicolaus Hussovianus (Mikołaj z Hussów or Mikołaj Hussowczyk), an aide to the Polish delegate to the Vatican, was watching the bullfights at a papal celebration in Rome. The fury of the wounded animals reminded him of the bison hunts he had witnessed as a young man in the Lithuanian woods. As he himself tells it, his loose tongue earned him a writing assignment, for his patron asked him to write a poem about the bison.

Hussovianus’ 1,072-line poem, De statuera, feritate ac venatione bisontis carmen (A Poem about the Size, Ferocity, and the Hunting of the Bison), was written in Italy and published in Krakow in 1523. It is a learned and exciting work that is both a natural history of the magnificent European bison and its habitat, as well as an ethnography of the region’s rugged people.

In the tenth century, Roman Catholic missionaries had introduced Latin and, with it, literacy to Poland. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Polish intellectuals adopted Latinized names and traveled to Italy and elsewhere throughout Europe to study, bringing their learning back home with them (for further reading, see Harold B. Segel, Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543 [1989]). Latin, the common literary language, enabled Polish humanists such as Mikołaj Kopernyk, better known by his Latin name Copernicus, to participate in the cultural, artistic, and scientific dialogues of their times.

In 1385, the Polish princess Jadwiga married Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who then became king of Poland, effectively creating the largest kingdom in Europe. A strong army was needed to protect the realm against attacks by Tartars, Turks, and Muscovites, and bison hunts were introduced to maintain the army’s military skills in the wintertime lulls between battles. It was these hunts that the bullfights in Rome brought to Hussovianus’ mind.

Little is known of Hussovianus’ life outside of what can be deduced from his poetry. He was born sometime between 1475 and 1485, and he died after 1533. His father taught him how to stalk his quarry amid the natural dangers and the harsh climate of the Lithuanian forests. Hussovianus was acquainted with the customs and languages of Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus, all of which have claimed him as a native son.

Hussovianus came under the patronage of the eminent Bishop Erazm Ciółek, Polish ambassador to the Vatican during the papacy of Leo X, the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Pope Leo had been educated by the best Italian humanists of his day, including Poliziano and Ficino, and he surrounded himself with some of the most prominent intellectuals and artists of Renaissance Italy. Raphael’s famous portrait of Leo hangs in the Uffizi Gallery.

Pope Leo staged lavish spectacles featuring the exotic wildlife that was being imported into Europe during Age of Discovery. The pope, who was also an avid devotee of hunting, was fascinated by stories of the primeval Polish-Lithuanian forests, and he asked Bishop Ciółek to obtain the hide of a Lithuanian bison to be stuffed and put on display in Rome. Ciółek sent to Lithuania for a bison hide and commissioned Hussovianus to write a poem about the animal to accompany the gift, but before the plans could be carried out, the pope and the bishop had died. Hussovianus returned to Poland in 1522 and put the finishing touches on his poem, which he then dedicated to Bona, Poland’s cultured Italian Queen.

Thirty years before Hussovianus’ poem, Conrad Celtis, one of the founders of Polish humanism, briefly addressed bison hunting in his “Ad Vitulum fluvium ortum et exitum eius describens de bisontibus et corum venationibus” (On the Vistula River Describing Its Source and Its Outflow and the Bison and the Hunting of Them), published in the first volume of his Amores. In a short passage written in a naturalistic style similar to Hussovianus’, Celtis describes the bison’s size, shaggy pelt, and shining eyes. It is not certain whether Hussovianus was familiar with the Celtis work, but Hussovianus’ poem is far more ambitious in the scope of its natural history, ethnography, and current political events.

Hussovianus narrates the poem in the first person. He presents himself as an expert who knows his subject firsthand and who therefore is qualified to pass judgment on other writers’ accounts of the bison. Among the Greeks, Aristotle, Pausanias, and Oppian had written about the bison. The Roman author Pliny the Elder had described the bison in his Natural History, while Seneca in his Phaedra and Martial in On the Spectacles both mentioned the animals. In the Middle Ages, Albertus Magnus had discussed the bison in his writings on animals, and Paul the Deacon wrote of them in his History of the Lombards.

Of his predecessors, Hussovianus names only Pliny the Elder and Paul the Deacon, both of whom he respects for their accuracy. Pliny had called the bison iubatum, meaning “maced,” and had located its habitat in the region of Poland and Lithuania, and Paul had correctly described the span of the animals’ horns. But Hussovianus finds most earlier writers deficient and cannot recommend their work (69-80):

Nescio quae patula deduxunt cornua nare, Longe alium, quam sit, corpus habere ferunt, Pondera monstrosi tribuunt ingentia labri; Ipsorum fuerit non meus ille biso. Multa ego Roxanis legi antiquissima libris, Quorum sermonem Graeca elementa notant, Quae sibi gens quondam proprios adsicvit in usus
Et patrios apte miscuit ipsa sonos; Multaex complexi loca sunt, diversa vetusti Per varias gentes temporis acta ferunt: Tale animal nusquam visum est, nisi forsitan ante Diluvium gelido ferre sub axe moras.

Fig. 15. *Bos (Bison) bonasus* (the European bison). Photo used with the permission of Professor Robert Hudson, Department of Agricultural, Food and Nutritional Science, University of Alberta.
A “dido” is a foolish or mischievous act, a prank, or a caper (New World Dictionary, American Heritage Dictionary, Oxford English Dictionary). The word usually appears in the phrase “to cut a dido/to cut (up) didoes” perhaps referring to the trick Dido used in gaining land to found Carthage: when she was told she could have the amount of land she could cover with an ox hide, she cut the hide into one long, thin strand and encircled her new land with it (Vergil, Aeneid 1.365-368.). The Oxford English Dictionary also offers another entry for “dido” as a “thrice told tale” or an old story.

Paul McCartney (see Fig. 16) released a new classical oratorio called Ecce Cor Meum (Latin for “Behold My Heart”) in September 2006. The BBC quotes Sir Paul, who studied Latin at The Liverpool Institute High School for Boys, as saying that “he felt it would be appropriate to employ Latin at times during the oratorio as it was known and sung by choirs all over the world.” Sir Paul found the title and the inspiration for the piece while waiting to perform in the Church of St. Ignatius of Loyola in New York. “While I was waiting to do my bit, I was looking around the church and I saw a statue, and underneath it was written ‘Ecce Cor Meum.’ I had done some Latin at school and I always had a fondness for it. So I worked it out” (Ecce Cor Meum at Carnegie Hall – 01.10.2006 Press Release at http://www.paulmccartney.com).

According to the 1990 Census of Inhabited Areas in the United States, eight of the major Greco-Roman gods and goddesses provide the inspiration for the names of American towns or townships. Florida boasts locations named after Apollo, Jupiter, Juno, and Neptune. Apollo shows up in Pennsylvania, as well. Minnesota has a Jupiter; Georgia has a Juno; New Jersey has a Neptune; and South Dakota and New York each have a location named after Diana. On the Greek side, only Athena gives her name to a town (in Oregon). The most common deities whose names appear on the U. S. map are both Roman: Mars (in Arkansas, Iowa, Maine, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania) and Vesta (in Georgia, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, and North Dakota).

The movie Star Trek: Nemesis (2002) features the Romulans who experience takeover of their political order (composed of a senate and a Praetor as leader) by their own military – somewhat reminiscent of the imperial Roman army’s role in picking emperors – and the Remans, who have been enslaved by the Romulans and forced to work in dilithium mines and become the force by which the Romulan military plans to conquer the Federation. In addition to the allusion to the Roman twins, Romulus and Remus, the movie explores the dynamics between two other “twins.” One set of “twins” is Jean-Luc Picard (captain of the Starship Enterprise) and Shinzon (a clone of Picard who was sentenced to work in the mines with the Remans and becomes the new Praetor of Romulus). Another set is Data (a highly developed android who serves on the Enterprise) and B-4 (a prototype android also made by Data’s creator, Dr. Sung). Just as there is a hierarchy in the Roman world between Romulus and Remus (with Remus ranked as the lesser of the two), so the Romulans ultimately prove their superiority over the Remans, Picard proves to be the moral and intellectual superior to Shinzon, and Data is more evolved in his knowledge and understanding of the world than B-4, just as their names suggest.
Nicolaus Hussovianus continued from page 20

They report some kind of horns protruding from the nose, or bodies different from what they really are, or great monstrous lips. Their animal is not my bison. I have read much ancient lore in Russian books written in Greek letters, which the Russians long ago adopted for their own use and which they apply to the sounds of their own language. The books took into account many locations and reported various events in ancient times among diverse people. Such an animal has been seen nowhere, unless perhaps it lived during the ages before the Flood under the cold Northern pole.

The European or Lithuanian bison, Bison bonasus, Europe’s largest land animal, now survives only in forest preserves (see Fig. 15). The animal’s meat, horns, and hide made it valuable prey for prehistoric European hunters, as Cro-Magnon cave paintings attest, but by Hussovianus’ day, the bison had become extinct in Western Europe and was growing increasingly rare in Poland and Lithuania.

Hussovianus offers an anatomically accurate description of the bison (51-60):

Hac fera Litphans longe saevissima silvis
Nasic tur et fieri corpore tanta solet,
Ut moriens si quando caput vi victa reclinet,
Haec fera Litphanis longe saevissima silvis

This most savage of wild animals is born in the Lithuanian forests and usually grows to such a great size that, when the head of a fatally wounded animal sinks to the ground, three men can sit between the horns. Indeed its neck, large as it is, does not seem sufficient in proportion to the bison’s other limbs. Its shaggy beard bristles with whiskers hanging. Its frightful eyes are red with rage. A terrifying mane, growing down from its neck over its limbs, covers the animal’s knees and forehead and its entire chest.

Hussovianus’ straightforward Latin style is almost entirely free of mythological ornamentation, but it contains many references to classical authors. Hussovianus colors his portrait of the animal with allusions to Vergil, and by employing the techniques of epic poetry, Hussovianus elevates his subject matter. His description of the bison’s beard borrows from Vergil’s portrait of Atlas in Book 4 of the Aeneid, Atlas’ appearance, like the bison’s, embodies the harsh wintry climate. Hussovianus’ barba riget late penedentibus horrida villis (line 57) echoes Vergil’s et glacie riget horrida barba (Aen. 4.251). To describe the bison’s mane, Terribilisque iubae collo funduntur in armos (59-60), Hussovianus uses diction from a simile comparing Turnus, Aeneas’ fiercest and noblest enemy, to a horse who has broken free from its tethers and whose mane “plays over its neck and limbs” as it runs: luduntque iubae per colla, per armos (Aen. 11.497). The allusion enhances the bison’s ferocity and dignity.

Hussovianus offers a glimpse into the broad international exchange of ideas in sixteenth-century Europe.

Hussovianus also makes reference to Ovid. He borrows the phrase gelido . . . sub axe, “under the cold Northern pole,” from Ovid who had used it twice in his exile poetry (Tristia 5.2.64 and Ex Ponto 2.10.48). The Slavic Latinists in general were fond of Ovid whose exile from Rome to Tomis on the Black Sea had brought him into their territory, where he composed his exile poetry in elegiac couples, the meter of Hussovianus’ poem.

But as good a scholar as he is, Hussovianus admits that he cannot equal the literary polish of the Latinists whom he has encountered in Italy. He is afraid that the literati will disdain his Latin style as that of an unsophisticated foreigner, but he is constrained by time to complete his work. Hussovianus makes it clear that his knowledge comes not from books but from time spent in the woods (135-144):

Talia dum feren silvaque ageterunt in alta, Aequabam socios saepe labore meos, Flumina equo fidens altumque Borysthenis alveum

While this [hunt] was going on in the deep woods, I was working as hard as my companions. I relied on my horse to carry me across rivers and the deep channel of the Dnieper in pursuit of fleeing prey, not that I welcomed facing harsh dangers, but because I was ashamed to show myself inferior to my comrades in this. After enduring many hardships on the Lithuanian hunts, I confess that I was not too inexperienced in this art, and this work is the culmination of that art. Therefore readers, do not be too harsh in criticizing the dissonant words of a man of the woods.

Hussovianus is also an ethnographer and stresses the value of the woods as a source of wealth for the nation, providing lumber, pitch, and furs. He describes the ingenuity of the people, who hollow out the tops of high trees to attract bees for their honeycombs, hunt game and fowl with bows and guns, and catch wild asses that beaters drive into nets. Hussovianus marvels at the land’s opulence and wonders whether it is caused by God or magic.

The dramatic climax of the poem is a description of a near-disaster during a hunt when a wounded bison charged the royal viewing stand from which the nobles, presumably out of the reach of danger, could observe the hunters below. There is a mood of pathos as the wounded beast, drawn by the bright colors of the ladies’ costumes, approaches the platform and seems to assume the dissonant words of a man of the woods.

Indignata sua spectacula caede parari
Instantem voluit nobilitate necem.
Infremuit tandem nares inflata tumentes
Indignata sua spectacula caede parari

Indignant a sua spectacula caede parari
Instantem voluit nobilitate necem.

Indignant that a spectacle was being made of its slaughter, the animal wanted to ennable its impending death. The bison roared, its swollen nostrils flaring (this was a sign for the
In a poem ostensibly about hunting and wildlife, Hussovianus also takes the opportunity to comment on the all-too-real carnage taking place in Europe, to deplore the political turmoil of the times, and to make an urgent plea for unity among the Christian states of Europe. He worries that Europe’s Christian kings are engaging in senseless internecine warfare while Turks are invading Christian lands. In shocking detail, Hussovianus presents the Turk as a depraved killer who slaughters the aged and infants, disembowels pregnant mothers, and commits other atrocities.

In desperation, Hussovianus turns to the Virgin Mary as a source of hope for the violent age demanded. In stark contrast to the description of the Turk, a simile compares the Virgin to a bird cherishing her featherless chicks or a human moth protecting her infant (1045-1048). As the poem ends, Hussovianus implores the Virgin to speed Pope Adrian VI, Leo’s successor, from Spain to Rome to provide the strong papacy that the violent age demanded.

De statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis carmen is a remarkable achievement. In his monumental poem, Hussovianus manages both to present detailed accounts of the behavior of the bison and its hunters and to place his subject within its broader geographic and historical context. As he expresses his concerns about writing Latin to be read by the most accomplished Italian scholars, Hussovianus offers a glimpse into the broad international exchange of ideas in sixteenth-century Europe. That a northerner could attain such scholarly sophistication and find himself in the daunting intellectual circle of a Medici pope is a testament to the mobility possible for educated men in the Latin culture of the Renaissance.

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Mater Anserina
continued from page 3

Músculum cónicitat vóx
horárum; pétit móx
cleps´ydram quǽ
tinnívít túnc.
Músculus fúgitat núnc.

To make this work, we must avoid the temptation to read quantitatively—that is, according to the ancient system of patterning by syllabic length. To explain their choice, Minkova and Tunberg provide a little scholarly reference in their preface to Medieval Latin versification and cite A Primer of Medieval Latin by Charles Beeson (1925, repr. 1986) along with An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification (2004) by Dag Norberg et al. Accent and rhyme, they insist, have been used to create both high and low Latin poetry for a very long time: “The medieval Latin verse-techniques based on sequence of word-accents and rhyme seem . . . to offer the medium most appropriate for a Latin version of . . . nursery rhymes” (1). This collection fully justifies their choice. Had the Latin not followed the English rhythm, we might have pretty poems, but we would have no Mater Anserina.

As Latin scholars, then, we may welcome Minkova and Tunberg’s prosodic choices. As readers intimately familiar with Mother Goose, however, our expectations in terms of content and style are pretty strong. Any changes introduced in this regard have the potential to evoke an immediate and negative response. For example, the authors have chosen to ignore Mother Goose’s nonsense syllables. While I find this to be unfortunate—I want my “hey diddle diddles”—I can understand the authors’ position: nonsense refrains are not within the Latin tradition. Each line here means something. “A-tishoo a-tishoo!” in the penultimate verse of “Ring a-round the Roses” has become “cůrrite cúrrite,” and for Georgie Porgie’s “puddin’ and pie” read “tó puéllís óscula dás.”

The Latin has to reach to imitate this. This sequence of short and not-too-long words works well:

Múro laète séderat híc.
At nunc præceps cécidit sic . . .

Minkova and Tunberg rhyme most of their verses, sometimes closely following the original’s rhyme scheme, sometimes ignoring it completely. Mother Goose’s own rhymes are always stunningly obvious:

Snips and snails
and puppy dogs’ tails.

Mater Anserina likewise lays the rhymes on pleasantly thick, as the examples above demonstrate.

In their preface, Minkova and Tunberg state that their poems will help the student of Latin cement the Latin accent of each word permanently in place. There is also plenty of useful grammatical material simply and rhythmically presented in each piece. Students will welcome the Latin vocabularies clearly positioned at the foot of each Latin page.

To use these rhymes most effectively, we should perform their Latin versions out loud (see Fig. 17). The accompanying CD provides a guide to how one might sing or recite the rhymes in Latin. Mr. du Cassé has the clear and compelling voice of a man who loves music and who can render a melody in a pure and fluid manner. Minkova and Tunberg supplement the songs with recitations. The lines are spoken slowly, clearly, and very rhythmically: exactly the way Mother Goose meant them to be.

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