

Humanities

The Enduring Myths of Ancient Greece

The European Renaissance, through its rediscovery of the Greek (and many of the Latin) classics, established for the generations that followed a common cultural background for secular literature and art: the rich and varied mythology of ancient Greece. Its themes became familiar not only to those who read the Greek classics in the original but also to a larger audience who knew them through the medium of the Latin poets and to still greater numbers who read avidly the work of the great translators of the period—Chapman, Sandys, Dryden, to mention only those writing in English. Until fairly late in the nineteenth century, a European writer or painter could count on recognition of Greek mythological themes; Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Keats, Browning and Tennyson, like Tiepolo, Titian and Poussin, could take for granted an audience familiar with the classical gods and heroes. They counted on a public educated like themselves in the classics at school or, as in the case of John Keats, self-taught with the aid of Lamprière's famous classical dictionary. More recent writers, though they can no longer expect an immediate response to classical allusions, continue to rework the ancient material in modern form, as in Joyce's *Ulysses*, Stravinsky's *Oedipus*, Sartre's *Les Mouches*, Cocteau's *Machine Infernale*, Hoffmannstahl-Strauss' *Elektra* and Anouilh's *Antigone*—not to mention the latest revival, *The Gospel at Colonus*.

As the study of the classics in the original languages lost its once dominant position in the curriculum of Western culture (a process accelerated sharply in the years after the second world war), the need to provide a background for English literature and the history of art saw the birth of "mythology" as an independent subject: an elementary course in the main areas of classical myth, with perhaps some excursions into the Norse and Celtic traditions. The emphasis was literary



Oedipus confronts the Sphinx on a fifth-century B.C. Attic vase.

throughout because the purpose was in the main preparation for modern literature; theories of myth, its origins and functions were not the prime concern. This is of course no longer the case; mythology as a humanistic subject of study is now concerned at least as much with theory as with content. The change has come about because of developments in other fields. Previously unknown mythologies, those of preliterate peoples, have been recorded and investigated by field anthropologists; archaeologists working in the Middle East have dug up and deciphered documents that revealed forgotten mythologies—Babylonian, Hittite, Ugaritic; folklorists have collected the oral narrative traditions of shepherds and peasants. A wealth of comparative material, most of it not literary but living and functioning in society, has become available for comparative study. Myth has also emerged as a primary subject of concern for new psychological theories, as a key, like dreams, to the deepest anxieties of the individual psyche or of the collective unconscious. Myth is also the base for a far-reaching theory of the nature of human mental activity, not just that of preliterate societies but of all mankind. It was only to be expected that these new assessments of the function of myth in preliterate societies, these new analyses of its role in the human unconscious, should have their effect on the study of the most completely documented, varied, rich and splendid mythology we possess: the Greek vision of the gods on Olympus and their complicated relations with each other and with mankind; the intermediate world of creatures neither human nor divine—nymphs, satyrs, centaurs; the history of a heroic human world through some four or five generations of great dramatic figures, culminating in two famous sieges, of Thebes and of Troy, and coming to an unemphatic end with the sons and daughters of those who fought at Troy. After Orestes,

Editor's Notes

"Long before Aristotle formulated the rules for tragic plot, Greek myths had been shaped to fit them," writes Bernard Knox. Mr. Knox examines the various approaches to the study of classical mythology from the Renaissance to our own day, with particular emphasis on Claude Levi-Strauss's structural analysis as well as the psychoanalytic theorists who have put "hundreds of mythical figures and situations relentlessly through the Freudian grinder."

Robert M. Wallace, the translator of *Arbeit am Mythos*, a major work of Hans Blumenberg, one of Germany's leading postwar philosophers, says that Blumenberg addresses a question that has troubled European thinkers since the late seventeenth century: "Why, with the triumphant advance of secular, scientific rationality, have the old myths not simply evaporated into thin air? How is it that they have maintained and even increased their hold on...our imaginations?"

These are the questions that gave rise to the theme of this issue of *Humanities*. For the study of myth—not only classical Greek mythology but the myths of preliterate societies and other peoples throughout the world—have become a subject of increasing interest, made available for comparative study through the work of anthropologists, archaeologists, and others. In this work, scholars are discovering that perhaps myth is not the irrational, "dark side" of the human unconscious, but a basis for understanding the mental processes of all humankind.

—Judith Chayes Neiman

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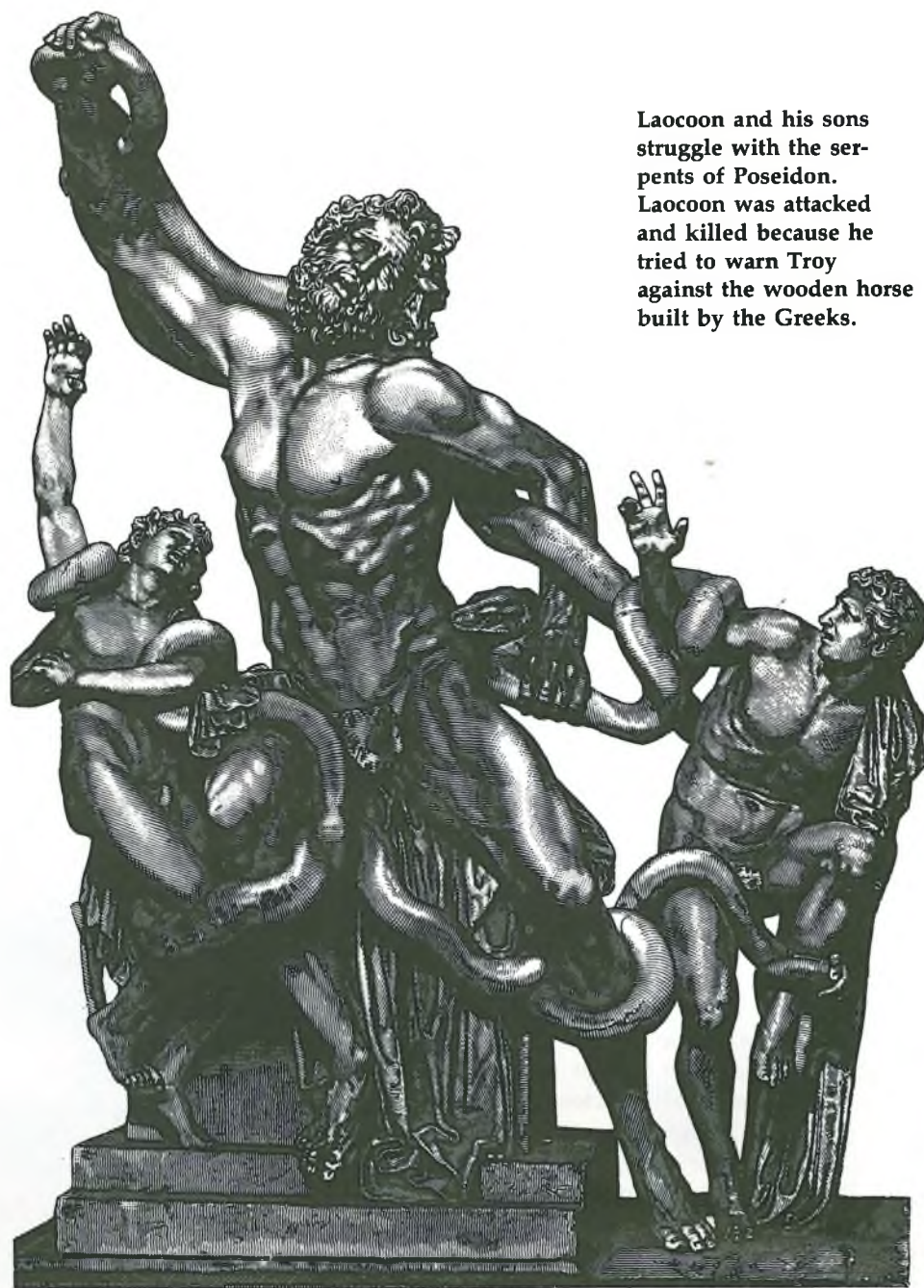
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Telemachus, Electra, Hermione and Neoptolemus, the saga peters out.

There had of course been what might be called theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of myth even in the ancient world. The embarrassing aspects of Olympian conduct could be explained away as allegory; this was a specialty of the sophist Prodicus, who maintained that Demeter was simply the grain and Dionysus the wine, and in the hands of the Neoplatonic philosophers of late antiquity the method reached baroque levels of ingenuity. Or the myths could be simply rationalized, explained as mistaken interpretations of human phenomena, as in Euhe-merus' theory that the gods were originally great men, Heracles, for example, who did so much for humanity that tradition deified them. A still later writer, Palaephatus, attributed the creation of mythical wonders (the title of his book is *On Incredible Things*) to linguistic misunderstanding; Pasiphae doesn't fall in love with a bull but with a handsome lieutenant of her husband called Tauros; Sphinx was a rejected wife of Cadmus who commanded a guerilla band against him on the mountains (Palaephatus explains the riddle by the barefaced assertion that the Greek word *ainigma* meant 'ambush' in the Theban dialect). Strangely enough Palaephatus thus produced a prophetic travesty of the nineteenth-century theory of Max Müller, that myth was a "disease of language": that gods had emerged from early man's misunderstanding of Indo-European words for the heavenly bodies, especially the sun.

Müller's real importance lay in his work on Sanskrit and early Indian texts; his theory that all myths were some kind of solar imagery soon fell into disrepute. It was followed by others that all, though they differed from it in almost every respect, shared with it one fatal weakness: They were proposed as universal theories of myth; they claimed to explain everything. And in every case this claim proved impossible to maintain in the face of the bewildering variety of myth, especially of the classic example, Greek myth.

A more generalized and modest version of Müller's theory saw myth as primitive man's attempt to understand and explain nature, not just the movements of the sun but the revolutions of all the heavenly bodies as well as the earthly phenomena of weather, flood, earthquake, and so on. Clearly much of the material in Hesiod's *Theogony* encourages such speculation, but even if the whole tale of Troy (as well as that of Thebes) is excluded as saga, not pure myth, there is still a large number of awkward specimens that refuse to yield to treatment—Daphne's metamorphosis into a laurel tree, for example, or Phaethon's disastrous handling



Laocöon and his sons struggle with the serpents of Poseidon. Laocöon was attacked and killed because he tried to warn Troy against the wooden horse built by the Greeks.

of the sun chariot, which could indeed be regarded as symbolic of real phenomena, but only by followers of Professor Velikovsky. A later, very influential theory took almost precisely the opposite position: Myths were not aetiological, they did not explain natural phenomena, or for that matter anything else. Their function was social: They validated institutions—kingship, tribal precedence and the like, for which they were a "charter." This theory had the advantage, unlike some of the others, that it was based on anthropological work in the field, that of Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands of the Pacific Ocean. It was a general theory that shed new light on some of the Greek myths. The story of Ion, son of Apollo, for example (the subject of one of Euripides' most exciting plays), took on larger dimensions when seen as a charter myth of Athens' preëminent role in the communal religious rites that linked the Ionian cities of the Aegean islands and the Asia Minor coast. But as a general theory of Greek myth it was woefully inadequate; apart from the fact that many important myths could not be understood as "charters" no matter how ingenious the interpretation, Malinowski's total rejection of intellectual and speculative elements in myth is clearly not tenable for the Greek material.

An even more influential theory connected myths not with institu-

tions in general but specifically with ritual: Myths were sacred tales intimately connected with and probably derived from ritual; some were tales that tried to explain rituals which in the course of time had become unintelligible or apparently pointless. The most famous of these rituals was of course the celebration of the birth of the year-god and the mourning for his death, the central mystery of ancient religion as Frazer presents it in his famous book *The Golden Bough*, a theory richly developed by Jane Harrison in *Themis* and other volumes. That there are important connections between ritual and myth (in some cases extremely close connections) no one would deny. But there are also a multitude of myths that cannot reasonably be so connected. As for the "Year Spirit" of the Harrison school, though such figures as Adonis and (with some ingenuity) Dionysus can be offered as symbolic equivalents, ancient Greek literature offers no support for such a personification of the seasonal cycle and in fact the name given to this figure by its creators, *Eniautos Daimon*, is not even syntactically idiomatic Greek.

Between those theories of the origin and nature of myth that emphasize the link to social institutions and those that invoke deep psychological structures, a halfway house is to be found in the work of Dumezil. Although, unlike other

theories of myth, he does not claim to be universal; it is concerned exclusively with the mythology and institutions of the Indo-European peoples. He sees these mythologies—Indian, Hittite, Scythian, Iranian, Roman, Norse and Celtic—as characterized by “collective representations” of their tripartite social organization, a hierarchical order of three “functions”—royal priesthood, warrior caste, herdsman-cultivator class. The structure of society, reflected in myth, was that of the Indo-European people before its diaspora and lived on, with modifications, in the separate societies that developed after the migrations. Dumézil’s best case is, of course, the Indian (which is the base of his theory): Three classes of gods correspond to the three classes of Brahmins, warriors and cultivators. But Hittite myth is fragmentary, obscure and in short supply; Scythian even more exiguous (and dependent on the account of a Greek, Herodotus); the evidence from Iran is controversial; Celtic mythology we know mainly from hostile Latin accounts. The Norse myths, however, can be fitted into Dumézil’s patterns and so can real Roman myths, the tales of the early kings, so brilliantly recreated in the first five books of Livy. And the Greeks? In his original publication (1958) Dumézil has to confess defeat: “Greece makes little contribution to comparative study; even the most important aspects of the legacy were profoundly modified there.”

But of course this recalcitrance of Greek myth is a basic weakness in a theory that claims the Indo-European mind-set as its province. In a later work (1968), Dumézil attempted to fit the hero Heracles into his system. It is only a partial success, and even if it had been complete, would have left huge mythological domains still unaffected by the collective representations of the Indo-European ancestors. Disciples of Dumézil have followed his lead, finding the proper tripartite divi-

sions in such unmythological creations as Plato’s *Republic* but failing to unseat a strong conviction in the mind of most readers that Dumézil was right about Greece the first time around.

The other champions of myth as the product of the unconscious do not confine their speculations to the minds of the Indo-Europeans; these are, once again, universal theories. The most famous exponent of them however, Sigmund Freud, was not primarily interested in myth. Its creation was for him, like dreaming, an important psychic activity, but not as amenable to clinical study. In any case he did not feel well enough equipped for the task of interpreting the material; “we are amateurs and have every reason to fear mistakes,” he wrote in 1909 as he offered to put his “psychoanalytic armory” at the disposal of an Austrian classicist (who, in the event, declined the offer and later, in fact, resigned from the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society altogether). Freud himself, however, though he rarely proposes a detailed analysis of a Greek myth, based his central and most famous theory on the story of Oedipus. In fact, the passage in his *Interpretation of Dreams*, which announces the famous complex—“his destiny moves us only because it might have been ours—because the oracle laid the same curse upon us before our birth as upon him”—is framed in an attempt to explain why Sophocles’ *Oedipus the King* can still move modern audiences while “tragedies of fate” based on invented plots fail to produce the same effect.

Freud’s reluctance to tackle the whole body of Greek myth was of course not shared by his disciples, and in recent years especially, the “psychoanalytic armory” has been fully deployed. There is at least one attempt at a sort of universal theory: Philip Slater’s *Glory of Hera* which puts hundreds of mythical figures and situations relentlessly through the Freudian grinder from which they emerge as examples of

the “struggle with the oral-narcissistic dilemma,” which is more graphically described as the child’s defense against the Maternal Threat—the “entangling, smothering devouring mother....” This is certainly the most narrowly unitary theory of Greek myth ever propounded, and as was to be expected, it is maintained only by Procrustean handling of the evidence, transformation games with identities (Orestes has three “mothers,” for example—Clytemnestra, the Furies, and Electra) and the use of suspect sources (the late Christian apologist Athenagoras on Zeus for example) who are sometimes misunderstood.

Less ambitious practitioners (more at home than Slater in the language and literature of the Greeks) have limited themselves to individual myths, especially to the most splendid literary treatment of myth, Attic tragedy. Typical are two attempts to deal with problems that seem to offer promising ground for such an approach (c.f. *Arethusa*, VII 1, 1974): the fanatical resistance to marriage on the part of Danaus’ daughters in Aeschylus’ *Suppliants*, the complete sexual asceticism (a very rare phenomenon in pagan antiquity) of young Hippolytus in the Euripidean play that bears his name. But the daughters’ rejection of marriage is attributed to an “unresolved Oedipus complex”—an excessive attachment to their father that makes them “unable to love other men.” The play shows no evidence of such attachment (and Aeschylus’ Danaus is in any case a poor figure, an ineffectual Polonius). We are informed however that the “father” who monopolizes the affections of the Danaids is really Zeus. Aristotle thought it “absurd” for anyone to profess friendship for Zeus; one wonders what he would have thought of the idea that fifty young ladies could be in love with him. As for Hippolytus, we are treated to a discussion of his obsession with his illegitimacy (a minor theme in the text of the play) and much speculation about his relationship with his mother Hippolyta, (a subject never mentioned in the play) and “the peculiar circumstances of his upbringing.” Although the terminology is brand new (cathexis, repression, introjection, etc.), this deep investigation of fictional character is very old-fashioned. “The conduct of the tragic character must be accounted for from the whole of the character, from general principles, from latent motives and from policies not avowed.” That sentence sounds like a manifesto of Freudian criticism but it comes in fact from Maurice Morgann’s *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, which was published in 1777.

Claude Lévi-Strauss’s structuralist analysis of myth stems, like Malinowski’s theory of myth as a charter for institutions, from anthropol-



The Toledo Museum of Art

(bottom left) *Apollo Pursuing Daphne* by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, 1696 - 1770. Note that her hands are beginning to change into a Laurel tree. (top to bottom) An Etruscan statue of Herakles, third century B.C. Polyphemus, the Cyclops, from second-century B.C. Italy. Oedipus slaying the Sphinx.



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



National Gallery of Art

ogical investigation; his area of concentration is the mythology and societies of the Indian tribes of South and North America. But, unlike Dumézil, he does not claim to explore a local phenomenon; his theory is universal. His objective is to formulate the "laws operating at a deeper level" than the conscious mind in the process of myth-making, laws working beneath the mind's "supposedly spontaneous flow of inspiration and its seemingly uncontrolled inventiveness." The myth-makers are not conscious of these laws. "I therefore claim," he says in a famous statement, "to show not how men think in myths but how myths operate in men's minds without their being aware of the fact."

His method, shown at work on an impressive number of myths (353 in the first two of his four-volume *Mythologiques*) elicits from the transformations and, to use his own term, coding systems of the rich variety of mythical material common human concerns, basic contradictions of human life and culture (death and immortality, the raw and the cooked) that the myths, by means not always clearly explained, "mediate" or "resolve." The purpose of myth is to provide a logical mode capable of overcoming a contradiction...."

These are exciting formulas for Greek scholars; they raise hope, for example, of a new approach to that medium of Greek literature which is the most brilliant exploitation of myth—tragedy. Ever since Aristotle proposed the suggestive but obscure formula of catharsis as an explanation of the psychological puzzle posed by tragedy—the mysterious process by which the spectacle of human suffering is made to produce feelings of acceptance or even of consolation—critics have experimented with new formulas and definitions. "Mediation" and "resolution" as a function of myth seem to offer the possibility of finding already encapsulated in the basic material of tragedy deep structures that enable the tragic poet to work his magic.

The hope has not been fulfilled. "Mediation" and "resolution" turn out to be no more definable than catharsis and in case after case where critics have sought the "contradictions" that are to be "resolved," they turn out to be the antithesis between nature and culture, which was already well known to the Greeks as the antithesis *physis-nomos*, nature and convention. As a matter of fact Lévi-Strauss himself, like Dumézil, had at an early stage excepted the Greeks from the terms of his analysis. Greece is one of those "great civilizations of Europe and Asia" that "have chosen to explain themselves by means of history"; once such a step has been taken "diachrony wins an irrevocable victory over synchrony, making impossible

an interpretation of the human order as a fixed projection of the natural order." And it is true that the Greek myths, with their historical arrangement of events on Olympus as on earth, are a world away from the timeless preagricultural forest world of the Bororo Indians, in whose myths human beings marry jaguars and children turn into ant-hills. It is significant that in the one case where Lévi-Strauss did attempt an analysis of a Greek myth, the Oedipus story, he apologized. "The technique," he says, "is probably not legitimate in this instance . . ." and he compares his performance with that of the *camelot*, the street peddler "whose

aim is to explain as succinctly as possible the functioning of the mechanical toy he is trying to sell to the onlookers."

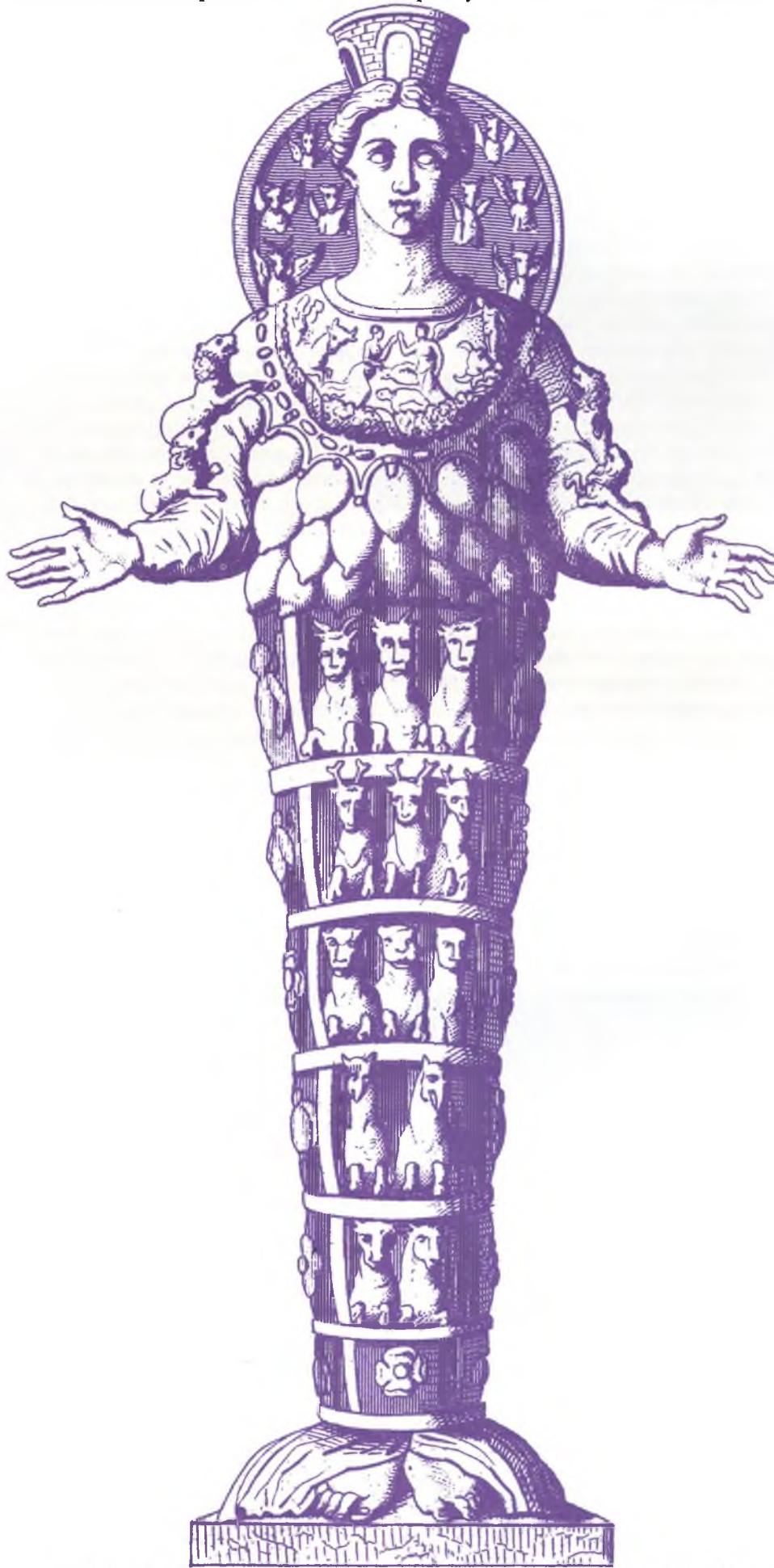
The reason Lévi-Strauss believes that the technique is "probably not legitimate" he gives as the fact that the "myth has reached us under late forms and through literary transmutations concerned more with aesthetic and moral preoccupations than religious or ritual ones...." But this is true not only of the Oedipus myth; it is the case for almost the whole body of Greek myth as we have it. The late mythological handbooks that flesh out our surviving literary treatments in epic, lyric and drama were all com-

plied from literary sources, from the vast bulk of classical Greek literature that did not survive the end of the ancient world. The myths as we know them are not operating in men's minds without their being aware of the fact; they are the product of conscious manipulation by poets who shaped them for their own purposes. Unlike the raw material drawn on by anthropologists (and the myths of Lévi-Strauss's Bororos are the rawest of the lot), Greek myths are finished artistic products. Unlike the myths of many preliterate peoples, they lack the fantasy, what one critic has called "that crude power and ecstatic dislocation of ordinary life that may be an essential element in the formation of a truly creative culture" and another their "apparent craziness, futility, not to say complete absurdity...." These are the features of primitive myth that evoke Lévi-Strauss's paradigmatic and synchronic rearrangements, backed by complicated diagrams, to reveal hidden meanings. But Greek myths are all coherent stories, with a beginning, middle and end, a sequence of events explicitly located in place and time, each event the necessary or at least the probable result of its predecessor, and the events so closely connected that the transposal or withdrawal of any one will dislocate the whole. This is in essence Aristotle's definition of tragic plot (for which of course he uses the word *mythos*) but long before Aristotle formulated the rules for tragic plot, Greek myths had been shaped to fit them.

E. R. Dodds, in his great book *The Greeks and the Irrational*, while rejecting older schools of myth-interpretation (including Frazer's "Year-spirits") concedes handsomely that "they have all in their day helped to illuminate dark places in the ancient record." Of the more recent approaches it can be said that they have forced everyone to abandon old complacencies and engage in a fundamental reconsideration of the nature of Greek myth. They have also served to remind us that in spite of its narrative charm and formal elegance Greek myth is not a phenomenon to be discussed in none but aesthetic terms. Freudian emphasis on the individual unconscious reminds us that Greek myth, through its presentation of human (and divine) action almost exclusively in the context of family relationships, can tap deep, hidden wells of feeling in the soul. And Lévi-Strauss's brilliant elucidations of primitive myth convince us that even though Greek myth may not mediate between opposing terms by the construction of logical models depending on codes, it does raise fundamental social, religious and even philosophical problems.

—Bernard Knox

Mr. Knox is director of The Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D.C.



Artemis, goddess of the hunt, clothed in a tunic adorned with wild animals.



Zeus medallion.

Transmitting the Oral Tradition



Actaeon's death.

There is a sense in which Homer, the blind poet chanting of Achilles' wrath to an unseen audience, was the first broadcaster. Everett Frost, the project director for a forthcoming series of radio dramas drawn from classical mythology, likes to point out that present-day radio producers would do well to study the techniques of the ancient bards. "In myths a major event often occurs in the first two minutes of the telling," says Frost. "This epic tradition of beginning *in media res*, perhaps a method of keeping an unsophisticated audience of thug warriors interested in the tale, makes the stories punchy in the way a generation raised on *Star Wars* can appreciate."

Employing state-of-the-art radio technology, Frost is now in the process of adapting thirteen of Ovid's accounts of Greek myths for an NEH-funded series, scheduled for broadcast on public radio stations this fall. Produced by WGBH in Boston, the project is an outgrowth of the Spider's Web program, serial dramatizations of nineteenth-century American masterpieces. Although the mythology series is designed for twelve- to eighteen-year-olds, the current Spider's Web also attracts a national audience of 100,000 adults each week.

Frost aspires to entertain—myths are, first of all, good stories that have stood the test of time—as well as to educate teenagers about the central role classical mythology plays in Western culture. To that end, each half-hour program will include a fully dramatized story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* followed by several minutes of commentary discussing the myth's implications. The treatment of Actaeon, the story of the hunter who chances upon the goddess Diana bathing in the woods and is turned into a stag and torn to pieces by his own hounds, might begin with the question of whether the punishment seems somewhat out of proportion to the crime. Doesn't Actaeon simply find himself in the wrong place at the wrong time? The commentator, however, might point out that this is a myth about the inexorable forces of nature; the severity of the goddess represents the severity of

the natural order. Actaeon's deed can be likened to an accidental fall from a building: The results are the same whatever the intentions.

The commentary will make clear that agricultural civilizations are much more conscious than technological ones of human subjugation to Nature, whose mysterious and terrible power as well as beauty are represented by the goddess.

But why study antiquity when comics, television, and the movies generate new forms of popular mythology every year? For Frost the answer is always double-edged. "Myth-making is part of our basic thought structure at a subliminal level," he says. "We tend to speak in mythical terms even when we don't realize it. Every account of the rise and fall of a great political leader recapitulates the journey of the sun god. The enduring power of myth explains why heroes like the Phantom or the Lone Ranger never get any older. Myths still operate with tremendous force, and by not telling the old stories, we deprive today's children of something in which they are intrinsically interested."

"Secondly, and in a much more explicit way, cultures grow on myths like reefs grow out of coral. I can't remember how many times in teaching literature classes I've had to explain who Tristan was. Anyone who's taken students through a museum realizes that when they look at a painting of the rape of Europa, they see a 'dirty' picture; they feel no resonances until you tell them the story. As Northrop Frye has observed, the great stories of Western mythologies need to be learned early in life so they can sink to the bottom of the mind and provide a foundation for further appreciation of all the humanities. Writers like Blake, Goethe, Chaucer used biblical myths as fundamental units of writing, almost in the same way they used words. The point is that you can't make sense of huge portions of Western culture unless you understand the myths behind it."

Frost is an English professor currently on leave from his teaching position at California State University, Fresno. Searching for a job in

the early 1970s, he applied for a position as director of drama and literature for KPFK, the Pacifica radio station in Los Angeles. "It took me about fifteen minutes to realize I loved radio," he recalls. "Broadcasting is much like teaching in that you are spreading seeds, but to a much extended audience. And unlike television, radio retains something of the personal quality of the classroom."

The series on Hellenic myths now in production at WGBH is a scaled-down version of his ambitious plans for a 104-program series that would treat classical, biblical, and Near Eastern mythologies, tracing parallel developments among them. When forced to trim back, Frost decided to concentrate on classical myths because the material is generally better researched and the subject less arcane to American ears. Frost chose Ovid as the basis for the dramatizations not only because of the brilliance and wit of his hexameter but also because the *Metamorphoses* is the first work to have organized a collection of myths with a central narrative and thematic framework. The *Metamorphoses* progresses from the original metamorphosis, the transformation of Chaos into order, to the transformation in the poet's time of civil chaos into order under Augustus. Yet because the Greek myths lose some of their religious force in Ovid's late, rather literary accounts, Frost will often dig back into earlier sources—Homeric hymns and the plays of Euripides, Aeschylus, and Aristophanes, for example—in writing the scripts.

Turning myths into workable radio dramas is more than a one-man task, however. The project is advised by fourteen scholars in the humanities, including such eminent literary figures as Joseph Campbell and Northrop Frye; specialists in children's literature; and classicists like Albert Lord and Robert J. Lenardon. The advisers suggest which myths to dramatize and what translations to consider. They review scripts before production and stand ready to participate in the summarizing discussions. Frost strives for a balance between entertainment values and scholarly authenticity in

each adaptation. "We want neither an academic treatise nor a cartoon treatment like some of the Norse myths that actually appear on Saturday-morning television now," he says. "The advisers create a healthy dialectic over each script."

While most of the stories will be fully dramatized, with actors' voices and sound effects, each will take the form appropriate to the myth. Wherever a lyric or bardic voice is important, as in the Homeric hymn to Demeter, the narrator will predominate. When Echo, pining for Narcissus, slowly wastes away, as the myth goes, until nothing remains but her voice, sound technology creates an enchanting special effect. A character's voice on radio is given deeper, fuller sound by the addition of a reverb. The voice of the actress portraying Echo will be removed from the tape, leaving the hollow, distant sound of the reverb alone, as Echo dissolves into her voice.

In planning the new radio series, Frost and his advisers have used a broad definition of myth, one that does not argue for a particular critical stance. Their aim is something more fundamental. As Paul Goodman once wrote about Greek and biblical myths: "If these stories are no longer told to children . . . , then the tradition must lapse In fact the situation is fast becoming as follows: (a) There ceases to be a large public aware of the stories. (b) The learned and intellectual poets to whom the stories are deeply meaningful cling to them all the more defiantly. (c) But their handling becomes increasingly private and hectic, lacking the centrality of the story clear and grand in form. (d) What was originally human fate comes more and more to be the private case history of the poet. (e) And the larger public, having not yet learned other stories, now has no basic stories at all, but is condemned to shallow literature."

— George Clack

"Mythology for Broadcast"/Everett C. Frost, VOICES, Pasadena, CA/\$20,000/1981-82/"Spider's Web Mythology Project (Production: Radio Drama)"/WGBH Educational Foundation, Boston, MA/\$110,000/1983-85/Media Programs



(left) One version of *The Rape of Europa* by the French sculptor, Jacques Lipchitz, completed in 1938. (below) Another modern sculptor, Maria Josephy, portrays Prometheus in chains, contemplating the eagle who was sent by Zeus to punish him for bringing the gift of fire to humans.

A Reconciliation of Myth and Rationality

The publication of Hans Blumenberg's *Work on Myth* (*Arbeit am Mythos*) in 1979 confirmed his position as a leader among the generation of German philosophers who have come of age since the second world war. Blumenberg is so far known in the English-speaking world only through a few articles and my translation of *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* (MIT Press, 1983), the work that first established his reputation in Germany. *Work on Myth* may have an even wider audience here than *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* because it combines the fields of literature, classical studies, psychology and anthropology as well as those involved in the earlier work—philosophy, religion and the history of ideas.

In *Work on Myth* Blumenberg addresses a question that has bothered European thinkers since at least the late seventeenth century: Why, with the triumphant advance of secular, scientific rationality, have the old myths not simply evaporated into thin air? How is it that they have maintained and even increased their hold on (at least) our literary imaginations? The Enlightenment in general followed Descartes in categorizing myths among the "prejudices" that had to be swept away in order to make room for the methodical development and application of scientific knowledge. Romanticism, particularly in Germany, reacted against this jettisoning of tradition, and against the unsatisfying permanent incompleteness and tentativeness of science, by calling either for a new mythology or (more often) for a return to our old, inherited myths. An appreciation and employment of mythical themes, which could (with some effort) be interpreted as indicating the possible return of an encompassing mythical world-view, had in fact been evident even in the midst of the seventeenth cen-

tury's "scientific revolution"—in writers like Racine and Milton—and it has continued into the twentieth century with Joyce, Valéry, Kafka, Thomas Mann, and many others.

But theorists are still not sure what to make of this survival. Our usual interpretations of science, whether rationalist, empiricist, positivist, or whatever, are all still very much in the Enlightenment tradition and imply a role for myth in the modern age that is restricted to the aesthetic imagination and is assumed to have no bearing on the preeminent role of scientific rationality in our serious, practical lives. Those who concern themselves extensively with myth, such as literary scholars, anthropologists and psychologists, often tend toward the other, Romantic extreme, interpreting myth's modern survival as evidence of its being, in one way or another, inherent in human nature and even, given its seemingly greater antiquity and ubiquity, of its being more fundamental to human nature than our "surface" rationality.

Blumenberg endeavors to overcome this antithesis, to extract the truth from the Enlightenment and from Romanticism by showing how scientific rationality and our on-going "work on" our inherited myths are not only not incompatible, but are both indispensable aspects of the comprehensive effort that makes human existence possible.

The last German philosopher who addressed these questions at length was Ernst Cassirer, in a series of books including the second volume (1925) of his *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* and culminating in *The Myth of the State* (1946). Cassirer was a leading heir of Kant, whose philosophy can be seen as the culmination (in the realm of theory) of the Enlightenment; but Cassirer's wide reading in the Romantic writers and in ethnology,

his reading of Freud, and finally his agonizing observation of the role played by "myths" (of the "Fuhrer," the "Master Race," "Blood and Soil," etc.) in Nazism, led him to treat the subject more seriously and more systematically than any philosopher had done before him. With his theory of "symbolic forms," he tried to do justice to myth's internal coherence and power by giving it a status equal to those of knowledge, language, art and religion, as a fundamental human faculty that could not be dismissed in the eighteenth-century manner as mere fable, mental cobwebs, or "prejudice."

While Blumenberg honors Cassirer's work on this problem, he has one fundamental criticism of Cassirer's theory: that he did not manage to overcome the unstated assumption that once science emerges, myth, despite its autonomous dignity as a "symbolic form," is obsolete; that once the step forward "from mythos to logos" has been taken, it can only be perverse to turn back. If the relation of myth to science is conceived in this way, the role of myth in modern literature is indeed merely aesthetic, an entertainment unrelated to the real business of life; the mythical patterns that Freud discovered in the unconscious are, at most, relics of a personal and (perhaps) historical childhood that we have left behind; Nazism, finally, is simply the incomprehensible reversion before which Cassirer, in *The Myth of the State*, stood aghast.

What alternative is there to Cassirer's Enlightenment scheme of the replacement of myth by science, other than a Romantic synthesis of the two, which would amount to a denial of science's autonomy as a "symbolic form"? Blumenberg proposes that we interpret myth not in terms of what it "came before"—its "terminus ad quem," science, the

arrival of which appears to make it obsolete—but rather in terms of its "terminus a quo," its point of departure, which is the problem that it seeks to solve. This problem, the hypothetical initial condition that Blumenberg projects into the prehistoric past (and into the present, insofar as myth still has a function), he calls the "absolutism of reality": a situation in which "man comes close to not having control of the conditions of his existence and, what is more important, believes that he simply lacks control of them." Blumenberg calls this a "limit concept," which while it may never have been fully present in reality is a necessary extrapolation, a "limiting case," that makes sense of what we do observe in myth and in the rest of human history. It is consistent, he says, with current theories of the origin of man—of what happened when our ancestors adopted an upright, bipedal posture; were displaced from the sheltering forest into the open savannah; and found that their instincts did not tell them how to cope with this new situation. Blumenberg argues that the dramatically enlarged horizon of what they could perceive (and within which they could be perceived) would be, for them, a situation of great ambiguity, one in which some of their central instincts—such as fleeing from immediate danger, an instinct that had served to clarify many situations for them in the forest—would be of little help. Our ancestors "came close to not having control of the conditions of their existence" because they had become, as we remain, a species without a clearly defined biological niche. If this situation were not dealt with in some radically new way, it would produce the mental state that Blumenberg calls "Angst," which is normally translated as "anxiety" but which is better rendered by the

psychiatrist's paraphrase, "intense fear or dread lacking an unambiguous cause or a specific threat." The resulting behavior would be panic, paralysis, or both.

Thus the "absolutism of reality" is a fundamental threat, implicit in our biological nature and its relation to our natural environment, to our capacity for survival. Our response to this challenge has been the development of culture—of the "symbolic forms" that Cassirer described, but which he saw as a spontaneous expression of man's "nature" as the "*animal symbolicum*" rather than, as Blumenberg interprets them, as a response to a problem. And this problem, although our solution to it may be unique in the natural universe, is nevertheless a consequence of man's biological nature as one living creature among others.

What is myth's role in relation to this problem? It is to overcome or forestall the *Angst* that the problem produces by "rationalizing" it into plain fear of specific, named agencies, more or less personalized powers, whom we can address and (to that extent) deal with. It also helps that these powers, which are often (in the early stages) theriomorphic, are plural, and each has a limited domain—there is a "separation of powers" between them. And what is more, the stories say, these powers were more horrible, and less predictable, "in the beginning." Monsters like Medusa (who is like an emblem of *Angst* itself) and the various Giants, and the heroes like Perseus and Heracles who overcome them, illustrate the latter aspect. But even among the Olympian Gods, writes Blumenberg, the process of naming, "separating," and thereby limiting threatening powers is evident:

Poseidon himself is a figure of uncanniness and of doubtful goodwill, of dangerous irritability. If his power explicitly goes back to an act of division of powers between the sons of Cronus, in which Zeus acquired the heavens, Hades the underworld and Poseidon the sea, then the listener realizes with a

shiver what any of them, but especially this one, could have done with men if he had been alone and without any countervailing power. Poseidon is perhaps called 'earth-shaker' because the earth was thought of as floating on the sea. Earthquakes have always been men's most extreme experiences of insecurity.... The stories of those who returned from the siege and destruction of Troy are largely composed of reports of misdeeds committed by Poseidon through storms and shipwrecks; shipwrecks that are domesticated by the role they play in the stories of the founding of cities around the entire perimeter of the Aegean. It is also a form of the separation of powers that, while the god can still violently shake the life that goes on on terra firma, he can no longer break it. He can delay Odysseus's return home, but cannot prevent it; that return is the successful assertion of the world's familiarity, in opposition to the god who embodies its uncanniness. As a receiver of human sacrifices, Poseidon belongs to the stratum of that which has been overcome. This fact is represented by the myth of Idomeneus, who during his return home from Troy believes that he can escape the storm only by vowing to sacrifice to the sea god the first person he encounters, and then is prevented only by a higher intervention from offering up his own son. Such myths, like the prevention of Abraham's obedience, are monuments of the final leaving behind of archaic rituals.... The consolidation of the state that the world has arrived at, as a 'cosmos,' and the restriction of every absolutism that arises in this process, are interwoven as antithetical motives in myth....

Blumenberg devotes several chapters to this examination of the ways in which myth serves to reduce the absolutism of reality, creating a "breathing space" in which men can also deal with the practical side of the challenge of survival, by cultivating the rational comprehension and control of specific natural phenomena—in which we have made so much progress in the last few centuries. But such comprehension and control cannot take the

place of—cannot perform the function of—the old stories. Knowledge is only partial; the absolutism of reality requires something other than knowledge alone to overcome it, to put it behind us. And to say that it is "no longer a problem" for us—that is, that our lack of a biological niche, our deficit of instinct, is no longer a problem for us (so that we no longer have any need of myth)—would amount to the assertion that we are definitively free of our biological origins, a proposition we cannot expect to prove.

This account of the function of myth is not only persuasive in itself, as Blumenberg expounds and illustrates it; it also has the crucial advantage over the schema of the step forward "from mythos to logos" that it does not assume the operation of an overall goal in the history of human consciousness—the end state of scientific rationality that we now happily enjoy. Instead of such a teleology, which has only escaped the criticism of the modern empiricist and positivist critics of teleology because it is buried so deeply in their own thinking, Blumenberg proposes that all human "symbolic forms" contribute, simultaneously, to the single comprehensive endeavor of making human existence possible by overcoming the problem of our biological non-adaptation, our constitutional deficit of instinct. The only goal that is operative in this process is that of overcoming the immediate problem—and that is an endeavor to which man addresses himself in every possible way at once. There are, of course, important—in fact, epoch-making—developments in human consciousness that can be localized as subsequent to "the beginnings." One would be the emergence of the category of dogma in the course of the development of monotheistic religion; another would be that of modern "human self-assertion," as Blumenberg calls it, with its concepts of the self, matter, method, and progress. (The former is examined at length in *Work on Myth*, and the latter in *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*.) But

neither of these is a goal toward which previous human history was directed, and the attainment of which made the previous "stages" obsolete. Still less was the scientific rationality that emerged as "theory" with the Presocratic Greek thinkers the goal toward which a previous, mythical stage was directed, and the attainment of which made myth obsolete.

With this distinctive "philosophical anthropology," then, Blumenberg postulates a kind of unity among man's "symbolic forms"—namely, the unity of an all-encompassing problem that they address—which makes it unnecessary for him to see the "forms" of scientific knowledge and myth as unified either by a teleological sequence (one being destined to replace the other, as in the Enlightenment interpretation), or by some ultimate identity between them (a synthesis of the two or a subsumption of one under the other, such as Romanticism dreams of).

Having thus provided an alternative to our dominant, "Enlightenment" conception of the relation between myth and scientific rationality, Blumenberg also presents a theory that provides an alternative to our dominant, essentially Romantic conception of the nature and process of myth itself. German Romantic theorists like Schelling and Friedrich Schlegel saw myth as a kind of primeval, "original" endowment of mankind. The modern disciplines that study myth, including literary studies, anthropology and psychology, tend to reproduce this schema, by studying the way a given stock of myths is used in literature; or the way certain universal structures may underlie the diversity of myths in different cultures; or the way certain universal experiences in the childhood of the individual or of mankind function in the unconscious and consequently in myth—in every case assuming that the "pregnance" (in the Gestalt psychologists' sense)—the sharp definition and the compelling power—of the mythical motif is fully present from the beginning:



that myth itself has no history. In contrast to this, Blumenberg reminds us that the mature mythology that we know from Homer, Hesiod, the *Ramayana*, our informants in primitive cultures, and so on, must be imagined as the product of tens of thousands of years of oral storytelling. Vastly greater quantities of stories, figures, and variations on earlier stories and figures were tested on audiences upon whose active approval the storyteller's success, perhaps even his livelihood, depended. As a result of such testing, most of these were discarded as not having the impact that the surviving material has. In other words, the stock of myth that has come down to us is the product not of a reverent process of handing down (such as comes into play with written texts, and above all with Scriptures) but rather of an unsparing process of "natural selection," which Blumenberg in fact describes as the "Darwinism of words." In this process the compelling power of mythical material was enhanced by the combined "work" of storytellers and their audiences. And it is this process, rather than any innate and original human endowment, that explains the pregnancy and the durability of what has survived it—and incidentally also explains the effective impossibility of creating genuine "new myths," whether in one day or one lifetime. Cassirer, lacking this conception of myth as the product of a "Darwinism of words" and doubting the validity of the Romantic conception of it as an original, perhaps supernatural endowment, was too ready to admit that what the Nazis manufactured were genuine myths—so that the only authority that could be mobilized against them was reason alone, which appeared to be faced with the task of repeating all over again its original Herculean accomplishment of suppressing man's "irrational" proclivity for myth.

Blumenberg, then, reorients not only our understanding of the respective roles of myth and rationality, but also our understanding of myth itself. These two simple but crucial corrections to our dominant models—the Enlightenment and the Romantic—put much of our history into a sharply new perspective. A large part of *Work on Myth* (680 pages long in the original) is devoted to illustrating in detail the consequences of this new perspective. Blumenberg's discussion of monotheism and the category of dogma, as they emerge from and differentiate themselves from polytheism and myth, for example, casts much new light on the Bible, on Gnosticism, and on Christianity. He also discusses many examples of the "work on myth" that continues in modern literature (and philosophy and psychology), showing how the durability of individual myths (which led Romanticism to



The aging Faust in his study.

think of them as atemporal, primeval) is not incompatible with their acquiring wholly new and unsuspected aspects.

Time does not wear away instances of pregnancy, it brings things out in them—though one may not add that these things were "in them" all along. That holds, in the case of myth, least of all for extensions. When Albert Camus said of Sisyphus that one should imagine him as being happy, the change of "sign" was an increase in the visibility of the myth's potential. When Paul Valéry "corrected" the Faust story by suggesting that the only way we could picture the one who had once been tempted, now, was as himself tempting Mephistopheles, something became perceptible that simply could not have been made up and added on, but instead was irresistibly drawing near as the classical demon figure grew increasingly inferior.

The latter half of the book is an extended case study of this kind of process, the case being the Prometheus myth, from its earliest recorded presentations, in Hesiod and Aeschylus, to the twentieth-century versions of Gide and Kafka. In contrast to the apparently simple recorded history of the myth of Sisyphus, for example, that of Prometheus presents an incredible variety of aspects and interpretations in the course of these two and a half millennia. Blumenberg singles out Goethe for extended treatment in this context, because the Prometheus myth runs through his works and his life with a continuity matched only by the Faust myth. In a famous ode, written early in his life, Goethe used Prometheus, the Titan who creates a race of men in defiance of Zeus, as a prototype of his own defiance of his father and of the bourgeois "gods" by choosing a career as a poet. Later on, that career was revived, after an extended period of unproductivity and self-doubt, by Goethe's meeting with Napoleon in Erfurt in 1808, after which, Blumenberg argues, Goethe "delegated" his Promethean role to Napoleon, and was

thus able to achieve an integration and "balance" (Goethe's word) that had previously eluded him—though this accomplishment (which made possible an amazing series of works, right up to his death, in 1832, at the age of 83) was gained at the cost of a permanent alienation, which had many painful consequences, from the anti-Napoleonic German, nationalist sentiments of nearly every young German after 1808.

The internal compellingness, the complexity, and the utter seriousness of Goethe's lifelong "work on" this myth and on the complex of metaphors, ideas and experiences that were related to it for him (work that Blumenberg traces through a whole series of Goethe's plays, as well as his autobiography), all emphasize by contrast—if it is necessary to emphasize them—the manipulative motives of the modern purveyors of "new myths," including the Nazi "myths"—and the tragedy that so many people could be so deprived of both genuine myth and genuine rationality as to be influenced by them. In addition, the example of Goethe helps to demonstrate the superficiality of the diagnosis of Nazism that finds its roots, or the earliest symptoms of the potential for it, in German Romanticism. Cassirer, by the way, was too intelligent to make this diagnosis, which made it all the harder for him to identify the agency that had reversed the "proper" course of history in Germany.) For the myths (and legends and fairy tales) that the Romantics actually engaged with were, like Goethe's, genuine and time-tested, and were not ideological substitutes for individual thought and responsibility.

There is a special category of "work on myth" that Blumenberg explores in the final portion of his history of the Prometheus myth and in a previous chapter dealing especially with the Faust story (in Lessing, Goethe, Butor and Valéry) and with the myth of the "Subject" in Fichte and Schopenhauer. He calls this the attempt to "bring

myth to an end"—something that he says can be understood only as the precise opposite of the hypothetical initial problem of the "absolutism of reality," which gave rise to myth in the first place. "Bringing myth to an end" would be the ultimate solution to that problem which would be reached if the "subject" possessed complete sovereignty over reality. This is something that one can either flatly assert, in a "last myth" like Fichte's and Schopenhauer's story of the subject that is "the bearer of this universe, whose whole existence is nothing but a relationship to me"; or else that one can try to demonstrate in practice by "bringing to an end" at least one great traditional myth. The latter is something that Blumenberg describes Valéry as attempting in his *Mon Faust*, and Kafka in his "Prometheus" sketch: to progressively deform the story, by ignoring or reversing what had seemed to be its fundamental patterns, to such an extent that it is barely recognizable as the same myth, at which point (if one were completely successful) the telling and retelling that is the life of the story would come to an end.

The challenge of "bringing myth to an end" in either of these ways is, Blumenberg says, one of the greatest stimuli to modern literary and philosophical dealings with myth. In literature, it has produced some of the most fascinating works of this century. In philosophy—German philosophy, in particular—it has produced a long and, at least to the outsider, bewildering sequence of attempts to occupy definitively the position of the "final myth." (To mention only a few of these attempts, after Fichte's and Schopenhauer's: Nietzsche's "eternal recurrence," Max Scheler's story of the god who becomes himself through the world-process, Heidegger's "story of Being.") It does not appear that any of these attempts, either in philosophy or in literature, has in fact brought myth to an end. This is not surprising, Blumenberg says, because a definitive solution to the problem of the absolutism of reality is just as much a hypothetical "limiting case" as is the problem to which it would be addressed. Neither "end" of the history of myth is a state that can be shown to exist or to have existed in reality. But only by extrapolating such limits can we understand what we have done, and are still doing, with myths.

— Robert M. Wallace

Mr. Wallace translated and wrote the introduction to Hans Blumenberg's *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* (MIT Press, 1983). His translation of *Work on Myth* will soon be published by MIT Press.

"Translation of Hans Blumenberg's *WORK ON MYTH*"/Robert M. Wallace, Ithaca, NY/\$16,990/1982-84/Translations

Several years ago when the CBS News New York affiliate was producing a program on gossip columnists, someone recalled Virgil's description of Fama, or PHEME, the Greek personification of rumor. Searching for a classical representation of Fama, a reporter scuttled among New York's many cultural institutions, all to no avail. Finally, a Brooklyn Museum contact sent him to Professor Jocelyn Penny Small at Rutgers University. Reflecting briefly, Small told him to stop looking: There are no ancient examples of Fama, anywhere, she said.

Small's response was so swift and confident because, since 1973, she has been traveling to public and private collections throughout the United States, cataloging and photographing all the known ancient representations of classical mythology. When completed, her findings will constitute America's contribution to the monumental *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC), an international project to produce a pictorial dictionary of classical mythology (classical mythology here refers to Greek, Etruscan, Roman and Roman provincial legends). The *Lexicon* will encompass works in all media created in the classical world and its peripheries between ca. 800 B.C., when mythological scenes first appeared, and A.D. 400.

Examples cited in the *Lexicon* are now held in some thirty-seven participating countries. Besides European, North African, and Middle Eastern nations, these include Australia, Brazil, Canada and the United States. Each country has a center for compiling data. The U.S. Center of the *Lexicon* is located at Rutgers University where recently it was made a "special collection" of the University Library System and Penny Small was appointed director.

Prior to the work done for the *Lexicon*, no one had surveyed the mythological iconography in American collections, Small says. Working with an assistant, Small estimates she has already cataloged about 6,500 items. When the *Lexicon* is completed she expects that number will reach 8,000.

Musing on time and eternity, John Keats asked of a Grecian urn, "What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape of deities and mortals?" More prosaically, the modern scholar looks at ancient objects and wants to know not only the legend, but the name of the artist, the style in which he worked, the origin of the object, and all the customs of the country it might reveal.

To provide this information Small obtains a photograph of each object showing a mythological figure and records a description of it, its provenance and all else that is known about it. This material is sent to the Central Editorial Office in Basel, Switzerland, which is directed by Lilly Kahil, professor of classical studies at the University of

The Toledo Museum of Art

A Pictorial Guide to Olympus

(top) Dionysus and the Dolphins, an Etruscan vase, ca. 510 B.C.
(center) Classical kitsch shows Aphrodite, emerging from her oyster shell.
(bottom) Orpheus on an Etruscan mirror (both fourth century B.C.).

Basel. Kahil, with staff assistance, has performed the work of a scholarly Pantheon for the project, as conceiver of the *Lexicon*, creator of the structure for international participation, friend and adviser to contributors, and archaeologist laboring at her own research.

The Center sorts information from participating countries according to mythological subject and assigns writers to compile research into articles for the *Lexicon*. Articles are written in the language preferred by the writer—English, French, German, or Italian and no translation will be provided. Each article contains four parts: a summary of the deeds and accomplishments of the subject with a citation of the principal literary sources for the legend; a bibliography; the catalog of representations; and a commentary which may include critical appraisal of other scholarly interpretation.

The *Lexicon* is being published in eight volumes, text and plates bound separately, with entries arranged alphabetically. A ninth volume will cover the documentation obtained after publication of the earlier issues. Volume I, from Aara to Aphlad, published in 1981, fills more than 1,600 pages and weighs seventeen pounds (an unabridged dictionary weighs only about ten). It contains 900 plates and 3,000 photographs. Small notes that an inordinate number of mythological figures have names beginning with A, especially important ones requiring long entries like Achilles, Aphrodite, Athena and Apollo.

Eighty-seven scholars contributed articles to Volume I, among them, John Boardman of Oxford University, Erica Simon of the Wurzburg University, and the late Pierre Devambez of the Louvre. Most *Lexicon* entries will have a single author, but a few articles on mythological figures with extensive legends and numerous representations will have more than one author. For example, several writers will share the labors of Herakles.

Writing of Volume I in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, reviewer Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway of Bryn Mawr College noted that "Many of the objects illustrated are familiar; others are little known and quite a few are previously unpublished.... The entire scholarly community is indebted to Dr. Kahil for this superb contribution." UNESCO has given financial and other support to the project.

Among the representations of gods, heroes like Achilles, and non-human figures such as winged creatures and demons, Small has found vases, statuary, textile fragments, funerary objects, jewelry, mirrors, mosaics and gems. Some are only fragments; others have been mended to show their original form but lack a piece or two; and a few are almost pristine—marred only by an insignificant chip along an

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

edge.

The Grecian urns never cease to fascinate us partly because it is possible to see so many of them—collections in the United States and elsewhere are particularly rich in Attic vases, Small says—and because their art is narrative. Especially on later vases, the decoration is a story to be “read.” A unique representation at the Toledo Museum of Art depicts the legend of Dionysus captured by pirates. According to the story, the god turned his captors into dolphins in order to make his escape. A series of men transforming into dolphins and jumping into the waves marks this vase as a tribute to Dionysus. The ivy bough to the side, a symbol related to Dionysus, confirms the association, says Small.

Perhaps the most widely known vase in the United States is the Euphronius Crater (an antique vase with a wide mouth used for mixing wine and water) at New York’s Metropolitan Museum. The Crater illustrates a story from the Iliad of the Death of Sarpedon, a Lycian prince slain by Petroclus. It is signed by Euphronius, a painter and potter who lived between the late sixth and early fifth centuries. In all, seventeen signed vases of Euphronius are known to survive.

One of the oldest pieces in the country is also at the Metropolitan—a bronze figure believed to be Herakles wrestling with the centaur Nessus, the creature that ultimately poisoned him. Like other early Greek art, it is unlabeled.

Not all ancient art is great art, Small makes clear. Most objects in American collections can be compared to modern kitsch, she says. Her favorite piece of “antique kitsch” is a small vase decorated with Venus in a flowing gown, kneeling on an oyster shell and surrounded by rosettes and cupids, a bibelot she compares to decorated boxes that people buy today.

In comprehensiveness, the *Lexicon* is without parallel. Most previous surveys of classical art have been confined to one art form, such as the archives on Attic vases gathered by J.D. Beazley. LIMC’s model, the hitherto authoritative *Mythologische Lexikon* (1884-1937), compiled by Roscher, emphasized literary rather than visual conceptions.

As a research tool, the *Lexicon* is of use to anyone interested in mythology, especially art historians, classicists, classical archaeologists and numismatists. Containing a survey of mythological literature and discussions of representations

in ancient art, its outstanding feature, according to Small, is its “wealth of illustrations and the fantastically high quality of reproduction.” While bibliographies may be outdated by new findings and interpretations, Small points out that “illustrations are primary sources, irreplaceable and, therefore, exceedingly valuable.”

Although the *Lexicon* aspires to be as complete as possible, Small says that it is only by chance that some pieces and collections are included. She tells of seeing a piece of flat, green glass only a bit larger than a half-dollar in a collection too small to have a curator. She recognized the decoration on one side as a representation of a Roman New Year’s lamp. The lamps, she recalled, bear a picture of the Roman goddess Victoria whose shield is engraved “Happy New Year.” She doesn’t know the purpose of the glass, but, she points out, an expert in glass probably would not know about Roman New Year lamps. She tells another story as example of the role chance has played in this country’s contribution to the project. Having worked for three summers on a dig near Siena, she was asked by the excavation director to write an article for a Bryn Mawr publication, which identified her as

expert on Etruscan funerary urns.

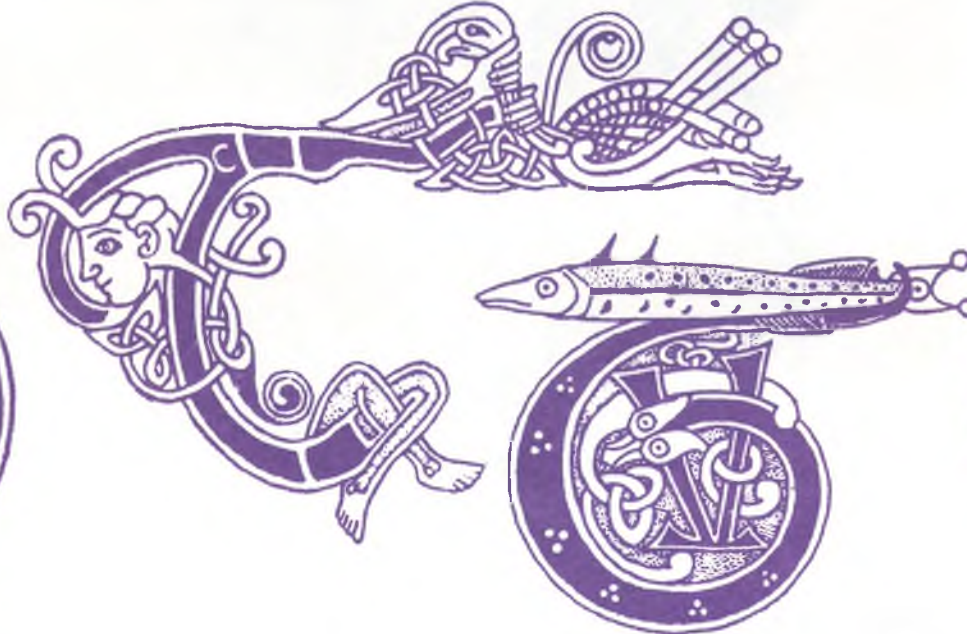
Soon after the article was published, she received a letter from an alumna who wrote that she had inherited a planter her grandmother had picked up in Boston around the turn of the century. “Was it really an Etruscan funerary urn?” Small paraphrases. “Should she take it in out of the rain?” It was an Etruscan vase, though not one with a mythological decoration.

“Publishing this interview may result in our hearing about two or three more pieces,” she said.

Although all representations that are cataloged by Small will not be listed in the *Lexicon*, the center files containing the complete entries are open to scholars and other interested persons, and non-publishable photocopies of photographs are available. In addition, the center is purchasing the files of the Central Editorial Office. This means that the index at Rutgers may be consulted for information on mythological representations in all thirty-seven participating countries.

—Anita Mintz

“*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*”/Jocelyn P. Small, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ/
\$100,000 OR; \$35,988 FM/1980-82/
\$65,000 OR; \$21,000 FM/1982-84/
Research Tools



Celtic Mythology

Therein are many queens like
Branwen and Guinevere;
And Niamh and Laban and Fand, who
could change to an otter or fawn,
And the wood-woman, whose lover was
changed to a blue-eyed hawk;
And whether I go in my dreams by
woodland, or dun, or shore,
Or on the unpeopled waves with
kings to pull at the oar,
I hear the harp-string praise them,
or hear their mournful talk.

—from “Under the Moon,”
In the Seven Woods
W. B. Yeats (1904)

The volume from which this poem is taken bears the subtitle, “Being Poems Chiefly of the Irish Heroic Age.” Although the verses do not fail to compel readers, like

much of Yeats a full understanding depends on a knowledge of the mythological allusions in the text. Most readers recognize Guinevere as the wife of the legendary King Arthur. Many do not know that Branwen, which means “dark raven,” is also a queen to the quasi-historical King Llyr of Welsh legend. In the next line the mortal women are being compared to a supernatural temptress: Niamh of the Golden Hair, a fairy lover from Celtic folklore, lures men to her mound; after lovemaking, the helpless victims return to their normal world to find that they have aged three hundred years.

There is currently no reference work to guide readers through such

allusions to Celtic mythology. But with assistance from an NEH fellowship, Celtic scholar James MacKillop is preparing a dictionary of Celtic myth, legend, and folklore, which, with almost 7,000 entries, will do for Celtic studies what Sir Paul Harvey’s *Oxford Companion* and Sir William Smith’s *Smaller Classical Dictionary* have done for classics. The dictionary will include names of mythical and historical figures, summaries of legends and myths, place names both real and imaginary, and artifacts and ideas.

MacKillop, a professor of English at Onondaga Community College, Syracuse, New York, began work on the dictionary fifteen years ago when he was studying James Joyce.

The need for such a handbook became even more apparent to him after he started collecting allusions in earnest. Unlike classical mythology, some Celtic myths recorded in Old Irish and Old Welsh have never been adequately translated. Although there has been more interest in these languages in recent years, it was not until the nineteenth century, when the work of German philologists (among them the Grimm brothers) produced the first grammars and dictionaries, that modern Celtic studies began. Ancient Greek, by contrast, has enjoyed widespread and continuous study for at least five centuries in the modern era, and Latin, for about twenty.

One of the reasons that MacKillop's dictionary is such a time-consuming project, he says, is that normative spellings have not been established for many words. For some entries he has listed as many as twenty variant spellings.

Although the language difficulties have made the Celtic presence peripheral, its mythology has been incorporated into the Arthurian legends and works of a host of English writers from Chaucer and Shakespeare through modern times. The Gaelic world of magic has even found its way into contemporary popular culture in Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, Evangeline Walton's *The Children of Llyr*, and even Fleetwood Mac's rock hit "Song of Rhiannon."

The original Celtic legends were shaped and transmitted by bards associated with the ancient druids. These early sources are the basis for great manuscript collections produced by monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These documents, says MacKillop, are the best sources of the stories for modern scholars, who have found in them evidence suggesting both a prehistoric common heritage with India, and also an overlay and intermingling of classical Greek and Roman culture.

MacKillop has used this source material as well as the oral tales still being circulated by Gaelic storytellers. "I'm drawing on everything," he says.

Interest in and knowledge of the Celtic heritage waned during the Renaissance. Although the language was not formally studied until the nineteenth century, fascination with the stories was rekindled in the eighteenth century, partly as the result of the famous literary "hoax" of James MacPherson. MacPherson, a native of the Scottish Highlands and would-be bard and historian, claimed to have discovered and translated an ancient Celtic manuscript in the 1750s. The long epic poems centering on the legendary warrior Fingal (Anglicized, Finn MacCool) and his son Ossian (Oisín) were subsequently denounced by Samuel Johnson and others as "fakes." In fact, the stories were loosely based on ballads then in circulation in the oral tradition of the Highlands. Generously embellished with MacPherson's own anti-Irish sentiment and Romantic style, the poems nevertheless were read and admired by many.

Genuine translations followed with the nineteenth-century studies of the languages as German and Irish scholars correctly identified medieval manuscripts previously thought to be unimportant collections of rude dialect. In the twentieth-century a number of books retelling and critiquing the legends have appeared, and modern writers from the Irish Renaissance on have borrowed from the tradition.

Some of the greatest of the Celtic tales are contained in the Ulster cycle of Irish legend; this group, which was preserved in a high literary genre from about the ninth century, represents the heroic and noble aspect of the tradition. A short but widely known narrative from the Ulster cycle, which is cited in MacKillop's dictionary under its title, "Aided Oenfhír Áife (The Tragic Death of Áife's Only Son)" tells of the slaying of hero Cúchulainn's son by his own hand in combat. (The tale has a parallel in a Persian narrative called Sohrub and Rustum.)

In the Celtic version, the men of Ulster were assembled on the shore when they saw a boy coming toward them in a boat of bronze with gilded oars. The men were awestruck at the boy's power to make birds do his will. They sent two champions to challenge him, but he defied them both. Only Cúchulainn seemed equal to the task. As he set out, his wife warned him that the boy was his son by an earlier liaison, but Cúchulainn brushed aside her prophecy and joined in combat for the honor of Ulster.

As they met, Cúchulainn demanded to know the boy's name, but his adversary remained silent. The two struggled on land and sea; finally, as Cúchulainn mortally speared the youth, the boy cried, "That is what Scáthach did not teach me." Cúchulainn immediately recognized the name of their old teacher, and knew the boy to be his son. Much of this story was used by W. B. Yeats in his poem

"Cúchulainn's Fight with the Sea" (1892); Yeats also reworked the material in his play, *Baile's Strand* (1904). The tale was picked up by MacPherson in his *Poems of Ossian*, and still survives in ballad form in Nova Scotia.

Professor MacKillop himself has worked most closely with material from the Finn cycle, another group of tales based on the exploits of the great warrior Fionn mac Cumhaill (Finn MacCool) and his followers. Part of a vigorous oral tradition, the Finn stories are prominent in the repertory of today's Gaelic storytellers. MacKillop, who completed his doctoral dissertation on the Finn legend, once thought the cycle to be the controlling metaphor in *Finnegans Wake*. Although he has changed his mind about this in the light of recent scholarship, he points out that Joyce is full of allusions to Finn. "Even the title of *Finnegans Wake* can be interpreted as a pun, 'Finn Again Wake,' which explains why 'Finnegans' contains no apostrophe," says MacKillop.

One of the most famous stories in this cycle tells of the elopement of Diarmaid and Grainne. According to the legend, Grainne, a young woman, was betrothed to Fionn (Finn), at this time an aging widower. Unhappy with the match, on the night of the wedding feast she administered a sleeping potion to the assembled guests and cast handsome Diarmaid under a spell compelling him to elope with her. The guilty pair took refuge in a wood and were surrounded by

Fionn's men, but managed to escape by magic means. For a long time Diarmaid refused to consummate the union out of loyalty to Fionn, but eventually, taunted by Grainne, he succumbed. The lovers settled down and made their peace with Fionn, but eventually the bitter Fionn caused Diarmaid's death.

A number of scholars have commented on the parallel to the Arthurian tale of Lancelot and Guinevere, and the legend is probably also the source of the Tristan and Iseult story.

In addition to recounting briefly the ancient tales and citing their later appearances in literature, the reference work will disentangle mythical and historical figures who have the same or similar names. One entry, for example, provides seven different glosses for the character Áife. Not only is she known as an amazonian chieftainess, but also appears as the third wife of Lir, the model through Hollingshead's chronicles for Shakespeare's King Lear. Historical personages are also included, especially those who have become invested with myth.

The dictionary also contains descriptions of artifacts, such as "fidchell," a board game played by nobles in early Ireland. Entries for real and imaginary place names will assist scholars trying to distinguish historical from mythical references. For example, MacKillop includes "Brugh Na Bóinne," which refers in myth and legend to prehistoric monuments in a region now known as Bend of the Boyne in Ireland. Important ideas and symbols are also cited, as in the entry for "salmon." The fish was thought to be the repository of wisdom and embodied sacred significance for the Celts. Students of comparative religion will be assisted by entries such as "Imbolc," a religious festival of early Ireland which was sacred to the goddess Brigit. The divinity merged pagan elements with her Christian successor, St. Brigit.

MacKillop's work has involved him in studies of Old and Modern Irish, as well as Scottish, Gaelic and Welsh. He emphasizes the detective work that must go into making each entry substantive and complete. "It took me four years to track down all the implications of one name," he said, "and that is not an isolated example." MacKillop's efforts will save other scholars that kind of leg work.

MacKillop estimates that it will take him another year to turn the entries into a finished manuscript. A number of American and foreign presses have expressed interest in publishing the book when it is completed.

— Perry Frank



The legend of King Arthur is drawn from Celtic mythology. Here, an illustration shows the young king drawing forth his sword Excalibur from the stone.

"A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology" / James J. MacKillop, Onondaga Community College, Syracuse, NY/\$25,000/ 1983-84/Fellowships for Independent Study and Research

What has happened in Anthropology Archaeology Art Criticism Art History



If toward the close of the sixteenth century someone had asked what had made the greatest difference to classical scholarship in the past twenty-five years, the reply might well have been the works of Joseph Justus Scaliger, Henricus Stephanus, and Isaac Casaubon. Not because Scaliger established the chronology of the ancient world by his research on Eusebius, not because Stephanus edited well over one hundred Greek and Latin texts, many of which survived as the vulgate edition for two centuries or more, and not because Casaubon laid the foundation of literary history with his commentaries on a vast assortment of authors, but (as Wilamowitz observed in his *History of Classical Philology*) because these three were chiefly responsible for the "transition from a potential to an actual science of classical antiquity." Only in their time did the classics begin to be studied for their own sake, rather than for what a knowledge of ancient sources might contribute to religion, philosophy, law, medicine, or some other independent pursuit.

After that, as classical scholarship developed its innate potentialities, successive generations contributed new tools and new perspectives, responding—sometimes eagerly, sometimes reluctantly, sometimes, it appears, not at all—to the needs and interests of their own time. With the wisdom of hindsight, it is easy to identify the books and scholars that made the essential difference in each of those eleven or twelve subsequent generations. Whether we can do so for the most recent past is another question. What follows, although it reflects many conversations on the subject with colleagues in this country and abroad, necessarily remains the limited view of one person (and, as it happens, one whose interests are primarily in Greek and Latin literature).

In the early fifties, just before the start of the period we are considering, the most influential trend was the application to classical literature, especially poetry, of the principles of the New Criticism, with its insistence on close attention to the text, its scrupulous avoidance of the biographical approach and the intentional fallacy, and its exclusive

concern for the work of literature in its own right. The influence of Leavis in England, of Wimsatt, Beardsley, and Cleanth Brooks in this country was slow to impress classical scholars but eventually found a warm welcome among them, professionally trained as they already were in close reading, alert to irony and ambiguity in Sophocles and Virgil. Steele Commager's *The Odes of Horace* (1962) affords an early example of the fruitful application of this method to Latin poetry, exemplary especially in avoiding the excesses of image-hunting for its own sake, which for a time seemed to dominate articles and dissertations on Greek and Latin poetry. Studies of recurrent patterns of imagery and symbolism without reference to the totality of the work in question or to the existence of other critical approaches have now become far less frequent, as have works obsessed with the Golden Section and other numerological fantasies. The very considerable benefits of the New Critical approach have long since been absorbed and now form part of the

equipment of almost every undergraduate, balanced by renewed appreciation of what a knowledge of historical context and generic tradition contributes to the understanding of literature.

A totally different approach, in which historical context was never overlooked and developments in the history of ideas were interpreted in the light of all relevant data, was brilliantly demonstrated by Bruno Snell in *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (1946); its English translation by T. R. Rosenmeyer, *The Discovery of the Mind: the Greek Origins of European Thought*, appeared in 1953. This book remains an inspiration and a model for scholars who use philology to uncover patterns of thought.

Still being pondered in the fifties were the implications of Milman Parry's revolutionary demonstration of the formulaic nature of Homeric verse (*L'epithete traditionnelle chez Homere*, 1928) with all the profound questions it raised about the degree of creativity possible in oral epic. The ramifications of Parry's discovery are still being investigated, but the rigidity of his theory has been modified, and we now have a more subtle appreciation of what originality means in the oral tradition, as well as a keener sense of the differences between Homeric epic and oral narrative poetry in other cultures to which it has been compared.

Just before the start of our target period, the decipherment of Linear B and the proof that it recorded Mycenaean Greek electrified the world of classics. The famous, cautiously entitled article, "Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives," by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, was published in 1953. I have a vivid recollection of first hearing about it in the fall of that year from Lily Ross Taylor, then Professor in Charge of the Classical School at the American Academy in Rome, in the course of

a field trip to the Roman Forum. It is seldom that one is given such an acute and instantaneous vision of the vistas opened up by a great breakthrough in philology, but Professor Taylor was immediately aware of the revolutionary implications of the decipherment, and indeed its effects were among the most important to be felt in the sixties and early seventies, when its impact on classical studies was strongest.

The truth about the Mycenaean world as it was revealed in these tablets from Knossos, Pylos, and Mycenae forever shattered the belief that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were faithful reflections of that world. Study of the tablets enabled scholars to reconstruct the oldest Greek dialect yet known and to reassemble tantalizing fragments of the social and economic life of the people who spoke it when the tablets were accidentally baked in the fires that destroyed Knossos and Pylos over three thousand years ago. Many questions about that culture remain to be answered, but for lack of fresh material, progress has been very slow in recent years. Only if another archive room should be excavated—perhaps in the Sparta of Menelaus and Helen or the mysterious palace in Boeotia known only by the name of Gla—can we hope for further enlightenment. What the decipherment meant to students of Homer, as distinguished from archaeologists (ideally there is no such distinction), was the freedom to concentrate on Homer the poet, rather than Homer the pseudo-historian (as Chadwick has called him) and to attend exclusively to the issues and values that define epic poetry. The consequences of this liberation are still being vigorously explored.

Almost simultaneously another kind of liberation was taking place, heralded by one of the most influential books of its time, *The Greeks and the Irrational* by E. R. Dodds (1951), a book notable in itself and in its effects. There is even a sense



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in which it served as proem to the classical discourse of the next thirty years. In ancient rhetoric, the function of the proem is threefold: to render the listener attentive, well-disposed, and receptive. *The Greeks and the Irrational* caught our attention by its paradoxical theme (irrational? the Greeks?); it rendered us well-disposed not less by the felicity of its style than by its challenging insights, and it made us *dociles*, in the true Ciceronian sense—receptive, willing to learn, open not just to what Dodds himself had to say, but to certain contemporary trends and systems of ideas developed outside the world of classics.

What Dodds did was to explode the notion (oddly prevalent in the fifties even among classicists) that the Greeks were so persistently rational as to appear (as he put it) “lacking in the awareness of mystery and in the ability to penetrate the deeper, less conscious levels of human experience.” To be so lacking was to be incapable of capturing the attention of a generation brought up on Freud and Jung, attracted to the primitive and barbaric, unimpressed by the Elgin marbles. From such a fate Dodds rescued the Greeks, and because in so doing he successfully exploited the resources of anthropology and psychology, as well as the more familiar tools of philology, his Sather Lectures encouraged classicists to open their minds to a whole range of methods popular elsewhere in the academic world. If it is difficult to find in the last twenty-five years any discovery of such major and enduring significance for classics as those that dominated the preceding quarter of a century, there has at least been an unmistakable trend toward the increasing integration of classical studies into the world of contemporary culture, a new receptiveness to anthropology, structuralism and semiotics, comparative study of myth, and the techniques of feminist criticism. Whether as cause or symptom, Dodd’s book deserves to be linked with this tendency toward assimilation.

Such a trend in fact constituted a dramatic reversal of what had happened around the middle of the nineteenth century. It was then that several disciplines originally

part of the classics—Indo-European linguistics, archaeology, anthropology, the comparative study of myth—became independent and and outgrew their matrix, while what might be called quintessential classicism devoted itself more and more exclusively to textual studies. When Paul Shorey in 1919 assessed the accomplishments of the preceding fifty years (since the foundation of the American Philological Association), it was in no way unnatural that he should identify Jebb, Wilamowitz, and Gildersleeve as the preëminent classicists of England, Germany, and the United States, precisely because of their contributions to textual criticism. But in the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century, classical scholarship began to reclaim the branches that had by now grown to such size as to dwarf the parent tree.

Another notable tendency was for some of these branches to intertwine. Structuralism had after all grown out of linguistics and anthropology, and its early days addressed itself to mythology and folklore. Its classical adherents, first in France (Vernant, Detienne, Vidal-Naquet), very recently in the United States, continue to find their most malleable material in Greek myth and tragedy, and they draw conclusions that often have more relevance to anthropology and sociology than to literature. It is too early to tell whether what some classicists perceive to be the current excesses of structuralist criticism—the determination to find in every myth extremes that must be mediated, preferably with some reference to the raw and the cooked, the uncritical assumption that significant parallels exist even where they must be invented to fit the Procrustean bed, above all the jargon that frustrates instead of facilitating comprehension—whether these excesses will be corrected by time and experience as were those of the New Criticism twenty years ago. But nothing is more obvious at this moment than the heady fascination exerted by the methods identified with Foucault, Lévi-Strauss, and Umberto Eco on some of the most lively and adventurous members of our profession. That several of them apply these methods to the study of women in antiquity

further illustrates the intertwining I have mentioned.

But feminist studies employ the full panoply of philological tools, including papyrology, which, of all the ancillary disciplines, has made the greatest progress in recent years. The impact of feminism on the classics has been particularly profound and far-reaching, because its effects are sociological as well as intellectual. It is probably fair to say that classical studies have traditionally been more hospitable to women than many other academic disciplines, but the consciousness that was raised in the sixties and seventies in the wake of some of the most fundamental social and political changes ever to transform American society was greatly needed in many university departments of classics, which had long been willing to train women, never to hire them. The presence of women on the faculties of such institutions, the inexorable rise of young women to prominence in the profession in more than token numbers, their greater access to publication (because of the almost universal adoption by classical journals of the process of blind refereeing) are but the most noticeable effects on the sociology of the classics.

Intellectually, feminism has given us a whole new world to study,

while feminist criticism has contributed perspectives that enable us to interpret that world and our familiar texts with greater sensitivity and a more comprehensive vision of what was always there but was somehow never quite in focus before. The scope of research in this field and the application of a wide range of scholarly techniques—often with brilliant results—are demonstrated by a recent collection of essays, *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, edited by Helene P. Foley (1981). This book is especially gratifying in its advance beyond the simplistic treatment of women’s roles that predictably characterized some of the early explorations of the subject. Because it is less than a decade since the appearance of important pioneering studies (in no way simplistic) such as Sarah B. Pomeroy’s *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (1975) and David M. Schaps’s *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (1979), we have here encouraging evidence of rapid and solid achievement in a field that is sure to attract many classicists in years to come.

Another influence already penetrating every corner of the classical world is that of the computer, which has made possible the ac-



(above) The decipherment of Linear B electrified the world of classical scholarship with its proof of recorded Mycenaean Greek. Walls of a Mycenaean tomb.

Photograph by Maria Josephy Schoolman

cumulation, organization, and retrieval of data on a scale undreamed of by Mnemosyne. From the first applications to such obvious beneficiaries as linguistic analysis, stylistic studies, and the making of concordances, classicists have proceeded, no more hesitantly than most other humanists, to invent ever more ingenious ways of realizing the gigantic potentiality of this monstrous tool. We now know, at least by report in the *American Philological Association Newsletter*, about computer systems for the preparation of critical editions, the availability of almost fifty Greek and Latin texts in machine-readable form, and of course the computerized Greek *Thesaurus*. If there are some among us who still prefer the quill pen to the word processor, it is salutary to remember that in our house there have always been many mansions.

Quantification, which is not the same as computerization, although often computer-assisted, is transforming branches of our profession, especially the historical and archaeological. Here too the need to discriminate between the mere accumulation of data and their sophisticated use is self-evident, or should be. To ask the right questions, and not just the questions to which there are numerical answers is the fundamental challenge.

Now and then I have compared the classics to a tree with many branches. Perhaps it would be appropriate to conclude by considering the roots. No matter what stimulating trends from the outside world we respond to and, if we respond intelligently, convert into sources of renewed vigor for our

own discipline, we all know that our continuing vitality as classicists depends on our knowledge of Greek and Latin and our possession of the texts that make classical studies unique—something marvelous and worthy to live forever, as “Longinus” said. Werner Jaeger, whose publications on many aspects of ancient literature and philosophy were prodigious in number and influence, used to say that his stature as a classical scholar would ultimately depend on his text of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* and his edition of the works of Gregory of Nyssa, an enterprise still being carried on by his associates. The fundamental index to the health of our discipline is now, as it has always been, the production of texts and commentaries that bring us a step closer to the reality of the authors we study, the production also in every generation of students who can read these texts and interpret them afresh for themselves and for their own time. Because the relation between scholarship and teaching is close and reciprocal, it is worth mentioning the influence of the classroom on the study in recent years.

In the late sixties and early seventies, there were moments of panic induced by the disappearance of Latin from many high schools, whence Greek had long since fled, and the declining enrollments in college classes as well. I remember a time in the early seventies when, as editor of the *American Philological Association Series of Greek and Latin College Textbooks*, I was asked whether we should not abandon the original languages and devote all our energies to providing

attractive new translations. There was a certain specious charm in this idea because many first-rate translations, especially of Homer and Greek drama, were being produced in those years and were winning substantial numbers of new readers for the classics. That good translations were available and that making them brought professional recognition have constituted still another important trend in the thirty-odd years since Lattimore’s *Iliad* appeared in 1951. The high value placed on translation as a scholarly activity and our increased consciousness of both the importance and the difficulty of this activity are closely related to our concern about the classroom in the past quarter of a century. And the apprehension felt at this time had the good effect of leading teachers to develop an unprecedented number of successful courses in the classics in translation, which continue to extend the influence of the ancient authors.

But the situation of Latin and Greek in the classroom has improved dramatically in recent years, thanks in part to the introduction of intensive elementary courses that allow students to proceed with no loss of time to the authors they hope to read. Not only has the APA Textbook series survived as it was originally conceived, but it has lately been supplemented by the *Bryn Mawr Commentaries*, first on Greek authors, now, with a new grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, on Latin writers as well (best of all on a selection of medieval Latin authors, desperately needed to accommodate a branch of classical studies that

steadily attracts more students).

As for definitive scholarly texts and commentaries, here too the record is more than respectable. To mention only one author—Hesiod—who was scarcely read thirty years ago, but who is now intently scrutinized by scholars using all the perspectives I have mentioned—anthropology, structuralism, feminism, comparative mythology—both Hesiod and his readers have been well served by the prize-winning text edited by Friedrich Solmsen (1970) and the massive commentaries by M. L. West on the *Theogony* (1966) and the *Works and Days* (1978), which bring to bear on the interpretation about Near Eastern religion, myth, and cosmogony now seen as definitive for understanding how the two great poems came to be what they are.

The Platonic Socrates says in the *Protagoras* that the rhetors are like bronze pots that keep ringing when they are struck, but say nothing new, and thus resemble books that cannot reply to their readers’ questions. This of course is part of Plato’s demonstration that written works are inferior to dialectical exchange as modes of instruction, and Plato is correct, but if we can no longer engage in dialogue with Socrates himself, the writings of Plato are better—much better—than nothing. Our task is to put the right questions to these and all our other texts, and there will be answers. Throughout its history, classical philology has existed to frame the right questions.

—Helen F. North

Ms. North is Centennial Professor of Classics at Swarthmore College where she has taught since 1948.



National Gallery of Art

Titian's celebrated painting of Venus and Adonis.

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Nearest Grant Application Deadlines



THREE FOR ONE: CHALLENGE GRANTS AT NEH



In December the Endowment announced the award of \$22 million in new Challenge Grants. This new set of awards brings the total of Endowment Challenge awards to more than \$180 million since the program began in 1977; and because NEH requires Challenge Grant recipients to raise three times the federal offer in new or increased contributions, the total amount the program has generated or will generate for the support of institutions and organizations working within the humanities approaches three-quarters of a billion dollars.

The Challenge Grant program is the only broad-based institutional support program within the Endowment. Its purpose is to assist recipients in sustaining or attaining a high quality of resources, programs, and activities within the humanities by encouraging substantial long-range financial and program planning and—through the actual dollars offered—by achieving financial stability.

The seventy-five new grants represent the variety of eligible institutions and organizations traditionally supported within the program. Twenty-two grants went to four-year colleges; fifteen awards to museums; eight to historical societies or historic properties; seven to public libraries; seven to advanced study centers; five to professional organizations and societies; four to universities; three to media organizations; one to a university press; one to a two-year college; and two to other types of nonprofit organizations working in the humanities.

The quality of Challenge Grant applications, the sophistication of the review process, and the credibility of the awards have matured over the seven-year history of the program. In addition to describing financial and programmatic needs, and in addition to presenting compelling fund-raising plans, successful applicants must describe the content and quality of existing humanities programs and convince reviewers that funds will have a positive impact on both programs and financial resources. The Challenge Grant review panels include humanities scholars, institutional administrators and program executives, development personnel, representatives from both corporate and private philanthropy, and trustees of nonprofit enterprises. Consequently, Challenge Grants both

recognize the quality of the institutions that receive them and challenge them to make to private donors the same strong case for support they made to the Endowment.

For the first time, the Endowment accepted in this past round of review applications from institutions that had received a Challenge Grant in the early years of the program. Ten of the seventy-five new offers were made to previous holders of an NEH Challenge Grant. The Endowment recognizes that financial stability is a relative condition and that many earlier recipients can make compelling cases for further funding. Applicants for a second-time award must wait at least two years between the formal close of the first grant and the application deadline for a second. Each must also address additional evaluative criteria that depend on testimony about the first grant and the need for a second.

Typical of the kind of Challenge Grant awarded to four-year colleges is the offer of \$300,000 to Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania. As part of a major \$14 million campaign to build the college's endowment, Gettysburg will establish a restricted fund for humanities faculty and humanities curriculum development; it also will support its Civil War Studies program.

Representative of a smaller humanities organization receiving an award is the Morgan County Foundation in Madison, Georgia. Thirty years ago the foundation, which was established by citizens interested in local history who wished to provide collections and programs for a local audience, saved the oldest school building in the county and remodeled it as a local cultural center. The center now houses a small history museum, galleries, and an auditorium where a variety of performances, symposia, and lectures occur. A \$150,000 Challenge Grant will develop an endowment to underwrite expanded humanities programs, museum operations, pro-

fessional staff, and educational publications.

The Endowment also provides Challenge Grants to media organizations and stations working in the humanities. KUON-TV, which is affiliated with the University of Nebraska, the flagship station of the Nebraska Educational Television Network, received a Challenge Grant for \$500,000.

One of the ten second-time awards, a \$200,000 Challenge Grant, went to the American Academy in Rome, an advanced study and research center for American scholars doing work in classical, medieval, Renaissance, and modern Italian culture. The Academy maintains a 95,000-volume library, and the funds will help initiate a \$2 million endowment for the operations and acquisitions of the library.

One of the five professional organizations and societies receiving a Challenge award was the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies located at Stanford University. With the \$125,000 offer, the association will raise an additional \$375,000 to endow the general operations of the society. In addition to sponsoring workshops and conferences for Slavicists, the association publishes *Slavic Review* and the *Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*.

Both small and large public libraries seek Challenge Grant funds for the support of humanities resources. A grant of \$250,000, matched by \$750,000 in new and increased private contributions, will allow the Tulsa City-County Library System to establish an acquisitions endowment for humanities materials and to support through endowment income programs and services in the humanities.

One of the largest Challenge Grants in this cycle (\$975,000) was awarded to Syracuse University. The university will endow several notable programs within its humanities division: a chair in English lan-

guage and literature, a chair in philosophy, an annual humanities symposium, a visiting humanities professorship, and the Centro de Estudios Hispánicos.

The size of grants awarded in this most recent cycle reflects the variety and needs of the institutions applying. The smallest offer was for \$20,000; the largest, \$1 million. Institutions may apply for as little as \$2,000 in federal funds or as much as \$1.5 million. The total number of applications received by the Endowment was 210; so, one out of every three applications received funding.

The process of applying for an Endowment Challenge Grant is demanding, and the best applications reflect thorough involvement not only of an institution's development personnel but of the academic staff and governors or trustees as well. Often the planning for an application will begin as much as a year in advance of the Endowment's spring deadline for the program. Many applicants have been successful upon reapplying to the program after initial rejection of an application and consideration of the comments of reviewers. The Endowment encourages its Challenge applicants to request readers' evaluations.

The next application deadline for Challenge Grants is May 1, 1984. The Endowment heartily encourages potential applicants to discuss plans with staff in the Office of Challenge Grants. Although submission of a draft proposal is not a requirement, most applicants find staff review of the draft immensely helpful in clarifying plans and marrying needs to the goals of the program. Applicants need not think they must make a trip to Washington to benefit from counsel: The Challenge Grants staff usually discusses draft applications and plans with applicants by telephone. In order to provide sufficient time for counsel, all draft applications should be sent to the Office of Challenge Grants, Room 429, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506 (202/786-0361) before March 15, 1984. Those interested in receiving a copy of the program's 1984 *Guidelines* should call or write the Endowment's Office of Public Affairs.

— Thomas S. Kingston

Mr. Kingston is the former director of the Challenge Grants Program.

1983 NEH CHALLENGE GRANTS

California

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Stanford U., CA; Dorothy Atkinson. NEH: \$125,000/Total: \$500,000. To establish an endowment for the operations of the association in order that it may secure a long-term ability to serve the field of Slavic studies.

Hoover Institution, Stanford, CA; Dennis Bark. NEH: \$900,000/Total: \$3,600,000. To increase the endowment restricted for the institution's library and archives in order to maintain humanities acquisitions; and to conserve, maintain, catalog, and provide automated access for the library's materials emphasizing twentieth-century social, cultural, philosophical, and economic history.

Mount St. Mary's College, Los Angeles, CA; Barbara Becker. NEH: \$300,000/Total: \$1,200,000. To establish an endowment restricted for visiting scholars, guest lectureships, and faculty development programs in art appreciation and history, ethics, history, languages and literature, music appreciation and history, and philosophy.

Whittier College, CA; Jerry Laiblin. NEH: \$210,000/Total: \$840,000. To establish an endowed chair in English language and literature, to endow faculty development for members of humanities departments, and to endow the preservation and development of the college library's John Greenleaf Whittier Collection.

Connecticut

Fairfield University, CT; Stephen Weber. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To establish a general humanities endowment for the support of visiting lecturers, a writing center, faculty development, library acquisitions and equipment, and the college's interdisciplinary studies program.

Thames Science Center, New London, CT; Jane Holdsworth. NEH: \$90,000/Total: \$360,000. To assist in the renovation of exhibition and office space, and to develop endowed reserves for the support of humanities programming and the support of staff.

Wethersfield Historical Society, CT; C. Douglas Alves. NEH: \$125,000/Total: \$500,000. To support renovation of the Welles Museum and Visitor Center, restoration of the nineteenth-century Hurlbut House for educational programming, and to increase the Society's endowment for operations.

District of Columbia

Capital Children's Museum, Washington, D.C.; Ann Lewin. NEH: \$300,000/Total: \$1,200,000. To assist in renovation and repairs to the museum to make it an energy-efficient structure, to support initial fund-raising costs, and to develop a general endowment for the museum's humanities exhibitions.

Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.; Perry Fisher. NEH: \$300,000/Total: \$1,200,000. To assist in the second phase of renovation for the Society's headquarters, the Heurich Mansion; to increase the operating endowment to provide staff for the Society's archives and library; and to start a financial development office.

Council for Basic Education, Washington, D.C.; A. Graham Down. NEH: \$150,000/Total: \$600,000. To expand and improve the Council's primary journal, *Basic Education*; to improve long-term financial stability through the development of a public friends group; and to build a cash reserve fund for operations and publications.

Florida

Institute for Religion in an Age of Science, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL; Karl Peters. NEH: \$24,000/Total: \$96,000. To develop a revolving fund for the support of the scholarly journal, *Zygon*, a publication forum for scholars and professionals exploring relationships between the humanities, sciences, and religious studies.

Miami-Dade Community College, FL; Horace Traylor. NEH: \$700,000/Total: \$2,900,000. To establish three rotating professorships in the humanities; and to establish a restricted endowment for faculty and program development in the humanities.

WMFE-TV, Community Communications, Inc., Orlando, FL; Cynthia Link. NEH: \$100,000/Total: \$400,000. To establish an endowment for the production, acquisition, and promotion of humanities programming.

Georgia

Georgia Southern College, Statesboro; Leslie Thompson. NEH: \$100,000/Total: \$400,000. To establish two restricted endowments: one for library acquisitions in the humanities; one to support a faculty development program for teachers in the humanities.

Clark College, Atlanta, GA; Florence Robinson. NEH: \$300,000/Total: \$1,200,000. To endow and continue a faculty development program for humanities teachers; to purchase equipment for the humanities resource center; to endow a humanities professorship; and to increase humanities resources in the college's Woodruff Library.

Madison-Morgan Cultural Center, Madison, GA; Elizabeth Reynolds. NEH: \$150,000/Total: \$600,000. To increase an existing endowment in order that the museum and cultural center may support an enlarged professional staff, expand interpretive programs in local history, and increase educational publications.

Illinois

Chicago Public Library, IL; Amanda Rudd. NEH: \$1,000,000/Total: \$4,000,000. To assist in the renovation of the Goldblatt Building for a new central library; to build an endowment for preservation and acquisitions; and to support temporary staff to catalog special collections.

University of Chicago, IL; Hanna Gray. NEH: \$1,000,000/Total: \$4,000,000. To increase an endowed fund for faculty development in the graduate humanities divisions; to endow undergraduate curricular development; and to endow a preservation and acquisitions fund for humanities resources in the Regenstein Library.

University of Chicago Press, IL; Morris Philipson. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To initiate an endowment restricted for the publication of new titles in the humanities and for subsidizing the publication of humanities journals.

Indiana

Butler University, Indianapolis, IN; J. Brooks Jones. NEH: \$350,000/Total: \$1,400,000. To renovate and modernize a humanities classroom building, Arthur Jordan Memorial Hall; to endow a humanities convocation series; and to endow a professorship in the humanities.

Conner Prairie Pioneer Settlement, Noblesville, IN; Pauline Jontz. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To create an endowment for operations of the living history museum; to renovate and repair existing exhibit buildings; to support new development and membership departments; and to assist in collections acquisitions, cataloging, and restoration.

Indiana University, Bloomington; Elaine Sloan. NEH: \$750,000/Total: \$3,000,000. To establish two endowments for the university's library system: one for complementary acquisitions of humanities materials; another for materials preservation and restoration.

Iowa

Drake University, Des Moines, IA; Kent Dove. NEH: \$187,500/Total: \$750,000. To establish an endowment for the support of three humanities professorships, faculty development and research within the humanities, and continuing program development for the undergraduate core curriculum.

Dubuque County Historical Society, IA; Jerome Enzler. NEH: \$200,000/Total: \$800,000. To complete permanent exhibitions and capital improvements at the Woodward Riverboat Museum; to restore the Mathias Ham House, a historic house museum; to develop a permanent membership and fund-raising program; to purchase storage and archives equipment; and to establish an endowment for museum operations.

Luther College, Decorah, IA; Wilfred Bunge. NEH: \$350,000/Total: \$1,400,000. To develop an endowment for the college's Paideia program, a core humanities program; endowment income would support the position of program director, a director of writing and the writing laboratory, library resources in the humanities, and faculty development for teachers of the program.

Morningside College, Sioux City, IA; Miles Tommeraaen. NEH: \$300,000/Total: \$1,200,000. To assist in the renovation of the college's library, and to provide controlled climate space for the library's special collections.

Kansas

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka; Marilyn Foster. NEH: \$395,000/Total: \$1,575,000. To assist in the construction of permanent exhibitions at a new museum site and three historic sites; to renovate office space, museum laboratory, and collection storage space; to renovate the former main museum for a research and conservation laboratory; and to develop an endowment for conservation, programs, and staff development.

Louisiana

WYES-TV, New Orleans; Vincent Saele. NEH: \$156,250/Total: \$625,000. To establish an endowment for the acquisition and production of humanities programming.

Maryland

Calvert Marine Museum, Solomons, MD; Ralph Eshelman. NEH: \$150,000/Total: \$600,000. To convert and renovate the present main museum building; to assist in the establishment of a development office; and to initiate an endowment for museum operations.

Massachusetts

Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, MA; Gary Burger. NEH: \$100,000/Total: \$400,000. To renovate storage, work, and administrative areas in the present museum; to assist in the reinstallation of permanent exhibits in climate-controlled galleries; and to augment the present operations endowment.

Five Colleges, Inc., Amherst, MA; E. Jefferson



(opposite) The American Academy in Rome. (above) The Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.

Murphy. NEH: \$360,000/Total: \$1,440,000. To establish an endowment for faculty development for teachers within the joint programs of the Five Colleges consortium (Amherst, Hampshire, Smith, Holyoke, and the University of Massachusetts); to convert to machine-readable form the humanities catalogs of the five-member libraries.

National Center for Jewish Film, Waltham, MA; Sharon Rivo. NEH: \$125,000/Total: \$500,000. To establish an endowment for film conservation programs, including underwriting for the position of a resource coordinator and researcher.

Ventress Memorial Library, Marshfield, MA; Dennis Corcoran. NEH: \$71,000/Total: \$284,000. To support the acquisition of humanities materials; to furnish, equip, and renovate a portion of the library for the Daniel Webster Historical Center.

Villa I Tatti, Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Patricia Benfari. NEH: \$140,000/Total: \$560,000. To develop an endowment for the operations of a new annex to the research center's scholarly library for the study of the Italian Renaissance, located in Florence, Italy.

Minnesota

Carleton College, Northfield, MN; Catherine Day. NEH: \$958,000/Total: \$3,382,000. To increase the endowment for programs in the Department of English; and to support in part the renovation and expansion of the college library.

College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, MN; Anita Pampusch. NEH: \$100,000/Total: \$400,000. To initiate an endowed library fund for humanities materials; to endow a humanities forum; and to establish an endowed humanities professorship.

Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, MN; Thomas Emmert. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To develop an endowment to support a new integrated sequence of undergraduate core humanities courses; endowment income would support faculty and course development, library acquisitions for the program, and guest lecturers.

Nebraska

KUON-TV, Lincoln, NE; Jack McBride. NEH: \$500,000/Total: \$2,000,000. To support equipment replacement and to establish endowments for local humanities program production and future equipment purchases for humanities programming.

Lincoln City Library Foundation, NE; Carol Connor. NEH: \$100,000/Total: \$400,000. To establish an endowment for the programs and operations of the Heritage Room which houses special collections devoted to Nebraska literature and history.

New Jersey

Chinese Language Teachers Association, South Orange, NJ; John Young. NEH: \$20,000/Total: \$80,000. To initiate an endowment for the support of all operations of the scholarly society, including the publication of the association's journal and newsletter.

Upsala College, East Orange, NJ; Edwin Titus. NEH: \$150,000/Total: \$600,000. To repair and refurbish humanities classrooms and humanities faculty offices; to endow a lecture program in comparative religion; and to initiate a library endowment for humanities resources.

New Mexico

The Archaeological Conservancy, Santa Fe, NM; Mark Michel. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To establish an operating endowment and to assist the conservancy to build its development program for the identification and preservation of major archaeological sites.

St. John's College, Santa Fe, NM; Edwin Delattre. NEH: \$500,000/Total: \$2,000,000. To defray an accumulated operating deficit in proportion to humanities programs and courses; to initiate an endowment for faculty development and research within the humanities; to support new financial development efforts.

In the next issue...

ANNOUNCING THE 1984 NEH FELLOWSHIPS!

SIDNEY HOOK, the 1984 NEH Jefferson Lecturer, profiled in an article by **Irving Kristol • Nathan Glazer** on the Attack on the Universities • **David Sidorsky** on John Dewey and Pragmatism

New York

American Academy in Rome, New York City; Sophie Consagra. NEH: \$200,000/Total: \$800,000. To initiate a permanent library endowment for acquisitions, binding, repairs, and library supplies supporting research in classical studies and archaeology.

Canal Museum, Syracuse, NY; Vicki Ford. NEH: \$75,000/Total: \$300,000. To retire the mortgage for the museum's canal warehouse designed to house new exhibitions; for renovation of the warehouse and the Weighlock Building; to initiate an endowment for museum programs.

Foreign Policy Association, New York City; William Schaefe, Jr. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To increase the operating endowment in order to support personnel for the association's publications program and for the education program.

Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, Hastings-on-Hudson, NY; Daniel Callahan. NEH: \$500,000/Total: \$2,000,000. To initiate an operations endowment and fund-raising campaign; endowment income would support research and fellowships programs within the humanities at the center.

Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY; James Stuart. NEH: \$450,000/Total: \$1,800,000. To initiate an operations endowment for the university's Cultural Center which sponsors international scholarly conferences on various aspects of the humanities; to renovate a portion of the library for a permanent home for the Center.

Leo Baeck Institute, New York City, NY; Fred Grubel. NEH: \$300,000/Total: \$1,200,000. To establish a cash reserve for operations of the institute which sponsors a scholarly library and archives, public lectures, and exhibits specializing upon the modern history of German-speaking Jewry.

Marymount College, Tarrytown, NY; Jane Forni. NEH: \$108,900/Total: \$435,600. To support humanities faculty development pertaining to a new core undergraduate program; to improve humanities resources in the library; and to modernize the modern foreign language laboratory.

The Museums at Stony Brook, NY; Susan Stitt. NEH: \$350,000/Total: \$1,400,000. To increase the endowment for museum operations; to renovate the administration building; and to support initial long-term development campaign costs.

Rochester Museum & Science Center, NY; Richard Shultz. NEH: \$575,000/Total: \$2,325,000. To renovate and enlarge the museum building for collections devoted to regional history, cultural archaeology, and anthropology; to develop an endowment for building operations.

Scarsdale Historical Society, NY; Eda Newhouse. NEH: \$40,000/Total: \$160,000. To complete mortgage payments, repay loan debts, start a program endowment fund, support fund-raising costs, and create an emergency fund in order that the society may open a new historic

property, the Cudner-Hyatt house.

Staten Island Children's Museum, NY; Mindy Duitz. NEH: \$100,000/Total: \$400,000. To complete renovation of the new museum site at the Snug Harbor Cultural Center; to begin an endowment for the support of interpretive programs.

Studio Museum in Harlem, New York City; Mary Campbell. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To establish an endowment for archives and education programs, make capital improvements, and retire a building debt.

Syracuse University, NY; Gerson Vincow. NEH: \$975,000/Total: \$3,900,000. To endow programs within the humanities division including a chair in English, a chair in philosophy, an annual symposium, a visiting professorship, teaching interns, and the Centro de Estudios Hispánicos.

North Carolina

National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, NC; Charles Blitzer. NEH: \$1,000,000/Total: \$4,000,000. To build an operating endowment for the humanities programs and humanities fellows of the scholarly research center.

North Carolina Museum of Life and Science, Durham, NC; William Sudduth. NEH: \$45,000/Total: \$180,000. To establish an operating endowment and for the support of a new development department within the museum, which interprets science and technology in a cultural context.

Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC; R. Arthur Spaugh, Jr. NEH: \$750,000/Total: \$3,000,000. To initiate an endowment for the operations of a living history museum devoted to the Moravian settlement of North Carolina; to support a historic restoration building program; and to initiate financial development efforts.

Ohio

Cincinnati Fire Museum, OH; Robert Harrison. NEH: \$80,000/Total: \$320,000. To eliminate the debt incurred in renovating the fire house museum and opening new local history exhibitions.

Summit County Historical Society, Akron, OH; Jeffrey Smith. NEH: \$125,000/Total: \$500,000. To augment the operating endowment of the historical society, which operates two historic properties—the Stone Mansion and the Brown House.

Oklahoma

Tulsa City-County Library System, OK; Patricia Woodrum. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To create an endowment for the support of the library's humanities collections, programs, and services.

Oregon

Mt. Angel Abbey and Seminary, St. Benedict, OR; Martin Pollard. NEH: \$44,400/Total: \$177,600. To support the costs of restoring, cataloging, and preserving a collection of rare medieval manuscripts and books in the seminary's scholars' library.

Pennsylvania

College Misericordia, Dallas, PA; Frank Pasquini. NEH: \$50,750/Total: \$203,000. To renovate the college's humanities classroom and office areas; to purchase instructional equipment for humanities programs; and to establish an endowment for humanities faculty development.

Easton Area Public Library, PA; Quentin de Streel. NEH: \$100,000/Total: \$400,000. To move special collections into a renovated, climate-controlled stack area; to endow a full-time curator and archivist for the humanities collections.

Fort Ligonier Memorial Foundation, Ligonier, PA; Martin West. NEH: \$210,000/Total: \$840,000. To create an education and collections program endowment to assure continuing historical education programs and a curator of education as well as the permanent care of the collections.

Gettysburg College, PA; Gary Lowe. NEH: \$300,000/Total: \$1,200,000. To develop a restricted endowment for support of humanities faculty and curriculum development and for support of the Civil War studies program, including a professorship, lecture series, and senior scholar's seminar.

Ludington Public Library, Bryn Mawr, PA; David Roberts. NEH: \$340,000/Total: \$1,360,000. To expand, renovate, and reorganize the present library facilities; to establish an endowment for humanities acquisitions and development personnel.

Morris Arboretum, Philadelphia, PA; William Klein, Jr. NEH: \$250,000/Total: \$1,000,000. To renovate the Widener Educational Center; to establish a humanities program endowment for interpretation of landscaping and architecture in the context of cultural history.

Murrysville Public Library, PA; Denise Sticha. NEH: \$50,000/Total: \$200,000. To expand and renovate the present library building in order to improve collections development and accessibility.

Swarthmore College, PA; David Fraser. NEH: \$512,500/Total: \$2,050,000. To establish through an endowment three faculty fellowships and one humanities professorship to be awarded on a revolving basis.

Wilson College, Chambersburg, PA; Harry Buck. NEH: \$45,000/Total: \$180,000. To support a new core undergraduate curriculum, endow humanities acquisitions for the library, and initiate new fund-raising efforts.

Virginia

Old Jail Foundation, Albany, TX; Betsy Koch. NEH: \$50,000/Total: \$200,000. To endow the position of a museum conservator who will train volunteers and oversee the restoration and preservation of the museum's humanities collections.

Texas

Hampden-Sydney College, VA; Daniel Potet. NEH: \$400,000/Total: \$1,600,000. To support the college library which also serves the general public by establishing an endowment for special collections, by equipping and developing a communications center, and by acquiring and cataloging humanities materials.

Washington

Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA; Patrick Hill. NEH: \$25,000/Total: \$100,000. To endow the Willi Unsoeld Seminar Fund, which will support a new humanities program bringing visiting lecturers to the college to complement curricular offerings.



Vijayanagara, "the city of victory," was the capital of the ancient Hindu kingdom that held sway over south India from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century and, during its 200-year existence, successfully turned back Muslim invasions from the north. The history, literature, and particularly the religious and mythological symbolism of the Hindu culture is a valuable guide to interpreting archaeological discoveries made here.

The site of the capital, the right bank of the Tungabhadra river where it runs through a rocky gorge, was chosen with an eye for military strategy. The landscape is wild and strange; the city is dominated on the north by barren granite outcroppings through which the river flows.

Even before the foundation of the city and the vast empire it ruled, which stretched from the Arabian Sea across the Indian peninsula to the Bay of Bengal, the site was sacred. It is still considered a holy place.

Vijayanagara was soon known as one of the wealthiest cities in India. Travelers marveled at Vijayanagara's grandeur, its magnificent temples and the apparently inexhaustible riches of its kings. A Portuguese traveler writing in the early sixteenth century reported that the city was as large as Rome.

Much of Vijayanagara's wealth came from the Portuguese trade. Its markets were stocked with merchandise from Lisbon and Peking: silk from China, ivory from Alexandria, rubies from Peru. The Portuguese brought velvets, damasks, satin, and taffeta, and took back Ormuz horses. Vijayanagara was seen as the most opulent kingdom in the East. "The pupil of the eye hath never seen a place like it," said a Muslim envoy.

The Vijayanagarans were also patrons of literature and the arts who made the city a center of Dravidian nationalism and art as well as Brahmin studies and learning. In their capital, scholars, philosophers, religious teachers and saints flourished. The city was also a center of religious orthodoxy, famous for its splendid ceremonial observances and festivals.

Gods & Kings in Imperial India



At Vijayanagara, scholars believe architecture and urban morphology conspire to link the king with the legendary figure of Rama (left). This long row of domed chambers apparently housed the state elephants.

The Asia Society, photograph by Otto E. Nelson

Two or three dynasties are believed to have occupied the throne of Vijayanagara. For 200 years the empire maintained its hold over southern India while its rulers waged unceasing war with the Muslims who threatened from the north.

The end came in 1565. An enormous Vijayanagar army—comprising, according to some accounts, 703,000 infantry, 32,600 horses, 551 elephants, not to mention a group of 100,000 civilians that included merchants and prostitutes—was completely destroyed by a Muslim force that had artillery at its command. The city was sacked by the Muslim armies and abandoned. Before long, it was a ghost town inhabited by tigers and elephants and known as the Hampi ruins, from the name of the nearby village. Even in its ruined state, Vijayanagara continued to attract pilgrims and tourists.

Today the village of Hampi is the base camp for an ambitious excavation project to restore the former glory of the city undertaken by the government of Karnataka, the modern Indian state that includes Mysore. Complementing the work of excavation is a documentation project directed by archaeologist/anthropologist John Fritz and architectural historian George Michell, who head a team of volunteers that includes architecture and archaeology students from Indian as well as American, British, Australian, and other foreign universities.

Working with professional surveyors, architects and photographers, the documentation team is focusing on the royal center of the capital. There the aim of the project is to record, describe and analyze in meticulous detail all visible features of the city. This includes systematic mapping, surveying and measuring, as well as analyzing ceramic fragments found on the surface. Although not directly involved in the actual excavations, the team works with the Indian Department of Archaeology and Museums of the government of Karnataka and lives in the official site camp.

Vijayanagara provides a unique opportunity to study medieval Hindu town planning. Interpreting the

symbolic meaning of the city's design involves a range of scholarly inquiry that includes sculpture, architecture, inscriptions, literary sources, and myth. "In attempting to understand the meaning of Vijayanagara," write Michell and Fritz, "we have found mythical accounts about the activities of the hero-king-god Rama very useful in explaining the urban morphology that our documentary work has disclosed. Vijayanagara, we believe, was a 'cosmic city.'"

The city conforms to a perceived divine order; the urban plan is itself infused with a cosmo-magical significance; and the activities of king and court that took place within it were consciously patterned on a celestial model. The Vijayanagara kings exploited myth to link themselves to divine sources of power.

They chose a site charged with mythological associations, used myth to account for the origin of the dynasty, and identified their capital with the mythical abode of Rama—the hero-god who exemplifies the knightly virtues of honor, courage, and humanity, attributes the kings naturally wished to ascribe to themselves.

To understand the symbolism that informs the design of Vijayanagara, one must look at the *Ramayana*, the great Indian epic. The *Ramayana* tells the story of the god Vishnu, who manifests himself on earth in the form of the knight Rama to fight evil and maintain dharma—the divine order of nature that supports the cosmos. The con-

cept of dharma also implies justice, morality, and religious merit.

The plot hinges on the adventures of Rama as he rescues his wife Sita from demons. Rama is the son of a king and the rightful heir to the throne of Ayhodia, but he is unjustly exiled from the city as a result of intrigues by one of his father's many wives. In his forest exile, Rama is joined by Sita, who is herself the model of the selfless and faithful wife, just as he is a symbol of conjugal devotion. In the course of many adventures, Rama defeats a host of evil demons, including the sister of Ravna, the king of the demons, who in turn seeks revenge. Ravna abducts Sita and carries her off to Lanka, his capital in the south.

During his travels southward in search of Sita, Rama meets the king of the monkey tribes and his adviser, Hanuman, who becomes Rama's devoted helper. Hanuman has extraordinary, almost supernatural powers—he can fly and change his shape at will—and he is one of the major figures in the epic. Hanuman ultimately finds Sita, while Rama waits in Kishkinda the home of the monkey tribes.

Finally Rama and Sita are reunited and return to the city of Ayhodia, where they ascend the throne. Rama's reign at Ayhodia is seen as the model of a just, peaceful, and prosperous golden age in which every member of society receives the benefits of a perfectly ordered community.

At Vijayanagara, the scholars be-

lieve, architecture and urban morphology conspire to link the king with the legendary figure of Rama. First, the very terrain in which the city is set is identified with important episodes in the *Ramayana*. The hills around Vijayanagara are today the home of tribes of monkeys whom the local inhabitants believe are descendants of the monkeys who helped Rama triumph over the demon Ravna. One of the rocky outcroppings to the east of the city is supposedly the place where Rama waited while the monkey-king Hanuman, set off to find Sita. At the summit, a temple dedicated to Rama commemorates the event. Sculpture carved on boulders scattered on the site depict Rama and other characters in the epic.

* * *

The Vijayanagara kings did not hesitate to compare themselves directly with Rama—the ideal king—nor to equate their capital with his celestial abode, Ayodhya—the city symbolizing the perfect moral world in which there is no danger or spiritual pollution. The scholars have found early inscriptions and epigraphic sources that explicitly draw the parallel of Vijayanagara and Ayodhya.

The design of the city reinforces the relationship, particularly in the royal center where the king's domain impinges physically on the domain of the god. The Ramachandra temple, where an aspect of Rama was worshiped, and which probably served as a state chapel where the king himself came to

worship, is positioned on a north-south axis that divides the palace and in fact the entire city, into two halves. These halves symbolized some of the basic distinctions of the earthly world: between the domains of men and women, between public activity and the more inward-looking world of the house, even between the right and left side of the body.

At the focal point of the royal enclosure is the temple. Rama is thus at the heart of the king's palace, which surrounds the temple like the inner circle of creation. At Vijayanagara, Rama sits on the cosmic axis that is "prior" to the earthly world of distinctions, but it is in fact the king's power that radiates outward to impose order.

Michell and Fritz are convinced that the placement of the temple and the road system radiating from it, as well as the series of concentric paths of circumambulation around temple, palace and city, convey the notion that the sacred space of the god and the terrestrial space of the king were one. Architecture, sculptural ornamentation and urban design worked together with myth to reinforce the legitimacy of the king.

Ceremony also emphasized the meaning of the design, particularly the manhanayami festival held every October. This festival is thought to have celebrated Rama's worship of the goddess Durga and his request for her help in battle. The Vijayanagara king probably worshiped Durga as Rama did. On the tenth day of the festival, the king rode out with an image of Durga to review his troops. The army was then consecrated by the goddess.

The ceremonial occasion did double service as a political event. This would be a critical moment for the king, with all his supporters gathered at the city before embarking on expeditions of war or pilgrimage. Like Rama, the king had to complete the ceremonies before he too could vanquish his enemies.

The mythical episodes in the *Ramayana*, coupled with the rites of the manhanayami, were crucial for the Vijayanagara kings in imbuing their capital city — and beyond it their empire — with the powers and glory of the gods.

Archaeologist/anthropologist John Fritz and architectural historian George Michell of the University of New Mexico have been documenting the excavations at Vijayanagara with NEH support. This article is based on their reports.

"Vijayanagara: The Royal Center and the Hindu Concept of Kingship"/John M. Fritz, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque/\$65,000/1982-84/Basic Research/Translation and Critical Edition of the *Valmiki Ramayana*"/Robert P. Goldman, U. of California, Berkeley/\$54,955/1980-83/Translations



Texas Memorial Museum

This building in a blend of Islamic and Hindu styles may have been the residence of the king or the military commander.

STATE OF THE STATES: Texas Myths

Within the borders of Texas, one can travel a straight line for more than 800 miles across territory that embraces magnificent pine and hardwood forests, coastal swamplands, sweeping grassy plains, sun-baked deserts and jagged mountains. Texas historian T.R. Fehrenbach described the prospects facing its earliest Anglo settlers: "A man could see far and smell winds that coursed down from Canada across a thousand miles of plains. There was an apparently endless, rolling vista north and west and south. The small woodchopper, with an axe and a couple of brawny sons, could catch a scent of landed empire and dream of possibilities to come."

In such a land of possibility heroes moved easily, taking, over time, various shapes expressive of dominion: the Texas Ranger, the cowboy, the oilman, and—the space-age incarnation of mastery—the astronaut. These dominant myths live still in Texas, transmitted through well-recognized modern vehicles. The state's two National Football League teams are the Oilers and the Cowboys. Its baseball teams are named after an early hero, the Rangers, and a later one, the Astros.

Myth springs, however, not only from the dominant but from the several cultures that create history. To analyze the power of myths and to discover their sources in the Lone-Star State, the Texas Committee for the Humanities has launched an NEH-supported project of lectures, symposia and study aids. These activities are intended to provide resources and a framework for projects, which the committee expects to fund in the coming year, that will help "to unravel the role of myth in modern Texas life," according to Texas Committee Executive Director James Veninga. Myth, Veninga notes, "involves stories that display the character of a people, that demonstrate cultural values, that point to deep-seated fears and failures, aspirations and victories."

Building on a ten-year history of support for hundreds of local and statewide studies that have interpreted Texas history for the general public, the Committee has planned the investigations of myth as means to "synthesize" previous scholarship, to place community and ethnic history in the broader national context. It is time, the Committee believes, to encourage scholarship

that "relates the particular to the universal, that places a particular story in the context of a much bigger story," says Veninga.

Previous Committee-supported projects have yielded reams of material on topics ranging from the history of blacks in Houston's Fourth Ward and the culture of Mexican-American border towns to the status of women in Texas history.

During the past decade, the Texas Committee has sponsored a series of studies on the history of the cowboy, most recently a symposium managed by the Institute of Texas Cultures in San Antonio. But all the cowboy studies, Veninga notes, "have pointed to the need for a deeper study to explore what role the myth of the cowboy has played in our culture, how it has helped shape the values of our society."

Older Texas history books, he says, contain a "traditional history—a story mainly out of the Anglo-American experience." Yet in the past three decades, scholarship and art have presented "non-traditional" histories centered on Mexican-Americans, Afro-Americans, Native Americans and other groups. "We want to explore the myths of those other groups, and how much they permeate society," says Veninga. "One can't really understand the history of a nation or a state without knowing those primary myths and how they function."

Recent scholarship has proposed that myths can be critical to a nation's health by providing ideals and models that serve to underpin society. As author Joseph Campbell put it, myth "is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestations." Myths generally revolve around heroes, but in Texas "there is a double edge," notes Veninga. "Most Texas myths substantiate success and accomplishment, a feeling of

battles won and enemies routed. Others, however, give evidence to failure, to battles lost, to the dark night of the human spirit."

From the very beginning, land has dominated Texas myth and consciousness. The first great Anglo pioneer-hero was Stephen F. Austin, who brought 300 families into Mexican-held Texas in 1821, the year Mexico proclaimed itself free from its Spanish overlords. By 1829, about 1,200 Anglo families had received land grants from Mexico totaling 40,000 acres of land in central Texas.

But Mexican leaders soon became alarmed by the increasing number of settlers from the United States, and they halted Anglo immigration to Texas. Relations between Anglo settlers and Mexican officials became steadily worse until 1834, when a Mexican soldier and politician named Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna overthrew Mexico's nascent constitutional government and made himself dictator. The next year, American colonists revolted against Mexico in a short but bloody war that proved a breeding ground for heroes and myths.

Joseph Campbell says the hero "is the man of self-achieved submission." In the case of several Texas heroes, the legendary Alamo became their place of submission to the notion of a free people in an independent, free republic. Texas rebels including William B. Travis, Davy Crockett and Jim Bowie defended the old Spanish chapel for two weeks against Santa Anna's numerically superior troops, and fought to the death even when escape was possible. "Remember the

Alamo" became the rallying cry several weeks later when an out-gunned force of Texans led by the wounded Sam Houston captured Santa Anna and crushed his army in the conclusive Battle of San Jacinto.

That battle gave Texans the land, and a new myth of supremacy. "As the occupations of planter, farmer and rancher grew," notes Veninga, "so did attitudes and values associated with being Texan: a frontier individualism, a peculiar form of self-sufficiency, a pride, a confidence and a definite belligerence toward old enemies, Mexicans and Indians."

These values were embodied in the Texas Ranger, the legendary troopers created by Austin in the 1820s to "range" over the countryside to intercept raiding Indian parties. Packing their famous six-shooters, these rough-and-tumble men represented the Texans in conflict with their Indian and Mexican neighbors.

A "non-traditional" version of this conflict has been handed down through the border ballads or *corridos* of the Mexican-Americans in southern Texas that usually recount injustices suffered by Hispanic native Texans, such as, land confiscation or exploitation as cheap labor. One of the best known of these corridos, "The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez," was the subject of an NEH-funded television drama and is the sort of local legend that the Texas Committee believes has national significance.

The ballad recalls one of the



The legendary Texas cowboy, Jacob Kuechler on Horseback, a drawing by Friederich Richard Petri.



Oil Field Girls, a painting by the American artist, Jerry Bywaters.

most famous manhunts in Texas history. In the summer of 1901, a Ranger sheriff and his translator went to the farm of Gregorio Cortez to question him about a stolen horse. The translator's confusion over the Spanish word for "horse" and the word for "mare" escalated into an argument. The sheriff shot Gregorio's brother; Gregorio shot and killed the sheriff.

For eleven days, Cortez eluded a posse of 300 Texas rangers, a David-and-Goliath feat celebrated in the ballad:

They let loose the bloodhound dogs;
They followed him from afar.
But trying to catch Cortez
Was like following a star.

All the rangers of the county
Were flying, they rode so hard;
What they wanted was to get
The thousand-dollar reward.

And in the county of Kiansis
They cornered him after all;
Though they were more than three
hundred;
He leaped out of their corral.

Then the Major Sheriff said,
As if he was going to cry,
"Cortez, hand over your weapons;
We want to take you alive."

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
And his voice was like a bell,
"You will never get my weapons
Till you put me in a cell."

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
With his pistol in his hand,
"Ah, so many mounted Rangers
Just to take one Mexican!"

Cortez was eventually betrayed by a friend for the \$1,000 reward and was brought to trial and sentenced to fifty years in prison. After

twelve years in jail and six more trials, Cortez was pardoned.

The incident and the myth that grew from it have significance not just for the citizens of Gonzales, Texas, but for the nation as a whole.

"The ballad is about the application of legal justice in a bicultural setting," says Veninga, "an issue that goes to the core of our national experience, to the problem of maintaining a just and fair legal system in the midst of a pluralistic society.

"The United States will be a stronger nation if the citizens of Karnes County, Texas, know of the accomplishments of Henry, William, and, yes, Alice James," Veninga continues, "but it will also be a stronger nation if the citizens of Boston know of the terribly unfortunate but admirably brave life of Gregorio Cortez."

After the Civil War, the Texas Rangers joined forces with the U.S. Army to conquer the western frontier, eliminating various Indian tribes in the process.

"The Texans had very definite ideas as to how Indians should be treated," one historian observed. "They easily convinced themselves, for example, that the Texas Rangers knew best how to whip Mexicans and exterminate Indians, and their impatience with the clumsy and humanitarian policy of the United States Army was colossal."

In the mid-1860s, Texans also began cattle drives along the Chisholm Trail to railroad centers in Kansas and Missouri. The cattle barons' stock was supervised by perhaps the most famous of all

Texas mythic heroes: the cowboy. Veninga notes the cowboy came equipped with what became "icons," including his six-shooter, spurs, roundup, cattle brand, and a solitary way of life that continues to fascinate both those inside and outside the state. "Say Texas anywhere," says historian Fehrenbach, "and people will answer cowboy."

A new myth was created on January 10, 1901, when prospectors discovered the state's first big oil well at Spindletop near Beaumont. A new "oil culture" emerged with its own icons, though ownership of the land and its riches again was paramount. "Wildcatters and roughnecks, equipment suppliers and whores, followed the boom," notes Veninga. "The phenomenon fed upon and reinforced some of the oldest values and characteristics of the Anglo settlers of the 1820s: individualism, fierce pride, opportunism, power, materialism."

In recent decades, yet another hero—the astronaut—has emerged from Texas to grapple with the new frontier of outer space. During the 1960s, Texas became the permanent headquarters of the federal government's manned spacecraft center, later renamed the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center. In all of these cases—from Stephen Austin to the men with the Right Stuff—the key has been "the subduing of forces, conquering a land and then milking it for what it's worth," notes Veninga. "By and large, this has been the basic frame of reference and the basic attitude of the state."

At the heart of the Texas Committee's investigation are a series of scholarly essays it has assigned on four major topics: The role of myth

in the modern world; the role of myth in Texas history and culture; formative myths among the four major groups inhabiting Texas in the mid-nineteenth century (Anglo-Americans, Native American, Spanish/Mexicans and Afro-Americans); and how myths are transmitted and changed over time. The essays will be among presentations by experts on myth scheduled for an all-day symposium on March 3, 1984, at Austin.

The committee already has begun work on a handbook, "A Guide to Identifying and Interpreting Texas Myths," intended to be of use to those who seek committee funding for research projects on Texas mythology and culture, and to scholars generally. Veninga says the handbook will outline basic theories of myth and the function of myth, and trace the "primary" Texas myths: the Alamo, Texas Rangers, cowboys, oilmen, and astronauts. It also will describe some of the myths associated with groups other than Anglo-Americans.

The Texas Committee also plans a second symposium in Austin March 30-31 centering on mythic elements in Texas literature. In addition to the handbook, the committee plans to produce a book of provocative essays concerning what Texas myths reveal about such topics as male and female roles, the family, power and wealth, community, politics, nature and the "good life." The published materials will be collected at the Texas Humanities Resource Center in Austin, where they will be made available to museums, libraries, and historical societies throughout the state. — Francis J. O'Donnell

Correction

A computer error caused us to list the wrong amounts in *Humanities* (Vol. 4, No. 6) for the following Exemplary Awards in the States. The correct amounts and grant titles are as follows:

The Committee for the Humanities in Alabama, *Shakespeare: The Theatre in the Mind*. \$74,670.
Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, *Doing Justice: Literary Texts, Professional Values and the Judicial System*. \$59,480.

Nebraska Committee for the Humanities; Kansas Committee for the Humanities; North Dakota Humanities Council; and the South Dakota Committee on the Humanities, *Chautauqua '84: Jefferson's Dream and the Plains Experience*. \$115,375.

Oregon Committee for the Humanities, *Oregon and the Pacific Rim*. \$73,925.

Texas Committee for the Humanities, *Texas Myths*. \$46,250.

Vermont Council on the Humanities and Public Issues, *Readings in the Constitutional Era*. \$67,587.

Washington Commission for the Humanities, *The Inquiring Mind: A Forum in the Humanities*. \$66,436.



Arendt, Aristotle and Marx

The recent article on Hannah Arendt in *Humanities* will leave readers who do not have a first-hand knowledge of her writings with serious misconceptions about her work, especially her philosophical objections to Karl Marx and her interpretation of the meaning and significance of the American Revolution.

The author implies that despite Arendt's frequent attacks on Marx, there was no substantial quarrel between them. He quotes with apparent approval the contention of a student of Arendt's work that "the two have more in common in their view of man's place in society than Arendt was willing to admit."

It is indeed correct to identify the core of Arendt's work with the insight that human beings are fun-

damentally political animals and that politics is the sphere of life in which we reveal our humanness most fully. But Marx's teaching about "man's place in society," as any serious student of the history of political philosophy knows, has nothing in common with this insight. Arendt criticized Marx because he *denied* the political nature of human beings, and because he *denied* that political life was essential for the development and enjoyment of our distinctively human capacities. She rightly considered Marx to be an antipolitical thinker whose influence on both philosophy and politics has been an unmitigated disaster. In her understanding of the supreme importance of politics for human happiness, Arendt had more in common with Aristotle than with any modern philosopher.

But there is another error, an equally important one, in the article. Arendt considered Marx to be the foremost theorist of the phenomenon of modern revolution and, therefore, its foremost obfuscator. As the author notes, she approved of only the American Revolution among modern revolutions; and as the article also notes, this judgment is puzzling to contemporary intellectuals. But the author makes no attempt to enlighten the reader about the grounds for Arendt's position. Arendt held the American to be the only successful revolution because the Founders aimed at, and were alone successful at, establishing a constitutional government. "The basic misunderstanding," as she put it, "lies in the failure to distinguish between liberation and freedom; there is nothing more futile than rebellion and liberation unless they are followed by the constitution of the newly won freedom." Arendt was an eloquent and profound defender of the traditional view that the Constitution of the United States was the "true culmination" of the American Revolution, rather than a conservative reaction to or betrayal of the principles of the Revolution.

Arendt's frequent attacks on Marx and her defense of the nobility of the goals of the American Revolution were linked together and thus an essential part of her lifework. Arendt saw, in a way that

was, and is, almost unprecedented in American intellectual life, that the thoughtful defense of political freedom in the modern world required the thorough repudiation of Marx.

—Joseph Phelan

Office of the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, NEH

Correction

In a story about the Bauhaus (*Humanities* Volume IV, Number 5) we inadvertently placed Black Mountain College in Georgia. The location of the college was, of course, Black Mountain, North Carolina, and it was originally housed in a collection of buildings owned by the Blue Ridge Assembly of the Protestant Church. The building complex was used by the church during the summer as a resort-conference area for its members and thus could offer the college an astonishingly low rent of \$4,500 during the school year.

In the college's twenty-three year existence, professors there included John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Buckminster Fuller, Willem De Kooning, Franz Kline, Robert Rauschenberg, Paul Goodman, and Josef Albers. Mr. Albers, who sought to make Black Mountain a new Bauhaus, arrived with his wife Ani in 1933, and remained at Black Mountain for fifteen years.

NEH Notes and News

Research Programs Overview

A new brochure describing the kinds of support available through the Division of Research Programs is available at no cost by writing or calling the NEH Public Affairs Office, Room 409, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506. 202/786-0438. The brochure describes the three funding programs and includes general criteria for the evaluation of applications, a schedule of deadlines, and the staff telephone directory.

Careers for Humanities Ph.D.'s

How employable are humanities Ph.D.'s? To what extent are recent doctorate recipients looking beyond careers as college and university professors? Who is helping them and how? Two recent studies supported by the NEH Office of Program and Policy Studies (OPPS) provide some answers:

—The National Research Council takes a close look at the recent cohort of humanities doctorate recipients in *Departing the Ivy Halls: Changing Employment Situations for Recent Ph.D.'s*. This study found that almost one fourth of these individuals were working in nonacademic job settings.

—*Humanities Ph.D.'s and Nonacademic Careers*, published by a consortium of Big Ten universities and the University of Chicago, discusses the state of the academic job market and provides practical advice to humanities graduate students and their faculty advisers about seeking nonacademic jobs.

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Featured in this issue of Humanities . . .



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The Enduring Myths of Ancient Greece by Bernard Knox. Mythology as a humanistic subject is now concerned at least as much with theory as with content. What are the new approaches that "remind us that Greek myth. . . can tap hidden wells of feeling in the soul?"

Transmitting the Oral Tradition. Was Homer, chanting to an unseen audience, the "first broadcaster?" With Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Homer's heroic technique, a new radio series hopes to educate teenagers about the central role of classical mythology in Western culture.

6

A Reconciliation of Myth and Reality by Robert M. Wallace. The translator of *Arbeit am Mythos* discusses the implications of this second work by Hans Blumenberg, a leader among the generation of German philosophers who have come of age since the second World War.



5

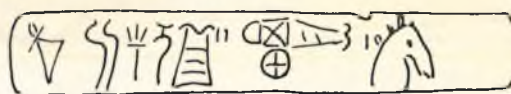
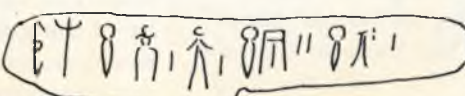


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A Pictorial Guide to Olympus. America's contribution to the international *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* will encompass works in all media created in the classical world including examples of classical kitsch.

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Celtic Mythology. Yeats, Joyce, Tolkein—even Fleetwood Mack—have been inspired by Celtic mythology. Now the Gaelic world of magic will become more accessible via a dictionary of Celtic myth, legend, and folklore which boasts 7,000 entries.



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What Has Happened in Classics? by Helen North. A professor of classics examines the increasing integration of classical studies into the world of contemporary culture; a new receptiveness to anthropology, structuralism, and semiotics; the comparative study of myth; the techniques of feminist criticism. The computer and quantification are also transforming the way the ancient world is being studied and taught.



19

Gods and Kings in Imperial India. An archaeologist/anthropologist and an architectural historian explore a site in India charged with mythological associations, where architecture, sculptural ornamentation and urban design worked together with myth to reinforce the legitimacy of the king.

State of the States: Texas Myths. Texas has always been a larger-than-life land of mythical heroes. Recent scholarship, however, provides evidence of some non-traditional Texas mythology—myths of Native Americans, Spanish/Mexicans, and Afro-Americans—and their formative role in Texas culture.

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