

HOMERIC VOICES AT GALLIPOLI: A NEW ZEALAND PERSPECTIVE¹

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The heroic deeds of New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli in 1915 are now interwoven into the very fabric of New Zealand nationhood and identity. The New Zealanders, along with their Australian counterparts, landed at what is now Anzac Cove on the western side of the Gallipoli peninsula on 25 April, 1915. They were a part of a British led invasion of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey. The intention was to take control of the Dardanelles and seize Constantinople (Istanbul), so forcing a significant German ally out of WWI. The result was a defeat inflicted by a Turkish force defending its homeland. For the Australian and New Zealand Corps (Anzacs) the loss is overshadowed by accounts of perseverance, ingenuity, courage and heroism. Every April 25th, Anzac Day, with the rising of the sun the sacrifices made by the Anzac soldiers are remembered.² Their stories form part of an epic tradition emphasising heroic idealism constructed in part by the historical, cultural and geographic setting in which they took place. Whether we recognise it or not, Homer is central to what we remember. He is not only an influence but is integral to the account, a point duly recognised, even if only in passing, by many. Consider how, when introducing *Voices of Gallipoli* (1988), the New Zealand playwright and author Maurice Shadbolt remarks that “The Gallipoli peninsula — as half a hundred historians have been at pains to remind us — rises dourly across the water from Homer’s Troy”. Shadbolt himself is not immune from Homer’s reach, quickly following up his comment with a suggestion that the soldiers who fought on the plains of Troy would not have sung Homeric verses. Rather those that survived might have remembered their war “as aged and often still angry warriors do in these pages”.³ But then, according to “the old lie” heroes were not destined to grow old. Achilles, for one, explicitly chose everlasting glory over a long life. This is a message that resonated through the centuries, not least as part of British imperial propaganda that helped stir the people of New Zealand into action in the early twentieth century. It is telling that no one, at least in this context, observes that Achilles also questions why he fought: what had the Trojans done to him?⁴ The point is that recognising a link to Homer is usually little more than a superficial footnote in any history of Gallipoli, yet the reality is that Homeric allusions may reveal a great deal about New Zealand, New Zealanders and WWI.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate ways in which the ancient world is integrated into New Zealand’s WWI remembrance of the Gallipoli campaign; in particular, looking at the previously unpublished diary of Hugh Stewart. In short, identifying and understanding any classical allusions provides another perspective through which to view the war. As demonstrative consider how popular perception of the *Iliad* and its heroic imagery have over the centuries guided writers in depicting the monumental efforts of men in toil. If we stay with Shadbolt’s work, for example, Homer’s heroes appear in his influential play *Once on Chunuk Bair* (1982), perhaps not surprisingly as Shadbolt had conceived of the play while standing in the excavated ruins of Troy (Shadbolt 1988: 9). At the very least the weaving of Achilles, Hector, Homer and Troy into the play’s dialogue reaffirms a connection between the Trojan war and New Zealand’s Gallipoli narrative, so incorporating New Zealand literature into a longstanding tradition. In a recent study Chris Mackie has observed how myths are interwoven into the very landscape of the Dardanelles and how the stories are repeated over time: “All history”, it is asserted, “has passed through the Hellespont”.⁵ A few examples reinforce this view. Consider how Herodotus has Xerxes visit Troy as a prelude to his crossing of the Hellespont, perhaps to link the events and suggest that Xerxes also seeks vengeance for the fall of the Asiatic city. Vengeance and the king’s lamenting the brevity of life certainly have Homeric echoes.⁶ Alexander too crosses the Hellespont, carrying with him his personal copy of the *Iliad*.⁷ Arrian gives a detailed account of Alexander’s visit to Troy, deliberately linking his hero Alexander with Homer’s Achilles.⁸ After Pharsalia, Julius Caesar visited the Hellespont and Troy. Lucan, who gives us details of Caesar’s trip, emphasizes the many links to myths and heroic endeavour that are a part of the region’s history (Lucan, *The Civil War* 9.950-999). And so we could go on: the swimming of the straits by Leander each night to be with Hero and Lord Byron’s efforts to replicate the feat are both in turn, and in a New Zealand context, linked to Lord Freyberg’s swimming the Dardanelles by the New Zealand poet Alistair Campbell (Campbell 1999: 12). In addition, the attraction of the cultural landscape drew a string of visitors including

Constantine, Julian, and even Caracalla, who in 214CE repeated the rites Alexander supposedly performed at the tomb of Achilles.⁹

In all these narratives the physical location sets the scene. This is the place where heroes like Achilles and Hector come alive, where heroic imagery and heroic ideals seem to be a part of the landscape. Writers and poets from Antiquity to the present day are drawn to the association. Representations of WWI, the Gallipoli campaign, and the feats of the Anzacs had to and do reflect this literary tradition. In an Australian context Sarah Midford has argued that the shared landscape of the Dardanelles helps writers, poets and historians to compare 'Australian soldiers to ancient heroes ... [and so consolidate] the connection between Australia's present and Europe's past, establishing a continuum of cultural experience' (Midford 2011: 59-79, cf. 61 for quote). The heroic images, stories, and miseries in the *Iliad* provide a Homeric mirror to the representations of the Gallipoli campaign in general and Australia's involvement in particular.¹⁰ This interpretation introduces contemporary reasons for establishing a connection to the heroic age, not least of which is Australian — and perhaps New Zealand — nationalism, although the New Zealand story is far from a simple echo of the Australian narrative and one that took hold in Wellington much later than in Canberra.

In truth, this Australian perspective began with Charles Bean, the Australian war correspondent and author.¹¹ Bean wrote the multi-volume official History of Australia in the War. The first two volumes, *The Story of ANZAC*, provide a detailed account of individual and group actions by the Australian soldiers at Gallipoli. Bean is lavish with his praise, while failures are the result of decisions and actions outside Australian control. Bean also uses stories to emphasize the heroic individual, building on a frontier image of the rugged bushman who is a natural soldier (Pugsley 2012: 44-58). He too looks to classical allusions to develop his account and add to his imagery. Most are indirect, but the inclusion of the poem "The Trojan War, 1915" in his 1916 *The Anzac Book* is a demonstrable illustration of the importance of the imagery of epic heroes. The poem uses classical allusions to develop heroic imagery, and illustrates how events at Gallipoli are viewed through a Homeric lens — to borrow a line from the end of the second verse "historic is the Hellespont".¹² Through this representation Australian sacrifice is recognized and the unfolding tragedy at Gallipoli is given context through comparisons with ancient warriors and classical heroic virtues, while Homer's tales are now an ancient legacy to the new blood spilt on the Dardanelles (Macleod 2004: 8-9).

British imperial propaganda also developed a heroic ideology that mirrored heroic classical values, albeit in a fundamentally different way to that in Australia where the individual is a key benefactor. In contrast Britain uses classical allusions to glorify or create a heroic-romantic myth around the campaign itself (Macleod 2004: 6-15, esp. 9). In the British narrative the nation's sons were romanticized in the vein of Hector and Achilles, Richard the Lionheart and the Charge of the Light Brigade. This feeds into and reinforces a cult of chivalry that emphasizes how fighting for the right cause is glorious. In this vein, the efforts of those on the ground are described "not as a mistake, nor a tragedy, but as a great human effort" (Masefield 1916: 3; cf. Macleod 2004: 80). Pride in Britain and the Empire's endeavours, the strategy attempted and the collective effort of all involved befit a campaign carried out in the shadow of Agamemnon's assault on Troy. Without fail Homer appears again and again as a scaffolding framework for subsequent narratives that reinforce this mythological heroic ideal.

We should also recognize that for the educated of the British Empire it was Homer who defined war. A good illustration of this ideology can be found in *Surprised by Joy* where C.S. Lewis reflects on his WWI experiences, specifically on hearing a bullet for the first-time, writing: 'At that moment there was something not exactly like fear, much less like indifference: a little quavering signal that said "This is War. This is what Homer wrote about"'.¹³ Lewis is here reflecting on events that occurred many years earlier, confirming Homer's influence in shaping memories. Homer's influence is also very discernable in the literature of the time. In Masefield's *Gallipoli* extensive use is made of Greek terminology to reinforce the location, and then through the geography a continuum to Troy is created. Consider, 'Samothece and Euboea were stretched out in the sunset like giants watching the chess, waiting, it seemed, almost like human beings, as they had waited for the fall of Troy and the bale-fires of Agamemnon' (Masefield 1916: 82). The Timaru Herald goes as far as to claim that "Mr John Masefield gives us what may be almost called the "Iliad" of their [the men of Gallipoli] surpassing deeds".¹⁴ Another example is Ian Hamilton's *Gallipoli Diaries*. In what is a defense of his reputation, Hamilton deliberately

draws on the connection to Troy in order to develop heroic imagery. Consider how he comments on the vulnerability of Gallipoli's southern beaches and compares them to Achilles' heel in the face of Paris' arrows (Hamilton 1920 Vol. 1:181). Meanwhile, soldier poets used Homer's imagery to give their words power and meaning.¹⁵

New Zealand does not have a Charles Bean, but it does possess a shared Greco-Roman (and Christian) influenced education tradition, and individual heroes and heroic virtues were and remain a part of the nation's story. After all, an heroic code is already present in the depiction of the New Zealand Wars.¹⁶ In WWI classical allusions are a part of the narrative, whether or not they are consciously identified. Newspaper articles, for example, published during the war or in its aftermath use Homer and Troy to sing the praises of the Anzacs on both sides of the Tasman.¹⁷ Christian and Classical concepts influenced memorialization of the War in New Zealand - as is evident, for example, in the memorial window in the Hunter Building, Victoria University of Wellington and that was installed in the Great Hall at the then Canterbury College, now Christchurch Arts Centre (Pomeroy 2014: 41-55). In the recent book *How We Remember* there are numerous anecdotes that link WWI and antiquity.¹⁸ Different authors from the war through to the present day, therefore, demonstrably use allusions and present connections to the ancient world — and not just in reference to Gallipoli — but the importance of this reoccurring theme remains unexplored in a New Zealand context.

New Zealand's historical tradition indicates that the official position or message on the war and the nation's sacrifices tends to fall closer to that of Britain than of Australia: the fallen are honoured and ideals of imperial duty and glory are emphasized.¹⁹ This is a perspective mirrored by the actions of the commanders at Gallipoli where individual recognition was overridden by the gallant efforts of all. As a result, widely known and acknowledged heroic feats by New Zealanders were not awarded or at times even nominated for the supreme recognition of heroic gallantry, the Victoria Cross.²⁰ Moreover, the soldier on the ground soon had a very different view of his surroundings. Their diaries bear witness to the reality of the war, as entries ridicule idealistic notions of being true to British traditions of valour.²¹

None of this means that New Zealanders did not see their efforts as heroic, nor that individuals were not spoken about regardless of the official narrative. The names of courageous individuals become a part of the popular record as New Zealand's historiographical tradition evolves, in time becoming more like that of Australia. Like Achilles and Hector the names of these individuals lived on in stories of their endeavours, which in turn helped define New Zealanders and New Zealand as a nation — although we must view nation-building as a process and this but one step along the way. Colonel Malone leading the Wellington Battalion to capture Chunuk Bair is a, if not *the*, demonstrative example. Impossible odds, success, loss, all the elements of a heroic endeavour and a tragedy are found in his story. Malone became a man whose efforts and leadership fed into a perceived ideology of what a New Zealander was meant to be (yet no Victoria Cross).

The mythologizing of Malone's story is evident, for example, in Shadbolt's play *Once on Chunuk Bair*. The characters for a start are fictional, although Connolly is based on Malone, while there are omissions and inventions that are included to create a narrative and make this attack New Zealand's great nation-building event. In doing so Shadbolt creates a theme where heroism and nationalism merge Homer's voice with late twentieth century New Zealand reflection. The location near Troy brings Achilles and Hector into the dialogue, but for late twentieth century nationalist reasons the Classical imagery was not enough. As Charles Ferrall observes, Shadbolt crosses the Greek myth with an indigenous one "so that when the imperialist but naïve officer Harkness says 'It's difficult to imagine Achilles and Hector just crouched hiding'. Connolly replies, 'So imagine Te Rauparaha. Cunning old devil. Deadly in ambush. Never said die'".²² We see here the underlying importance of classical allusions, the changing framework of New Zealand society from the early twentieth century where Greek and Latin were an integral part of the education system, and the importance of a distinctly New Zealand voice. Te Rauparaha, an early nineteenth century Ngati Toa chief whose war leadership and ability is widely known (and mythologized), is presented as a contemporary, nationalistic representation of the Homeric heroes, in order to emphasise fighting prowess.

There is another distinctly New Zealand connection between Homer's Hero and the August offensive. The Maori contingent's *haka* is mentioned in many diaries, especially on the night of August 6th/ 7th

during the assault on Chunuk Bair (Cowan 1926: 34-45). While no combatant appears to have explicitly recognised a relationship, the parallel between the shout of a heroic Achilles routing the enemy and the effect in Turkish trenches of *ka mate ka mate* echoing amongst the ravines and gullies above Anzac Cove is striking. Moreover, while there is no association between Shaw-Stewart's poem 'I saw a man this morning' and the Maori contingent or the August offensive (except in Shadbolt's play)²³, the poem's close does acknowledge the power of Achilles' voice:

'I will go back this morning
From Imbros over the sea;
Stand in the trench, Achilles,
Flame-capped, and shout for me'.

We do know that Shaw-Stewart fought at Gallipoli and Elizabeth Vandiver does suggest that this poem was begun on the 14th or 15th of July 1915 when Shaw-Stewart was suddenly ordered back to the trenches, cutting short his leave on Imbros.²⁴ The timing does make it possible that Achilles' shout — as opposed to direct fighting prowess — was included after hearing accounts of the New Zealander's attack only 2-3 weeks later, although this can never be anything more than idle conjecture. Perhaps the suggestion is in itself an example of further myth-making. Regardless, in the cultural landscape of the Dardanelles Achilles' shout and the *haka* both echo through the centuries. Homer's voice and the Maori warriors' challenge are connected, although the *haka* could now be understood as mirroring in intention the line in "The Trojan War, 1915" where "New peoples write – in blood – their name", by which I mean it refers to the reality of the Gallipoli campaign as opposed to what "old Homer tells".

NEW ZEALANDERS CROSS THE WINE-DARK SEA

More direct classical allusions and the evolving use of associations with antiquity are identifiable in the writings of war participants themselves, a point clearly observable in the diary of Col. Hugh Stewart. A Scottish-born New Zealander, Hugh Stewart may appear to be a little atypical in the context of our analysis as before (and after) the war he was a classicist, having taken up a position as Professor of Classics in Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand in 1912. His diary entries, however, do not only demonstrate *his* awareness of their environment, but also a knowledge of antiquity amongst soldiers at Gallipoli. Therefore, rather than being an exception Stewart's background simply makes it more likely that he would record classical associations when made, a recognition that in itself does not discredit the observations or undermine the implied cultural-historical reach of the region.

Stewart enlisted as an officer in Christchurch and sailed with the first contingent of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, departing New Zealand in 1914. He went to Egypt, before sailing for Lemnos in April 1915 and landing at what would become known as Anzac Cove on 25 April 1915. Stewart served at both Gallipoli and on the Western Front. He earned numerous British and French awards including a military cross and the French Croix de Guerre for gallantry at Gallipoli, and a CSO and a DSO and Bar for service on the western front. He survived the war and kept a diary of his experiences.

The first observation we can make is that Stewart and his compatriots who enlisted in New Zealand and were sent out to Europe undoubtedly came to understand their great adventure within a framework in part defined by antiquity. New Zealand soldiers left a society extolling the glory of war built on notions of chivalry and perceived classical values. Ideologically this is a romantic myth created in Britain and absorbed in New Zealand. In reality, classical allusions were all around and as such supported romanticised values in subtle ways. Consider how the soldiers sailed in ships that tended to bear the names of towns in their homeland or reflected the place of 'Classics' in society and education; we find, for example, the *Katuna* and *Hororata* steaming across the Indian Ocean next to the *Euripides* and the *Miltiades*.²⁵ On arrival in Egypt soldiers are surrounded by monuments to the past. Most diaries mention the pyramids, the Cairo archaeological museum, and often the Temples at Luxor and the valley of the kings. In diaries dominated by everyday existence in camps these entries don't tend to be brief anecdotes but rather detailed accounts of what they saw and did. Many, Stewart among them, climbed the pyramids at Giza. James McWhirter, a rugged Southland farmer, spends several pages in his diary describing what he saw, and, upon coming across various Greek inscriptions in the Cairo

Archaeological Museum, reinforces a key point when he simply notes that this is why we learn Ancient Greek at school.²⁶

Surrounded by clear links to antiquity, with an education system that still emphasized Latin and Greek, and with the expectations of a grand adventure idealized through classical lenses, the use of names, stories and values from antiquity to define the present situation seems not only understandable but reasonable and to be expected. The environment in which the men found themselves would have prompted and shaped discussion, so even those who had not continued their schooling would have heard versions of myths and stories that undoubtedly seemed more real, or perhaps relevant, in the surroundings where they found themselves. As they sailed the Aegean to Lemnos and the Hellespont further opportunities would have arisen, conversations must at times have touched on the likes of Achilles, Patroclus, Agamemnon, Odysseus and Hector.

With an understanding of the cultural-historical-and-geographic environment it interesting to consider the reading material that Stewart notes he has with him. He explicitly mentions, for example, Horace *Odes* 3 and Virgil's *Aeneid*, both interesting choices in light of contemporary British propaganda, imperial ideology and heroic imagery. It is in Horace *Odes* 3 where we find that famous line (or lie, depending on one's perspective): "It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country" *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* [Horace *Odes* 3.2.13]. It is a line used to effect by many, none less than the British poet Wilfred Owen who titled one of his works *Dulce et Decorum Est*, and goes on to refute the sentiment referring to it as 'the old lie'. The irony of a Roman poet and satirist being employed to question heroic imperial ideology built on a foundation of Classical literature is telling, although notably Owen's own elevation from a widely regarded soldier poet to a significant poet - if not *the* poet - of the First World War is relatively recent, a product of 1960's anti-Vietnam war sentiment.²⁷

In April 1915 Owens had not yet penned his poem and Stewart had not yet seen significant action²⁸, so why did he carry a copy of Horace's *Odes* and how would he have interpreted the call to glory and if need be the ultimate sacrifice for empire? Scholarship in the first half of the twentieth century tended to view Horace and Virgil as supporting Augustus' imperial regime. Syme, for example, argued that their efforts were in-sync with Augustus while stressing that they were not necessarily directly promoting his cause; rather they were reflecting the natural sentiments of their order in society.²⁹ Either way patriotism and the glory of empire can be accepted as integral to how these texts were interpreted at the time. While I might like to hope that Stewart saw more (certainly his diary entries after he landed at Gallipoli and experienced the horrific reality of combat suggest that he did), the reality is we cannot know his pre-war views. All we can observe is that the reading of these texts on route to Gallipoli sits well within the view of the war promoted in New Zealand: a glorious heroic adventure in service of Empire.

For Stewart the classical framework of what was unfolding did not end when he landed at Anzac Cove. Two of his diary entries are worthy of particular note. The first occurs during an early June offensive, when the Canterbury Battalion launches an assault from its base at Quinn's Post. Ultimately it was a failure, with the usual high number of casualties. What is of interest though is that on Friday 4 June 1915, before dawn and in the middle of the carnage of another failed assault, some of Stewart's men turn to him and quote, unprompted, the Roman playwright Terence: *hinc illae lacrimae* "hence those tears".³⁰ The lament is from the play *Andria* ("The girl from Andros"), and while it originally referred to the tears Pamphilus sheds at the funeral of Chrysis in time it came to be used proverbially most notably by Horace.³¹ At Gallipoli the tears and lamentations are directly related to the combat that they have endured and are still experiencing. The proverbial component is that the phrase is also used to demonstrate the realization or recognition of a truth that has long been concealed.³² Here, before dawn while stationed at Quinn's Post, the soldiers reach an understanding beyond the propaganda. The grand adventure that they set out on is recognised as a deception and labelled as such: 'hence those tears'. Perhaps here we also see a loss of innocence, the discarding of the idealistic premise that was to the forefront when they left New Zealand.

We must also recognise that this lament reinforces both a general awareness of classical literature and the classical lens through which this war was viewed. The soldiers demonstrate a familiarity with the ancient world, which enables them to use a proverbial lament from antiquity to undermine the heroic imagery that was inspired by Homeric heroes. Again, the irony is self-evident: a classical idiom is

recalled in its original Latin form to expose the 'old lie'. In the tradition of Owen, classical allusions are thus used to undermine and to attack the very fabric upon which the heroic ideology is based.

Stewart's diary entry, as simple as it is, encapsulates all of these observations. We are presented with soldiers, not officers, and, while their education is unknown, they demonstrably knew enough to apply the anecdote appropriately. This point is emphasized by Stewart who notes that the lament was unprompted, a comment that reinforces both its power and its appropriateness. Its unscripted nature perhaps also signals that on other occasions there were questions and comments about the region, its history, or even about the heroes that had passed this way in earlier times. We can thus perceive another way in which Homer's voice may have reached the trenches at Gallipoli, albeit with the themes of tragic suffering by now outshining those of individual glory.

Stewart's own awareness of the truth may have come in the previous month at Cape Helles and is evident in a diary entry again framed by a landscape dominated by Homer. In early May some ANZAC forces are sent to Helles at the southern end of the peninsula. On May 6th he notes his first proper view of the Dardanelles and on May 14th that he could see the 'Plain of Troy'. Standing on the Peninsula this is difficult to do. You have to know exactly where to look – Troy is now a way inland. This entry therefore signals several interrelated points. First it is again a reflection on how conscious he was of his surroundings, anecdotally supporting our assertion that the ancient world was a topic of conversation among at least some participants. Second, it is perhaps also an indication that contemporary events needed to be connected to Troy through more than geography and that Homer's poems are more than monuments to heroes making the ultimate sacrifice for their communities or nations. In other words, I think that Stewart here explicitly applies a Homeric lens to the contemporary tragedy unfolding before him. The descriptive choice Stewart makes is deliberate. The terminology undermines the war propaganda through literary allusion that makes a direct reference to what lay before him on the plains at Helles. To make sense of the association the timing is significant. Stewart is writing in the aftermath of the New Zealanders' fatal charges across the "Daisy Patch", an open piece of ground, covered with spring daisies and a killing ground for well-fortified Turkish machine guns. Charging across this field in broad daylight cost the lives of many New Zealanders.³³ For Stewart the human tragedy described by Homer was being repeated in another form across the Dardanelles. The Daisy Patch was a new scene of human suffering, the new plain of Troy.

To end let us return to Saturday 17 April 1915 and a lecture that Stewart attended on the island of Lemnos. His diary entry for that day records how Mr A. Herbet (an interpreter) gave an excellent talk on Turkey's role in the war, playing on the 'Great Adventure' theme and how the forthcoming campaign would be the greatest turning point in world history. Considering the location, the strategic importance of the Dardanelles throughout history, and the armies and commanders that had crossed this region, that is no small claim. Its hollowness, though, is perhaps echoed in the way the diary entry ends: with a simple lament, "Trojan Expedition not however mentioned".³⁴ Whatever interpretation we place on Stewart's comment, the surroundings were clearly heavy on his mind, although demonstrably not on that of Herbet. The entry for the next day is even more telling and encapsulates the importance of the landscape, war propaganda and the long shadow cast by antiquity, particularly Troy, on contemporary events. In his diary entry for Sunday 18 April 1915 Stewart notes how he read *Aeneid* VIII, but then closes the entry, simply stating: "Should have had a Homer".³⁵

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² For an introduction to the Gallipoli Campaign and its remembrance, see Macleod (2004: *passim*; 2015: *passim*). This article advances the New Zealand perspective, as opposed to the more usual Australian and British views.

³ For both quotes see Shadbolt (1988: 7). Maurice Shadbolt CBE (1932-2004) was an author and a playwright. When visiting Troy in 1977 he reached the realisation that “No significant poem, song, novel or painting — literally nothing in our nation’s cultural life — enshrined the New Zealand experience of the Gallipoli campaign” (1988: 8). This resulted in the play *Once on Chunuk Bair* (1982), a representation of the New Zealand experience at Gallipoli through the assault on Chunuk Bair. The Wellington Battalion took the summit and held it for 3 days before their relief was pushed off in a ferocious Turkish counter attack. The play led to the interviewing of Gallipoli survivors for a television series; those interviews led to another book that told the veterans’ stories, Shadbolt’s *Voices of Gallipoli* (1988).

⁴ Achilles’ glory versus his brevity of life is a theme in the *Iliad*, note in particular Thetis’ plea to Zeus - Homer, *Iliad* 1.490-530; and Achilles’ articulation of the choice - Homer, *Iliad* 9.410-416. Note the discussion in Zanker (1996: 81ff). For “the old lie” see discussion below. On Achilles questioning why he is fighting see Homer, *Iliad* 1.152-160.

⁵ Mackie (2011: 187-200), see especially 187 where Mackie quotes the Spanish writer Saturnino Ximinez, 1925 *Asia Minor in Ruins* London: Hutchinson, 91 (quote repeated above).

⁶ Mackie (2011: 187-190). Cf. Herodotus, *Histories* 7.43.

⁷ Plutarch, *Alexander* 8 and 26.

⁸ Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.11-12, and so emphasizing how he will be for Alexander what Homer was for Achilles.

⁹ Herodian 4.8.4; Dio 77.16.7.

¹⁰ Midford goes on to suggest that ‘the retelling of ancient stories with Australian protagonists, Australia’s first act as an autonomous nation becomes an origin myth with epic implications, an Australian *Iliad*’ (2011: 61, and p.59 for discussion on the Homeric mirror). See too D. Malouf ‘Men and Gods Behaving Badly’, *The Australian* 4 March 2009.

¹¹ Bean, C.E.W. ed. *The ANZAC Book* (London, 1916). On Bean’s importance to the Australian legend note comments by Ken Inglis, see Lack (1999: *passim*); and references in Macleod (2004: 4-5, 19-20).

¹² Bean (1916: 104). See Midford (2011: 71-72). Note the poem was originally published by Arthur Adams in the *Bulletin* on 20 May 1915; Bean incorrectly attributes it to J. Wareham of the First Field Australian Ambulance and he changed a line: ‘New peoples write – in blood – their name’, originally stood as ‘Australians write – in blood – their name’.

¹³ Lewis (1955: 196). See too discussion by Elizabeth Vandiver (2007: 37-40).

¹⁴ ‘Anzac Day’, *The Timaru Herald* Vol. CVI, Issue 16252, 25 April 1917, p.6

¹⁵ Elizabeth Vandiver (2007: 37-56) has explored the classical basis of the work of war poets. The debt to Homer is shown to be considerable.

¹⁶ The New Zealand Wars were a significant series of conflicts from the 1840s to the 1870s. For a good introduction and discussion of the wars and the ‘heroic representations’ see Belich (1988: *passim*, esp.

311-335). I hope to explore the relationship between classical allusions, these wars and WWI elsewhere.

¹⁷ Examples are numerous as a search in *Paperspast* for terms such as “Homer”, “Troy” and/or “Heroic” demonstrate. The literary and propaganda elements to the stories are also evident in that the “journalists” at times demonstrably were nowhere near the action upon which they were reporting. Consider ‘At the Dardanelles: Doings of the Australasians’ in *Ellesmere Guardian* Vol. XXII Issue 3654, 14 August 1915 where as part of extolling the virtues of the heroic Australasians and how the region is rich in classical memories the author suggests that the plains of Troy “are in sight from the Australian camps”. One does not have to visit Anzac Cove to know that this is impossible. It is however possible that the journalist is making a subtle protest, recognising the tragedy through a Homeric lens — as I suggest Col. Hugh Stewart does later in this paper.

¹⁸ Examples in Ferrall and Ricketts (2014: Ferrall and Ricketts “Introduction” 9; Pugsley “Gallipoli Footprints” 84; Ferrall “Maurice Shadbolt’s Gallipoli Myth” 107; etc.).

¹⁹ See, e.g., Bennett (2012: 48) who suggests that “New Zealanders tend to be much more cautious in using heroic discourse; the traditional emphasis has instead been on the fallen”. This part of the New Zealand story I hope to explore elsewhere.

²⁰ The August offensive is demonstrative. The assault on Chunuk Bair earned one VC, while Australian efforts at Lone Pine resulted in seven. See Harper and Richardson (2016: 97-98, 99 and 103).

²¹ Phillips (2014: 228-240, esp. 228-230). Entries in Hugh Stewart’s diary (as an example) are discussed below.

²² Ferrall (2014: 107), quoting Shadbolt (1982: 60).

²³ Shadbolt (1982: 63), where the second to last stanza of Shaw-Stewart’s poem is put in the mouth of Connolly.

²⁴ Vandiver (2007: 40-41); note too Vandiver (2010: *passim*).

²⁵ Stewart (1914: 18) Diary Entry, Sun 1 November 1914.

²⁶ See McWhirter (1914: 26-30) Diary Entry.

²⁷ Ferrall, C. and Ricketts, H. (2014) 9-14, 253; Stead, C.K. (2014) 187-188, 190-192.

²⁸ Owen wrote ‘Dulce et Decorum Est’ in October 1917, see Parker (1987: 249). In February 1915 New Zealand forces were deployed to help defend the Suez Canal from a Turkish attack. The engagement was minor and did not prepare the soldiers for what was to come in April.

²⁹ Syme (1939: 464-5). See Bond (2009: 133-152).

³⁰ Stewart (1914-15: 90-91) Diary Entry: Friday 4 June 1915. The line cited is from Terence, *Andria* 125. The assault was an operation to support another attack at Helles, see Stowers (2005: 112-114).

³¹ For use of phrase see, e.g., Horace, *Epistula* 1.19.41, Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 25.61.

³² See Erasmus I iii 68 / LB II 139A (1982: 292-293).

³³ See Shadbolt (1988: 109). New Zealand units charged across the Daisy Patch on 8 May, Stewart’s diary entry is 14 May 1915, New Zealanders had been pulled back to a base at Helles at this point. On 19-20 May they returned to Anzac Cove. On the attack and casualties see Stowers (2005: 69-78).

³⁴ Stewart (1914-15: 66) Diary Entry Sat 17 April 1915. Details of who Herbet was, see Stewart (1914-15: 64) Diary Entry Wed 14 April 1915.

³⁵ Stewart (1914-15: 66) Diary Entry Sun 18 April 1915.