RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

in Early Greek Epic Poetry

Edited by

Øivind Andersen
and Dag T. T. Haug

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY IN EARLY GREEK EPIC POETRY

This book sets out to disentangle the complex chronology of early Greek epic poetry, which includes Homer, Hesiod, hymns and catalogues. The preserved corpus of these texts is characterized by a rather uniform language and many recurring themes, thus making the establishment of chronological priorities a difficult task. The editors have brought together scholars working on these texts from both a linguistic and a literary perspective to address the problem. Some contributions offer statistical analysis of the linguistic material or linguistic analysis of subgenres within epic, others use a neoanalytical approach to the history of epic themes or otherwise seek to track the development and interrelationship of epic contents. All the contributors focus on the implications of their study for the dating of early epic poems relative to each other. Thus the book offers an overview of the current state of discussion.

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Preface

The present volume on relative chronology in early Greek epic poetry originates from a conference under the same heading which was organized at the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters in Oslo in the summer of 2006, with generous financial support from the Academy and from the Ludvig Holberg Memorial Fund and with a contribution from the Department of Philosophy, Classics, History of Art and Ideas at the University of Oslo. At the conference, a dozen of invited and a score of other papers were given, on both literary and linguistic aspects of the problem, leading to much fruitful discussion. The editors are pleased to present this selection of essays to a wider audience.

The editors wish to express their sincere thanks to their co-organizer of the conference, Anastasia Maravela, who also contributed substantially to the early stages of the work on the present volume. They also wish to thank Pål Rykkja Gilbert for valuable assistance in the final stages of the work.

Abbreviations

AO	R. Develin (1989) *Athenian Officials 684–321 B.C.* Cambridge
Bernabé	A. Bernabé (ed.) (1987–2004) *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta* (2 vols.). Berlin, Munich and Stuttgart
Davies	M. Davies (ed.) (1988) *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Göttingen
Drachmann	A. B. Drachmann (ed.) (1903–27) *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* (3 vols). Leipzig
CEG	P. A. Hansen (ed.) (1983–9) *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (2 vols.). Berlin
FGrH	F. Jacoby (ed.) (1923–) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin and Leiden
H	M. Hirschberger (2004) *Gynaikōn Katalogos und Megalai Ehoiai*. Munich and Leipzig
IEG	M. L. West (ed.) (1989–92) *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati* (2 vols.), 2nd edn. Oxford
LGS	D. L. Page (ed.) (1968) *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*. Oxford
LIMC	(1981–) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zurich
L–P	E. Lobel and D. L. Page (eds.) (1955) *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Stuart Jones (1968) *Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th edn, Suppl. by E. A. Barber et al. Oxford
M–W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (eds.) (1967) *Fragmenta Hesiodea*. Oxford
PMG	D. L. Page (ed.) (1962) *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford
PMGF	M. Davies (ed.) (1991) *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. I. Oxford

Rose	V. Rose (ed.) (1886) *Aristotelis Qui Ferebantur Librorum Fragmenta*. Stuttgart
SLG	D. L. Page (ed.) (1974) *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*. Oxford
TGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. L. Radt (eds.) (1971–2004) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (5 vols.). Göttingen
Voigt	E.-M. Voigt (ed.) (1971) *Sappho et Alcaeus: Fragmenta*. Amsterdam
West	M. L. West (ed.) (2003) *Greek Epic Fragments*. Cambridge, Mass. and London

Introduction

Øivind Andersen and Dag T. T. Haug

Early Greek epos is represented for us by several thousands of hexameter verses in essentially uniform dialect, idiom and style. In addition to what has come down to us more or less intact – the two Homeric poems, Hesiod's works, a number of hymns (not all of them that early), the *Aspis* – we have chunks of catalogue poetry and fragments and reports of a number of different works, and we are aware of the existence of a whole oral epic tradition in which essentially traditional material was transmitted in conventional forms. How are we to establish a literary history of early Greek epos, to sort out the elements of the medium and the message chronologically and even genealogically in relation to each other? In the case of most modern *oeuvres*, there is no need to ponder the internal sequence, as dates of composition and publication are known. Indeed, in European literature back until the time of the Greek tragedians, independent information and external evidence often yield absolute dates so that the working out of an internal chronology is not an issue. In the case of early Greek epos, however, the near total lack of absolute chronological pegs and the scarcity of relevant facts and contexts compel us to rely mainly on internal criteria. That holds true especially for the earlier part of the Archaic Age (the eighth and seventh centuries BC); with time we do get testimonies that may serve as clues to *termini post* (or even *ante*) *quem* and thus help us establish a relative chronology based on (approximate) absolute dates. For the charting out and pinning down of poets and poems, we are not much helped by authorial self-reference, except, perhaps, in the case of Hesiod, which does not yield much in the way of chronology, and of the Hymn to Apollo, which may already build on the fiction of a Homer from Chios.

Homer and Hesiod obviously could lay claim to pride of place even at a time when much more epic poetry by many more poets was available than is the case today. We are not, however, much helped by the ancient biographical lore about Homer and Hesiod – the *vitae*, the *Certamen* and

scattered evidence – or by what the ancients generally imagined about the age and succession and relationship of those two and of other poets. The tendency of ancient literary biographers to construct neat successions between prominent literary figures and to fashion biographical accounts from what is in the poetry is well known. Graziosi (2002) has shown how the characters and circumstances and dates of Homer, and of Hesiod as well, have been constructed by posterity and in essence must be understood in the light of social and political circumstances and within the context of literary and ideological axe grinding.[1] Interest in the age and chronological relationship of Homer and Hesiod is not driven by historical curiosity. The *Homeridai*, the rhapsodes in general, the Chians, the Athenians, Herodotus and Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle – all conjure up a different Homer. Therefore, although the story of the invention and individualization of Homer is fascinating and utterly instructive in its own right, the ancient biographical lore tells us preciously little about the persons it claims to be about, and is of very little assistance in the quest for absolute and relative dates. The same questions were rehearsed again and again throughout the centuries. Thus, for example, while the prominent fourth-century BC historian Ephorus from Cyme proposed a genealogy according to which Homer was a younger cousin of Hesiod's, the somewhat later scholar-historian Philochorus held – with others – that Homer was the older one.[2] The topic was the theme of a treatise in two books by the fourth-century BC Platonic philosopher-scholar Heraclides Ponticus, of which nothing is known other than its title, and the Peripatitic Chamaeleon's (also from Pontus) allegation that the material in it had been derived from his work.[3] For the most part, we have only opinions to go by, and very little in the way of argument. Aristarchus' collective labelling of the cyclic poets as νεώτεροι ('more recent') in relation to Homer probably does not rely on any method of assessing literary development, or any historical investigation; it cannot be separated from Aristarchus' attitude to the non-Homeric Trojan war tradition as a threat to Homer's originality,[4] even as he championed Homer's unity against the *chōrizontes* who would ascribe the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to two different authors. As for the relative chronology of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, ps.-Longinus seems to contribute to an ongoing debate

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[1] Graziosi's comprehensive account also generously refers to other contributions in a similar vein, such as West (1999), Burkert (1987).

[2] *FGrH* 70 F1 ad Plut. *Vita Hom.* 1.2; 328 F210.

[3] Heraclid. Pont. F 22.13–14 ap. Diog. Laert. V 86; F 176 ap. Diog. Laert. V 92.

[4] Schol. D ad *Il.* 1.5; schol. A ad *Il.* 1.5–6. On Aristarchus' attitude, see Severyns (1928), Ballabriga (1998), Burgess (2001).

as he advances the view that the *Iliad* is the work of a young, vigorous poet, and the *Odyssey* that of an aged one.[5] The second-century AD satirist Lucian during his sojourn amongst the dead asks Homer whether he wrote the *Odyssey* before the *Iliad*, 'as most people say' (Homer answers 'no').[6] Another writer of the same period, the geographer Pausanias – who himself was unsure whether the *Theogony* was a work of Hesiod and believed that Homer had written the *Thebaid* – declares that he has undertaken careful research into the question of the age of Hesiod and Homer, 'but I do not like to write on this matter, as I know the quarrelsome nature of those especially who constitute the modern school of epic criticism'.[7] Sometimes, fortunately, relevant evidence is reported. Thus, in view of the fact that verses 1–56 of the *Aspis* were transmitted in Book 4 of the *Catalogue*, Aristophanes of Byzantium, as reported in the hypothesis to the *Aspis*, suspected that the *Aspis* was not by Hesiod but by someone else who had chosen to imitate the Homeric 'Shield'; this is not only testimony to the way an Alexandrian scholar would reason, it also contains, if reliable, relevant information on the relationship between two works within the Greek epos.

Both Eratosthenes, Aristophanes' predecessor as head of the Alexandrian Library, and Aristarchus of Samothrace, who succeeded him, attempted to buttress Homer's priority over Hesiod by showing that the geographical, ethnographical and socio-cultural information incorporated in the Homeric epics represents a less advanced and thus earlier stage in relation to comparable information in Hesiod's works. According to Strabo, Eratosthenes pointed out that Hesiod knew many more localities associated with Odysseus' wanderings than did Homer.[8] The same scholar observed that Homer was ignorant of the fact that the river Nile had several mouths – something that the younger Hesiod was aware of.[9] Indication of Homer's priority is his use of early ethnic names, e.g. of 'Meones' for the Lydians;[10] on the other hand, Hesiod, being younger, introduced Hippomenes running naked against Atalante;[11] the *terminus ante quem* for the innovation is pinned to the 14th Olympiad, i.e. 714–711 BC. Much unsure ground has to be traversed before the presence of putative items of relevant geographical and ethnographic knowledge can be securely transformed into evidence for

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[5] Ps.-Longinus, *Subl.* 9.13.   [6] Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.20.   [7] Paus. 9.30.9.
[8] Eratosth. *FGrH* I B3 and Hes. F 150 M–W ad Strabo 1.2.14.
[9] Eratosth. *FGrH* I B1,6–9 and Hes. F 338 ad Strabo 1.2.22. Hesiod's more advanced geographical knowledge is also evidenced by the fact that Homer refers to the Nile as 'Aigyptos' while Hesiod knows the river by its later name, cf. schol. HMPQT ad Hom. *Od.* 4.447.
[10] Schol. A ad *Il.* 10.431a.   [11] Schol. A and T ad *Il.* 23.683b.

absolute and relative chronology – and then only for that verse or passage of a poem in which it occurs.

In a sense, the Alexandrian philologists' work on the text of the Homeric poems is all about relative chronology, in so far as they seek to identify accretions to what Homer originally wrote. Some statements question whole sections of the text. Most important has been the view of Aristophanes and Aristarchus, that the *Odyssey* reached its πέρας ('limit') or τέλος ('end') at 23.296,[12] which has often been taken to mean that the poem originally ended at that point and that the end of book 23 and all of book 24 are additions by a later hand. The Alexandrians' statement is not supported by argument; we do not even know for sure what they claim; many have taken their pronouncement as an aesthetic judgement, referring to the reunification of husband and wife as the 'goal' of the hero's journey home. The remark in the scholia that the Doloneia (book 10 of the *Iliad*)[13] had been drawn up by Homer separately and was included into the poem by Pisistratus can scarcely be relied upon and is not argued for. A feeling for the special linguistic and compositional features of the Doloneia, and/or of its untypical content and setting, may have led to this whole song coming under suspicion at some stage in some circles, prefiguring the modern unease with Book 10 of the *Iliad*, which was bound to have arisen anyway, but no doubt has been spurred on also by the ancient scholiast's remark.[14] The fact that the Doloneia's alleged inclusion in the *Iliad* under Pisistratus would hardly have been politically motivated may point either way – the allegation appears the more credible as it is not linked to a political motive, or less so, because it has no 'Pisistratean' motive. Most other putative Pisistratid additions to the text seem to serve Athenian political aspirations, especially in relation to Aegina and Megara. In a number of ancient sources from the fourth-century BC Pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchus* onwards, and the (lost) Megarian historian Dieuchidas of the same period, the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus or his son Hipparchus are credited (or discredited) not only with the odd addition to the Homeric corpus, but with a far-reaching initiative which consisted in bringing 'Homer' to Athens and seeing to it that the Homeric epics were recited every year at the Panathenaic festival in a fixed order by a series of rhapsodes. While the so-called 'Pisistratean Redaction' seems to some to be a chimaera, the tradition seems to us to rely on some real historical initiative during the tyrants' regime, privileging and canonizing the Homeric epics by means of the 'Pisistratean

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[12] Their collective opinion is somewhat differently reported in schol. MV, Vind. 133 and in HMQ.
[13] Schol B to *Il.* 10.1.   [14] On the Doloneia, see Danek (1988, and in this volume).

Rule'. That the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* came into being only at this time, as some have held, is a hypothesis that is not supported by the testimonies to this process, and flies in the face of the linguistic and literary evidence for the existence of those poems in a relatively fixed form some 100 to 150 years earlier.

Pictorial representations are another type of ancient evidence that could help us pin down the emergence and existence of epic poems chronologically. If a pictorial representation can be reasonably securely dated, and it can be convincingly shown to represent a scene from a specific poem, then we have at least a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of that poem. And if we can observe a sudden surge in pictorial representations from some part of heroic myth – say, from the subject matter of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* – this would consititute a strong indication of the existence and coming into circulation of a poem. Snodgrass (1997, 1998), reviewing relevant evidence down to late archaic times and refining the methodology of his predecessors,[15] has shown how tenuous are the links between poetry and pottery in the Geometric and Early Archaic ages. Down until *c.* 600 BC only two out of *c.* sixty pictorial representations of myth may be confidently judged to have been influenced specifically by 'Homer', i.e. the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* as we know them, and during the first half of the sixth century there is only a slight increase. This warrants the postulation of a *terminus ante quem* for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey c.* 650 – if the poems were not circulated in a truncated form, an idea that will not appeal to many today. The very parts of the saga that were developed in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* appear to have been quite slow to occupy centre stage in the visual arts. No surge in the popularity of 'Homeric' motives indicates that new, great poems had suddenly become available and rapidly attained popularity. Indeed, 'Homer' seems not to have been a source of inspiration and authority for painters even when they depict scenes taken from the subject matter of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. And what is more, the subject matter of those two poems is not privileged in comparison with episodes from other parts of the Trojan saga (eventually contained in the epic poems of the *kyklos*), and even less so in comparison to other heroic myths. One might prefer to stress that Snodgrass's cautious considerations would after all give us a *terminus ante quem* for 'Homer'; we would like to point to the challenges of charting out the relative chronology that arise from the fact that the existence of our two monumental epics apparently did not have

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[15] Notably Friis Johansen (1967) and Fittschen (1969). The pictorial evidence is put to good use by Burgess (2001).

momentous consequences and did not monopolize the market. Snodgrass's work constantly reminds us of the plethora of local oral traditions, vernacular oral accounts, and of lost poems that were around for painters, but also for poets, and for the public at large to refer and relate to.

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While pictorial representations and the textual testimonia from historians, philologists, etc. must be used for what it is worth, we mainly depend on the evidence of the corpus itself when we try to work out the chronological relations within the corpus of Greek epic poetry. About the corpus as a whole, we should like to stress the following points, some more pertinent to linguistic issues, others to literary. First, although the corpus is voluminous, what has been preserved is only a fraction of what was available by, say, 500 BC. In addition, the whole mass of oral popular and local traditions has vanished, except for scattered remarks. Second, the loss also of all other poetry of the period before *c.* 650 BC has deprived us of invaluable comparative material and makes epic poetry stand out in splendid isolation. Third, in Greek epic, tradition and convention possess the poet to such a degree that it is especially difficult to disentangle what is older from what is not so old. Fourth, and on the other hand, early Greek hexameter poetry is represented for us by several subclasses (heroic, theogonic, didactic, hymnic) and it has various provenances; they are not all grafted similarly onto the general tradition. Fifth, some of what actually remains of the corpus is anything but typical in the sense that it must rely on extraordinary poetic genius; at least the special status of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* has been *communis opinio* since the time of Aristotle: how to provide for the individual talent?

Then there is the question of the nature of those 'texts' that we have. Epos of every kind had been written down before the end of the Archaic Age; whether we should think of specimina as 'oral dictated texts', or according to some other method of textualization, is not our concern here. Once written down, the individual works would to a varying degree be subject to changes in performance and even in writing, depending, probably, on the individuality the works exhibited and the status they achieved. Finkelberg (2000) has shown how the 'multiformity' that is the hallmark of oral tradition can be plausibly postulated in the case of the *Cypria*, which seems hardly to have reached a standard, canonical version, while the kinds of variations that we find in the case of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are not sufficient to meet the definition of multiformity: they remained, both in essence and in detail, the works that had once been written down. That is why the Homeric poems, as well as Hesiod's works and the major hymns,

can form the basis for the study of relative chronology. Another approach to Greek epic that has been influential for some time holds that this idea of the fixed text is misguided: Gregory Nagy's 'evolutionary model of the genesis of epic' holds that after a fluid period down to *c.* 800 BC, there followed a 'pan-Hellenic' period with still no written text down to the middle of the sixth century, and then a third period with 'potential texts in the form of transcripts' down into the fourth century, followed by a standardizing period under Demetrius of Phalerum at the very end of the century and further standardizing by the Alexandrian scholars. This 'evolutionary theory of text-fixation through crystallization' makes away with 'the elusive certainty of finding the original composition of Homer' as it implies that even after the Homeric poems were first fixed in writing, they were characterized by 'multiformity', as oral performances continued to influence the written texts.[16] This approach for all practical purposes ignores the difference between *aoidoi* and rhapsodes. Nagy's hypothesis is hardly called for in order to explain the kind of differences that we find in Homeric manuscripts. Above all it seems to us not to tally with the linguistic evidence, which shows that the works of Greek epos are not all of the same fabric, but have 'crystallized', if that is the correct word, at different times.

As for the texts that were actually written down, one may ask how far they represent oral tradition and conform to what is often called oral poetics, and what, if anything, they owe to the new medium of alphabetic script being exploited for epic song. Are we dealing with oral poetry, in the sense that the poems bear witness of composition-in-performance, or has writing enabled the poet to make things that he otherwise could not have done? Is Homer the traditional bard, or is he the pan-Hellenic poet? Closely connected with this is the question of what kind of audiences the poems and texts are meant for, and how high we shall rate the familiarity of the audiences with the corpus as a whole, and with the mythical tradition, and to what works or traditions they relate what they actually listen to. Is the audience the local population and big men of various Aegean localities, as they are occasionally visited by travelling bards or rhapsodes, or perhaps the multitude of Ionians assembled to celebrate a religious festival? Or must we think of a generalized, pan-Hellenic audience? Finally, there is the problem of the authority of the manuscripts that we possess and of other textual evidence owed to papyri and literary quotations in relation to what was once written down. The manuscripts are what we have got. 'Objects

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[16] Nagy (1996a); cf. Nagy (2004).

which we can see and touch and smell are the data of history: all else is construction.' (Dover 1968: 1)

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In modern times, one may say that the topic of relative chronology in early Greek epic has been broached mainly from three angles: (*a*) on the basis of linguistic criteria, one has aimed to understand the mechanisms and phases through which the epic idiom was formed and to discern the genuinely older from the younger and archaizing elements, thus making possible a diachronic analysis of the linguistic conglomerate of Greek epic; this approach is based on a kind of knowledge of the Greek language and the relationship between Greek dialects that the ancients simply did not possess; (*b*) on the basis of on literary criteria, one has explored relations of literary dependence and thus chronological posteriority with the aid, if possible, of external information, but above all on the basis of internal considerations involving aesthetic appreciation. Familiar problems in this area are how qualitative evaluations may be transposed into temporal relations ('better is older'?) and how the typical and traditional can also be something pregnant and individual; this approach also remained largely unexplored in antiquity; (*c*) on the basis of criteria of material culture and historical criteria in general. This last approach is typically oriented towards the absolute dating of phenomena that occur in the text but belong in the world. By dating these, one can also establish a relative chronology between different parts of the corpus. Intimations of the period to which a verse or a passage or a poem belongs can be had, typically, from references to historical circumstances (e.g. the reign of King Amphidamas, the destruction of Babylon, the heyday of Egyptian Thebes, Phoenician seafaring, the political geography of Asia Minor, military tactics, etc.).[17] Apart from the difficulties inherent in identifying reliable clues in the text as opposed to reading them into it, such external matter can merely serve as the basis for arguments for *termini post quem*. Arguments in favour of *termini ante quem* based on the absence of elements from the text are even more problematic. The case is similar in regard to material objects described or mentioned in the text, on the basis of which Carl Robert (1901) made his ambitious attempt at an archaeological analysis of the *Iliad*.[18] When securely dated, specific objects or types of objects may give us relatively objective dating criteria. Objects such as the towering shield of Ajax, the Shield of Achilles, Heracles' shield (the *Aspis*), the silver-studded sword, Athena's lamp and many more

[17] See especially Burkert (1976), Dickie (1995) and West (1995).
[18] Lorimer's (1950) was another useful survey; the field is now exhaustively treated in the series *Archaeologia Homerica* (Buchholz and Matz 1967–).

objects, make their entry into the world at some specific time. But again, each gives us only a *terminus post quem*, and only for the introduction of that item into the tradition: the boar-tusk helmet, which doubtless belongs in Mycenaean times, only makes its appearance in the Doloneia, which is by common consent a recent part of the *Iliad*. The corpus of Greek epos is not only a linguistic but also a material and socio-political conglomerate. There is no *one* 'world of Odysseus' out there, or an historical 'Homeric society', whose realities are reflected in the Homeric poems. Which is not to say that the poems do not imaginatively conjure up a fairly unitary and consistent fictitious world that makes sense in its own right.[19]

In this volume, archaeological and historical considerations do not loom large, although they play an important role in some of the contributions, e.g. those by Martin West and Wolfgang Kullmann. The contributions to this volume broadly fall under two headings, linguistic and literary. Martin West's contribution is a qualified wholesale attempt at pinning early Greek epic poems down in time, both relative to each other and in absolute terms. It is fitting, we think, to put it at the end, although it is anything but a conclusion to the volume, which opens with Richard Janko's restatement and refinement of the argument of his path-breaking *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns* (1982). Needless to say, no broad scholarly consensus on the issue has yet been reached, and the contributions in this volume point in different directions.

I LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES ON RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

Linguistic analysis of the corpus of early Greek epic poetry throws light upon the historical development of the Greek language, of the epic idiom as such and of the oral epic tradition; it may also contribute importantly to determining the relative chronology between segments and works within the epic corpus.

Serious research on the linguistic stratification of the epic language started with Gustav Hinrichs's 1875 dissertation. Like so many other strands of nineteenth-century Homeric philology, this line of research built upon the new premises established by F. A. Wolf's *Prolegomena*,[20] that Homer belonged to an oral tradition where everything, including language and diction, was in a state of flux. With the rapid advancement of Greek dialectology and comparative, historical linguistics, it soon became clear

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[19] See Morris (1986, 1997); good remarks in Cairns (2001a: 4–5).
[20] Wolf's work in Latin (1795) is conveniently available in English translation in Wolf (1985).

that Homer's Greek was not the kind of 'original Greek dialect' that scholars had thought. Indeed it was not one homogeneous dialect at all, but rather a mixture incorporating elements from various dialects and chronological layers. Untangling this mixture is still the task that faces modern linguistic studies of Homer, including those of Janko, Wachter, Finkelberg, Haug and Jones in this volume. There are two dimensions to the question, the geographical and the diachronic. Although they are interrelated, we will look at them one at a time, starting with the geography.

Homer's basic dialect is Ionic Greek, the dialect spoken in Euboea and Asia Minor. More specifically it has been argued to be Euboean Ionic, since he uses forms like πως instead of κως which we find in Herodotus, but the significance of this has been doubted, since such forms could easily be changed during the transmission. Moreover, κ-forms hardly appear in epigraphic attestations of Eastern Ionic.[21]

Importantly, the epic language also contains a number of Aeolic forms. Hinrichs (1875) was able to pinpoint a number of these and developed a *phase model* to explain them: the Aeolic forms, he argued, reflect the prehistory of the epic diction. At one point, the dialect of epic poetry was pure Aeolic, but as Ionians came to practise it, they gradually replaced Aeolic forms with their native Ionic – which is why Aeolic forms are only found when they differ in metrical value from the corresponding Ionic ones.[22] Milman Parry further developed this hypothesis by embedding it within a general theory of oral composition and formulaic language. The demands of composition in performance make the tradition conservative, since useful formulae are preserved even when they contain obsolete linguistic material, but gradually poets create new expressions which oust the old ones. This view remains strong today.[23]

But a competing model has been developed, which claims that the Aeolic forms are not archaisms of the tradition, but rather borrowings by Ionic epic of neighbouring dialectal forms (the diffusionist hypothesis).[24] This model is defended with extensive argumentation by Jones (this vol.). As these scholars point out, the existence of Aeolic forms is not enough to prove an Aeolic phase – it is necessary to show that there is a break in the Ionic tradition, i.e. that there are no Ionic archaisms in the epic language. Since Meister (1921), the absence of genitives in *-ηο/*-ηων (which would be the archaic Ionic form instead of Aeolic -αο/-αων) has

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[21] See Stüber (1996: 73–4).   [22] As shown first by Witte (1913a).

[23] See for instance Janko (1982), West (1988), Haug (2002).

[24] Notable supporters of this hypothesis include Strunk (1957) (who in fact denied the very existence of specifically Aeolic material in the epics), Wyatt (1992) and Horrocks (1997).

been seen as evidence for just such a break. On the other hand, there are Ionic sequences of -ηο-/-ηω- in other forms, and the argument depends partly on the linguistic interpretation of the change known as quantitative metathesis. Another crucial issue is the genitive in -οιο, which was argued by Haug (2002) to be an Aeolic archaism that is not directly comparable to the Mycenaean forms which are written -*o-jo*. If this is right, it would strongly support the hypothesis of an Aeolic phase.

As the momentum of Aeolic influence became clear, interest in the influence of other dialects on the epic language also grew. In 1913, Meillet wrote: 'Just as the Aeolic epic was ionicized, there might have existed an Achaean epic, which influenced the Aeolic one' (1913: 194). Lexical studies supported this, by showing that many Homeric words were found only in Arcado-Cypriote.[25] The decipherment of Linear B confirmed this hypothesis. Linear B was shown to be a close relative of Arcado-Cypriote, and at the same time it contained many forms that scholars had previously thought to be Aeolic.

However, the more we go back in time, the more similar the Greek dialects were to each other. Despite treatments like Ruijgh (1957), there is no convincing demonstration that there are specifically Mycenaean forms in Homer, as opposed to just archaic forms – and perhaps there cannot be one, given the state of our knowledge about Greek dialects prior to the advent of alphabetic writing. We must therefore rather ask ourselves how *old* the Homeric forms are, rather than where they come from, and this brings us to the chronological dimension. Chronology partly relies on dialectology, of course; as noted by Jones, many Aeolic forms will count as archaisms in Homer only on the assumption that Aeolic preceded Ionic in the development of the epic. Similar problems arise with other features, such as tmesis, the separation of preverb and verb (Haug, this vol.). This has been argued to be a pre-Mycenaean feature of the epic language, since there are no clear cases of tmesis in the Linear B tablets. On the other hand, the evidence of the tablets is meagre, especially when it comes to complex syntactic constructions, so we cannot rule out that tmesis was a living syntactic feature in Mycenaean times and possibly Homer's time. The same holds for lexical evidence: Bowra showed that unusual words in Homer are often found also in Arcadian and Cypriote inscriptions – but we cannot know whether the word also existed in pre-historic Aeolic and Ionic.

Nevertheless, the decipherment of Linear B allowed for a more correct assessment of the history of Greek dialects and a more correct classification

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[25] The most important articles are Bowra (1926, 1934).

of Homeric foms as Ionic, Aeolic – or even Mycenaean. With these insights scholars have been able to proceed from the linguistic stratification of the Homeric language as such to studies of subgenres of the Homeric poems[26] – as in Finkelberg's contribution to this volume – and to studies of the whole early epic tradition, as in Richard Janko's work.

After Milman Parry's work[27] it was clear that only dialectal forms that are metrically irreducible can carry weight. Thus, a formula Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος could easily be an Ionicization of Aeolic Ἀληιαδα Ἀχιληος. It was therefore an important discovery when Hoekstra could show that there are almost *no* formulae that presuppose Ionic prosody. Instead, Ionic forms cluster in the similes and the speeches, which tend to contain late linguistic material (Finkelberg, this vol., with references). It is characteristic of much recent work on linguistic stratification in Homer that it tends to focus on the innovations rather than the archaisms.[28] But this also brings methodological problems: we are very poorly informed on what the poet's vernacular, the Ionic of the eighth or seventh centuries, looked like. Unlike some archaisms, such as specific endings or phonological traits, the recent forms of Homer are often unsystematic and not easily datable. In fact, if a recent-looking Homeric form is not transmitted in inscriptions, we often do not know whether it is a recent form at all, or just a nonce-formation *metri gratia*. That said, Wachter's article in this volume clearly demonstrates the importance of recent forms in Homer: it is not possible to ignore them, or claim that every passage in which they occur is a later addition.

In fact, if there is one thing that the linguistic archaeology of Homer has shown for certain, it is that archaism of language in a certain passage does not guarantee archaism of content or vice versa. The *Kunstsprache* has its own, complex stratigraphy, but for the poets who used it, it was a synchronic system: very archaic forms were readily available even as they composed new scenes.

Our approach to the evolution of the epic diction and its implications for the evolution of epic as such must therefore be statistical. The first and only ambitious attempt to apply the knowledge gathered by more than a century's linguistic analysis of Homer to the whole early epic tradition in Greece was Janko's *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (1982). This book studies the frequencies of select features of the epic diction that are known to be archaisms for Ionic poets. Applying statistical methods, Janko claims to show that there was indeed a gradual modernization of the diction

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[26] Notably Hoekstra (1965) and Shipp (1972).
[27] Conveniently collected in A. M. Parry (1971b).
[28] E.g. Wachter (this vol.) and Hackstein (2002).

proceeding at a more or less regular pace. Moreover, by extrapolating backwards from the historical evidence, Janko aimed to show that the Aeolic forms of Homer's language were introduced within a very short span of time. Not all scholars agree with his approach and his conclusions, as is apparent in Brandtly Jones's and Martin West's contributions to this volume.

Linguistic research into the language of Hesiod and the hymns has focused on establishing the relationship to Homer's diction.[29] Although there is some evidence for independent archaisms in these works, the general conclusion is clearly that Homer's language is more archaic. However, not all scholars agree that this points to a chronological difference: instead they point to the influence of factors such as genre and local traditions.

This is at the core of the problem of correlating linguistic and literary developments in the history of epic. While time is certainly a crucial factor influencing the language, there must have been other factors as well. Bards no doubt attempted to modernize the language they used when the metre permitted, but this was not their only concern. One can easily imagine that archaisms and foreign words lent gravity to the epic style. Haug (this vol.) shows that tmesis was a desired feature of the language, not something the poets sought to avoid. Janko (1982) himself showed the existence of false archaisms (i.e. predilection for old forms in hymns known to be relatively recent). This does not falsify the statistical approach to archaisms, but it does make it necessary to try to control for other influence than the simple passage of time.

2 LITERARY PERSPECTIVES ON RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

By means of what criteria can literary, i.e. compositional, priority and dependence be established within the corpus of early Greek epic – and between those parts of it which have been preserved and those which have been lost? The discussion may be usefully divided into four, viz. regarding relationships between (*a*) layers, earlier and later parts, within one and the same extant poem, (*b*) individual passages in different extant works, (*c*) whole existing poems, (*d*) existing poems and what has been lost and must be reconstructed.

To identify layers within one and the same work is the classical field of Homeric 'analysis', the separatist scholarship that came out of the Wolfian theory that the Homeric epics were products not of an individual poet but

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[29]   E.g. Edwards (1971) and Hoekstra (1969).

of an illiterate song culture: the two long poems *could* not be unitary, and the analysts proceeded to show that they *were* not. There is much to be learnt from analytic scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and from the interpretations of the 'unitarians' as well). Insight into the ways of oral poetry has, however, taught us to judge inconsistencies and repetitions differently, and not to seek in Homer qualities that are foreign to compositions in an oral tradition, even as that tradition is beginning to exploit writing. In the case of many short passages and episodes often regarded as spurious, each passage must be judged individually on the basis of textual, linguistic and adequate literary criteria. When it comes to longer sections in the Homeric epics, which somehow seem secondary, one approach is to view them as evidence for additions and adaptations made by the poet himself in the course of a lengthy, creative labour with a poem monumental in both its conception and its bulk.[30] Granted that in an illiterate song culture the singers when expanding a song invariably integrate the new elements into their common style so that the whole – the added sections included – emerges as stylistically seamless, the Doloneia poses a special problem because of its conspicuous divergence from the rest of the *Iliad*, as has been shown by Danek (1988, this vol.). Apart from the Doloneia, some other major problematic segments within poems are parts of *Ody*ssey 11 (catalogue of heroines, encounter with Heracles) and the end of the *Odyssey* (from 23.297), the latter parts of the *Theogony*, the relationship between the two parts of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, allegedly interpolated passages in the Hymns (e.g. on nymphs in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*; on Python in the *Hymn to Apollo*), and the provenance of *Aspis* 1–56 and its relation to the poem's main narrative.

Comparative literary analysis of individual epic passages aiming to establish the direction of influence and literary borrowing has been an all-time favourite of Homeric scholars. Arguments will always be informed by aesthetic judgement; in addition, there are the problems of the fragmentary state of the corpus, which should always make us ponder the possibility that there may be more relevant models in the mass of lost material, and of shared tradition, which often makes it questionable to privilege a one-to-one correspondence between the verses in question. Some classical items are: the relationship between the catalogue of heroines in *Odyssey* 11 and the *Catalogue of Women* (see Rutherford in this volume); relationships between

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[30] This approach was followed on a large scale in the case of the *Iliad* by Reinhardt (1961), who explicitly refused to take into account oral theory. Goold (1977) also has in mind a poet who works on a written text over an extended period of time; for the application of this perspective on the *Odyssey*, see S. West in this volume.

individual passages in the Homeric epics and passages in the two Hesiodic poems (e.g. *Theog.* 84–92 // *Od.* 8.165–77 etc.) and the Hymns; between passages in the *Theogony* and passages in the *Works and Days*; between the *Iliad* and the *Hymn to Aphrodite*; between similar passages in the Hymns (e.g. the epiphany scenes in the Hymns to Aphrodite and to Demeter); and between specific passages in the Hesiodic epics and passages in the Hymns.

When it comes to individual extant poems, discussion about the relationship between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* would take pride of place, were it not for the fact that there is virtual unanimity today about the priority of the *Iliad*. On the literary side, the strongest indication for the posteriority of the *Odyssey* is that it consistently steers away from mythological ground covered by the *Iliad* ('Monro's Law'). The *Odyssey* thus not only is, but also views itself as, a sequel to the *Iliad*. There is such a thing as a 'sense of text' in Homer.[31] In Pucci (1987), the *Odyssey*'s relationship to the *Iliad* was at the heart of one of the earliest 'intertextual' readings of Greek epos, demonstrating both the potential gains to be had and the problems of importing elements of modern and modish theory into the very different textual culture of archaic Greece. In general, there has been an important shift in perspective in that the younger poem tends to be read more and more with the older one as a sounding board that contributes to its meaning and message.[32]

While the priority of the *Theogony* in relation to the *Works and Days* seems largely to be taken for granted today, although a good case can be made for the opposite view, the relationship between Homer and Hesiod is subject to more debate, and must be judged *non liquet* (see, e.g., the contributions of Richard Janko and Martin West in this volume). The same may be said of the relationship of the *Catalogue of Women* to the *Theogony*, of which it is presented as a continuation, though its diction, according to Janko in this volume, is slightly more archaic.

Problems of a different order arise when we want to consider extant texts in relation to what has been lost. How much do extant texts owe to older tradition, or, to put it differently: what can extant texts tell us about tradition? Some specific questions addressed in the present volume are: the link between the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Catalogue of Women* and a hypothetical Pylian epos on the family of Neleus (Rutherford); the relationship between the *Odyssey* and (putative) epic poetry about Heracles (S. West; Andersen); the relationship between the *Hymn to Demeter* and

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[31] See, for this idea, Dowden (1996). Theiler (1962) is an ambitious attempt to entangle aspects of the genealogy of the two poems when read against each other.

[32] Schein (2001, 2002) makes the most of this. On the *Odyssey*, see Rengakos (2002).

epic poetry on the rape and recovery of Persephone, e.g. the 'Orphic' poem partly transmitted in prose and partly quoted in a Berlin papyrus (Currie).

The main battleground, however, is the relationship between the Homeric epics and the whole subject matter of the Trojan War such as it was told and sung before the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* came into being. We may safely assume that what was told, was for the main part the tale and the episodes which were later – and after Homer – to be written down in the poems of the Epic *kyklos* – *Kypria*, *Aithiopis*, *Ilias Mikra*, *Iliou Persis*, *Nostoi*, *Telegony* – of which works we only have fragments plus paraphrases of their plots with some cataloguing of episodes. Being later than Homer, these works may of course be influenced by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The critical tools and concepts that are employed for shedding light on these questions reflect the major twentieth-century scholarly tendencies within Homeric studies. In Homeric studies of the latter part of the twentieth century, *Quellenforschung* (source criticism) became, by way of neoanalysis, a kind of *Rezeptionsforschung* which inquired into the more or less creative redeployment of older material and episodes in the extant works. After pioneering work by others,[33] Wolfgang Kullmann's *Die Quellen der Ilias* (1960) was instrumental in establishing neoanalysis as a new paradigm in Homeric studies.[34] Neoanalysis or, as Kullmann later has preferred it, the study of *Motivübertragung* (motif transference), was informed by the idea that the poet of the *Iliad* incorporated into his poem sequences of narrative motifs that belonged in other epic poems so that certain scenes in the *Iliad* can be read as adaptations of scenes in lost epic poems. Whether this 'technique' operates subconsciously or consciously, and whether it should be seen as a compositional resource only or as a way of alluding to, and even citing, other poems, is another matter. Originally the aim of neoanalytical studies was to retrieve one-to-one connections between specific scenes and episodes in the Homeric epics and their assumed model scenes in specific lost (pre-Homeric) Cyclic epics. Under the influence of Kullmann, however, the scope of neoanalytical research has broadened considerably to encompass all extraneous mythological material – Cyclic or non-Cyclic – found in the Homeric epics, such as mythological examples, short or more developed mythological references etc. These are read as allusive references to the contents of an epic tradition embodied in concrete songs, the contents of which are assumed to be reflected between the

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[33] Especially Pestalozzi (1945), Kakridis (1949), Schadewaldt (1951).
[34] See the useful survey by Willcock (1997).

lines of the Iliadic and Odyssean narratives. The single most ambitious realization of this approach is Georg Danek's *Epos und Zitat: Studien zu den Quellen der Odyssee* (1998b).

The methodological difficulties are considerable. For one thing, we do not know how closely the post-Homeric Cyclic poems represent pre-Homeric poetry – and mythology as told at large – that would be available to Homer, nor whether the transference is limited to motifs and narrative sequences only or includes portions of the original wording, if it makes sense to talk of fixed wording at all, that is. And most importantly: by what criteria do we deem one use of a motif or a narrative incident more successful than another, and what entitles us to think that the better use of an ingredient is the prior use of it? Dysfunctional, redundant or otherwise inexplicable elements may be important pointers – the third, loose horse in the *Nestorbedrängnis* is a case in point. But it is to a very large extent a matter of judgement. After a period of relative quiet at this point, Adrian Kelly (2006) challenged the rather commonly held view that the *Nestorbedrängnis* in book 8 of the *Iliad* is dependent on a similar episode which we know to have been part of the *Aithiopis*, where it would seem to sit and fit better, an episode which presumably belongs to pre-Homeric tradition.[35]

Then again there is the larger question of how, if at all, neoanalytical assumptions go together with the oralist perspective, in which the shared traditional material, the typical scenes and the conventional ways of the poets are constitutive. Neither approach is primarily aimed at establishing chronological sequences; in the case of neoanalysis it is more a way of exploring how poetry uses (older or contemporary) poetry, while from an oralist perspective the issue of relative chronology cannot come to the fore, because we have the poems in the form which they had at the comparatively late moment when they were committed to writing. Kullmann (1984) himself made an attempt at rapprochement between the oralist concept of 'composition by theme' and the neoanalytical one of 'motif transference'. The area has later been innovatively explored especially by Jonathan Burgess, first in his *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle* (2001) and again in Burgess (2006) and in his contribution to this volume.

Burgess argues for 'a textless intertextuality' positing unlimited interactions between the Homeric poems and pre-Homeric oral tradition, poetic and otherwise. In this he is in line with Danek (1998b, 2002b), whose research also has been conducted at the interface of neoanalysis and orality.

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[35] Kelly is answered by Heitsch (2008).

Both scholars have developed their views by arguing that meanings and strategies are 'inherent' in the typical scene and that motif and expression, and the concept of 'traditional referentiality', are instrumental in exploring epic references.[36] According to this principle, an individual oral realization of an epic element (be it formula, typical motif or plot structure) only yields its full meaning within the broader context of the epic tradition. But if the epic – epic language, epic characters, epic episodes – is allusive generally and always, by definition, so to say, refers to the tradition, to all there is, including even what is suppressed, it becomes difficult to think in terms of relative chronology. Poetological theory replaces historical analysis.[37]

   Bruno Currie's studies (2006, this volume) are more open to the possibility of literary 'interaction', as he calls it, between specific texts. Although Currie adheres to the idea that early Greek epic is a product of an oral culture, his view of epic interaction largely rests on a conception of intertextuality closely associated with authorial intention. And in contrast to oralist analyses that tend to deny that fixed wording was ever quoted in the context of early Greek epic, Currie is more open to the possibility that specific formulations, bound to specific episodes or characters in identifiable epic poems, were transferred to new contexts in the spirit of allusion to the source poem. In his contribution to this volume he tests his case for allusive motif transference by examining the direction of interaction in two archaic hymnic poems that have as their theme the rape and recovery of Persephone and offers more positive evidence that allusive reference also included quotation of wording.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

Tradition, by providing idiom, formular phrasings and typical scenes, and themes and motifs as well, furnishes the poet with compositional aids. The uses of tradition at all levels result in compositions in which we may identify a variety of intricate relationships between what is old and what is new, in the shape of borrowings, adaptations and transformations. But

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[36] The concepts of 'inherent meaning' and 'traditional referentiality' are developed in Foley (1991, 1999). Dowden (1996) and Graziosi and Haubold (2005) also aim at showing Homer's ability to evoke a web of associations and implications by referring to the wider epic tradition. See now for a large scale application Kelly (2007).

[37] One may identify two tendencies. E.g. Finkelberg (2003) argues that the 'meta-epic' nature of Homeric poetry is intended to supersede or neutralize other traditions, while Burgess (2006) sees the 'meta-cyclic' nature of Homeric poetry more as parasitic in nature, in the sense that the full extent of its potential meaning is dependent on the resonance of what is not there. Much depends on how one envisages the Homeric audience (if there is such a thing) – how mythologically informed it is, and in what way the 'potential' context is actually evoked as they listen; on this, see Scodel (1990, 2002).

the product is not a mechanical melee: the epic idiom 'functions as a language, only more so' (Foley 1999: 6). Synchrony and diachrony are intertwined: the idiom, the themes and the motifs do have their history, they are paradigmatic – but in each work they must be read syntagmatically within their individual context. Disentangling this complex of traditional resonance and individual meaning is one of the tasks of the present volume.

πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν

Relative chronology and the literary history of the early Greek epos

Richard Janko

The relative chronology of early Greek epic poetry is an essential question for anyone who wishes to understand the literature, society, history, religion and mythology of early Hellas. Yet the dating, both relative and absolute, of the poems themselves is a field where chaos and confusion reign. With the exception of Martin West, who famously stated that Hesiod's *Theogony* 'may well be the oldest Greek poem we have' (1966: 46), until about 1980 most scholars believed that the Homeric poems were composed later in the eighth century BC, and the Hesiodic poems a generation or two later. The belief that the poems of Homer are older than Hesiod's concurred with the views of Eratosthenes[1] and Aristarchus, who marshalled much evidence, principally from geography, that Hesiod was later than Homer, since Hesiod knew of more remote places in the Mediterranean and named them more accurately, e.g. the Nile. Aristarchus argued this in a lost monograph entitled Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου, 'On the age of Hesiod'.[2] Now, however, many scholars who have made important contributions to our understanding of different aspects of the early Greek epic tradition either profess uncertainty about Homer's date or argue for dates in the seventh or even the sixth centuries BC.

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[1] Reported by Strabo, 1.2.14, 1.2.22.

[2] Cf. e.g. schol. A (Aristonicus) ad *Il.* 10.431*a* Erbse, ὅτι Ὅμηρος οὐκ οἶδεν καλουμένους Λυδούς, ἀλλὰ Μήονας. πρὸς τὰ 'Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου'. The existence of this title was first recognized by Schroeder (2007); for the form of the cross-reference cf. schol. A (Aristonicus) ad *Il.* 13.197, ὅτι συνεχῶς κέχρηται τοῖς δυϊκοῖς. ἡ δὲ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τὰ 'Περὶ τῆς πατρίδος'· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ ἴδιον. In his lost work *On the Homeland* (sc. of Homer) Aristarchus argued that Homer was an Athenian (Janko 1992: 25, 71). It is symptomatic of the present confusion that the new Loeb edition of Hesiod (Most 2006) omits from the Testimonia the opinions on Hesiod's date of two of the best scholars in antiquity. M. L. West mentioned neither these scholia nor Aristarchus when he so influentially argued that Hesiod antedates Homer; his silence is curious, since he refers to Aristarchus' arguments and conclusion elsewhere (1966: 40–8, cf. 260–1).

Thus I broach this topic with some trepidation. This is not because I do not know what I believe about it; indeed, that belief has been further strengthened over time. In 1982 I published my doctoral thesis under the title *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction*. This title reflects what I believe that I proved in that book, namely that the poems of Hesiod post-date the Homeric epics, and that the long *Homeric Hymns* are mostly later still. The sole exception to this is the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, where I then accepted arguments from the detection of *exemplum* and *imitatio*, which I felt dated the poem after the *Theogony* (Janko 1982: 25, 225–8, 200 fig. 4), rather than my linguistic methodology, which strongly suggested a date soon after that of the *Iliad* (Janko 1982: 151–80, 74 fig. 3). I now think I ought to have had more faith in my own method, and prefer to date the *Hymn to Aphrodite* to Homer's time, with its oddities explained by the influence of the original Aeolic tradition on which it also drew.[3] My primary focus throughout was on the relative chronology of the poems in the corpus, and not on their absolute date, although I did offer some very tentative suggestions about absolute dates.

At the time, my conclusion that Homer's poems are earlier than Hesiod's did not seem much of a revelation, since, with the notable exception of West's view, it matched the scholarly *communis opinio*. What was innovative was that I had argued for this chronology from statistics, rather than from the relatively impressionistic methods that had been used hitherto (though the conclusions of Eratosthenes and Aristarchus were better founded than that). I based my conclusions on a study of eleven linguistic changes that are very common in the corpus of early hexameter poetry.

This was not a completely new approach. In the nineteenth century several German doctoral theses had tried to quantify one linguistic criterion, the observance or neglect of the effect of digamma. In the 1960s Hoekstra (1965, 1969) had revealed how the modification of traditional formulae was instrumental in introducing recent and indeed post-Homeric forms into the *Homeric Hymns*, although he did not quantify his results. Garbrah

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[3] My reason for believing that the *Hymn* postdates the *Theogony* was that *Hym. Ven.* 261, [νύμφαι] καλὸν χορὸν ἐρρώσαντο, seemed to imitate the proem to the *Theogony*, [Μοῦσαι] χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο | καλούς, . . . ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν (*Th.* 7–8). However, the case of the *Hymn to Hermes*, where the opening verses survive in two versions with oral variants (Janko 1982: 3), shows that short passages comprising the beginnings of Homeric Hymns were so traditional that they could have a relatively fixed form over extended periods of time: cf. *Il.* 16.179–92, where Homer draws on an earlier version of the proem to the *Hymn to Hermes* (Janko 1992: 342). Once the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is correctly placed just after the *Iliad*, my diagram of the relations between the poems (Janko 1982: 200 fig. 4) concurs to a remarkable degree with the results of the fine cluster-analysis which Brandtly Jones presented in Oslo and includes in his article 'Relative Chronology within (an) Oral Tradition', *Classical Journal* 105 (2010) 289–318 at 294–5; his other arguments appeared too late for me to address them here.

(1969) had undertaken a statistical analysis of the language of portions of the *Odyssey*. Still more significantly, Edwards (1971) had quantified frequently occurring aspects of Hesiodic diction, above all the usage of o- and a-stem accusative plurals, in order to explain the peculiar a-stem short-vowel accusative plurals that sometimes occur in his poems. But nobody had tried to correlate the behaviour of a number of different linguistic indices in order to see whether any consistent pattern emerged.

The work was at first undertaken by hand, with months of mind-numbing counting. I was encouraged to persevere by the late Sir Denys Page, to whom I had sent my early ideas (Professor Page did not live to see that my results disprove his analytic theories, which I had set out to try to support). However, before long, with the help of Dr John Chadwick, the Reverend A. Q. Morton and Dr John Dawson of the Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre at Cambridge, I was able to use computerized texts and key-word-in-context concordances of the early epos, at a time when computer-files still consisted of stacks of punch-cards and reels of paper tape.

I well recall how, after all the counting had been done, in 1977 I stayed up one March night until three o'clock in the morning, while the wind howled outside my garret, in order to see whether any pattern emerged from all the results. To my excited eyes, as I plotted the first simple graph by hand, it seemed obvious that there was indeed such a pattern, which made me feel that all the effort had been worthwhile.

Statistical analysis is a method which, if properly applied and understood, affords a basis for a kind of objectivity that seems to belong more to the natural and social sciences than to the humanities. Accordingly, I felt that the reliability of my conclusions went beyond the intuitions of previous researchers. The conclusions to which statistical analysis leads are simply numerical measurements of probability. At first sight, these differ in nature from the results of philological arguments. However, experience leads me to conclude that this is a false dichotomy, because the conclusions to which we come in philological or historical inquiry are very often probabilistic also. Even in philology, our conclusions are only provisional; we must always be prepared to abandon them if a new hypothesis better explains the evidence. A statistical conclusion too is probabilistic, but with the difference that we can state with some degree of precision how likely it is that the alternative interpretation of the same data (what statisticians call the 'null hypothesis') is in fact correct. It seemed then, and still seems to me now, that the statistical odds that these phenomena in the language of the early Greek epic are random are almost infinitesimally small.

Against this background, for the benefit of those who have not absorbed the argument of *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, I shall try to summarize it in a way which I hope will easily be understood; I shall also integrate into the argument some fresh observations that I have made during the intervening decades. Let me first set out the four presuppositions of my method.

First, the language of Greek epic is a *Kunstsprache* made up of elements of different dates, some of them very old; indeed, a few demonstrably go back to the middle of the second millennium BC.[4] This *Kunstsprache* is more complex than that of any other oral poetry that we know, probably because of the demands of the hexameter, which is more fixed in its form than are the verse-patterns of other traditions, like the South Slavic *deseterac*. However, even South Slavic epic has metrically convenient oddities of *Kunstsprache* like the interchange of the vocative and the nominative. Just as the Greek bards use νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς or ἱππότα Νέστωρ as nominatives, when these adjectives were originally vocatives, so too the singers readily replace the nominative form of a name with a vocative when they need to fill an extra syllable; thus when Avdo Međedović wanted to say 'Vuk asks' in four syllables, he would sing *pita Vuče* (Međedović 1974b: 120 l. 2311). Once oral poets master their special epic language, it becomes a language like any other. The fact that it is a *Kunstsprache* does not imply that it will not change; on the contrary, so long as it is part of an oral tradition, its morphology changes over time, as older forms are replaced by younger ones.[5] This process of morphological replacement occurs more rapidly outside fixed formulae and more slowly within them, since formulae play an essential role in composition and may be retained for a long time even after they become unmetrical. While the *Kunstprache* is being used by oral bards for composition-in-performance, it will change along with changes in their own spoken language. To quote Milman Parry, to whom this crucial point is owed:

The language of oral poetry changes as a whole neither faster nor slower than the spoken language, but in its parts it changes readily where no loss of formulas is

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[4] Several linguists have recently denied this (Hackstein 2002: 5–16; Haug 2002: 39–68; Hajnal 2003: 80–93). However, those who hold this view seem to neglect the archaeological evidence for objects that go back to the Early Mycenaean period, like the body-shields that inspired some of the phrases which once had syllabic *r* like σάκος ἀμφίβροτον. Of course, such phrases could have been developed in Central Greece (where a mixture of Mycenaean and West Greek was probably spoken) rather than Southern Greece, so the 'Mycenaean' phase of the epic tradition may be more chronological than geographical in significance.

[5] As Haug (this vol.) shows, the rate of replacement in syntactical features like tmesis is likely to have differed from that of morphological features; but this does not affect my argument.

called for, belatedly when there must be such a loss, so that the traditional diction has in it words and forms of everyday use side by side with others that belong to earlier stages of the language. (in A. M. Parry 1971b: 333)

This admirable insight was long overshadowed by Parry's other claim that all or most epic verse consists of formulae, which would of course imply that their language hardly changes over time. We owe the rebuttal of this latter assumption to Hoekstra (1965) and Hainsworth (1968) in particular.

My second presupposition was that the decipherment of Linear B by Ventris and Chadwick and the reconstructions of historical linguistics, many of them decisively confirmed by the decipherment, are in their outlines largely accurate and reliable, so that we can say that, for instance, phrases with the digamma preserved are older than those which presuppose its loss. Indeed, the method can sometimes be used to confirm those results. For example, when statistics show that the contraction of ἐΰ to εὖ spreads through the epic as the poems become later, this helps to confirm that ἐΰς 'good' is derived from Indo-European *$ə_1$sús and is cognate with the Hittite adjective *aššuš* of the same meaning.[6]

My third presupposition was that, in order to obtain statistically dependable results, it is in most cases useless to study elements of the language that are rare, like infrequent linguistic forms[7] or isolated items of vocabulary; the occurrence of the latter depends too much on the vagaries of content, and one cannot usually know against which other words they must be measured. Instead, one must study common features, like phonetic changes and morphological endings. Fortunately I was able to identify more than ten of these (and a few more since) that are so frequent that they yield statistically sound samples in all but the shortest poems in the corpus. Each statistic is based on counting dozens or even hundreds of occurrences ('populations', in statisticians' terminology) of tiny things, about many of which the poets could hardly have been aware. One can usually obtain some usable results from poems as short as 150 to 200 lines, but everything depends on the frequency of the particular phenomenon that is being studied.

My fourth presupposition, related to the third, was that this method applies only to large bodies of text. It cannot date brief passages or particular lines, although one can certainly observe more recent or more archaic forms within them, and doing so afforded me many insights into the creativity of Homer when I was commenting on the *Iliad*. (It is important to emphasize that the minimum size of the body of text cannot be precisely defined, since

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[6] See Janko (1992: 14 n. 19), with further examples.
[7] This is the weakness of Hackstein (2002).

it is contingent upon the number of instances of the phenomenon that is under observation and the level of probability that is desired from the result.) Because of this restriction, the method presupposes the general integrity of the transmitted texts of the early epic. But so do most scholars, except for a few diehard analysts and the surprising number of those who think there never was a fixed text. The work of the unitarians and neoanalysts seems to me decisively to support the literary integrity of the bulk of the Homeric epics. Indeed, if we were to seek to date Homer's poems on the basis of the date of their latest lines, we ought to put them into the Roman or Byzantine eras, when concordance-interpolations were still entering the papyri and codices in significant numbers. Thus I am not comfortable with efforts to date whole poems solely on the basis of single lines or brief passages.[8]

Subsequent study of the textual transmission of the Homeric poems convinced me that they may contain minor interpolations that arrived there at a very early date, before many manuscripts of the poems existed. I concluded that 'a pessimistic editor is entitled to suspect that some spurious lines permeated the whole paradosis so early that the Alexandrians could not detect them' (Janko 1992: 28). These would be far harder to discover than are the later concordance-interpolations, which are betrayed by their absence from earlier papyri and/or quotations, but are not all expelled even in West's new text of the *Iliad*. In that text West also identifies a number of early short interpolations.[9] While I rarely share his confidence that they can be recognized,[10] I agree that in principle they are possible and perhaps even probable; but they are unlikely to affect the statistics. On the other hand, the years that I spent in writing a commentary on the longest books of the *Iliad* strongly reinforced my confidence that so skilfully structured a poem could only have been composed by a single poet at a single time, even though he was using the techniques of oral composition-in-performance, and that we have his poem much as he dictated it.[11] Thus a position that is both oralist and unitarian is fully compatible with this statistical method.

My original aim had in fact been to uncover consistent patterns of variation in the separate books of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, where clusters of more archaic or innovative diction would indicate the existence of passages of divergent date and origin. However, I never found any, despite months of arduous labour; indeed my results converted me to a unitarian

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[8] This is effectively the error that I made myself when I dated the *Hymn to Aphrodite* after the *Theogony* (above, n. 3).

[9] West (1998–2000), with West (2001a: 11–14).

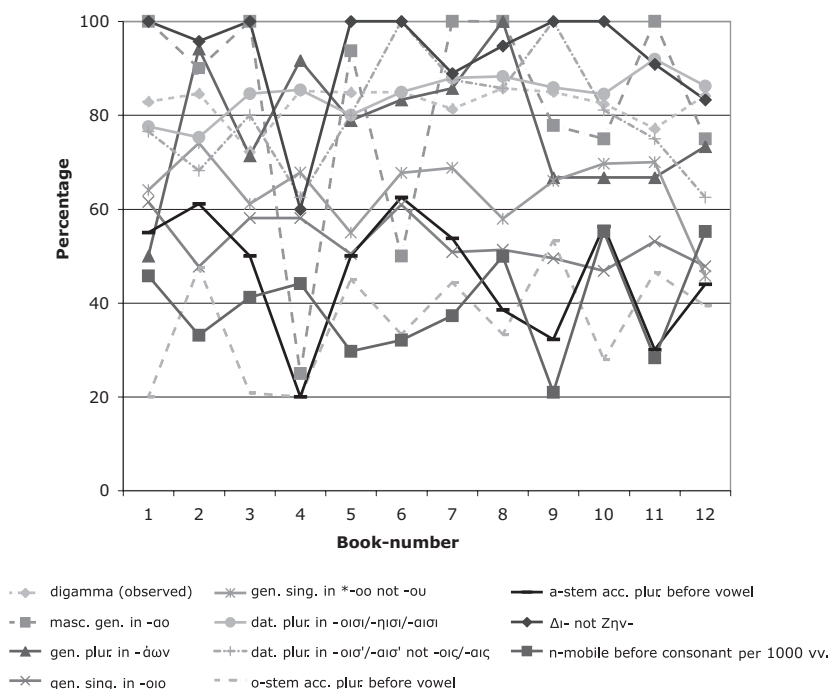[10] See Janko (2000, 2003).   [11] See Janko (1998).

Fig. 1.1 Linguistic variation in the *Iliad*, books 1–12.

position. Since a book that managed to prove nothing in particular would not have been interesting to read or to write, and I had made other discoveries that seemed important, I presented those instead.[12] I supplied in an appendix (Janko 1982: 201–19) the raw data for the individual books of Homer so that others could test for themselves my denial that such variations exist. Few have done so, except for Danek (1988; this volume: 106–121), who discerns only qualitative differences between the Doloneia and the rest of the *Iliad*, in aspects like vocabulary and formular usage. Qualitative divergences such as those to which he points will never be able to be detected by a quantitative method such as mine, and their existence and significance will always be a matter of judgement rather than of statistical evidence. As he acknowledges, there are no decisive quantitative differences between the diction of the Doloneia and that of the rest of the *Iliad*; I failed to detect any elsewhere either. Figure 1.1

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[12]   Janko (1982: 219). Also, the format of my publication limited the number of illustrations and of words. My omission was regretted by one reviewer (Fowler 1983).
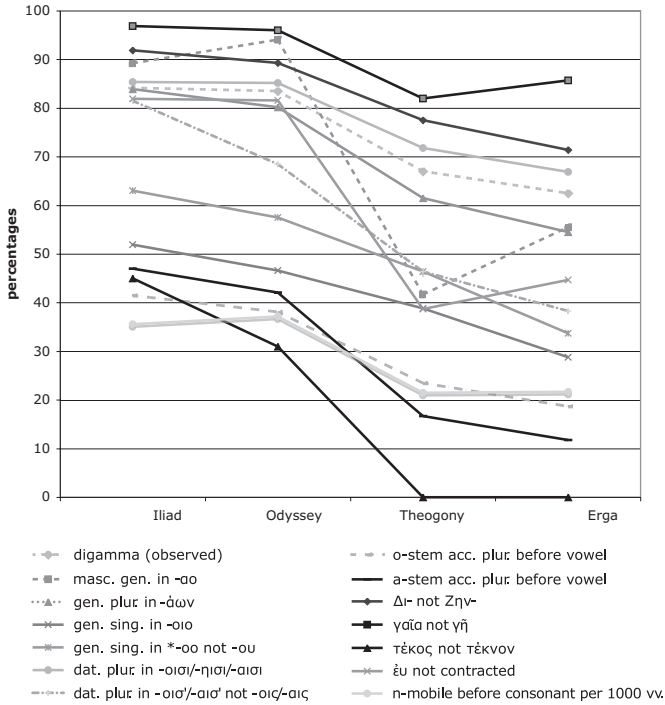
Fig. 1.2 Diminishing archaisms from Homer to Hesiod.

presents as a graph the variations in eleven very common features of epic diction (which I shall explain below) in the first twelve books of the poem, based on the data in my appendix A.[13] One can see even by eye that the divergences between books exhibit no consistent pattern. The rest of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* presents a similar picture, indicative apparently of random variation.

When, on the other hand, I plotted the results for the whole epic corpus, I at once found an almost consistent decline in these eleven very common features, as they evolve from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey* to the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Figure 1.2 shows the different choices made in the four poems in fourteen features of epic diction, including three additional ones – the incidence of γαῖα as against contracted γῆ, the failure to contract ἐύ and ἐυ- to εὖ and εὐ-, and the use of τέκος rather than τέκνον. According to the evidence, each feature comprises the retention of an

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[13] Janko (1982: 201–19). I have revised the calculations of the results for -αο and -άων in accord with the suggestions of Jones (this vol.).
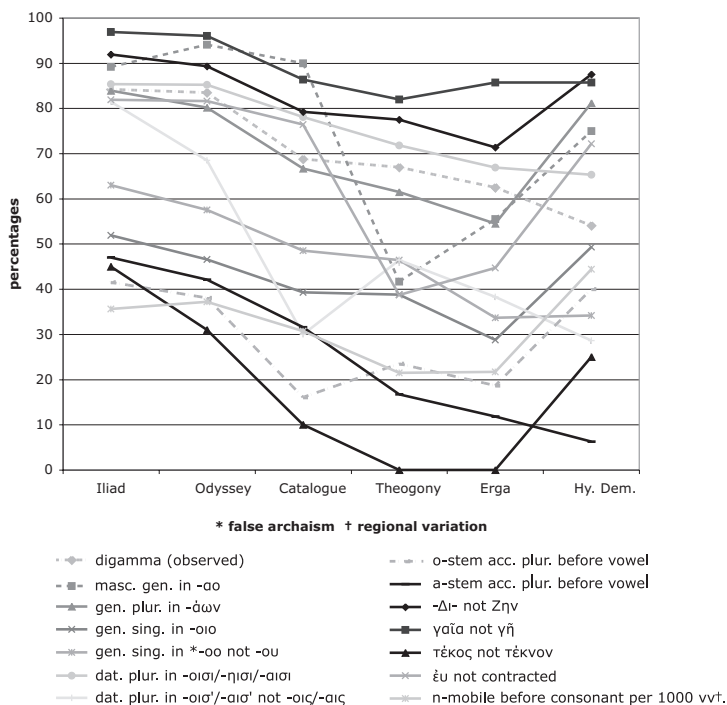
Fig. 1.3 Diminishing archaisms in epic diction.

archaism that could have been replaced by a more recent form. The only
feature among the fourteen that does not belong to this pattern is an
Attic-Ionic innovation, the use of n-mobile (νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν) before a
consonant; I include this feature to show that it disappears in works of
Boeotian origin like those of Hesiod.

Classicists are notoriously averse to numbers, but figure 1.2 should make
it clear to anyone that there *is* a coherent pattern in these results. It emerges
that the *Odyssey* is nearly always more advanced than the *Iliad*, the *Theogony*
is always more advanced than the *Odyssey*, and the *Works and Days* is nearly
always more advanced than the *Theogony*. Yet the *Odyssey* is extremely
close to the *Iliad*, and the *Works and Days* stands in a similar relation
to the *Theogony*. On the other hand, the frequency of n-mobile before a
consonant increases over time in Ionic and Attic poems and diminishes
in Boeotian ones, so that in this Hesiod seems more archaic than Homer.
In figure 1.3 I have added the results for the *Catalogue of Women* and the

Table 1.1 *The statistical basis of figure 1.3 (%)*

	Iliad	Odyssey	Catalogue	Theogony	Erga	Hy Dem
digamma (observed)	84.2	83.5	68.8	67	62.5	54.1
masc. gen. in -αο	89.2	94.1	90	41.7	55.5	75
gen. plur. in -άων	83.9	80.2	66.7	61.5	54.5	81.2
gen. sing. in -οιο	51.9	46.6	39.3	38.8	28.8	49.3
gen. sing. in *-οο not —ου	63	57.5	48.5	46.4	33.7	34.2
dat. plur. in —οισι/-ηισι/-αισι	85.4	85.2	78.1	71.8	66.9	65.3
dat. plur. in -οισ᾿/-αισ᾿ not -οις/-αις	81.5	68.5	30	46.4	38.3	28.6
o-stem acc. plur. before vowel	41.5	38.1	16.1	23.5	18.7	40
a-stem acc. plur. before vowel	47	42.1	31.6	16.7	11.8	6.3
Δι- not Ζην-	91.9	89.3	79.2	77.5	71.4	87.5
γαῖα not γῆ	96.9	96	86.4	82	85.7	85.7
τέκος not τέκνον	45	31	10	0	0	25
ἐϋ not contracted	81.9	81.6	76.4	38.7	44.7	72.2
n-mobile before cons. per 1000 vv.	35.6	37.2	30.7	21.5	21.7	44.4
total no. of instances (sample size)						
digamma (ἐρύκω excluded)	1779	1667	109	88	144	61
masc. a-stem gen. sing.	194	85	30	12	9	4
a-stem gen. plur.	224	162	24	39	11	16
o-stem gen. sing.	2106	1534	163	201	125	75
gen. sing. in *-οο or -ου	1012	619	99	123	89	38
o- and a-stem dat. plur.	1788	1502	137	199	142	101
o- and a-stem short dat. plur.	260	222	30	56	47	35
o-stem acc. plur.	627	422	31	51	32	5
a-stem acc. plur.	383	266	19	42	17	16
oblique cases of Ζεύς	271	112	24	40	21	8
γαῖα and γῆ	128	174	22	61	21	14
τέκος and τέκνον	79	49	10	11	2	8
ἐϋ and εὐ	360	370	34	31	38	18
n-mobile before consonant	559	451	23	22	18	22
no. of verses	15693	12110	c. 750	1022	828	495

Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. The data on which this graph is based are given in table 1.1, to show that the numbers of instances involved are high; we are not counting just a few occurrences.

As one expects with statistics, figure 1.3 reveals two outlying results in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. However, both are based on small samples, and most of its other results fall between those for the *Odyssey* and those for the *Theogony*. There is, however, a tremendous scatter in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, a phenomenon to which I shall return. In the first five poems, a general pattern is evident. The *Iliad* is the most archaic poem in terms of its diction, the *Odyssey* is next, and Hesiod comes last, generally in the sequence *Catalogue of Women, Theogony* and *Works and Days*. This is of course only a *relative* sequence; it is not translated into centuries or generations, let alone years. But it *is* a sequence, and unless the statistics are somehow wrong, it is therefore a fact. As a fact, it is a phenomenon in need of explanation.

Even before I wrote, great effort had gone into arguing that linguistic differences between the poems depend on genre alone;[14] the claim was that some genres are more conservative in their use of old formulae than are others. Much of my book was devoted to examining this claim. It has some plausibility only in the case of genealogy, where the *Catalogue of Women* is consistently slightly more archaic than the *Theogony*, an acknowledged poem of Hesiod which contains rather less genealogy as a proportion of its total number of lines. Yet the *Catalogue* must be either contemporary with Hesiod or later than he, since it is attached in content, structure, and the manuscripts to the end of the *Theogony* (Janko 1982: 82, 191–2). Almost everyone 'knows' (or thinks they know) first, that the *Catalogue* is spurious,[15] and secondly that it was composed after the foundation of Cyrene in 630 BC; indeed, many hold that it was written in the sixth century.[16] I shall argue below that neither of these views need be correct.

When poems such as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* display a greater usage of archaic diction than do the *Theogony* or *Works and Days*, and when they do so consistently, with 'clusters' of early results (e.g. the *Odyssey* is nearly always slightly more 'recent' than the *Iliad*),[17] it is counter-intuitive to

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[14] Notably Pavese (1972, 1974).

[15] Dräger (1997), who ascribes to Hesiod both the *Catalogue* and the end of the *Theogony*, is a recent exception; likewise Arrighetti (1998: 445–7).

[16] So, notably, West (1985: 164–8), Fowler (1998). West's arguments are successfully rebutted by Dräger (1997: 1–26).

[17] Brantly Jones (this vol.) has proved that the *Odyssey* is more archaic than the *Iliad* in one result, the genitive in -αο, once ambiguous cases before vowels are discounted. I accept his correction, which hardly affects the overall picture. My tables reflect this correction.

suppose that this could be explained by anything other than linguistic change through time. I shall look at other possible explanations shortly; but we should only embrace a different kind of explanation if we have other, compelling types of evidence that point us in that direction. It is both simpler and more logical to accept that the preponderance of early diction in Homer as compared with Hesiod is because the texts of Homer were somehow fixed at an earlier date than were those of Hesiod.

There is one major complexity to be addressed before we turn to the implications of this relative chronology of Homer and Hesiod. Figure 1.3 reveals that the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* does not behave like the texts of Homer and Hesiod. The *Hymn* has more recent diction than Hesiod in six features, but more archaic diction in seven others (I exclude n-mobile, as this phenomenon varies by region). The more recent features are (*a*) the rarity of γαῖα rather than contracted γῆ; (*b*) the infrequency of elided o- and a-stem dative plurals in -οισ’ and -ῃσ’ before vowels; (*c*) the rarity of a-stem accusative plurals before vowels; (*d*) the rarity of long dative plurals in -οισι and -ῃσι; (*e*) the rarity with which the uncontracted o-stem genitive singular in *-οο could be restored; and (*f*) the rarity with which the effect of digamma is observed. Of these six criteria, all are based on statistically reliable samples. The reason why the poet does not archaize in observing the digamma, or in observing the earlier frequency of uncontracted genitives singular in *-οο, is that he saw no reason to do either thing; he probably did not know that there were archaisms at stake in these features of his language, since the existence of digamma and of the uncontracted genitive in *-οο was long in the past of the Attic dialect when he composed his *Hymn*.

The pattern is different in other linguistic features, some of which poets could have consciously manipulated in order to achieve particular literary effects. The seven more archaic features of the *Hymn to Demeter* are (*a*) the frequent use of the stem Δι- instead of Ζην- in the name of Zeus; (*b*) the frequent retention of the archaic genitive plural in -άων; (*c*) the retention of the archaic genitive singular in -αο; (*d*) the retention of uncontracted ἐυ both on its own and in compounds; (*e*) the retention of the archaic genitive singular in -οιο; (*f*) the frequent use of the accusative plural in -ους before a vowel; and (*g*) the frequent use of archaic τέκος rather than τέκνον. However, no fewer than four of these phenomena rest on unreliably small samples of eight occurrences or fewer: these are (*c*) the retention of the archaic genitive singular in -αο, (*d*) the retention of uncontracted ἐυ instead of εὐ, (*e*) the frequent use of the accusative plural in -ους before a vowel, and (*g*) the frequent use of τέκος rather

than τέκνον. Accordingly, no weight can be placed upon these criteria. But the other three are statistically significant, and are distinctive because they are features which the composing bard certainly could have manipulated consciously. First, the retention of the Attic stem Δι- instead of the East Ionic Ζην- in the name of Zeus is a feature which one can attribute to the vernacular Attic dialect of the poet. The second and third features are the retention of the archaic genitive plural in -άων and the retention of the archaic genitive singular in -οιο. Both features are sonorous disyllabic endings, and I believe that the poet consciously favoured them in order to enhance the solemnity and archaic flavour of his verse.

Examination of most of the other long *Homeric Hymns* and of the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* reveals even more numerous departures from the pattern, so much so that they have no 'cluster' of results at all (Janko 1982: 74–81, with table 24 and fig. 2); I forbear to demonstrate this here, and refer you to my book and to a related article (Janko 1986b), where I argued from historical evidence that the *Shield of Heracles* and the *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* were both composed in central Greece in the first two decades of the sixth century BC, with the *Shield* being prior. I explained the presence of anomalous results like those in the *Hymn to Demeter*, the *Shield of Heracles* and the *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* as follows. Once we are dealing with poems from a very late stage in the tradition, the poets are no longer learning their diction exclusively from their older living contemporaries. They are also hearing renditions of texts fixed at much earlier stages of the tradition, from which they are learning to adopt certain archaisms, i.e. those which are immediately noticeable to a listener. These poets did not care whether they put a formerly uncontracted disyllable in heavy or light position in the hexameter, but they felt passionately about producing a grand-sounding poem, packed with euphonious polysyllables like -άων and -οιο. The same can be demonstrated for all subsequent composers of Greek hexameters, from Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes to Quintus of Smyrna and Nonnus (Janko 1982: 76).

I called this phenomenon 'false archaism', which still seems the best name for it. Poets who practise 'false archaism' are imitating older models selectively. They could not imitate them perfectly, even if they wished to do so. However, if poets are free to imitate aspects of older models from the same tradition, one may well ask what value an analysis of their language can possibly have for chronological purposes. In effect, this phenomenon of 'false archaism' might seem completely to demolish the edifice of gradual linguistic innovation that I had carefully constructed.

Yet I do not believe that it does. Just because some epic poets practised 'false archaism', it does not logically follow that they all did so. The consistency of the results that I obtained for Homer and Hesiod shows that their poems are not subject to 'false archaism' but are genuinely archaic compositions, whose the bards learnt their diction from their contemporaries and not from some far older, fixed text. If such texts were available in any form to Homer and Hesiod, they have had no discernible effect on the texture of the language of those poets. The later poets, on the other hand, like those of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, offer no such consistent patterns.

So what is the significance of the fact that the poets of the long *Hymns* to Hermes, Demeter and Pythian Apollo practise 'false archaism', whereas the texts of Homer and Hesiod, including the *Catalogue*, show no sign of it? The only explanation is that those poets who had access to texts fixed at much earlier stages of the tradition were themselves later than Homer and Hesiod, who had no such access to such 'fossilized' material. Later poets knew the work of much older predecessors, as did their Hellenistic and Roman successors. This accords with the growing diffusion of literacy in the Greek world, and with the gradual increase in the number of written texts and of performances based on them, such as are documented for Athens in the time of the Pisistratids. The picture of a coherent evolution of the epic diction remains consistent.[18]

Hence one must ask what it means that the texts of the two poems of Homer and the three Hesiodic poems were 'fixed' at different stages in the evolution of the diction. I have already suggested that this reflects a relative chronological order. But the fact that the poems were fixed at different times has other important implications. If we believe, as I do, that the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* are by a single poet, the evolution in Hesiod's diction from the *Theogony* to the *Works and Days* shows that the epic *Kunstsprache* could evolve even during the lifetime of a single poet; the same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, for Homer, where 'Longinus' (*Subl.* 9.13) plausibly suggested that the *Odyssey* is the work of the poet's old age. Others are willing to accept Kirk's hypothesis (1962: 301–34) that the epics were accurately transmitted by memory over a considerable period before they were written down; but I have never seen any decisive argument in favour of this view, since these are not sacred texts like the *Rig Veda*. It is

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[18] Hence the account of my method in Martin (2005: 167) is gravely mistaken when it is said that there is no criterion for distinguishing false archaism, when the criterion is lack of consistency in the diction, i.e. the lack of 'clusters'.

far easier to accept that the epics acquired a fixed form at different times, that we have them in much the form in which they acquired this fixity, and that their language differs in these subtle ways precisely because they were fixed at different times. Others, again, may prefer to believe that the authors of all these poems wrote them down in this form. However, like Kirk's theory, this too is an unnecessary hypothesis, because it assumes that these poems could not have been composed without their authors using writing. This belief, in my view, reflects our own lack of imagination and of experience of an oral culture rather than the realities of skilful oral epic composition in a largely illiterate society.

Since the evidence shows that the poems were fixed at different stages in the ongoing evolution of the tradition, those who wish to ascribe their present form to editors must accept that they have been uniformly and continuously updated by experts in historical linguistics to keep them distinct from each other in terms of language. This is not credible. Accordingly, I supported very tentatively in my book, and more definitely since, the hypothesis of Milman Parry and Albert Lord that these epics are oral dictated texts, and that their linguistic form accurately reflects the different stages during the tradition when they were taken down. I believe, following Lord, that the slower pace of dictation permitted the best poets to produce better poems than they could have sung.[19] The simplicity, coherence and comprehensiveness of this explanation of how the texts were fixed have never remotely been matched by any other theory.

Although some reviewers of my book wrote that they could not follow all the statistics, on the whole they accepted my results, at least as regards relative chronology. However, as time went on it began to appear that the book was being more cited than read. Unfortunately, it went out of print within ten years. Also, it presupposes much expertise in historical linguistics and the Greek dialects, as well as an intimate knowledge of early Greek hexameter poetry. Although I kept the statistics as elementary as possible, the fifty-two tables of numbers are dreary stuff in themselves. In an account of the language of early Greek epic I supplied further statistics which support my case (Janko 1992: 8–19, esp. 12–14), but none of my recent critics takes account of these additions to my theory.

During the 1990s I began to notice some really strange pronouncements about the date of Homer. These often began by setting aside the linguistic evidence, allowing scholars to adopt other approaches, above all the notion

[19] Lord (1953, 1960: 124–8, 1991: 11–12, 38–48, 98–9, 109–10, 1995: 102–3); cf. Parry in A. M. Parry 1971b: 451.

that the texts were never fixed. This was in my view already refuted by the statistical results presented in my book. Such critics usually cited, sometimes apparently at second hand, my appendix E. There I offered, among a number of tables giving different scenarios for the absolute dating of the epics, provided that their relative dates were upheld, the observation that, if the date of the composition of the *Iliad* were set at around 750–725 BC, that of the *Odyssey* would fall at around 743–713, the *Theogony* in 700–665, and so on. The citation of these exact dates became a sort of talisman for these scholars,[20] allowing them to overlook the mountain of statistical evidence, because it seems absurd to give an exact date in a case where there will never be documentary evidence for the precise years in which these texts were fixed. I quote an example of such a critique, written by a scholar whose work I admire in other respects:

[T]here is still the internal evidence of linguistic forms to consider. On the basis of such evidence, Janko (1982) has insisted that the Homeric poems must date from the eighth century, and he came to conclusions about the relative dating of many other poems as well. Janko's study displays an unsettling confidence that epic verse everywhere was developing in the same way in a robotically steady manner. The statistical quantification of forms here does not make enough allowance for the varying length of the different poems that are being compared, and indeed the very meagerness of what survives in some cases can only lead to misleading percentages. Variance in diction and form between poems was *undoubtedly* [my emphasis] caused by subject matter, poetic function, local dialects, and the preferences or ability of composers. The epic tradition on the whole was a swirling flux of crosscurrents, which a rigid statistical analysis cannot hope to measure. And even if we accept conclusions about chronological relativity, that means nothing about the historical time of the poems. An unverifiable argument about the Lelantine War is the peg on which Janko hangs the whole frame of his relative dating to a historical timeline. Finally, the very desirability of assigning specific dates to individual poems is open to question. Assuming a moment in time for the fixation of early epic does not change the fact that a lengthy process of oral composition lay behind it. (Burgess 2001: 52–3)

A footnote adds '[t]o be fair, Janko is certainly not unaware of these issues', and gives page-references that amount to 15 per cent of my book.

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[20] E.g. Taplin (1992: 33 n. 39). Others make a similar error over the level of exactness in dating, when they hold that I believe that, because the *Theogony* is linguistically slightly more advanced than its sequel the *Catalogue*, the latter was necessarily composed before the former (e.g. Haubold 2005: 87 n. 8). As I had noted (Janko 1982: 85–6), 'linguistic tools are inevitably somewhat blunt': greater divergence than this is found within the attested work of Hesiod himself, i.e. between the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. It is of course possible that Hesiod dictated the *Catalogue* before he dictated *Theogony* 1–885.

As for 'epic verse developing everywhere in a robotically steady manner', I wrote many pages on the influence of local dialects, since I wanted to establish the origin of each poem. I found that one can easily distinguish Ionian from mainland compositions, which have Boeotian influence in Hesiod and Attic features in the *Hymn to Demeter*. As for 'not mak[ing] enough allowance for the varying length of the different poems that are being compared', what matters is the number of occurrences, not the length of the poem, although the two things are related. Part of the purpose of statistics is that it enables one to compare populations of different sizes. Every result was subjected to tests such as *t*-tests and χ^2 tests to make sure that it was statistically reliable, as my footnotes reveal; results based on inadequate sample-sizes were set aside. Again, when it is suggested that the diction was affected by 'the preferences . . . of composers', this can only be partly true; in many cases, such as how many uses of the contracted genitive singular in -ου can be replaced by the uncontracted form in *-οο, the bards cannot have been aware of this difference and had no experts in historical linguistics to advise them.

West (1995: 204–5) suggests that 'the major determinant of the quantity of younger forms in a given poet is the extent to which his language diverges from the formulaic, and this depends on many other factors apart from his date'. However, it is not clear how one could be certain that this is the major determinant rather than the date: in the Homeric poems the proportion of speeches, which constitute the least formulaic part of the diction,[21] is the highest in the corpus, yet these are the poems with the most archaic diction. Moreover, I did examine, at some length, the question of 'variance in diction and form between poems' being caused by 'subject matter, poetic function, local dialects, and the preferences or ability of composers', and wrote as follows:

It might be alleged, for example, that battle-poetry has more ancient antecedents than stories of nautical adventures, genealogies or gnomic and rustic verse. Such an approach is almost impossible to test on present evidence, at least within the early Greek tradition, with one important exception, and that is in Hesiod. It is sometimes assumed that *gnomai* and accounts of rural activities are likely to be the least traditional of all the types of hexameter poetry of the archaic period. Certainly it is true that the diction of the *Works and Days* is very advanced: but it is nonetheless not as advanced, by a good margin, as the narrative in the *Hymn to Demeter*, which is in terms of content reminiscent of scenes in Phaeacia and Ithaca in the *Odyssey*. Moreover, *Works and Days* 1–200 consists of mythic narrative, and

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[21]   Griffin (1986). It does not of course follow from this fact that the Homeric poems cannot be orally composed, as Griffin argued.

not of moral and agricultural precepts . . . And yet, when the language of these two hundred lines is studied scientifically,[22] it is established that, although it is somewhat less advanced in the linguistic criteria than the remainder of the poem, it is on the whole more advanced than the diction of the *Theogony*. Hesiod's diction advanced, as we know, but it advanced despite the content. (Janko 1982: 192)

However, the critic whom I quoted is partly correct that 'if we accept conclusions about chronological relativity, that means nothing about the historical time of the poems'; it is true that relative and absolute chronology are different questions. I would only say that, if the artistic or historical evidence for the date of Homer did point decisively to the seventh or sixth century, then Hesiod would have to be later still by some margin or other. If people wish to accept this, they will need to explain how it is that Hesiod is imitated not only by Alcaeus but also by Semonides of Amorgos, since in another appendix in my book (225–8) I surveyed all the apparent cases, in the epos and other early poetry, of *exemplum* and *imitatio*. There I showed that there are a number of ways in which this can reliably be recognized from the adaptation of formulaic diction. As for the eighth-century date of Homer and the Lelantine War, what I actually wrote was 'if . . . the Lelantine War can indeed be dated to Archilochus' time, and if Hesiod was connected with it, and if Homer was not prior to the mid-eighth century and not later than its end, then the relative datings will be corroborated, but no universal agreement on these points exists at present' (195–6). There were a lot of 'ifs' in this sentence, and deliberately so, since the historical evidence is hard to confirm; but the arguments about the Lelantine War have not changed, even if West is no longer so confident about them.[23]

Finally, if critics question the desirability of assigning dates to individual poems, I do not see how one can understand the literary history of early Hellas without knowing at least the relative dates of the major poems. One might as well say that ignorance is better than knowledge. Other critiques of my general approach have been similar to those discussed above.[24]

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[22] I gave the figures in appendix B (220–1).

[23] West (1995: 218–19): contrast West (1966: 43–4).

[24] Here is another: '[Janko] uses various linguistic criteria to establish that the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is less "modern" than that of other hexameter poems. On the basis of this observation he establishes a relative chronology of Homer, Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*; he then assumes an eighth-century date for the *Iliad* and uses it to calculate the absolute dates of the other poems. There are various possible objections . . . : in the first place, the eighth-century date is, by his own admission, simply assumed. Secondly, Janko's own linguistic criteria measure choices between alternative epic forms which sound more or less archaic, but which were all current within the Ionian poetic language, given that they feature, with greater or lesser frequency, in all or most early

When one critic suggested that 'assuming a moment in time for the fixation of early epic does not change the fact that a lengthy process of oral composition lay behind it', nobody denies this; in fact, projecting back from Homer's usage to the beginnings of various linguistic phenomena confirms the view of Meister, Parry, West, Ruijgh and now Haug (2002: 161–2) that the epic tradition resided in Asiatic Aeolis until shortly before Homer's time (Janko 1982: 87–94, with fig. 3 on p. 88). Here I must address the discussion (Chapter 2 below) by Brandtly Jones, who earns my thanks for being the first to acknowledge the statistical dimension of the prehistory of the epic diction. His account of my sequence of changes in the prehistory of epic diction seems to misunderstand my argument in several ways.[25] However, he is right that my method of calculation of the introduction of quantitative metathesis in the a-stem genitives was flawed. I should have excluded from the calculation the cases of -εω before vowels, because these could, as he suggests, be instances of elided -αο. When this is done, the relative date at which a monosyllabic scansion of the a-stem masculine genitive singulars enters the epic diction turns out to be −0.7 units (rather than −1.7 as I had thought) on the Common Scale, where the *Iliad* is set at 0 and the *Theogony* is set at +3.0, because the result for the *Iliad* changes. Similarly, I should not have omitted the forms in -ῶν and -ᾶν from the totals of a-stem genitive plurals that admit quantitative metathesis, since

hexameter texts. Choices and preferences between available words and expressions may thus be influenced by the subject-matter of the poem, the specific area in which it was composed, and the tastes of particular bards and audiences, and not simply by the date of composition' (Graziosi 2002: 91–2). These are very similar arguments.

　A different critique is that of Sauge (2007). (I am grateful to M. Sauge for a copy of his book.) In order to set aside my results and argue that the epics were recorded in sixth-century Athens, Sauge has to reject Hoekstra's overwhelming proof that epic poets modified their formulae (81 n. 67). Instead, he suggests that the epic diction (but not the texts) was fixed in the early eighth century(!), perhaps by Cynaethus on Chios (67, 365); but Cynaethus was alive in *c*. 525–500 BC (Burkert 1979). He holds that the poets learned and employed two different pronunciations at once. Thus, he believes (74–83), in phrases involving initial digamma they pronounced the phoneme or ignored it according to whether it is 'observed' or 'neglected' (and in order to furnish an objection to one of my results he rejects the consensus that 'initial' digamma in enclitics is in fact in a medial environment, as the usage of Sappho and Alcaeus proves). I have not seen Blümer (2001: I. 130–8); like Sauge, he does not address my argument from 'clusters' (Fowler 2003: 8), which is the crucial one.

[25] Regarding -οιο, -άων and -αο, my point is indeed that the metrical and not the phonological shape of the termination changed, but I do not see how this affects the argument: if -ηο was ever present in the epic diction, why was it changed back to -αο? Regarding the change in the admission of elision in the dative plurals, Greek has or has not admitted elision in different words at different times, and it is surprising that Jones misconstrues me as thinking that such a change could have reflected a general change in the practice of elision in all words. Nor is it 'bizarre' to suggest that the datives of o- and a-stems were treated differently, since these represent syncretisms of different endings: in the o-stems Mycenaean has distinct endings in *-o-i* and *-o* (from the instrumental in **-ois*), whereas in the a-stems it has only *-a-i*.

in the case of -ῶν these contracted forms go a step beyond quantitative metathesis and in that of -ᾶν they are an equivalent response in a dialect other than Ionic. When this is done, the relative date at which a-stem genitive plurals with a monosyllabic scansion enter the tradition turns out to be −2.15 rather than −1.7.[26] The sequence of changes that results from his corrections is as follows:[27]

1. -οιο ceases to be sole o-stem genitive singular ending: −11.0.
2. Contraction in *-οο first appears: −6.7.
3. o- and a-stem dative plurals begin to admit elision: −3.2.
4. Initial prevocalic digamma begins to be neglected: −3.0.
5. Monosyllabic scansions begin to replace -άων: −2.15.
6. The Ionic declension Ζηνός etc. first appears: −1.6.
7. 'Short' o- and a-stem dative plurals which cannot be elided first appear: −1.5.
8. Monosyllabic scansions begin to replace -αο: −0.7.
9, 10. o-stem and a-stem accusative plurals begin to be biassed towards appearing before consonants: not before −1.4 and −0.4 respectively.

Jones notes that the small sample of a-stem genitive singulars in the *Theogony* (only 12 in total) is a 'narrow and insecure footing on which to base the date of the Aeolic phase of the epic tradition' (this vol.: n. 19). The sample is indeed too small, but of course we cannot obtain another sample of Hesiod's diction as it was at that moment – this is all we have; and it is not the sole basis for the chronology, since there are also the results for the other works of the corpus and the behaviour of the genitive plurals. Thus the *Works and Days* has a small population of a-stem genitive singulars (only 9 instances); again this is a low number, but 55 per cent of them are in -αο, as opposed to 41.7 per cent in the *Theogony*. Hence their incidence in the *Theogony* may be abnormally low; if the true percentage of forms in -αο there were higher, it would yield an earlier date for the appearance of the monosyllabic singular endings.

Jones's corrections, while valid, do not in my view disprove the existence of the Aeolic phase. The innovations that I associate with the start of the Ionic phase all appear between −2.2 and −0.7. The introduction of the declension Ζηνός, which is unquestionably Ionic, falls in the middle of this range at −1.6. If the arrival of monosyllabic genitives did predate the Ionic phase, a question where the data point in different directions, they could at first have been in the contracted forms -α and -ᾶν known in Lesbian

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[26] Jones's calculations of this (below, pp. 49–55) are correct in both cases.
[27] For the original list see Janko (1982: 87–8).

Aeolic.[28] It is unlikely, given their phonetic similarity to each other, that the forms -αο and -άων entered the Ionic tradition gradually, by borrowing from an adjacent tradition; the discrepancy in the dates of their appearance is likely to be a result of the vagaries of statistics based on small populations, especially in the case of the genitive singular.

The opponents of the Aeolic phase have still not explained why the tradition did not retain uncontracted -ηο and -ήων if it formerly used them (not to mention why it first used Aeolic ποτί, rather than Mycenaean *po-si*, and then replaced ποτί with πρός).[29] Jones (this vol.) is right that the Bosnian singers put together their *Kunstsprache* from different dialects of Serbo-Croatian where these supply metrically convenient alternatives; but this analogy will not explain why the Ionian bards used -αο and -άων, since their own archaisms -ηο and -ήων would have been metrically equivalent. The words cited by Jones (this vol.) with different vocalisms like στείομεν and συλήτην are all rarer morphophonemically than the a-stem genitives. Accordingly, they are more likely to have been created by bards by analogy with the vocalism of their current speech than to have been retained from an older phase of the tradition.

Finally, Ionic and Attic had two successive phases of quantitative metathesis: the first occurred where there had been an intervocalic *-*s*-, the second where there had been an intervocalic *-*w*-. Hence Ionic experienced quantitative metathesis in -άων, deriving from *-*āsōm*, before it lost inter-vocalic digamma. However, the sequence of changes in the traditional dic-tion, even as corrected by Jones, still places the introduction of both of the monosyllabic a-stem genitives (nos. 5 and 8 in the list above) *after*, indeed well after, the loss of initial prevocalic digamma (no. 4). Initial prevocalic digamma and medial intervocalic (and therefore, regarding the second syl-lable, prevocalic) digamma constitute very similar phonetic environments; in those dialects which we can observe in inscriptions, the loss of digamma in both environments takes place in the same manner and at the same time. Hence this sequence of changes supports the existence of the Aeolic phase.

Thus there can be no doubt that the epos acquired its East Ionic veneer not long before the time of the *Iliad* – whenever that was – and that it had already had these features for some considerable time when it was taken back across the Aegean to appear in the poems of Hesiod. Recent (non-statistical) linguistic study by the late C. J. Ruijgh suggests that in

[28] So already Janko (1982: 250 n. 48).
[29] See my statistical article 'The use of πρός, προτί and ποτί in Homer' (Janko 1979), to which only D. Haug (this vol.) refers.

fact the linguistic gap between Homer and Archilochus is actually greater than I and others had argued, and that the Greek alphabet was borrowed from the Phoenicians in about 1000 BC, far earlier than has been thought; Ruijgh (1995, 1997) dates the Homeric texts to the ninth century BC. His arguments, which adversaries of the Aeolic phase have not yet addressed, merit serious consideration.

I wish to conclude by considering the date of one particular poem – the *Catalogue of Women*. Hirschberger's new commentary (2004: 43–9) offers an exhaustive discussion of the scholarly views about its date. As we have seen, its language is almost identical with that of the *Theogony*, of which it is formally the continuation. Its *terminus ante quem* is the date when the *Shield of Heracles* was composed, since the *Shield* is a continuation by a different poet of the *ehoie* of Alcmena in book 4 of the *Catalogue*; anyone who doubts this must deny that the *Catalogue* is a unitary composition, a denial to which Hirschberger raises cogent structural objections (2004: 47). I argued on historical grounds (Janko 1986b) that the *Shield of Heracles* was composed by a pro-Theban poet in *c*. 600–590 BC, just before the First Sacred War; the *Shield* was itself cited by Stesichorus, who said it was by Hesiod.[30] Nearly everyone's *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Catalogue* is the foundation of Cyrene in Libya by colonists from Thera in about 631 BC, since the poem referred to the nymph Cyrene. According to a scholiast on *Pythian* 9 (*Pyth*. 9.6a Drachmann), Pindar took the story from an *ehoie* of Hesiod. By this argument, anyone who wishes to date the *Catalogue* to before *c*. 631 must deny the unity of the poem, and assume that the passage about the nymph Cyrene was added later.

However, matters are not so simple. The fragments of the *Catalogue* that are quoted tell us that the nymph Cyrene lived by the river Peneios in Thessaly (fr. 215 M–W) and gave birth to Aristaeus, presumably by Apollo (fr. 216 M–W). Pindar locates her wrestling match with a lion on Mount Pelion, although Callimachus (*Hymn* 2.91–2) and the Hellenistic historian Acesander (*FGrH* 469 F 4) put it in Libya. Hesiod mentioned a lion somewhere in his poetry (fr. 328 M–W). A Thessalian location for this combat is perfectly possible, since there were lions in northern Greece until much later times.[31] On the other hand, there is simply no evidence that the *Catalogue* made Apollo take his bride to Libya, even though most scholars assert this.[32] Pindar may have invented this episode.

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[30] In the hypothesis to the Ps.-Hesiodic *Scutum*.
[31] Cf. Hdt. 7.125–6, Xen. *Cyr.* 11.1 and Paus. 6.5.5, with Alden (2005: 336–7).
[32] E.g. West (1985: 88). Contrast Janko (1982: 86, 248), Köhnken (1985: 101, 103), Dougherty (1993: 147), Dräger (1993: 221–8).

It is also disputed whether Chiron's dialogue with Apollo on Mount Pelion goes back to Hesiod, or is another invention of Pindar's; this conversation does not match the style of the *Catalogue*.[33] Cyrene's name, by the way, originated in Greece, since its form follows familiar principles of pre-Hellenic onomastics: for the very common suffix *-ānā* cf. Athānā (Athene), Mycene, Messene, Peirene and so on, and for the root compare (Anti)cyra. It is simply bizarre that the city of Cyrene be linked with Thessaly, unless that was where the nymph was originally imagined to have lived before the city was founded. D'Alessio has now proposed (2005: 206–7) that, although the *Catalogue* said that Cyrene was beloved by Apollo and the father of Actaeon (fr. 217A), the *ehoie* of Cyrene on which Pindar drew was in the *Megalai Ehoiai*, which was a different and probably later poem. His suggestion rests on the fact that the scholia to Pindar consistently cite the *Megalai Ehoiai* rather than the *Catalogue*, and may well be correct.

Another Hesiodic passage brings Chiron into contact with Aristaeus' son Actaeon, again on Mount Pelion. They meet in Hirschberger's F 103, a fragment which Merkelbach and West mistakenly chose to omit.[34] Actaeon was Aristaeus' son by Autonoe in Thebes. According to this genealogy, if Apollo took Cyrene to Libya for her honeymoon, he brought her back to Greece (unless Aristaeus flew back once he had become a god). I am joking, of course, but the need for such fanciful hypotheses shows how improbable it is that Cyrene went to Libya in the *Catalogue*. Hence the foundation of Cyrene in Libya cannot be used as a *terminus post quem* for the *Catalogue*. Hirschberger can find no other solid evidence for dating the poem so late. She places the poem between the foundation of Cyrene and the composition of the *Shield*, i.e. between 631 and *c.* 590, and certainly not later in the sixth century (2004: 49). It would be more prudent to rely on the language of the poem, and on its degree of geographical knowledge (which is comparable to that of the *Theogony*), than on the unproven and unlikely hypothesis that the *Catalogue* made Apollo whisk Cyrene from Thessaly to Libya and back.

Despite the fact that the diction of the *Catalogue* is in some ways fractionally more archaic than that of the *Theogony*, I see no reason why it should not be by the same poet as the *Theogony*, of which it presents itself as the continuation. That poet calls himself Hesiod. He moves from listing the gods' unions with goddesses, starting with Zeus and Metis (*Theog.*

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[33] Köhnken (1985: 100–1); cf. Dräger (1993: 226).
[34] West (1985: 88); contrast Janko (1984). It is included by Most (2006). The piece could however be from the *Megalai Ehoiai*.

886–929), to their unions with nymphs or mortals (930–62); then, with an appeal to the Muses, he lists the unions of goddesses with mortals (963–1018). This is followed by a summation, and then a renewed appeal to the Muses leads into the *Catalogue*. Even Merkelbach and West think that the end of the *Theogony* was composed by the same poet as was the *Catalogue*. My results showed that the end of the *Theogony*, the authenticity of which West had questioned,[35] belongs statistically with the *Catalogue of Women*, and so I believe that the whole composition is likely to be by Hesiod. Thus I hope that this linguistic method can contribute, among other insights, to a re-evaluation of the *Catalogue*; for we apparently have more poetry by Hesiod than we thought. Recent studies show that such a re-evaluation is already under way (Dräger 1997; Arrighetti 1998; Hirschberger 2004; Hunter 2005).

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[35] West (1966: 397–9). It is interesting that Haug (this vol.) has found a discrepancy in the use of tmesis in *Theog.* 900–1022; again I wonder whether Hesiod dictated the *Catalogue* first.

Relative chronology and an 'Aeolic phase' of epic

Brandtly Jones

Numerous attempts to establish the relative chronology of the songs of the Greek epos, or of particular passages therein, have depended on the linguistic evidence in our received texts. These studies, while producing some suggestive results, have not solved the problem of chronology for early Greek poetry. The language of epic developed in parallel with the colloquial speech of the singers in many ways, but the *Kunstsprache* has rules and tendencies which work counter to the diachronic development of the singers' dialect. Also, assumptions about the history of the development of the epics heavily influence the definition of linguistic material as 'archaic'. As we shall see below, one's model for the development of the songs of the Greek epos, whether through a series of dialectal 'phases' or through the diffusion of shared poetic material among various local traditions, has a profound effect on attempts to elicit chronology from the language of the epics.

I THE MIXED DIALECT OF EPIC

The dialect of the epics mixes archaic forms with innovations; it likewise mixes Ionic forms with forms showing Aeolic phonology and morphology. Linguistic archaisms by definition precede innovations, and concentrations of innovative forms are generally taken to indicate a later work or passage.[1] Still, the presence of any linguistic innovation indicates that a passage could only have been composed *after* that innovation had occurred.[2] For example,

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[1] It is important to note, however, that specific examples of apparent archaisms in the epics do not indicate that the passages containing them entered the tradition at an early date. Epic recycled formulaic language, and it created new diction on intra-epic analogy. Thus, we often cannot insist on a correlation between (apparent) archaic language and the age of a passage or poem. This, of course, is the fundamental problem of any dating based on archaisms.

[2] The epic language was capable of producing forms and paradigms which never existed outside of epic as well. Such well-documented phenomena as metrical lengthening provided for a certain amount of flexibility and artificiality, but the tendency was toward using actual vernacular forms on the whole. Cf. Hackstein (2002: esp. 23–34), whose treatment of epic employs the language of

a (metrically guaranteed) 'neglect' of digamma could not reasonably have entered epic language until initial [w-] had lost consonantal force in some relevant dialect.[3] Clearly, however, the effects of digamma persisted in epic singing well after the sound itself had disappeared, and thus, any apparent 'observance' of digamma, say, need not have entered the text before the loss of the sound in colloquial speech.[4]

In addition to the diachronic depth of the hexameter tradition suggested by the deployment of certain archaisms in the epics, the presence of Aeolisms in the dialect mixture of so-called 'epic Ionic' raises interesting questions about the origins and development of the Greek epic tradition. While some features once considered Aeolic have proved to be merely archaisms, epic language features a number of elements generally agreed to be specifically Aeolic on the basis of inscriptional and literary evidence.[5] One Aeolic feature in particular, the -εσσι dative plural, is clearly productive beyond its original distribution, as witnessed in the frequent dative plural ἐπέεσσι. Indeed, this epic creation is the dominant form in Homer.[6] Certain other features, which may in fact be archaisms, or at least reflect archaisms, include the genitive singular of the masculine ā-stems, e.g. Ἀτρεΐδαο, etc., and the genitive plural of the ā-stems of both genders, e.g. θεάων. These are excluded from some lists since the endings in long alpha are not specific to the Aeolic dialects. I will suggest below, however, that their presence in the epics is owed to an Aeolic epic tradition, though not a diachronically anterior phase of development as has been suggested.

2 COMPETING EXPLANATIONS FOR THE MIXED DIALECT

Aeolic forms embedded within epic language pose a distinct problem for the definition of 'archaism' for the epic language. Aeolisms are effectively

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Homer to make inferences regarding the development of Ionic. The interaction of the vernacular and the *Kunstsprache* will be a primary concern of this discussion as it relates to arguments for relative chronology.

[3] The digamma in Hesiod presents problems if we take seriously the biographical indications that he was a Boeotian; his poetry neglects initial digamma more frequently than Homer, though the Boeotian dialect retained the sound well into the classical period and beyond.

[4] That is to say, digamma is both a productive and moribund feature of epic. On the one hand, it is an important part of the *Kunstsprache*, licensing hiatus at certain metrical positions even beyond legitimate historically w-initial words, but it has been lost from the Ionian vernacular by the time of the fixation of the epics, so that the poets increasingly create new phraseology which neglects the effects of digamma.

[5] For reliable assessments of Aeolic features in the epic language, see Horrocks (1987: 270), Haug (2002: 71), Wathelet (1970: 258).

[6] ἐπέεσσι (52× in Homer) versus ἔπεσσι(ν) (3×) and ἔπεσι(ν) (5×). Cf. Wathelet (1970: 258), Haug (2002: 71).
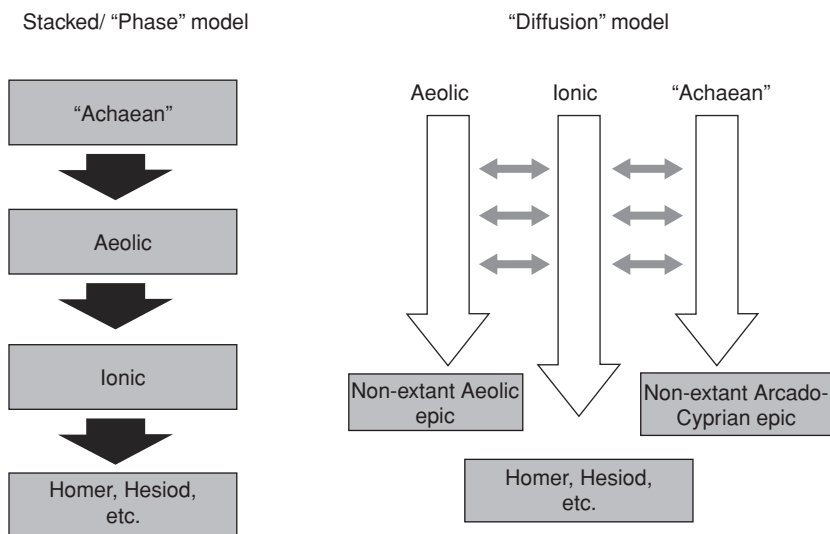
Stacked/ "Phase" model   "Diffusion" model

Fig. 2.1 The stacked/'phase' model versus the 'diffusion' model.

archaisms *within epic diction* if the epic language passed through an Aeolic phase. Specifically Ionic phraseology, on the other hand, is tantamount to a kind of innovation if the tradition as a whole only came to Ionian bards at a late date. A given morphological category might show metrically distinct variants in Ionic and Aeolic which were each current in their respective dialects, and thus not diachronically ordered in absolute terms. Under a schema of dialectal phases, however, an Aeolism in the Ionic hexameter tradition would count as an archaism, since it would have been retained from a time preceding the transfer of the tradition to Ionian singers.

Scholars have also argued for a continuous Ionic tradition spanning from the Bronze Age to the archaic period directly, without a discontinuity of an Aeolic phase. The epics were 'Ionian' as far back as it makes sense to use such a term, and they admitted phraseology through language contact with neighbouring Aeolians over centuries, perhaps through an Aeolic epic tradition or simply through colloquial speech. Under this 'diffusion' model, Aeolisms could have entered the Ionic tradition at virtually any time during the development of the tradition. Thus, Aeolisms *per se* are not indicative of chronology. Figure 2.1 gives a simplified graphic depiction of the competing models. The diachronic dimension is oriented from earlier at the top to later at the bottom.

Each model has its vocal and its tacit supporters;[7] the epics contain some specifically Aeolic forms which cannot, pace Strunk,[8] be pushed back into Mycenaean times or otherwise explained away. Naturally, given the contiguity of Aeolis and Ionia, and especially with the northward expansion of the Ionians, linguistic contact is assured. Aeolisms in the epic, though, do not necessarily point to a previous phase. Horrocks offers the following assessment:

There is no reason to suppose that all the Aeolic forms in the epic dialect came from the Aeolian tradition during the period in which it was first Ionicised, even if one accepts that there was an Aeolic phase. The real issue is whether or not there is evidence of a break in the Ionian tradition, a point at which, going back in history and reconstructing where necessary, characteristic Ionic phenomena peter out leaving a gap between the earliest recoverable Ionic forms and their known or reconstructed Bronze age antecedents. If there is no evidence for such a gap, there is no room for an Aeolic phase, and the diffusion theory must be adopted to explain the full set of Homeric Aeolisms. (1987: 273)

Indeed, a direct line of transmission from the Bronze Age to generations of Ionian bards, and ultimately to a 'Homer', is the most economical model of development.[9]

A pattern of diffusion obtains in the South Slavic epics, which remain the closest comparandum for the Greek tradition. About the mixed dialect of the epic register, John Miles Foley notes:

South Slavic singers use both *ijekavski* (chiefly Bosnian and Croatian) and *ekavski* (chiefly Serbian) forms, not seldom in the very same line . . . [A]lthough native speakers normally use only the forms appropriate to their particular geographical context in most registers, South Slavic singers customarily and systematically have

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[7] Some of the most prominent and explicit advocates for an Aeolic phase in the history of epic diction include R. Janko, M. L. West, C. Ruijgh, P. Wathelet, K. Meister, M. Parry, L. R. Palmer, A. Hoekstra and D. Haug. Many others implicitly adhere to the model, including Chantraine, who frequently explains forms from the standpoint of the 'earlier' phase of the epic. The most even-handed treatment, in my view, is that of Horrocks (1987, 1997) who ultimately sides with the diffusionists, though not without reservations; Wyatt's view (1992) is more extreme, denying the existence of any Aeolic epic poetry and attributing the Aeolisms to colloquial language contact. Others who have explicitly argued against the phase model include D. G. Miller, J. Hooker, K. Strunk, T. Webster, J. Méndez Dosuna and M. Peters.

[8] Strunk (1957). For recent critique of Strunk's thesis, cf. Haug (2002: 71–2).

[9] Defending the Aeolic phase, and rebuffing critics, such as Wyatt and Webster, who attempt to downplay or refute Aeolisms in Homer, Janko notes that the 'hostility to Aeolisms arises from a preference for the neater theory that the epos was brought straight to Ionia from Attica and the Peloponnese, thus descending directly from major southern centres of Mycenaean civilisation: the Aeolic forms are attributed to passing exchanges with a parallel epic tradition' (1982: 89).

recourse to forms and syntactic features from both dialects when they code-switch to the traditional performance idiom.[10]

Though we can never superimpose the habits of one oral tradition onto another, the parallel with the Greek tradition is very suggestive: we see concurrent local traditions which share traditional phraseology from different regions. The exchange is ongoing, rather than punctual.[11]

3 A GAP IN A CONTINUOUS IONIC TRADITION?

Aeolisms alone cannot substantiate a model of discrete dialectal phases in the development of the epic corpus, as their mere presence could be the result of ongoing contact, i.e. diffusion. Without some demonstrable break in the development of Ionic forms attested in the epics, the proposed phase theory is a solution in search of a problem. Proponents of dialectal phases see just such a gap in the masculine ā-stem genitive singulars and the ā-stem genitive plurals.

The phonological history of the ā-stem genitives is straightforward. Mycenaean shows evidence for a genitive in $-\bar{a}(h)o$, and this seems to be the common Greek ending.[12] Most dialects simply preserved the

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[10] Foley (1999: 77–8). While epic language is on the whole coincident with colloquial speech, the *guslar*, like the *aoidos*, depends on both words and grammatical forms that are no longer a part of the singers' conversational language, but remain an integral feature of their traditional register. For the guslars, many of these archaisms are Turkicisms which have obsolesced. Morphologically, the aorist is preserved for both metrical and phonological/phraseological reasons like in-line rhyme. Regarding a mixture of features from distinct dialects, Foley notes that deployment of the variants *dijete/dēte* 'child' depends strictly on the metrical and phraseological environment, e.g. *dijete Halile* 'child Halil', 6 syl. colon versus *A sede mu dēte besjediti* 'But the child began to address him'; 'The singer speaks the poetic language fluently by speaking it multidialectally, and according to the rules of the register for fashioning verbal signs' (77). Cf. the line (1868.1279) *Ovčijem te zapojila mlēkom* 'She began to nurse you with sheep's milk', showing both dialectal variants deployed in a single line in a concatenation unlikely to exist in conversational speech or any other register of South Slavic. This deployment is a function of competence. 'While ekavski or ijekavski speakers naturally favor their "home" dialect to a large degree, traditional epic phraseology always and everywhere entails a utilitarian mixture of forms, sorted not according to the singer's individual speech habits but rather *metri causa*' (78). Witte (1913b) noted that the Aeolic forms in Homer occurred almost exclusively where they provide a metrical alternative to Ionic, an idea developed further by Parry and others.

[11] A colleague of mine who has done field research in the Balkans has told me, only half jokingly given that region's turbulent recent history, that the singers seem capable of borrowing each others' songs 'even while they're shooting at one another!'.

[12] Cf. Myc. *su-qo-ta-o* /*sug^wōtāo*/ '(of the) swineherd'. The nominative singular of the *$-eh_2$* stems was originally endless but acquired -s after the analogy of the o-stems in most Greek dialects, e.g. Att. πολίτης, Dor. πολιάτᾱς. Some dialects preserved, or recreated, forms without -s in the masc. ā-stem nom. sg., e.g. Boet. πῡθιονίκᾱ, Μογέᾱ, also in North-West Greek. Thus, the original masc. gen sg. *$-eh_2es$* > *$-ās$* seems to have been replaced by analogy with the thematic stems: -os: *-osyo :: -ā : *-āyo. *-āyo subsequently developed to *-āho, then -ᾱο, with further contractions, QM or paradigm remodelling according to dialect.

ending, often with subsequent contraction, but in Attic–Ionic, long alpha underwent fronting/raising to long *-æ:- which in turn merged with low /ē/, eventually spelled with <η>, in Ionic.[13] The ending -ᾱο thus developed to *-ηο, and this sequence in Ionic underwent so-called 'quantitative metathesis', (QM) whereby descriptively an input of certain long vowels before certain short vowels produced an output with quantities reversed.[14] There was a related sound change whereby a long vowel shortened before a subsequent long vowel, with restrictions similar to those for QM. Thus for the genitives which were subject to quantitative metathesis we have the following development:

   gen. sg. m. ā-stem -ᾱο > *-ηο > -εω (nearly always with synizesis)
   gen. pl. m./f. ā-stem -άων > *-ήων > -έων/-ῶν (nearly always with
     synizesis)

The epics do not show the expected mid-stages in eta <η>. This would seem to be exactly the break in a continuous Ionic tradition that Horrocks described as the necessary evidence for an Aeolic phase. We shall see, however, that the diffusion model can account for the forms from these categories and that other evidence makes the phase model unlikely.

4 janko's treatment of the ā-stem genitives

If indeed there were any Aeolic phase, it had given way to an Ionic phase before any of the songs of the epos became fixed. A slow transfer of the tradition, perhaps with continued sharing of epic material after 'first contact', would be tantamount to diffusion and thus of limited value for arguments regarding relative chronology of archaic hexameter poetry. Only under a 'stacked' model do Aeolisms count as archaisms. Janko argues for just such a punctual transfer of the tradition from Aeolian to Ionian bards. Indeed, his definition of 'archaism', and thus his dating method as a whole, depends crucially on the priority of an Aeolic phase of the epic tradition. In *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns* (1982), Janko claims that his statistical analysis of the songs of the Greek epos provides new evidence for the Aeolic phase of the epic tradition, and even indication for a relative date for the transfer of the tradition to Ionian bards.

   Janko's dating of the transfer of the tradition to Ionian singers depends on an extension of his common scale. This scale, based on the aggregate

[13] Attic, of course, underwent 'Attic Reversion' at the *-æ: stage, whereby *æ: merged with <η> in most environments but 'reverted' to /ā/ after ρ, ι, and ε.
[14] The sound change is restricted to certain combinations of vowels. Cf. Peters (1980: 251 n. 208), Méndez Dosuna (1993: 98 n. 4).

percentages of a number of linguistic features of the epic language, is meant to reflect the relative date of composition for each poem of the epos. Each feature measured by Janko shows some degree of innovation in the *Iliad*, and more in the *Theogony*, which are set at an arbitrary distance of three units on the common scale. If we assume a constant rate of change,[15] this distance of three units corresponds to the length of time separating the *Iliad* and *Theogony*, and we can theoretically project back to the point on the common scale at which a particular innovation entered the epic language. The proposed relative moments of development in the epic language are as follows:[16]

1. -οιο ceases to be the sole o-stem genitive singular ending: −11.0.
2. Contraction in *-oo first appears: −6.7.
3. o- and a-stem dative plurals begin to admit elision: −3.2.
4. Digamma is first neglected: −3.0.
5. -αο ceases to be the sole a-stem masculine genitive singular ending: −1.8.
6. Quantitative metathesis first appears in -άων: −1.7.
7. The Ionic declension Ζηνός etc. first appears: −1.6.
8. 'Short' o- and a-stem dative plurals which cannot be elided: −1.5.
9. o- and a-stem accusative plurals begin to be biased towards appearing before consonants: not before −1.4 and −0.4 respectively.

Using this method, Janko finds a very interesting result for the forms showing QM, numbers 5 and 6 above. About this finding Janko notes:

The point at which quantitative metathesis appeared in the traditional diction is established at −1.7 units on the common scale, according to the a-stem genitives. This should represent the stage at which the Ionians took over the Aeolic tradition. It does not give the date of quantitative metathesis in Ionia, which must by Meister's

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[15] This is of course a flawed assumption. While the whole principle of Janko's method is based on glottochronological presuppositions, the fallacy of these presuppositions is cast in starkest relief with these 'extended results' of the statistics.

[16] Quoted from Janko (1982: 87–9). This list is compressed and elliptical. The development of -οιο is tied to the development of Common Greek *-oyo, and thus the surface representation -οιο may merely reflect the metrical effects of the pre-form rather than the specifically Aeolic morph. Likewise, the ā-stem genitives may have a similar story. Quantitative metathesis, of course, appeared in *-ήων, not -άων as suggested in number 6; also, the import of number 5 would seem also to be the introduction of QM, as -αο and *-ηο were metrically indistinguishable. Finally, the assertion of number 3, the admission of elision in dative plurals, is opaque. It is unclear whether Janko would suggest that these forms differed from the rest of epic language in their deployment of elision, or if the assertion is that elision first entered for all relevant words at this point on the common scale. While it strikes me as unthinkable that elision would be a late entry into epic language, it is equally bizarre to suggest that the o- and ā-stem dative plurals should have been treated differently for some reason. Janko does not, to my knowledge, clarify this point.

argument have happened somewhat earlier, at least in the area which moulded the epic diction to its final shape. (1982: 90–1)

The agreement of the masculine ā-stem genitive singulars and the ā-stem genitive plurals would seem to buttress this claim; both are ostensibly linked to the introduction of QM into epic diction, but a detailed investigation reveals that the metrics are actually different. Number 5 gives the point on the common scale at which the figures for *Iliad* and *Theogony* project 100% archaism in -αο. That is to say, at this relative date, all Greek hexameter singing would have used -αο exclusively in this category. Number 6, on the other hand, measures 0% innovation in the genitive plurals by comparing the number of forms showing QM versus the number of archaic ā-stem genitive plurals in -άων. This excludes forms transmitted as -ῶν (12× *Il.*, 4× *Theog.*) and -ᾶν (1× *Theog.*).

   While we would expect 100% archaism to be tantamount to 0% innovation, the presentation of the facts from the epics merely creates the illusion of agreement between these two features. Because of the treatment of ambiguous sequences, these figures as tallied are not the same. The masculine ā-stem genitive singulars with apparent QM occur relatively frequently before a vowel in Homer, though never in Hesiod.[17] In such a case, we can, and perhaps must, restore the archaic ending with elision. A sequence of -εω + V-, scanned with synizesis, may simply be a graphic representation of an earlier *-ᾱ' + V- with elision of -αο.[18] The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* each show over twenty such examples, but again, Hesiod none. QM is only guaranteed at line end or before a consonant. Thus, if we set aside ambiguous examples and calculate instead the point at which 'Quantitative metathesis first appears in -αο', i.e. 0% innovation for this feature, using the method parallel to that used for the genitive plurals, we get −0.6. If we calculate the point at which -άων 'ceases to be the sole genitive plural ending of ā-stems', we get −2.15. These results are clearer in table 2.1.[19]

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[17] We may take as an example the ending of the first line of the *Iliad*: Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος. We find 28 examples of -εω + V- in the *Iliad* and 25 in the *Odyssey*. Nowhere else in the epos do we find this type of ambiguous example, save one example in *Hymn. Hom. Ven.*

[18] Or, just as likely to my mind, elision of *-ηο. To give a concrete example, the sequence at *Il.* 1.1, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος | may thus represent *Πηληϊάδη' Ἀχιλῆος |. Cf. Chantraine (1958: 70).

[19] The mathematics involved is a series of proportions based on the percentages obtained from the *Iliad* and *Theogony*, set three units apart on the common scale. Those percentages are presented in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 Janko calculates that '-αο ceases to be the sole a-stem masculine genitive singular ending: −1.8' by treating the difference between the *Iliad* and *Theogony* as three units and then calculating the proportional distance on the common scale between the value for the *Iliad* and 100%. Thus, the difference between 77.9 and 41.7, or 36.2%, is equivalent to 3 units on the common scale for this feature. The difference between 100% archaism and the *Iliad*, in this case 77.9%, is 22.1%. To determine the distance on the common scale between the *Iliad* and 100% archaism, we use the

Table 2.1 *Common scale results with*
ambiguous examples excluded

	'100% archaism'	'0% innovation'
-αο/-εω	−1.7	−0.6
-άων/-έω̣ν	−2.15	−1.8

Table 2.2 *Distribution of masculine ā-stem genitive*
singulars in the Iliad *and* Theogony

	-ᾱο	%-ᾱο	-εω̣/ω +V	~+C	Grand Total
Iliad	173	**77.9**	28	21	222
Theogony	5	**41.7**	0	7	12

Table 2.3 *Distribution of ā-stem genitive plurals in the* Iliad *and*
Theogony

	-ᾱων	%-ᾱων	-έων	-έω̣ν (syniz.)	-ῶν/-ᾶν	Grand Total
Iliad	188	**83.9**	2	22	12 / 0	224
Theogony	24	**61.5**	0	10	4 / 1	39

Contrary to Janko's presentation, when we compare 'apples to apples', the forms showing quantitative metathesis do not agree on this point, and do not in fact suggest a specific point of transfer from Aeolic to Ionic speakers, even assuming a constant rate of language change. This, of course, does not prove that an Aeolic phase never existed, nor does it disprove the basic notion that a statistical increase in the frequency of the

proportion 36.2:3=22.1:x, x=1.84. Since the *Iliad* is set at zero on the common scale, '-αο ceases to be the sole a-stem masculine genitive singular ending' at −1.8 units. Rather than following this same procedure for the genitive plurals (i.e. (83.9−61.5):3=(100−83.9):x, or 22.4:3=16.1:x, x=2.15), Janko instead calculates that '[q]uantitative metathesis first appears in -άων: −1.7' by setting aside forms in -ῶν or -ᾶν and comparing the percentage of forms in -έων per the total of these forms and forms in -ᾱων, 10.5% *Il.*, 29.4% *Theog.*; and so, (29.4−10.5):3=10.5:x, or 18.1:3=10.5:x, x=1.7. The same method for the genitive singulars produces 0% innovation at −0.6; guaranteed -εω 9.5% *Il.*, 58.3% *Theog.* It must be noted that while the *Iliad* shows over 200 examples of the masculine ā-stem genitive singular, the *Theogony* shows only twelve total. This is narrow and insecure footing on which to base the date of the Aeolic phase of the epic tradition.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars in the* Iliad *and* Odyssey

	-ᾱο	%-ᾱο	-έω/ω +V	~+C	Grand Total
Iliad	173	**77.9**	28	21	222
Odyssey	80	**72.7**	25	5	110

innovative forms showing QM could reflect a diachronically later stage of the tradition. One of Janko's primary claims is that the *Odyssey* shows a higher frequency of innovations than the *Iliad* for all the features he tests, including those showing QM.

The distribution in Homer of endings with and without QM for the masculine ā-stem genitive singulars and the ā-stem genitive plurals is presented in tables 2.4 and 2.6.[20] For the ā-stem masculine singulars Janko separates out those examples of -εω which occur before a consonant and at line end, i.e. secure examples of QM, from those which occur before a vowel; these, as we have just seen, are in fact ambiguous as they may represent the archaic ending with elision. The manner of counting which Janko employs, however, effectively classes these ambiguous sequences with the secure innovative forms. That is, for the masculine ā-stem genitive singulars, Janko counts the number of forms showing the archaic/'Aeolic' -ᾱο ending and renders this as a percentage of the total number of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars. Consequently, the ambiguous sequences before a vowel are treated as 'non-archaic' even though there is strong reason to see them as mere graphic representations of an archaism. In fact, these forms are simply ambiguous and must be entirely eliminated from the calculus.

When we omit these forms from consideration we find that the trend for this feature reverses (table 2.5). Under this improved calculus the *Odyssey* shows a higher preference for the archaic morph than does the *Iliad*.[21]

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[20] The numbers are taken directly from Janko's count (1982: 49 Table 11, 51 Table 12), which I have independently confirmed. Janko's numbers differ slightly from those of Chantraine (which Edwards follows). Chantraine's numbers (1958: 70) are slightly lower: for -ᾱο 167 *Il.*, 77 *Od.*; for irresolvable -εω before a consonant 20 for *Il.*, 5 for *Od.* As neither Janko nor Chantraine give a full account of the raw data, I cannot account for the discrepancy.

[21] If we treat the -εω + V- sequences as unambiguously archaic, the *Odyssey*, not the *Iliad*, still shows a higher preference for the archaic ending: *Il.* 90.5% -ᾱο, *Od.* 95.5% -ᾱο. The proportion of archaism to innovation is not, of course, the only metric we could apply. Table 2.7 provides the number of occurrences per 1,000 lines of the ā-stem genitives. By this reckoning, again, the *Iliad* shows a greater frequency of (guaranteed) use of the innovative -εω, this time per line. It is interesting to note that the *Iliad* has occasion to employ a masc. ā-stem gen. sg. more often than the other poems

Table 2.5 *Distribution of masculine ā-stem genitive singulars in the* Iliad *and* Odyssey *(corrected)*

	-ᾱο	%-ᾱο	(-εω/ω +V)	∼+C	Grand Total
Iliad	173	**89.2**	(28)	21	194
Odyssey	80	**94.1**	(25)	5	85

Table 2.6 *Distribution of ā-stem genitive plurals in the* Iliad *and* Odyssey

	-ᾱων	%-ᾱων	-έων	-έω ν (syniz.)	-ῶν	Grand Total
Iliad	188	**83.9**	2	22	12	224
Odyssey	130	**80.2**	1	21	10	162

The genitive plural ā-stems show no such ambiguity, only a (perhaps merely graphic) distinction between forms in -εων (nearly always with synizesis) and forms in contracted -ῶν or -ᾶν.[22] For this category, the *Iliad* does in fact show the archaic morph in -άων somewhat more frequently (83.9%) than the *Odyssey* does (80.2%), as shown in table 2.6. Hesiod, naturally, shows far fewer examples (table 2.8). The percentages, in comparison with the Homeric figures, seem to indicate a marked increase in the frequency of forms with QM, though the numbers are small. Edwards dissects the numbers into traditional versus apparently innovative phraseology. Of the 24 occurrences of -άων in the *Theogony*, for example, 14 are found in Homer in the same metrical position, eight of those 'in phrases which occur in Homer and which almost certainly did not originate in Hesiod' (1971: 128), that is, traditional phrases. The six examples in *Works*

in question, but the *Theogony* is extremely different from the other poems in terms of its per line deployment of the gen. pl. of the ā-stems (though the total number of examples is only 39). Hesiod's usage in both of these categories is again demonstrably different from that of Homer.

[22] The non-Ionic contracted genitive in -ᾶν occurs once in the *Theogony* and once in *Works and Days*. Homer shows a total of three disyllabic examples of -έων, elsewhere with synizesis. The forms are πυλέων (*Il.* 7.1, 12.340) and θυρέων (*Od.* 21.191). The semantic connection between the only two forms showing disyllabic scansion of the genitive plural ā-stem ending is striking. Janko cites Wyatt's attempt (1969: 124 n. 2) 'to get rid of πυλέων etc. . . . by alleging that the analogy of s-stems influenced these forms, which is unparalleled and incredible' (Janko 1982: 250 n. 28). Given the extreme isolation of these forms within epic diction, however, and the likely phonological history of the forms in question, an analogical explanation is not unlikely.

Table 2.7 *Frequency of ā-stem genitives*

	Total masc. ā-stem gen. sg.	Total ā-stem gen. pl.	-αο	-εω	-άων	-έῳν/ῶν/ᾶν
Iliad	14.1	14.3	11.0	1.3	12.0	.opt 2.3
Odyssey	9.1	13.4	6.6	0.4	10.7	.opt 2.6
Theogony	11.9	38.7	5.0	6.9	23.8	.opt 14.9
Works and Days	10.9	13.3	6.9	4.8	7.3	.opt 6.1

and Days are not in obviously traditional phrases, according to Edwards, though 'traditional' here means essentially 'repeated (in Homer)'.[23]

The genitive singulars in Hesiod show an even more striking pattern: 'the -ᾱο genitives in the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* belong without exception to forms which occur with an -ᾱο genitive in Homer, often in the same or a similar context' (Edwards 1971: 124). This points clearly to traditional diction in the repertoire of the poet of *Theogony* and *Works and Days* which was shared with the poet of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Edwards goes on to demonstrate that traditional influence 'is much less apparent in Hesiod's use of genitives in -εω, -ω' (1971: 125).

The numbers for this morph in particular are especially small, so small that Janko declines to give percentages for works other than Homer and Hesiod (including the *Catalogue*, though not the *Aspis*). The total numbers decline precipitously outside of Homer, with just twelve total examples in the *Theogony* (41.7% -αο) and nine in the *Works and Days* (55.5% -αο). Janko's pronouncement that '[c]learly little can be learnt about the hymns from a morpheme as rare as this' (1982: 49) could be extended to include Hesiod (and perhaps even Homer) as well.

5 EVIDENCE FOR THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF QM IN EPIC LANGUAGE

The ā-stem genitives are not of course the only environment where we can look for the effects of QM in Homeric diction. To assess the appearance of a gap, we must search for *Ionic* archaisms alongside their Ionic innovative forms; we would thus have evidence of continuity of the tradition. Such

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[23] It would seem very likely, of course, that a great deal more of the work of Homer and Hesiod would fit the usual definition of 'traditional' if only we had access to the great mass of lost archaic hexameter poetry. The comparative evidence for a didactic poetic tradition in hexameters, in which tradition the *Works and Days* fits, is even more sorely lacking than that for narrative/epic or theogonic verse.

evidence does exist; for example, the subjunctive of athematic ἵστημι shows the following development and distribution of forms:

1st pl. aor. subj. *στάομεν > στεί-ο-μεν (*Il.* 15.297) > στέω-μεν (*Il.* 11.348 = 22.231)

The epics (the *Iliad* at least), show what appears to be the archaic Ionic phonology with fronting of *ᾱ to /ē/ extant in the form στείομεν[24] as well as the later form showing QM, στέωμεν scanned with synizesis. Additionally, the forms for 'ship' present the full development of the Ionic forms:

*νᾱϝ-ός > νηός (*Il.* 1.476) > νεός (*Il.* 15.423), Ἀκρόνεως (*Od.* 8.111)

The declension of 'ship' shows a very mixed picture, and one that should be treated as a separate phenomenon from the ā-stems. The forms are systematically disyllabic in the simplex, with apparent archaisms in νηός, νῆας and νηῶν, and innovative forms in νεός, νέας and νεῶν. Except in compounds,[25] we never find the 'Attic declension' form νεώς in the epics. Thus, with the exception of νέᾱ 1× at *Od.* 9.283, the forms show shortening rather than QM. We thus have some evidence for Ionian phonology in the appropriate sequences, but not for the ā-stem genitives.

6 FURTHER EVIDENCE AGAINST AN AEOLIC PHASE

The proponents of an Aeolic phase assert that the Ionian bards took over the Aeolic tradition and modernized where they could, retaining those forms for which they had no replacement. This theory implicitly makes certain predictions, however, which are clearly wrong. Every sequence of <ηο> or <ηω> or <ηα> which appears in epic is, if we accept an Aeolic phase, predicted to have a non-Ionic origin,[26] at least among polysyllables. Homer shows a good number, e.g. αἰζηός 'vigorous, stout' (<*aygyāwo-), ἔκηα 'I burned' (< *ekahwa < *ekawsa), etc.[27] The existence, indeed

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[24] The spelling <ει> for historical <η> is a non-issue. 'The verb-stems in *ē* normally have -ει- before o-vowels but -η- before e-vowels (δαμείω, δαμήῃς; βείω, στείομεν, τεθνειώς). This looks like a bardic convention' (Janko 1992: 36). Cf. Chantraine (1958: 8ff.).

[25] Forms like νηός and λᾱός are systematically disyllabic in the simplex in Homer, but show QM in compounds (cf. Chantraine 1958: 72): Ἀγέλεως (*Od.* 22.131, 247), Πηνέλεως (*Il.* 2.494, 14.496, 17.489), Πηνέλεων (*Il.* 13.92) Πηνέλεῳ (*Il.* 14.487); Ἀκρόνεως (*Od.* 8.111), Ἀναβησίνεως (*Od.* 8.113). Likewise, the long vowel of ἠώς, ἐῶ, ἠοῦς contrasts with the short vowel of the compound ἑωσφόρος (*Il.* 23.226). An analogous distribution is found in Hesiod, archaic lyric, Herodotus, and in inscriptions from the Ionic speech area. Hdt. ἠώς ∼ ἑωθινός; λῆός ∼ Μενέλεως, λεωφόρων; νηός ∼ νεωσοίκους. Méndez Dosuna (1993: 112–13).

[26] This excludes disyllabic forms such as ἠώς, νηός for reasons put forth by Méndez Dosuna, cf. n. 14.

[27] Meister (1921: 168) quotes numerous other forms for which we find spellings of <ηο>, <ηων>, <ειο> and <ειων> in words once containing PGk. /ā/. My thanks to Martin Peters (p.c.) for bringing these forms to my attention.

frequency, of such sequences presents real difficulties for an Aeolic phase, per se. Meister himself, in the face of these problems, asks, 'weshalb lieβ Homer nicht *ναός *μετάορος ᾶος stehen, da er doch νεώς μετέωρος ἕως sprach?'[28] The duals present similar problems.

The athematic dual forms συναντήτην (*Od.* 16.333), προσαυδήτην (*Il.* 11.136, 22.90), συλήτην (*Il.* 13.202), and φοιτήτην (*Il.* 12.266) are all formed from verbs in -άω. This inflection for contract verbs, the so-called 'Aeolic' inflection, was foreign to Ionic;[29] thus, if these forms were a part of an Aeolic tradition which was taken over into Ionic, the Ionian bards had no metrically equivalent forms to replace them. Even if we imagine that Ionic had developed and retained the dual ending in -την from PGk. *-τᾱν, there would be no metrical equivalent form with a long final stem vowel. The mechanical approach would yield the hybrid *συλάτην.

Mais les formes de duel en -την présentent pourtant l'η ionien attique à la place de l'ᾱ du grec commun. C'est de même un η, non un ᾱ qui est noté à la fin du radical des duels de verbes en -αω comme προσαυδήτην, ou dans les infinitifs comme γοήμεναι de γοάω. Ces formes athématiques de verbes contractes sont composites et ont été accommodées au vocalisme de l'ionien.[30]

This Ionicization stands in contrast to the process envisioned for a transfer from Aeolic to Ionic. Against this tendency to Ionicize the phonology taken over from Aeolic sources stands the case of the -αο and -άων genitives, which are anomalous whether Ionian singers acquired these formations punctually (under the 'stacked' model) or through ongoing exchange and diffusion. QM is metrically guaranteed by the time of the textualizations of the epics. The sound change is assured. Assuming an Aeolic epic transferred to Ionians after QM, we should expect a model *νεφελᾱγερέτᾱο to produce an Ionicized *νεφεληγερέτηο, to judge from the situation of the duals

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[28] Meister (1921: 168).

[29] The so-called 'Aeolic' inflection designates a characteristic athematic inflection in Aeolic for contract verbs in other dialects; e.g. Ionic and elsewhere καλέω, φιλέω, τιμάω etc.~ Lesb./Thess. κάλημι, φίλημι, τίμᾱμι, etc. Cf. Blümel (1982: 167–77), Hock (1971: 497ff., 693ff.). Despite being a part of Mycenaean *and* Aeolic, the 'Aeolic inflection' plays a very tiny role in the language of the epics. The Ionic contract verb treatment pervades the language of the epos; Wyatt notes that such lines as

> ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων (*Od.* 9.340)
> ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον (*Od.* 20.74)

have no metrical equivalents in Aeolic. Such examples can be multiplied. Proponents of an Aeolic phase must explain why the nominal system of epic shows a good deal of Aeolic influence, but the verbal system very little.

[30] Chantraine (1958: 306). The duals for contract verbs in -έω only rarely show -ήτην (ἀπειλήτην from ἀπειλέω), showing instead -ειτην (δορπείτην, κομείτην, etc.). The poets clearly employed a certain amount of modification and analogy to these forms which were not a part of colloquial speech.

above. Instead, we find the hybrid νεφεληγερέταο.[31] Nothing prevented
the poets from Ionicizing the ending, though, of course, this was not the
practice. Méndez Dosuna argues, rightly, that the process for these forms
in fact worked in the opposite direction:

The forms in -ᾱο, -άων, which appear systematically in place of -ηο, -ήων, more
in agreement with Ionic phonetics (cf. also λᾱός, Ποσειδάων, etc.), should not be
interpreted as the residue of an Aeolic phase or, on the other hand, Proto-Ionic.
Such Aeolism (or archaism) would be inorganic since -ηο, -ήων would not have
altered the metrical value of -ᾱο, -άων. *Pace* Ruijgh . . . it seems more likely that
the process operated in the opposite direction . . . : the forms in -ᾱο, -άων, taken
from a distinct poetic tradition, supplanted those in -ηο, -ήων because, at the time
when the homeric text was being established, these endings were no longer used
in colloquial Ionic. It is as if the singers preferred the artificial forms in -ᾱο and
-άων, which would seem authentic because they had a correlate in other (literary)
dialects, to authentic forms in -ηο, -ήων, which would seem artificial because they
were not in current use. (1993: 99–100 n. 7)

It is not clear when the Ionic forms in eta would have given way to forms
in alpha. We have seen that the ā-stem genitives do not provide us with
the full range of the stages of QM in Ionic, but the verb στείομεν ∼
στέω̣μεν does. Why should στείομεν show archaic Ionic phonology but
the genitives not? The singers showed a preference for living forms where
possible, even those living in neighbouring dialect regions which practised
hexameter singing.[32]

7 AN ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF QM

I suggest then that we have a special application of Parry's principle
that:

the language of oral poetry changes as a whole neither faster nor slower than the
spoken language, but in its parts it changes readily where no loss of formulas is
called for, belatedly when there must be such a loss, so that the traditional diction
has in it words and forms of everyday use side by side with others that belong to
earlier stages of the language. (in A. M. Parry 1971b: 333)

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[31] The form occurs 6x in the *Iliad*, always in the phrase Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο |. This is an obvious
declension of the common nominative formula νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς | found in the same line
position. The phonology of this nominative formula, i.e. in <α>, could even have influenced or
reinforced the practice of singing the genitive ending in -ᾱο.

[32] The dialect mixture does strongly imply sharing among singing traditions, not simply borrowing
from neighbouring colloquial forms. Phraseology would have been borrowed and adapted because
of its metrical utility, and that utility was only apparent in versified speech rather than simple
conversation.

When we allow that the language of oral poetry was a reflex of many local singers using and adapting material shared among them, and that there were clearly traditions in Aeolic and Ionic in contact, the preservation of obsolete *στήομεν, for which there was no living replacement, and the loss of *-ηο, *-ήων, for which there was a replacement, becomes comprehensible. The apparent gap in the development of the ā-stem genitives does not provide diagnostic evidence for an Aeolic phase preceding the Ionic tradition.

If Ionians received the tradition from Aeolians at a time when QM was an accomplished fact in Ionic, and from that point Ionic developed the tradition briefly before the texts of Homer were established, all of the examples of innovative QM entered the tradition recently, i.e. after the transfer, and all of the -αο and -άων forms are *de facto* older in the tradition. Ionian bards could create some archaic-looking forms by analogy, but given the brief window between the transfer and textualization, the effects of any such propagation would likely be minimal. Under such a scenario, examples of -αο versus -εω are archaic versus innovative both in absolute linguistic terms (i.e. the archaic variant is a pre-form of the innovative variant) and in terms of the tradition (i.e. Aeolic precedes Ionic).

If we accept the diffusion hypothesis, however, the picture becomes cloudier. Not only do the archaic forms have the potential to be recycled, as always, but also, rather than entering the Ionian tradition at its birth, Aeolic forms, including those in -αο and -άων, could enter the Ionic tradition over generations. Even after QM occurred in the Ionic vernacular, and innovative forms began to enter the tradition, the Ionian tradition could still borrow forms in -αο and -άων from Aeolic sources, and/or create them on the model of -αο and -άων forms already there. These late imports would have an archaic shape but could have entered the tradition *after* forms showing QM entered. Forms showing the effects of QM would still be linguistic innovations, but without the Aeolic phase we can no longer identify specific examples of the archaic variant as 'older' in terms of the tradition itself. Given this situation, the number of forms in -αο or -άων can tell us very little since we can never be sure whether a particular example entered the tradition before QM in Ionic or later by diffusion.

Despite all of this, we must face the fact that the genitives with QM are rare in the epics. The categories as a whole are not very large, especially the singulars, but even more important is the observation by Hoekstra that 'the evidence for the existence of formulae originally built upon quantitative metathesis is extremely slight' (1965: 38). Attempting to date the sound change provisionally, Hoekstra proposes the following:

[W]e may reasonably suppose that in the second half of the seventh century, to which the Nikandre-inscription probably belongs, the metathesis itself was still a recent development in Central Ionic. So if we assume that in the regions of Chios and Smyrna the change in quantity was completed no more than a century earlier, that is to say about half of that time (i.e. one or at most two generations of singers) before the composition of the *Iliad*, we shall not be very far from the truth. The state of affairs we find in Homer is in accordance with this approximate dating of the phenomenon.[33]

Hoekstra's attitude is that the epics were in a process of decay from formulaic originals to less formulaic modifications. The bardic technique was one of near constant reworking (which is in fact the foundation of Janko's analysis), but to call this process 'decomposition of the formulaic tradition' (1965: 41) casts the process as one of degeneration, rather than constant regeneration. He is right to note that disyllabic examples of -εω and -έων are vanishingly rare, not showing any evidence for formulaic involvement, and perhaps even the 'personal creations of Homer himself or of his immediate predecessors'.[34] Forms of -εω + V- which could be restored to *-ᾱ'(ο) + V- outnumber secure cases of monosyllabic -εω in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but are unknown in Hesiod and nearly all the hymns. This replaceable prevocalic -εω also shows some involvement in formulaic language, e.g. Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος, Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος, Ἀτρείδεω Ἀγαμέμνονος. Guaranteed examples of QM are somewhat more rare in the epics, and this scarcity has led to a supposition that the sound change itself was recent. The extra-Homeric evidence, however, does not support this supposition.

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[33] Hoekstra (1965: 31). The famous Nikandre inscription of Naxos (*CEG* 403.2), found at Delos and dated to the seventh or sixth century, shows distinct signs for etymological /ē/, spelled <ε> (e.g. ἀνέθεκεν), and the sound resulting from the raising of /ā/, spelled <η> (e.g. Νικάνδρη); the different spellings reflect a time when the sounds had yet to merge in Central Ionic. The inscription is composed in hexameters and shows two guaranteed examples of QM each scanned with synizesis and spelled with the sign for <η>: Δεινο|δίκηο and ἀλήν (= ἀλλήων). These forms are not, despite the spelling, the missing *-ηο and *-ηων of the continuous Ionic tradition, but rather equivalents to the epic forms in -εω, -έων. The masculine ἄλλων is frequent at line end in the epics, which also show ἀλλάων but never ἀλλέων. Méndez Dosuna (1993: 100) notes that metrical inscriptions systematically show synizesis, rather than disyllabic QM.

[34] Hoekstra (1965: 32). The forms are extremely limited: πυλέων, θυρέων, ἕως, τέως, and perhaps μιγέωσι. Méndez Dosuna (1993: s.v.), developing an idea of Schwyzer, seeks to demonstrate that so-called QM in Greek was more likely a process of desyllabification of the first element, creating a diphthong and triggering compensatory lengthening of the second element. The notion, then, that these disyllabic forms would have been the primary output of QM followed by contraction or synizesis seems wrong and not in accord with the practice of the epic or, indeed, the tragedians. The monosyllabic scansion seems the primary outcome of the sound change. That said, however, solutions for the distraction of the monosyllable to yield the ultimate disyllabic output are difficult to justify.

Table 2.8 *Distribution of ā-stem genitive plurals in Hesiod*

	-άων	%-άων	-έων	-έῳν (syniz.)	-ῶν	-ᾶν	Grand Total
Theogony	24	**61.5**	0	10	4	1	39
Works and Days	6	**54.5**	0	4	0	1	11
Catalogue	16	**66.7**	0	8	0	0	24

Table 2.9 *Order of changes in* *hedrāhōn *and* *hippēwōn

	*hedrāhōn	**hippēwōn*
i. loss of h (<*s, yod)	*hedrāon*	**hippēwōn*
ii. fronting of *a:* to *æ:*	**hedræ:ōn*	**hippēwōn*
iii. QM/shortening-1	*hedreōn*	**hippēwōn*
iv. Contraction	*hedrōn*	**hippēwōn*
v. loss of intervocallic -w-	*hedrōn*	*hippēōn*
vi. QM/shortening-2	*hedrōn*	*hippeōn*

The evidence from Attic and Ionic points strongly to an early date for QM over a hiatus left after the loss of s or yod. For example, in Attic we find the genitive plurals of the first declension regularly contracted in -ῶν, but Attic shows the products of QM over a -w- hiatus still uncontracted. That is, nouns of the ἱππεύς and βασιλεύς type never show contraction in the genitive plural, e.g.:

over an s-hiatus:

*hedrāhōm > ἑδράων (1x *h. Apollo*) > *hedrēon > ἑδρέῳν (1x *Od.*) > Att. ἑδρῶν

over a w-hiatus:

*hippēwōn > ἱππήων (2x *Il.*) > Att.-Ion. ἱππέων

We can compare the situation in Attic of the s-stems, which show contraction in the genitive, e.g. Σωκράτους, versus the -ευ- stem gen. sg. βασιλέως. Unlike the ā-stems, the -ευ- stems do not show the reduction of, for example, ἱππέων to ἱππῶν by contraction (or monophthongization). The different treatments of the two types of hiatus suggest at least two separate rounds of QM and a date for the first round of QM before the loss of intervocalic -w-, which was itself quite early in Attic and Ionic. The rule ordering is presented in table 2.9.

Thus, Ionic singers should have had access to the innovative forms with QM from an early date, but these forms, again, do not appear at all

frequently in epic language. I suggest that this situation can be plausibly accounted for within a continuous Ionic tradition and in fact demonstrates a broader pattern of poetic practice which renders the counting of archaisms versus innovations of little value for chronology.

Singers incorporate new linguistic features where they are useful for versification; this technique, as Hainsworth, Hoekstra and others have made plain, often involves modification of older inherited diction. When the modification makes use of innovative forms, the process is often observable.[35] For the genitives showing QM, we can compare such pairs as the clearly innovative genitive Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέτεω (Il. 13.624) with Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης (Il. 1.354, etc. 5x.); the pair seems to constitute a case of a declined formula, and the innovative nature is confirmed both by the ending with QM and by the analogical Ionic genitive Ζηνός for Διός. At least one example with QM has gained clear formulaic status: the line ending Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω | occurs 8x in the Iliad in non-repeated lines; as such, the phrase qualifies as formulaic language by virtually any definition.[36] The phrase is related to the line ending Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης (Il. 4.59), and modified by the insertion of another element.[37] Interestingly, this formula breaks the formulaic economy of Homer, who has also the equivalent nominative designation πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.[38]

8 ARCHAISM OF METRICAL SHAPE VERSUS PHONOLOGY

I propose that the paucity of the innovative variants in -εω(ν) correlates with the *early* date for QM in the following way. Ionian epic poetry had access to Ionic forms in *-ηο *-ηων (for forms inherited in -αο, -άων), and such forms could well have proliferated further. At the point that QM affected Ionic, these older sequences were not simply obsolete but phonotactically in opposition to the singer's colloquial speech. Certain figures were certainly part of the pan-Hellenic epic tradition, and as such we can assume that certain forms had analogues in both Ionic and Aeolic

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[35] This is, of course, Hoekstra's focus in his *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (1965). The corollary phenomenon is more difficult to discern. That is, actual archaic material provides the template for other material which may not in fact be old at all; but because the new material is modelled on old, it may be indistinguishable from genuinely old material.

[36] Cf. Chantraine (1958: 70): 'Cet exemple enseigne que la langue épique a admis des formules de type nettement ionien.'

[37] Cf. Hoekstra (1965: 35–6), Méndez Dosuna (1993: 103).

[38] Shipp and Hoekstra both agree that this phrase is 'clearly older', though no innovative variants ever arise for any of these words in epic, or indeed in later Greek. The phrase may well be old, and probably is, but there is nothing diagnostically archaic about it. Cf. Shipp (1972: 172).

singing, e.g. Ἀτρεΐδαο, Τυδεΐδαο, Ἀΐδαο, Πριαμίδαο, etc. At an early point in the Ionic tradition, foreign phonology was used to repair a metrical loss for a specific easily analyzable category. The endings -αο and -άων became recognizable tokens of epic diction itself and were thus easily spread.

The hymn to Demeter similarly illustrates the possibility of over-representation of the ā-stem genitives in alpha in a way which does not follow Janko's scheme at all. *H. Dem.* shows 13 examples of -άων and just 3 in -έων/ῶν, or 81.2% – a higher frequency than the *Odyssey*, but few would consider pushing the date of the hymn up to that of Homer on that basis. The poet of the hymn clearly understands the forms in alpha to be a part of the traditional singing practice. The most reasonable time for this to have established itself is the period when QM was rendering the genitives in eta obsolete.

9 CONCLUSIONS

The evidence for an Aeolic branch of epic poetry is strong. The evidence that this Aeolic branch preceded Ionian epic is not. Even if one were per-suaded that the Aeolic tradition predominated for some time while the Ionian tradition remained less productive, the evidence for a punctual transfer of this tradition is non-existent. Janko's method of determining relative chronology among the songs of the epos depends crucially upon Aeolic forms being *de facto* archaisms, but we have seen that this is not sound practice. Any transfer would have taken place over some time. Also, this transfer of poetic material would have been ongoing after contact between Aeolic and Ionic traditions.[39] A period of diffusion ensued in Asia Minor after contact, whereby a number of living Aeolic forms replaced obsolete forms in the Ionian tradition. While we have not touched on all of the forms, or often absence of forms, that Aeolic phase proponents invoke to bolster their case,[40] we have seen the process by which certain morphological categories come to have an Aeolic appearance while other categories retain Ionic phonology. Szemerényi's formulation of the princi-ple proclaimed that 'whenever the normal Ionic development would have led to forms non-existent in Ionic, the speech-form of neighbouring Aeolic

[39] The many epic features in Lesbian lyric poetry attests to the reciprocal nature of the exchange.
[40] Most prominent are the Aeolic personal pronouns and the lack of assibilated *ποσί for ποτί. Regarding the latter, Wyatt points out that we have no direct evidence that the form *ποσί ever gained any foothold in Ionic, though there is convincing evidence that the guaranteed monosyllabic πρός is a recent innovation (Janko 1979). We find the disyllabic form ἔτι frequently in the epics; ποτί may have enjoyed the same fate of frequent restoration within epic language (as Ionic generalized πρός).

was adopted. This is to assume a certain amount of influence from Aeolic, but not a full-scale Aeolic stage in the development of epic poetry' (1959: 193). This formulation accounts well for the facts surrounding the ā-stem genitives, as we have seen.

It is no surprise that Meister chose to organize his *Die homerische Kunstsprache* (1921) by morphological category. Factors beyond the regular changes in the vernacular affect epic diction, and these factors tend to have a morphological and metrical/formulaic component which can supersede the colloquial habits of the singer. This fact complicates any chronological claims based on the proportions of archaic and innovative features. The case for a punctual transfer of an Aeolic phase of epic to Ionian bards, a necessary condition for Janko's definition of archaism for the ā-stem genitives, is not convincing. Diffusion of epic material, even if only in the period after 'first contact' between Aeolian and Ionian bards, provides the best framework for understanding the development of epic language, even if it does undermine some proposed chronological benchmarks.

The other view
Focus on linguistic innovations in the Homeric epics

Rudolf Wachter

I

This study is about the question how the epic language of an oral poet who was active for some time and has left us more than one work should be expected to have shifted. There are hardly any new detailed results contained in it; its main goal is rather, as the title suggests, a change of perspective.

Two suppositions have to be made in order for this question to make sense at all: the identity of the poet of the *Iliad* and that of the *Odyssey* (I will call him Homer) and an Aeolic phase preceding the Ionic one as the explanation of the linguistic mixture we are confronted with in the text we have of the two epics.

First, it is not difficult to imagine that a genius who was able to compose an *Iliad* was equally able to compose an *Odyssey*, albeit as different from the *Iliad* in its literary character as it is. Richard Janko's recent figures (this vol.: 29) have shown how similar the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are from a linguistic point of view, more similar to each other than each of them, even the *Odyssey*, to any other archaic epic text preserved. In particular, the fact that the sloping lines for the different features in his diagram are almost always parallel between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, not crossing each other, speaks for one poet. For the constellation of frequencies may be expected to be rather different between different individuals, whereas between different points in the life of one individual the constellation (and the moves in between) can be expected to be fairly synchronous.[1] But the two poems still differ. And if there is something like a consensus among scholars that the *Odyssey* on the whole contains more modern linguistic features than the *Iliad*, we have to ask what exactly that means. The differences are surely not

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[1] The synchrony of the data and changes is also more likely to reflect a chronological linguistic difference in the poet than simply a difference of needs of genres (*kleos* poetry as opposed to *nostos* poetry).

too great for the assumption that they are by one poet who, for example, composed and put down one long poem about the young hero and warrior Achilles in his forties and another one about the mature, intelligent and far-travelled Odysseus in his sixties. For an oral poet would not have been lazy in the meantime. We may imagine him to have – just like his new hero – travelled round the Greek world (even maybe to Ithaca), to have sung in very many places and for very different audiences. And we may imagine him picking up many new ideas and stories, even some shorter or longer bits of oral epic text, and further developing his art of composing long epic poems by giving them a more complex structure.

As for the second supposition, it seems very difficult to understand how Homer, who must have been very well-acquainted with, most probably a native speaker of, Ionic dialect, could have used Aeolic forms, in formulae and normal text and even where they were metrically unnecessary, unless he had been living and studying in a strongly Aeolic linguistic context for some years, be that a group of singers or a geographical dialect region or – most likely – both.[2] The unnecessary Aeolisms are well known, if underestimated in their significance for our problem. The main ones[3] are the conjunction αἰ instead of εἰ, the particle μάν instead of μήν, the infinitive ἔμμεν instead of εἶναι, and pronouns in the following passages: *Il.* 10.70 ὧδέ που ἄμμι |, 13.379 εἴ κε σὺν ἄμμιν | (instead of ἡμῖν; also *Od.* 2.334, 22.262); *Il.* 14.481 | ἡμῖν . . . καὶ ὔμμες |, 24.242 καὶ ὔμμες | (instead of ὑμεῖς); 10.380 | τῶν κ᾽ ὔμμιν χαρίσαιτο, *Od.* 20.367 κακὸν ὔμμιν | (instead of ὑμῖν).[4] In view of these cases and some formulaic Aeolisms it seems difficult to get around the assumption of an Aeolic phase preceding the composition of the poems of Homer the Ionian. More generally, the particular dialect mixture of the Homeric language only seems plausible if Homer was, as the tradition has it, a North Ionian (he is said to be from Smyrna and later to have lived on Chios) since such a mixture was best, if not only, acceptable to a population at a dialect boundary.[5]

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[2] See for this question, and for the reason for the particular dialect mixture in the Homeric language, Wachter (2007).

[3] Most Homeric examples in this article are already contained in my 'Grammatik der homerischen Sprache', Wachter (2000).

[4] It seems particularly interesting in view of Georg Danek's new view on the Doloneia (this vol.: 116ff.) that two of these rare cases are preserved precisely in this song. Of course, the cases preserved are likely to be only part of the total originally contained in the text and to have been missed by grammarians or copyists who normalized the text where an Aeolic form was not metrically important. So if the poet of the Doloneia was, as is Danek's impression now, more of a *poeta doctus* who imitated 'Homer' than an oral poet of the traditional type, he may have fancied exaggerating the Aeolic pronouns of his model and the two Doloneia examples may reflect the original higher frequency of unnecessary Aeolisms.

[5] See Wachter (2007) for the full argument on these questions.

2

But if we have a Homer who learned his art in Aeolis and has left us two basically Ionic works, of which one is slightly more modern linguistically than the other, there is the question, what 'modern' means in such a situation; or, to turn the argument round, how would we expect the epic language of a singer with such a biography to change in the course of his life?

And there is another important question. Since we do find modernisms in great number in Homer's text, what was the attitude of the poet and his audience towards these modernisms, and is our attitude the same? I think it is not, and this is what this study is about.

A typical example which underlines this is the very exceptional mono-syllabic accusative νέα 'the ship' instead of normal νῆα in *Od.* 9.283 | νέα μέν μοι κατέαξε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων. The form νέα is of course exactly the Ionic form we know from Herodotus and others. Nevertheless scholars have tried to get rid of it by all sorts of conjectures,[6] but without success. We will see later that its monosyllabic use was perfectly possible, if not nor-mal in the Ionic dialect at Homer's time and I cannot believe that anybody among his audience would have been in the least shocked hearing it; in fact, they would not even notice it. We, however, as non-native speakers, judge the Homeric language on strictly quantitative grounds and, as historians, find him fascinating because of the traditional, often archaic features in his poems, both of form and content. But as far as language is concerned, we are normally happy saying, when looking at variants, that form A is older than form B, or, that form A is Aeolic, form B Ionic, assuming that the Aeolic variant belongs to an earlier layer of the tradition. We take for nor-mal what is most frequent. And if a form is rare but particularly developed we tend to suspect it of being a later intrusion or adaptation. After doing that we call the Homeric language an artificial, mixed, literary dialect. This sort of description creates, I think, a picture too diffuse for a good starting point for a better understanding of the Homeric language and its mixture in particular.

So we may ask the following question: What kind of Greek did Homer speak when he stopped singing epic verse? If we can establish a realistic picture of Homer's spoken language we may gain a better understanding of the other forms he uses and the reasons for which he uses them. For example, if we can plausibly argue that monosyllabic νέα was the normal form of the accusative of νηῦς in the Ionic dialect already at Homer's time, we will no longer be embarrassed by the single occurrence of this form in

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[6] Even Chantraine (1958: 36 §16).

the *Odyssey* and will, at the same time, be in a better state to judge the normal epic form νῆα.

<div align="center">3</div>

The reasons for which the epic poet used non-everyday forms are well known:

- the linguistic restrictions imposed by the metre (below, 4)
- the existence of non-everyday forms in traditional formulae or other kinds of prosodic structures he had learned (below, 5)
- the need or desire to gain flexibility by means of metrically different synonyms (below, 6)

But it is by no means easy always to find out what the everyday form was. Let us look at some examples.

<div align="center">4</div>

As for the metre, its importance cannot be overrated. Chantraine (1958: 111) tells us clearly that in studying Homeric language we must never forget that the whole morphology is governed by the metre,[7] and subsequently gives a series of instructive examples for the use of synonyms with mutually exclusive forms.

(a) There is, for instance, πευθόμεθα 'we learn' in Homer because *πυνθανόμεθα was metrically impossible, but, on the other hand, only πυνθανόμην, since *πευθόμην was equally impossible to use. This is straightforward. The problem however starts when we want to attribute the two forms to different linguistic layers. The unanimous opinion, also found in Liddell and Scott, is that πεύθομαι is the older, πυνθάνομαι the younger, form, but this is not an appropriate characterization. It is true that thematic πεύθομαι corresponds to skt. *bódhāmi* 'I notice', but the athematic present formation with *n*-infix, πυνθ-, is just as well-attested in the Indo-European languages, for instance in Celtic, or in Lithuanian *bundù* 'I wake up',[8] so we have no right to say that it is the younger form. What is true is the fact that πυνθάνομαι is the normal form in post-Homeric Ionic and Attic, whereas πεύθομαι is almost exclusively epic and poetic, so we may be tempted to claim that πυνθάνομαι, given its rarity,[9] may be due to later reworking of the text, whereas πεύθομαι represents the normal use at

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[7] 'Toute la morphologie est commandée par des préoccupations métriques et nous aurons à chaque instant à faire appel à cette considération.'

[8] See Rix et al. (2001: 82–3).   [9] Only | πυνθάνομαι (*Od.* 2.315), | πυνθανόμην (13.256).

Homer's time. Yet, since neither form can be said to be younger than the other, πεύθομαι cannot just be a predecessor of πυνθάνομαι in Ionic but must originate from a different language variety, which, in the case of Homer, we call Aeolic. But why then is πυνθάνομαι so rare in Homer? And what was this Aeolic, from which πεύθομαι is supposed to be taken? Are we to claim that Aeolic had lost the present formation in -άνομαι and preferred the simple thematic formation with full grade in the root, of the type of λείπω? This is implausible. For it is precisely in Sappho 94.2, 5 L–P that we find the only occurrence in early literature of the rare present λιμπάνω, reminiscent of the *n*-infix present preserved in Latin *linquō* and Sanskrit *riṇájmi*,[10] whereas all other Greek dialects here have the simple formation, λείπω. So we can be quite certain that the Aeolians used πυνθάνομαι just as all other Greeks did. The reason why this present formation is so rare in epic[11] is therefore much more likely to lie in its prosodic structure, which makes many forms impossible to use: the 2nd and 3rd person plural of the indicative *(ἐ)πυνθάνεσθε, *πυνθάνονται, *(ἐ)πυνθάνοντο, the whole subjunctive and optative, the participle, the infinitive, etc. And there are similar restrictions in the active, so the other verbs in -άνω (Risch 1974: 272) are extremely rare too. There is only one form that fits the metre perfectly, the 3rd sg. imperfect active. But even that could not prevent the present formations in -άνω from being shunned by the poet, and indeed only one such 3rd sg. imperfect form, ἥνδανε (from ἀνδάνω), which had found its way into several formulae, is well attested. On the other hand, πεύθομαι was of a desired prosodic structure, like λείπομαι, φαίνομαι etc., and therefore much easier for the poet to handle. So, the so-called 'Aeolic' present πεύθομαι has hardly anything specifically Aeolic to it, but was just a traditional element of the epic language.[12] No doubt Homer the Ionian adopted it with everything else when he learned the art of epic singing. No doubt either that it was easily understandable to the well-trained audience of epic poems even in Ionia, who in fact will have considered it slightly whimsical rather than archaic or poetic. On the other hand it seems clear that Homer in his daily speech would use πυνθάνομαι, the form which was to be the normal one in all later Greek, and its sporadic use in his poems would go completely unnoticed.

[10] See Rix et al. (2001: 406–7).
[11] Once precisely this 1st person sg. occurs, and once the same form from πεύθομαι, a 'flexibility' case.
[12] Also used in formulae, e.g. line-initial πεύθετο γὰρ 'for (s)he learned', attested once each in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and Hesiod's *Theogony*.

(b) A similar and well-known case is the genitive ἥματος 'of the day' whose
    parallel form from ἡμέρη, viz. *ἡμέρης, did not fit the hexameter. In
    fact, ἡμέρη occurs only six times in Homer – twice in the *Iliad*, four
    times in the *Odyssey*, three times in the nominative singular, three times
    in the nominative plural – whereas ἦμαρ is used dozens of times in
    most case forms.[13] Now, it is true that from the point of view of its
    formation, ἦμαρ is more archaic than ἡμέρη, but there is no doubt
    that ἡμέρη, which is attested in the whole of post-Homeric Greek,
    particularly in Ionic–Attic, was the current form at Homer's time.
    Hesiod already formed a compound from it, ἡμερόκοιτος 'sleeping by
    day', talking of thieves (*Op.* 605), where he could have easily coined
    *ἡματόκοιτος, had ἡμέρη still been a rare word at his time. Surely this
    was not the case. Its only handicap was that it was against the metre;
    apart from the two nominatives only the dative singular was usable.

These examples teach us three things. First, if one of two variants is
rare in Homer but is going to be the usual Greek form in post-Homeric
times, its rarity in Homer need not be due to its having been of recent
formation or even unusual at the time of the poet. It could as well have
been quite normal. Secondly, the frequent variant need not be frequent
because of a strong poetic tradition which favoured and preserved archaic
forms but simply because the usual form was ill-suited to the metre.[14] And,
thirdly, whole lexemes or even morphological categories can be more or
less banned from epic even if single forms of their paradigms would be
usable and rarely *are* used.[15]

5

(a) Our first example to illustrate the preservation of a prosodic structure
    as the reason for using non-everyday forms is the 'digamma' (i.e. the
    phoneme /w/). Clearly Homer did not pronounce a /w/ in the line
    ends εἴ τις (ϝ)ἴδοιτο | (*Il.* 3.453) or Ποσειδάωνος (ϝ)ἄνακτος | (20.67),
    since this would have lengthened the short syllable. On the other hand,
    line ends like εἴ που Νέστορος υἱὸν ἔτι ζώοντα (ϝ)ἴδοιτο | (17.681) or
    Ποσειδάωνα (ϝ)ἄνακτα | (15.8) and Ποσειδάωνι (ϝ)ἄνακτι | (15.57,
    158) must be read with unaltered hiatus, i.e. a 'ghost digamma', because

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[13] Of course not *ἡμάτεσσι or *ἡμάτων (nor any gen. pl. form of ἡμέρη).
[14] A form like πεύθομαι need not even be inherited, despite the Sanskrit parallel (and German *bieten*)
    and the existence of the active verb in Doric (Crete, see LSJ with Suppl.), but could be a 'recent'
    analogical formation some time back in the epic tradition.
[15] This corresponds to the widespread principle of linguistic economy.

originally there had been a /w/ at the beginning of the words ἰδεῖν and ἄναξ. There is some debate whether or not we should assume that in these latter cases Homer actually spoke a /w/. I do not think this is likely. At least he could pronounce these lines without the digamma just as well as we can. On the other hand – and this is the crucial point – we can be certain that he knew this sound existed in other dialects and that he even knew exactly where those fellow-Greeks pronounced it and where they did not. For he neglects it many times, but there is, as far as we can see, not a single case in which he wrongly inserts such a digamma-based hiatus.[16] On the other hand, when using digamma words and forms, he allows for the hiatus not only in formulae, but also in ad hoc lines. In fact, in the course of his career he even coined entire formulaic lines without digamma, like οἴκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ (ϝ)ἰδέσθαι (*Od.* 3.233, 5.220, 8.466).[17]

This etymological accuracy of his prosodic use of original /w/, which we may call 'prosodic habit', can be used as an argument that Homer had had personal contact with Aeolic singers who pronounced the sound, and that he even knew their dialect. For through an intermediate stage of Ionic teachers this accuracy would very probably have suffered more damage; and on the other hand it is unlikely that in the Ionic dialect itself the generation before Homer still fully pronounced the sound and Homer's generation lost it so rapidly that Homer could neglect it as frequently as he did. Sound changes of this sort usually take at least 100 years. So we may claim that Homer is personally responsible for the modern, Ionic features in his poetic language, indeed for the entire mixture of his particular 'Homeric language'.[18]

(b) A very similar example of prosodic habit is the so-called *diektasis* (Chantraine 1958: 75–83 §31–34). Verbs like ἠγορόωντο | (*Il.* 4.1), εἰσορόωντες | (4.4), ἠγοράασθε | (8.230), εἰσοράασθαι (14.345) are of a historically implausible structure. Etymologically, we expect *ἠγοράοντο, *εἰσοράοντες, *ἠγοράεσθε, *εἰσοράεσθαι, and finally they were contracted to ἠγορῶντο, εἰσορῶντες, ἠγορᾶσθε, εἰσορᾶσθαι. But, in fact, the Homeric forms *are* the contracted forms, save only that they were against the metre and were therefore adapted to their original prosodic structure. This is proof, of course, that Homer in his spoken language pronounced the contracted forms. That contraction had largely taken place in Ionic by Homer's time is confirmed

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[16] The formula πότνια Ἥρη, mentioned by Chantraine (1958: 153), does not prove anything; it is an old formula with /h-/.

[17] See Chantraine (1958: 141).   [18] See Wachter (2007).

by numerous cases of many different sorts. Here are a few examples (more will follow below): | ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται (*Il.* 12.46), and – at the end of a line – ἡμεῖς | (4.49),[19] ἐλθεῖν | (2.413). Even *crasis* is well attested (Chantraine 1958: 84–5 §35), e.g. in | μίστυλλόν τ' ἄρα τἄλλα (1.465), | τοὔνεκα (3.405), probably also | ἤ ῥά τί οἱ χἠμεῖς προσαμύνομεν (2.238).

So, both the digamma and contraction show how prosodic habit was a strong factor conserving older linguistic features. But we must not think that the more modern equivalents, digamma unobserved or contraction accomplished (or even *diektasis*), would in any way have been problematic to use or unacceptable to Homer's audience. Otherwise they would not be so frequent.

6

This brings us to the third reason for using non-everyday forms, viz. the need or desire of the oral poet for linguistic flexibility. In fact, already the examples we have been looking at partly show this tendency.

(a) First the digamma. In most of the above cases without formulae it would not have been necessary to account for the hiatus left by the lost /w/ sound, since the forms would have been perfectly usable without it. But, of course, a form like ἴδοιτο was much more useful if it could be treated both as beginning with a vowel and beginning with a consonant. This was as good as a pair of synonyms of equal length but different beginning (consonant vs. vowel) according to Edzard Visser's principle for his variables (e.g. κατέκτανε vs. ἐνήρατο) (1987: passim, e.g. 331–2) or Milman Parry's principle for (epithets in) formulae (e.g. *Il.* 2.408 βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος | vs. 3.21 ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος |).

(b) Next, contraction could be used to enhance flexibility, e.g. | καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα (*Il.* 18.475), but | ἤ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα | (*Od.* 11.327; here, for once, it is the *Odyssey* that shows the 'older' form!), or | τέσσαρες ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν (*Il.* 11.699), but | σευάμενος ὥς θ' ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος σὺν ὄχεσφιν (22.22). For the purpose of the present question we have to stress that in most vowel combinations known to have been contracted e.g. in Attic, the change must have been accomplished in the Ionic dialect already by Homer's time. This, too, is overlooked or at least underestimated in most Homeric grammars.[20] It is just that Homer, for several reasons,

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[19] Therefore we have no right to restore *ἡμέες e.g. in Διὶ δ' ἡμεῖς οἴσομεν ἄλλον | (3.104).
[20] Including my own, Wachter (2000).

chose to use the uncontracted variant more often, partly because the contracted one would not fit the metre, partly for lack of 'prosodic habit' because contracted forms had not yet been provided for and practised in the traditional oral technique. But if a contracted form fitted his purpose, why should he not have used it? And he did use it and will have been glad to have it.

(c) A very similar phenomenon is synizesis. Here, too, the phonological change can be clearly checked, since it has led to the loss of a syllable. It is mostly the combination of a short [e] + a short [a] or [o] that is reduced in this way. We have clear examples that can only be read monosyllabically, e.g., with [e + a], ἔσσατο τεύχεα | (*Il.* 7.207), or Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα | (3.27; a frequent formula, though normally in the nom.: θεοειδής |), both at line end, | ἡμέας τοὺς ἄλλους (8.211), | τιμήσῃς, ὀλέσῃς δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν (1.559; if not πολὺς as preferred by West[21]); or, with [e + o], | κάππεσ᾽ ἀπ᾽ εὐεργέος δίφρου (*Il.* 16.743), ἀελπτέοντες σόον εἶναι | (7.310), | ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν (1.18). In the case of [o], the manuscripts often give <ευ> instead of <εο>, e.g. | ἐξ Ἐρέβευς (*Il.* 8.368), | τοίου μιν θάρσευς (17.573), χθόνα ποσσὶ δατεῦντο | (23.121); we do not know exactly how old this spelling is, but the first examples are found in inscriptions of the early sixth century BC, so it may be a very old reading aid precisely for these monosyllabic cases.[22]

Here, too, we find the disyllabic versions, of course, and for the same reasons as before, namely out of prosodic habit, e.g., with [a], in ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα | (*Il.* 1.201; a formula, also containing a case of contracted, i.e. monosyllabic, -ᾱ |, from *-αε), | δίπλακα μαρμαρέην, πολέας δ᾽ ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους (3.126), or, with [o], | ἀχνύμενος, μένεος δὲ . . . (*Il.* 1.103), | νῦν δ᾽ ἐμέο πρότερος (10.124); or because the monosyllabic version would not fit the metre, as in | ἄνδρας δυσμενέας (10.40) or μενεαίνομεν ἀφρονέοντες | (15.104).

Again we can see clearly how both versions served the poet perfectly. So why should he not have used them both? And again he did, nobody

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[21] It is true that this form is (weakly) attested in 1.559 and 2.4 (not in 13.734 and 15.66, 20.313, 21.59, 131, *Od.* 3.362, 4.170). But we may be sceptical of its being an original Homeric form rather than a later import into some of the Homeric traditions, even e.g. by a grammarian who looked for a means to distinguish the cases with monosyllabic ending (synizesis) from the ones with disyllabic ending. For it seems difficult to see where at Homer's time this third form – besides πολλούς, the normal Ionic form (8× *Il.*, 12× *Od.*), and πολέας without synizesis, i.e. most probably the Aeolic form (trisyllabic πόλεας Alcaeus 283.12 L–P = 134.12 *LGS*; this is yet another unnecessary Aeolism in Homer, by the way, occurring *Il.* 3.126, 4.230, 298, 308, 385, 5.804, 16.827, 24.204, 479, 520, *Od.* 24.427) – should have come from.

[22] First attested on a Corinthian vase with a scene from the *Iliad* (16.330ff.), in which Kleoboulos, clearly written [K]λεύβουλος, is being killed by Ajax; see Wachter (2001: 90–1 COR 82).

minded, and we can conclude that synizesis was the normal way to pronounce these forms in everyday Ionic at his time.

(d) A long vowel preceding a vowel in word-interior position was shortened in Ionic. The principle is often called *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur* or 'prevocalic vowel shortening'. A frequent combination affected by this change was a long [ē] before an [o] or [a], e.g. in the genitive plural of a-stems, which had been *-āsōm* originally (see Latin *-ārum*), then became *-āhōn* in Early Greek, *-ēōn* in Early Ionic, whence -έων in Homer and later Ionic and -ῶν in Attic. The Homeric form of the Ionic genitive plural is mostly monosyllabic, that is, pronounced with synizesis, e.g. Θέτις δ' οὐ λήθετ' ἐφετμέων | (*Il.* 1.495), rarely even contracted, e.g. | πάντοθεν ἐκ κλισιῶν (23.112). The disyllabic version is very rare, but not unattested, e.g. | ὣς εἰπὼν πυλέων ἐξέσσυτο (7.1). Something similar happened to the genitive singular of the masculine a-stems, which had -āo in Mycenaean and in Ionic–Attic eventually became -εω by a similar shortening, and at the same time a lengthening of the second component. Therefore the phenomenon is here known as *metathesis quantitatum* or 'quantitative metathesis'. See, e.g. the formula Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω | (*Il.* 2.205),[23] to be read with a monosyllabic ending, that is with synizesis.

Now, the Ionic vowel shortenings in these endings were so frequent and destroyed so many formulae that a poet had to find some way out. Again he decided to retain the Aeolic prosodic variants as a means of flexibility, only that in this case he used them almost exclusively. This is why we also have gen. pl. -άων (mostly at line end, e.g. 1.152 αἰχμητάων |) and sg. -āo (*ditto*, 1.203 Ἀτρεΐδαο |), both even with non-Ionic vowel quality, a long [ā], because this was an existing form (in Aeolic), whereas the intermediate stage that had led to Ionic -εω-, viz. *-ηω-/*-ηο-, was not.

The same radical sound change had happened to an important noun, λᾱός, and the names of two important gods, Hermes and Poseidon. As for λᾱός, forms in -εω- (from *-āo-) are lacking almost completely, exceptions being three proper names, Πηνέλεως καὶ Λήϊτος ἦρχον | (*Il.* 2.494; *Il.* 8x, also in the other cases), Ἀγέλεως (*Od.* 22.131, 247; to be pronounced with synizesis), and, with metrical lengthening, Λειώκριτον (*Il.* 17.344; which may be called an unnecessary Ionicism). They show that their *[ē] from earlier *[ā] (the latter preserved in Aeolic) was short in Ionic everyday speech in Homer's time.[24] As for the two gods, their names are attested

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[23] This is a recent, Ionic formula.
[24] On the other hand, the compensatory lengthening of the following o-vowel cannot be proven in any of the Homeric passages (so Πηνέλεος?); nor can it be excluded.

in Mycenaean as /Hermāhās/ and /Poseidāōn/ and had become Ἑρμέης and Ποσειδέων in contemporary Ionic, impossible to use in the hexameter unless pronounced in the final, radically shortened form with synizesis. All good old epic formulae for these gods had become impossible to use. So the Ionic poet decided to use the two names in a form closer to the Aeolic one: Ποσειδάων and Ἑρμείᾱς (gen. -ᾱο etc.).[25] Nevertheless Hermes quite often occurs in his recent prosodic form too, e.g. | Ἑρμέᾳ ἐξήγγειλεν (*Il.* 5.390), or ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς | (20.72). Poseidon, somewhat surprisingly, does not occur in his recent form in Homer, only in Hesiod, θύρας δ᾽ ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδέων | (*Theog.* 732; an undisputed passage). But there is no reason, even in the case of Poseidon, to doubt that the monosyllabic pronunciation with a shortened first vowel was fully achieved in Ionic by Homer's time and that the poet used the longer forms mainly out of prosodic habit.

The principle of linguistic flexibility is of course a general one in Homer and can be observed also in other domains of the language. Here are a few examples: κε/κεν vs. ἄν, παραί vs. παρά, ὑπαί vs. ὑπό, προτί/ποτί vs. πρός, ἀμφί(ς), ἄχρι(ς)/μέχρι(ς), χείρεσσι vs. χερσίν/χείρεσι, πολέμοιο vs. πολέμου, Ἄϊδι vs. Ἀϊδωνῆϊ, Ζῆν vs. Δία, υἷα/υἱέα vs. υἱόν, γουνός vs. γούνατος, ἀπεβήσετο vs. ἀπέβη, παύσομεν vs. παύσωμεν, ἔθηκε vs. θῆκε, ἔβαν vs. ἔβησαν, τέταρτος and καρτερός vs. τέτρατος and κρατερός, ἀπήμβροτε vs. ἀφάμαρτεν, the pairs τόσ(σ)ος, ἔσ(σ)εσθαι, τελέσ(σ)αι, Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς, Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, ὅπ(π)ως, ἔλ(λ)αβε, π(τ)όλεμος, σύν vs. ξύν, ἄν, κάτ, πάρ vs. ἀνά, κατά, παρά, and so on.

7

To sum up, the starting point for a linguistic analysis of the Homeric language should be as clear-cut and comprehensive a picture as possible of the contemporary Ionic at Homer's time, which must – and can – be gained from Homer himself. We have to be aware that some of the respective modern forms are rather rare or otherwise difficult to detect in the text Homer has left. We have also seen the reasons for this strange situation: first, metrical restrictions, secondly, prosodic habit, and, thirdly, reluctance to give up the traditional forms or to renounce the modern ones completely because the choice increased linguistic flexibility. But we should not think that, as far as the poet or his public were concerned, anything

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[25] The long [a] of Ἑρμείᾱς may be due to that of Ποσειδάων, the gen. in -ᾱο, and a general desire to give the name, since it had to be altered, a traditional aura; the -ει- is probably due to metrical lengthening.

was wrong with using a modern form. If that had been the case, we would not have so many of them.

In terms of relative chronology we may state the following: If a poet, in the course of his career, altered his poetic language, which I am convinced could easily and recognizably happen, in particular with light, unconscious linguistic features,[26] this must normally lead him away from any peculiarities that did not conform to his or his audience's vernacular dialect towards that dialect. In the case of Homer, this means away from Aeolisms and disyllabic pronunciation towards Ionic and monosyllabic pronunciation.[27]

And if we believe that modernisms were fully acceptable to the poet and his audience, there is a second thing we may learn, namely that we should be rather cautious in restoring pre-forms that are weakly attested or unattested in the manuscripts and papyri we have. This does not mean, of course, that restoration of pre-Homeric forms e.g. in formulae should be considered a futile thing to do. But we should take that for what it is, and not rush to claim that Homer himself put those archaisms in his text. Our motto should be: *in dubio pro textu.*

8

And yet, there are cases where we may claim that Homer wrote differently from what we have in the text now. We have to ask therefore, how the modern Ionic we are trying to reconstruct was transcribed at his time. We have two relevant testimonies, both extremely important for many reasons which cannot all be mentioned here. One was found far away from where Homer lived but is contemporary or even slightly earlier, the other closer geographically but slightly later (depending on how we date the poet). The first is Nestor's cup, the famous geometric *skyphos* from Ischia inscribed around 715 BC:

> Νέστορος : ἔ[εν τ]ι̣ : εὔποτον : ποτέριον·
> hὸς δ᾽ ἂν τōδε πίε̄σι : ποτε̄ρί[ο] : αὐτίκα κε̃νον
> hίμερος haιρέσει : καλλιστε[φά]νō : Ἀφροδίτε̄ς.

Nestor had a cup from which it was good to drink. But whoever will drink from *this* cup here will be seized with the longing of Aphrodite of the beautiful wreath.

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[26] Tmesis, studied by Dag Haug (this vol.) is probably already too 'conscious', too 'stylistic' a feature and should be treated differently.

[27] In the case of Hesiod, on the other hand, this may have been different, although we do not know enough about his life and his place(s) of residence and work. Some of Richard Janko's figures (this vol.: 29) seem to indicate that this poet may have tended towards a dialect with less contraction (more ἐυ- than εὐ- and more γαῖα than γῆ in Op. than in Theog.) – a feature notably of Boeotian.

This inscription, which is in the Euboean alphabet, teaches us several things on the notation of epic texts at Homer's time; first, that punctuation was used (mainly in the caesurae), secondly, that poetic text was written in stichic order line after line, and thirdly, that one knew how to write long consonants with geminate letters. All three features are, of course, valuable reading aids and testify to what we should call a remarkable didactic concern. I cannot see how this inscription can be denied to reflect written epic texts. And as far as our modernisms are concerned, it presents an excellent example for the principle *in dubio pro textu*, in that it contains a modern form, as we have it in our Homeric text, not the earlier, reconstructed one, as is sometimes claimed for the original text, namely καλλιστεφά-νου Ἀφροδίτης, not καλλιστεφάνοι Ἀφροδίτης (i.e. elided -οιο[28]). So we should not try to claim *Il.* 1.1 Πηληϊάδᾱ' Ἀχιλῆος either (Chantraine 1958: 200 §84). Surely Homer used the Ionic genitive form in all these cases.

This leads us to the second testimony to be mentioned here, the highly archaic Nikandre *kore* from around 655 BC, which was found on Delos but has to be attributed to the Ionic dialect and alphabet of Naxos:

> Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθēκεν h(ε)κηβόλοι ἰοχεαίρηι,
> Ϙόρη Δεινο|δίκη̄ο τō Να*h*σίο, ἔ*h*σοχος ἀλ(λ)ή̄ōν,
> Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνέ̄τη, | Φράhσō δ' ἄλοχος ν(ῦν).[29]

Nikandre dedicated me to (Artemis) the far-shooting (?) caster (?) of arrows, daughter of Deinodikes the Naxian, pre-eminent among all (women), sister of Deinomenes, and now (?) wife of Phraxos.

This inscription uses the letter heta/eta as both a consonant and a vowel sign, and – what is quite particular – uses it as a vowel sign only where the long [ē] in question continues a former long [ā]. What is important for our purpose is the fact that the gen. sg. and pl. of the a-stems and the gen. sg. of an s-stem are measured monosyllabically, i.e. with synizesis.

In fact, in the case of the gen. pl. fem. of ἄλλος the inscription, although of heavily epic diction (see the formula in line 1 and the noun κασιγνήτη), is younger linguistically than Homer in that the poet, both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, uses the trisyllabic Aeolic form ἀλλάων (*Il.* 18.432; *Od.* 19.326, 24.418).[30]

What is also remarkable is the fact that the inscription considers the [ē] shortened by the principle *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*, more worth noting with a sign which rendered the correct quality but a wrong quantity

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[28] See e.g. Chantraine (1958: 194 §80).
[29] h = the same sign as η (< *[ā]); *h* = a slightly different sign.
[30] Not at line end, which is not the position for words of three long syllables.

of the vowel, i.e. eta for the open, but normally long, [ē], than with the sign for the short [ĕ], the epsilon, which must have seemed too closed. Of course, if one knew that the combination of two vowel signs had to be pronounced monosyllabically anyway, the quantity of the vowels was less important than the quality. It seems quite likely, therefore, that in the Homeric text also these cases were originally written with eta, the sign for open [ē] and therefore the standard sign for the former long [ā], and that this was only later changed into the classical Attic spelling <εω>. In fact, there may be a small hint of that, for in our very first example, *Od.* 9.283, with the unusual monosyllabic and line-initial accusative νέα μέν μοι, which is confirmed by some manuscripts and Aristarchus, most manuscripts show the usual form νῆα μέν μοι.[31] It seems quite likely, therefore, that this form νῆα had been in the Homeric text right from the beginning and had been overlooked by the grammarians who otherwise adapted the forms with synizesis to the later standard spelling with epsilon, just because νῆα looked so normal.[32]

We know for certain that in some cases the original, 'Homeric' spelling must have been modernized, notably in the case of the so-called spurious diphthongs <ει> and <ου> resulting from contraction or from compensatory lengthening of short [e] and [o], which in the most archaic inscriptions, e.g. in the two just cited, are always written with epsilon or omicron only. So, we may ask, may there have been more such instances of modernization? Very likely candidates are the cases cited above in which flexibility was gained through contraction (of vowels of different quality). For it seems more coherent to assume that the now contracted forms were still pronounced and written as diphthongs in Homer's time, and contraction was introduced later into his text in order to make reading easier. So *Il.* 18.475 could have been written | καὶ χρυσὸν *τιμήεντα, just like | ἢ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα | (*Od.* 11.327; which then would have the same form, only pronounced not with synizesis but according to prosodic habit), or | τέσσαρες *ἀεθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν (*Il.* 11.699), just like | σευάμενος ὥς θ' ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος σὺν ὄχεσφιν (22.22), or ἔπεα πτερόεντα *προσηύδαε | (1.201), or | πάντοθεν ἐκ *κλισιέων (23.112), or ἐριούνιος *Ἑρμέης | (20.72). The same may be assumed for the 'crasis' cases like | ἤ ῥά τί οἱ *καημεῖς προσαμύνομεν (2.238; now χἠμεῖς). These 'contraction' and 'crasis' cases would then be just two types of 'synizesis'.

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[31] The reading νέα μέν μοι is preferred since van der Valk (1949: 137).
[32] Disyllabic counting was perhaps retained longer in a short word, but this does not mean that monosyllabic counting was not possible.

Especially the two most extreme cases of contraction I have come across in Homer speak in favour of such a post-Homeric modernization. First, the hapax legomenon δᾱνός in *Od.* 15.322, a fully Attic form (as Ar. *Pax* 1134) and expected to be *δαεινός in Homer (with spurious <ει> due to compensatory lengthening from *δαϝεσνός, like Homeric φαεινός from *φαϝεσνός, but Attic φᾶνός), may originally have been written πῦρ τ᾽ εὖ νῆσαι διά τε ξύλα δαενὰ κεάσσαι (with [ae͞] pronounced monosyllabically). Secondly, the gen. pl. fem. καιροσέων in | καιροσέων δ᾽ ὀθονέων ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον (*Od.* 7.107), confirmed by Aristarchus, which in its expected epic form καιρο(ϝ)εσσάων or καιρο(ϝ)εσσέων would not fit the metre and is now normally spelled and counted καιρουσσέων, may originally have been written in the normal way καιροεσσέων (or indeed καιροεσσήων) but pronounced with two synizeses.

We will perhaps never know, but the crucial point about these contractions is again that already in Homer's prosody they were pronounced in the modern, monosyllabic Ionic way, as were many of the other cases in the *Iliad*, and even more in the *Odyssey*, that we have discussed here.

Late features in the speeches of the Iliad

Margalit Finkelberg

In the Preface to the second edition of his *Studies in the Language of Homer*, G. P. Shipp wrote:

That speeches tend to be later in language and to have more other abnormalities than the narrative has been noted by readers of the first edition and has now been stressed in the analysis of several books. The project would no doubt repay a systematic treatment. (1972: vii)

In the subsequent discussion Shipp from time to time highlights the special status of the speeches vis-à-vis the narrative. Although far from the systematic treatment of the language of the speeches that he recommends, this is still the fullest treatment available. To adduce some examples, he notes that while '[t]he freedom from exceptional features in the narrative is typical of single combats' that open *Iliad* 6, '[t]he linguistic character changes with the speech of Helenus to Hector' at 6.86ff. (254); that 'Nestor's speeches always make us expect neologisms' (259); that '[a]n important general observation in regard to the duel [of Hector and Ajax in *Iliad* 7] is the difference linguistically between the narrative itself, which has few features to be noticed, and the speeches, which are often marked by many abnormalities' (260); that '[u]nusual features thus cluster especially in these extra-narrative portions' (268); that the great speech of Achilles in *Iliad* 9 'is for the most part characterized by features that reflect contemporary Ionic' (269); that 'the linguistic contrast [of the speech of Menelaus in *Iliad* 13.620ff.] with the narrative itself is very marked' (282); that '[t]he tendency for late features to occur in speeches rather than in the narrative is especially impressive' in *Iliad* 22 (311), and so on.

Unfortunately, as distinct from Shipp's thorough treatment of the language of the similes, his ad hoc remarks relating to the speeches have exerted little influence on the subsequent study of the language of Homer. This is not to say that these remarks came as a surprise. Students of Homer have long been aware of the fact that the language of Homeric speeches differs

from that of the narrative in many and various ways.[1] O. Jörgensen in 1904 and M. P. Nilsson in 1924 pointed out that Homer's characters speak of the gods differently from the poet himself. P. Krarup in 1948 and Hermann Fränkel in 1951 called attention to the fact that abstract nouns and personifications are much more frequent in the speeches than in the narrative. In an important article published in 1956, T. B. L. Webster showed that clusters of late features, including linguistically late formulae, are especially characteristic of the speeches.[2] Numerous neologisms, anachronisms, and other peculiarities of language and vocabulary have been registered for the speeches in many a commentary on the Homeric poems. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, the first to treat the distinction between Homeric speeches and Homeric narrative in a thorough and systematic way was Jasper Griffin. In a ground-breaking article published in 1986, Griffin stated unequivocally that 'in important senses the Homeric epics have two vocabularies', one for the narrative and the other for the speeches (1986: 40). As we shall see, the conclusions that he drew from this observation were quite different from those made by Shipp and others.

In fact, two main approaches to the speeches have crystallized over time. Older scholars tended to account for the speeches' linguistic and other peculiarities by applying to them the interpretative methods of Analysis. The culmination of this approach was reached in Shipp's *Studies*, first published in 1953. According to this approach, the fact that innovations in language and vocabulary tend to concentrate in the speeches indicates that their composition is later than that of the main narrative; consequently, the passages in which these innovations are especially numerous should be treated as interpolations. However, although it cannot be denied that more often than not interpolations are indeed concentrated in the speeches, and especially in their concluding parts (Shipp 1972: 233), this does not mean that all the speeches lend themselves to this kind of treatment. The reason is simple: in so far as the speeches constitute about 50 per cent of Homer's text, this would mean that, if consistently applied, the Analyst approach would culminate in the conclusion that about half of Homer should be regarded as interpolated.

As distinct from this, the neo-Unitarian approach that became popular in the second half of the twentieth century tended to regard the speeches' idiosyncrasies as due to self-conscious stylistic strategies deliberately employed by the poet. Although occasionally applied by other

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[1] The special status of Homeric speeches was already well recognized in antiquity, see Nünlist (2003).

[2] Jörgensen (1904: 357–82), Nilsson (1924: 363–390), Krarup (1948: 1–17), Fränkel (1962: 68), Webster (1956: 44, 46).

scholars as well,[3] the first systematic treatment of the speeches from this point of view was incontestably Griffin's 'Homeric words and speakers', mentioned above. Griffin's starting point that the speeches in Homer have 'important distinctions of vocabulary, and of style, from the rest' (1986: 50), is identical to that of Shipp and other Analysts; but the conclusions which he reaches are diametrically opposite. According to Griffin, rather than being indicative of interpolation, the distinction between speech and narrative, including the distinction in language, is entirely a matter of style:

It therefore seems appropriate to expect that the later stages of the tradition will not simply have been introducing more contemporary linguistic modes into the speeches without reflection, but on the contrary allowing them into the speeches, and excluding them from such narrative as they composed themselves, in accordance with a feeling that they were more appropriate there. (1986: 38)

While I agree with Griffin that the argument of style may effectively account for such features of Homeric language as the avoidance of specifying the names of gods involved in a given action or the use of terms of moral evaluation that are absent from the narrative, it is doubtful that the stylistic interpretation he proposed would account equally well for the purely linguistic characteristics of the speeches. It is indeed difficult to envisage a traditional poet deliberately employing, say, quantitative metathesis as a means of stylization. This would become even more evident if we take into account another important aspect of Homeric language, its formulaic idiom.

The role of the formulae as indicators of chronologically different strata of Homeric language was aptly summarized by Bryan Hainsworth:

A linguistic development of the vernacular quickly penetrated the fluid and non-formular part of the *Kunstsprache* (where it differed least), or took effect at the junctions between formulae: next the development would appear in modified formulae, 'formulae by analogy', and other derivatives of primary formulae: last of all would the development be found attested among regular formulae. (1988b: 27–8)

That deviations from the formulaic language can be used with profit for the identification of later strata of epic diction has been emphasized by other scholars as well, notably Arie Hoekstra (1965) and Richard Janko

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[3] See e.g. Dodds (1951: 11), on the difference between the poet and the characters in the identification of divine interventions: 'For it is the poet's characters who talk like this, not the poet: his own convention is quite other – he operates . . . with clear-cut anthropomorphic gods such as Athena and Poseidon, not with anonymous daemons. If he has made his characters employ a different convention, he has presumably done so because that is how people did in fact talk: he is being "realistic".'

(1982: 15). On the whole, however, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the fact that the special status of the speeches vis-à-vis the narrative becomes particularly manifest when Homer's formulaic language is taken into account. As far as I can see, one of the reasons why this phenomenon has not drawn as much attention as it deserves is that, in spite of the evidence that has accumulated since Milman Parry's theory of oral composition first became known, many adherents of oral formulaic theory still proceed from the assumption that 100 per cent of Homer consists of traditional formulae. Accordingly, Homer's language is still regarded by many as essentially a monolithic phenomenon. It is symptomatic in this respect that one of Griffin's purposes in 'Homeric words and speakers' was 'to suggest that the language of Homer is a less uniform thing than some oralists tended to suggest'.[4]

This is not to say that the belief in the 100-per cent formularity of Homer is shared by all oralists. Thus, by counterposing charts of formulaic density in a routine battle scene on the one hand and in the Lament of Helen over the body of Hector on the other, Hainsworth effectively demonstrated in 1968 that the formulaic density in the latter is 'sharply reduced in comparison with the battle scenes' (1968: 112). In 1976, Joseph Russo studied two Homeric passages, the exchange between Odysseus and Eumaeus in the Argos episode in *Odyssey* 17 (303–27) and Hector's rebuke of Polydamas in *Iliad* 18 (285–309), and came to the conclusion that their total formulaic content 'falls far below the 90% we have been led to expect'.[5] That it is first and foremost in direct speech that Homer's non-formulaic expressions are concentrated was further argued by this author in an article published in 1989. To quote its conclusions, 'Thus, the so-called "isolated" expressions differ from the formulaic expressions in several respects: they cannot be shown to have been modelled on formulaic patterns; and they tend to occur in direct speech (rather than the main narrative)' (Finkelberg 1989: 194). On the whole, however, it cannot be denied that the study of the formulaic aspect of Homer's speeches is still a largely neglected field.

As Janko demonstrated in *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, the evidence of language is only significant when it comes in clusters: '[w]hen we find a cluster of results, this implies that the poet concerned is using the traditional diction "naturally", at more or less the stage at which he found it' (1982: 81, 190–1). In other words, only when we find peculiar features pertaining to the language, vocabulary and, last but not least, the formulae of Homer

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[4] Griffin (1986: 50). See now also Finkelberg (2004).
[5] Russo (1976: 45). Cf. also, on the *Odyssey* passage: 'By the criteria normally used by the orthodox Parry school, this passage would be the creation of a literate poet' (ibid.: 44).

assembled in one and the same passage, can we say with certainty that the passage in question belongs to a different chronological stratum from the rest of the text. In what follows, I apply this approach to three Iliadic passages: Hector's reference to the former wealth of Troy in his rebuke of Polydamas in *Il.* 18.288–96; the opening lines of the speech of Menelaus in *Il.* 13.620–5; and a story of the persecution of Dionysus by the king Lycurgus as told by Diomedes in *Il.* 6.130–37.[6]

IL. 18.288–96

πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πριάμοιο πόλιν μέροπες ἄνθρωποι
πάντες μυθέσκοντο πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον·
νῦν δὲ δὴ ἐξαπόλωλε δόμων κειμήλια καλά,
πολλὰ δὲ δὴ Φρυγίην καὶ Μῃονίην ἐρατεινὴν
κτήματα περνάμεν' ἵκει, ἐπεὶ μέγας ὠδύσατο Ζεύς.
νῦν δ' ὅτε πέρ μοι ἔδωκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω
κῦδος ἀρέσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσί, θαλάσσῃ τ' ἔλσαι Ἀχαιούς,
νήπιε, μηκέτι ταῦτα νοήματα φαῖν' ἐνὶ δήμῳ·
οὐ γάρ τις Τρώων ἐπιπείσεται· οὐ γὰρ ἐάσω.

The passage is famous for its *brevis in longo* in μέροπες ἄνθρωποι at 288. In the above-mentioned formulaic analysis Russo showed that it contains a surprisingly high number of expressions that occur only one other time in Homer. He wrote in this connection: 'In other ways, too, the passage presents the analyst with some very "marginal" phrases' (1976: 46). Mark Edwards remarked in respect of μέροπες ἄνθρωποι and πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον: 'There are two violations – or innovative uses – of normal formular conventions in this couplet [18.288–9]' (1991: 180). Shipp commented on the passage's linguistic lateness and suggested that 'the two speeches [Polydamas' and Hector's] were originally in a simpler form, e.g. merely a suggestion by P. that the Trojans should retire to the city and H.'s reply, unless the deliberations as a whole are late' (1972: 298).

Il. 18.288–96 contains no less than five uncommon or linguistically late formulae:

1. μέροπες ἄνθρωποι at 288. Kurt Witte long ago pointed out (1913a: 2223) that this highly irregular expression was prompted by analogy with μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, which occurs nine times in Homer, and Milman

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[6] Since the characteristically Odyssean language and formulae within the *Iliad* are usually regarded as chronologically marked, this makes the *Iliad* a more convenient target of analysis in terms of relative chronology. What should be regarded as relatively late within the *Odyssey* itself is of course a separate question.

Parry later showed (in A. M. Parry 1971b: 197–8) that it is a result of the juxtaposition of two Homeric formulae, πόλις (or πόλεις) μερόπων ἀνθρώπων and Πριάμοιο πόλις (or πόλιν). Both the irregularity of the expression and its derivative character indicate that it could not belong to the stock of traditional formulae.

2. πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον at 289. The expression belongs to what Russo (above, with n. 5) defined as a marginal group of formulae that occur only one other time in Homer. Although both πολύχρυσος and πολύχαλκος are well-attested Homeric epithets, each of them being occasionally employed for the description of a city's wealth (πολυχρύ-σοιο Μυκήνης 3×, Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου *Od.* 15.425), they are as a rule used separately. The only other occurrence of the combination found here (nominative case) is in the description of Dolon in the linguistically late Doloneia (*Il.* 10.315).

3. κειμήλια καλά at 290. The expression belongs to the same group of marginal formulae as πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον. The only other occur-rence, also in direct speech and in a rather similar context (the booty that Odysseus brought with him from Troy), is in the *Odyssey* (10.40). The expression seems to have been created by analogy with the for-mula κειμήλια κεῖται in order to express the meaning of another estab-lished formula, κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά (4x), after the fourth-foot caesura.

4. Φρυγίην καὶ Μηονίην ἐρατεινὴν at 291. The only other occurrence (genitive case), also in direct speech, is at *Il.* 3.401. Occasional emergence of Phrygia and Meïonia in Homer is a well-established anachronism.[7] On the whole, Phrygia is mentioned five times and Meïonia twice (the Phrygians and the Meïonians three and four times, respectively), only in the *Iliad*. In view of this, it is especially noteworthy that the epic poets already had at their disposal a formula for the description of the two (but cf. also Λυκίην καὶ Μηονίην ἐρατεινὴν in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 179).

5. Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω at 293. Although this expression occurs no less than eight times in Homer, not only is it linguistically late (quanti-tative metathesis in ἀγκυλομήτεω) and, based as it is on the formulae Κρόνου πάϊς and Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, formulaically derivative: it is also equivalent to the much more frequently occurring formula, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (15x). Note also that, though Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης as such occurs three times in the Homeric corpus (*Il.* 4.59, *Hymn. Ven.* 22, 42), it is an unmistakenly 'Hesiodic' formula (5x in the *Theogony*).

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[7] See esp. Kullmann (2002a: 65), including a discussion of the present passage.

All these indicate that Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω is a rare example of a linguistically late formula.[8] To quote Shipp's assessment of the contexts in which it occurs:

Whereas the latter [πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε] is always in narrative our formula is often not, and mostly in contexts that may not be old: B 205 comment on army discipline, B 319 (ath. Ar.) in the portent, Δ 75 simile, M 450 ath., in an explanatory verse, leaving I 37 (Diomedes' speech), Π 431 (between a simile and the dialogue between Zeus and Hera which Zen. omitted), Σ 293 (Hector to Polydamas). (1972: 170–1)

Contrary to appearances, the fabulous wealth of Troy is far from being a well-established Homeric theme. This can be seen first of all from the city's epithets: as distinct from such cities as Mycenae or Corinth, none of the constant epithets of Troy emphasizes its exceptional wealth.[9] The theme recurs only one other time, in *Iliad* 24, again in direct speech (542–546, Achilles to Priam): although Phrygia is mentioned there as well, the wording is different, and the rest of the passage does not resemble *Iliad* 18. This seems to indicate that the wealth of Troy is a relatively recent epic theme which has not yet attained a formulaic fixity.[10] If correct, this would mean that the passage under discussion should be considered late not only in respect of its language and formulae but also in respect of its thematic content.

IL. 13.620–5

λείψετέ θην οὕτω γε νέας Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων
Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι δεινῆς ἀκόρητοι ἀϋτῆς,
ἄλλης μὲν λώβης τε καὶ αἴσχεος οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς
ἢν ἐμὲ λωβήσασθε κακαὶ κύνες, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέτεω χαλεπὴν ἐδείσατε μῆνιν
ξεινίου, ὅς τέ ποτ' ὔμμι διαφθέρσει πόλιν αἰπήν·

Although ancient scholars apparently did not throw doubt on its authenticity, in modern times Menelaus' speech in *Iliad* 13 has drawn much negative attention. August Fick, Walter Leaf and G. P. Shipp, among others, thought it interpolated, whereas Bernard Fenik went so far as to call it 'Menelaos' unhappy excursus' and 'a particularly unsuccessful example of

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[8] Cf. Chantraine (1958: 70): 'Cet exemple enseigne que la langue épique a admis de formules de type nettement ionien.' On the formulaic lateness of the expression see also Hoekstra (1965: 36 n. 1).

[9] Troy and/or Ilios is usually characterized, in a rather banal way, as εὐκτίμενος (3×) or εὖ ναιόμενος (4×) and, more specifically, as εὔπωλος (5×), εὐρυάγυια (9×), and εὐτείχεος (2×).

[10] It seems significant in this connection that after Homer the theme of Troy's wealth becomes increasingly popular. See e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 739–741, Eur. *Tro.* 994–995. Cf. below, n. 24.

the "expansion technique"' (1968: 147). Janko seems to be the only one to hold that '[m]ost critics misjudge this speech' and that '[i]n fact it weaves several motifs in an integrated whole' (1992: 123).

Shipp wrote about the passage under discussion: '622–5 have a strong moralizing flavour, and the linguistic contrast with the narrative itself is very marked.'[11] And indeed, the opening lines of Menelaus' speech contain no less than four late linguistic features: contraction in ἐπιδευεῖς at 622, monosyllabic quantitative metathesis in ἐριβρεμέτεω at 624, plus two additional recent Ionisms – νέας at 620 and Ζηνός at 624. Since these features have often been commented upon, most notably by Shipp and Janko,[12] in what follows I will concentrate mainly on the formulaic diction of the passage.

Il. 13.620–25 contains four uncommon or linguistically late formulae:

1. νέας Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων at 620. Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων as such is of course a standard Homeric formula, which occurs ten times in the *Iliad*. However, its combination with νέας, resulting in the emergence of a new expression for 'ships' in the second half of the verse, is unique. Comparison with two equivalent expressions emerging in the *Odyssey*, νέας κυανοπρωρείρους at 3.299 and νέας φοινικοπαρήους at 11.124 and 23.271, both in direct speech,[13] shows that we have here a series of attempts at making use of the recent Ionism νέας in order to create a formula for 'ships' fitting into the second half of the verse.[14] As we shall see immediately, the fact that none of these expressions became a standard Homeric formula is of considerable chronological importance. But first let us discuss another linguistically late formula occurring in this passage.

2. Ζηνός ἐριβρεμέτεω at 624. I can hardly improve on Janko's character-ization of this expression: 'Ζηνός ἐριβρεμέτεω is trebly novel: -εω and Z. are recent Ionisms, and the phrase is a unique variation on Ζεὺς ὑψι-βρεμέτης (6× Hom.), duplicating Ζηνός ἐριγδούπου (15.293).' Janko's comment on the latter is also relevant: 'As we can expect of a recent creation, two equally new equivalent phrases appear elsewhere, Z. ἐρι-βρεμέτεω (13.624) and Z. ἐρισθενέος (*Erga* 416)'.[15]

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[11] Shipp (1972: 282). Cf. Webster (1956: 44).

[12] νέας Janko (1992: 124); ἐπιδευεῖς (also *Il.* 9.225) Shipp (1972: 185, 282), Janko (1992: 124, 299); Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέτεω below, n. 15.

[13] The expression νέας φοινικοπαρήους belongs to a passage (Teiresias' prophecy) which is repeated verbatim in *Odyssey* 11 and *Odyssey* 23. Cf. Alexanderson (1970: 26).

[14] Cf. Janko (1992: 260, this vol.), Chantraine (1958: 72, 225–6). On Homeric formulae for ships see also M. Parry (in A. M. Parry 1971b: 109–13), Hoekstra (1965: 124–30), Alexanderson (1970).

[15] Janko (1992: 124, 260). On Z. ἐριβρεμέτεω see also M. Parry (in A. M. Parry 1971b: 188), Chantraine (1958: 70), Hoekstra (1965: 33), Shipp (1972: 282).

In his discussion of the presence of quantitative metathesis in Homeric formulae Hoekstra wrote:

It appears, then, that the evidence for the existence of formulae originally built upon quantitative methathesis is extremely slight. This strongly suggests after the metathesis had begun to develop in East Ionic, oral composition came to an end so soon that hardly any substantial expression created out of the new material provided by the evolution of the spoken dialect had time to attain a formulaic fixity. (1965: 38)

This would of course be true also of the other late features under discussion, Ζηνός and νέας. As we have seen, the fact that linguistically late equivalents of the expressions νέας Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων and Ζηνὸς ἐρι-βρεμέτεω are attested elsewhere in the epic corpus strongly suggests that, as distinct from Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω discussed above, the expressions in question had no time to attain a formulaic fixity. Hoekstra's assertion that 'after the metathesis had begun to develop in East Ionic, oral composition came to an end' will be discussed in the concluding part of this essay. At this stage, it is sufficient to emphasize that by all standards both νέας Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων and Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέτεω of Menelaus' speech should be associated with the latest layer of epic diction.

3. πόλιν αἰπήν rather than αἰπεῖαν at 625 is obviously a metrically convenient substitute for αἰπύν. This is the only occurrence in the *Iliad* of this distinctly Odyssean formula (4×). To quote Chantraine's assessment, '[i]t is remarkable that this form is found in the parts that do not seem very ancient'.[16]

4. Finally, the expression Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι at 621. As distinct from the formulae discussed above, linguistic commentaries on Menelaus' speech usually pay no attention to this expression. The reason is obvious: on the face of it, Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι is an inconspicuous expression, not characterized by late features or other linguistic peculiarities. Yet it is not only unique in this specific position (three modifications occur elsewhere, see below) but it is also metrically equivalent to Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι, the well-established Iliadic formula for the Trojans (six times in the same position in the verse, of which three are in narrative and three in direct speech, plus one direct-speech formulaic modification). And while it is true that ὑπερφίαλοι, 'arrogant', and ὑπέρθυμοι, 'great-spirited', though close in meaning, cannot be considered exact synonyms, this does not alter the fact that what figures here is the introduction of an ad hoc variation on the standard formula Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι. Significantly,

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[16] Chantraine (1958: 253, my translation). Cf. Shipp (1972: 282), Janko (1992: 124).

this variation offers an unambiguously negative evaluation of the Trojans, which is absent from the formula Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι.[17] This is the reason why Milman Parry, who studied ὑπερφίαλοι as an epithet of the Trojans in his *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, subsumed it under the category of the so-called 'particularized' epithets, emerging 'when the poet wanted to include an adjective for its sense rather than for its [metrical] convenience'.[18]

The case under discussion seems to fit Griffin's stylistic approach quite well. Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι in the mouth of Menelaus clearly lends itself to being interpreted in terms of characterization – or, as many would say today, 'focalization' – of the Trojans from the standpoint of Helen's offended husband.[19] It is significant in this connection that the modifications of Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι, all of them in *Iliad* 21, belong to direct speech and are put in the mouths of such bitter enemies of Troy as Hera, Athena and Achilles after the death of Patroclus,[20] and that the same would be true of the other unambiguously negative characterizations of the Trojans encountered in the *Iliad*.[21] That the situation in the *Odyssey* is different can be seen from comparison of the distribution of the adjective ὑπερφίαλοι in both epics.

While in the *Iliad* ὑπερφίαλοι occurs only in direct speech, in the *Odyssey* it is distributed almost evenly between narrative and speeches. This obviously reflects the well-known difference in the ethos of the two poems. Namely, although the *Iliad* characters often criticize themselves and each other, its poet consistently avoids judging their behaviour by the standards of 'good' and 'bad'.[22] This withdrawal of moral judgement, which results in the famous impartiality of the *Iliad* (in the apt formulation of Simone

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[17] Cf. Hall (1989: 25): '"Great-spirited" (*huperthumos*), on the other hand, is relatively frequent (seven occurrences) but is not confined to the Trojan side, and always seems to be approximately synonymous with *megathumos*...A critic who believes that the Trojans' epithets portray them as significantly more arrogant than the Achaeans therefore betrays his or her own pro-Achaean bias, not the poem's.' Among those to whom the epithet ὑπέρθυμος is applied in the *Iliad* are Diomedes (twice), Heracles, Achilles (twice) and Nestor.

[18] M. Parry (in A. M. Parry 1971b: 155); see ibid. (159): 'But ὑπερφίαλος, which has the same metrical value, clearly shows the particularized meaning given by the translation "arrogant".' Cf. Sale (1989: 378).

[19] On focalization in Homer see de Jong (1988, 2004), Nünlist (2002).

[20] *Il.* 21.224 (Achilles), 414 (Athena), 459 (Hera). Cf. M. Parry (in A. M. Parry 1971b: 159).

[21] Sale (1989: 344, 377–9). Note, however, that in his speech in *Iliad* 3 Menelaus only says that it is the *sons of Priam* rather than the Trojans as such who are ὑπερφίαλοι καὶ ἄπιστοι (3.106), a characterization which would obviously square much better with the general tenor of the poem.

[22] Cf. Griffin (1986: 39): 'No feature of Homeric style is more important than this. The narrator depicts events in a way which leaves the understanding of their moral significance to the audience – an audience whose presence is never acknowledged.'

Weil, '[i]t is difficult to detect that the poet is Greek and not Trojan'
(in Holoka 2003: 66)), is entirely alien to the *Odyssey*. The wrongdoers
of the *Odyssey* – Aegisthus, Penelope's suitors, Odysseus' companions –
are explicitly identified as such by both the poet and the characters: the
Odyssean formula μνηστῆρσιν ὑπερφιάλοισι, appearing after the second-
foot caesura no less than nine times, five of them in the narrative, readily
comes to mind in this connection.[23] In view of this, it seems reasonable
to suppose that, rather than purely a matter of style, Menelaus' Τρῶες
ὑπερφίαλοι reflects the erosion of the impartial attitude to the Trojans
characteristic of the earlier tradition.[24] The term ὑβρισταί, applied to the
Trojans later in Menelaus' speech (633–4), obviously expresses the same
tendency.

Be that as it may, it cannot be denied that the context in which the
expression Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι emerges is both linguistically and formu-
laically late. With this in mind, let us turn to the title of Zeus as Xenios,
attested here for the first time. It is significant in this connection that
both Pierre Chantraine and Hugh Lloyd-Jones based their interpretations
of justice in the *Iliad* on this specific passage.[25] Both interpretations were
polemically directed against Dodds's assertion in *The Greeks and the Irra-
tional* (1951) to the effect that he finds 'no indication in the narrative of
the *Iliad* that Zeus is concerned with justice as such'.[26] Either assessment
is based on solid evidence: on the one hand, Chantraine and Lloyd-Jones
are correct in that Menelaus does appeal to the authority of Zeus Xenios;
on the other, Dodds is also correct in claiming that the narrative of the
Iliad never credits Zeus with this title.[27] What seems especially important,
however, is that, like Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι discussed above, Zeus's title as
Xenios emerges in a context that abounds in late linguistic and formulaic
features.

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[23] On the generic meaning of this formula see Sale (1989: 378).

[24] According to Sale (1989: 377–9), the negative epithets for the Trojans reflect the inherited 'Achaean'
attitude: this attitude was changed by Homer who, being sympathetic to the Trojans, only allowed
the negative epithets in the mouths of the characters. Yet, the distribution of the formulae Τρῶες
ὑπέρθυμοι and Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι as described above suggests a different chronological picture.
See also Hall (1989: 21–40), on the increasing 'barbarization' of the Trojans in post-Homeric poetry.

[25] Chantraine (1952: 74–5), Lloyd-Jones (1983: 7). Cf. Janko (1992: 122–3).

[26] Dodds (1951: 32); cf. Chantraine (1952: 75–6), Lloyd-Jones (1983: 1). Another Iliadic passage in
which Zeus's responsibility for *xenoi* is implied (Janko 1992: 124) is also part of a speech, see
Il. 3.351ff.

[27] Cf. Rutherford (1992: 75 n. 107): 'The idea that the gods constantly watch for and punish mortal
wrongdoers is undoubtedly current – it figures in speeches in the *Iliad*, as well as in the *Odyssey* and
in Hesiod – but the main narrative of the *Iliad* presents the gods as capricious and little concerned
with justice.'

IL. 6.130–7

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος
δὴν ἦν, ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν·
ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας
σεῦε κατ᾽ ἠγάθεον Νυσήϊον· αἳ δ᾽ ἅμα πᾶσαι
θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατέχευαν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου
θεινόμεναι βουπλῆγι· Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεὶς
δύσεθ᾽ ἁλὸς κατὰ κῦμα, Θέτις δ᾽ ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ
δειδιότα· κρατερὸς γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος ἀνδρὸς ὁμοκλῇ.

This is one of the few occasions on which Dionysus makes his appearance in the Homeric poems. To quote G. S. Kirk's comment on the passage under discussion, '[R]eferences to Dionusos are rare in Homer – in *Il.* only otherwise at 14.325 (incidentally to his mother Semele whom Zeus had loved), and in *Od.* in relation to Ariadne and Thetis at 11.325 and 24.74 – and only in contexts which are allusive and incidental. His membership of the Olympian pantheon is marginal at this stage' (1990: 173). In addition, the passage contains two hapax legomena, θύσθλα at 134 and βουπλῆγι at 135, as well as a rare use of ὑπό and contraction Λυκούργου at 134.[28] Finally, the layer of formulaic expressions in it is remarkably thin.

Il. 6.130–7 contains five expressions that are based on formulaic associations:

1. θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν at 131. Although the expression is found twice in Homer, both occurrences belong to the same passage (*Il.* 6.129 and 131), which makes it unlikely that this is a well-established formula. At the same time, the related expressions ἐ. θεοῖς, also in *Iliad* 6 (527), and τις ἐπουράνιος θεός ἐστι (*Od.* 17.484) allow us to suggest that θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν is either an underrepresented formula or one in *statu nascendi*.

2. χαμαὶ κατέχευαν at 134: a unique expression, probably created by association with χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες (2x *Il.*).

3. ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου at 134. This is the only time in the epics that the word order attested in the widespread formula Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο (11x *Il.*; cf. also Ἄρεος ἀ. *Il.* 4.441) is reversed. Emendations have been proposed to avoid contraction in Λυκούργου.[29]

4. δύσεθ᾽ ἁλὸς κατὰ κῦμα at 136. The expression can be compared with ὑπὸ κῦμα θαλάσσης αὐτίκ᾽ ἔδυσαν at *Il.* 18.145 (of the Nereids). Cf. also ὑπὸ (or ἐς) πόντον ἐδύσετο (3x *Od.*).

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[28] On the two latter see Shipp (1972: 255); cf. ibid. (24).

[29] West (1998–2000: I. ad loc.): '-φόνου Λυκοέργου Heyne (-οόργου Brandreth)'; Shipp (1972: 255): 'ἀνδροφόνου Λυκοόργου with Nauck?' and ibid. (24 n. 4).

5. Θέτις δ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ at 136. The hemistich is repeated in full
   in *Il.* 18.398, Thetis receiving Hephaestus thrown down from Olympus
   by Hera. Since the Hephaestus story is obviously more popular with
   Homer (cf. *Il.* 1.592–95), it can be suggested that what is being dealt
   with is an ad hoc adaptation of this epic theme.

It is true of course that ἔχε τρόμος at 137, which occurs two additional
times in the *Iliad*, can with right be considered a formula and that the
noun-epithet combination κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος at 130 is built on a well-
established formulaic pattern (cf. κ. Διομήδης 19x *Il.*). On the whole,
however, it cannot be denied that, as far as Homer's formulaic diction is
concerned, *Il.* 6.130–7 is almost devoid of formulae. When taken against
this background, the efforts to eliminate contraction in Λυκούργου at 134
should be recognized as misguided:[30] the linguistic, the formulaic and the
thematic evidence concur to create a consistent picture of the lateness of
this passage.

To be sure, in so far as one's methodological position demands treating
any passage containing linguistic and other deviations as issuing from
interpolation, there is good reason to discard the passages discussed in this
section as late additions. It seems, however, that although the concentration
of late and deviating features in *Il.* 18.288–96, 13.620–5 and 6.130–7 is
perhaps somewhat above the average, they highlight what we find in other
Homeric speeches as well. It follows, then, that to the degree that the
passages discussed are representative of Homeric speeches as a whole, the
consistent application of the approach in question would, as observed
above, lead to assessing some 50 per cent of the text of Homer as resulting
from interpolation. Needless to say, this can hardly be regarded as a realistic
solution. On the other hand, as I hope to have shown, the linguistic and
formulaic lateness of the speeches cannot be ignored or explained away as
a purely stylistic phenomenon. Accordingly, my next task is to suggest an
alternative way in which the status of the speeches may be approached.

It is generally recognized today that before they were fixed in writing,
Greek epics about the Trojan War had circulated for centuries in oral
tradition. It is also generally recognized that this tradition was permanently
in a state of flux. Not only is the language of Homer a *Kunstsprache*
consisting of different historical layers of Greek language, but it has also
been shown, above all in the studies of Hoekstra and Hainsworth, that

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[30] As well as other, similar attempts; cf. Rudolf Wachter's caveat in his contribution to this volume
(pp. 71f.).

Homer's formulaic idiom too is characterized by a high degree of flexibility and adaptation, and therefore should also be approached diachronically. The same mixture of different historical periods can also be found in Homer's depictions of material culture, social institutions, moral values and religious beliefs.

Like Λυκόοργος and Λυκούργου within one and the same passage, the old and the new exist side by side in Homer, for the simple reason that each successive generation of poets retold anew what had been bequeathed to them by their tradition. Since the traditional subjects dealing with the Heroic Age were not only universally known but also accepted as historical truth, the poets were not allowed to mould them in a free and independent manner: the Trojan War will end with Trojan rather than Achaean defeat, Hector will be killed by Achilles and not vice versa, and so on. This is why dissonances between the plot of the poems and what is expressed in the speeches are so important: while the plot is fixed in tradition, the content of the speeches is not; accordingly, the speeches are fit to express not only the opinions of the characters but also the poets' attitude to what they received from their tradition.

As I have argued elsewhere (Finkelberg 1998b), the double perspective thus adopted would often result in one and the same episode being simultaneously delivered from two points of view, the traditional and the poet's own. It comes as no surprise that the latter would as a rule express the attitudes of the poet's own time. Owing to Homer's extensive use of direct speech, it was possible to incorporate these attitudes into the text of the poems without changing their plots. And although this would of course be true of other elements of the poems too,[31] by their very nature the speeches would present the most appropriate vehicle for furnishing the traditional diction with elements of the world to which the poet and his audience belonged.

It is no accident, therefore, that Homer's non-formulaic and metrically faulty expressions, linguistic innovations and the like are concentrated in direct speech. This does not mean that the contexts in which non-standard expressions and ideas occur were much less prominent in epic poetry before Homer. Though everything suggests that expressions of this kind belong to the latest layer of the Homeric poems, this does not entail that epic diction before Homer contained no speeches or consisted mostly

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[31] The poet's famous comment on the inequality of exchange in the Glaucus–Diomedes episode in *Iliad* 6 provides a good example. Cf. Seaford (1994: 15): 'the implicit criticism of the increasingly dangerous institution of gift-exchange from the new perspective of commodity-exchange, in which inequality is more surprising'.

of standard scenes cast in traditional formulae. Hoekstra's observation to the effect that formulaic introductions to Homer's speeches indicate that 'even at very early stages dialogue existed alongside narrative' saves me many words here.[32] Yet it is reasonable to suppose that while the formulae were preserved in the stock of traditional expressions, the non-formulaic and irregular expressions were ephemeral creations that varied from one poet to another. In other words, even if epic poets before Homer also composed long speeches abounding in non-traditional expressions which reflected the attitude of their own times, these were not likely to survive. Janko's formulation, although it does not address the speeches as such, is appropriate here:

In a tradition that consists of oral improvisation rather than accurate memorisation, it is inevitable that, in those fields where the tradition hands down no ready-made diction, the improviser will draw on the only other diction he knows, that of his vernacular.[33]

But how late can these late features of the Homeric epics be? In Hoekstra's words quoted above, the expressions that did not attain a formulaic fixity – and it should be kept in mind that this includes the overwhelming majority of linguistically late expressions in Homer – should be seen as simultaneous with the end of oral composition. Hoekstra appears to imply that at the moment when the Homeric poems were composed the epic language became frozen and the oral tradition came to an end. But surely, as neo-Ionisms and similar phenomena strongly suggest, oral tradition as such did not die out with the fixation of the Homeric poems in writing.[34] This is why I see the now classical formulation by Adam Parry to the effect that 'the name "Homer" . . . must be reserved for the poet who composed the *Iliad* at the time when it was put into writing' (1966: 201) as providing a more satisfactory explanation for the phenomena discussed.

That is to say, if the epic language indeed ceased to develop, this happened only in respect of those individual products of oral tradition that were fixed in writing. At that time, epic diction already presented an amalgam, or rather something on a par with an archaeological site whose upper stratum represents the last stage of the site's continuous occupation. And since, as I hope to have shown, Homeric speeches by definition belong to

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[32] Hoekstra (1965: 52 n. 1); cf. Finkelberg (1989: 196 n. 35). On Homeric speech introductions see Edwards (1968).

[33] Janko (1982: 16); cf. ibid. (192).

[34] Cf. Foley (1990: 21): 'There is no reason to believe that, even if the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that have reached us were fixed in the sixth century B.C., oral composition of the Homeric ilk immediately ceased.' On neo-Ionisms see West (2001a: 32, 34, 43–4).

this upper stratum, they were also most prone to preserve the realia, the language, the institutions and the mores as they existed at the moment when the poems were fixed in writing. As far as I can see, this would account satisfactorily enough for the peculiarities of the speeches as discussed in this essay. Indeed, it seems not to be a mere coincidence that the linguistic and formulaic irregularities observed above occur in those parts of the Homeric text which are innovatory in content: Dionysus and Zeus Xenios, as well as the fabulous wealth of Troy and the unambiguously negative evaluation of the Trojans themselves readily come to mind in this connection. If this is correct, then linguistic and formulaic irregularities emerging in the speeches should be regarded as by-products of the last poet's intervention in the traditional idiom.

To recapitulate, although the speeches undeniably form an inseparable part of Homeric diction, they belong to its latest stratum, the one that coincided with the fixation of the Homeric poems in writing. It follows, then, that it would be dangerous to base a comprehensive theory regarding Homer on the material of the speeches alone. To return to a passage discussed above, Diomedes' use of the Dionysus myth or Menelaus' appeal to Zeus Xenios cannot be seen as adequately representing Homer's religious beliefs in their entirety, but, rather, as representing such beliefs that, like monosyllabic quantitative metathesis, only became available at the latest stage in the poems' history. In view of this, it would be welcome if Homeric dictionaries began to specify the types of context in which a given word or expression normally appears in Homer, for Homeric words and expressions found in the narrative are not necessarily identical to those found in the speeches, and vice versa.[35]

[35] To my knowledge, the only database that allows this kind of search is *The Chicago Homer* (Kahane and Mueller).

Tmesis in the epic tradition

Dag T. T. Haug

I THE PHENOMENON AND ITS PLACE IN THE EPIC *KUNSTSPRACHE*

It is a characteristic feature of Greek epic diction that compound verbs, which would be integral words in classical Greek, can be split by so-called *tmesis*. Consider the following example:

(1) τὸν καὶ Μηριόνης πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε (*Il.* 13.306)

It is obvious that in this line, πρός does not form a prepositional phrase with μῦθον. Rather, it belongs with ἔειπε and forms what we from the standpoint of classical Greek usage would call a compound verb.[1] And still, this compound verb is discontinuous, because the poet has chosen to separate the verb and the particle.[2] We can tell that the poet chose this version and did not simply follow the constraints of the metre, since it would be easy to compose the same line without separating πρὸς and ἔειπε:

(2) *τὸν καὶ Μηριόνης πρότερος μῦθον προσέειπε

It could even be said that version (2) is prosodically preferable, since *Il.* 13.306 as given by our manuscripts violates Wernicke's law in having a fourth biceps which is long by position. But of course, it is likely that Ionic πρός has here replaced Aeolic ποτί,[3] and that the verse had a resolved fourth biceps in the original version.

Besides illustrating tmesis, this example shows the importance of preference hierarchies in the study of the Homeric dialects. As we know, Homer prefers Ionic forms to Aeolic ones, except when the latter are metrically necessary. Thus, the text has the Ionic form πρός which gives a correct,

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[1] Diachronically, however, it is not impossible that πρός belonged to μῦθον as an object predicative complement, the whole sentence meaning 'he said the word forth'. But such an analysis is not possible in historical Greek. For the analysis of 'place words' in Homer, see Haug (2009).

[2] A terminological note: in this article, the two words will be called the 'verb' (ἔειπε in example 1) and the 'particle' (πρός). Note that I will use 'particle' as a cover term for preverb, postverb, preposition, postposition and adverb – that is, for words such as πρός, irrespective of what function they have.

[3] See Janko (1979).

though slightly irregular, hexameter. The mere coexistence of Ionic πρός and Aeolic ποτί (as well as numerous other dialectal doublets) in Homer is less important than the fact that there is a preference hierarchy which we can give a historical interpretation in terms of phases in the evolution of the epic diction: πρός is preferred whenever the metre allows it, so it is the form of the later generation of poets.

Is it possible to establish the position of tmesis in such a hierarchy? Consider *Od.* 3.40 (the formula is repeated in *Od.* 6.77 and 20.260):

(3) δῶκε δ᾽ ἄρα σπλάγχνων μοίρας, ἐν δ᾽ οἶνον ἔχευεν (*Od.* 3.40)

As it stands, this line has tmesis, but it does not respect the digamma of οἶνος, which is otherwise a high priority: it is respected about 100 times and ignored about 15 times according to Chantraine (1958: 145). It would have been easy, though, to compose this line as a metrically correct hexameter without tmesis and respecting digamma:

(4) *δῶκε δ᾽ ἄρα σπλάγχνων μοίρας, ἐνέχευε δὲ (ϝ)οἶνον

In other words, it seems as if the poet has voluntarily produced tmesis, at the cost of violating digamma. This shows that even at a late stage of the epic diction, after poets had started neglecting digamma, tmesis was sought after and deliberately used by epic poets. If we believe that preference hierarchies were mechanically applied by poets in the epic tradition, lines such as (3) must mean that tmesis was generally preferred to digamma. However, we will see that the question is perhaps not so simple, and it might not be coincidental that (3) comes from the *Odyssey*, as this poem's poet seems particularly fond of tmesis.

(1) and (3) are just two examples, but there are many more where the poet has used tmesis even where he did not have to. We can conclude that while tmesis might be handy for composing hexameters, it is not conditioned solely by metrical factors. Forms with tmesis are similar to the Ionic forms, which are allowed even when the metre does not enforce their use, and different from the Aeolic forms, which are only permitted when their metrical structure differs from that of their Ionic counterparts.

Most scholars would agree that epic poets tended to replace archaisms in their language with vernacular forms whenever possible. Underlying the stylometric approach of Janko (1982), there is even a claim that the replacement proceeds at a more or less constant rate which allows us to draw chronological conclusions. But Janko's research is based on morphological features rather than syntactical ones, and as we shall see, there are a number of differences between the two areas. Replacing unfamiliar desinences by familiar ones in a correct way is an altogether easier affair than changing the syntactic rules of your language. And so, even if it is clear that the

last poets, far from trying to avoid tmesis, actually sought it, we should not jump too lightly to the conclusion that tmesis was a feature of their vernacular.

2 THE HISTORICAL LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF TMESIS

There can be no doubt that the freedom of word order which allows the separation of preverb and verb is inherited. The same phenomenon is found in the earliest texts of several other IE language groups, and so we must assume that at one point in the history of Greek, the later preverbs had freer positions within the sentence. The term tmesis ('separation') would be meaningless as a description of this phenomenon: instead it seems as if the particle and the verb had not yet coalesced in Homer's vernacular.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that in Hellenistic poetry, for example, what we witness is really tmesis: a dividing in two of a synchronic unity. In Moschus (*Europa* 4), we read:

(5) λυσιμελής πεδάᾳ μαλακῷ κατὰ φάεα δεσμῷ

All scholars would agree that Moschus is here not following the syntactic rules of his own vernacular, but rather imitating a feature of the epic style. However, if we take Homer's language as the norm, Moschus has made a mistake: while Homer does in some cases put the particle after the verb, he always lets it follow immediately upon the verb in such cases. This rule is broken by Moschus, who lets a dative adjective intervene between the verb and the particle. At some stage, then, it seems as if the phenomenon of tmesis was interpreted as a license to cut up any compound verb and place the results where you want in the metre. On its way to becoming a stylistic feature, tmesis became mannered. We see the end point of the evolution in such monstrosities as *saxo cere comminuit brum*, transmitted under Ennius' name. In general, archaic Latin style seems to have favoured such 'wild' tmesis, witness *sub uos placo* (for *uos supplico*, in an archaic prayer cited by Festus). Since *supplicare* is a denominative from *supplex*, it is very unlikely that this reflects a stage of Latin where tmesis was still allowed. Archaic Latin poetry belongs to a very different context from that of early Greek hexameter poetry, of course; but the point is just that at some time, tmesis ceased to obey any linguistic constraints.

Now before we interpret the frequency and distribution of tmesis in early Greek epic, it is important to know what kind of phenomenon we are dealing with at this stage. Does tmesis in early epic poetry reflect the vernacular of the poets? Do our texts reflect syntactic change in progress? Or are we rather dealing with a stylistic feature without any basis in the spoken language, even at this early stage of the tradition?

Scholars found little room for doubt before the decipherment of Linear B. Wolf concluded with a 'nondum coaluisse'. Pierson, in his major study on tmesis (1857), said that tmesis in Homer is not figure, but idiom. Wackernagel (1928: 172) was convinced that early Greek shows a real independence of the preverb.

But since 1953, many scholars have come to think that the fusion of preverb and verb had taken place already in Mycenaean, because there are no cases of tmesis in the Linear B texts. This view was strongly argued by Horrocks (1981) and supported by Morpurgo Davies (1985). Since then it has figured as a stock argument for the pre-Mycenaean roots of the Greek epic tradition. But the Mycenaean evidence is far from compelling: there are few finite verbs in Mycenaean, and only nine of them are compound verbs. Moreover, the most frequent type of tmesis in Homer is that where the preverb precedes the direct object (the type κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα). This is only possible with transitive verbs – and only four of those nine finite compound verbs in Myceanaen are transitive. That none of these show tmesis could be due to chance, or even have a linguistic reason in the way information is presented in the Mycenaean texts, as I have argued elsewhere (Haug 2002: 42–4). At any rate, the evidence is too weak to allow the conclusion that tmesis was disallowed by the syntactic rules of Greek in the Bronze Age.

We should not be surprised that we cannot extract convincing negative evidence from such a small corpus as the Mycenaean one. Indeed, it is not altogether easy to establish the status of tmesis even in much later times: we find things like ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀλοῦμαι (*Nub.* 792) in Aristophanes; Herodotus also has a number of cases of tmesis, but always with only an *enclitic* element intervening between particle and verb; and similar examples are found in other Ionic authors such as Hipponax and Hippocrates. Wackernagel was no doubt right in claiming that this limited kind of tmesis by a clitic remained possible for a long time, especially in Ionic, but 'long-distance tmesis', where a full prosodic word intervenes between the preverb and the verb, such as can be found in the tragedians, is at that time a poetic artifice.

So all we know is that tmesis disappeared from Greek some time between Proto-Indo-European and the classical period. But an interesting fact about particles in Homer allows us to fix the moment more precisely. Whereas there are only 13 cases of εἰς/ἐς[4] in tmesis, we find 171 cases of ἐν(ι) in tmesis. We know that ἐν and εἰς/ἐς are related historically: Common Greek inherited from Proto-Indo-European a local particle *en 'in' whose Latin

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[4] In fact, only ἐς occurs in tmesis in Allen's *editio maior*, which is the one used by *TLG*.

cognate *in* has preserved the original syntax: as a preposition with accusative it has directional meaning, and with the dative it has locational meaning.

In what we could call the 'peripheral' Greek dialects – Arcado-Cypriote, Thessalian, Boeotian and Northwest Greek – ἐν has preserved this syntax. Ionic-Attic, Lesbian and Doric, on the other hand, innovated a form *en-s (with various later dialectal developments yielding ἐς and εἰς) which alone is used with the accusative in the directional meaning, leaving the old form *en with the locational meaning and the dative case only. Thus, the two meanings were disambiguated by the form of the preposition, and not by case alone.

That tmesis is so much more common with ἐν(ι) than with εἰς/ἐς would suggest that, as a linguistic phenomenon, tmesis belongs to the period before εἰς was created, or at least before εἰς/ἐς became usable in the epic dialect. This is corroborated by the fact that ἐν in tmesis can have the directional meaning that would normally demand εἰς or ἐς in a prepositional phrase in Homer. Consider the following example from *Od.* 11.4:

(6) ἐν δὲ τὰ μῆλα λαβόντες ἐβήσαμεν

The force of the particle is clearly directional: Odysseus and his companions made the sheep go *onto* the ships. Still, the poet uses ἐν. It should also be noted that even in Attic, compound verbs show a clear preference for ἐν instead of εἰς (Chantraine 1942). So it is likely that the univerbation of particle and verb happened before the creation of εἰς/ἐς and therefore that the poets of the last generation before Homer, who no doubt had εἰς/ἐς in their vernacular, did not have long-distance tmesis.

A closer study of the cases where εἰς *is* used in tmesis further supports this conclusion. In 11 out of the 13 cases, εἰς is separated from its verb only by the particle δέ. As we have seen, this is exactly the kind of tmesis that is possible even in later Ionic. With two exceptions (*Il.* 22.166 and 24.193), then, this mild kind of tmesis is the only one allowed with εἰς, whereas ἐν allows for long-distance tmesis and has retained its old semantics in such constructions. We can therefore retain the conclusion that long-distance tmesis had disappeared from the spoken language in Homer's time.

3 DEFINING TMESIS

This means that in examining tmesis in the epic tradition, we are for the most part dealing with a defunct phenomenon, an archaism like the genitive in -αο or the short vowel subjunctives. Still, as we saw in the beginning, Homer uses tmesis even where it is not metrically necessary. From this there is *one* conclusion to draw: not only is tmesis no longer a possible construction in the vernacular – it has also become a figure that

the poets use not only for their metrical needs, but for stylistic reasons. As such, it probably reflects the individual choices of poets rather than the evolution of a whole tradition, which is why a study of the frequency of tmesis is likely to be an interesting complement to statistic study of other features whose use and replacement seems to have been more mechanical, such as the genitives in -αω and -εω.

But studying the frequency of tmesis is also more difficult than studying different genitive endings, since it is harder to define what we are looking for. For the study presented here, the data were gathered in the following way: First, all occurrences of words that are liable to function as preverbs, in all their forms,[5] were retrieved from the *TLG* texts of the Homeric poems, the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, the *Shield of Heracles*, and the hymns to Demeter, Apollo, Hermes and Aphrodite. Examples from the *Hymn to Apollo* were divided into the two well-known groups. It was my intention to divide examples from the *Theogony* into two groups as well, before and after line 900. But as it turned out, there are no cases of tmesis in the disputed latter part of the poem.

This search yielded a large number of attestations where particles appeared separated from the verb of the sentence and so potentially in tmesis. On the other hand, there is also a possibility that the particle functions as a pre- or postposition – and this is by far the most frequent case. Finally, the particle can also be an independent adverbial. The following examples show the possibilities:

(7) Preposition
    οὐδέ ποτ᾿ ἐν Φθίῃ ἐριβώλακι βωτιανείρῃ
    καρπὸν ἐδηλήσαντ᾿ (*Il.* 1.155–6)

(8) Postposition
    τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίη Ξάνθῳ ἔπι δινήεντι (*Il.* 5.479)

(9) Preverb in tmesis
    οὕς ποτ᾿ ἀπ᾿ Αἰνείαν ἑλόμην (*Il.* 8.108)

(10) 'Postverb' in tmesis
    Ὄφρ᾿ οἳ τοὺς ἐνάριζον ἀπ᾿ ἔντεα μαρμαίροντα (*Il.* 12.195)

(11) Adverbial
    γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν (*Il.* 19.361)

Examples (7)–(11) are quite easy to categorize, but this is not always the case. In particular the boundary between adverb and verbal particle can be unclear. Consider *Il.* 1.461–2:

(12) ἐπὶ δ᾿ αἴθοπα οἶνον λεῖβε· (*Il.* 1.461–2)

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[5] Here is the complete list: ἀμφί, ἀμφ᾿, ἀνά, ἀν᾿, ἀντί, ἀπό, ἀπ᾿, ἀφ᾿, διά, δι᾿, εἰς, ἐς, ἐκ, ἐξ, ἐν, ἐνί, ἐπί, ἐπ᾿, ἐφ᾿, κατά, κατ᾿, καδ, καθ᾿, μετά, μετ᾿, μεθ᾿, παρά, πάρ, παρ᾿, παραί, περί, πρό, πρός, ποτί, σύν, ξύν, ὑπέρ, ὑπό, ὑπ᾿, ὑφ᾿.

Looking at this line in isolation, it is tempting to conclude that ἐπί is here a free adverbial. But in *Od.* 3.341 a compound verb ἐπέλειβον appears, and *Il.* 1.461–2 could have the same verb with tmesis. Alternatively, one could argue that even free adverbials could appear to the left of their verbs and that the compound form ἐπέλειβον is due to later univerbation. But such speculation is outside the scope of this study.

Instead, the approach adopted here was to count tmesis and free adverbials together, even if they are traditionally kept apart in linguistic analyses of Homer's language. The rationale behind this choice was that even if the two phenomena are not the same linguistically speaking, they are both foreign to the classical norm and we cannot even be sure that a poet in classical times, who had neither construction in his vernacular, would be able to keep the two apart. Both were manifestations of a stylistic trait proper to epic and other higher poetic genres. (9)–(12) may illustrate phenomena which are different from a linguistic point of view, but similar from the poet's perspective.

The only problem was thus to decide for every case whether the particle was an adposition (pre- or postposition) or not. In some cases, the choice has already been made by the editor, cf. *Il.* 2.150:

(13) *νῆας ἔπ' ἐσσεύοντο* (West's apparatus: ἔπ' Aᵃ: ἐπ' Hdn Aᶜ G: ἐπεσσ-
    3 50 Z ω*)

If the editor had chosen the text ἐπεσσεύοντο, the example would not even have turned up in the query. But fortunately, it is without importance for our research, since on either analysis there is no tmesis here.

The difficult cases, then, are the ones where the particle is separated from the verb, the particle and the verb constitute an attested or possible compound verb, but the particle also appears next to a noun that it could govern:

(14) *ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον·* (*Il.* 2.45)

There exists a compound verb ἀμφιβάλλω, so *Il.* 2.45 could be counted as tmesis, but on the other hand, it is also possible that ἀμφί governs ὤμοισιν. In such cases, my approach was to count every construction as a prepositional phrase if the particle stands next to or is only separated by clitics from a noun which it could govern according to the syntactic and semantic rules of epic Greek. Here is another illustrative example:

(15a) *θεὰ δ' ἐν δώματα ναίει* (*Od.* 1.51)

(15b) *Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν δώμασι ναίει* (Hes. *Th.* 285)

(15a) is counted as tmesis, since ἐν cannot govern the accusative in Homer, nor in any other Greek dialect when no motion is involved. On the other hand, the very similar example (15b) is not counted as tmesis, since here the

Table 5.1 *Frequency of tmesis in early hexameter poetry*

Work	Cases of tmesis	Freq. per 100 lines
Iliad	739	4,72
Odyssey	671	5,55
Theogony 1–900	35	3,89
Theogony 900–1022	0	0
Theogony 1–1022	35	3,42
Works and Days	29	3,50
Shield of Heracles	36	7,5
To Demeter	13	2,63
To Ap. 1–178	6	3,37
To Ap. 182–546	15	4,12
To Hermes	16	2,76
To Aphrodite	4	1,37

analysis of ἐν δώμασι as a prepositional phrase is possible. According to the principle set out above, this analysis is preferred and the construction does not count as tmesis.

4 RESULTS

On the definition above, tmesis distributes in the corpus of early Greek hexameter poetry as portrayed in Table 5.1. The frequencies that we observe in the hymns vary considerably, and are in fact not statistically significant. In the *Shield of Heracles*, the frequency is extremely high, 7.5 cases of tmesis per 100 lines. This is so because the poems contain many cases of ἐν in lines like these:

(16) ἐν δὲ συῶν ἀγέλαι χλούνων ἔσαν ἠδὲ λεόντων (*Asp.* 168)

We can also test the significance of the numbers for the hymns on a case where there is universal agreement, namely the *Hymn to Apollo*. Everyone agrees that this hymn should be split in two parts and the numbers show a rather marked difference in the frequency of tmesis. But on closer inspection, the numbers reveal themselves too small to allow for any conclusion. Knowing that the frequency of tmesis in the whole *Hymn to Apollo* is 3.46 per 100 lines, we can, using the Poisson distribution, find the probability that any given 178 lines will contain exactly 6 cases of tmesis – and in fact there is a 15 per cent chance for this, so the result could easily be due to chance, and the same is true of the other hymns. This means that we should concentrate on the four larger works, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*. It would perhaps be possible to achieve

significant results even for the shorter texts, if one also counted the number
of compound verbs without tmesis, since this would allow us to study a
binomial distribution instead of variation in frequency.

In the four larger epics, Janko (1982) got an impressive correlation
between the frequencies of the eleven phenomena, though the results for
the a-stem genitives need to be modified (Janko and Jones in this volume).
Generally, there is a recurrent pattern where the frequency of the more
modern variant increases slightly from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey*, then there
is a large jump to the *Theogony* and a further small increase in the *Works and
Days*. But since we have already seen that tmesis is a stylistic feature even at
the earliest known stage of the Greek epic tradition, there is every reason to
expect that the numbers will be different from those of the morphological
criteria, and that is what we find indeed.

Given that we seem to be dealing with the choices of individual poets,
it is reassuring to see that the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* pattern
so closely together, since there is almost universal agreement that the same
author wrote these two poems. This result is particularly evident if we look
at the result for the whole *Theogony*, but even if we disregard the last 122
lines, the figures are rather similar and this can be confirmed by statistical
tests.

And indeed, the numbers on tmesis do support the conclusion that a
rather large part at the end of the Theogony does not belong to Hesiod.
The last example of tmesis is found in line 855; there are no examples from
the last 165 lines of the text. Statistics by themselves cannot show where
to draw the line, but we can make some sample calculations using West's
proposal to put the end of Hesiod's genuine work at line 900. The frequency
of tmesis in the whole text of the Theogony is 3.42 per hundred lines; using
the Poisson distribution we can once again calculate the chance that 122
lines contain no examples of tmesis: in fact, this is a mere 1.5 per cent chance
if the distribution is random. In other words, it is highly unlikely that the
absence of tmesis in the last part of the poem is due to chance – there
should be some underlying cause. On the other hand, statistics cannot tell
us what that cause is. But to my mind the data supports the conclusion
that the end of the *Theogony* does not belong to Hesiod, although more
precise tools are needed in the search for the exact boundary.

The fact that the results for Hesiod's usage are uniform stands in contrast
to the most interesting finding of the examination, namely that there is a
large difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. And in fact, it is the
Odyssey which is the more archaic poem, with 5.55 cases of tmesis per 100
lines. It would be perverse to claim, on the basis of this evidence, that the
Odyssey is the older poem, but there are other consequences.

5 CONCLUSIONS

It is of course no longer a very controversial claim that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed by different authors – this is rather a majority view by now. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the diction of the *Odyssey* is on the whole slightly more innovative than that of the *Iliad*. However, Janko showed that the *Odyssey* is not only more advanced, but also consistently so throughout his ten criteria. Be it digamma, quantitative metathesis or ephelcustic nu, the *Odyssey* shows a slight increase in frequency – and as Janko observed, this is obviously compatible with the hypothesis that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the work of one man whose diction advanced with his age.

On the other hand, Janko also showed that the change of frequency in these criteria was rather uniform in the whole tradition; so we are dealing with a change in the language of a genre, not with the choices of an individual poet. In this respect, as we have seen, tmesis is different and therefore, I think, more relevant to the question of authorship.

The numbers are clearly statistically significant. The frequency of tmesis in both Homeric poems taken together is 5.08 per 100 lines, which means that on average we would expect 615 cases in a corpus of 12,110 lines. Again using the Poisson distribution, we see that there is only a 1.2 per cent chance of getting 672 examples or more if the distribution is random, so we should look for an explanation. Once more, statistics cannot tell us what the explanation should be; perhaps the poet of the *Iliad* developed a taste for tmesis before writing the *Odyssey*. But such a hypothesis seems less plausible than postulating two authors.

The case of tmesis shows us that stylometrics is not always a certain guide to chronology: what is important for chronology is not the frequency of single traits, but correlations of several features. The frequency of a phenomenon like tmesis tells us rather less than expected about the relative chronology of texts, and rather more about the phenomenon of tmesis itself. But what frequency tells us about tmesis is interesting in itself, since it shows that stylistic predilections and false archaisms played a role also in the earliest Greek hexameter poetry, and that even at this stage, the evolution of the diction cannot be wholly explained as mechanical modernization by the singers.

The Doloneia revisited

Georg Danek

In the discussion of relative chronology in archaic Greek epic the Doloneia plays a prominent role. When we try to define the relationship of single works without extra-textual evidence, we are limited to observing implicit references: intentional or unintentional adoptions of phrasings, citations, allusions. But by this method we can never be sure if what we label a 'model text' of a quotation is identical with the state of the text which has been handed down to us, as the model may as well have been a much earlier condition of the same text. Thus conclusions concerning relative chronology in archaic Greek epic must remain controversial.

The Doloneia is the only single extended passage within the *Iliad*[1] which has been labelled a 'late addition' or 'not authentic' by most Homeric scholars, starting from the famous note in the scholia.[2] In my doctoral thesis I tried to show that the Doloneia, though referring to the *Iliad*, and aiming at being an integral part of it, differs significantly from the *Iliad*'s style and is no part of its larger poetical conception, but a secondary addition. Only with regard to the question of 'authorship' did I refrain from making a strong judgement,[3] for the following reason.

What does talking about 'authorship' in an (originally, or predominantly) oral epic tradition mean? The conception of 'author' and 'authenticity' becomes problematic when we talk about an oral tradition in its strong sense, as it was outlined by Albert Lord (1960) following Milman Parry.

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[1] For similar discussions concerning the 'continuation' of the *Odyssey* see S. West (1989), Oswald (1993), Danek (1998b: 451ff.). The case of the unauthenticity has been made recently again by Cantilena (2004: xxiii–xxix and passim). We will see that, with the end of the *Odyssey*, things are different from the Doloneia.

[2] Schol. T in *Il.* 10.1: φασὶ τὴν ῥαψῳδίαν ὑφ᾽ Ὁμήρου ἰδίᾳ τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέρος τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ἐπὶ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποίησιν (They say the rhapsody has been placed separately by Homer and was no part of the *Iliad*, but has been placed into the poem at the times of Pisistratus). Cf. Montanari 2010.

[3] Danek (1988: 230–7). Some scholars took my book as final proof for the unauthenticity of the Doloneia, cf. West (2001a: 10–11); Cirio (1998) votes for the authenticity once again without discussing my arguments.

Within the 'oral period' of an epic tradition, strictly spoken, epic singers take over their songs from other singers, change them in the course of their career and pass them on in a fluent state. As long as no written fixation takes place, the only 'author' we can identify is the singer of the version which is performed on a single occasion. Under such conditions, the first singer who added the lay of the Doloneia to the (still fluid) epic concept of the *Iliad* must be simply called the 'author' of this new version as a whole. Any effort to discuss the authenticity of the Doloneia might be questioned, then, with a reference to the oral tradition.[4]

For that reason I want to pose two questions anew: first, how far can we posit that the Doloneia differs from the style of the *Iliad* as a whole? And, second, what does this mean for its 'authorship' within a culture on the fringes of orality and literacy? My essay will first follow the three main chapters of my dissertation, and only afterwards will I try to shed new light on the second question through a comparison with the Bosnian epic tradition: what happens when a singer within a predominantly oral tradition adds a part of his own to a 'model text'?

* * *

In my first chapter I discussed quantitative aspects of the language of the Doloneia. Starting from Richard Janko's documentation (1982: 201–20) which shows that the Doloneia linguistically does not differ from the *Iliad*, I tested several more aspects of formularity which didn't see significant departures from the *Iliad* as a result, either (Danek 1988: 20–47). But here we may restart our scrutiny on a more basic level. Stylometrical studies betray an individual author's style by exposing unobtrusive features, such as high-frequency word-types like connectives or particles. This can be scrutinized much more easily nowadays with the simple help of the Microsoft Word Search function.

But my new sample controls show disappointing results: in the Doloneia, there are no significant divergencies in the frequency of the most frequent connectives δέ, καί, μέν, τε, γάρ, or the particles ἄρα, δή, οὖν. Divergencies from the norm of the *Iliad* can be found only with expressions that do not occur often enough to produce statistical significance. For example, I found 12 occurrences of the word ἔπειτα, while in the *Iliad* we expect only 5.2 occurrences in a book of the same length, or 17 occurrences of the particle ἤ (or), compared with 6.8 calculated occurrences in the rest of the *Iliad*.[5]

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4 Thus recently Grethlein (2006: 253 n. 105): 'Es ist fraglich, inwiefern es angesichts der oralen Tradition überhaupt sinnvoll ist, von einem Autoren der *Ilias* zu sprechen.'
5 Close to significant seems the case of ἀλλ᾽ (27 times against 17.7 times in the *Iliad*).

Now these numbers tell us more about the content of the Doloneia, and less about its author's style, and offer no proof against its authenticity. I tried to explain already in my book (Danek 1988: 44–7, 230–1) why we should not expect significant deviations from the *Iliad* by counting word frequencies: for one thing, the poet of the Doloneia very much sticks to the formula language of the *Iliad*, using identical idioms and syntactical clusters because he wants his poem to sound like the *Iliad*. On the other hand, the Doloneia is simply too short to admit statistical results of any significance. So we might be content with stating that the poet of the Doloneia is well acquainted with the Iliadic formula language and uses its elements to a sufficiently high degree to make any differences disappear when they are tested by quantitative analysis only.

* * *

My second chapter concerned the formula style, properly spoken: in a running commentary of 120 pages I concentrated on formulations which I thought to be specific of the Doloneia, trying to define criteria for exploring the ways in which the Doloneia differs from the *Iliad*'s 'norm style'.[6] I judged as typical for the Doloneia cases where the poet, on the one hand, takes over a formula or formulaic expression from the *Iliad* and places it in an unusual context, so that its traditional connotation gets lost; on the other hand I considered cases where he uses an Iliadic formula just to evoke its traditional context, so that we get the impression of an abbreviating, allusive style. I expose here one passage which I noted only now when reading the Doloneia again and which has not been commented on until now.

We are right in the middle of the Doloneia. Diomedes and Odysseus are on their way across the battlefield, when they face the Trojan spy Dolon. They hide away from the path to cut off his flight back to the Trojan camp. Dolon passes by and proceeds on his way to the ships. The two Greeks wait a moment and then start after him. Dolon stops first as he supposes them to be Trojans who want to call him back. But when the Greeks approach he realizes that they are enemies and runs away. The last stage of this process is expressed as follows:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή ῥ᾽ ἄπεσαν δουρηνεκὲς ἢ καὶ ἔλασσον,
> γνῶ ῥ᾽ ἄνδρας δηΐους, λαιψηρὰ δὲ γούνατ᾽ ἐνώμα
> φευγέμεναι· τοὶ δ᾽ αἶψα διώκειν ὡρμήθησαν.
>
> (*Il.* 10.357–9)

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[6] This part of my book found small resonance. In his commentary, Hainsworth (1993) seldom refers to my critique of the formula style of the Doloneia.

For a precise understanding of these lines we need a verbatim translation:

> but well, when they were at a distance of spearshot or even less,
> well, he recognized the men as his foes, and [at the same time]
> was [already] pumping his swift knees,
> in flight; and they immediately hurried up to follow him.

When reading this passage, I was puzzled by the verbal aspect of ἐνώμα, because in this context the imperfect tense can only describe the background of what was already going on when Dolon suddenly made his discovery. Literally spoken, the sentence means: 'He recognized the men – and even before he recognized them, he was already running', a meaning that contradicts the logic of the events.[7] What we need here is a phrase meaning 'he began to move' – which can be expressed only through the aorist, not the imperfect.

We can see better what has happened here when we look at the second instance of the expression λαιψηρὰ δὲ γούνατ' ἐνώμα, *Il.* 22.136–44:

> Ἕκτορα δ', ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἕλε τρόμος· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη
> αὖθι μένειν, ὀπίσω δὲ πύλας λίπε, βῆ δὲ φοβηθείς.
> Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐπόρουσε ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πεποιθώς·
> ἠΰτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν,
> ῥηϊδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν,   140
> ἣ δέ θ' ὕπαιθα φοβεῖται, ὃ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὀξὺ λεληκὼς
> ταρφέ' ἐπαΐσσει, ἑλέειν τέ ἑ θυμὸς ἀνώγει·
> ὣς ἄρ' ὅ γ' ἐμμεμαὼς ἰθὺς πέτετο, τρέσε δ' Ἕκτωρ
> τεῖχος ὕπο Τρώων, λαιψηρὰ δὲ γούνατ' ἐνώμα.

Here things are described as we expect them to be: Achilles approaches Hector; Hector realizes the situation and starts running away; Achilles takes up the pursuit. Up to this point, all references are given in the aorist tense. Then we get an epic simile, which illustrates start and process of flight and pursuit, and then this image is projected back to Achilles who, by that time, is following Hector in the imperfect tense, and to Hector who starts his flight in the direction of the walls (143 τρέσε, aor.). It is only at this point when Hector's flight has been well established in the narrative that the expression λαιψηρὰ δὲ γούνατ' ἐνώμα follows. Here the idiom is a descriptive element which conforms to the verbal aspect of the imperfect tense. The same is true for the more elaborated expression λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ' ἐνώμα:

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[7] The comment by Cirio (1998: 136) is linguistically imprecise: 'l'imperfetto mette in risalto l'azione durativa.'

ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ᾽ ἐνώμα
(22.24)
ὡς Ἕκτωρ λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ᾽ ἐνώμα
(15.269)

In both cases the expression immediately follows an extended simile which has already helped to establish the idea of the start and the resulting stable condition of physical movement.[8] Thus in both cases the expression γούνατ᾽ ἐνώμα must be understood as a descriptive element. Here again, the verbal aspect of the imperfect tense is exactly what we need.

Now, what has happened in the Doloneia? The poet took over the half-line, as it were, as a successful phrasing, but used it just as a metaphor for the meaning 'hero X (started to) run away' and put it in a context where we do not need a descriptive element in the imperfect tense, but a phrase in the aorist tense, like βῆ δὲ φοβηθείς (22.137). With the use of the imperfect, we get the impression that the poet left out a short phase of the action in his narrative (or at least its substitution by a simile) and immediately passed over to the description of Dolon's running style, without telling us that Dolon first started to run.

It may be just a matter of taste if we call this kind of verbal style incapacity, mannerism or even a postmodernist citation of the traditional Homeric formula style. I collected 120 pages of more or less similar examples, which turn out to be characteristic of the Doloneia. What irritates most readers of the Doloneia is the impression that the poet does not simply use the traditional formulaic language in a natural way but scatters his precious findings of Homeric phrases all over his rhapsody in the way of a cento just to signal how very Homeric his language is.

* * *

In my third chapter I discussed two aspects of narrative technique which, as I argued, operate on a more conscious level and thus let us better judge the poet's intentions. First, I showed that the Doloneia poet not only ignores the common principles of constructing speeches and dialogues as they are used in the *Iliad*, but systematically employs techniques that remind us of the composition of speeches in the *Odyssey*.[9]

I got the same result in my analysis of dressing and arming scenes (Danek 1988: 203–29): while the poet of the *Iliad* restricts his use of arming scenes in a rigid way in order to construct a poetically meaningful pattern, the

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[8] In both cases the beginning of the movement is expressed only in the simile, and not in the main action: as in many other cases, the similes here switch over, and in that way substitute, a small part of time which is left out in the narrative of the main action.
[9] Danek (1988: 177–203), based on Lohmann (1970: 134).

Doloneia poet ignores these patterns and builds up his own pattern of arming scenes structuring the plot of the Doloneia.

Here I want to discuss a third category, the treatment of time and simultaneity. Starting from Zielinski (1901), scholars noticed that Homer never represents actions which happen on different scenes as taking place at the same time, but one after the other. So the narrative knows only foreground actions, while events which happen in the background are reduced to stable situations without change or development.[10] Even if the so-called Zielinski's Law has become the object of debate anew,[11] most scholars agree about the following facts: (*a*) the prime narrator never jumps back in time to recount actions taking place at a strand of the plot which has already been introduced in the narrative;[12] (*b*) when two or more strands of the plot get announced at a ramification point, these actions are presented in the narrative as taking place one after the other (Krischer 1971: 71–129). When we take a look at the South Slavic epic tradition, we realize that individual singers within a single tradition may handle similar restrictions of time management quite differently.[13] So we may conclude that Homer's consequent adherence to 'Zielinski's Law' was his deliberate choice to economize his narrative requirements.

The Doloneia systematically differs from the *Iliad* in this respect,[14] as we see when we follow the plot. In the beginning, Agamemnon cannot sleep and decides to consult Nestor about what to do. We get a short dressing scene including a catalogue of clothes. Only afterwards the narrator switches to Menelaus:

> ὡς δ' αὔτως Μενέλαον ἔχε τρόμος – οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῷ
> ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανε –   (*Il.* 10.25–6)

and in the same way Menelaus was frightened, because even he could not sleep.

We are told how Menelaus rises, puts on his clothes (here again with a catalogue) and goes off to wake up Agamemnon. When he joins his brother, we learn that Agamemnon is just putting on his clothes:

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[10] This part of the analysis conforms with how Erich Auerbach (1946) commented on the permanent presence of the Homeric narrator.

[11] The debate has been reopened by Rengakos (1995). See now de Jong (2007).

[12] Cf. Steinrück (1992). The *Odyssey* maybe differs from the *Iliad* in this respect, cf. Rengakos (1998); but see my remarks in Danek (1998a: 75–8).

[13] Danek (1998a). Cf. Danek (2007).

[14] I made a first suggestion in Danek (1998a: 79 n. 29). Cf. Jens (1955: 621).

$$\text{τὸν δ᾽ εὗρ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ὤμοισι τιθήμενον ἔντεα καλά}$$
$$(10.34)$$

Following this presentation, Menelaus has risen not simultaneously with Agamemnon, as is suggested in the scholia,[15] but even earlier, although the poet gives it the other way round. This conclusion may sound too scrupulous, but when Agamemnon meets Nestor, he tells him:

$$\text{νῦν δ᾽ ἐμέο πρότερος μάλ᾽ ἐπέγρετο καί μοι ἐπέστη·}$$
$$(10.124)$$

But now, [Menelaus] woke up much earlier than I and joined me.

So, the narrator does not only step back in time, contrary to 'Zielinski's Law', but almost comments on his violation of the rule, signalling that he enjoys the transgression.

But let us go back to the two brothers' encounter again. Agamemnon orders Menelaus to call, i.e. to wake up, Ajax and Idomeneus, and announces that he himself will wake up Nestor and force him to go together to the guards outside the camp:

'. . . ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι νῦν, Αἴαντα καὶ Ἰδομενῆα κάλεσσον
ῥίμφα θέων παρὰ νῆας· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Νέστορα δῖον
εἶμι, καὶ ὀτρυνέω ἀνστήμεναι, αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλησιν
ἐλθεῖν ἐς φυλάκων ἱερὸν τέλος ἠδ᾽ ἐπιτεῖλαι . . .'
$$(10.53–6)$$

Here we are given the announcement of a plot ramification with two separate strands of actions. Following Zielinski, we are forced to expect these two actions to be described one after the other. But again, it comes the other way round:

τὸν δ᾽ ἠμείβετ᾽ ἔπειτα βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος·
'πῶς γάρ μοι μύθῳ ἐπιτέλλεαι ἠδὲ κελεύεις;
αὖθι μένω μετὰ τοῖσι δεδεγμένος, εἰς ὅ κεν ἔλθῃς,
ἦε θέω μετὰ σ᾽ αὖτις, ἐπὴν εὖ τοῖς ἐπιτείλω;'
$$(\text{Il. } 10.60–3)$$

Menelaus presents alternative plot possibilities. He could either 'stay at place'[16] together with the two companions waiting for Agamemnon (who, simultaneously, would arouse Nestor), or come back to Agamemnon after having fulfilled his mission. The second choice might be operated in accordance with the usual technique of the *Iliad*: Menelaus might arouse Ajax

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[15] Schol. A ad 10.25a: ὡς δ᾽ αὔτως Μενέλαον ἔχε τρόμος· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι.
[16] The wording of the phrase is rather imprecise, cf. Danek (1988: 75).

and Idomeneus and come back to Agememnon, who would only then start
on his way to Nestor, possibly together with Menelaus.[17] But Agamemnon
votes for the first option:

> ʽαῦθι μένειν, μή πως ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν
> ἐρχομένω· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατόν εἰσι κέλευθοι . . .ʼ
>
> (10.65–6)

Only now we realize what Agamemnon intended to say in his first speech:
Menelaus should accompany the two companions to the guards and wait
for him there. Agamemnon in his reasoning reveals to us that even in the
second option he would not observe 'Zielinski's Law', but set off for Nestor
simultaneously with Menelaus, so that they would miss each other running
different ways across the camp.

So again, the narrator comments on how the two actions might be
represented in ordinary Homeric narrative, and emphasizes that he will
violate these rules by letting Menelaus' activities be performed in the
background, without representing them in the narrative.[18]

The same pattern occurs once again. Agamemnon arouses Nestor, and
they both go to wake up first Odysseus and then Diomedes. When
Diomedes awakes, Nestor tells him to arouse Ajax the Locrian and Meges.[19]
Diomedes starts on his way, wakes them up and takes them with him:

> ʽ . . . ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν, Αἴαντα ταχὺν καὶ Φυλέος υἱὸν
> ἄνστησον· σὺ γὰρ ἐσσι νεώτερος, εἴ μ' ἐλεαίρεις.ʼ
> ὣς φάθ', ὃ δ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἑέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος
> αἴθωνος μεγάλοιο ποδηνεκές, εἵλετο δ' ἔγχος.
> βῆ δ' ἰέναι, τοὺς δ' ἔνθεν ἀναστήσας ἄγεν ἥρως.
>
> (10.175–9)

In an implicit way, here again we get two simultaneous actions announced:
Agamemnon, Nestor and Odysseus will go the direct way to the guards,

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[17] We may compare this with the double assembly of the gods in *Odyssey* 1 and 5. Athena announces
two goals: Hermes shall go to Calypso, and she herself will go to Telemachus; she immediately
starts for Telemachus and accompanies him on his journey; only when she comes back to Olympus
is Hermes finally sent on his way. Similarly in *Il.* 15, Zeus announces two goals: Iris shall go to stop
Poseidon fighting, and Apollo shall arouse Hector; but only when Poseidon has left the battlefield
does Zeus finally send Apollo to Hector.

[18] Homer's different technique may be seen in *Iliad* 6: Hector leaves for the city of Troy; while he is
on his way, Glaucus and Diomedes meet on the battlefield; when the action on the battlefield has
fallen into a stable pattern, Hector arrives at Troy. Here the audience can rest assured that Hector
on his way to Troy will not do anything which is worth telling.

[19] In this dialogue, too, we are not informed where Diomedes is expected to go afterwards, as Nestor
does not even mention the guards. Both the dialogue and the ensuing narrative are abbreviated and
allusive, as they presuppose what the audience already knows.

while Diomedes will fetch Ajax and Meges on his way to the same destination. Here we cannot distinguish which one the narrator understands as foreground action and which one as background action, because in the next sentence all of them already arrive at the guards:

οἳ δ᾽ ὅτε δὴ φυλάκεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν . . .
(10.180)

The poet here uses a verse of *Iliad* 3, where Menelaus and Odysseus meet with the Trojan assembly.[20] Hainsworth (1993: ad 10.180) comments on the wording of 10.180, 'as if the pickets were at assembly, as the Trojans were at 3.209', and criticizes the verse as 'not very appropriate here, although the commanders are all found together'. In fact, the Doloneia poet wants to say something different: those who assemble are not the guards but the kings who just come out of the camp, and they do not so much mix with the guards, but with one another, because the three groups who have acted separately up to now here come together for the first time. Thus the poet uses an Iliadic formulation in an imprecise manner. But more importantly, here again he points at the fact that the three strands (one foreground and two background actions) reunite to form a single strand of narrative.[21]

In the assembly which follows, Diomedes and Odysseus volunteer for a spying mission and arm themselves. The poet describes this in a double arming scene and lets us understand that the armings of Diomedes and Odysseus take place simultaneously (10.254–61):

ὣς εἰπόνθ᾽ ὅπλοισιν ἔνι δεινοῖσιν ἐδύτην.
Τυδεΐδῃ μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης   255
φάσγανον ἄμφηκες (τὸ δ᾽ ἑὸν παρὰ νηΐ λέλειπτο)
καὶ σάκος· ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκεν
ταυρείην, ἄφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλλοφον, ἥ τε καταῖτυξ
κέκληται, ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηῶν.
Μηριόνης δ᾽ Ὀδυσῆϊ δίδου βιὸν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην   260
καὶ ξίφος, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκεν . . .

Thrasymedes gives to Diomedes a sword, a shield and a helmet, which is expressed in the aorist tense; then the narrator switches to Meriones, who gives Odysseus his bow, his quiver and his sword. This action is meant to take place simultaneously with Diomedes' arming, in the background, as may be judged from the imperfect δίδου (260). But then the poet

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[20] οἳ δ᾽ ὅτε δὴ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν (*Il.* 3.209).

[21] This technique of implicity conceals a symmetrical structure: the three groups consist of three heroes each (Menelaus, Ajax maior, Idomeneus; Agamemnon, Nestor, Odysseus; Diomedes, Ajax minor, Meges). But the four heroes who have been called on in the background remain passive as they are not mentioned again in the narrative.

switches to the aorist tense (261 ἔθηκεν), and tells us what else Meriones gave to Odysseus. So we have two simultaneous actions which are explicitly marked as taking place at the same time, but which are described one after the other.

Homer avoids this pattern, as we can see in the only other instance of an extended double arming scene, in *Iliad* 3: first the narrator tells us in the aorist tense how Paris puts on his arms one after the other:

> αὐτὰρ ὅ γ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ὤμοισιν ἐδύσετο τεύχεα καλά,
> δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠϋκόμοιο.
> κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἔθηκεν . . .
>
> (3.328–30)

and afterwards we just get the summary remark

> ὣς δ᾽ αὔτως Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος ἔντε᾽ ἔδυνεν.
>
> (3.339)

and in the same way, Menelaos was putting on his arms

which means that nothing remarkable needs to be said of his arming because it is identical with Paris' arming (ὣς δ᾽ αὔτως) and takes place in the background (ἔδυνεν, imperfect). Homer avoids describing simultaneous actions even when he signals that they do take place, but prefers to present them as foreground and background. The Doloneia poet, on the other hand, enjoys breaking this rule and puts his finger on his own violations of the rule.

The parallel actions continue. When Diomedes and Odysseus have started on their way across the battlefield towards the Trojan camp, the narrator switches to the Trojan side where Hector starts an assembly with the same goals as the Greeks:

> οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ Τρῶας ἀγήνορας εἴασεν Ἕκτωρ
> εὕδειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄμυδις κικλήσκετο πάντας ἀρίστους,
> ὅσσοι ἔσαν Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες,
> τοὺς ὅ γε συγκαλέσας πυκινὴν ἠρτύνετο βουλήν·
>
> (10.299–302)

By now we have learnt that the Doloneia poet likes to step back in time with his narrative. So the phrasing οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ makes us assume that the Trojan assembly takes place at the same time as the Greek one.[22] Our assumption is confirmed a little later: when Dolon finally flees from the

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[22] So Rengakos (1995: 6–7), with reference to schol. A b ad 10.299: οὐχ ὡς ἡ τῶν ἐπῶν ἔχει τάξις, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πράγματα. οὐ γὰρ προεληλυθότων ἤδη τῶν περὶ Ὀδυσσέα καλεῖ τοὺς προβούλους ὁ Ἕκτωρ, ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων.

Greeks, he gets almost as far as the ships. This makes us conclude that he has started from his post at the same time, at least, as Diomedes and Odysseus;[23] in other words, the poet has stepped back in time, a last time.

After all this said, my conclusion is short: the Doloneia poet not only systematically violates 'Zielinski's Law', but demonstrates that he does so deliberately. He differs from the *Iliad* poet's style not for lack of poetic mastery, but because he wants to do so. I see no reason why the poet of the *Iliad* would have taken so much trouble to avoid this in the other twenty-three books just to do it in one and only one book, again and again. The Doloneia poet is not identical with the poet who is responsible for the uniform style of the *Iliad*.

<p align="center">* * *</p>

How may we use this result for evaluating the relationship between the *Iliad* and the Doloneia? If we were to deal with the work of two authors who lived in a stable literalized society, the case would be simple: the poet of the Doloneia added a text segment of his own to the text of the *Iliad* which was the product of a different author. But how can we be certain that the text of the *Iliad* had already won a stable unchanging shape at the time when the Doloneia was added? Can we be certain that at that time the *Iliad* was no longer subject to the process of permanent modification and adaptation, which oralists claim is a typical feature of purely oral traditions?[24] How can we exclude the assumption that the author of the *Iliad* we have was just the singer of its final version which was fixed down in writing – maybe the Pisistratean singer who was responsible for the addition of the Doloneia, too? The question, in other words, must be: was the Doloneia added to the *Iliad* at a point when the *Iliad* had already been written down, or at a point when it was still passed on orally and thus subject to continuing change by the singers?

In order to exclude the 'strong oralist' model I will show what such an 'addition' looks like in the predominantly oral South Slavic tradition. What happens if an 'illiterate singer of tales' takes over a specific song from a specific identifiable source and makes it part of his personal repertoire, while adding a substantial part of his own? In which ways does the model get adjusted, and in which way does the additional part get integrated into the

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[23] The scholiast (10.299) sees this as proof of the fact that the two assemblies take place simultaneously: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς συμπεσοῦνται οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι.

[24] See now Čolaković (2007b), who postulates a substantial difference between 'traditional' and 'post-traditional' singers, but assumes that both types of singers adopt, i.e. change, their models significantly.

narrative, concerning both stylistic integration and narrative adjustment to its context?

I take my examples from three songs of Avdo Međedović.[25] In each case, Međedović uses a source which we can read and control today, but adds a substantial part to the plot. The three sources are of varying characters, but Međedović's method of supplementing always remains the same. As Milman Parry recorded all three songs as a kind of scientific experiment, I will comment on the 'prehistory' of the songs and the circumstances of their recordings.

Our first example is taken from a song called 'Bećiragić Meho'. While working with Međedović, Parry made sure that he did not know this specific song, i.e. that it was not part of his repertoire. Then he asked another good singer, Mumin Vlahovljak, to perform this song in Međedović's presence. Immediately afterwards he asked Međedović to sing the same song after having heard it just once. Međedović agreed and, without preparation, sang the song sticking closely to the plot of his model, but expanding the narrative from Mumin's 2,294 lines to 6,313 lines. He achieved these bigger dimensions chiefly by means of ornamentation and a more intense use of dialogue, but made no substantial changes to the plot. Only at the end of the story, in a long series of scenes, he expanded on events which in his model text are not narrated but may be understood as implicit background actions.[26] And he invented an additional character, which forced him to add a whole strand of actions, consisting in three short scenes which are, however, well interwoven with the main narrative.[27]

As far as sketched out above, all this can be judged from Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales*, who in an appendix presents a detailed comparison of the two versions.[28] Only recently Međedović's version was published as an online edition of the transcript of the original audio tapes, available in the beautiful handwriting of Parry's assistant Nikola Vujnović.[29] Thus I could read the text of Međedović's version and assess, apart from the narrative structuring, the style of his retelling. Now it springs to one's eye that this song as a whole is flat in its wording, and not concentrated in its narrative

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[25] For the relevance of Međedović for Homer studies see now Čolaković (2007a), with the Introduction of Robert Fowler (vol. 1.19–24). Čolaković and Rojc-Čolaković (2004) and Čolaković (2007a) include the *editio prima* of six songs of Međedović, a partial transcript of Parry's working diary in Bijelo Polje, and several important discussions on the relationship between Međedović and his tradition.

[26] vv. 5,194–5,540.   [27] vv. 4,975–4,989, 5,573–5,649, 6,184–6,201.

[28] See Lord (1960: 78–9, 103–4, 223–34). For more background information and discussion of the poetological problems involved, see now Čolaković (2004, 2007b).

[29] See pds.harvard.edu:8080/pdx/servlet/pds?id=2587563&n=1&buttons=y.

structuring.[30] But what concerns the language and narrative technique of the added strands, I did not notice any change of style. When reading the poem, we can sketch out the joints of the added scenes, but the style as a whole remains exactly the same for the whole song – it is, after all, just Međedović's typical expansive style which distinguishes him from all his colleagues.

This may sound like a rather subjective, and irrelevant, judgement of style. But importantly for this analogy, most Homerists are convinced, even on a single reading of the Doloneia, that they can spot the difference in style from the *Iliad*; by contrast, no similar difference of style strikes one while reading Međedović's text.

Thus, Međedović integrated Mumin's version of the song into his own repertoire by adapting it to his own characteristic style. Differences of style between the two versions, easily evidenced by the difference of length, are the result of each singer's individual style, even within the constraints of uniformity of the traditional formula language. Regrettably, we cannot give further support to this point, as Mumin's version has not been published yet. On the other hand, within Međedović's version there is no recognizable stylistic gap. If we did not know that Međedović added these three scenes to his model, we would not be able to spot them.

Our second example is taken from Međedović's most famous song, 'The Wedding of Smailagić Meho', which Lord and Bynum published in 1974 together with an English translation.[31] We know that Međedović used as his model a printed version that had been reprinted just a few years before and which, as he was illiterate, had been read to him by a friend several times.[32] Here, too, Međedović sticks to the plot of the model, but expands it from 2,165 to 12,311 lines by using an extremely expansive style, because Parry asked him to perform 'the longest song of his repertoire'. Here, too, he added a completely new scene sequence to his model just at the end of the plot, introducing the sultan himself and thus lending the story more significance.[33] But here, as well, he integrated the song into his personal style so that it is not possible to spot out the additional scenes by using

[30] See Čolaković (2004), who expands on Mumin Vlahovljak's severe criticism of Međedović's version. To give one example, in the main hero's long flashback (703–3,895) Međedović switches from the first-person narrative to the third person and returns to the first person only more than one hundred lines later (vv. 1,604–1,716). Lord does not mention this and similar flaws.

[31] Međedović (1974a).

[32] For the obscure archeology of the model text see Šemsović (2005); for a German translation of its original version see Gröber (1890). For an even shorter version of 262 lines see Danek (2002a: 333–44, German translation).

[33] vv. 11,675–12,282. Parry recognized Međedović's 'addition' to his source text, but thought that the singer had combined, i.e. contaminated, two separate songs.

criteria of style. So we see that for Međedović it made no difference if he learnt a new song from a colleague's sung performance or from a printed text which was read to him.

Our third example is taken from 'The Wedding of Vlahinjić Alija', a song which Međedović performed twice, in a sung and a dictated version. Parry's experiment consisted in making Međedović perform the two versions alternately, first the first half of the dictated one, then the complete sung one, and then the rest of the dictated one. As a result we can watch the singer working on his song. David Bynum edited both versions in 1980, and you may use my German translation of the dictated version.[34]

As is to be expected, here the two versions are even more similar to one another than in our first two examples: they not only follow the same plot, but have about the same length[35] and correspond, up to a certain degree, even in the exact wording.[36] Only at the end of the second (dictated) version, Međedović adds a small detail,[37] which causes him to change the whole course of this part of the song. Here again the addition is well enough integrated in the narrative structure, and here again we can see the joins, but cannot spot any difference in style between the 'older' and the 'younger' portions of the poem.[38]

It is evident that Međedović in all three cases understood his changes as necessary supplements which helped him to round off the story, to tie up threads of the plot which had been left untied in his models, and to lend more significance to the story. For him, it made no difference if he revised a song he took from a colleague's performance, or from a printed text, or from his own repertoire. In each case he first made the song part of his own repertoire by making it sound like his own, as far as the language and narrative technique are concerned. Any change he made should be understood as the singer working on his own repertoire, i.e. improving his own song.[39]

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[34] Međedović (1980), Danek (2002a, with comments and additional materials).

[35] 5,883 and 6,048 lines. The numbers for the complete songs are misleading, as for each half of the song, Međedović is significantly longer in his second version.

[36] Most important is the general difference between singing and dictating style: When dictating a song, Međedović was usually more concentrated and precise in both his wording and narrative structuring, than in a singing performance.

[37] The changes start with v. 4853: the main hero not only abducts his two fiancées from the enemies' capital, but (against all traditional typology) takes together with them the (typical) female innkeeper who had helped him, in order to save her from the enemies' vengeance.

[38] For the narrative structuring of this passage, see Danek (1998a: 73–5). In both versions, Međedović struggled with the synchronization of the narrative strands: see Danek (1998a: 85–6).

[39] We may compare what Čolaković (2004: 293–4) reports of the excellent singer Murat Kurtagić, whom he met in 1989: 'When Kurtagić, together with his wife Amira, was our guest in Zagreb

Here we may ask if our observations conform to Zlatan Čolaković's theory of Homer and Avdo Međedović as 'post-traditional singers'.[40] I prefer to work with the distinction between 'traditional' and 'creative' singers on the one hand (with 'creative' singers still working within, and using the traditional techniques, but excelling, outdoing and absorbing the whole tradition within one or few songs), and the distinction between 'creative' and 're-creative', i.e. rhapsodic, singers on the other hand (with rhapsodic singers learning their songs more or less by heart, in most cases using written sources, and keeping closely to their wordings).

I agree with Čolaković that 'post-traditional [i.e. creative] singers' have no high impact on a living tradition, because their pupils in most cases reduce their songs to a 'normal' format again. Sung versions by 'creative singers' which exceed the average format survive only if they get fixed, usually in writing. This was the case with the great singer Mehmed Kolaković, whose highly original and creative songs were collected by Luka Marjanović in 1888,[41] but left almost no traces in the living tradition, as far as we can judge from what Milman Parry found in the same region only fifty years later.

Thus what Čolaković labels 'post-traditional' is just 'creative' in my terminology, for Homer as well as for Međedović and Kolaković. These great singers composed epics which surpassed the whole tradition by including much new material and new ideas in the old songs. Concerning the Doloneia poet, on the other hand, our comparison with Međedović proves the point that he was no 'post-traditional' singer, but a 'post-post-traditional singer', at least, as he no longer tried to recompose the plot of the *Iliad* as a whole in a creative way. He was a rhapsode who learned the *Iliad* by heart, using a written text, and decided to add to it a new part of his own (even if he used an old story).

Međedović's creative additions to his traditional plots can teach us one further lesson. As I already said, the joins between the added parts are easy to spot. Međedović sometimes abruptly springs from one strand of the action to another.[42] In the added parts his style sometimes becomes abbreviated,

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and we could watch him the whole day, we realized that Kurtagić incessantly worked on his songs. Quietly, totally unintelligibly, he performed parts of the song which he intended to perform. He murmured in a low voice, without any cognizance of what was going on around him. Whenever we asked him what he was singing about, he would say that he was thinking over parts of the song which we intended to record, and that he was "renewing" some parts of it' (my translation).

[40] Čolaković (2004, 2007b, more fully expanded throughout 2007a).
[41] Marjanović (1898–9). See Danek (2002a: 275–303) for a short introduction and one song in German translation.
[42] This holds true for both when Međedović's corrects himself and when he 'corrects' his colleagues. But, after all, the experimental context of all three performances left Međedović no time for premeditating his 'new' versions, as Kurtagić (see n. 39) was able to do.

condensed or summarizing. But these style features can occasionally be found in other parts of Međedović's, and other singers', songs too. Thus I am not so much reminded of the style of the Doloneia, but of the 'continuation' of the *Odyssey*. There too the pace of presenting the narrative gets more and more accelerated, the causation of the story line is less and less motivated, and still we cannot say that these style features are characteristic for this part of the *Odyssey* alone.[43] The analogy of Međedović thus suggests, in my eyes, that the 'continuation' was the last addition which the *Odyssey* poet himself added to his own epic.

With the Doloneia things are different, as we can detect here distinctive marks of stylistic difference. That means that the Doloneia poet had not made the *Iliad* part of his repertoire in the same way as Međedović had done with his model texts – otherwise the *Iliad* would look more like the Doloneia. He learned the *Iliad* by heart, in all probability by using a written text, and did not integrate it into his personal style, but left it as it was while just adding a single passage of his own. He was well aware of the differences in verbal style and narrative intentions, but adopted an ironic stance to his master text and did not shrink from showing off the difference between his text and the *Iliad*.

It will have become clear by now why the Doloneia is such an important test case when we discuss matters of relative chronology in archaic epic: the Doloneia was added to the *Iliad* when it had already been set down in writing. This must have happened in the early sixth century BC, at the latest, because otherwise we should have hints at a more precise knowledge of how it was added. At that time, the *Iliad* was no longer subject to 'oral' changes of narrative structure, narrative technique and verbal style (if it ever was). For that reason, the Doloneia proves the case that we are entitled to discuss chronological relations between different works in archaic epic, i.e. between texts with a fixed wording, and not just story traditions.

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[43] See Danek (1998b: 499–500, ad *Od.* 24.413–548), Cantilena (2004: xxiii–xxix).

Odyssean stratigraphy

Stephanie West

Very many of the topics once subsumed under the general heading of the Homeric Question have been completely reformulated, or even abandoned as meaningless, as a result of universal recognition that behind the Homeric epics lies a very long tradition of heroic narrative poetry composed to be heard, not read. Nowadays any attempt to distinguish earlier and more recent strata within the two poems (apart from the two almost certain later additions, *Iliad* 10 and the end of the *Odyssey* (23.296–24.548)) will probably be judged old-fashioned. But if we accept that each of the two epics is likely to represent the consummation of its composer's work, the fruits of his experience in telling and revising its various elements, we have to allow that a very long time must have been spent on its creation – years rather than months[1] – and it is not unreasonable to suggest that some parts of the epic may belong to an earlier, some to a later, stage in the poet's development of his theme. Nowadays the preservation of a writer's drafts and working papers sometimes allows us to trace the genesis of lengthy compositions over many years, and we see how the author's conception of his work evolved in the course of time. Such study generally enhances critical appreciation. If we suspect that the Homeric poems may preserve clues to their own development, it cannot be a waste of time to investigate.[2] It must, however, be conceded that the problems encountered in the course of such inquiry do not encourage optimism about establishing relative chronology within the wider environment of early Greek hexameter poetry.

It would be simplistic to suppose that the later books of the *Odyssey* must necessarily come from the later years of the poet's work. We might indeed suspect the opposite. At the heart of the *Odyssey* lies the tale of the Husband's Return, a type of story found all over the world[3] and repeatedly

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[1] As is well emphasized by Goold (1977); see also Reece (1994: 157–8), Heitsch (2006: 18).
[2] Cf. Focke (1943: 148–9) on constructive analysis.
[3] Thompson (1955–8: N 681); see also Hansen (2002: 201–11).

gaining fresh life from actual cases; the aftermath of the Second World War brought many tragic instances. In the *Odyssey* this fertile theme has been enhanced by combination with the motif of a competition between suitors with a bride as the prize.[4] Odysseus' home lies further from Troy than that of any other Greek hero, and to reach it he had to round Cape Malea, the most southerly point of the Peloponnese and a notorious problem for seamen.[5] So it would not be surprising if it took him longer than any other hero to get home from Troy; but his failure to return a year after Troy's fall would raise the suspicion that he had perished on the way, that Penelope was a widow, and that her remarriage would bring her husband the lordship of Ithaca. But the story told in the epic's latter half does not essentially require the preceding nine years of adventures which for us now seem to typify the *Odyssey*, the *speciosa miracula, Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdin*.

Emulation of the *Iliad*, I would argue, has led the poet to extend to nearly ten years the period of Odysseus' *nostos*, thus bringing to manhood the son whom the hero left as a baby and allowing the elaboration of a colourful narrative of Odysseus' adventures on the way home. In Telemachus' plea on Phemius' behalf we should see the fruit of the poet's own experience: τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι | ἥ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται (*Od.* 1.351–2). While we recognize that epic style belongs to a traditional art developed over many centuries, style and subject matter must be distinguished, and there is no compelling reason why the story of Odysseus' adventures should be older than the composition of our *Odyssey*. Romantic notions of the conservatism of oral poetry and traditional storytelling should not pass unchallenged. By highlighting in the proem Odysseus' experiences on his homeward journey the poet draws attention to a part of the poem where he displayed his capacity for independent creation. By contrast, Odysseus' ultimate reunion with Penelope and the savage vengeance by which, preferring honour to material compensation as the heroic code requires, he reasserts his position as lord of Ithaca were, at least in outline, familiar.

However, we repeatedly see that the poet knew more than one way to tell his story.[6] Inconsistencies, misdirections and oddities which to the analysts appeared to indicate multiple authorship, the reworking of an older poem (or poems) by a poet (or poets) whose intentions and outlook

[4] Thompson (1955–8: H 331).
[5] Used in 480 by the Corcyraeans, according to Herodotus (7.168.4), to account for their absence from Salamis.
[6] I have learnt much from Georg Danek's exploration of this topic (1998b).

differed significantly from the original composer's, are better interpreted by reference to a reluctance to sacrifice what had proved successful.[7] Concern for the effectiveness of individual episodes overrides overall consistency, a preference shared with, among others, Aristophanes and Plautus, and the more readily understandable if we remember that episodic performance must have been the norm, performance of the whole epic, to a stable audience on a single occasion, extremely rare.[8] It is much too often assumed that the poet envisaged an audience who would absorb his narrative like a serial story, in a regular sequence of instalments, rather as nowadays we might listen to a novel read on the radio. But the episode must have been the norm (as it is when Phemius and Demodocus perform), and we should do better to see as a model the kind of familiarity with the Bible once enjoyed by regular churchgoers – enough to recognize the major figures and to contextualize the lesson, but not encouraging detection of inconsistencies with other parts of the Bible. The poet's audience may be supposed sufficiently familiar with the general outline of the story and its main characters to provide a context for whatever episode was performed without being troubled by any difficulty in reconciling what they heard with some other part of the narrative. The bard could exploit the assumptions of an informed audience.

A lack of concern for consistency is perhaps most obvious in the presentation of Penelope, where a version of the story in which she is Odysseus' principal ally has not been wholly discarded despite her displacement in this role by the now adult Telemachus; the result is an unpredictable, enigmatic character, well suited to a major role in a modern novel and offering vast scope for feminist literary criticism. We need to recognize the influence of earlier versions of Odysseus' story if we are to appreciate the poet's skill in adapting and unifying his materials.

To the modern reader much of books 5–12 looks like the stuff of fairytale, and it is customary to regret a deviation from the austere rationality of

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[7] I have taken Sir Denys Page's *The Homeric Odyssey* (1955a) as the outstanding anglophone proponent of the case against single authorship; his book made easily accessible much that otherwise might be patronizingly dismissed as obscurantist pedantry. But he was better at demolition than at construction, and his own view of the genesis of the *Odyssey* has found little support.

[8] Burkert (1987: 49–50) succinctly sets out the weakness of the widespread assumption that the opportunity to hear both epics in full was offered at the Panathenaia: 'To recite the whole of the *Iliad* alone, not to mention the *Odyssey* and all the other works still attributed to Homer, would take thirty to forty hours, more than the time available for all the tragedies and comedies at the Great Dionysia, which clearly was the more important literary event in Athens. Rhapsodes could only produce selections from the huge thesaurus that remained in the background.' The Panathenaic law of which we hear from Lycurgus (*Leoc.* 102) and Diogenes Laertius (1.57) was simply meant to ensure a proper order of recitation in the performance of selected episodes.

the *Iliad*. But the subject matter of these books is better classified as travellers' tales. Distance in an age when there were numerous blanks on the map made credible 'the Anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders' (Shakespeare, *Othello* I iii), along with Sir John Mandeville's vegetable lamb and many other marvels. In Herodotus' time an adventurous traveller should be prepared to encounter flying and two-headed snakes, griffins, monocular pastoralists, epidemic lycanthropy, and people who slept for half a year. Exaggerated reports of the dangers to be faced on the next stage of a journey have often led explorers to turn back; in particular, rumours of cannibalism as a socially approved practice, out of all proportion to its actual occurrence, have been a powerful deterrent.[9] Odysseus' encounters in books 9–12 test to the utmost his resourcefulness and endurance, the qualities particularly needed for successful ventures in strange environments, and thus peculiarly appropriate in the age of colonization. The storm which drives Odysseus' contingent westwards and off the map (9.67ff.) thus brings about a much more challenging homeward journey than the realistic itinerary, via Crete, Egypt, and Thesprotia in north-west Greece, described in the cover-stories which he tells on his return to Ithaca (14.199ff., 17.419ff., 19.172ff., 270ff.; cf. Eumaeus' reference to a report of Odysseus repairing his ships in Crete (14.378–85)) and better matching the proem: πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω (1.3). I believe that these cover-stories are the relics of an option which the poet discarded in favour of the stranger adventures which constitute books 9–12.[10] Menelaus could be given an interesting homeward journey by way of Crete, Egypt and Phoenicia, while Odysseus is taken to *terra incognita*.

Within this section book 11 fits oddly. If books 9, 10 and 12 represent second thoughts, we have third thoughts in book 11. Here I cannot avoid repeating old arguments advanced by the analysts.[11] My purpose is to argue

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[9] Cf. Privitera (2005: 187–8): 'Ciò che oggi, per gli studiosi del *folk-lore*, è una fiaba, era per Odisseo e per i Feaci l'ignoto, il mondo non frequentato dagli uomini, ma con gli uomini e con gli dèi saldamente connesso. Omero non ha mai pensato che Odisseo si fosse perduto nel mondo della fiaba: si era perduto in un mondo sconosciuto e remoto, ma reale, posto ai margini del mondo frequentato dagli uomini.'

[10] See S. West (1981a, 1981b: lxxxiii–xc). This approach was pioneered by Woodhouse (1930: 25–8, 126–36), though he weakened his case by presenting the hypothetical earlier version as historical, 'the real experiences of the real Odysseus on the way home from Troy'. The theory has recently been revived: see Reece (1994). A brief but stimulating exploration of the topic by Colin Hardie (1976), published in a *Festschrift*, failed to attract much attention.

[11] Well set out by Page (1955a: 21–51). The recent monograph by Tsagarakis (2000), though it offers several useful observations, fails to deal adequately with the most serious problems; see further Haubold (2002), Danek (2003).

that this episode is not the work of a later composer, but that the features which once fuelled the case for multiple authorship throw some light on the poet's procedure in the construction of his long epic.

Obvious problems arise from the loose connection of this episode with the surrounding narrative. Most serious is the lack of adequate motivation.[12] Circe responds to Odysseus' request for leave to go home with the news that he must first go to Hades and consult Teiresias, information to which he reacts as if it were a death sentence. Only after lengthy instructions about the route and ritual procedure (10.504–38) does she give a reason. Teiresias will give essential guidance on the route to be followed home to Ithaca: ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου | νόστον θ', ὡς ἐπὶ πόντον ἐλεύσεαι ἰχθυόεντα (10.539–40).[13] Theban legend had made Teiresias familiar to the *Odyssey*'s audience, topographical knowledge is seen as one of the skills to be expected in a prophet,[14] and it is a sign of Odysseus' distinction that, though without the advantage of any Theban connection, he will be able to consult such an authority.

Odysseus now rouses his men, rather brusquely (10.548–50). The narrative of their embarkation does not run quite smoothly, being interrupted by Odysseus' account of the death of Elpenor,[15] who was not very bright or particularly brave, and having gone to sleep on the roof while drunk got up in a fuddled state and fell off, with fatal consequences (10.551–60).[16] Odysseus' surprise when he encounters Elpenor's ghost awaiting admission to the underworld (11.51–8) indicates that he had not realized that Elpenor was missing when he left Circe's island; what is here related about the circumstances of the young man's death is to be understood as learned later, though the poet does not make this immediately clear. While we may acquit Odysseus of neglect of funerary rites, we might judge him negligent in that, with only one ship's contingent under his command, he failed to notice that he was short of a man. But Elpenor has an important narrative function in anchoring book 11 to its surroundings; his fate eases the transition from the world of the living to that of the dead and his ghost's

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[12] As with Telemachus' journey.

[13] Cf. 4.389–90; Menelaus' encounter with Proteus (4.354–570) is in many respects comparable. He is likewise advised by a supernatural female to consult a clairvoyant person, following a difficult procedure according to her instructions, and receives not only (relatively brief) travel advice but also information about his life's end.

[14] Thus Calchas guided the Greeks to Troy ἣν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων (*Il.* 1. 69–72).

[15] On this passage, which looks very much like an afterthought, see further Burkert (1995: 156–7).

[16] A realistic detail; in August 2006 the *Times* reported that fifteen people had died in south-eastern Turkey after falling off rooftops on which they had been sleeping.

plea for a proper funeral (11.66–78) ensures that Odysseus must return to Circe's island.[17]

Book 11 itself is a curious synthesis, consisting for the most part of necromantic conjuration at the edge of the world, a procedure which brings before Odysseus a long parade of the great dead, but concluding with material appropriate to a conventional *katabasis*, a descent to the underworld, with a view of the exemplary punishments suffered by the great sinners. But the demarcation between the two is not altogether clear-cut. Such oscillation between rather different conceptions is not simple carelessness nor indicative of multiple authorship. The poet skilfully exploits a licence not available to a writer guided by the presumed expectations of a reflective reader.[18]

Odysseus' necromantic ritual attracts the ghosts in swarms.[19] It is perhaps inappropriate to describe anything as 'normal' in this eerie procedure, but usually the necromancer addresses his conjuration to an individual and does not gain access to other spirits. This feature better suits *katabasis* than necromancy. After Elpenor's ghost Odysseus identifies that of his mother, Anticlea (11.84–6),[20] who, as he now learns, has died since he left Ithaca. But his interview with Teiresias must come before all other considerations.

Teiresias does not need to be told Odysseus' purpose. He immediately highlights the expectation of danger arising from Poseidon's anger, the seriousness of which Odysseus might be inclined to underestimate after his year of rest-and-recreation on Circe's island. But as regards Odysseus' homeward journey he concentrates on warning of the dreadful consequences to be expected if Helios' cattle on Thrinacia come to harm. We note that Teiresias does not forecast what will happen; he sets out alternative outcomes. The comrades who assisted in his necromantic sacrifices, Perimedes and Eurylochus (23), are now forgotten; the homeward journey would very likely have been rather different if they too had overheard Teiresias' solemn warning, but once Elpenor's ghost disappears Odysseus is treated as if he were on his own. However, Teiresias is quite certain that back in Ithaca Odysseus will find his wife beset with suitors, who must be killed. After

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[17] Some scholars have seen an aetiological significance in Elpenor's role. 'The old conjecture of Wilamowitz and Von der Mühll is very tempting that the motif originally had an aetiological meaning and stems from the Argonaut legend; for Elpenor demands a monument in memory of himself (l 75ff.) as if this could be the origin of a future city. The monument motif goes well with a source that provided the motif of the journey to the land of the dead' (Kullmann 2002c: 149–50).

[18] Considerable caution must therefore be exercised if this text is treated as a source for archaic Greek ideas about the afterlife.

[19] Odysseus' evocation of Teiresias is well discussed by Ogden (2002: 179–82).

[20] The name occurs only here: what is it supposed to mean?

that, Odysseus must undertake a journey overland to propitiate Poseidon. That satisfactorily accomplished, Odysseus may expect a gentle death in old age, among a prosperous people.

We must wish that Odysseus had displayed a little more curiosity about the manner of his death. What is the relationship between what is said here and the account of his death at the hands of Telegonus given in the *Telegony* as summarized by Proclus (Τηλέγονος ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς πλέων, ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην τέμνει τὴν νῆσον· ἐκβοηθήσας δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀναιρεῖται κατ' ἄγνοιαν)? This is not easily reconciled with θάνατος . . . ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος (11.134–5). The poet whets our curiosity with this enigmatic phrase. Eugammon, the composer of the *Telegony*, was not, it seems, so overawed by Homer's authority that he felt his narrative must satisfy Teiresias' description.

Odysseus receives Teiresias' instructions with remarkable composure (11.139),[21] but we may find them surprising, since the start of the poem had conveyed the impression that once he reached home Odysseus need not worry any more about Poseidon's hostility. Zeus has assured us, as he and Athena plan Odysseus' homecoming, that Poseidon's wrath will pass: Ποσειδάων δὲ μεθήσει | ὃν χόλον· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι δυνήσεται ἀντία πάντων | ἀθανάτων ἀέκητι θεῶν ἐριδαινέμεν οἶος (1.77–9, cf. 1.20–1); similarly Athena's reassurance to Telemachus (3.232–5) implies that once home Odysseus will not have to face any more travel. With this prospect of further journeyings for his hero the poet stimulates demand for a sequel and this may explain why he did not set before Odysseus' return to Ithaca whatever measures might be necessary fully to propitiate Poseidon. The *Odyssey* is often treated as a story with a happy ending; hence its cliché-istic description as the first European novel. But Penelope, after one extended night of renewed happiness, must wait a long time before her husband is back for good and they can both live happy ever after.

We think of Poseidon as primarily god of the sea, but, as is indicated by his titles ἐνοσίχθων and ἐννοσίγαιος, he controls earthquakes, a hazard to which the Ionian Isles are particularly exposed. Odysseus could not be supposed immune to the god's fury provided he avoided the sea. The awful consequences of provoking Poseidon's wrath were peculiarly apparent to Odysseus' fellow islanders.[22]

Odysseus has now achieved the purpose for which Circe sent him, and much more. He has got some guidance regarding his homeward journey

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[21] Contrast his reaction to Circe's revelation that he must journey to Hades (10.496–9).

[22] For specific details see Bittlestone et al. (2005: esp. 3–12, 92–105). Bittlestone argues that Homer's Ithaca is Paliki, now western Cephallenia, and that the poet was familiar with the terrain.

(though Circe herself will be able to give him much more detailed directions (12.37–141)). More important, he knows what he must do to make his peace with Poseidon, a problem which called for a prophet's peculiar insight. But he spends less time in conversation with Teiresias than with his mother's ghost, who had appeared even before Teiresias'. Here I believe that we have a relic of the more realistic itinerary which brought Odysseus home by way of Thesprotia, where there was a famous oracle of the dead, to which, according to Herodotus (5.92η2), Periander, tyrant of Corinth, sent a delegation to consult the ghost of his murdered wife Melissa.[23] For Odysseus his mother's ghost, reliable and devoted to his interests, would be an ideal source of information regarding the situation in Ithaca at the time of her death. Of course, what he learns from her here, some eight years before he gets home, is of little practical use to him with the epic's present timescale, and Athene must bring him up to date (13.303ff.). Odysseus' encounter with his mother now serves a different purpose, and in their mutual affection we see an aspect of the hero previously little in evidence. The restraint which he shows in postponing this reunion until he has talked with Teiresias is very much in character. He displays such self-control, in a heightened degree, when he delays making himself known to Penelope until he has disposed of the suitors, and because we have already observed his behaviour here we shall admire his strength of will and not think him unfeeling. Such recycling of components designed to serve a different function in the narrative is highly characteristic of the *Odyssey*. We should, however, note that Odysseus ignores what he has just learnt from Teiresias when he asks his mother whether Penelope has remarried (11.177–9); if he is to find her beset by unscrupulous suitors on his return (11.116–20), the question is silly.

Consultation of Teiresias provides a pretext for Odysseus to follow the example of Orpheus and, more importantly, Heracles; the poet more or less acknowledges the latter as his model in Heracles' speech to Odysseus (11.617–26). But it is a pretext. The procedure which allows Odysseus to converse with the great Theban prophet is necromantic; Odysseus does not need to pass into Hades' realm to achieve his objective. The lack of a sufficient motive for visiting the world of the dead is most apparent in what follows Odysseus' conversation with his mother, the parade of

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[23] Cf. Pausanias (1.17.5): γῆς δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἔστι μέν που καὶ ἄλλα θέας ἄξια, ἱερόν τε Διὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φηγός· πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνη τέ ἐστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὅμηρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἑωρακὼς ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι θέσθαι. See further Hammond (1967: 63–6).

fourteen noble (or notorious) female ghosts who present themselves before him (11.225–330). The transition is awkward, particularly since Anticlea has urged Odysseus to leave without delay. No explanation is offered for his failure to follow her advice. Curiosity apparently gets the better of him.[24] The women's stories are told, on the whole, so briefly and allusively that the poet must have assumed this material to be familiar to his listeners.[25] Some relationship between this section and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* is indicated by the similarity between Poseidon's farewell to Tyro (11.249–50) and Hesiod F31; but it is difficult to draw a more definite conclusion about this apparently random selection.[26] These women have no particular relevance to Odysseus, though Anticlea's status is enhanced by association. We are surely meant to admire his ingenuity as a storyteller in thus elaborating material with a particular appeal for Queen Arete, who responds appropriately by urging the company to make generous gifts to Odysseus. We may reflect on the skill with which the poet borrowed from oral hexameter poetry of a rather different type to enrich his narrative with material in keeping with the greater emphasis on women characteristic of the *Odyssey*, the song celebrating Penelope (as Agamemnon's ghost saw it (24.196–8)).

This intermezzo instructively reflects the reality of the poet's profession: some skill lay in choosing a suitable point for a break in an extended narrative, with the suggestion that the performance has gone on long enough, so that a further incentive is appropriate if it is to continue. The poet of the *Odyssey* brings his craft to our notice in a manner quite alien to the *Iliad*; here we should observe the form taken by Alcinous' compliment to Odysseus: σοὶ δ' ἔπι μὲν μορφὴ ἐπέων, ἔνι δὲ φρένες ἐσθλαί, | μῦθον δ' ὡς ὅτ' ἀοιδὸς ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας, | πάντων Ἀργείων σέο τ' αὐτοῦ κήδεα λυγρά (11.367–9).[27] The blurring of the distinction between truth and verisimilitude should be noted.

The parade of famous women also serves to delay what we are eagerly expecting, Odysseus' reunion with his dead comrades from the Trojan War. It is rather characteristic of the poet of the *Odyssey* to postpone what is expected, a relatively naive way of heightening tension and increasing suspense, observable at the outset in the delay in bringing Odysseus himself

[24] As with his exploration of Cyclopean territory (cf. 9.173–6, 228–9) and his aborted reunion with Ajax (11.566–7).

[25] As is implied by Antinous' allusion to such a tradition (2.118–20); see further Danek (1998b: 24, 230–1).

[26] Osborne (2005: 16–17) well highlights 'the very different tone' of the *Odyssey*'s catalogue, in particular 'a more general suggestion of female responsibility'; see also Rutherford (2000: 93–6).

[27] Eumaeus similarly stresses Odysseus' narrative skill in recommending him to Penelope (17.513–21).

into the narrative and an important element in the latter part of the poem as he postpones revealing himself to Penelope.

In his encounter with the war veterans we are back on more familiar Odyssean ground. The post-war fate of the heroes who fought at Troy is a recurrent theme. The Atreid paradigm, as seen from Olympus, started the action (1.29–43);[28] now we hear about the affair from Agamemnon's point of view (11.387–466). To Odysseus it comes as a shock. Agamemnon dwells on the breach of hospitality at the banquet where the butchery took place, and we now hear of the slaughter of Cassandra at Clytaemestra's hands (420–22). There is a peculiar pathos in Agamemnon's longing for news of his son (458–61), but Odysseus cannot help.

With Achilles' arrival (11.467ff.) we note that the poet now envisages a *katabasis* rather than necromancy; Achilles' ghost does not need to drink the blood of Odysseus' sacrifices to recognize and converse with him, and his greeting confirms that Odysseus has now penetrated the world of the dead: σχέτλιε, τίπτ' ἔτι μεῖζον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μήσεαι ἔργον; | πῶς ἔτλης Ἀϊδόσδε κατελθέμεν, ἔνθα τε νεκροὶ | ἀφραδέες ναίουσι, βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων; (474–6). Odysseus' conversation with Achilles is unforgettable, above all for Achilles' unexpected reaction to Odysseus' admiring estimate (482–6) of his status among the ghosts: μὴ δή μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ. | βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ, | ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη, | ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν (488–91). Remembering that in the *Iliad* (9.410–16) Achilles knew he could choose between a short life bringing everlasting renown and a long life in obscurity, his violently angry response sounds like an admission that he made the wrong choice: Odysseus, the survivor, has had the better fate.

Achilles' language is strangely untraditional, and we might wonder whether the poet is rather emphatically distancing himself from a rosier picture of the hero's fate after death such as was offered in the *Aithiopis* of Arctinus of Miletus, in which, according to Proclus' summary, Thetis snatched him from the funeral pyre and conveyed him to Leuce, the White Isle (ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λεύκην νῆσον διακομίζει). It is frustrating that we do not know what Arctinus actually said. The Black Sea's only proper island, *c.* 45 km east of the northern mouth of the Danube, and now in Ukrainian territory, was in antiquity known as Leuce, well qualified for the name by reason of its white cliffs.[29]

[28] Cf. 1.298–300, 3.193–8, 306–10, 4.512–37, 13.383–4, 24.193–202.
[29] Ostrov Zmeinyy, the Island of Serpents. The recently published monograph by Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov (1993) includes photos and a plan of the island. A problematic Athenian black-figure

Here Achilles was to enjoy a long-lasting hero cult, under the protection of the Milesian colony of Olbia.[30] But did the Milesian poet have this real island in mind, or did he envisage a mythical paradise in the northern sea, comparable to Elysium and the Isles of the Blessed, and subsequently identified with Leuce by the colonists of Berezan and Olbia? Was Achilles' translation to this remote uninhabited island Arctinus' own invention and the *Aithiopis* the inspiration of the cult?

Alcaeus' reference to Achilles as 'lord of Scythia' (F354) indicates that the cult was already well established among the Greek colonists of his day. But legends do not develop everywhere uniformly; at Miletus itself the cult of Achilles attracted no following. I do not see how we can tell whether the *Odyssey* reflects unease that, for all his distinction as a warrior, there awaited the half-divine Achilles no better fate *post mortem* than the shadowy existence appropriate to humankind in general, or offers a protest against a development out of keeping with the stern philosophy of heroic epic.[31] In the second *Nekuia*, surely the work of a later poet, Achilles is undoubtedly in Hades (24.15–97).[32] We cannot use this passage to clarify the relationship between the *Odyssey* and the *Aithiopis*.[33]

Achilles' concern for his father (cf. *Il.* 24.540–2) and son contributes to the affirmation of family values which is an important element in book 11 (by contrast with 10 and 12). Odysseus can give no news of Peleus, but offers a heart-warming (and tactful) report on Neoptolemus,[34] and we see Achilles' ghost stalking off through the fields of asphodel γηθοσύνη ὅ οἱ υἱὸν ἔφην ἀριδείκετον εἶναι (11.540). In the dead warriors' interest in the sons who have grown up unknown to them we see variations on the theme developed most fully in Telemachus' role.

We see why the poet quietly abandoned the necessity for the ghosts to drink from Odysseus' trench before they could recognize and speak to him as the focus shifts to Ajax, standing somewhat apart, still harbouring

amphora, dated *c.* 540, now in the British Museum (*LIMC i.2 s.v. Achilleus*, plate 901), depicting a winged warrior flying across the sea (there is a ship below), watched by a raven (Apollo's bird), has been thought by some to depict Achilles' translation northwards; but it might be better connected with his role as helper to those in peril on the sea, on which see Arrian, *Peripl. M. Eux.* 23.

[30] See further Hommel (1980), Hooker (1988), Hedreen (1991), Bravo (2001a: 225–43), Burgess (2001: 160–6, 2009: 89–114), Buiskikh (2001), Hupe (2006).

[31] Special treatment for Menelaus might be interpreted as basically a privilege granted to Helen as Zeus' only mortal daughter.

[32] This strangely belated encounter between the ghosts of Agamemnon and Achilles was most likely borrowed from or modelled on an episode in the Cyclic *Nostoi* in which, as we learn from Pausanias (10.28.7), a scene in Hades figured. On the end of the *Odyssey* see further S. West (1989).

[33] On the relationship between the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliad* see M. L. West (2003c).

[34] It would have given Achilles no joy to hear of Neoptolemus' slaughter of Priam at the altar of Zeus Herkeios.

resentment against Odysseus over the Judgement of Arms. Odysseus implores the ghost to come and talk to him, but the other makes no answer, and leaves without a word. Still, it might have been otherwise: ἔνθα χ᾽ ὁμῶς προσέφη κεχολωμένος, ἤ κεν ἐγὼ τόν· | ἀλλά μοι ἤθελε θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι | τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἰδέειν κατατεθνηώτων. (565–7) Page comments tartly: 'The silence of Ajax, then, was accidental, imposed by the requirements of a timetable. Given another moment he would have spoken. And Odysseus' plea, that Ajax might forgive and speak to him, was nothing but formal politeness: Ajax was about to reply, but Odysseus is in a hurry, he cannot wait for the answer; another day, perhaps, but just now time is pressing' (1955a: 26–7).

The weakness of the transition, motivated simply by Odysseus' curiosity, is obvious.[35] We are not actually told that Odysseus has left his sacrificial trench to stroll round Hades and view the traditional Underworld figures, but the necromantic framework has been abandoned. In Heracles' greeting we see the culmination of the poet's efforts to enhance his hero's status.[36] Heracles recognizes that they have much in common: ἆ δείλ᾽, ἦ τινα καὶ σὺ κακὸν μόρον ἡγηλάζεις, | ὅν περ ἐγὼν ὀχέεσκον ὑπ᾽ αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο (11.618–9).[37] On his mission to get Cerberus Heracles had the help of Hermes and Athena: Ἑρμείας δέ μ᾽ ἔπεμψεν ἰδὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (626; cf. *Il.* 8.362–9). Odysseus has managed *his* visit to the world of the dead without apparent divine support. Heracles' acknowledgement that Odysseus' career has much in common with his own is highly significant. Endurance, determination and resourcefulness win for the trickster from the Western Isles the respect of Zeus's son, the archetypal hero.[38]

Odysseus was hoping to meet more of the ancient heroes when his visit was brought to an appropriately uncanny conclusion: ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐπὶ ἔθνε᾽ ἀγείρετο μυρία νεκρῶν | ἠχῇ θεσπεσίῃ· ἐμὲ δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ᾕρει, | μή μοι Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου | ἐξ Ἀΐδος πέμψειεν ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια (632–5). The weird atmosphere evoked at the start of the episode is thus revived. The scholium on 568 (very likely displaced from two lines

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[35] Goold (1977: 5–6) interestingly compares the conclusion of the duel between Hector and Ajax (*Il.* 7.268–312): 'What the poet is doing in these two passages . . . is to effect a juncture between two blocks of different material. He does not want to drop Ajax and abruptly introduce Minos, nor does he wish to kill off inexpendable heroes, but has elected to secure a transition in the one passage and a suspension in the other by means of a contrary-to-fact apodosis: from a sympathetic viewpoint no one could reasonably imagine that Ajax was willing to forgive Odysseus or that the duellers-to-the-death were really shamming.'

[36] The problems created by 11.602–4 are notorious; already suspected in antiquity, they are best regarded as an interpolation.

[37] Their affinities are well brought out by Finkelberg (1995).

[38] Presented in a rather different light at 21.22–30.

earlier) tells us that the passage describing Odysseus' underworld sight-
seeing (568–627) was judged spurious (almost certainly, by Aristarchus):
νοθεύεται μέχρι τοῦ ὡς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν αὖθις ἔδυ δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω (627).[39]
Persephone's eerie intervention would have made a fine ending to Odysseus'
encounter with Ajax' shade.

   The problems of book 11 are familiar enough, and I have not attempted
to gloss over them. The situation in some ways resembles that of *Iliad*
9. There both the way in which the book is worked into the poem and
the way in which Phoenix is worked into the book have long seemed to
challenge most severely a unitarian approach. Yet in this book we have
so much that goes to the heart of the *Iliad* and illuminates Achilles that
we cannot happily label it a late interpolation as we may *Iliad* 10. Bryan
Hainsworth well sums up: 'Reinhardt's hypothesis . . . that the composition
of our *Iliad* was a long drawn-out process with repeated revison over many
years rests on a persuasive premise: the poem cannot have been created in a
moment of inspiration. It is in such places as book 9 that we have a glimpse
into the workshop of Homer.'[40] The difficulties which once fuelled the
arguments of analysts are better seen as clues which may reveal something
about the poet's methods and view of his subject. The production of a
written, relatively fixed, text of a lengthy composition was still a novelty.

   We can, I believe, roughly trace in book 11 four strata in the *Odyssey*'s
composition. (My geological analogy should be supposed to allow some
folding and shifting; the strata do not invariably lie neatly one above
the other.) The earliest involves Odysseus' conjuration of his mother's
ghost, at the Thesprotian *nekuomanteion*, an episode belonging to the
more realistic *nostos* through known regions outlined in his cover-stories.
The poet has left a tantalizing indication that the audience for that narrative
was originally Penelope. Anticlea's ghost concludes her utterance with the
words ταῦτα δὲ πάντα | ἴσθ, ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τεῇ εἴπῃσθα γυναικί
(11.223–4), natural enough if Odysseus is now addressing his wife, otherwise
curiously pointless. That itinerary was discarded in favour of a journey
through quite uncharted territory, in the course of which his dealings
with a savage ogre provoked Poseidon's wrath and thus became pivotal
to the plot. This is the second stratum; at this level Circe can provide
Odysseus with all the advice on his route home that he needs, and it is
assumed that once home he has nothing more to fear from Poseidon. But

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[39] Cf schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.97; see further Garbrah (1978).
[40] Hainsworth (1993: 57); see also S. West (2001). It is not irrelevant that it is in book 9 that we have
   (at 381–4) one of the clearest indications of the date of composition to be found anywhere in the
   Iliad: see further Burkert (1976).

with the passage of time the poet saw a need for Odysseus to make his peace with Poseidon, for which specialist guidance was required: hence the consultation of Teiresias, the prophet *par excellence*. Ghost-raising does not in itself call for a journey to the world of the dead, but a visit to Hades had been Heracles' supreme exploit, and such an adventure would enhance Odysseus' status. The insertion of the greater part of what we know as book 11 entailed slight changes to the end of book 10 (490–574) and to the start of book 12 (1–35). (But the poet allowed Odysseus to appear to have forgotten what he had learned from Teiresias about Penelope's suitors when he got back to Ithaca (13. 383–5).) Finally, as the last stratum, we have what follows Odysseus' encounter with Ajax, culminating in his meeting with Heracles (11.566–631); here, unquestionably, the framework is a *katabasis*, and that is how Circe viewed their adventure on their return: σχέτλιοι, οἳ ζώοντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ' Ἀΐδαο, | δισθανέες, ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἄνθρωποι (12.21–2).

In book 11 we get an unusually strong sense of work-in-progress. In this essay I have assumed a much greater element of innovation and creativity on the poet's part than is nowadays commonly supposed, encouraged by his own emphasis on the importance of novelty (1.351–2), which is supported by Phemius' pride in his own originality: αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας | παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν (22.347–8). Modern study of traditional oral epic has emphasized its conservatism, and the environments in which such traditions survive – or are revived – do not encourage innovation. But it cannot always have been so. Whoever had the idea of giving the dignity of hexameter verse to Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemus (whether the poet of our *Odyssey* or another) could not have proceeded by simply adapting elements from roughly similar narratives; too much here is peculiar, without close congeners in heroic narrative. In book 11 I believe we can trace more clearly than elsewhere the sequence in which the poet's ideas developed.

If this analysis is on the right lines, it may be worth looking for indications of similar developments elsewhere in the *Odyssey*. This is not the place to set out the grounds for believing that it was the possibility of making a written record that stimulated the composition of long epics such as our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Those who had been trained in the oral poet's art would not change their style or narrative technique because script could now offer a degree of permanency; they did not envisage reflective solitary readers who might be troubled by inconsistency or misdirection which would not worry a listening audience. When oral theory was a novelty, many oddities which had troubled analysts and inspired some amazingly

ingenious defences from unitarians appeared sufficiently accounted for as natural elements in a style which did not nicely weigh every word. This approach could too easily lead to a lack of attention to detail. We shall do better to consider the ways in which is revealed a poet's adaptation of his technique to meet the demands of a lasting written record.

We too readily assume that in antiquity the production of a written text was as definitive an act as printing is nowadays. But the unmarked endings of very many ancient works reflect a certain indecisiveness about formally concluding. The end of an episode is marked as such, but the author leaves open the possibility of going further. The last chapter of Herodotus' *Histories* (9.122) well exemplifies this feature.[41] Of course, extension at the end of a work is a more obvious idea than expansion midway, but (literal) cutting and pasting presented no great difficulty (though systematic minor correction at a series of points in the narrative was more demanding), and so long as the roll was the usual format, alteration and expansion were physically easy.[42] Writing could give durability to what was previously ephemeral, but did not preclude improvements. Modern conditions of publication make it highly unlikely that a literary work will be disseminated to the reading public before its author judges that it has reached a definitive form; if death overtakes the writer before finishing, that circumstance is unlikely to be overlooked. But book production was very different before the invention of printing.

If the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* extended over many years – decades, even – questions of mutual influence, interference and intertextuality in early Greek hexameter poetry gain added interest but become much harder to answer. Singers enjoy a place in Eumaeus' list of peripatetic professionals (17.382–5); in archaic Greece this is more likely to reflect the way of life normal for a singer who made his living by his art[43] than the situation of Phemius and Demodocus, attached to a court or wealthy household. Though we may doubt whether our poet and Hesiod really met on Delos (Hesiod F 357), it is pleasing to speculate about opportunities for singers to become acquainted with one another's work before texts circulated. But once we take this scenario seriously it becomes much more difficult to assess what might look, at first sight, like evidence of the influence of one work on another; questions of intertextuality become much more

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[41] See further van Groningen (1960: 70–82), S. West (2007).

[42] The situation was interestingly different where the normal writing material was the clay tablet; once baked its text was unalterable.

[43] Or perhaps exercised his skill, in the evenings or on holidays, as a useful sideline to a peripatetic day-job.

complicated. We can trace connections between our *Odyssey* and a wide range of other hexameter poetry – not only with poetry dealing with the Matter of Troy (*Memnonis/Aithiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis*, *Nostoi*) but also with the *Argonautica*, the *Catalogue of Women* and poetry celebrating Heracles. With some of these titles we may be reasonably confident that texts already existed, but for others the poet more likely drew on what existed only in memory and performance. The poet was unmistakably in debt to Argonautic poetry,[44] as he acknowledges (12.69–72), perhaps indeed to a version of Jason's adventures already stabilized in writing; but the relationship with the Cyclic epics (as opposed to the complex of Trojan themes which formed their subject matter) is less clear.

Scenes set in Hades were clearly popular in early Greek epic, not restricted to heroes who succeeded in returning from the world of the dead. From Pausanias (10.28.7) we learn that they featured in both the Cyclic *Nostoi* and the *Minyas*. As in descriptions of scenes among the gods, the poet who described the underworld told of matters beyond human knowledge, with an authority derived from his Muse (cf. 22.347–8) but originally rooted in shamanistic song.[45] Where Heracles had gone, Odysseus, his status greatly enhanced by our poet's skill, might also venture. Inconcinnities in the narrative should not distract us from the grandeur of the *Nekuia*'s theme.

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[44] See further M. L. West (2005).   [45] See further Burkert (1996: 67–9).

Older heroes and earlier poems
The case of Heracles in the Odyssey

Øivind Andersen

In the *Iliad*, Heracles' ἄεθλοι for Eurystheus are taken for granted (*Il.* 8.362–5, 15.639–40, 19.96–133). That 'even Herakles, dearest of all to Zeus, succumbed to fate and the wearisome anger of Hera' (18.119) is a comfort to Achilles. Heracles is said once to have wounded Hera, though (5.392–4), and Hades as well (5.394–400), and also to have attacked Pylos (11.689–90). Heracles' dealings with Laomedon and his sack of Troy are proudly reported by his son by Astyocheia, Tlepolemus (5.638–51), who is leader of the contingent from Rhodes (2.653–70). Along with the barely mentioned Phidippus and Antiphus, sons of the Heraclid Thessalus (2.678–9), Tlepolemus may have been introduced into the action at Troy by the poet who has him die at the hands of Sarpedon (*Il.* 5.657–7). Heracles as a father figure and a formidable hero looms large in the horizon. Whether Homer for his Heracles references in the *Iliad* relied on a specific Heracles epic or drew on a composite tradition of epic song and mythological narrative, of which there must also have been a great deal, we cannot know.[1] Also, we cannot know how much in the way of invention and adaptation that went into the fashioning of the hero at relevant points in the *Iliad*. While Heracles – Hera's hero of the labours – will have been a figure about whom everybody knew the essentials, he will at the same time have lent himself to being associated with ever more adventures and to being exploited for a variety of purposes.

That will hold true also in the case of the *Odyssey*. There, the older hero comes into the picture on three occasions:[2] first, in Scheria, as Odysseus

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[1] M. L. West, who in his contribution to this volume does not deal with hexameter poetry about Heracles, has maintained (2003a: 19–20) that poems about his deeds were current before 700 BC and that the allusions in Homer show that there must have been 'a poem or poems' covering the labours. That the poet of the *Iliad* relied on a specific epic poem about Heracles was argued by Kullmann (1956: 25–35) within the framework of a developmental hypothesis for the *Götterapparat*.

[2] In addition, Heracles is mentioned in the catalogue of women in the Nekuia, where Odysseus sees 'Amphitryon's wife, Alkmene, who after lying in love in the embraces of great Zeus, brought forth Herakles, lion-hearted and bold of purpose' (11.266–268). (I quote or adapt Richard Lattimore's translation throughout.)

identifies himself as the next best archer in the world, while adding that he would not contend with earlier men like Heracles and Eurytus (8.215–29); second, at the end of the Nekuia, when Odysseus reports his encounter with the terrifying εἴδωλον of Heracles (11.601–27); finally, in Ithaca, as Penelope goes to fetch Odysseus' bow and we get to learn about its provenance in a story which features Eurytus and Iphitus as well as Heracles (21.13–41). My interest in these passages, relevant to the question of relative chronology, is threefold. First, concerning matter: what do the passages in Books 8, 11 and 21 refer to and rely on in terms of contents? how should they be contextualized and filled out? Second, concerning method: how can we know what is old and what new? For example, does opaqueness of circumstances or details imply the existence of, and even the audience's familiarity with, a clearer and more complete version?[3] Third, concerning function: to what extent and in what way do the three episodes contribute to the Homeric (and the Homerist) audience's appreciation of what is going on in the *Odyssey*?[4] We shall mainly consider the incidents told in books 8 and 21, which involve Eurytus as well as Heracles.

* * *

After his sudden discus throw and some hearty encouragement by Athena, the as yet unrecognized Odysseus assures the Phaeacians that he is willing to compete in both boxing and wrestling and the foot race, and boasts of his athletic all-round prowess (8.186–214). He then identifies himself emphatically as a bowman: 'I know well how to handle the polished bow' (8.215). He was the first to hit his man with an arrow in a throng of enemies, however numerous were his fellow archers around him; Philoctetes was the only one to surpass him with the bow in the land of the Trojans whenever the Achaeans shot with bows; all others Odysseus declares himself to outdo by far. As Odysseus throughout the *Iliad* appears as a spearman and in full armour,[5] it is remarkable that the poet here has him introduce himself as a bowman before Troy. By simply asserting the fact, the poet, I submit,

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[3] Danek (1998b: 247) asserts not only 'daß die Odyssee nicht nur auf eine vage "Herakles-Sage" rekurriert und die Einzelheiten jeweils neu erfindet, sondern auf breit ausgestaltete Versionen der Sage verweist, die man sich in epischer Form vorzustellen hat', but also that 'der Hörer der Odyssee mit Herakles-Epik gut vertraut sein mußte'.

[4] 'These allusions help to expand the range of human possibilities the poem embraces and the range of ethical judgements it invites, . . . [the *Odyssey*'s mythological allusions] contribute to the sense that there are other ways to evaluate the individual achievements and social institutions that the poem represents' (Schein 2002: 86).

[5] Odysseus does not even take part in the archery contest in the games for Patroclus; Meriones and Teucer are the contestants (*Il.* 23.859). Meriones lends Odyssey his bow in the Doloneia (260), but Odysseus has no use for it. On archery in Homer and Odysseus the archer, see Dirlmeier (1970: 69–71), Hölscher (1988: 67–72), Danek (1998c: 152–5).

establishes the hero in that capacity. Whatever 'Odysseus the bowman'
may owe originally to tales about Odysseus the unheroic trickster, his
bowmanship at Troy as it is presented here in book 8 enhances Odysseus'
heroic stature. Odysseus' boast is the poet's *post festum* amplification of his
Odyssean archer in the light of what will happen at his homecoming.[6]

   Odysseus is only the next best of his generation, though. There is no
beating Philoctetes. It is admittedly not so easy to envisage the two of them
fighting together as archers during the siege of Troy. The *Iliad* seems to
reckon with the tradition according to which Philoctetes was brought to
Troy in the final phase of the war (cf. *Il.* 2.722–5).[7] The defining feature
for Philoctetes' status as the greatest archer before Troy is his role at the
sack of the city. Here in book 8, however, Philoctetes is not associated
with any decisive feat, but appears as a generally good archer, 'whenever we
Achaeans shot with the bow in the Trojan country' (8.220). For the *Odyssey*,
of course, Odysseus is eminently the πτολίπορθος. As Philoctetes in the
prevailing version will have been absent for most of the duration of the
war, until he was finally fetched from Lemnos, we again can observe how
the poet has Odysseus convey a picture that suits the immediate context,
although it hardly tallies with the received story. What the *Odyssey* offers
here is not a glimpse of earlier traditions or lost poems, but a reflection of
the action of the *Odyssey* itself.

   In addition to comparing himself to Philoctetes, Odysseus contrasts
himself with two others. For

> I will not set myself against men of the generations
> before, not with Herakles nor Eurytos of Oichalia,
> who set themselves against the immortals with the bow, and therefore
> great Eurytos died suddenly nor came to an old age
> in his own mansions, since Apollo in anger against him
> killed him, because he had challenged Apollo in archery.
>
> (*Od.* 8.223–8, tr. Lattimore)

The context implies that Odysseus could stand comparison to Heracles and
Eurytus in archery. The fact that the two of them were good archers goes
without saying; indeed, if they had not been good archers, they would not
have competed with the gods.[8] By stressing their vying with gods Odysseus
foregrounds the contrast between his own wise ways and the objectionable

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[6] Garvie (1994: 282), on 8.215–28: 'But with the climax of the poem already in mind H. may have
attributed to him a skill that is quite untraditional, at least in the context of Troy.'

[7] In the *Odyssey*, we briefly learn about his successful return (3.190).

[8] 'The fact that Heracles and Eurytus competed in archery even with the gods is mentioned in the
first instance to prove how skilled they were with the bow' (Garvie 1994: 284, on *Od.* 8.224–8).

conduct of the older heroes, which for Eurytus had fatal consequences. The mentioning of the older heroes thus is transformed into a warning example.[9] Odysseus has made a point of himself standing 'far out ahead of all others such as are living *mortals now* and feed on the earth' (8.221–2); he will not compete even with *men* of earlier generations, let alone with the *immortals*. It may also be significant that Odysseus had just issued a general challenge to the Phaeacians, to all of them 'except Laodamas himself, for he is my host; who would fight with his friend?' (8.207–8). There is a preoccupation here, on behalf of poet and hero, with proper conduct.[10] It is hardly accidental that Odysseus introduces himself as the man with the bow within a morally charged context involving guest-friendship. I would agree with the scholiast (to 8.215) that the present passage foreshadows (προοικονόμει) the massacre of the suitors.[11] Archery at Troy is not very relevant in the Phaeacian context, where no archery has taken or is going to take place. Odysseus otherwise refers to athletics that is actually going on: He is willing to compete in boxing and wrestling and the foot race (8.206), and he refers to contests generally (8.215). Archery does not figure on the programme in Scheria; the prominence that it achieves in Odysseus' speech refers us forward to his wielding of the bow amongst the suitors in Ithaca.[12]

Both Heracles and Eurytus will have been well established as bowmen for poet and audience alike.[13] But to which story or stories does *Od.* 8.225–8 refer the listener? For Heracles competing with gods we have no further evidence. His vying with the gods simply is asserted here and it will, I submit, have been accepted accordingly. Heracles is the sort of hero about whom a poet could easily assert, and an audience would readily believe, such things. After all, he did fight with Apollo over the tripod in Delphi,

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[9] 'Odysseus implies that he himself is more sensible' (Schein 2002: 94).

[10] Danek (1998b: 152) sees the contrast as being essentially between the *Trojakämpfer* and older heroes.

[11] *Pace* Hainsworth (1988a: 359) on *Od.* 8.215–18 that 'the episode does not need the support of so distant and incidental a comment as this'. Many scholars have sided with the scholiast, e.g. Thornton (1970: 78) ('The decisive part played by the bow at the end of the poem is foreshadowed throughout'), Dirlmeier (1970: 71), Crissy (1997: 50).

[12] Odysseus mentions also throwing the spear (8.229), which equally is not on the agenda, but it is interestingly made relevant for him as an archer: he can throw the spear further than others can shoot an arrow. The fact that the spear figures prominently in the killing of the suitors (22.63, 282) may have contributed to the mentioning of spear-throwing here.

[13] Schischwani (1995: 249) thinks that if Eurytus were not already known as a master of the bow, he could not have served as a comparison to the archer Odysseus, as 'it would be absurd to bring in an unknown person in the comparison'. But it is only to the internal audience of the Phaeacians that Eurytus needs to have been known as an archer – and even they would have taken Odysseus' word for it!

and he did shoot at Hera, and even at Hades.[14] The fact that his vying with the gods is not elaborated upon and that it apparently did not have serious consequences for him, as it had for Eurytus, also makes it easy to assume an *ad hoc* innovation in this context: a past fact is created to serve the narrative context.[15]

As for Eurytus, we do not otherwise know of his over-optimism in relation to the gods. His challenging Apollo is, I presume, established as a past fact here by being told. Challenging a god within the area of the god's specific competence and being punished for it in some relevant way is a not uncommon motif.[16] The fact that the Eurytus incident follows a typical pattern will have made it even more easy for the poet to generate it and for an audience to accommodate it. The motif of his death by the infuriated archer god may even have been prompted by another tradition about him meeting a violent death by the bow for acting unfairly (see below). Eurytus is killed by Apollo if the poet says so, just as Odysseus was a great archer before Troy if the poet says so. Uppermost in the poet's mind is a thematic cluster of archery and of the proper use of the bow.

Heracles and Eurytus, who appear together in our passage, both have a special link to the two allegedly best archers before Troy, whom Odysseus has just compared to each other: Philoctetes and Odysseus himself. For Philoctetes inherited the bow of Heracles, while Eurytus' bow eventually became the bow of Odysseus. It is uncertain whether or to what extent this parallel genealogy of the bows is part of the picture here and is meant to contribute to the audience's appreciation of the passage. It may have been general knowledge that Philoctetes was needed to take Troy because he had inherited the bow of Heracles; it was the bow that Philoctetes had, not Philoctetes himself, that really was needed.[17] But that Philoctetes had the bow of Heracles may not even have been part of the tradition at this stage.[18] The bow as such is at any rate not highlighted in our passage in

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[14] Some commentators and the *LfrE* (s.v. ἐριδαίνω, ἐρίζω) refer the reader from *Od.* 8.225 to *Il.* 5.395ff., and it cannot be ruled out that the verb ('contend with') in 8.225 should be translated 'fight with' and not, as in 8.223, 'compete with'.

[15] Andersen (1990) develops the concept of 'instant past' and the principle that 'the present has precedence over the past'.

[16] One may think of Thamyris, Marsyas, Niobe. It may be relevant that Thamyris suffered his punishment 'as he came from Oechalia and Oichalian Eurytos', according to *Il.* 2.596.

[17] 'Now, while Homer nowhere explicitly states that Philoctetes inherited Heracles' bow, it seems clear that both he and his audience knew that tradition well' (Clay 1983: 92); also Danek (1998b: 151).

[18] Thus Gercke (1905: 405). Along with Heracles and Eurytus, Philoctetes is probably an old archer: 'Wenigstens ist dieser oder sein Vater Poias schwerlich von vornherein als Erbe des Herakles in das Epos eingeführt worden: Ilias und Odyssee berichten davon nichts, und die Übergabe von Bogen und Pfeilen zum Danke für die Hilfsleistung bei der Selbstverbrennung auf dem Oita ist mit dieser jung.'

Odyssey 8, where Philoctetes simply appears as a generally superb archer during the war. As for Odysseus, if one believes that the audience was thoroughly familiar with the story of the transfer of the bow from Eurytus via Iphitus to Odysseus, one may consider as of little account the fact that the transfer itself is told only in book 21 (see below). But then Odysseus, who is second only to Philoctetes as an archer, did *not* bring with him to Troy the bow of Eurytus. Did the audience of book 8 know that as well? And what did they make of that?[19]

Heracles' and Eurytus' joint appearance in this passage has been seen by some in the light of the fact that the two heroes are associated in a famous story, in which archery indeed played an important part: Heracles came to Eurytus in Oichalia to compete with him (and/or his sons) in order to win the hand of his daugther Iole; although Heracles won the contest, Eurytus (and/or his sons) would not give him Iole in marriage; thus Heracles sacked Oichalia and killed Eurytus (and/or his sons).[20] The story is unattested in the *Odyssey*, and that Homer is unaware of this tradition, i.e. that it postdates the *Odyssey*, seems to be the more commonly held view. Thus Clay (1983: 92, n. 70) finds that Homer 'seems to betray no awareness of the tradition surrounding the *Sack of Oichalia*'. Danek (1998b: 153), on the other hand, thinks that Homer by the joint mentioning of Heracles and Eurytus puts himself 'geradezu in Gegensatz zu einer geläufigen Version' and that he seems 'die Geschichte vom Konflikt zwischen Eurytos und Herakles um Iole regelrecht auszublenden' – with the addition that one may not of course conclude from that that the poet did not know the myth.[21] Schein (2002: 94–5) thinks that, 'by referring to Herakles and Eurytos in the same line [*Od.* 8.224] and to Eurytus' death at the hands of Apollo, Odysseus both alludes to and contradicts a myth that presumably was told in the *Sack of Oichalia*', a version of the myth which 'would have been well known to Homer's audience from the oral poetic tradition'. I find

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[19] To Clay (1983: 93) the parallel genealogy and parallel rivalry – Heracles/Eurytus–Philoctetes/Odysseus – suggests that Odysseus ought to be viewed as both a parallel and a rival to Heracles, but also as a contrasting figure. 'An elaborate comparison between Heracles and Odysseus is thus established, though its precise terms remain obscure.' Crissy (1997: 50) suggests that 'a likeness is implied between these two characters [*viz.* Odysseus and Heracles], not a contrast'. Surely the relevance of Heracles to Odysseus is obvious even if one reckons with less elaborate parallelisms or inverse parallelisms.

[20] Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.1–2 and 7.7. References to other ancient sources in Frazer's notes *ad locos* in the Loeb edition. For thorough discussion of the sources and older scholarship, see Davies (1991: xxii–xxxvii) and Burkert (1972).

[21] Also Davies (1991: xxvi, with reference to *Od.* 8.224ff. and 21.3ff.) cautions against equating un- and post-Homeric, and thus to underestimate 'Homer's own amply documented addiction to idiosyncratic innovations in myth.'

it problematic to speak of an allusion here to 'the bride contest with bows between Eurytus and Heracles', as we are explicitly presented with a version of Eurytus' death (by Apollo's hand) which does not square with that story. And I find it even more problematic to take the mentioning of Eurytus and Heracles together here as in any interesting sense a negation of that other, untold story. It is just ignored and does not come into the picture.[22] It is reasonable to assume that the introduction into the poem of an 'Eurytus of Oichalia' (8.224, also *Il.* 2.596 and 730) as a great archer will owe something to the story that above all made Eurytus into a great archer, viz. the bride contest at Oichalia. I would content myself, however, with the assumption that in some form and in some stage of its development, that story informs our passage in Book 8 in so far as it is the basis for pairing Heracles and Eurytus. Perhaps that story – which included challenges and unseemly behaviour and contests of the bow – inspired the poet's presentation of Eurytus as a man who behaved in a thoroughly unacceptable way, even vying with gods.

So I would refrain from (re)constructing as the telling background of Odysseus' words here a specific version of a specific story that everybody knew and so would be referred to. The Phaeacians listening to Odysseus in the *Odyssey* would know – or at least they would nod knowingly, impressed by the hero's name-dropping. Whatever the Phaeacians made of it, I find it hard to believe that Homer meant his audience to think of the bows of Heracles and Eurytus respectively in this context. Philoctetes' bow mainly is 'Heracles' bow' when it comes to the fall of Troy – while here, Philoctetes is a generally good archer during the siege, and the link to Heracles' bow may not even have been established for the Homeric audience. Eurytus' bow is *not* Odysseus' bow at Troy. Odysseus boasts of his skill in archery and raises the topic of the just use of the bow with none too subtle implications. The story of the conflict between Heracles and Eurytus and the sack of Oichalia, even if it were well known, is not 'alluded to' here by the poet of the *Odyssey* in order for it to resound.[23]

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Heracles and Eurytus and his kin appear again at the beginning of book 21 as Athena puts it into Penelope's mind to go and get the bow and grey iron

[22] The allusion-cum-negation point of view is developed by Bruno Currie in his contribution to this volume, but with respect to more specific texts (hymns to Demeter) and a more cirumscribed context (Eleusis).

[23] It is quite another thing to speculate whether the story of the bride contest in Oichalia informs the main plot of our *Odyssey*, as does Kirscher (1992), following in the steps of Gercke (1905). That would not rule out such *ad hoc* glimpses of Eurytus as we get in our *Odyssey*.

to set up in the halls of Odysseus. The presentation of the bow (21.13–41), focalized by Penelope, highlights the bow's significance by revealing its prominent provenance and its status as a token of guest-friendship. By its length and detail and well-wrought form, the passage in itself lends weight to what is going on and signals that we are at an important juncture in the development of the plot.

The bow that Penelope fetches is the one that once had belonged to Eurytus and which he, dying (ἀποθνήσκων) in his high halls, left to his son, godlike Iphitus.[24] Iphitus gave it to Odysseus as a token of guest-friendship when the two met in Ortilochus' house in Messene; young Odysseus was abroad to seek compensation for sheep and shepherds that had been stolen from Ithaca by the Messenians, and Iphitus to collect some lost mares and their mule offspring. Odysseus gave a sword and a spear in exchange for the bow and arrows, but the two men never came to entertain each other as ξεῖνοι (21.13–23, 31–36). These parts of the excursus associate Odysseus from his early youth with the bow that he needs in order to fight the suitors. At Troy, he could have used any bow (and as he left Eurytus' bow at home, he must have used another one when or if he was shooting). In Ithaca, however, a regular bow will not do as the revelatory function of the archery resides less in the aiming and shooting through the axes as in the actual stringing and wielding of the very special bow. If we go by what we learnt in *Od.* 8.226–8, this will be the bow with which Eurytus challenged Apollo, something that led to the archer being killed by the archer god. If we go by the Oichalia story, this will be the bow of the man who lost the archery contest and refused to keep his promise to Heracles, something that eventually led to his being killed by the greater hero. How significant is this, in the action and for the audience? On the basis of the 'allusion', albeit negated, to the story of the untold bride contest, where the bow was used by the *loser*, Schein (2002: 95) finds that 'the allusion casts an odd shadow on Odysseus' victory and subsequent slaughter of the Suitors by associating him both with Eurytos' transgressive behaviour and with the loss of a bride to a better archer. Indeed, in figurative terms, it almost makes Odysseus one of the Suitors.' The main idea here may be the rather simpler one, that Eurytus was a great archer, the closest a human

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[24] It has often been said, e.g. by Davies (1991: xxv) and Gantz (1993: 434–5), that what we hear about Eurytus' death here in Book 21 squares well enough with what is said in 8.226 about him being killed by the enraged Apollo so that 'old age did not come to him in his house'. But the atmosphere surrounding the death of Eurytus is rather different in the two passages, and the overall impression in 21.33 is not of a man being shot dead by Apollo. The poet creates the situation, or that version of a situation, that suits him.

can approach Apollo in archery, on a par with Heracles, and thus a suitable former owner of the bow which is now going to be used by Odysseus.[25]

   The story of how Eurytus' bow became the cherished bow of Odysseus explains the convenient fact that the bow is available in Ithaca, so that Penelope may prepare the contest. For Odysseus left it behind in his halls in memory of his guest-friend (21.38–41). The story's patent explanatory function has been taken to indicate invention on behalf of the poet of the *Odyssey*,[26] as has the fact that the poet seems almost to go out of his way to provide a background for the encounter.[27] Both the underlying criterion of 'Ausführlichkeit der Angaben', and its application here, raise questions. Even exhaustiveness is relative. There is always more to be known, in this case, e.g.: why should the very young Odysseus be entrusted with a diplomatic mission? What about its outcome? On the other hand, however contrived a story seems and however circumstantial it is, it cannot be deemed to be untraditional on that account.[28] Both the old and the new may be presented in great detail, just as both the old and the new may be briefly sketched and hinted at. I would question the assumption that a brief reference to, or the incidental remark about something – some would say: the allusive character of a passage – speaks for the audience's familiarity with what is evoked. In many cases this will be the case. But new 'facts' are established all the time by being told, both in the main narrative and in the background. This obviously has implications for the way we consider the relative chronology of narrative elements and mythological incidents.[29]

[25] Crissy (1997: 50) makes the point that Odysseus 'rather than challenge Apollo with the same bow, will claim the god as his ally when he begins his attack' in *Od*. 22.7.

[26] Iphitus' all too obvious function as the conveyor of the bow has led to the suggestion that he has been introduced or even invented by the poet of the *Odyssey* or his predecessors ('vom Odysseedichter oder seinen Vorgängern') for the sake of this function, see Prinz (1974: 190). But if the encounter with Iphitus had been part of the tradition for, say, a couple of generations, then there would be no need for the poet of our *Odyssey* to spell it out. For the audience of our *Odyssey*, what would be the status of an 'innovation' made a couple of generations earlier?

[27] On exhaustiveness ('Ausführlichkeit der Angaben') as a criterion for invention, see with respect to our passage Danek (1998b: 403 'reichlich konstruiert wirkt und nicht nach alter Tradition aussieht'), Hölscher (1988: 68 'Schon die Doppelung der "Suche"... macht nicht den Eindruck des Ursprünglichen'), Schischwani (1995); for general discussion of this and the complementary criterion of brevity as indication of traditionality, see Kullmann (1960: 11–17, esp. 13); also relevant Stoessl (1945: 11–16, esp. 14).

[28] See Friedrich (1975: 52–3) for formal analysis and his comments on the 'komplizierte, ja fast artifizielle Struktur' and the enhanced 'Wirkung der Retardation' achieved thanks to the bulk of the excursus; also de Jong (2001: 507). Kirk (1962: 370) postulated for our passage 'a convoluted style suggesting a more extensive poetical model'.

[29] See Andersen (1998) for a fuller statement and Scodel (2002: passim, esp. 124–154) for discussion, with due recognition that '[a]bbreviated narratives claim to be and may often actually be compressed or short versions of tales that circulated in fuller form. But, this may not always be so. The tools of analogy and recombination that created the main stories of the tradition can still operate' (127).

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To account for audience response in relation to the composite and incomplete picture that a poem offers, the distinction between a narrative audience and an authorial audience, as developed by Ruth Scodel, is helpful. A narrative audience is one 'for whom the text would be true, the one which knows exactly what the text takes for granted and does not already know what it explains'. An authorial audience on the other hand is 'the audience to which the text actually addresses itself'. Many readers seem to assume 'that authorial and narrative audience are effectively identical in Homer'. In this view, 'exposition is not really necessary for comprehension, but is part of the traditional style; hence the narrator often repeats what the audience knows already, but never pretends that they already know something they do not'. There is an assumption of transparency. But traditional oral narrators do not, Scodel argues, always rely on audience familiarity with their stories. And the authorial audience can live with gaps: they will accept the poet's version, fill in the picture or hold elements in suspense, according to what is called for. Deficiency of information invites the audience to take things for granted, and assumes that it can cope with what there is. For the poet's exploitation of this information gap, Scodel has developed the concept of 'pseudo-intimacy'.[30]

Also the concept of 'Unbestimmtheitsstellen' ('points of indeterminancy') is helpful when we deal with this kind of patchy and incomplete information. Brief mention particularly of things to come or of things past invites the reconstruction or even the construction of what is not told.[31] When new items or unexpected details are introduced into a story, the audience is challenged to establish a context and to fill out the picture. The audience is ready to do so on the basis of the few clues given, and will reconstruct or construct contexts as need be. Just as the poets base innovations on traditional materials and story patterns, to the degree that the poets themselves need not be consciously aware of their own innovations,[32] an audience steeped in oral poetry would find both construction and reconstruction easy. 'In a rich tradition crammed with variants, and a mixed audience who are familiar with different versions in varying degrees, an individual would in any case find it hard to be sure that an unfamiliar element was actually new. The narrator has tremendous power over any areas of the stories that are not completely standardized – which probably means

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[30] Scodel (1990: 202). See also Scodel (2002: 62). Although 'pseudo-intimacy' seems not to figure in Scodel (2002), the 'assumption of transparency' is discussed throughout.

[31] I draw on Schmitz (1994: esp. 18–23).

[32] For this point and the following quotation, see Scodel (2002: 215).

all but the basic outlines.' As long as it does not vitiate the *Faktenkanon*, a
co-operative audience is able to make sense not only of the odd detail but
of whole new episodes, in the present, surface action of the poem and in
its past background.

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We should bear this in mind when we now turn to that part of the excursus
which concerns Iphitus and Heracles (*Od.* 21.22–30, 36f). The mares and
mules that Iphitus was out looking for, were baneful to him, for as he
came to Heracles' place, the son of Zeus invited him home and recklessly
killed his guest in defiance of the gods and of the norms of hospitality,
while he kept the horses for himself. The lack of an explicit context for the
encounter and the sketchy presentation of the incident have led many to
conclude that the story only makes sense within a fuller picture. There are
indeed questions: Where does Iphitus meet Heracles? What is Heracles'
relation to the mares that Iphitus is collecting? Why does Heracles kill
Iphitus at the table? However, the 'allusive' character of the story does not
necessarily mean that Homer relies on familiar material, a traditional story
of Heracles and Iphitus, a story which the poet wanted to accommodate
but which he did not need to fill in because both content and context
were sufficiently familiar to the audience. We do not know what story
that would have been. Some philologists, ancient and modern, opt for
the story about Autolycus having stolen Eurytus' mares and sold them to
Heracles – or perhaps Heracles stole them himself?[33] Some think that the
killing of Iphitus is somehow related to the bride contest in Oichalia,[34]
although Iphitus, in later versions of the myth, comes forth as the most
fair one in the household of Eurytus. Danek concludes his discussion of
the sources with a *non liquet*, but maintains that the audience would have
had to know.[35] But perhaps what the poet said was enough – sufficient to
make sense for his audience and even for us.

  Unlike the Iphitus/Odysseus episode, the Iphitus/Heracles episode has
no explanatory function in the *Odyssey*. But it has relevance, and it is
prominently placed at the heart of the excursus as Penelope sets eye on the
very weapon that signals 'the beginning of slaughter' (21.4). As Odysseus'

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[33] Clay (1983: 90), Schischwani (1995: 251), Davies (1991: xxcii ff.).

[34] For Fernandez-Galiano (1992: 131–2) the story is 'an afterthought' and '[t]he whole interpolation,
and particularly 24–33, would have been inserted to relate the passage to the epic *Sack of Oichalia*;
the story of Eurytus has already been mentioned in viii 225–8'. Crissy (1997: 46–8) also suggests that
Heracles' murder of Iphitus may have had a motive 'similar to that of Odysseus, namely, revenge
for a bride'.

[35] Danek (1998b: 404): 'Somit lassen sich keine präzisen Angaben über jenes Verhältnis zwischen
Iphitos und Herakles ermitteln, dessen Kenntnis beim Hörer aufgrund des Anspielungscharakters
des Textes vorausgesetzt sein muß.' Also Crissy (1997: 44) is reluctant to reconstruct and accepts
that '[t]he poet feels no need to explain the motive for the murder'.

bow makes its appearance, the audience knows that the bloodbath in the halls of Odysseus is drawing near. The poet is working towards a situation in which a host kills 'guests' who live unjustly off his property. By thematic mirroring and recombination the poem offers us a glimpse of a situation in which an unjust host slays a guest and keeps his property. The 'source' for this episode is not to be found in tradition but in the cluster of ideas that engage the poet's mind as he works out the *Odyssey*. The story provides a sinister background to foil the Odyssean foreground.[36] That is not to say that the poet sketches an incident with nothing to go by. Like the association of Heracles with Eurytus in book 8, the association of Heracles with Eurytus' son in book 21 is likely to depend somehow on tradition. The poet may take his clues from tradition, without 'alluding' to it.

The Heracles/Iphitus episode makes Odysseus stand out in contrast to the savage hero of old, the Heracles whom we already know as a challenger of gods. Some pin down more specific parallels and elicit a subtler, more ambivalent message. For example, Crissy (1997: 43, 45, 50–1) finds 'a curious reversal' coming to light in our passage as Heracles' deed bears a striking resemblance to Odysseus' act of revenge against the suitors; thus the story 'evokes the mutual savagery of both parties in the revenge story' of the *Odyssey*; moreover, because Eurytus in book 8 is the one specifically portrayed as the transgressor in challenging Apollo, while Heracles gets away with it, 'a certain successful hybris which is like that of Herakles and in rivalry with Eurytos' failed attempt seems to be implied here'. Thalmann (1998: 175–7), with a keen eye for parallels, finds that if the suitors parallel Iphitus, 'Odysseus is rather uncomfortably in the position of Herakles'; '[t]he roles of the suitors and Odysseus in the plot of the *Odyssey* conform to those of Ipihitos and Herakles respectively, and even though the ethical positions are reversed (or so they are portrayed) it remains true that Odysseus does what the narrative of Iphitos' fate roundly condemns'. Schein (2002: 97) finds that the 'explicit mention' of Heracles' murder of Iphitus at the table, which is 'somehow analogous to the feast Odysseus prepares for the "guests" at his tables' (cf. 21.428–30, 22.19–20), makes Odysseus' revenge on the Suitors 'ethically more complicated than it might otherwise seem to be, and thus challenge[s] interpretation'. On the other hand, Danek (1998b: 405) has drawn attention to the fact that Heracles – otherwise the bowman – apparently does not use his bow to kill Iphitus. Precisely in a situation that represents a perversion of Odysseus' just revenge, Heracles is less of a parallel/contrast to Odysseus than he easily

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[36] For Heracles as a foil and contrast to Odysseus, see Galinsky (1972: 12), Clay (1983: 89–96), Crissy (1997), Danek (1998b: 405), Thalmann (1998: 176), de Jong (2001: 507).

could have been with the bow – for a poet intent on schematic relations. Thus the bow as a weapon is dissociated from unjust murder; the very bow that Odysseus is going to use is a μνῆμα ξείνοιο φίλοιο (21.40), which is not going to be tainted by unfair use even by association.[37] The bow is also the one that has already been employed in the contest for a woman at Oichalia. We may see significance in the fact. But even if Heracles' wooing of Iole was already part of tradition, and even if it were well known to the authorial audience, we may still wonder whether those who knew would make the connection and find it significant. Whether or to what extent we may expose and exploit implicit parallels in a picture of explicit contrasts is a methodological problem akin to Clay's question 'how can we know whether an allusion is rejecting a tradition or incorporating it' (2002: 76). And how, may we add, could the audience know? There are cases where the poet simply ignores a tradition, rather than emphatically rejecting it, and cases where there is no narrative tradition at all behind the 'allusion'.

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In the *Odyssey*, Heracles' reputation suffers from his being a foil to Odysseus, as the trespasser in archery (book 8) and guest-friendship (book 21) that Odysseus is not. Also the encounter between the two heroes in the Nekuia is full of contrasting parallels. By his very descent to Hades Odysseus emulates Heracles' greatest ἄεθλος.[38] The poet – or the interpolator who further developed the contrast – has made the two heroes 'a pair in fate'.[39] He sets great store by Heracles being available for an encounter as he duly explains that it is in fact Heracles' εἴδωλον that is in Hades, while Her- acles himself (αὐτός) enjoys life among the immortals with Hebe (*Od.* 11.602–4). A Heracles happily married in heaven is not irrelevant to the *Odyssey*.[40] The (εἴδωλον of) Heracles appears, like dark night, 'holding his bow bare with an arrow on the bowstring and forever looking, as one

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[37] Tracy (1990: 175) even sees Odysseus' killing of the suitors as 'indirect revenge for Iphitos' treacherous murder'; he also thinks that, since the poet mentions the death of Eurytus (21.32–3), 'we are meant to remember that Eurytos was killed by Apollo for challenging him to an archery contest' in 8.226–8.

[38] The fact that the encounter with Heracles is the final episode of the Nekuia has been seen as a kind of source quotation on the part of the poet of the *Odyssey*; see Heubeck (1989: 114), on 11.601–27. For aspects of the encounter between Odysseus and Heracles, see esp. Clay (1983: 93–6), Crissy (1997: 51–3), Thalmann (1998: 175–6).

[39] Thornton (1970: 79): 'The poet here presents Odysseus and Heracles as a pair in fate: the two who went to Hades alive, the two great archers.'

[40] One may disagree about the wider implications. For Schein (2002: 93), 'Odysseus' reference to the deification of Herakles is one example of how the poem asks its audiences and readers to hold in mind apparently contrasting realities.' His unspecified 'audiences and readers' are asked, on the basis of these Odyssean verses, and *Il.* 18.117–9, to say both: '*[Y]es*, Odysseus differs from Achilles, as a *nostos* hero differs from a hero of *kleos* poetry, a survivor from one who is committed to his own and everyone else's death. *No*, Odysseus does not differ from Achilles in any freedom from the limitations imposed (and the opportunities offered) by being human.'

who shot, with terrible glances' (11.607–8). Like the sinner Orion in the previous episode, Heracles does what he typically did in life, as if under a curse. The bow-wielding Heracles is especially relevant to the *Odyssey*, of course. His appearance is amplified by the description of the wondrous works on the golden belt that crossed his chest: bears, lions, boars, battles and quarrels, murders and manslaughters – φόνοι τ' ἀνδρακτασίαι τε (11.609–12). Odysseus in an aside expresses the hope that its maker may never again fashion anything like it – it is as if the poet or interpolator here (and one may compare the aside on Heracles in *Il.* 5.403–4) distances himself from a whole tradition, which is not that of the heroic sacker of Oichalia even, but of the superhuman action hero who fights giants and dwarfs, beasts and monsters. Nonetheless Heracles himself in his address to the younger hero draws a parallel between the two of them (note καὶ σύ, 11.618) in so far as he states that both have suffered some evil doom. Both have ἄεθλοι to perform.[41] Thus Odysseus, in his last encounter in Hades, halfway through the poem, is elevated to the same level of suffering as the great Heracles, who had to suffer 'although I was the son of Zeus' (11.620).

Heracles went to Hades to fetch Cerberus. He tells Odysseus that his worst work was as he was sent to Hades 'to fetch the dog back' and that he succeeded, with the help of Hermes and Pallas Athena (11.623–26). This specific divine support may or may not have been part of the story. It has been suggested both that the two divinities appear here in order to make Heracles more of a parallel to Odysseus, who is well served by Hermes and Athena in the *Odyssey*, and that they have been introduced to enhance the contrast between the older hero assisted by gods and an Odysseus acting alone.[42] Odysseus' encounter with Heracles in the Underworld cannot be part of any Heracles tradition. Heracles' extended sojourn there by proxy, so to speak, is due to the role that he is allotted in the action of the *Odyssey*. Whatever the mythological background and the *epos* tradition, the Heracles we meet in the *Odyssey* is very much a product of the *Odyssey*. The audience would accept that, as they would accept and relish so much else that was sung to them in the course of an epic performance. The poet would give the audience enough impulses to build a background from, to the extent that they needed one, even if he did not and could not refer them to specific, familiar epics and stories.

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[41] On ἄεθλοι see Thalmann (1998: 140); Schein (2002: 92): 'Herakles' diction at the end of Book 11, at least as reported by Odysseus, seems to establish him as similar to, even a paradigm for, Odysseus.'

[42] See Clay (1983: 94–5) for the limits of parallelism and for the main contrasts.

The Catalogue of Women
within the Greek epic tradition
Allusion, intertextuality and traditional referentiality

Ian C. Rutherford

I INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out to investigate the relationship between the Hesiodic *Gunaikōn Katalogos* (*GK*) and the early epic corpus. It looks not only at cases where there is a correspondence of theme but also at cases where there is a striking difference, because 'difference' is itself an important type of relationship. It also asks how we decide whether or not such points of correspondence or dissonance are significant, and explores the issue of relative priority between them.

The poem

The *GK* is unusual because it is by its very nature a compendium, a com-pilation of narratives about figures from Greek mythology, particularly stories about women. The poem is notoriously difficult to reconstruct: what survives is mostly isolated fragments, either papyri or testimonia, and often assignation of these to the poem is tentative and uncertain. Thanks to the labours of Martin West (1985), we know that it had a loose, genealogical structure, in outline much like that of the *Bibliotheca* ascribed to Apollodorus, beginning with the great family of Aeolus, which occu-pied book 1 and probably most of book 2; then moving on to the other heroic families. The Inachids in books 2 and 3, with Argive mythology, as well as the Arcadians and Atlantids. In book 4 the Asopids, the Athe-nians and the Pelopidai and in book 5 the wooing of Helen and decline of heroes.[1] In this way, the *GK* surveyed the whole of Greek mythology, going through the stemmata, following branches to the end, and some-times jumping between then. In some cases, the 'entry' for someone was

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Thanks to all in the conference, and particularly to Bruno Currie.

[1] This arrangement is not quite certain: Meliado (2003) drew attention to a new piece of evidence that suggested that the story of Atalanta, who ought to be part of the family of Aeolus, came in book 3.

expanded into a short myth summarizing the life of a mythological figure. Myths relating to women sometimes start ἢ οἵη (or such as she), which gives the work its alternative name. It had its own style, its own repertoire of favoured formulae and idioms, such as long patronymics with a genitive in -αο (ones in -εω are by contrast avoided) and frequentative verbs in -σκε. The form is essentially loose. There has been a lot of discussion recently about 'multiforms' and 'canonical' epic, but the *GK* would be a very good candidate for the 'multiform' category.[2] It is the sort of text that would become fixed, if at all, rather late; in fact, we know of another text, the *Megalai Ehoiai*, which may be precisely a multiform of the *GK*.[3]

The basic form was open to adaptation in two main ways: first, a genealogy could be changed, and second, which entries were expanded into mini-myths could be controlled. The *GK* is likely to have a close, even symbiotic, relationship to other early epic because material from other poems could easily be incorporated into it. Alternatively, sections of the *GK* could easily be adapted by other poets and made into longer poems. Either of these developments must have occurred in the case of the poem known as the *Shield of Heracles*, because the first fifty lines or so actually appear in the canonical *GK* as the *ehoie* of Alcmena.[4]

The view that the *GK* is by Hesiod himself is an unusual one today.[5] The orthodox view is that the canonical form arose much later than Hesiod, being composed around 590 BC, the date of the First Sacred War, since the member-states of the Delphic Amphictyony are supposed to correlate well with the Aeolid family which makes up the first and largest part of the poem. This is Robert Fowler's view (1998), and also that of Jonathan Hall (2002). He argues that the context was the emergent idea of Greek identity in this period; I worry, however, that the Greek notion of hellenicity, which already seems to be there in Homer, cannot have developed as late as 590 BC. West (1985: 136) puts the canonical form of the *GK* even later, say in the mid sixth century BC, stressing the presence of a few apparently Attic elements in the *GK* (e.g. the participle οὖσαν). A second point on which there is broad agreement today is that the *GK* went through a long process of development. The latest version may have been Athenian, but there

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[2] See Finkelberg (2000).   [3] See D'Alessio (2005).   [4] See Martin (2005).
[5] Janko (this vol.) and Malkin (1998) have suggested that parts of the *GK* reflect early Greek colonization in the West, e.g. in the Hesiodic fragment preserved in the scholion to Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.111 in which Circe came to the island over against Tyrrhenia, 'and she called it Hesperian' (fr.390 M–W (though the clause translated is not included) = fr. 46 Loeb (not in Hirschberger (2004), as far as I can see)). See Malkin (1998: 188).

could have been a sequence of earlier versions: the proto-catalogue, the canonical version or the post-canonical version, or various proto-versions, e.g. the proto-version with just the Aeolids. I have some misgivings about that hypothesis, which I fear may be a scientific way of saying that we do not know when it was written, and of keeping the option open for its relation to other poems, so that, whenever we date Homer, we can always have some version of the *GK* before it and also some version after it.

Critical concepts

Two things about early Greek poetry are generally agreed:
(a) Early Greek poets or oral singers composed against the background of a tradition of poems by other poets or singers. Like all ancient writers, they may have engaged in 'creative imitation' of the model of other poets' or singers' compositions, or they may have reacted against a poem or tradition they knew, generating an original and distinctive composition by an act of distancing.
(b) Poets intended audiences to identify relationships (similarities or differences) between the poems to which they were listening and other well-known poems or poetic traditions with which they were familiar. They may have deliberately included signposts to this end. It is also possible that audiences will have identified relationships other than those intended by the poet: the reception of a poem has a life of its own.

In theory, we could have either (*a*) or (*b*) without the other. Poets may have used models without intending the audiences to appreciate this fact; and audiences may have appreciated poems in the context of other poems they knew when the poets themselves had in fact composed *de novo* (inspired by the Muses, so to speak). But in practice (*a*) and (*b*) go together.

What is less widely agreed is how to describe such relations. Modern scholarship has a panoply of terms: among the more traditional ones are 'allusion' and '(creative) imitation', the latter at least to some extent grounded in classical texts; and among the more recent ones are 'intertextuality' and 'traditional referentiality'. Thirty years ago, the general view was that reference by one poet to the works of another was, first, a phenomenon found principally in 'writerly' traditions where poems could be consulted in written form, and, second, a special literary effect, not part of 'ordinary' poetic language. One poet might 'allude' to another to display his or her place in a literary tradition and his or her learning (Thomas

1986). Adaptation of another writer's lines might be seen not as lazy theft but as an improvement on the tradition (Russell 1979: 13).

This model has been challenged on two fronts in more recent scholarship. First, there is the model of 'intertextuality' which takes into account all similarities between texts, whether they were intended by the author or not, and whatever the chronological relationship between the texts; and not just between texts, but between all instances of linguistic utterance. Intertextuality claims universality both in so far as its scope is any text or utterance, but also in so far as it claims to be a distinctive feature of the way that semiotic systems work, whereas 'allusion' has traditionally been seen as an 'add-on' (D. P. Fowler 1997: 121). Taken to the limit, the model of intertextuality implies a different way of reading – of all texts together rather than one at a time. It follows that the criteria for intertextuality are completely different from those for 'allusion': you do not have to prove that the author intended us to appreciate it, and it is permissible to ignore factors such as the apparent chronological order of composition. Some of the claims made for intertextuality defy common sense, and are meant to. Anyone who tries to work with the model will inevitably have to limit its scope.

The second challenge comes from the model of 'traditional referentiality', a term coined by Foley (1991). It means 'the power of traditional elements to evoke a set of connotations determined by the entire tradition'[6] and is meant to apply to oral traditions, where we cannot talk of specific 'texts' but of evolving traditions realized in individual performances. This seems, on the face of it, quite different from text-based allusion, creative imitation and intertextuality (although, as we have seen, intertextuality is never confined to texts). It shares with intertextuality the assumption that looking for clear chronological relations between different works is futile, because the works are simultaneously evolving. There remains, however, a clear watershed between writerly poetics, where one poet can allude to a specific phrase in a specific work by another, and oral poetics, in which such specific references are supposed to be impossible. I wonder, however, whether the claims made for the essential difference between oral and written poetics are sometimes exaggerated. Even in oral traditions the form of one particular poem, even if not wholly and permanently fixed, may still be stable enough over a given period of time to become recognizable for an audience, and thus to be the object of allusion or creative imitation.

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[6] Heath (2008: 111), see Kelly (2007: 5–9).

2 POINTS OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN *GK* AND THE EPIC TRADITION

General considerations

The *GK* is likely to stand in a closer or more remote 'intertextual' relationship to all forms of early Greek epic.[7] For obvious reasons it is easiest to talk about its relationship to the Trojan War Cycle, particularly the canonical Homeric epics. It also stands in a special sort of intertextual relationship to the works of Hesiod. For the poorly attested Theban Cycle, and the hypothetical archaic *Heracleid* and *Argonautica*, it is almost impossible to draw conclusions. To take the case of the *Thebaid*, the *GK* covered some of the main themes – the funeral of Oedipus (193 M–W = 90 H), for example – and there is a striking resemblance between the line used to describe Amphiaraus at 25.37 M–W = 16.37 H: ὅς ῥ᾽ ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἔην ἀγορῆι, ἀγαθὸς δὲ μάχεσθαι (who was good at speech and good at fighting) and a description of him in one of the few lines attested from the *Thebaid*: ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάχεσθαι (both a seer and good at fighting with the spear, 10B).[8] More significant perhaps is the suggestion of Beck (1988), on the basis of an interpretation of 217 M–W = 102 H, that the *GK* uses the name Ἀργειώνη for Argia, the wife of Polynices, and that this usage, also found later in Antimachus of Colophon, is likely to have come from the *Thebaid*.[9] In that case the name Ἀργειώνη in the *GK* might be 'resonant' for contemporary audiences, although it is worth bearing in mind that the *GK* also uses the same epithet for Helen of Argos (23a M–W, cited below).

Occasional intertexts are also found between *GK* and the *Homeric Hymns*, the composition of which many scholars would argue was close in time to that of the canonical *GK*.[10] For example, the account of the daughters of Leucon in the *GK* contains a description across several lines of the course of the River Cephisus through Boeotia. The description begins: ὅς τε Λιλαίηισι προΐει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ (which sends forth fair-flowing water from Lilaia (70.18 M–W = 31.18 H)) and then mentions the river's eastward course past Panopeus, through Orchomenus, and presumably into Lake Copais. Line 18 occurs verbatim (except with Λιλαίηθεν) in the account of the young Apollo's journey through Boeotia in the Pythian

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[7] The task of surveying points of similarity or dissonance between *GK* and the epic tradition has been made a lot easier thanks to Martina Hirschberger's recent commentary (2004: esp. 5iff.). Meier (1976) is also a useful source in this area.

[8] See Hirschberger (2004).   [9] Not accepted in Hirschberger (2004).

[10] For the date of the *Homeric Hymns*, see Janko (1982).

part of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (241), where, stretching geographical credulity, he crosses the River Cephisus (north-west of Lake Copais) as he comes from (the later sites of) Thebes and Onchestus and before he reaches Ocalea and Haliartus (all to the south of Lake Copais). The two contexts in which the line occurs have little in common except that they are both itineraries – one the itinerary of a river, and the other that of a god who crosses the same river. If a derivational relationship exists between them (which is by no means certain), it is surely less likely that the author of the *GK* is exploiting a locale already associated with Apollo in the *Hymn* than that the author of the *Hymn* is excerpting from an established epic ekphrasis about the Boeotian river.[11]

The Hesiodic corpus

The *GK* was believed to be by Hesiod in antiquity and it begins as a continuation of the final lines of the *Theogony* (lines which some have argued are not integral to the original *Theogony*).[12] This means that any allusions to Hesiod's *Theogony* in the *GK* would have a special status: being cases not of *inter*textuality but of *intra*textuality. Even if the *GK* is not by Hesiod, it may well be that early audiences considered it to be 'Hesiodic', so that allusions to Hesiodic works within it would be interpreted as markers that it belonged to that tradition.

Having said that, comparatively few allusions can be detected to the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. West (1985: 128–30) finds another Hesiodic inter-/intratext in the fragmentary description of how the daughters of Porthaon were dancing around a fountain when Apollo carried off one of them to be the bride of Melaneus:

> αἵ ῥα τότ᾿ ε[ἴ]δει ἀγαλ[λόμεναι καὶ ἀϊδ]ρείῃσιν
> ἀμφὶ περὶ κρ.᾿.... [Ἀχελωίου ἀργ]υροδίνεω
> ἠέριαι στ⟨ε⟩ῖβο[ν   (26.18–9 M–W = 17.18–19 H)

. . . who then delighting in their beauty and ignorance went among the mist (?) around the source of silver-eddying Acheloüs

He argues that this is an imitation of the lines describing the Muses in the opening of the *Theogony* (3–4, 9–10, 68), and a rather clumsy one at that:

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[11] The Aeolid section of the *GK* begins with the impressive line: Αἰολίδαι δ᾿ ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλῆες . . . (The sons of Aeolus, kings concerned with just rulings, were . . . (10a.25 M–W = 5.25 H)). The epithet θεμιστοπόλοι occurs otherwise only in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (103, 215), and in rather different applications. See Richardson (1974: 182–3 ad loc.) on the issue of the relationship between this epithet and the near-synonym δικασπόλος.

[12] Hirschberger (2004: 26ff.).

for example, the adjective ἠέριαι is an echo of *Theog.* 9 (κεκαλυμμέναι ἠέρι
πολλῷ – veiled in ἀήρ, i.e. invisible). West's position on these lines has
recently been challenged by Burgess (2001: 156–7), who sees this as a case
where it is appropriate to talk more of a general relationship to the epic tradi-
tion than of one to a single text in particular. On the other hand, West's posi-
tion receives support from the fact that the alleged intertext here comes from
the opening lines of the *Theogony*, the part of a poem generally believed to
be most likely to be the object of allusion (Garner 1990: 6 and 187–8).

There is little sign in the extant fragments that the *GK* referenced even
themes in the Hesiodic works that might be thought to be of special
relevance to the *GK*: Pandora, whom the *Works and Days* (57–105) and
Theogony (570–591) present as a proto-woman of ambiguous significance,
seems to have been demoted in the *GK* to the role of a daughter of
Deucalion (5 M–W = 2 H), unless the *GK* gave that name also to the
mysterious mother of Deucalion by Prometheus (2, 4 M–W).[13] Even more
strikingly, there is no trace of the myth of the Four Races, except for an
apparent allusion to the fate of the race of heroes/demi-gods (*Op.* 167) in
the 'twilight of the heroes' section (204.103 M–W = 110.103 H); Koenen
(1994) takes this as a reworking of the Hesiodic Races in the light of Near
Eastern myths about cyclic destruction, in which the end of the previous
world age is marked by the departure of the gods from the Earth and
the company of men; the author of the *GK* has replaced them with the
departure of the heroes (Rutherford 2009: 16). The fragmentary proem of
the *GK* (1 M–W = 1 H) seems to have set out the special conditions of
the heroic age, where gods and men enjoyed 'common feasts and seats', in
other words a closer relationship than they do today, but although this is a
general feature of the Golden Age in Greek mentality,[14] it has no specific
parallel in the *Theogony* or *Works and Days*.

The Trojan Cycle

The Trojan War is for the most part a *terminus* that the *GK* does not cross;
the climax of the *GK* was probably the 'wooing of Helen' in book 5, which
culminated in a description of the end of the heroic age.[15] Occasionally the

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[13] See Hirschberger (2004: 173–5).
[14] See Hirschberger (2004: 70–1), with secondary literature cited in n. 279.
[15] Tsagalis (2008: 102) sees the mention of the fact that Achilles was too young to woo (204.86–92
M–W) as standing in an intertextual relationship to the passage in the *Cypria* where Achilles sees
Helen (for which Gantz 1993: 594). He also sees evidence for the bridal competition for Helen being
reprised in *Il.* 3.

poem looks forward to the War, e.g. in 141 M–W = 56 H, where Sarpedon
goes to war, despite negative omens, and in 165 M–W = 72 H, where the
Greeks are repulsed by Telephus in Mysia.[16] Another reference forward to
the Trojan War comes in 23a M–W = 15 H, which described the sacrifice of
Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia (here the variant name Iphimede is used):

> Ἰφιμέδην μὲν σφάξαν ἐϋκνή[μ]ιδες Ἀχαιοὶ
> βωμῶ[ι ἔπ' Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακ]ά̣τ̣[ου] κελαδεινῆς,
> ἤματ[ι τῶι ὅτε νηυσὶν ἀνέπλ]εον Ἴλιον ε[ἴσω
> ποινὴ[ν τεισόμενοι καλλισ]φύρου Ἀργειώ[νη]ς,   20
> εἴδω[λον· αὐτὴν δ' ἐλαφηβό]λος ἰοχέαιρα
> ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐξεσά[ωσε, καὶ ἀμβροσ]ίην [ἐρ]α̣τ̣ε̣ινὴν
> στάξε κατὰ κρῆ[θεν, ἵνα οἱ χ]ρὼς [ἔ]μπε[δ]ο̣[ς] ε̣[ἴη,
> θῆκεν δ' ἀθάνατο[ν] καὶ ἀγήρ]αον ἤμα[τα πάντα.
> τὴν δὴ νῦν καλέο[υσιν ἐπὶ χ]θονὶ φῦλ' ἀν[θρώπων   25
> Ἄρτεμιν εἰνοδί[ην, πρόπολον κλυ]τοῦ ἰ[ο]χ[ε]αίρ[ης.

The well-greaved Achaeans slaughtered Iphimede on the altar of golden-spindled
resounding Artemis on the day when they sailed to Troy taking vengeance for the
beautiful-ankled Argeione, an image. Her the goddess saved easily, and dripped
lovely ambrosia over her head so that her flesh was unchanging, and made her
immortal and ageless for all days. Her the tribes of mortal men now call Artemis
Einodie, the attendant of the glorious arrow-shooter.

In the *Cypria* Iphigenia is transported by Artemis to the Tauri at the
moment of sacrifice. The myth also occurs in Stesichorus (215 *PMG*), who
has Iphigenia becoming Hecate, a mytheme also attributed to the *Ehoiai*
and Hesiod (23b M–W, from Pausanias and Philodemus); as far as the
GK is concerned, Hecate must represent an interpretation of the epithet
'Einodie' (Gantz 1993: 582–3). In addition, there is a striking intertext with
the passage towards the end of *Odyssey* 11, where Odysseus sees Heracles,
or rather 'an image, but he himself (εἴδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ) was on Olympus,
married to Hebe' (11.602–3). This looks like the same formula as in fr.
23a.21, although it should be noticed that the supplement εἰδώ[λου in the
genitive, in apposition to Ἀργειώ[νη]ς, is also possible.[17]

   In some cases the *GK* even points beyond the war: it alludes to the
revenge of Orestes, and may have related the union of Telemachus and
Polycaste (221 M–W = *10 H). But mostly the Trojan War is the *terminus*,

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[16] In this passage Telephus has the rare epithet Ἀρκασίδης, 'of the family of Arkas', an epithet now
      restored in a description of Telephus in the new narrative-elegy attributed to Archilochus (*P. Oxy.*
      4708): does this coincidence suggest that the formula Τήλεφος Ἀρκασίδης occurred earlier in the
      Cypria?
[17] See Hirschberger (2004: ad loc.).

which could be seen as reflecting a poetic strategy not to compete with the Trojan Cycle, just as it purports to be dealing with the lives of women, rather than with κλέα ἀνδρῶν which is the theme of epic. Thus, the themes of the *GK* would be chronologically and thematically distinct from heroic epic, as I argued in an earlier essay.[18]

The Iliad

To turn to the Homeric poems themselves, the best place to hunt for inter-textuality between the *GK* and the *Iliad* is in the final section, which nar-rated the wooing of Helen and the 'end of the heroic age'. In 204 M–W = 110 H, line 118 we have an account of Zeus's plan to cast (ἰάπτειν) the heads of many heroes to Hades. The text is a little unclear, but it seems likely that we have an echo of the verb προϊάπτειν at the start of the *Iliad*.[19] The list of suitors in the 'wooing of Helen' itself recalls the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships, a topic that has been explored recently in an article by Cingano (2005). Numerous heroes come to take part, including Ajax of Salamis: Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀμώμητος πολεμιστὴς | μνᾶτο (Ajax from Salamis, the blameless warror, came wooing (204.44–5 M–W)). Ajax promises to give a dowry comprising a number of towns on the mainland, mostly in the area of the Argolid, were he to win. The first two words remind us of the entry for Ajax in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships: Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δύο καὶ δέκα νῆας, | στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες (Ajax from Salamis brought twelve ships, and set them where the battalions of the Athenians were standing (*Il.* 2.557–8)). This is likely to have been a celebrated couplet at certain points in the development of the early Greek epic tradition. The relationship between the two texts seems even more complex because the cities of the Argolid listed in *GK* seem to correspond to some extent to the contingent of Argos in the Catalogue of Ships, led by Diomedes and Sthenelus, which comes immediately afterwards. Some have thought that the entry for Ajax in the *GK* signifies the growing power of Athens at the time of its composition because Ajax was a hero of special significance to Athens. Others have argued that Ajax' entry preserves an earlier stage in the epic tradition; it would be the Homeric version with a small kingdom for Ajax which is later. Another view is that Ajax is just boasting: he does not own these cities at all, but boasts that he will conquer them if he can.[20] In that case, the poet of the *GK* is not after all at variance with the Homeric Catalogue, and the

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[18] Rutherford (2000).   [19] Also at *Il.* 11.55.   [20] See Cingano (2005).

formula Αἴας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος serves to alert the audience to the Homeric parallel. If that is right (and it is a big 'if'), this would be a case where the *GK* creatively alludes to the *Iliad*.

The Odyssey

The richest of all intertexts for the *GK* is the *Odyssey*, particularly book 11, where Odysseus relates his own γυναικῶν κατάλογος, comprising famous (and infamous) women of the past.[21] There are strong verbal echoes between the accounts of some of the women Odysseus sees and the corresponding accounts in the *GK*, particularly apropos of the women: Tyro and Chloris. It is as if the poet of the *Odyssey* knows such a work, and is reproducing sections of it.

According to the *GK* Aeolus has six sons and six daughters. One of the sons is Salmoneus, described as ἄδικος (10a.37 M–W = 5.37 H) and ἀτάσθαλος (30.16 M–W = 20.16 H), who behaves like a god, hanging animal skins from his chariot, and claiming that he makes thunder. Eventually, Zeus strikes him down, together with his house and city, leaving only his daughter Tyro, because she has taken issue with her father.

> τοῦ δ᾽ ἄρα] παῖς ἐλέλειπτο φίλη μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι
> Τυρὼ ἐϋπ]λόκαμος ἰκέλη χ[ρ]υσῆι Ἀφρο[δ]ίτ[ηι,
> οὕνεκα νε]ικείεσκε καὶ ἤρ[ισε] Σαλμωνῆϊ
> συνεχές, οὐ]δ᾽ εἴασκε θεοῖς [βροτὸν ἰσ]οφαρίζειν . . .
>   (30.24–7 M–W = 20.24–7 H)

His daughter was left, dear to the immortal gods, Tyro of the fair tresses, similar to golden Aphrodite, because she quarrelled and disputed with Salmoneus continually and did not consent to set a mortal on a par with the gods . . .

So Zeus saves her, and takes her to the house of her uncle Cretheus. When she grows up (reaches the end of πολυήρατος ἥβη, a formula much used in *GK*), Poseidon falls in love with her (ἐράεσκε), and he seduces her when she is walking on the banks of the Enipeus River. Then the text breaks off, and there is a prophecy by Poseidon: 'you will bear splendid children, for the embrace of the gods is not in vain . . . care for them . . . and conceal the matter' (31 M–W = 24 H). She goes home, and gives birth to Neleus and Pelias. Zeus sends Neleus to Pylos, where he marries Chloris, and they have twelve sons including Nestor and a daughter Pero (33a M–W = 25 H). But things do not end there. Heracles decides to go to war on the

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[21] See S. West (this vol.).

Neleid family; one of the Neleids, the shape-shifter Periclymenus, manages to delay fate, but finally Heracles wins, and all the sons are killed, except for Nestor, who escapes because he is 'among the Gerenoi' (34, 35.8 M–W = 26a, 26c H). After this comes the story of the wooing of Pero by the seer Melampus, after he steals the cattle of Iphiclus. And finally the narrative folds back to Tyro's other son Pelias in Iolcus (37 M–W = 27 H).

There are strong parallels with the ghosts of the famous women of the past that Odysseus sees in the Underworld. Tyro, the first woman that he sees after his mother, tells her own story in words that strongly resemble the *GK*'s account (11.235ff.): again Poseidon falls in love with her but only after she herself has fallen for the River Enipeus; Poseidon comes to her in disguise, she bears him Neleus and Pelias, and then she has three sons with Cretheus. Significantly, she, or Odysseus, omits the story of Salmoneus, who is connoted with the surprising epithet ἀμύμων, just like Aegisthus earlier on in the *Odyssey*.[22] A few female ghosts later Odysseus sees Chloris, who is said to have married Neleus and given birth to a mere three sons, not twelve, and the daughter Pero, which leads to a brief account of the wooing of Pero by Melampus (11.281ff.). The *Odyssey* omits the story of the war with Heracles, although it is narrated in the *Iliad* (11.670–762) as one of Nestor's reminiscences.

The key question is: what is the relationship between these two texts? On the face of it either one draws on the other, or they draw on a common source, perhaps a hypothetical 'Neleid', from which many of Nestor's reminiscences in the *Iliad* might also derive.[23] One point that counts against the last possibility is that the narrative about the Neleids in *Od.* 11 comes in the context of a catalogue of famous women seen by Odysseus. Unless there was a similar catalogue in the 'Neleid', it follows that the link between *Od.* 11 and the *GK* was a particularly close one.

If the *GK* dates to the sixth century BC, and Homer is considerably older, one possibility would be that the author of the *GK* took sections of *Od.* 11 (and part of *Il.* 12), adapted them slightly, and expanded them, filling them out with additional material to create a sort of 'back-story'. One factor that points in this direction is the line about Nestor having escaped because he was among the *Gerenoi* (35.8 M–W), which looks like it must be an explanation of Nestor's Homeric epithet Γερήνιος;[24] on the other hand, if we allow that 'Gerenian Nestor' was a formula with a general currency in the epic tradition, that would not point to Homer particularly (see table 9.1).

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[22] For the formula, see Parry (1973).   [23] For the 'Neleid', see Bölte (1934).

[24] Brillante (1996) thinks this explanation is historically accurate, pointing back to the political geography of Messenia in the Late Bronze Age.

Table 9.1 *The story of Salmoneus and Tyro in* GK *and* Odyssey *11 compared*

	GK	*Od.* 11
a. Arrogance of Salmoneus	30.1–12 M–W	–
b. Punishment of Salmoneus	30.12–23 M–W	–
c. Tyro saved	30.24–30 M–W	–
d. Poseidon and Tyro	30.31–42 M–W cf. 32 M–W	235–45
e. Genealogical prophecy of Poseidon about Neleus and Pelias	31 M–W	246–53
Birth of Neleus and Pelias		254–7
Children of Tyro by Cretheus		258–9
f. Neleus and Chloris and their twelve sons	33.1–12 M–W	281–6 (3 sons)
g. Periclymenus the shape-shifter	33.13–23 M–W	–
h. Periclymenus and Heracles	33a.23–36 M–W 33b M–W	–
i. Sacking of Pylos and death of eleven sons of Neleus	35.1–9 M–W	cf. *Il.* 12.692, 5.397
j. Children of Nestor	35.10–15 M–W 36 M–W (a double?)	–
k. Wooing of Pero	37.1–16 M–W	287–97
l. Family of Pelias	37.16–23 M–W	–

The alternative hypothesis that the *Odyssey* draws on the *GK* is suggested by three factors. First, the use of the epithet ἀμύμων for Salmoneus: while one could argue that this is insignificant since (or if) this is oral poetry, where the metrical properties of epithets are more important than their meaning, it is surely more likely that the *Odyssey* knows all about the reputation of Salmoneus, and uses the epithet deliberately: Tyro is gamely defending her father, like any loyal daughter would. The second factor is the list of the sons of Neleus and Chloris: the *GK* has the full list of twelve names over four lines, while the *Odyssey* has just one line of three names, identical to one of the lines in the *GK* (Νέστορά τε Χρόμιόν τε Περικλύμενόν τ᾽ ἀγέρωχον). It is surely a more reasonable hypothesis that the *Odyssey* excerpts from a longer list familiar from a model than that the *GK* augments the shorter list in the *Odyssey*. And thirdly, there is the reference to the story of the wooing of Pero by Melampus in *Od.* 11, which is obscure and allusive.[25]

If we want the *GK* to be a model for the *Odyssey*, then some version of the *GK* must be earlier than Homer. This could be either a

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[25] τὰς δ᾽ οἶος ὑπέσχετο μάντις ἀμύμων | ἐξελάαν· χαλεπὴ δὲ θεοῦ κατὰ μοῖρα πέδησε, | δεσμοί τ᾽ ἀργαλέοι καὶ βουκόλοι ἀγροιῶται. (These the flawless seer alone undertook to drive off; but a harsh fate of the gods ensnared him, hard bonds and the country herdsmen (*Od.* 11.291–3).)

proto-*GK*, distinct from the final version that was written in the sixth century (and which might in turn have been influenced by the Homeric text: cf. 'Gerenian Nestor'), or it could be the canonical *GK*, which Janko argues is by Hesiod himself. Either way, the pre-Homeric *GK* could be either an oral or a written poem. It might be argued that only in the latter case is it permissible to talk about 'creative imitation' of a written model, and that in the former case we should use the term 'traditional referentiality', but should we really imagine that an early, orally transmitted *GK* would have been so unstable and transient that the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could not have used it as a model?

Contested genealogemes

There are a number of points where the genealogy of a hero seems to differ between the *GK* and Homer, some of them involving some of the most important families in the poems. Take, for instance, the family of the Trojan founding-hero Dardanus, which may be linked to Samothrace in the *GK* (177 M–W = 79 H]), but not in Homer (*Il.* 20.219). Then there is the family of the Atreidae. If you read Homer, you get the distinct impression that Agamemnon and Menelaus are the sons of Atreus, but we find attributed to the *GK* the opinion that they were the sons of a certain Pleisthenes (194 M–W), who, according to one of our sources, was a hermaphrodite or lame, or wore women's clothing. Possibly the *GK* made Pleisthenes the son of Atreus, and for the genealogist this had the advantage of making the stemma of the Atreid branch of the Pelopids one generation longer, which helped to even things out with other stemmata. But what about Homer? Did he know this tradition but not deliberately exclude it? Or did he not know it?[26]

  Then there is the family of the Aeacidae. It looks as if the *GK* knows the tradition familiar to us from Pindar, which included the following elements: (*a*) the family came from Aegina; (*b*) Ajax and Achilles were first cousins since their fathers were brothers; and (*c*) Patroclus was related to them also (in fact the *GK* seems to have said that Patroclus was another cousin).[27] The *Iliad*'s position on the family of Aeacus is quite different. It says nothing explicitly in contradiction to any of this, although 11.786–7 seems to suggest that the three heroes are unrelated. But it does not

[26] Hirschberger (2004) discusses the fragment on p. 363. For the background, Peersman (1993) and Gantz (1993: 544, 554).
[27] Aeacus and Aegina: 205 M–W = 95 H; Menoetius a brother of Peleus: 212a M–W. The story occurs first in the *Alcmaeonis* (fr. 1 Bernabé).

Homer	GK

Aeolus
|
Sisyphus   Atlas
| |
Glaucus   Zeus = Europa
| |
Bellerophon   Minos Rhadamanthus Sarpedon
/   \
Hippolochus   Laodamia = Zeus
| |
Glaucus   Sarpedon
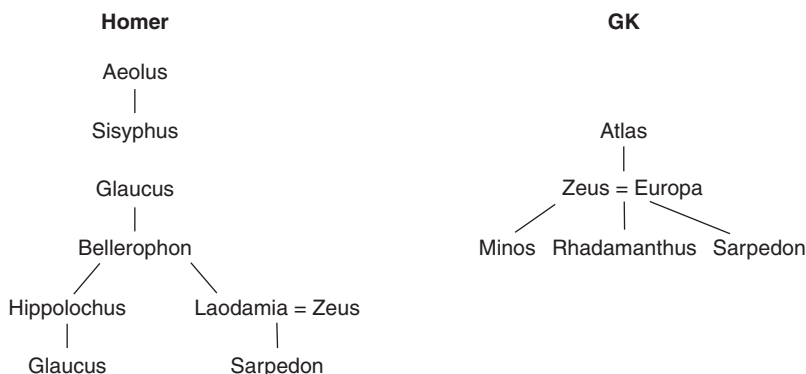
Fig. 9.1 Genealogies of Sarpedon.

confirm it either, and one must remember that there are many points in the *Iliad* where it would have been relevant to report that Ajax, Achilles and Patroclus were closely related. Again, the question arises whether the classical version of the Aeacidae-saga had not taken shape at the time the *Iliad* was composed, or whether Homer knows the other tradition, but ignores it (perhaps for dramaturgical reasons).[28]

Another interesting case is the family of the prophet Melampus, which includes Theoclymenus, and seems to have been different in the *GK*, to judge from West's brilliant reconstruction of the rather difficult fr. 136 (1985: 79–81). West illuminates this passage with reference to *Il.* 13.663ff., where another seer, Polyidus of Corinth, warns his son Euchenor not to go to Troy. West suggests that the son Euchenor appears in the stemma of Melampus in the *GK*, and the *GK* also has the warning of Polyidus, except that here Polyidus is not the father. Here is a promising text for the purposes of exploring intertextuality between *GK* and Homer, then, but unfortunately it is too scrappy to support much argument, and notice also that Hirschberger (2004) doubts whether it belonged to the *GK* at all.[29]

The last case I want to consider is the genealogy of Sarpedon of Lycia (see figure 9.1). In Homer, he is a grandson of Bellerophon, in a complex family tree that includes his friend Glaucus. This is told in *Il.* 6, in the course of the famous dialogue between Glaucus and Diomedes. But in *GK* this is all different: Sarpedon is a son of Zeus and Europa and brother of

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[28] Niemeier (1995) is a reminder of how ancient the traditions of Aegina could have been.
[29] She classes the fragment as 'of uncertain attribution' (*6).

Minos. This is narrated in 141 M–W = 56 H, an important fragment which describes Europa and the necklace that Hephaestus made for her, later to become the necklace of Eriphyle, and then goes on to describe her sons by Zeus: Minos, Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon. Zeus grants him to live three generations (ll. 20–1),[30] and he goes to fight in Troy, despite his father Zeus sending a bad omen (ἀριστερὰ σήματα φαίνων (l. 25), similar to a formula that occurs a few times in the *Iliad*). He rules Lycia, and much honour follows him (πολλὴ δέ οἱ ἕσπετο τιμή (l. 18)), a rare formula that is used in the *Theogony* (418) to describe someone who sacrifices to Hecate, but in the context of Sarpedon inevitably brings to mind *Il.* 12.310, where Sarpedon asks Glaucus rhetorically 'why are we honoured?' (Γλαῦκε τίη δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα;).

Notice also that the genealogy Sisyphus–Glaucus–Bellerophon appears elsewhere in the *GK* in the Mestra *ehoie* (43 M–W = 37 H), with the additional detail that Bellerophon's father was really Poseidon who had abducted Glaucus' wife.

It is interesting that the *Iliad* seems to go out of its way to tell us about the genealogy of Sarpedon. The statement of it comes in the famous episode where Glaucus tells Diomedes about his genealogy, the genealogical passage of the *Iliad* par excellence. Elsewhere, the *Iliad* is quite explicit that Zeus and Europa had two sons only, Minos and Rhadamanthus, as we hear from the mouth of Zeus himself in the *Dios apate* scene (14.322). So there is no mistake: Sarpedon *is* without doubt a son of Zeus, only not by Europa, but rather by a female descendant of Sisyphus. Of these two versions of the genealogy, can we say which is likely to be earlier? One factor might be that the Homeric stemma of Sarpedon suits the plot of the *Iliad* better than the one in the *GK*, in so far as, if Sarpedon was the brother of Minos, he would be very old by the time of the Trojan War. (That is why in some versions of the myth he was allowed to live three generations.) But that sort of superhuman lifespan would not suit the taste of the poet of the *Iliad*, so, I suggest, he opted for an alternative genealogy, grafting him on to the stemma of Bellerophon. It may be precisely because Homer has changed the genealogy of Sarpedon that he explains it in detail. If that approach is right, it has the consequence that the version of the myth preserved in the *GK* is the older one. That is not to say that the *GK* itself is older, of course, and the situation is a complicated one, because the canonical *GK* seems to have combined the earlier Cretan genealogy of Sarpedon with themes of the *Iliad*.

[30]   See the supplements in Evelyn-White (1914: 602); for the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.1.2.

3 CONCLUSIONS

Since the *GK* is a compendium of mythology, it is no surprise at all that it overlaps with the ground covered by other early epic poems, and predictably we find plenty of plausible cases of intertextuality. The chief problems are the fragmentary nature of the material – both the GK and the other poems – and our ignorance about the sort of poetry we are dealing with: developing oral traditions, fixed written texts, or something in between. In some cases we seem to be dealing with contestation not between different poems but between narrative or even mythological traditions, e.g. with respect to some of the 'contested genealogemes' I discussed; in these cases it is probably better to speak about 'traditional referentiality'. Equally, however, there are cases where it makes more sense to speak in terms of relations between (specific) poems. That would certainly go for cases (if there are any) where the author of the *GK* reacts to Homer; the Ajax-entry in the Wooing of Helen fragment might be one such case. 'Relations between (specific) poems' also seems a better way of describing the hypothetical use by the poet of the *Odyssey* of a 'proto-*GK*', which may have been written but was just as likely orally transmitted.

Intertextuality without text in early Greek epic

Jonathan S. Burgess

Intertextuality is problematic for early Greek epic because it was performed in the largely oral culture of the Archaic Age. An orally composed poem cannot easily engage with another oral poem in a detailed manner. Even if one assumes that some epics were recorded as texts at an early date, their normal publication would be by performance, where specific allusion between poems is not easily discernible. Anachronistic assumptions about epic-to-epic allusion in the early Archaic Age fail to consider whether there was any motivation, in terms of both composition and reception, for detailed intertextuality. More plausible is interaction between epic poems and mythological traditions as they were generally known. But reflection of shadowy tales might be thought a rather nebulous and disappointing type of intertextuality. General correspondence of motifs is one thing; what about words and phrases? Is there such a thing as quotation in early Greek epic?[1]

In this study I explore the possibility of a textless intertextuality in early Greek epic that would involve specific epic phraseology. By this I do not mean an oral poem reusing words that have been composed for a previous oral poem, but rather an oral epic reusing phraseology that has become associated with specific mythological situations as they were traditionally articulated in the oral epic tradition. Two Homeric phrases

[1] In a recent publication (Burgess 2006, revised as ch. 4 of Burgess 2009), I limit Homeric allusion to motifs at the mythological level, and question the neoanalyst interest in 'quotation' (Burgess 2006: 154). Here I seek to explore the issue of epic quotation more optimistically, though within oral parameters. Cf. Nagy (1979: 42–3), with a statement that has gained much attention: '[W]hen we are dealing with the traditional poetry of the Homeric (and Hesiodic) compositions, it is not justifiable to claim that a passage in any text can refer to another passage in another text' (42; with further development at Nagy 1990: 53–4, 2003: 7–19). For (general) agreement, see Jones (1997: 38); for critique, see Clay (1983: 241–6), Cairns (2001a: 35–6), R. B. Rutherford (2001: 125).

will be considered as candidates for such intertextuality without text. One is the phrase μέγας μεγαλωστί, or 'great in his greatness', found in reference to Achilles in book 18 of the *Iliad*. Neoanalysts have argued that the phrase is derived from a pre-Homeric poem about Achilles, perhaps a prototype of the *Aethiopis* of the Epic Cycle.[2] A second test case involves a line of a fragment of the *Little Iliad* of the Epic Cycle that describes Neoptolemus taking Astyanax from the breast of his nurse. The language is reminiscent of the famous scene in *Iliad* 6 in which Astyanax recoils into the breast of his nurse at the sight of Hector's helmet, and scholars have usually assumed that the Cyclic poem has taken its phraseology from the *Iliad*. I will argue that in neither case is there a direct connection between one epic poem and another. Instead, I suggest, the *Iliad* reuses context-specific phraseology to remind a mythologically informed audience of the narrative context in which it usually occurs. By such intertextuality without text the book 18 passage alludes to the traditional story of Achilles' death, and the book 6 passage alludes to the traditional story of the death of Astyanax.

I METHODOLOGY

The following comments are meant to clarify the assumptions that I will employ in my subsequent discussion.[3] Though I am gratified to see that some contributors to this volume have responded thoughtfully to my presentation at the conference, my points are not intended as 'rules'. They are designed, rather, to provide a heuristic strategy for my exploration of the possibilities of intertextuality in an oral performance culture. I do not insist on an everlasting and pure performance culture, and I readily acknowledge that a wide range of circumstances involving a mix of texts and oral performance can easily be imagined. But since the relationship between early epic poems is textually conceptualized by default, it should be useful if I stake out a position that is more attuned to performance culture.

1. 'Intertextuality' commonly means little more than allusion of one text to another. This does not seem to be appropriate for the oral nature of early Greek epic, and a more theoretical conception of intertextuality is desirable.

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[2] For the Epic Cycle and its tradition, see Burgess (2001, 2005). In my usage 'cycle' and 'cyclic', when capitalized, refer to the specific poems eventually collected into the Epic Cycle, whereas without capitalization they refer to mytho-poetic traditions whose content is also found in the Cycle.

[3] For more detailed discussion, see Burgess (2006), with Tsagalis (2008).

2. For traditional narrative, a distinction can be made between mytho-logical traditions (represented by various genres and media) and epic traditions (the manifestation of mythological narratives in epic verse).

3. Oral epic traditions were not constituted simply of formulae and type scenes, but also of fluid yet identifiable mythological narratives. Often certain phraseology would be employed typically in the context of spe-cific mythological episodes.

4. The early epic tradition was not limited to surviving or attested epics, with the addition of a few oral prototypes. There were countless epic performances that narrated mythological traditions by means of oral compositional techniques. The poems of the Epic Cycle are representa-tive of, but not equivalent to, the non-Homeric epic tradition.

5. Homeric and cyclic epic can be distinguished, though this does not isolate the former so much as establish a context for it. The Homeric poems are 'meta-cyclic' in the sense that they transform cyclic motifs and phraseology into new contexts.[4]

6. Correspondence of material or even phraseology in the early epic tradi-tion need not be conceptualized as poem-to-poem intertextuality.[5] Most oral poems would not have been performed so often as to influence other poems, or be the object of allusion.[6]

7. When performed to a knowledgeable audience, early epic is poten-tially allusive to shared aspects of mytho-poetic traditions, including mythological narratives and the epic phraseology commonly employed to express them.[7]

But what of relative chronology, the issue with which this volume is con-cerned? Of course, it is of great interest if an epic contains datable aspects, whether linguistic, historical or cultural.[8] But even when we are confident

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[4] Cf. Finkelberg (1998a: 154–5) on Homeric poetry as 'metaepic'.

[5] Intertextual correspondence between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may be plausible since the two Homeric poems' shared characteristics suggest some commonality of composition and reception. The bibli-ography for Homeric intertextuality (usually the influence of the *Iliad* on the *Odyssey*) is enormous; I might single out Pucci (1987), Usener (1990), R. B. Rutherford (2001), Schein (2001, 2002), Currie (2006: 7–15).

[6] Of course some poems became influential, at least eventually; see, for example, Bruno Currie and Ian Rutherford in this volume for careful and nuanced explorations of this possibility. The major point of my Cycle book (Burgess 2001), however, was that the influence of the Homeric poems occurred later than is commonly assumed. 'Obvious' early examples of textual influence are worth re-examining; cf. Martin (1992: 22–4, 2005: 169–70), Burgess (2001: 117–26).

[7] See Andersen (1998), Scodel (2002) for more sceptical approaches that raise important questions.

[8] E.g. Achilles' afterlife at the White Island in the *Aethiopis* has often been linked to Milesian colo-nization in the northern Black Sea, which suggests it is a post-Homeric narrative. See Burgess (2001: 160–2), where it is concluded that the mythological content of the narrative may be pre-Homeric even if the *Aethiopis* presented a Milesian perspective.

that we can date two texts, we cannot necessarily extrapolate on that basis an intertextual relationship between them. One poem considered older need not have influenced a second poem considered younger, even if they display correspondences, for these could have been inherited independently. The issue becomes more complex when we consider the possibility that a poem existed fluidly in performance for some time before it was recorded as a text. In such circumstances a text with relatively 'late' details may fail to indicate the longevity of the performance tradition from which it is derived. The relative date of two texts may not well replicate the relative date of their respective performance traditions. Even if it is established to a satisfactory degree that one text has influenced the other text, treating the two poems as one-off textual compositions fails to consider the potential complexity of the relationship between the performances that lay behind them.[9]

2 μέγας μεγαλωστί

My first test case is the phrase μέγας μεγαλωστί, which may have regularly been used in epic traditions in reference to the death of Achilles. At *Odyssey* 24 the shade of Agamemnon uses the phrase as part of his description to the shade of Achilles of a battle over the corpse of Achilles. The shade of Agamemnon reports to the shade of Achilles, 'you lay in a whirl of dust great in your greatness, forgetful of your horsemanship' (σὺ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης | κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων (*Od.* 24.39–40)). Scholars have long found it striking that similar phraseology is found at the beginning of book 18 of the *Iliad* after Achilles has learned of the death of Patroclus. He is described as lying stretched out in the dust 'great in his greatness' in grief: αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κονίῃσι μέγας μεγαλωστὶ τανυσθεὶς | κεῖτο (*Il.* 18.26). The phrase μέγας μεγαλωστί recurs, though in a different metrical position, and again we have reference to lying in the dust. Neoanalysts have most notably argued that the phraseology in *Iliad* 18 was present in a pre-Homeric description of the corpse of Achilles.[10]

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[9] At Burgess (2001: 52–3) I summarize (in rather rhetorical fashion) critiques of the dating of early epic in Janko (1982). Hesitation about the conclusions of Janko (1982) does not imply doubt about the impressive linguistic and statistical skills on display; the critics rather seem to feel that the data fail the methodology. It should be added that Janko would stress relative chronology over the controversial issue of absolute dating. As it happens, the argument below does not depend on the chronology, absolute or relative, of specific texts. My concern is not with the borrowing of phraseology from one poem by another poem, but rather the reuse of traditional phraseology in a secondary fashion, with an allusive and textless type of intertextuality resulting.

[10] See Pestalozzi (1945: 17–18), Kakridis (1949: 84–5), Kullmann (1960: 38–9, 330, 1991: 441 n. 65, 43, 68–9), Schadewaldt (1965: 168), Schoeck (1961: 68). Those that have found the argument attractive

The argument is all but irresistible, especially since the whole scene at the beginning of book 18 seems to reflect the death of Achilles. The Nereids mourn in a way that is reminiscent of Achilles' funeral, Thetis holds Achilles' head in the manner of funeral ritual, and soon enough the hero and his mother will openly talk of Achilles' coming death.[11] The phrase μέγας μεγαλωστί occurs in the midst of all this foreshadowing, and it is hard to avoid the impression that it contributes to the effect. Following classic neoanalyst methodology, one would view the *Odyssey* 24 passage as repeating phraseology in its usual pre-Homeric context, whereas the *Iliad* 18 passage is transferred from its natural, or primary, context and placed in an unusual, secondary context.

It is interesting that in the edition by West the relevant lines of book 18 are bracketed as an interpolation, for reasons having to do with the rather vague conception of how Antilochus and Thetis have physical contact with Achilles as he lays on the ground (West 2001a: 243–4). Though I do not agree that there is an interpolation, his argument underscores that the phraseology is out of place. From a neoanalyst perspective this is not the intrusion of external verse, but rather its incorporation. The *Iliad* has not taken words from the *Odyssey*, or vice versa, and presumably the *Odyssey* 24 passage faithfully preserves, except for the change of voice, phraseology that existed in pre-Homeric epic.[12] The source of the phraseology has sometimes been conceived as the *Aithiopis*, but it has been more commonly described as a prototypical *Achilleis* or *Memnonis*. Recently oralists attracted to neoanalysis have more generally described the source as pre-Homeric.

But before speculating on the nature of this apparent intertextuality, we have to recognize that there has been one major block to accepting the neoanalyst argument. The longer version of the phraseology used in *Odyssey* 24 is also used to describe the corpse of Cebriones at *Iliad* 16. The passage describes the battle over Cebriones, and at lines 775–776 the narrator

    include de Romilly (1983: 26–9), Edwards (1991: 145–6, cautiously), Dowden (1996: 59, 2004: 201), R. B. Rutherford (1996: 91–2), Willcock (1997: 177), Danek (1998b: 468–9, 2002b: 17), Currie (2006: 40), Burgess (2009: 84–5). Dihle (1970: 22–4) by contrast argues for the priority of the *Il.* 18 example on syntactical grounds, favouring the use of a participle τανυσθείς with the adverb in the book 18 passage; for a response, see Kullmann (1977: 540). Other examples of parachesis (οἰόθεν οἶος, 7.39; αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς, 7.97) suggest that μέγας μεγαλωστί can function as a relatively self-contained phrase.

11 Schein (1984: 130) provides an excellent analysis of the scene as a whole.

12 Garner (1993: 159–60) proposes that a newly found fragment of Stesichorus (74, available in the appendix of *PMGF*) relates the battle over the corpse of Achilles; if so, στροφά[λιγγι (line 4; cf. *Od.* 24.39, *Il.* 16.775) suggests another example of comparable phraseology in the context of Achilles' death.

reports, ὃ δ᾽ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης | κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων (he lay in a whirl of dust, great in his greatness, forgetful of his horsemanship). This third Homeric occurrence of μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology raises the issue of typology. From an oralist perspective, it might look as if the phraseology belongs to the typological scene of a battle over a corpse, and not to any one character. In other words, the phraseology may be context-specific, but it is not certainly character-specific. One might therefore conclude that the phraseology in book 18 did nothing more than meet metrical needs, perhaps triggered by the dust that Achilles pours over his head, which is not uncommon in Iliadic battle scenes. In that case the phraseology in book 18 would be a meaningless by-product of oral composition, or at best an evocation of a generic scene. One might conclude that the book 18 passage reuses context-specific phraseology in a rather inappropriate manner, but not that it reflects any specific mythological scene featuring Achilles.

To withstand the oralist perspective, the neoanalyst argument needs to establish that the phraseology is not just context-specific, but that it is character-specific; that is, that it belongs to Achilles. This is not so easy when we reflect on the specification of horsemanship in the longer version of the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology in *Odyssey* 24 and in *Iliad* 16. It has not gone unnoticed that horsemanship seems especially appropriate for the charioteer Cebriones, and some have in fact concluded that the phraseology actually belongs to Cebriones.[13]

This is something of an embarrassment for the neoanalyst position, but a defence can certainly be made. Kullmann (1960: 38–9) has correctly pointed out that Achilles is closely linked to his divine horses. Scholars have also pointed out that ἱπποσύνη can be attributed in the *Iliad* to any warrior for whom the chariot is employed. The distinction between a driver of horses and a chariot-using warrior is therefore elided. Long ago Scott affirmed that horsemanship was appropriate for Achilles, declaring that '[t]o deny to Achilles this particular skill is to miss the whole tone of the *Iliad*. The heroes themselves, not their drivers, were the skilled horsemen, and Achilles above all others.'[14]

If the extended phraseology that refers to horsemanship is not inappropriate for Achilles, then the *Odyssey* 24 passage with its reference to Achilles

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[13] Cf. Erbse (1972: 193–4), Heubeck (1992: 364), Usener (1990: 104–8). Willcock (1978–84: I.253) thinks that the reference to horsemanship phraseology is not appropriate for Achilles, but since he feels the phraseology is too impressive for Cebriones he locates its origin with 'horsemen of the previous generation', like Peleus.

[14] Scott (1911: 315); see Janko (1992: 408), Burgess (2001: 76).

forgetting his horsemanship is unobjectionable.[15] We can also understand why the longer version of the phraseology is not used to describe Achilles in book 18, for the grieving Achilles cannot be said then to have forgotten his horsemanship skills. If horsemanship is not inappropriate for Achilles, however, it is certainly not inappropriate for Cebriones. The question remains, then: how does the phraseology 'belong' to the story of Achilles, and in what way is it secondary for Cebriones? It should be first observed that poetically speaking the phraseology's application to Cebriones in *Iliad* 16 is nothing less than magnificent. Its success has been well described by Janko (1992: 405, 408), who demonstrates that the phraseology is particularly effective as a dramatic ending to the extended description of the battle over Cebriones. Besides the full description of the opposing soldiers, there is an impressive succession of similes. First Hector and Patroclus are compared to two lions confronting one another, and then a more generalized nature scene portrays two opposing winds causing the branches in a forest to knock together. The energy of the animal and nature similes is then interrupted by the focus on Cebriones. In Adam Parry's words, it is a 'sudden vision of the single man in the eye of the storm who has left it all behind'.[16]

In book 16, the essential focus is not on horsemanship but on the *loss* of horsemanship as a consequence of his death. Part of the effect is contrast: amidst the energetic battle Cebriones is completely still. The situation is much different with Achilles in book 18, where in contrast to Cebriones Achilles in his mourning very actively disfigures himself. But much of the effect of the Cebriones passage depends on the negation of horsemanship skill by death.[17] Some of this effect is inherent in the parallel passage about the corpse of Achilles in *Odyssey* 24, but Agamemnon's account is much more concise and not as dramatic. Though it is possible that in pre-Homeric epic, descriptions of the corpse of Achilles were as poetically skillful, we must admit that in Homeric poetry the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology is most successfully employed in book 16.

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[15] Usener (1990: 105) thinks that the reference to horsemanship does not specifically match Achilles' last battle, even if horsemanship is a general characteristic of warriors. Danek (1998b: 469) argues that Achilles must have employed the chariot in his rout of the Trojans just before his death. I consider the *Odyssey* 24 phraseology generally appropriate to Achilles.

[16] A. M. Parry (1971a: liii), with an excellent analysis of the book 16 passage, made in the context of a discussion (pp. lii–liv) of his father's remarks on the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology (M. Parry, in A. M. Parry 1971b: 324). The father admired the line in book 16 but cited *comparanda* to demonstrate its traditionality, a view which the son finds limited.

[17] The pathos has been well described at Griffin (1980: 106), where it is linked with other passages in which the wastefulness of death is emphasized. On the tragic feeling of the Cebriones passage, see also de Romilly (1983: 28–9).

If horsemanship is not inappropriate for Cebriones, and the poetics of the passage describing his corpse are excellent, what is secondary about the phraseology in the book 16 passage? From the neoanalyst perspective, it is the central phrase μέγας μεγαλωστί. The issue is the *status* of Cebriones. There is no reason to think of him as μέγας in a physical sense, and he is not a major hero. He is a bastard son of Priam who upon his death is mocked abusively by Patroclus. Many have therefore concluded that the phraseology, though it suits the context, is inappropriate for the character. 'Great in his greatness' might be thought very fitting for Achilles, especially if one thinks of iconography of Ajax groaning under the weight of his huge corpse.

So the phraseology probably belongs to Achilles, normally employed in the context of a battle over his corpse. In book 16 the context is correct, a battle over a corpse, but the character is different. This shift to a different character could be seen as accidental and therefore insignificant; arguably the context of a battle over a corpse triggered the employment of phraseology usually reserved for the battle over Achilles. Oralists might prefer this interpretation, and something like it was argued by Schoeck, in his theory of multiple motif transference by association.[18] From the perspective of classic neoanalysis, the use of Achilles-specific phraseology for the minor character Cebriones is a kind of narrative problem, comparable to the application to Patroclus of motifs usually associated with Achilles. Neoanalysts cite such 'problems' as evidence of the poet's inventive transferral of motifs; more recently, scholars attracted to neoanalyst argument have tended to regard such problems as allusive signals to other narratives.

It is probably too strong, however, to say that the Cebriones passage evokes the traditional death of Achilles, for Cebriones in no other way resembles Achilles, certainly not in the way that Patroclus is an *alter ego* of the great hero. But the application of the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology to Cebriones might be considered an anticipatory doublet, since the Achilles-specific phraseology in book 16 prepares for Achilles' enactment of his death at the beginning of book 18. As well, the Achilles-esque corpse of Cebriones prepares for the imminent rehearsal of Achilles' death on the part of Patroclus.[19] Cebriones is the last major victim of Patroclus, and

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[18] Schoeck (1961: passim); at Schoeck (1961: 68) the *Iliad* 16 passage is described as gravitating to a traditional Achilles formulation.

[19] On anticipatory doublets, see Edwards (1991: 19–20). Usener (1990: 105) and Danek (1998b: 468) note that the death of Cebriones directly precedes that of the Achilles-doublet Patroclus; Usener argues that the *Odyssey* passage is thereby influenced by the *Iliad* 16 passage, whereas Danek more plausibly sees the *Iliad* 16 passage as a secondary reflection of a context that belongs to Achilles.

Patroclus himself will soon be a corpse in the middle of opposing warriors after resembling Achilles in his *aristeia* and in his death.

Kullmann (1984) has used the phrase 'motif transference' to describe the movement of a motif from its primary situation to a secondary situation, and that phrase generally describes the phenomenon of Achilles playing the role of a corpse in book 18: a mytho-poetic episode, including some traditional context- and character-specific phraseology, has been transferred into a new context within the Homeric poem. But here and below I will try to employ some more specific terms in order to describe the intertextuality with more precision. In the book 18 passage there is what may be called *motif alienation* which involves *displacement* (change of scene from battlefield to the camp of Achilles) and *anachronism* (enactment of death long before it occurs). Besides this variance, there is correspondence between the secondary manifestation of the motif with its regular, or primary, manifestation, notably with the phraseology that we examined. Modified iteration is the basic recipe for intertextuality, certainly for intertextuality that is potentially significant and allusive. In narratological terms the allusion in book 18 is *external prolepsis* (reference to a future event outside the boundaries of the poem). In book 18 the usual context of the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology would quickly come to mind for a mythologically informed audience, especially one which has recently heard it employed in book 16 for a battle over a corpse – which itself serves as an intratextual anticipatory doublet.

3 ASTYANAX

The preceding analysis of a much-discussed phrase has established some criteria for examination of the intertextuality of epic phraseology. My second text case is the correspondence between a line of the *Little Iliad* and a line in book 6 of the *Iliad*. The fragment reports on the aftermath of the sack of the city:

> παῖδα δ' ἑλὼν ἐκ κόλπου ἐϋπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης
> ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, τὸν δὲ πεσόντα
> ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή[20]

And taking the child from the breast of the fair-haired nurse he gripped him by the foot and hurled him from the tower, and dark death and strong fate seized him.

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[20] Fr. 20.3–5 Davies = 21.3–5 Bernabé = 29.3–5 West (Tzetzes *ad* Lycoph. *Alex.* 1268).

Much scholarly attention has been directed to the attribution of the second half of the eleven-line fragment to Simias by a *scholion* to Euripides (*ad Andromache* 14); I will leave that controversy aside and focus instead on lines 3–5 of the fragment.[21] This brief description of the death of Astyanax is very similar to the famous passage in book 6 of the *Iliad* in which Astyanax recoils into the breast of his nurse in horror of his father's plumed helmet:

> ἂψ δ᾽ ὁ πάϊς πρὸς κόλπον ἐϋζώνοιο τιθήνης
> ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων, πατρὸς φίλου ὄψιν ἀτυχθεὶς
> ταρβήσας χαλκόν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἱππιοχαίτην,
> δεινὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας
> (6.467–70)

But the child leaned back towards the bosom of his well-belted nurse, crying out, upset at the sight of his father, in fear of his bronze and the horse-hair crest, as he saw it nodding terribly from the top part of the helmet.

The correspondences are obvious. Most generally, both passages concern Astyanax. More specifically, line 3 of the fragment corresponds extensively to line 467 of book 6; each line refers to a child and a breast fold of a nurse (with a different case for παῖς, and a different epithet for the nurse). And that is not all; other parts of the fragment correspond to different passages of the *Iliad*.[22] Most significantly, a different form of the main verb at the beginning of line 4 in the fragment, along with the subsequent prepositional phrase, recurs at line 735 of *Iliad* 24, all in the same metrical place. This passage also concerns Astyanax, for Andromache is ruminating about the possible fate of her son (as well as her own) now that Hector is dead. It has not gone unnoticed that a Cyclic passage about Astyanax employs phraseology also found in Homeric passages about Astyanax, and the consensus view is that the *Little Iliad* has reworked phraseology from the *Iliad*.[23]

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[21] Davies prints the text with a space between lines 5 and 6; Bernabé brackets lines 6–11; West separates into two fragments. At Davies (1989b: 72) the issue is deemed 'one of the great insoluble mysteries associated with the Epic Cycle'. It has also troubled scholars that the eleven lines seem to move abruptly between three distinct actions: the conveying of Andromache to the ships (imperfect tense), the previous murder of Astyanax and the acquisition of Andromache and Aeneas by Neoptolemus. Recent suggestions include Huxley (1969: 199, rearrangement of the lines), West (2003a: 141 n. 49, Tzetzes quotes two unconsecutive passages of the epic), Bravo (2001b: 76–7, the fragment is a unity, with the succinct reference to the death of Astyanax a narratological flashback), Debiasi (2005: 180–1, Simias reused a passage of the *Little Iliad*). For further discussion and bibliography on the origins of the verse see Bernabé's apparatus (1987: ad loc.), Powell (1925: 111–12), Griffin (1977: 51 n. 42), Bravo (2001b: 75), Debiasi (2005: 180–3).

[22] The apparatus at *Little Iliad* fr. 21 Bernabé helpfully gathers some of the *comparanda*.

[23] Cf. schol. *Il.* 24.735; Griffin (1977: 51–2), Curti (1993: 45), Richardson (1993: 354), Debiasi (2005: 183–4). Kullmann (1960: 186–7) argues that the Cyclic fragment is post-Homeric, believing that

I have previously resisted this idea, suggesting instead that the apparent correspondence is best explained as resulting from independent use of shared poetic traditions (Burgess 2001: 154). Though the fragment can be faulted for some awkwardness of metrics, word placement and repetition, its language is not obviously post-Homeric, and Notopoulos (1964: 30–1) demonstrated that all eleven lines of the fragment are formulaic in nature, at least by analogy.[24] Most of the difficulties occur in the (disputed) second half of the fragment, though the section concerning Astyanax has some aspects that might raise concern. In line 3 the genitive form of κόλπος necessitates metrical correption and hiatus, as the accusative at *Il*. 6.467 does not. But this does not mean that the fragment's formulation must be untraditional, or derivative from the Homeric line. Though there seems to be no qualitative reason to prefer the Homeric ἐΰζωνος to the Cyclic ἐϋπλόκαμος as an epithet for the nurse, the form of the word in this metrical position is anomalous. If the Homeric database reflects normal epic practice, the fragment may have been innovative with a non-integral part of traditional phraseology – perhaps in order to avoid repetition with the occurrence of ἐΰζωνος in line 6, assuming the fragment is a unity. This slight lapse of economy is nothing extraordinary for oral compositional technique in early Greek epic.[25]

It is not enough to claim that the *Little Iliad* passage is independent of the *Iliad*, however; if the *Iliad* is not the source for the Cyclic passage, nonetheless it must be more than a coincidence that parts of the fragment's description of the death of Astyanax are also present in two Homeric passages about Astyanax. These passages are linked at a thematic, as well as lexical, level. If there is no direct connection between the poems, the only explanation could be independent manifestation of phraseology that was traditionally used in reference to the death of Astyanax. In this case the phraseology would be context- and character-specific (the death of Astyanax), with the Cyclic passage more directly describing the primary context, and the *Iliad* passages more (in book 24) or less (in book 6) evoking it. Using the terminology established above for the μέγας μεγαλωστί

Hector, and by extension Andromache and Astyanax, were Homeric inventions; for refutation of this argument see Burgess (2001: 64–7).

[24] For philological and metrical data of the *Little Iliad* fragments, see Bernabé (1987: xi–xii); for analysis of fr. 21 Bernabé, see Dihle (1970: 148), Davies (1989a: 96, 1989b: 72–3), Curti (1993: 38–9, 43, 45), Anderson (1997: 53–4), Bravo (2001b: 78–9), Debiasi (2005: 183–5). Debiasi defends the fragment's unity; Anderson well explains the significance of the genealogical emphasis in the phraseology.

[25] Janko (1982: 226) suggests that direct imitation may be indicated if a poet violates *his own* formular economy; unfortunately not enough of the Cycle poems has survived for them to be subject to the linguistic and formulaic guidelines concerning *exemplum* and *imitatio* at Janko (1982: 225–8).

phraseology, we could view the book 6 passage as an example of motif alienation. There is the same context, the walls of Troy, with Hector's helmet representing an attacker, at least as it initially seems to the child. But there are obvious changes. The motif of the death of Astyanax is anachronistic here. Hector is certainly not the child's murderer, and the child is actually in no danger. Astyanax shrinks back into the safety of his nurse's bosom, instead of being snatched from it, an inversion underscored by the modification of the phraseology. The correspondence, coupled with variance, produces intertextuality, and the traditional death of the prince is foreshadowed through external prolepsis.

Andromache's premonition in book 24, on the other hand, does not constitute motif alienation, since the death of Astyanax is predicted much as it traditionally occurs. There is narratological modulation, however, for the traditional event is foreseen and described by a character, instead of the narrator. This external prolepsis, though explicit in its denotation, nonetheless has a hazy air about it; Andromache is not an omniscient reporter and has no certain knowledge of the future, even if she is well aware of the dire choices awaiting the women and children of a sacked city. Skeptics about the pre-Homeric nature of Astyanax' death point out that Andromache offers alternative scenarios for the fate of her son, and also that she seems mistaken in her musings on the motivation of the future murderer of her son (24.736–9). But it is exactly her lack of prophetic knowledge when she happens to specify the traditional fate of her child that produces a chilling effect for the mythologically informed audience, especially since she uses context- and character-specific phraseology.

To what degree, however, can we say that the phraseology actually 'belongs' to Astyanax? Some of the diction is apparently character-specific. A nurse, τιθήνη, would be employed for care of a child of high social status, as is the case with Astyanax. Not all children thrown off a wall would have a nurse, and in the *Iliad* τιθήνη is almost exclusively connected to Astyanax.[26] Another seemingly significant word is κόλπος, which also occurs in connection to Astyanax in *Iliad* 6 (6.467, in modified correspondence to the fragment's phraseology; also at 6.400 and 6.483). This is not a rare Homeric word, however, and there are different yet oddly echoing usages of κόλπος elsewhere in the *Iliad*. At 6.136 Thetis receives the infant Dionysus into her protecting κόλπος (after the young god's *nurses* have been chased off),

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[26] *Il.* 6.132, 389, 467, and 22.503. The word does not occur in the *Odyssey*, but in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* Demeter acts as Demophoon's τιθήνη (227, cf. 291). All the Iliadic occurrences refer to the nurse of Astyanax except the first example, which refers to the nurses of the infant Dionysus.

and at 18.398 Thetis receives another victim, Hephaestus, into her κόλπος (after his *fall from the heights* of Olympus), with the same formula that is used at 6.136 when Thetis rescues Dionysus, and with similar phraseology to that used at 6.483 when Andromache receives the frightened Astyanax into her κόλπος.

It appears that phraseology featuring κόλπος in reference to Astyanax can also occur in the recurring motif of Thetis as rescuer of distressed divinities (cf. 1.396–406, her rescue of Zeus). And the motif of Thetis as rescuer at least on one occasion intersects with a motif that involves the hurling of a divinity (notably Hephaestus) from Olympus (1.590–4, 14.256–9, 15.22–5, 18.395–9, 19.130). This hurling-of-a-divinity motif itself often employs the phraseology used to describe the attack on Astyanax in the *Little Iliad* fragment. The phraseology in question is not altogether character-specific, we must conclude; much of it belongs to a general context of hurling someone from a great height. The lexical evidence might therefore be labelled 'hurling-from-a-height' phraseology. Allomorphs of the phraseology are employed, *mutatis mutandis*, for the hurling of Astyanax and the hurling of divinities like Hephaestus. Though these are very different circumstances, it is possible that hurling in the divine realm provided an ironic foil to the tragedy of the Trojan prince's death.[27]

If the 'hurling-from-a-height' phraseology does not belong exclusively to Astyanax, it must have been employed often enough in the context of his death so as to be recognizably associated with it, especially when some key words like τιθήνη or (to a lesser extent) κόλπος are present. When used in connection with the Trojan wall, 'hurling-from-a-height' phraseology should certainly be allusive to the death of Astyanax. The Astyanax lines in the *Little Iliad* fragment certainly are not an accidental conglomeration of free-floating formulae. Their composition by chance is ruled out by the partial reoccurrence of the fragment's phraseology in two Iliadic passages about Astyanax; in particular, the occurrence of the rare word τιθήνη in the fragment and the book 6 scene at the city walls confirms that there is a connection.

Is the connection one of Homeric influence, as many suspect? The common assumption that the Cycle reshuffled pilfered Homeric phrases should be resisted, since it is predicated upon an untenable conception of the Epic Cycle and of the epic tradition of the Archaic Age in general (Burgess 2001). There is nothing that proves Homeric priority, and it is probable that the phraseology – though employed in other narrative

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[27] I examine this issue more fully in Burgess 2010.

circumstances – commonly occurred in traditional descriptions of the death of Astyanax.[28] Some of the diction is especially relevant to Astyanax, and the phraseology in lines 3–4 of the fragment seems to have become attached to the traditional epic description of the scene. If this is so, a reconception of the intertextuality between the fragment and the relevant *Iliad* passages is required. The fragment would need to be seen as containing phraseology as it was regularly employed in narration of the mythological scene of the death of Astyanax. When Andromache in book 24 imagines this same scene, there is a narratological modulation from an actual description of the child's death to fearful speculation about it. In book 6 of the *Iliad* the allusion is more indirect and complex. There has been alienation of the phraseology, transferred as it is to a new context and time, and there is also inversion: the child recoils into his nurse's bosom instead of being snatched from it, and instead of a murderous Greek it is his own father who reaches for him (though a father whose visage is hidden by a warrior's helmet). This is iteration with variation, resulting in significantly allusive intertextuality. The passage thus serves as an excellent example of the meta-cyclic nature of Homeric poetry. A motif with its characteristic phraseology has been transferred to a new, Homeric context; as a result the scene is deeply resonant of the traditional, cyclic context.

From a mythological perspective the fragment is a manifestation of the primary motif, and the Astyanax passages in the *Iliad* passages are secondary. This is not to suggest that the Homeric passages allude to the *Little Iliad*. Nor do I think that they allude to a prototype of the *Little Iliad*, or to a prototype of the *Iliou Persis* for that matter; by using 'Astyanax' phraseology the *Iliad* is availing itself of phraseology commonly employed in the epic tradition when the scene of the death of Astyanax was narrated. The date of the *Iliad* and the *Little Iliad* is not relevant to my argument, for I conclude that the *Iliad* and the *Little Iliad* independently interacted with traditional myth about the death of Astyanax. This tradition certainly would have been flexible – Odysseus was often named the murderer, for instance, as in the Cyclic *Iliou Persis*, according to the summary by Proclus. But the basic elements of the myth would have remained

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[28] Cf. Anderson (1997: 55–6), where it is allowed that the phraseology may be pre-Homeric, or that there was mutual influence between Homeric and Cyclic traditions. He counts the conciseness of the *Little Iliad* fragment as an indication of imitation, but it is more likely that traditional epic resembled Cyclic narrative pace more than it did the leisurely expansion of Homeric narrative. Cf. the description of the battle over Achilles in *Odyssey* 24. On the expansion and compression of epic narrative, see Nagy (1996a: 76–7), and on the smaller scale of formulaic composition, Martin (1989: 206–30).

stable, and in its epic manifestations the tradition typically included certain phraseology.

4 CONCLUSION

I began by wondering at the possibility of an intertextuality of phraseology in circumstances where there were no texts, or even any identifiably prominent epics to which to allude. My first test case, the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology, has attracted wide attention, not least because of persuasive arguments by neoanalysts about its use in *Iliad* 18. The second test case was the *Little Iliad* phraseology, which is usually seen as imitative of the *Iliad*.

In both test cases I concluded that there were mythological traditions about the death of Achilles and Astyanax to which the *Iliad* reacts, and that these traditions were often represented in epic manifestations which regularly employed a certain context-specific and/or character-specific phraseology. A passage in *Odyssey* 24 seems to represent faithfully μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology in its usual form, though with narratological modulation. A passage in *Iliad* 24 similarly represents phraseology of the Astyanax death scene, and we are lucky to have a *Little Iliad* fragment that provides an even more direct manifestation. Recognizing the primary status of these passages enables us to appreciate the poetics of the relevant yet secondary passages in the *Iliad* that contain motif alienation, with attendant displacement and/or anachronism. Such motif transference is especially fascinating when it includes the textless intertextuality of language traditionally associated with specific scenes: the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology in *Iliad* 18 as Achilles collapses to the ground in intense grief at the news of Patroclus' death, and the 'Astyanax' phraseology in *Iliad* 6 when Hector meets his family on the walls of Troy. The effect is ominously foreshadowing, as the deaths of these characters are evoked by external prolepsis. Neither Achilles nor Astyanax are in any immediate danger, and indeed they will not perish within the course of the poem, but to an audience that was sensitive to mytho-poetic traditions, their deaths are signified.

It has been noted that the traditional phraseology examined in this study is not exclusively character-specific. In book 16 the μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology was used in its normal context, a battle over a corpse, but applied to a character other than Achilles. This I considered an anticipatory doublet; wonderfully effective in its immediate context, the phraseology also prepares for the death of Patroclus and especially for the later μέγας μεγαλωστί passage in book 18. As for the 'hurling-from-a-height' phraseology, it became apparent that it could also be employed in scenes of divine

violence. Employed in certain circumstances, however, the phraseology may effectively allude to the death of Astyanax; it is also possible that the divine scenes provide a significant contrast to the death scene of Astyanax.

The source for the phraseology that I have explored is the general epic tradition, not specific poems. This has allowed me to propose the existence of a textless intertextuality that involves not one text influencing another, but the traditional articulation of an episode being reflected by a secondary articulation of it. The passages considered 'primary' for the purposes of my investigation simply contain phraseology commonly used for the situations that they describe; they need not represent the only or best or earliest compositions of these scenes. Nonetheless these 'primary' passages provide testimony for the traditional employment of phraseology in specific circumstances. With this evidence in hand we have been able to uncover surprisingly detailed examples of the *Iliad*'s textless yet allusive intertextual engagement with the epic tradition from which it stems.

Perspectives on neoanalysis from the archaic hymns to Demeter

Bruno Currie

I INTRODUCTION

A fundamental, if vexed, contribution to a relative chronology of early Greek hexameter poetry is made by the consideration of literary relationships.[1] Put at its most general, and most simplistic: if a literary work *x* can be shown to allude to a work *y* then *y* is older than *x*.[2] Such an approach has played a key role in arguments for the priority of the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey*, of the *Theogony* to the *Works and Days*, of the Cyclic to the Homeric epics and, conversely, of the Homeric to the Cyclic epics. Here I offer some reflections, theoretical and practical, on such approaches.

The theoretical issues are familiar. The very notion of a literary history, of establishing a dependency between works, has an especially controversial application to early Greek hexameter poetry.[3] There is even debate whether there are discrete works ('fixed texts') in this oral(-derived) tradition.[4] The common stock of phrases, motifs and themes, moreover, makes it problematic to detect allusions in one work to another.[5] Scholars nowadays are

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This piece became a fixed text through performances at Oxford, Leeds and Oslo; I thank the audiences of those respective occasions for their comments and suggestions. I have also profited much from discussions with and communications from Jonathan Burgess, Margalit Finkelberg, Anastasia Maravela, Robert Parker, Nicholas Richardson and Oliver Thomas, none of whom, however, should be assumed to share my ideas; certainly none shares the responsibility for any errors of argument or fact.

[1] See e.g. Janko (1982: 'General Index' s.v. 'imitation'). I use the term 'literary' without wishing to imply that early Greek hexameter poetry was read (widely) as 'literature', rather than experienced in performance.

[2] This simple formulation ignores the complications raised by the possibilities that a literary work may go through different editions, or have an oral dissemination prior or parallel to its written 'publication'; it also ignores the complications of some reader–response models of intertextuality, which allow for earlier texts 'alluding' to more recent ones: see e.g. D. P. Fowler (2000: 130), Martindale (1993: 7–8).

[3] Cf. Burgess (2006: 153–4).

[4] Cf. Lord (1953: 130, 1960: esp. 99–101, 149); cf. Garvie (1994: 6 and references in n. 17), Nagy (1996a: 42), Pelliccia (2003).

[5] E.g. Hainsworth (1969: 30), Hoekstra (1969: 8); cf. Janko (1982: 225–6).

on the whole happier to assume that poets might exploit their audience's knowledge quite generally of the mythological tradition ('mythological intertextuality')[6] or might manipulate the traditional uses of type-scenes[7] or formulae ('traditional referentiality').[8] Accordingly, rather than seeing early Greek hexameter poems as interacting with other specific poems, there is a preference for seeing them as 'resonating'[9] with an abstract overarching tradition.[10] In Saussurian terms, the preferred model of interaction is of *parole* with *langue* rather than *parole* with *parole*.[11] Related to this preference is the ideological opposition between oralists' 'typical motifs' and neoanalysts' 'transferred motifs'.[12] Where neoanalysts are apt to identify one use of a motif in early epic poetry as 'primary' and another as 'secondary', inspired by the other, oralists would reject any direct dependence between the two, seeing each as independent manifestations of a traditional 'typology'.[13] Still more problematic, even for many who would accept transferred motifs, is the notion that individual phrases, or whole verses, may be transferred allusively from one specific poetic context to another.[14] It is with these problems in mind that I offer the following perspectives on Homeric neoanalysis, a literary method committed to establishing relative chronological relationships between early Greek epics (as its alternative title, 'the study of the history of motifs', makes explicit).[15] My investigation cannot avoid touching on related fundamental controversies: whether there can be sufficiently fixed 'texts' in this tradition to ground allusion and whether there can be 'intertextuality' (appropriately defined) within this tradition.[16]

If the theoretical issues in this essay are mainstream, their practical exploration is not: my test case is the literary relationship between two early Greek hexameter compositions, the 'Homeric' *Hymn to Demeter*

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[6] Burgess (2006: 173).

[7] Cf. the approaches of M. W. Edwards (1987: 53–60), Emlyn-Jones (1998: 131–4).

[8] J. M. Foley (1991 and elsewhere), Graziosi and Haubold (2005).

[9] The term used by J. M. Foley (e.g. 1997: 169, 172, 1999: xiv, 7, 26 and passim) and subsequently by Graziosi and Haubold (2005).

[10] So Burgess (this vol.: 183): 'The source . . . is the general epic tradition, not specific poems.' Cf. Danek (1998b: 13): 'Übertext'. Something along these lines is already adumbrated by Lord's distinction of 'the specific song' from 'the generic song' (Lord 1960: 101).

[11] Cf. Ballabriga (1998: 23), Clark (2004: 130).

[12] Cf. M. W. Edwards (1990: 311–12). This is not to imply that neoanalytical and oral positions are intrinsically irreconcilable: cf. Kullmann (1984), Burgess (2006: 158).

[13] Fenik (1968: 236, 239–40), Hainsworth (1969: 30–1: 'If themes are common property, there can be no borrowing, no imitation.').

[14] Cf. Burgess (2001: 134; this vol.: esp. 170, point 6).

[15] See Kullmann (1991: 425) for neoanalysis as 'die motivgeschichtliche Forschung zu Homer'.

[16] On 'intertextuality' in early Greek epic: Korenjak (1998), Danek (2002b), R. L. Fowler (2004b: 229–30), Burgess (2006: esp. 166; this vol., arguing for a 'textless intertextuality'). Rather different concepts of intertextuality in Pucci (1987), Tsagalis (2008).

(*HDem*) and a fragmentary *Hymn to Demeter* ascribed to Orpheus.[17] Our knowledge of the latter poem is due to a papyrus text written in the first century BC, now in Berlin.[18] I refer to this as 'the Berlin papyrus' (*P.Berol.*). The standard edition of the papyrus was for a long time Otto Kern's *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922), but it has been recently re-edited by Alberto Bernabé in the second part of his *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta* (2004).[19] The papyrus contains verbatim quotations of the poem (twenty-six verses are extant, in whole or in part) and a paraphrase in prose of much of the poem's plot.[20] The paraphrase relates a version of the Rape of Persephone which is clearly different from that of *HDem*; however, the verses cited are all but identical with verses of *HDem*, and thus raise difficult questions. What is their relation to the different hexameter verses which are cited as coming from an (early?) 'Orphic' *Hymn to Demeter* by other sources (the Derveni papyrus, Ps.-Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria)?[21] And, most critically for our purposes, what is their relation to *HDem*?

2 THE STATUS OF THE HEXAMETER VERSES IN THE BERLIN PAPYRUS

On this last question, two basic positions have been taken. First, that the verses in *P.Berol.* derive from a poem distinct from *HDem*.[22] This

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[17] Or possibly Musaeus: cf. Janko (2001: 29 n. 168).

[18] *P.Berol.* 13044. The text in question is on the verso of the papyrus; the texts on the recto are dated to the second century BC (Buecheler 1905: 7–8).

[19] Fr. 49 Kern, frr. 386–97 Bernabé. The *editio princeps* is Buecheler (1905); also still worth consulting is Colli (1977: 218–29, 410–11); cf. too Scarpi (2002: 380–8, 398–9, 644–7, 651–2). Bernabé's edition greatly facilitates study of the papyrus, but does not remove the need to consult earlier editions. First, because Bernabé's ordering of the fragments of the poem hinders a sequential reading of the papyrus itself, which Bernabé has broken up as follows: *P.Berol.* 1–14 = fr. 383 Bernabé, 15–32 = fr. 387, 33–34 = fr. 388.(II), 34–45 = fr. 389.(I), 45–51 = fr. 392.(I), 52–60 = fr. 393, 60–68 = fr. 388.(I), 69–75 = 389.(II), 75–80 = 392.(II), 81–118 = fr. 396, 118–120 = 397.(II). Second, because Bernabé is much more confident than his predecessors on several textual points (see e.g. below n. 21, on the relationship of the versions of *P.Berol.*, Ps.-Justin and Clement; and p. 199 n. *d* on *P.Berol.* 120).

[20] How much of the plot? Scholars differ on whether the end of *P.Berol.* is the end of the paraphrase: contrast Wilcken in Kern (1922: 124 ad *P.Berol.* 120) with Richardson (1974: 81).

[21] Bernabé presents the verse cited by the Derveni commentator (fr. 398) as coming from a different poem than the verses cited in *P.Berol.*, but presents the verses cited by Ps.-Justin and Clement (frr. 386, 395 Bernabé) as coming from the same poem as the verses cited in *P.Berol.* (p. 311 'ex eadem recensione venire possunt'). Here he follows the principle formulated (though more cautiously) by Richardson (1974: 79); cf. Bernabé (2004: 311). See also on this question Colli (1977: 410–11).

[22] The distinctness of the two versions is assumed by Buecheler (1905: 16–17), Kern (1922: 124–5), Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1932: 47–8), Colli (1977: 410), Janko (1986a), Bernabé (2004: 311, 313–30), where *P.Berol.* is seen as providing 'fragmenta' ('F') – not 'testimonia' ('T') – of an Orphic poem on the rape of Persephone; cf. Graf (1974: 153–8).

position invites further questions: whether this distinct poem is derived from *HDem*,[23] is itself a source for *HDem*[24] or simply stands in a common tradition with *HDem*: these are questions to which we will return below. The second position is that the verses in the Berlin papyrus are simply quotations of our Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, in a wild or rhapsodic text.[25] This view is recommended by the fact that the verses quoted in the papyrus are virtually identical with verses of *HDem*, whereas the many fewer verses cited by the other sources as coming from an 'Orphic' *Hymn to Demeter* are wholly unlike verses from *HDem*. Moreover, such divergences as are found between the verses in the papyrus and their counterparts in *HDem* are (with one significant exception)[26] consistent with what we would expect from ancient manuscripts of a single early hexameter text.[27] This view would entail that the Berlin commentator saw *HDem* as the work of Orpheus, not Homer; but for that, too, there may be parallels.[28] This view, although it commands notable scholarly support, involves significant difficulties.

First, the commentator purports to be working from one and the same poem, whether paraphrasing it in prose or quoting hexameter verses from it. If he is doing what he purports to be, he must be quoting from a different poem than *HDem*, for the paraphrase is incompatible with *HDem*. We must then assume that the poem that lay behind the Berlin papyrus contained several verses which diverged significantly from the verses of *HDem*, even though the commentator does not (with a possible partial exception to be discussed presently) actually quote any such verses.[29] On the alternative view, that the commentator was quoting the verses from *HDem*, he must, contrary to his indications, have been following different

[23] For the first of these positions, cf. Kern (1922: 124–5), Buecheler (1905: 17).

[24] Böhme (1991: 51), cf. Böhme (1988: 28 n. 9).

[25] Allen et al. (1936: 110), Krüger (1938: 352), M. L. West (1983: 24, n. 63, 2003b: 8). Richardson (1974: 66–7) treats *P.Berol.* as a manuscript witness to *HDem* ('pap. 1' in the 'Sigla' p. 93), but he recognizes that in some cases we have deliberate adaptations, not just textual variants, of *HDem*. In the view of Càssola (1975: 34), 'I passi in esametri discendono da un'edizione dell'inno diversa dalla nostra [sc. *HDem*], ma non necessariamente orfica.'

[26] *HDem* 54–6 and *P.Berol.* 102–5: see below, p. 189.

[27] See in general Haslam (1997: 64–9); cf. M. L. West (2001a: 14). Compare, for instance, Thuc. 3.104 and *HAp* 146–50, 165–72.

[28] Allen et al. (1936: 110 '[P. Berol.] shows ... that poems of the Homeric corpus were appropriated at this period by the Orphics'), Richardson (1974: 12: '[T]he Homeric Hymn was taken over and attributed to Orpheus'). Comparably, *P.Derv.* xxvi.5–7 suggests an ascription of *Il.* 24.527–8 to 'Orpheus', rather than 'Homer', assuming that at *P.Derv.* xxvi, 5 δηλοῖ is used personally, with Orpheus as subject (cf. *P.Derv.* xiii.3, xvi.9, xxi.1). See Funghi (1997: 27), Obbink (1997: 41 n. 4), Betegh (2004: 100, n. 25). Differently, Kouremenos et al. (2006: 20 n. 46, 272).

[29] Krüger (1938: 352) is understandably suspicious of this coincidence. However, the problems do not seem fewer on alternative views of *P.Berol.*

sources for the paraphrase and for the verse citations. Something like this is the assumption of scholars[30] who see the prose paraphrase as testimony to a lost 'Orphic' *Hymn to Demeter*, but do not see the verses quoted in the papyrus as coming from a lost 'Orphic' poem. This makes the commentator's procedure extremely hard to understand: it becomes either inept (if the commentator has failed to realize that the plot of *HDem* is different from his paraphrase),[31] or deceptive (if the commentator intends the reader not to realize; but how could such an intent ever succeed?); there do not seem to be any grounds to impute a playful or humorous intent to the author. It is true that our interpretation of the Berlin papyrus is in general hampered by our ignorance of the agenda of the commentator (as of his identity),[32] but on this view it seems that we must resign our hopes even of making sense of what he is about.

Second, it is not possible to argue that the Berlin commentator quoted from *HDem* because there was no other poem for him to quote from. Around the middle of the third century BC (*terminus ante quem*), the Parian Marble attests the existence of '(hexameter) poetry on the rape of Persephone and the search of Demeter' attributed to Orpheus.[33] From the scanty indications of the Parian Chronicle, the plot of this 'Orphic' poetry seems to have both diverged from that of *HDem* and converged in essentials with that of the paraphrase of the Berlin papyrus.[34] Given the availability, perhaps widespread, of such a poem on the Rape of Persephone – which was distinct from *HDem*, was ascribed to 'Orpheus' and had a plot apparently conformable to what the Berlin commentator required – it is hard to account for the failure of the commentator to use this poem. Or (to make the same point the other way round) the independent attestation, from at least the third or fourth centuries BC, of just such an 'Orphic' poem makes it likely that the commentator was drawing on a poem distinct from *HDem*, ascribed to Orpheus, and, if not identical with the poem referred to in the Parian Marble, then substantially similar to it.[35]

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[30] See above, n. 25.

[31] This is the unattractive assumption of Krüger (1938: 352).   [32] Cf. Buecheler (1905: 17 n. 1).

[33] *FGrH* 239 A14. The *terminus ante quem* can probably be pushed further back, to the fourth century BC: Asclepiades and Palaephatus (*FGrH* 12 F4 and *FGrH* 44 F1, both in Harp. s.v. Δυσαύλης), probably after an 'Orphic' poem; cf. Jacoby (1923–: I.a.485 on *FGrH* 12 F4), Richardson (1974: 82), Graf (1974: 159–60). In general, 'Orphic *Hymns*' are attested in the fifth–fourth centuries BC (*P.Derv.* xxii.12; Pl. *Leg.* 829d8–e1), and still being read in the second century AD (Paus. 9.30.12). The archaic-classical 'Orphic' *Hymn(s) to Demeter* is (are) probably reflected in Eur. *Hel.* 1301–68 (cf. Kannicht 1969: 343) and *OA* 26–7, 1191–6 (cf. frr. 380–1 Bernabé; Vian 1987: 16; Nelis 2005: 170). Different from these early 'Orphic *Hymns*' is the extant collection (from the 4th c. AD?) of 'Orphic' *Hymns*, of which no. 41 is to Demeter ('Meter Antaia'); see Athanassakis (1977: vii), Betegh (2004: 222).

[34] The crucial divergence from *HDem* and convergence with *P.Berol.* consists in Demeter's gift of agriculture to the Eleusinians: *Marm. Par.* (*FGrH* 239 A14) τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τὸν καρπόν.

[35] Cf. Buecheler (1905: 16).

Third, it is impossible in all instances to regard the verses cited by the Berlin papyrus as coming just from a wild or rhapsodic text of *HDem*: we come here to the significant exception alluded to above. Three verses in the papyrus (*P.Berol.* 13044 lines 102–5 = fr. 396.22–4 Bernabé) indicate a version in which Demeter came to Eleusis ignorant of the identity of Persephone's abductor, and thus embody a conception of plot incompatible with that of *HDem* – even though their wording is still extremely close to lines 54–6 of *HDem* (more on these verses below, pp. 194–5).[36] At the very least we would have to assume the commentator, if drawing on *HDem* for these verses, has wilfully tampered with them.[37] Again, this would involve the imputation of a deceptive or disingenuous procedure to the commentator and, perhaps harder still, the assumption of a public capable of being duped. Such a scenario is hard to endorse without a convincing account of the commentator's agenda and procedure.

These three points are weighty enough, I believe, to warrant the assumption that the verses cited in the papyrus derive from a poem distinct from *HDem*.[38] The assumption, I contend, is warranted; I do not maintain that it is inescapable or without problems of its own, only that it is viable enough for its implications to be worth exploring, the more so as these implications are interesting ones. I hereafter make the assumption that the commentator is working as he purports to be, in both the paraphrase and the verse citations, with a poem distinct from *HDem* and call that poem 'the *Hymn to Demeter* in the Berlin papyrus' (*HDemPBerol*). This assumption can still accommodate the view that *HDemPBerol* consists to a large extent of verses adapted from *HDem*; it excludes only the view that the commentator is drawing directly and exclusively on *HDem*. For the rest of this piece I forego further discussion of these first-order questions about the status of the verses in the papyrus and address myself to second-order questions which are directly pertinent to the question of relative chronology: which of these two poems depends on which and whether demonstration of a literary relationship here yields a relative chronology.

3 HDEM AND HDEMPBEROL

Scholarship has provided absolute dates for both poems: a current consensus places *HDem* in the earlier sixth century,[39] while *HDemPBerol* has

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[36] These three lines of the papyrus refute the view of Allen et al. (1936: 110): 'The passages quoted as from Orpheus or Musaeus show several variants from the text of the hymn given in M, *but they do not amount to a new version*' (my italics).

[37] Cf. Richardson (1974: 67).   [38] With those scholars cited above, n. 22.

[39] Richardson (1974: 5–11), Janko (1982: 183), H. P. Foley (1994: 29–30), West (2003b: 9).

been dated variously to the late sixth and the later fifth centuries.[40] The
dating of *HDemPBerol* in particular rests on slippery criteria.[41] Probably we
should keep an open mind about both the relative dating and the relation-
ship of the two poems.[42] We are, though, in a position to say something
about the background of the *Hymn to Demeter* in the archaic period. There
were evidently several hexameter compositions on the Rape of Persephone
current in Attica in the archaic (and/or early classical) period: apart from
HDem, ascribed to 'Homer', we know of early hexameter *Hymns to Demeter*
ascribed to Orpheus, Musaeus, Eumolpus, and Pamphos.[43] Ancient tradi-
tion (for what that is worth) regularly placed these poets before Homer.[44]
In any event we are not entitled to assume that *HDem* is the oldest of the
attested *Hymns to Demeter*.[45] A couple of verses of Hesiod's *Theogony* (see
below) imply that the Rape of Persephone was a subject of hexameter verse
as early as the eighth century, perhaps a century and a half before *HDem*.
All the attested archaic *Hymns to Demeter* had associations with Attica.[46]
There is a notable degree of conformity between them. In the first instance
this consists in certain stable elements of the plot: the abduction of Perse-
phone by Hades, Demeter's search for Persephone, Demeter's hospitable
reception by the Eleusinians, Demeter's rewarding of the Eleusinians with
the gift of agriculture and/or her mysteries. Second, certain specific motifs
recur in some of them: Persephone's gathering of flowers before the rape,[47]
Demeter's sitting down by a well in Attica as an old woman.[48] Third (a
point of particular interest for us), there seems to have been at least some

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[40] Late sixth century: Malten (1909a: 427, pointing to the circle of Onomacritus), Kolb (1977: 114–15);
cf. other references in Graf (1974: 178 n. 105). Later fifth century: Graf (1974: 179–81, dating the
poem to 468–405 BC, and arguing that the author is Lampon or one of his immediate circle). Cf.
in general, H. P. Foley (1994: 99 n. 62), Parker (1996: 101 n. 141).

[41] Graf (1974) makes much of the transition from uncultivated to cultivated existence, relating it to
later fifth-century sophistic thought, and to Sophocles' *Triptolemus*.

[42] So Colli (1977: 410).

[43] Orpheus: *P.Derv.* xxii.7 (= 398F Bernabé), *Marm. Par.* = *FGrH* 239 A14, *P.Berol.* 3–5. Musaeus:
Paus. 1.22.7, 4.1.5. Eumolpus: Suda s.v. Εὔμολπος. Pamphos: Paus. 1.38.3, 1.39.1, 8.37.9, 9.31.9.

[44] Eumolpus: Suda *s.v.* Εὔμολπος. Pamphos: Paus. 7.21.9, 9.27.2, 9.29.8. In general, cf. Hdt. 2.23,
2.53. Cf. Linforth (1941: 159).

[45] Cf. Malten (1909b: 307). We must similarly assume the existence of earlier hexameter hymns before
HAp and *HHerm*.

[46] On the Attic context of *HDem*, cf. Richardson (1974: 6, 12, 56). The *Hymns to Demeter* by Pamphos,
Orpheus, and Musaeus were used in the mystery cult of the Lykomid *genos* in the Attic deme of
Phyle (Paus. 9.27.2, 9.30.12, 1.22.7, 4.1.5). Eumolpus is eponym of the Eleusinian hierophantic *genos*
Eumolpidai.

[47] Pamphos: Paus. 9.31.9. Orpheus: *P.Berol.* 60–8, cf. 33–5; cf. *OA* 1192, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.17.1 (=
390F.2 Bernabé). *HDem* 6–8. For divine abductions of girls picking flowers as a traditional motif of
early hexameter poetry, cf. Richardson (1974: 140–1).

[48] Pamphos: Paus. 1.39.1. Orpheus: *P.Berol.* 52–6. *HDem* 98–112.

recurrent phraseology in the archaic *Hymns to Demeter*. This important fact emerges from a confrontation of Hesiod's *Theogony*, lines 912–14:

> αὐτὰρ ὁ Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν
> ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀϊδωνεὺς
> ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός, ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς

with *HDem* 1–3:

> Δήμητρ᾽ ἠΰκομον σεμνὴν θεὰν ἄρχομ᾽ ἀείδειν,
> αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα τανύσφυρον, ἣν Ἀϊδωνεὺς
> ἥρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.

The allusive character alone of the Hesiodic[49] verses implies that the Rape of Persephone was a traditional subject of hexameter poetry before the *Theogony*. But the detailed correspondences between them and the opening verses of *HDem* imply that this traditional poetry had, in addition to recurrent episodes and motifs, at least some recurrent verses or phraseology. This finding is particularly interesting when it comes to evaluating the surprisingly large number of shared verses between *HDem* and *HDemPBerol*.

These three levels – plot (myth), motif and phraseology – are all important to our inquiry. On the one hand, it is often granted by scholars that *HDem* takes in general an innovative and allusive approach to the traditional Attic *myth*;[50] and it is granted that *HDem* redeploys at least some traditional *phraseology*, in the light of the comparison of *HDem* 1–3 with Hes. *Theog.* 912–14.[51] On the other hand, it is commonly assumed that the paraphrase of the Berlin papyrus provides testimony to the traditional Attic myth with which *HDem* is engaging;[52] but it is almost universally denied that the verses cited in the papyrus constitute traditional verses to which *HDem* may be reacting.[53] Partly this is a consequence of the view of the verses in the papyrus as mere quotations, with or without deliberate adaptation, from *HDem*. Partly too it is due to theoretical assumptions, for the asymmetrical treatment of myth and wording here mirrors that prevailing in Homeric scholarship: while a number of scholars allow that (say) the *Cypria*, *Aethiopis* or *Little Iliad* may preserve pre-Homeric myth to

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[49] Hesiodic authorship has been denied by e.g. West (1966: 398–9). Differently, G. P. Edwards (1971: 198–9), Janko (1982: 85–7, 221), Dräger (1997: 1–26).

[50] So Richardson (1974: 84–5), Clay (1989: 205, 224–5), H. P. Foley (1994: 97–101); cf. Parker (1996: 100–1).

[51] Cf. Richardson (1974: 74, 137), Clay (1989: 210 and n. 24); cf. Böhme (1953: 62, 1970: 76–7). In this part of the *Theogony*, the catalogue of Zeus' unions with goddesses (886–929), Hesiod apparently alludes to much traditional mythical material: Richardson (1974: 137).

[52] Cf. Bernabé (2004: 328, note on line 21); and the references in n. 50.

[53] A solitary – if persistent – voice has been Böhme (1970: 75–111, 1983: 16–27 and elsewhere).

which the *Iliad* alludes, few allow that they preserve pre-Homeric phrasing to which the *Iliad* alludes.[54] It is against this background that I mean to argue for two propositions. First, that *HDem* presupposes and alludes to earlier Attic hexameter poetry on the Rape of Persephone, and does so on levels of plot, motif and phraseology that exceed the currently prevailing models of mythological intertextuality or traditional referentiality. Second, that the Berlin papyrus gives us access, direct or indirect, to the earlier Attic hexameter poetry on the Rape of Persephone to which *HDem* alludes. It is the language and concepts of neoanalysis that I find most serviceable to describe the relationship that I discern between *HDem* and *HDemPBerol*; and my analysis can also be seen as giving some support to the method of neoanalysis. I structure my argument around three related 'techniques of allusion' in *HDem*, each paralleled in well-known neoanalytical arguments pertaining to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

4 *HDEM* ALLUDES BY TRANSFERRED MOTIF AND TRANSFERRED WORDING?

My first technique is allusion by transferred motif and (more controversially) transferred wording. It can be exemplified by a well-known neoanalytical argument from *Iliad* 18.22–71: Achilles, Thetis and the Nereids lamenting Patroclus' death is held to recall Achilles' own funeral as this was narrated in earlier epic poetry (a *Memnonis, say, the hypothetical forerunner of the Cyclical *Aethiopis*).[55] The detailed motifs of such a scene seem to be reflected at *Od.* 24.39–64 and in Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopis* (Bernabé 1987: 69.20–1). But beyond detailed correspondence of motifs, the phrase μέγας μεγαλωστί . . . | κεῖτο (*Il.* 18.26–7), applied to the prostrate Achilles on learning of the death of Patroclus, closely corresponds to *Od.* 24.40 κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, applied to the prostrate Achilles at his own death. Several neoanalysts have thus argued that the *Iliad* has adopted (or 'quoted') wording used in earlier poetry of Achilles at his own funeral. This argument would find in the Iliadic passage both a transferred motif and transferred wording. Moreover, it assumes that the transference is allusive: the audience is to sense both the difference of the Iliadic scene from the scene of the *Aethiopis* (*Memnonis) and its similarity to it; perception

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[54] Cf. Burgess (2001: 133–4).

[55] Pestalozzi (1945: 18), Kakridis (1949: 84–5), Schadewaldt (1951: 168), Kullmann (1960: 38–9), Dowden (1996: 59, n. 63), Willcock (1997: 177), Danek (1998b: 468–9, 2002b: 17). Cf. Janko (1992: 408). West (2003b) has recently challenged the neoanalytical view of the relative chronology of the *Iliad* story and the Memnon story; but see Currie (2006: 26–41).

of the 'source text' behind the 'target text' is crucial to the understanding of the scene.[56] A final point worth emphasizing is that transference of the motif to a new context implies that the poet will not go on to employ the motif in the traditional way: having conveyed – symbolically, allusively, proleptically – the death of Achilles, the *Iliad* poet is not going subsequently to narrate the death of Achilles (along traditional lines, or at all).[57]

Consider now *HDem* 51–90: Demeter converses with Hecate and Helios and learns from the latter that Hades has abducted Persephone. The scene is likely to have reminded an Attic audience of a functionally equivalent scene in earlier poetic treatments of the Rape of Persephone: a scene of revelation in which Demeter learned from the Eleusinians that Persephone has been abducted by Hades. Such a scene is described in the paraphrase of the Berlin papyrus (*P.Berol.* 102–19 = frr. 396–7 Bernabé). It must, moreover, have been standard in the Attic version, where it was very likely an important, climactic scene.[58] The role of Helios as Demeter's informant in *HDem* appears to be an innovation of the Homeric hymn; it should be considered as 'secondary', whereas the role of the Eleusinians as informants is (in Attic tradition) 'primary'.[59] But it is important also to recognize that the version of *HDem* necessarily *excludes* the standard Attic version: a plot in which Olympians (Helios) act as Demeter's informants rules out one in which Eleusinians (Triptolemus) play that role. That is already, in effect, an allusion: the Hecate–Helios scene in *HDem* derives part of its meaning from what it, by implication, excludes. Nothing less is at stake here than the αἴτιον of the traditional Attic myth: if Demeter is not helped by the Eleusinians to recover Persephone, she cannot institute agriculture and/or the mysteries at Eleusis out of gratitude for the Eleusinians' help.[60] *HDem* thus tacitly advertises a radically different treatment of plot – and so signals a competitive relationship with the traditional Attic version.

The allusive relationship between these two scenes seems to be highlighted by transferred motifs: comparison of *HDem* 51–90 and *P.Berol.* 102–19 (from the paraphrase) reveals a suggestively similar constellation of narrative details. Both narratives present an inconclusive preliminary

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[56] Cf. Burgess (2006: 161, this vol.: 172).   [57] *Pace* West (2003b: 7–8).

[58] A hexameter poem of 'Orpheus' in which the Eleusinians made the disclosure to Demeter and were rewarded by her is explicitly recorded by Paus. 1.14.3; it is implied also by Isoc. *Paneg.* 28 (where it is called a μυθώδης . . . λόγος). Richardson (1974: 259); cf. Krüger (1938: 354–5).

[59] On the identity of Demeter's traditional informants, cf. Richardson (1974: 81, 259). For problems in general with the terms 'primary' and 'secondary', see Burgess (2006: 158–61).

[60] For the Eleusinians' disclosure as the αἴτιον for the institution of agriculture/the mysteries at Eleusis, cf. Isoc. *Paneg.* 28, Paus. 1.14.3. Cf. Parker (1991: 9), H. P. Foley (1994: 152).

conversation between two females (Demeter and Baubo in *P.Berol.*, Hecate and Demeter in *HDem*) followed shortly by the decisive revelation from a male (Triptolemus in *P.Berol.*, Helios in *HDem*).[61] Within this basic common pattern there are inversions of detail. In *HDem*, Demeter is questioned by Hecate, whereas in *HDemPBerol* Demeter questions Baubo; in *HDem*, Demeter and Hecate go to meet Helios, whereas in *P.Berol.* (the paraphrase) Baubo and Demeter are themselves met by Triptolemus returning from the field. Inversions of source texts by target texts are a familiar feature of allusion in later classical literature, but they are also a significant feature of archaic poetry's, and Homeric epic's, transformation of its 'models';[62] our scene in *HDem* appears to be such a transferred motif with inversion. Here, the neoanalytical approach seems to impose itself strongly: the motif seems too specific to the Demeter myth to be regarded as a type-scene; and priority for the motif seems to be assured: the context of the Berlin papyrus is primary, that of *HDem* secondary.[63]

Apart from transference of motif, there is also arguably transference of wording. Compare the three lines in which Hecate addresses Demeter at *HDem* 54–6:

> πότνια Δημήτηρ ὡρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε,
> τίς θεῶν οὐρανίων ἠὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
> ἥρπασε Περσεφόνην καὶ σὸν φίλον ἤκαχε θυμόν;

with the three lines in which Demeter addresses Baubo in *HDemPBerol* (*P.Berol.* 102–5 = fr. 396.22–4 Bernabé):

> εἰμὶ δὲ Δη[μ]ήτηρ ὡρηφόρ[ος ἀγλαό]δωρος.
> τίς θεὸς οὐράνιος ἠὲ θν[η]τῶ[ν ἀνθρώ]πων
> ἥρπασε Φερσεφ[ό]νην καὶ [ἐὸν φίλον ἤπα]φε θυμόν;

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[61] From a neoanalytical perspective, the motif of Triptolemus as witness to the rape and as Demeter's informant is transferred to Helios. The Sun is of course in his own right an appropriate enough witness of and informant on the rape (see Walcot 1966: 92; Richardson 1974: 156–7, 171; Penglase 1994: 134 with n. 21); for the Sun as witness, cf. *Il.* 3.276; as informant, cf. *Od.* 8.302. But Helios is also a peculiarly appropriate stand-in for Triptolemus, for the two of them share the highly unusual attribute of being conveyed over the world in an air-borne chariot (Triptolemus: Soph. (*TGF* IV F596); *LIMC* s.v. 'Triptolemos', *passim*; Helios: *HDem* 88–9). For the possibility of iconographic confusion between the two, cf. Mastronarde (2002: 377), to which add Sen. *Med.* 1022–5.

[62] Currie (2006: 13, 35–6, 37–8). A good example of opposition in imitation from fifth-century choral lyric is Bacchyl. 13.121–40, where the simile of *Il.* 15.624–9 is transferred from the Greeks to the Trojans and ἐδαΐζετο θυμός is transferred from the tenor to the vehicle.

[63] Cf. Böhme (1983: 21): 'Die Frage als Ganzes ist primär die der suchenden Mutter: sie an Demeter richten zu lassen – als ob diese es wüsste – ist wenig sinnvoll und fraglos sekundär. Kein Zufall dass Hekate von Demeter gar keine Antwort erhält.' But the adaptation of the motif in *HDem* should not be seen as 'wenig sinnvoll', but as consciously allusive; even the inconsequentiality of the scene in *HDem* may be part of the point: cf. below, p. 204.

The vast majority[64] of scholars who have discussed these two passages have seen the papyrus as adapting the verses of *HDem*.[65] This view has its problems, not least the hiatus ὠρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε (54). In early Greek hexameter poetry hiatus frequently results from the adaptation of a traditional formula to an untraditional context.[66] In this case the traditional formula is evidently the nominative, Δημήτηρ ὠρηφόρος ἀγλαόδωρος, the form we find elsewhere in *HDem* (193).[67] A second anomaly in the same verse (54) is the use of the nominative Δημήτηρ for the vocative Δήμητερ.[68] On the two other occasions in *HDem* where a vocative of the goddess is required, we do find Δήμητερ (*HDem* 75, 321). These linguistic anomalies together seem to expose *HDem* 54 as making untraditional use of traditional language.[69] On the other hand, the papyrus's verse εἰμὶ δὲ Δη[μ]ήτηρ ὠρηφόρ[ος ἀγλαό]δωρος conforms to what we would expect of a traditional use of the formula.

Various parallel arguments point in the same direction: in terms of plot, the papyrus's version (where Eleusinians act as Demeter's informants) conforms to the traditional Attic version, whereas the version of *HDem* departs from it; on the level of wording, *HDemPBerol* exhibits a traditional use of a formula, whereas *HDem* deploys that formula innovatively. The conclusions that suggest themselves are, first, that the verse εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ ὠρηφόρος ἀγλαόδωρος was a traditional verse spoken by Demeter in the context of her self-revelation to the Eleusinians in (some) early Attic hexameter poetry on the Rape of Persephone; second, that *HDemPBerol* reflects that traditional poetry; and third, that *HDem* has transferred (allusively) those traditional verses from the traditional context of the disclosure at Eleusis to its own innovative scene featuring the Olympians Hecate and Helios. If so, the Berlin papyrus in conjunction with *HDem* offers us a concrete textual example of the kind of intertextuality that remains purely conjectural in the case of the *Iliad*'s μέγας μεγαλωστί . . . κεῖτο (*Il.* 18.26–7). The resulting picture is of *HDem* engaging allusively with its tradition, on the level of wording as well as of motif; and *P.Berol.* seems to reflect that tradition, on both levels.

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[64] Except Böhme (cf. above, n. 53).

[65] It has been argued that *P.Berol.*'s εἰμὶ δὲ Δη[μ]ήτηρ ὠρηφόρ[ος ἀγλαό]δωρος is a combination of *HDem* 268 εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ with *HDem* 55 ὠρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε: cf. Richardson (1974: 67, 81, 169). Yet it would be odd for *HDemPBerol* to have produced a more traditional-seeming verse by such means.

[66] E.g. Milman Parry in A. M. Parry (ed.) (1971b: 191–239), G. P. Edwards (1971: 90–3).

[67] Cf. *HDem* 492.

[68] The nominative is felt to be so anomalous by Càssola (after Ilgen) as to need emendation (Càssola 1975: 470).

[69] So Böhme (1983: 21). Cf. Richardson (1974: 170).

The implications of this for relative chronology are not straightforward. A strong position would be that *HDemPBerol* is the very poem alluded to by *HDem* and is therefore older than *HDem*.[70] But a weaker position can also be adopted: that *HDemPBerol* preserves at least *some* traditional verses that are earlier than and are alluded to by *HDem*. This position would be tenable even if *HDemPBerol* were a more recent poem than *HDem*, and it could be compatible even with the view that *HDemPBerol* is itself dependent in places on *HDem*, provided that this was not the *only* dependence. This is akin to the neoanalytical argument that the Cyclical epics, while drawing on pre-Iliadic material on which the *Iliad* draws, also draw on the *Iliad*.[71] We will return to such questions below (p. 206).

5 DOES *HDEM* ALLUDE BY INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN 'SURFACE' AND 'DEEP' LAYERS OF NARRATIVE?

I pass to my second technique of allusion: allusion to a traditional version highlighted by inconsistency between 'surface' and 'deep' layers of narrative. Again, the technique may be illustrated by two well-known examples from Homeric neoanalysis. First, neoanalysts have often held that the narrative of Sarpedon's death in *Iliad* 16 is modelled on a traditional narrative of the death and immortalization of Memnon, as it is preserved in the *Aethiopis*.[72] The two narratives are compared in table 11.1.[73]

In the narrative of the *Iliad* there is a notable inconsistency between the text's 'surface' insistence that Sarpedon is not immortalized (16.457 = 675) and the simultaneous intimations of the text at a 'deep' level of his immortalization, intimations that are effected both by individual motifs and by the sequence as a whole.[74]

A similar approach has been taken to another narrative sequence, from *Odyssey* 19. Georg Danek and others have argued that the Odyssean narrative is modelled on a lost earlier poetic treatment of Odysseus' homecoming in which Penelope recognized Odysseus and conspired with him in the murder of the suitors (see table 11.2, in which the elements in the left-hand

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[70] This is the view of Böhme (cf. n. 53).
[71] Cf. Kullmann (1960: 17).   [72] See e.g. Janko (1992: 312–13).
[73] A note on the reconstruction of the *Aethiopis*: stages 1 and 2 are from Proclus' summary (Bernabé 1987: 68–9.14–15). For stage 3, cf. Schadewaldt (1951: 160, 165), Janko (1992: 313, 395). For stage 4, cf. apparent reflections of the *Aethiopis* in 'Aesch.' (*TGF* III.375) and in vase-painting (*LIMC* III.i.783–7, VI.i.456–8, 460–1).
[74] Individual motifs: the translation of the body by Sleep and Death; the annointing of the body with ambrosia; the clothing in immortal clothes (cf. Achilles at *Od.* 24.67; Janko 1992: 396: 'Immortal clothes are reserved for those who are to be heroized . . . or for gods'). Sequence as a whole: see Currie (2006: 32–4).

Table 11.1 *Comparison of the deaths of Memnon and Sarpedon*

Aethiopis	*Iliad* 16.419–61, 666–83
1 Achilles kills Memnon.	Patroclus is about to kill Sarpedon.
2 Dawn asks Zeus to make Memnon immortal, and Zeus grants him immortality.	Zeus asks Hera whether he should rescue Sarpedon from imminent death; Hera vehemently rejects the proposal.
3 (Not directly attested for *Aethiopis*:) Dawn bathes Memnon's corpse, annoints it with ambrosia and clothes it in immortal clothes.	Apollo bathes Sarpedon's corpse, annoints it with ambrosia and clothes it in immortal clothes.
4 Dawn (assisted by Sleep and Death?) carries Memnon's corpse to Ethiopia.	Sleep and Death carry Sarpedon's corpse to Lycia.

Table 11.2 *Hypothetical reconstruction of the Homecoming of Odysseus*

*Hypothetical pre-Homeric poem on the Homecoming of Odysseus	*Odyssey* 19.96–604
1 *Penelope interrogates Odysseus.	Penelope interrogates Odysseus.
2 *Penelope washes Odysseus' feet.	Eurycleia washes Odysseus' feet.
3 *Penelope recognizes Odysseus.	Eurycleia recognizes Odysseus; Athena prevents Penelope from recognizing Odysseus.
4 *Odysseus and Penelope plot the killing of the suitors.	Penelope has dreamt of the return of Odysseus and the killing of the suitors, but she does not believe it.
5 *Odysseus tells Penelope to propose the contest of the bow so that he may kill the suitors.	Penelope proposes the contest of the bow believing that she must take a new husband.

column are hypothetically reconstructed, not actually attested, and hence prefaced with *).[75]

On a 'surface' level, the *Odyssey*'s narrative insists that Penelope neither recognizes nor conspires with Odysseus. However, at a 'deep' level, individual elements of the narrative and its overall shape intimate a recognition and conspiracy. Following Danek and others I find it attractive to see such inconsistencies between 'surface' and 'deep' layers of narrative as an allusive technique, whose effect is to orient the audience simultaneously towards the traditional version and towards its reworking in the present poem: the traditional narrative is both superseded and left vestigially present in the

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[75] Danek (1998b: 12); cf. Rutherford (1992: 36, 1996: 71); Currie 2006: 16–23.

text. This view sees such inconsistencies not as the result of an improvising oral poet caught involuntarily between the conflicting claims of tradition and innovation (Lord 1960: 94), but as evidencing, even advertising, the poet's intention of getting his audience to confront a new version with the old version with which it is in competition.[76]

In *HDem* we may see a similar tension between 'surface' and 'deep' layers of narrative. Here, however, the evidence of the papyrus is deficient in a couple of places (see 4, 5 and 6 in the table) and has to be supplemented from other sources for the Attic myth of the Rape of Persephone (see table 11.3).

The Berlin papyrus seems to attest a version in which Hades descended with Persephone into the Underworld at Eleusis, whereupon Demeter followed Persephone's cries to Eleusis, learned from the Eleusinians that Hades had taken Persephone into the Underworld, descended into the Underworld to retrieve her daughter, and by absenting herself from the upper world caused a famine. Assuming such a traditional version, *HDem* will have preserved most of the key elements in their expected order: Hades takes Persephone into the Underworld, Demeter arrives at Eleusis, a famine breaks out. But although most of the key events occur in the same sequence, the events are, explicitly or implicitly, very differently motivated and consequently the significance of the narrative is transformed.[77] Most provocatively in *HDem*, on the 'surface level', Demeter's visit to Eleusis has become irrelevant to her quest for Persephone.[78] Still, at a 'deep level', individual narrative elements and the general direction of the narrative intimate a version in which Demeter's sojourn in Eleusis is integral to her recovery of her daughter. Again, I would see in this an *allusive* intent: *HDem* plays off the traditional version.[79] And once again, the traditional version seems to be that of the Berlin papyrus. This technique of allusion implies a detailed knowledge on the part of the audience of whole narrative sequences of earlier poetry.

6 DOES *HDEM* ALLUDE BY INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN NARRATOR-TEXT AND CHARACTER-TEXT?

My third technique of allusion may be thought of as a special case of that just considered: inconsistency specifically between narrator-text and

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[76] Cf. Rutherford (1996: 71), Danek (1998b: passim), Burgess (2006: 170).

[77] H.P. Foley (1994: 101, n. 68) well recognizes the 'gaps in motivation' as a means for the poet to 'shape audience reaction and expectation even in the case of a traditional oral narrative'.

[78] For a different view of the irrelevance, cf. Richardson (1974: 259–60), supposing that *HDem* has imperfectly combined originally separate narrative strands.

[79] A similar view of narrative inconsistencies in *HDem* is taken by Clay (1989: 205–6, 222–5).

Table 11.3 *Comparison of the Rape of Persephone and the* Hymn to Demeter

Traditional Attic version of Rape of Persephone (*P.Berol.*, supplemented from other sources)	Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*
1 Hades descends into the Underworld with Persephone near Eleusis.[a]	Hades descends into the Underworld with Persephone, but there is no indication where the descent occurs (33–9).
2 Demeter comes to Eleusis in search of Persephone.[b]	Demeter comes to Eleusis, but there is no indication why she does so (93–7).
3 Demeter reveals herself to the Eleusinians and is informed by them that Hades has taken Persephone into the Underworld.[c]	Demeter reveals herself to the Eleusinians, but receives no information from them (268–83).
4 (Attestation controversial) After the revelation at Eleusis, Demeter descends into the Underworld.[d]	After the revelation at Eleusis, Demeter withdraws into the temple which has just been built for her at Eleusis (302–4).
5 (Conjectural) Demeter's absence from the upper world causes a famine, necessitating Zeus's intervention.[e]	Demeter, secluded in her temple at Eleusis, causes a famine by an act of her will, necessitating Zeus's intervention (305–9).
6 (Not in *P.Berol.*) After the recovery of Persephone (?), Demeter instructs the Eleusinians in the mysteries and/or agriculture in gratitude for their information.[f]	After the recovery of Persephone, Demeter instructs the Eleusinians in her mysteries, but not in the arts of agriculture, and not out of gratitude for any information received (473–82).

[a] *P.Berol.* 48. Cf. Krüger (1938: 353), Richardson (1974: 150, under (c)).

[b] Cf. *P.Berol.* 48–9, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.20.1 (= 392F Bernabé).

[c] Cf. *P.Berol.* 101–91.

[d] *P.Berol.* 120 ὅθεν κάθοδος λέγ[ε]τ[αι]. I take this to refer to a descent into the Underworld of Demeter in search of Persephone, which is sufficiently justified by later allusions (*Hymn. Orph.* 41.5–7; Hyg. *Fab.* 251; cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6.160c; see Richardson 1974: 84, 259). Differently, most commentators have assumed rather the descent of Persephone into the Underworld with Hades; Bernabé (fr. 397.6–7) actually supplements the papyrus text to read ὅθεν Κάθοδος λέγ[ε]τ[αι τῆς Κόρης αὕτη] (following Buecheler, who however left the supplement in the apparatus); cf. Richardson (1974: 81).

[e] This motif is not attested, but is conjectured on the strength of various Near Eastern parallels. First, the Akkadian *Descent of Ishtar*, lines 76–80, 86–90, in which Ishtar's absence in the Underworld brings an end to reproduction on earth: Foster (2005: 501–2); see Graf (1974: 175–6), Burkert (1983: 263, n. 31), Foley (1994: 94–5), Penglase (1994: 126–58, cf. 15–38). Second, the Ugaritic *Baal and Mot*, where Baal's absence in the Underworld causes famine and drought (Wyatt 2002: 137–9): see Richardson (1974: 259), Hooke (1963: 84–6). Third, the Sumerian complex *In the Desert by the Early Grass*, where the dead Dumuzi's mother searches for him and determines to descend into the Underworld after him: Jacobsen (1987: 56–84 at 71); see Penglase (1994: 31–3, 131–2, 135). Note that on this reconstruction famine *would* have a place in the Orphic version, *pace* Richardson (1974: 260), Foley (1994: 152).

[f] This was apparently the standard Attic myth: cf. Isoc. *Paneg.* 28, *Marm. Par.* (*FGrH* 239 A14), Paus. 1.14.3.

character-text.[80] I begin, as usual, with an illustration from Homeric epic: the speech of the soul of the murdered suitor Amphimedon to the soul of Agamemnon in the last book of the *Odyssey* (24.121–90). This character-text is consistent with the narrator-text of the *Odyssey* except in a couple of key points: in particular, Amphimedon's soul claims Penelope's complicity in the killing of the suitors. A number of considerations point to this being a traditional version of Odysseus' homecoming.[81] Danek has argued that '[f]or the listener the discrepancies between the two versions [sc. the narrator-text and character-text] present themselves as a citatory reference by the [poet] to the tradition, from which his own version is made to stand out.'[82] The Deuteronekyia of book 24, like the Nekyia of book 11, seems particularly interested in exploring the *Odyssey*'s relationship with other poetry.[83] In so 'metapoetic' a context, the use of a character-text to highlight the relationship between the *Odyssey* and earlier poetry on Odysseus' homecoming makes good sense.

In this light we may consider the speech of Persephone at *HDem* 406–33: Persephone narrates to Demeter what befell her in the Underworld and in the Nysian plain at the time of the rape (Hades' ruses, respectively, of the pomegranate and the narcissus). Like the speech of Amphimedon's soul in the *Odyssey* this speech of Persephone throws up significant points of agreement and disagreement with the version of the primary narrator (*HDem* 5–21 and 334–74).[84] Some of these differences (as with Amphimedon's soul's speech)[85] may be explained with reference to who is speaking and to whom. Thus it is natural for Persephone, speaking to Demeter, to claim that she was not merely tricked but forced into eating the pomegranate, although the narrator-text mentions only guile (Richardson 1974: 287 *ad* 413). However, at least one difference may be explained as a pointed inclusion of a traditional version. In the verse which rounds off the list of nymphs in attendance at the time of her rape, Persephone includes Athena and Artemis (*HDem* 424). There was no hint of either of these goddesses in the narrator-text of the rape in *HDem*, where only the daughters of Oceanus were mentioned (*HDem* 5). However, Athena and Artemis are mentioned as present at the rape in the paraphrase of the Berlin papyrus (*P.Berol.* 40–1). They occur, moreover, in so many other sources that their presence at the rape must be regarded as a traditional element in the Attic Demeter

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[80] For the terms 'narrator-text' and 'character-text', see de Jong (2004: xxvii).
[81] See e.g. Rutherford (1992: 35–6).
[82] Danek (1998b: 484, my translation); cf. Rutherford (1992: 36).
[83] Cf. Currie (2006: 21–2, n. 102).   [84] Cf. Richardson (1974: 287 ad 413), H. P. Foley (1994: 60).
[85] Cf. Danek (1998b: 479–81), de Jong (2001: 571–2).

and Persephone myth.[86] Persephone's character-text in *HDem* thus diverges
from the narrator-text of *HDem* and converges with what is to all appear-
ances a traditional version. Once again, the narrator-text of *HDem* appears
consciously to depart from tradition in its narrative of the rape (Richardson
1974: 291). And once again the traditional version appears to be reflected
in the Berlin papyrus.

   This neoanalytically influenced approach is, of course, only one of a
number of possible approaches to the anomalous presence of the verse
HDem 424 in Persephone's narrative. An alternative is an 'analytical'
approach, which regards the verse *HDem* 424 as interpolated into *HDem*
through the influence of the traditional Attic version.[87] This would parallel
analytical approaches to the *Iliad* which regard certain Iliadic passages as
intrusions on the ground that they included 'Cyclical' material ('Cyclical'
being taken as synonymous with post-Homeric).[88] Another approach is
what we might call an 'oralist' approach, according to which *HDem* 424 is
a blemish resulting from the poet composing in performance and failing to
exclude a traditional detail when otherwise recasting traditional material in
an untraditional form: the notorious 'nod' of the oral poet.[89] This approach
would parallel that which has sometimes been taken to the duals of *Iliad*
9 or Zenodotus' 'Cretan verses' in *Odyssey* 1.[90] This 'oralist' approach sub-
stantially converges with an 'older' neoanalytical approach that explains
inconsistencies as a failure of the poet to assimilate fully a new version with
an old one.[91] The 'newer' neoanalytical approach propounded by Danek,[92]
which I have been following, finds evidence rather of an allusive strategy:
a different kind of 'nod' to the traditional version.[93] If this is correct, the
Berlin papyrus would provide once again an external textual control for

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[86] For the version where Artemis and Athena are present at the rape, cf. esp. Eur. *Hel.* 1315–16, Diod.
5.3.4–6 (after Timaeus), Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae* 2.204–46. Also, Paus. 8.31.2 and other
references given by Richardson (1974: 290). See Graf (1974: 155–7), Bernabé (2004: 317 note on fr.
389.5). Traditional by at least 5th cent. BC: Dale (1967: 152 on Eur. *Hel.* 1314–16), Kannicht (1969:
342 on Eur. *Hel.* 1314a-18), Richardson (1974: 290–1).

[87] So Kannicht (1969: 342 n. 30, after Malten); cf. Graf (1974: 154–5).

[88] Kullmann (1960: 19–20) discusses this approach with reference to Bethe and Wilamowitz; a recent
example of the approach is West (2001a: 12 and n. 26).

[89] In general, Lord (1960: 94).

[90] *Il.* 9.182–98: cf. e.g. Griffin (1995: 102). *Od.* 1.93 and 285: cf. e.g. Burkert (1995).

[91] Kakridis (1949: 10): 'What if here and there unassimilated points escape [the poet's] attention? We
should be grateful to him for them, as otherwise it would be impossible for us to prove the extent,
and above all, the nature of his dependence on his predecessors.' Cf. Richardson (1974: 291): 'All
these features may have been omitted in the epic narrative of the rape, leaving however a trace at
this point.'

[92] See in general Danek (1998b: Index s.v. 'konkurriende Alternativversionen').

[93] J. M. Foley (1997: 170–1) argues similarly against the view of a 'nodding' Homer, but from the
different theoretical standpoint of traditional referentiality.

HDem of a kind that we wholly lack for the *Odyssey*, and would provide a rare textual basis for the attractive, but otherwise unsubstantiated, theory that early Greek hexameter poetry could use character-text to 'cite' a traditional version.

'Cite' is the term used (after Kullmann) by Danek (1998b: passim), who is chiefly interested in 'citation' on the level of plot.[94] However, we may wonder whether *HDem* cites on the level of wording: whether *HDem* 424 could be regarded as a verbatim quotation from earlier poetry. The list of nymphs at *HDem* 418–23 occurs in virtually identical form in *HDemPBerol* (*P.Berol.* 21–7 = fr. 387.6–10 Bernabé); and although the Berlin commentator's quotation of *HDemPBerol* stops before that verse, it is possible that *HDem* 424 also occurred in *HDemPBerol*.[95] We might then assume that *HDem* has taken over – 'cited' – verses 418–24 from earlier poetry,[96] and assume that *HDemPBerol* reflects that earlier poetry. That assumption would receive support from the fact that in *HDemP-Berol* the list of nymphs in attendance on Persephone at the time of the rape came in its 'natural'[97] place in the narrative (in the narrator-text and at the start of the narrative of the rape), whereas its position in *HDem* is anything but straightforward (character-text, and postponed until very late in the poem: actorial analepsis (de Jong 2001: xi)); once again, comparison suggests that the context of the lines in *HDemPBerol* is primary, and secondary in *HDem*. One could thus argue that *HDemPBerol* (*P.Berol.* 21–7) preserves the traditional form of the narrative of the rape, to which *HDem* alludes (418–24) by means of extensive verbatim citation within character-text. Such an argument would parallel the argument above (pp. 194–5) that *HDemPBerol* (*P.Berol.* 102–5) preserves the traditional form

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[94] The title of his book is *Epos und Zitat*; Kullmann (1960: 28) uses 'zitiert' of a *verbatim* quote, *Il.* 1.5 'citing' *Cypria* fr. 1.7 Bernabé; Danek (2002b) also explores the possibility of citation on the level of wording ('intertextuality'). Allan (2008: 212 and n. 37) takes exception to the use of the terms 'quotation' and 'intertextuality' in Currie (2006) and Danek (1998b, 2002b): in my view they remain fully viable. Apropos Allan's disagreement (ibid.) with Danek's dating of the 'Verschriftlichung' of Homeric epic, see now also Danek in this volume.

[95] *HDem* 425 ἄνθεα δρέπομεν χείρεσσ' finds a close echo in *OA* 1192 ἄνθεα χερσὶ δρέπουσαν. The *Orphic Argonautica* quite likely follows an early 'Orphic' hexameter source at this point: see Nelis (2005); cf. Krüger (1938: 354). Could that early 'Orphic' hexameter source be *HDemPBerol*? If *HDem* 418 + 420–3 and 425 were in *HDemPBerol*, the likelihood increases that *HDem* 424 was in *HDemPBerol*.

[96] Richardson observes that the language of Persephone's character-text appears more traditional than the language of the corresponding narrator-text of *HDem*: see Richardson (1974: 63, 150), comparing *HDem* 17 (narrator-text) and *HDem* 429–30 (character-text). However, if that shows that Persephone's character-text represents an earlier version than the narrator-text in *HDem*, it fails to show that *HDemPBerol* represents an earlier version than *HDem*, for the untraditional-seeming verse *HDem* 17 also occurs in *HDemPBerol* (*P.Berol.* 69).

[97] The phrase is Buecheler's (1905: 17).

of Demeter's self-revelation at Eleusis, to which *HDem* alludes (54–6) by means of transferred motif and transferred verbatim wording.

Finally, one should note how *self-conscious HDem*'s allusive engagement with tradition is on this interpretation. *HDem* inscribes the traditional version within character-text, and narrator-text and character-text are made to play off one another.[98] The striking emphasis placed by Persephone on the *veridicality* of her speech, at both its beginning and its end (*HDem* 406 and 433), might also be felt to suit a poem that plays self-consciously with different versions of the same events.[99]

7 self-consciousness in *hdem*

This issue of self-consciousness – of a poem's awareness of its own individual standing within a tradition – deserves attention, as it has been linked directly with the question of intertextuality in early Greek hexameter poetry.[100] The *Odyssey* shows the clearest signs of such self-consciousness.[101] *HDem* shows further arguable signs of self-consciousness in addition to those already mentioned.[102] First, there is the striking tendency of *HDem* to duplicate motifs. Persephone's return occurs in two stages: from the Underworld to Eleusis (*HDem* 375–89) and from Eleusis to Olympus (*HDem* 484). Two deities, other than Demeter, are involved in the return: Hermes (who brings Persephone from the Underworld to Eleusis); and Rhea (who brings both Demeter and Persephone to Olympus). And there are two mother–daughter pairs, the mother in each case bringing her daughter back to Olympus: not only Demeter and Persephone, but also Rhea and Demeter. It is tempting to think that such motifs may have been employed singly in a traditional version of the Rape and there is in fact some evidence for a traditional version in which Demeter, having descended herself into the Underworld, conveyed Persephone by chariot herself directly from the Underworld into the presence of Zeus on Olympus.[103] Such reduplication

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[98] The special status of character-text, as a vehicle for traditional material the Homeric narrator-text otherwise avoids, was recognized already by Aristotle (fr. 163 Rose, *apud* schol. A *Il.* 19.108).

[99] Cf. Richardson (1974) on *HDem* 406, 413, 120. On 'telling the truth' and the (oral) poetic tradition, cf. M. W. Edwards (1990: 322–3); cf. Danek (1998b: 22 'Wahrheitsanspruch').

[100] Cf. Burgess (2006: 165): 'we cannot be sure that performance traditions would have had the self-awareness about either themselves or other performance traditions to engage in allusive intertextuality.' On self-consciousness, cf. also R. L. Fowler (2004b: 226–7).

[101] See esp. *Od.* 24.191–202, with Rutherford (1996: 60) and Danek (1998b: 487). Poetic self-consciousness is also to be seen in the *Odyssey*'s numerous depictions of bardic performances: Demodocus in book 8, Odysseus in books 9–12, and Phemius especially at *Od.* 1.325–7, 22.344–9. Cf. too *Od.* 1.10, with Currie (2006: 15 n. 73).

[102] Well observed in general by Clay (1989: 202–65).

[103] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6.160c, where λέγεται suggests a traditional version.

of motifs may suggest a poet self-consciously playing with motifs that an audience expected to be deployed and whose traditional form was well known to them. (We might compare Euripides' handling of traditional tragic motifs in the *Helen*, where the most self-conscious of tragedians treats us to two prologues, two recognition scenes and two supplication scenes.)

Self-consciousness might also be seen in the fact that, as J. S. Clay has put it, 'the poet seems to take perverse pleasure in thwarting our expectations and rendering the narrative progress problematic' (1989: 206). We have already seen (above, p. 198) how in *HDem* traditional episodes occur without their traditional consequences ensuing. Instead of narrative progress, *HDem* gives us regress, ring-composition frequently returning us at the end of an episode to its beginning. Thus, Helios' disclosure to Demeter, far from advancing Demeter in her quest, only gives her greater 'grief' (ἄχος) than before the meetings with Hecate and Helios (*HDem* 90, echoing 40). The episode in Eleusis does not advance Demeter in her quest either, and again the end of the episode echoes its beginning (*HDem* 302–6, in ring-composition with 90–2). While the reunion of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis brings an apparent resolution to the recurrent theme of Demeter's 'grief' (*HDem* 436 ἀχέων δ᾽ ἀπεπαύετο θυμός, harking back to both 90 ἄχος . . . ἵκετο θυμόν and 40 κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν), that resolution is only apparent. If a traditional ending indeed had Demeter bringing Persephone back by chariot to Zeus on Olympus, then the motif that *HDem* offers us (Hermes bringing Persephone back by chariot to Demeter at Eleusis, *HDem* 375–85) evokes that traditional ending by comparison and contrast: it is, in fact, a false ending. To convert the false ending into a real one requires the introduction of Rhea, whose role (like that of Helios) may be an innovation of *HDem*. Her involvement certainly comes as a narrative surprise; before Zeus sent Hermes to Hades, we were told he had sent 'all the gods' (325–6) to treat with Demeter: evidently Rhea was one god*dess* he had kept up his sleeve. Rhea's last-ditch intervention in *HDem* is comparable to a tragic *deus ex machina* (compare the appearance of Heracles in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* to ensure the proper outcome to the play after the playwright has teased us with several false endings). And Rhea's untraditional role in *HDem* enables an untraditional significance to be given to the 'Rarian plain': according to Attic tradition, this was the first place to be sown with cultivated seed by Triptolemus, after Demeter had instructed him in the arts of agriculture.[104] In *HDem*,

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[104]   *Marm. Par.* (*FGrH* 239 A13), Paus. 1.38.6.

its distinction is to be the place where Rhea first alights on her mission to conciliate Demeter (449–50, 457), with an explicit negation of the plain's traditional significance (450–6: the plain was *already* a φερέσβιον οὖθαρ ἀρούρης). Again, the traditional version is strongly evoked while being negated.[105]

A last sign of self-consciousness could be seen in Zeus' role in *HDem*. In Homeric epic gods or 'fate' may sometimes be taken as figures for either the poet or the dictates of the mythical-poetic tradition.[106] In *HDem* the action of the poem is from the outset signalled as coming about by the design of Zeus.[107] The second half of the poem, however, shows Zeus' plan getting into difficulties and Zeus struggling to get events back on course.[108] The end of the poem finally shows Demeter reconciled with Zeus on Olympus, and the poem thus broadly realigned with its traditional ending. This tension between Zeus' plan and the actual course taken by events in the narrative of *HDem* may be seen as a figure for the hymn's negotiation of its own relationship to the tradition.[109]

8 CONCLUSIONS

It is time to draw some conclusions. First, regarding the literary relationship of *HDem* and *HDemPBerol*. My argument builds on the recognition of other scholars that *HDem* engages allusively with its tradition on the level of plot, and on the recognition that some of its phrasing is derived from earlier poetry on the rape of Persephone (compare *HDem* 1–3 with Hes. *Theog.* 912–14). I have gone further than many scholars in suggesting that the Berlin papyrus allows us to track the allusivity of *HDem* to an unexpected degree. I have argued that we may see certain common narrative structures, motifs and not least phrases as having their primary contexts of use in *HDemPBerol* and their secondary contexts of use in *HDem*. If this identification of primary and secondary contexts is correct, then *HDemPBerol* emerges as a 'source', either direct or indirect, for *HDem*. The indeterminacy of this

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[105] Clay (1989: 259). In general, cf. Currie (2006: 29–36, on *Iliad*), Danek (1998b: passim, on *Odyssey*).

[106] Janko (1992: 6, 371). Compare the 'table of contents' speeches spoken by Zeus in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: de Jong (2001: 15); cf. Macleod (1982: 28 n. 1). In the latter part of the *Odyssey*, Athena frequently directs the action as a kind of figure for the poet-narrator: cf. Olson (1995: 141–2, 156), de Jong (2001: 11, 73). On similar uses of the gods in tragedy, cf. Easterling (1993); and in Virgil, cf. Kennedy (1997: 147–8).

[107] *HDem* 3 δῶκεν δὲ . . . Ζεύς; 9 Διὸς βουλῇσι; 30 Διὸς ἐννεσίῃσι; 78–9 αἴτιος . . . Ζεύς, | ὅς μιν ἔδωκ'; 414 Κρονίδεω πυκινὴν διὰ μῆτιν.

[108] *HDem* 313 εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς ἐνόησεν; 334–9 (Zeus obliged to send Hermes to Hades); 441–7 (Zeus obliged to send Rhea to Demeter).

[109] Differently, Clay (1989: 211–13) interprets Zeus' plan in cosmic terms.

formulation is meant to mirror the indeterminacy found in neoanalytical scholarship over whether the *Aethiopis* is a direct or indirect source for the *Iliad*: the *Aethiopis* will be a direct source if it is earlier than the *Iliad* and is the very poem to which the *Iliad* alludes; it will be an indirect source if, though later than the *Iliad*, it reflects a specific pre-Iliadic poem (or, depending on one's theoretical standpoint, pre-Iliadic mythical tradition or non-specific pre-Iliadic poetry) to which the *Iliad* alludes.[110]

If *HDemPBerol* is a direct source of *HDem* then we should expect it to emerge as primary at every point where the two may be compared; and we would expect *HDem* to be more developed linguistically than *HDemPBerol*. This has indeed been argued by Robert Böhme, though the case is not straightforward.[111] Alternatively, if *HDemPBerol* were an indirect source for *HDem*, it would be possible for *HDemPBerol* to emerge as primary in some points of comparison and secondary in others: that would parallel a model that sees the *Cypria* as an indirect source for the *Iliad* (as giving us access to pre-Iliadic mythology and, possibly, to pre-Iliadic phrasing), but which sees the *Iliad* in turn as being a direct source for the *Cypria*. Some such model may be more adequate to the complexities of the data presented by *P.Berol.*

On its own, then, the literary method may not be sufficient to establish a relative chronology of these precise poems. While we can with a certain degree of plausibility say that the use of a motif or phraseology is primary in one context and secondary in another, it remains possible that motifs and phrases may occur in their primary contexts in poems composed later than poems that employ those motifs and phrases in secondary contexts.[112] In other words, a relative chronology of motifs (a prime concern of neoanalysis as 'motivgeschichtliche Forschung') does not equate to a relative chronology of the poems in which they occur. This is partly because conservatism and innovation are both so firmly entrenched in the early Greek hexameter tradition, and because they may coexist in combinations that are hard to fathom within a single poem.

However, if my test case illustrates how difficult it may be *in practice* to demonstrate a direct literary dependence between a specific extant poem (*HDem* or the *Iliad*) and a specific fragmentarily preserved poem (*HDemPBerol* or the *Cypria*), the discussion nevertheless suggests a conclusion of

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[110] Cf. Kakridis (1949: 49 'if Homer's source is not the Aethiopis itself, at least it is an epic which . . . is to be to a great extent identified with the Aethiopis'), Kullmann (1991: 428–30), Dowden (1996: 61), Burgess (2006: 153).

[111] Esp. Böhme (1970: 101–11, 1983: 18).

[112] Cf. the opening paragraph of Danek in this volume (p. 106), and Burgess in this volume (p. 171).

more general value: it may not be mistaken *in principle* to think in terms of literary relationships between specific poems in the early Greek hexameter tradition.[113] To think exclusively in terms of mythological intertextuality or traditional referentiality may be to limit unduly the possibilities of this poetic tradition. If each of my techniques of allusion is accepted for *HDem*, then we must posit an audience of *HDem* familiar with a version of the story of the Rape of Persephone on several different levels: they will have known (and have been able, at least passively, to recall) an earlier version of the Rape in which (*a*) certain specific events occurred in a specific sequence, (*b*) certain specific scenes and motifs were drawn in considerable detail, and (*c*) certain specific hexameter verses and phrases were employed.[114] It will be obvious that such a scenario goes beyond mythological referentiality: elaborate narrative structures and verbatim phrases are evoked.[115] Nor are we dealing with verses or phrases that were traditionally used to describe a particular mythological event without being anchored in any particular poem.[116] Faced with evocations of whole narrative structures, of scenes and of verses, I do not see what is gained by refusing to speak of allusion to a particular poem.[117] For the sake of this conclusion, it makes little difference whether *HDem* is alluding to *HDemPBerol* or to another poem, many of

[113] Cf. Dowden (1996: 48). Differently, Burgess (2001: 133; 2006: 154: 'The Homeric epics . . . probably do not allude to specific poems'). Allan (2005: 14): '[T]he pursuit of specific dependence or influence (from Homer to the cyclic poems, or vice versa) is, in the pre-textual stage of early Greek epic, a misleading methodology'; but 'the pre-textual stage of early Greek epic' (again at Allan 2008: 212 n. 37) hardly describes any *historical* stage of Greek epic; cf. Pelliccia (2003: 97–8), J. M. Foley (1997: 163).

[114] For (*a*), see above, p. 198; for (*b*), see pp. 193–4; for (*c*), see pp. 194–5 and pp. 202–3.

[115] Contrast Burgess (2006: 154).

[116] Contrast, again, Burgess (2006: 154); cf. Burgess (2001: 154, this vol.: p. 168).

[117] Compare and contrast Burgess in this volume (p. 170, point 3). Burgess posits 'oral epic traditions', whose narrative outlines and phraseology were sufficiently stable to form the basis of 'textless intertextuality' in early epic. It is an important question for me when we should begin to recognize 'oral epic traditions' of such stability as a *poem* (on the understanding that a poem in the early epic tradition may have a very largely, but not totally, fixed textual form: see below, n. 119). There is thus both important convergence and important divergence between Burgess's position and my own. Whereas Burgess thinks of *oral epic traditions* with a very high degree of fixity, I prefer to think of hexameter *poems* of less than total textual fixity. The difference is more than just terminological. To talk of *poems* will permit one to think in terms of individually authored compositions, and to entertain the possibility that certain poems may 'stand out' from their tradition – as 'classics' in their own time and thus prime targets for later allusion (my wording here is chosen to chime with both Burkert (1979: 57) and Taplin (1990: 111–12)). By contrast, to speak of allusion to 'oral epic traditions' (even ones that were remarkably fixed on the lexical level) implies an impersonal and anonymous model of allusion, on which individual poems or poets could scarcely acquire prominence within their tradition, and on which interaction remains resolutely on the *parole*-to-*langue* level (see above, p. 185 and n. 11). A related consideration is the degree of poetic self-consciousness vis-à-vis its tradition that an early Greek hexameter poem could possess: another point of divergence between Burgess and me (see above, pp. 203–5 and n. 100).

whose features (plot, motifs and verses) are retained in *HDemPBerol*. The argument, of course, presupposes a considerable degree of textual fixity in the early Greek hexameter tradition,[118] but not absolute fixity: early hexameter poems might undergo small-scale changes in reperformance or textual transmission without that affecting their ability to function as the object of allusion or intertextuality for other poems.[119]

Throughout this essay I have argued for a reading of *HDem* that parallels certain well-known neoanalytical readings of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Those neoanalytical readings have provided interpretative paradigms by which to understand the literary relationships between the two archaic *Hymns to Demeter*. In turn the two archaic *Hymns to Demeter* give these neoanalytical readings a textual footing which they otherwise lack.[120] So circular an approach does not of course prove the legitimacy of such readings of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But it does suggest the viability of extending these neoanalytical readings to other early hexameter texts.[121] If a theory's value resides in part in how well (how comprehensively, how attractively) it enables one to make sense of the available data then these perspectives on neoanalysis from the archaic *Hymns to Demeter* have a serious claim on our attention. If it is true that the real difficulty with allusion or intertextuality in early Greek hexameter poetry is not one of theory but of evidence (Dowden 1996: 48) then we cannot afford to ignore the data offered by *HDemPBerol* and *HDem*, its very considerable complexities notwithstanding.[122] Nor should it be thought very strange that the critical issues surrounding Homeric neoanalysis are seen to replicate themselves in miniature with *HDem*. Walter Burkert once observed (1979: 53) that the critical issues in Homeric analysis are played out, on a small scale, in the 'Homeric' *Hymn to Apollo*. In a different but complementary way Bernabé's decision to edit the Orphic fragments in volume II of *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta* alongside the fragments of

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[118] Cf. on this question Danek in this volume (p. 121, concluding paragraph).

[119] *HHerm*. 1–9 and *Hymn. Hom.* 18.1–9 are clearly two versions of the 'same' poem, the divergences between which may be seen as the result of the vagaries either of performance tradition (Hainsworth 1988a: 29–30) or of textual transmission (cf. Càssola 1975: 357). Either way, the degree of fixity exhibited by the poem would seem quite sufficient to enable it to function as an intertext: cf. Currie (2006: 2).

[120] See pp. 195 and 201–2.

[121] This extension itself has interesting implications: motif transference and intertextuality will not just be Homeric. Differently, Burgess (2006: 161, 164).

[122] About 26 verses of *HDemPBerol* are preserved, and the complete *HDemPBerol* can hardly have totalled more than a couple of hundred verses (*HDem* totals 495 verses). Contrast the *Cypria*, of which some 50 verses are preserved out of an original 11 books (totalling some 5,500 verses, on a conservative estimate).

the Epic Cycle in volume I invites us to expand the repertoire of early Greek hexameter material to which neoanalytical approaches may be applicable.

I am conscious of having based some large conclusions on controversial texts and controversial methodologies: it is perhaps appropriate to end by reviewing the problems. First, the problems surrounding the Berlin papyrus cannot be minimized; in particular, the 'first-order questions' that dominated the first part of my analysis lack a decisive resolution. I have assumed that not all the verses in *P.Berol.* have been generated by *HDem*, but in at least some cases (*P.Berol.* 102–5 ~ *HDem* 54–6, perhaps *P.Berol.* 21–7 ~ *HDem* 418–23) are older than *HDem* and are alluded to by *HDem*. Second, it is legitimate to doubt how transferrable conclusions drawn from the archaic Attic *Hymns to Demeter* may be to the Homeric epics. In the first place, the *Hymns to Demeter* may have had a quite restricted circulation: circumscribed temporally, geographically and contextually (if all are products of sixth-century Attica and performed in the context of mystery cults). So selective a public may have created optimal conditions for allusion between poems, especially such short poems. There is also a question of (relative) orality:[123] one might suppose that the poets of the (sixth-century) hymns worked with written texts in a way that the (eighth- or seventh-century) poet(s) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not. However, an extreme contrast between the Homeric epics and the hymns along these lines is not attractive: probably we should think of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as existing in written form at the moment of their conception;[124] moreover, the archaic hymns were oral in the sense that is most crucial for our purposes, that they were performed to audiences who (for the most part) can hardly have known them in any other form.[125] Proper though it is to ponder the cultural differences that a century or so may have brought, it is proper also to remind ourselves that we are dealing with a far closer comparandum than more culturally remote oral traditions can provide.

[123]   On this question, see Janko (1982: 18–41).
[124]   Cf. A. M. Parry (1966), J. M. Foley (1997: 163).   [125]   Cf. Richardson (1974: 338).

The relative chronology of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and of the lists of heroes and cities within the Catalogue

Wolfgang Kullmann

I should like to begin with some preliminary remarks. The topic is not new and is much debated. I myself have set forth my opinions on it in several publications,[1] but there are some new aspects which seem worth discussing. I presuppose that we are able to speak of relative chronology only if it is possible to detect recognizable differences in the age of certain parts of the text or of certain constituent elements of it; and I think this is the case with the so-called Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.492–759).

My thesis is that the poet of the *Iliad* took over the epic Catalogue of Ships in a fixed form as a whole from an extraneous source or from one of his own earlier performances of another epic and adapted it to this poem.

In a way the Catalogue belongs to the scenes in the first books of the *Iliad* which in one way or another mirror the events which took place at the beginning of the war, as I have pointed out at length in *Quellen der Ilias*.[2] But there are differences. Take for instance the famous *Teichoskopia* in book 3. Though we would expect that it took place in the first year of the war, the poet makes clear that a long time has passed since then. Helen, ashamed at the sight of her husband, whom she has deserted, and filled with the deepest remorse, declares: 'Would I had chosen grim death when I followed your son here, leaving my bedroom and kin and my late-born daughter and my delightful friends of my own age' (3.173–5). And pointing out Agamemnon to Priam she says: 'and he was my brother-in-law, slut that I am, if indeed he ever was' (180).

The motif probably does not come from a description of a similar situation at the beginning of the war, but was taken over from the famous *Teichoskopia* in the epic of the *Seven against Thebes*.[3] Nevertheless the connection between this *Teichoskopia* and the situation at the beginning of the war cannot be doubted, no matter how we interpret it. However, in the

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I should like to thank Hans-Wilhelm Nordheider and Antonios Rengakos for helpful suggestions.

[1] See especially Kullmann (1960: 58ff., 1993: 129–47).

[2] Cf. Kullmann (1960: 365–7).   [3] Cf. Kullmann (1992: 102).

Catalogue of Ships the strict concentration on the situation at the time of departure is extremely surprising. We mainly hear of the number of ships at the disposal of the leaders when they were embarked. Yet there are some allusions to the battlefield. These are restricted (*a*) to the contingents for which new leaders are introduced, Podarces instead of Protesilaus (2.699–709), Medon instead of Philoctetes (2.721–8): in both cases we find the word κόσμησε(ν) (he arranged the warriors); (*b*) to political additions, which are possibly, but not necessarily, interpolations, in 2.525–6 (the Phocians have a position near the Boeotians) and 2.557–8 (the Salaminian Ajax arranges his warriors near the Athenians); (*c*) to the most prominent leaders Agamemnon (2.577–9) and Menelaus (2.587–90); (*d*) to Achilles, because he refused to fight (2.686–94). In all these cases the allusions are additions to the stereotypical bulk of the Catalogue which, if considered as an episode of the epic, is composed in a very rigid style. Apparently some of the additions have caused the loss of the leader's patronymic (i.e. of Protesilaus, Philoctetes, Ajax, Achilles), which confirms the fixed form of the original catalogue. This implies that it was taken over as a whole from another epic context in which the departure from Aulis was described directly. Its poet may have been the same as the poet of the *Iliad*.

There is another irregularity in the Catalogue, which I shall now discuss in detail: the contingent of the Boeotians, as the first described in the Catalogue, has five leaders, whereas the maximum in the other entries is just four (in the case of the Epeians). Even more astonishing is the fact that these five leaders are not especially prominent in the myth. Whereas Peneleos and Leitus in 494 were at least suitors of Helen in Apollodorus' catalogue (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8), Arcesilaus, Prothoenor and Clonius are mere fillers destined only to be killed by the Trojans later in the *Iliad*. On the other hand, there is a very prominent Boeotian not mentioned in the Catalogue or in the rest of the *Iliad* but important in the legend. This is Thersander, son of Polynices and legitimate successor who became the legal king of Thebes after its conquest by the Epigoni according to Pausanias 9.5.14, 9.8.7.[4] Although the Cadmeia may have been destroyed in the war, the Catalogue mentions Hypothebai, which is called a well-founded city (ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον). Perhaps Hypothebai was not the original version.[5] In the *Cypria* it is said that Thersander fell at the hands of Telephus, the son of Heracles (Proclus § 25 according to my numeration

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[4] Possibly he was mentioned in the Ps.-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* fr. 200.2 West (= F 109.2 H) as assumes Cingano (2005: 130).

[5] Wathelet (1992: 459) suggested that the original list contained a verse like οἳ δ' ἄρα Θήβας εἶχον ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον. Cf. Cingano (2000: 131 and n. 14, 140).

(Kullmann 2002b: 156–61)), during the expedition of the Achaeans to Mysia or Teuthrania, which they destroyed by mistake assuming it was Troy.

In *Quellen der Ilias* in 1960 I propounded the hypothesis that the poet of the *Iliad* knew of the Teuthranian expedition and the second departure from Aulis after the sacrifice of Iphigenia eight years later, but concealed his knowledge (Kullmann 1960: 150, 160, 189ff.). I argued (*a*) that Helen speaks of twenty years' absence from her homeland (*Il.* 24.785–6), which includes the expedition to Teuthrania; (*b*) that Neoptolemus was begotten at Scyros (19.197), which seems to presuppose Achilles' stay on the island when he travelled home from Teuthrania; (*c*) that the sacrifice of Iphigenia is referred to when Agamemnon addresses Calchas as a seer of evil who never prophesies anything favourable (1.106ff.); and (*d*) that Arcesilaus, Prothoenor and Clonius are substitutes for Thersander in the Catalogue of Ships.[6] My hypothesis was neglected by my colleagues apart from Denis Page and Uvo Hölscher who doubted it in their reviews of 1961 and 1966 respectively (Page 1961: 205ff., esp. 209; Hölscher 1966: 120–1). Fortunately, it is now supported by the new Archilochus papyrus, published by Obbink in volume 69 of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Obbink 2005). In the fragment the battle between the Achaeans and Telephus in Mysia is narrated. Telephus seems to be called Ἀρκασίδης, which alludes to his mother Αὔγη, so being the great-granddaughter of Ἀρκάς, the eponym of the Arcadians. We are told how Telephus put the Achaeans to flight and drove them back to the coast, and that the River Caicus was filled with corpses. The name Teuthras is mentioned as well as a cry and gratitude to a father. The mythological background can be reconstructed from the *Cypria* (Proclus § 25 according to my numeration) and, in part, from Apollodorus with respect to the relationship between Telephus and Teuthras, but above all from Hesiod fr. 165 West (= F 72 H).[7] In the *Catalogue of Women* it is told how the gods brought the little Auge to Teuthras, who adopted her and brought her up like his own daughters. Later she encountered Heracles, who was on the way to Troy, and she bore him Telephus. From Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.9.1 we can supply the fact that Auge married Teuthras, who adopted

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[6] Kullmann (1960: 189ff.). With respect to argument (*d*) cf. especially 150, 160, 194, 265; and Cingano (2005: 127ff., esp. 138ff.).

[7] In Kullmann (2005: 9ff., esp. 28, n. 59) I have argued that this version fits to the role of Heracles in the Trojan myths better than that of Hecataeus *FGrH* I F 29a (= Fowler 2000: 138). According to him Auge was engendered by Heracles already in Tegea and banished by her father Aleus and exposed in an ark which landed in Mysia. But this looks like a doublet of the story that Danaë together with her son Perseus was exposed in an ark by Acrisius (cf. further versions in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.4.8 and 3.9.1).

Telephus and made him his successor. Perhaps the cry happened at an epiphany of Telephus' father Heracles.

The context of the new fragment of the elegies of Archilochus is open to speculation. But an attractive suggestion has been made by Parsons (Obbink 2005: 20). He believes that Telephus functions as an example of Archilochus' own fate when he lost his shield in a bush (fr. 5 *IEG*). According to the *Cypria* he was wounded by Achilles (Proclus § 25) because Dionysus made him stumble over a vine shoot (*Cypria* fr. 20 Bernabé, confirmed by Apollod. *Epit.* 3.17) and perhaps lost his shield (see Philostr. *Her.* 13.3–1, 23.1, 23.23–4). Thersander's death at the hands of Telephus is not mentioned, but this would have been irrelevant when the story served as an example.

I think this fragment is important for the history of epic in general:

1. The fragment confirms that the motif of the Teuthranian expedition was not an invention of the poet of the *Cypria*, because it antedates its composition considerably. Certainly, from a narratological point of view and in relation to the whole story of the Trojan war, it creates suspense, but it was not a mere poetic invention.

2. Its date is very close to the date of the *Iliad* as suggested by Walter Burkert, Martin West and myself (though, of course, this is a much-disputed question (Kullmann 2002b: 98–9)). But it is likely that the story of Telephus' heroism is older than the *Iliad*.

3. The conformity of the version of Archilochus with the version of the *Cypria* is astonishing. In a sense this supports the hypothesis that there existed a canonical sequence of events in oral poetry, a 'Faktenkanon' (as I have called it in *Quellen der Ilias*), to which the Teuthranian expedition belonged (Kullmann 1960: 12–13, 234–5).

4. The confirmation of my assumption that this is an old story leads to the question of its historical background. It obviously mirrors colonial experiences. The story suggests that in myth the colonization was not one-sided. The figure of Telephus, son of Heracles and of Arcadian origin and heir to the Mysian King, seems to show that 'fraternization' also existed and that in this part of the myth aggressive and peaceful tendencies were combined.

5. The question arises why the whole sequence of the second departure from Aulis was concealed by the poet of the *Iliad*. When I wrote *Quellen der Ilias* I thought this may have been because Homer did not accept the mysterious sacrifice and removal of Iphigenia from the altar and her replacement by a hind. But now I think that the main reason is that this episode would have impaired Homer's conception of the Trojan War,

which knows about, but deliberately excludes, the Aeolian colonization of the coast of Asia Minor.

6. The story of Telephus, son of Heracles, who was wounded by Achilles but later healed by him after he had promised to show the Achaeans the right way to Troy, is a link between the myth of the first destruction of Troy by Heracles and that of the second by the warriors of Agamemnon. The second occurred with the aid of earlier Greek settlers in Asia Minor.

7. One may ask whether it is possible that the story of Heracles' journey to Troy via Mysia which ended with the first capture of Troy, as partly told in the *Iliad*, is the original Trojan myth, whereas the story of its conquest in order to regain Helen is secondary.

As for the Catalogue of Ships, the new papyrus supports the claim that Thersander originally belonged to it and was the main representative of Boeotia. Apparently the *Iliad* has abbreviated the Trojan legend by omitting the Teuthranian expedition, the death of Thersander and the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Moreover, the old puzzle of why there are five leaders of the Boeotians is solved. The original catalogue apparently only knew of three leaders, a number which also occurs in other entries. As a result we are able to conclude (with much more confidence than before) that the Catalogue of Ships antedates the *Iliad* and belongs to a more complete view of the Trojan war myth.

I proceed to the list of heroes. They come from every region of mainland Greece as well as the southern islands of the Aegean. They are the commanders of the ships and warriors from the regions and the cities mentioned in each entry. But they are not the kings of these regions, similar to the kings of the Mycenaean territories, i.e. of Thebes, Pylos or Mycenae, according to the picture presented by archaeology. Some mythological characters are not mentioned in the Catalogue, like Nauplius, the eponym of Nauplia, and his son Palamedes. Although they play an important role in the Trojan legend, they are suppressed in the *Iliad*,[8] like Thersander, but unlike him they cannot be detected in the Catalogue. Perhaps a whole entry was omitted. Moreover, Messenia is not mentioned. Apparently the Catalogue assumes the situation after the first Messenian War, as does the rest of the *Iliad* in which Agamemnon offers seven Messenian cities to Achilles in 9.149ff. (Kullmann 2002b: 20, 76–7). Certainly this makes sense only if we also suppose that originally Agamemnon came from Sparta where he shared a dual kingship with his brother Menelaus.[9] But the Messenian

[8] Cf. Kullmann (1960: 165–6, 301–2, 383–4, 2002b: 167, 174), Schlange-Schöningen (2006: 98ff.).
[9] Cf. Kullmann (1992: 167–8, 2002b: 76ff.).

fighters from Pherae, mentioned in *Iliad* 5.542ff. as being under the command of Ortilochus, seem originally to have constituted an autonomous contingent. Presumably this passage is a mythological relic.[10]

Sometimes the Catalogue provides additional brief information about the heroes. In part this is genealogical in nature: so Ascalaphus and Ialmenus coming from Orchomenus are called sons of Ares and Astyoche, who secretly had an affair with the god (2.513–15); Polypoetes is presented as the son of Pirithous, the Lapith, and Hippodamia in 2.740–1, and there is an allusion to the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs on their wedding day (2.743–4).

Some heroes are given a personal characterization. The Locrian Ajax, son of Oileus, is compared, to his disadvantage, with the great Ajax (2.528–30). Menestheus, we are told, is good at deploying chariots and troops (2.553–5). Meges is said to be the son of Phyleus, who was angry with his father (Augeas) and emigrated to Doulichion (2.628–9). With respect to Thoas we hear that the sons of Oeneus, including Meleager (and implicitly Tydeus), were no longer alive. Tlepolemus' reason for emigrating to Rhodes is explained by his need to flee because of the murder of Licymnius (2.661–8). The people of the Euboean Elephenor, i.e. the Abantes, wear their hair long at the back and are good warriors (2.542–4). It is Agamemnon who gives the Arcadians the ships they need (2.612–13).

In general the narrative exhibits features which also occur in other genealogical literature, as, for example, in the Ps.-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. There we find a similar mixture of genealogy and hints at the mythological background. This catalogue poetry appears to have had a long oral tradition.

Some of the leaders mentioned in the Catalogue do not occur again in the rest of the *Iliad*. Apart from Philoctetes, who was left at Lemnos, they are the Phocian Epistrophus (2.517), brother of Schedius, Agapenor (2.609), representative of the Arcadians, Nireus of Syme (2.671), Phidippus and Antiphus (2.678), sons of the Heraclid Thessalus, leading a contingent from the Dodecanese, Guneus from the unknown Cyphos (2.748), whom the Enienes and the Peraebi followed, and Prothous (2.756), leader of the Magnetes. And, as Kirk (1985: 219) has stressed, the leadership of the Epeians as described in the Catalogue is not reflected in the rest of the *Iliad*. Thalpius and Polyxenus (2.629 and 623) are completely absent, whereas Otus from Cyllene is called a leader of the Epeians in 15.519 alongside Meges who in the Catalogue represents the people coming from Doulichion. In

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[10] Cf. Kullmann (1993: 142–3).

sum: nine of forty-six leaders mentioned in the Catalogue (Philoctetes not included) do not occur in the rest of the epic; ten will be killed later in the poem, but some of them probably in conflict with other traditions. Others are mentioned in an unimportant context.

A certain tension between the Catalogue and the rest of the *Iliad* cannot be denied. It seems that many of the leaders owe their inclusion in the Catalogue to the fact that their fathers or grandfathers were prominent characters in older legend. This is of course the case with Diomedes, Sthenelus and Euryalus, who belong to the *Epigonoi* in Theban epics, although they are prominent in the *Iliad* too (the same holds true for Thersander with respect to the original Catalogue). And it is certainly true of Polypoetes, son of the Lapith Pirithous, and Leonteus, grandson of the Lapith Caeneus, who recall the famous fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs alluded to in *Iliad* 1.262ff.

Many leaders in the Catalogue of Ships descend from the Argonauts. This is probably the case with Schedius and Epistrophus whose father Iphitus is mentioned in Apollodorus' catalogue of the Argonauts (*Bibl.* 1.9.16; cf. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.207ff.). Eumelus is also connected to the legend of the Argonauts, firstly through his mother Alcestis, the most beautiful of the daughters of Pelias, as mentioned in the Catalogue (2.714–5) – for according to the legend it was Pelias who gave the decisive order to Jason to bring back the Golden Fleece from Colchis before taking over his realm; and secondly through his father Admetus, who occurs in Apollodorus' list too. The father of Philoctetes was apparently another famous Argonaut, Poeas, mentioned only in *Od.* 3.190, who killed the giant Talos, a bronze monster at Crete which possessed only one full blood vessel, with an arrow in the ankle (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.26). Carl Robert comments: 'Because Poias played a decisive role in the oldest form of the Talos adventure he must have belonged to the Argonauts already very early.'[11] The reliability of the list of Argonauts in Apollodorus and its relative age are confirmed by the entry for Philoctetes in the Catalogue of Ships. According to it a city called Thaumakie (Thaumakoi in historical times) belongs to Philoctetes' region. And Apollodorus mentions that Poeas was the son of Thaumacus, apparently the eponymous founder of Thaumakie. This connection is not mentioned in the *Iliad* at all and is evidently unknown to it, so that Apollodorus is not dependent upon the *Iliad* in this respect. Another famous Argonaut was Ancaeus, father of Agapenor, leader

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[11] Cf. Robert (1921: 786): 'Da aber . . . Poias in der ältesten Form des Talosabenteuers eine entscheidende Rolle spielt, muß er schon früher zu den Argonauten gehört haben.'

of the Arcadians, possibly identical with a Pleuronian Ancaeus, mentioned in *Iliad* 23.635 as the opponent of Nestor in a boxing match. The *Iliad* mainly presupposes an epic version of the Argonaut saga, as is clear from *Iliad* 7.367ff., where it is said that the Jasonid Euneos, son of Hypsipyle, named, according to his father, 'the man with the good ship', i.e. the Argo, sent wine to the Achaeans. It seems that it was particularly (but not exclusively) the fathers of the Thessalian leaders in the Catalogue of Ships who participated in the expedition of the Argonauts. Unfortunately, the sources of the catalogue of Argonauts in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16 are unknown,[12] although they may ultimately go back to oral traditions. Eleven or twelve leaders mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships have fathers or (in one case) another relative among the forty-four participants in the expedition of the Argonauts enumerated by Apollodorus (Schedius, Epistrophus, Ajax, Diomedes, Agapenor, Odysseus, Tlepolemus, Achilles, Eumelus, Philoctetes, Leonteus and perhaps Protesilaus (?)[13]), and five leaders who do not play an important role in the *Iliad* occur in his list of Argonauts themselves (the Boeotians Peneleos and Leitus, the Minyans Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, and Euryalus)! Perhaps the poet of the Catalogue of Ships had no names of their sons at his disposal and so adopted the Argonautic heroes into his own catalogue.

Another legend, 'The Calydonian Boar Hunt', is indirectly referred to in the Catalogue through the reference to Oeneus' son Meleager (and implicitly Tydeus) when the Aetolian contingent led by Thoas is described (2.642). Nestor represents sagas of Pylos and Elis, whereas Agamemnon and Menelaus are Pelopids who are in a way colonial intruders into the mythology of the Greek mainland in so far as they originally come from the Aeolian colonies on Lesbos and the coasts of northern Asia Minor.[14] The leaders of the Dodecanese are Heraclids of the first generation like Tlepolemus (as is Telephus in Mysia), or of the second (Phidippus and Antiphus, sons of Thessalus). It should be added that Heracles is a mythological character who is ideal as the father of founders of cities in foundation

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[12] Some suggestions are made by Dräger (2001: 12, 2005: 882–6), Scherer (2006: 43–56).

[13] According to Ps.-Hesiod fr. 199.6 West (= F 108.6 H) Protesilaus was a son of Actor (who was a son of the Aeolid Deïon). This seems to be the original version. In *Iliad* 2.704ff. it is said that Protesilaus is a brother of Podarces, son of the Phylakid Iphiclus (i.e. grandson of Deïon), and the successor in the leadership of his contingent; but this is perhaps an innovation of the poet of the *Iliad*. Cf. Kullmann (1960: 164). Another Actor, son of Hippasus, and another Iphiclus, son of Thestius, were Argonauts according to Apollodorus and older sources, as is stressed by Grossardt (2001: 127–8). On the other hand, the extraordinary faculty of running over the corn fields without touching them ascribed to the Phylakid *Iphiklos* (Ps.-Hesiod fr. 62 West; *Iliad* 23.636) is a feature which is characteristic of Argonautic adventures. Cf. West (1985: 139).

[14] Cf. West (1985: 158–9), Kullmann (2002b: 77, 113–14).

legends because in myth his strength is combined with considerable sexual activity. Just look at the list of sons attributed to him in Apollod. 2.7.

To sum up, the list of the Achaean leaders is a panhellenic grouping of descendants of famous heroes known to the audience from older epic poems and local legends. By far the most important epic tradition which antedates the Trojan cycle of legends is the saga of the 'Expedition of the Argonauts'. This discovery has considerable consequences. Probably a lot of the heroes of the Catalogue of Ships and the *Iliad* were either borrowed from earlier oral epic legends, especially from an oral Argonaut epic, or a younger generation of sons, whose fathers were famous in these legends, was invented. It cannot of course be ruled out that through poetic invention the fathers of the Trojan War heroes sometimes later became Argonauts. But in the development of Greek mythology the existence of a group of forty-six Achaean leaders as described in the Catalogue of Ships is a very late phenomenon.

There is significant disagreement, however, between the catalogue of the leaders and that of the cities. The Thessalian heroes are not as firmly rooted in their regions and cities as most of the heroes of other parts of the Catalogue seem to be. This fact is generally accepted even though there are highly contradictory interpretations. If we assume that the Catalogue mirrors the specific view of a poet of the beginning of the seventh century then we have to admit, as I do, the following result. The regions of Achilles and Protesilaus overlap (Halos lies on the Pagasitic Gulf in the region of Protesilaus, not on the Maliacic Gulf). In the same way the region of Eurypylus is confused: the Hypereian spring is found in the city of Pherae belonging to the region of Eumelus, and Ormenion is situated at the foot of Mt Pelion on the Pagasitic Gulf belonging to the region of Prothous (neither belonging to the region of Eurypylus). The region of the Lapiths Polypoetes and Leonteus extends to the place given to Guneus (the city of Gonnoi is situated in their region, i.e. the main city of the Perrhaebians, a people allocated to the command of Guneus). On the other hand the region of Guneus surprisingly reaches to the River Titaressos (most likely the Europos, a tributary of the River Peneios in the middle of Thessaly) and Dodone in the far west. The places attributed to Philoctetes are totally confused. Meliboea, Methone and Olizon belong to the region given to Prothous ('about the river Peneios and the mount Pelion'), whereas Thaumakie (the native town of his father) is to be identified with Thaumakoi, which is situated in the south of Thessaly on the border with Phthiotis (Strabo 9.5.10), although it does not directly impair the territory of the

other heroes.[15] Perhaps the other cities are only attributed to Philoctetes in order to give him a region.

I think we cannot avoid following Niese (1873: 18ff.) and Giovannini (1969: 34ff.) who claim that the poet of the Catalogue has distributed identifiable cities from a list perhaps of the beginning of the seventh century among well-known characters of myth in order to give each of them a kingdom without always knowing precisely the geographical situation. At the same time he may have been influenced by mythological associations. It runs against the character of early Greek myth to ascribe to certain heroes like the Phthian Achilles the rule over a number of definable autonomous cities. This sort of combination is an artificial construct.

We proceed to the list of cities. Just as with the heroes, so the cities sometimes receive an additional remark. The people of Dorion belong to the contingent of Nestor and mention of this place induces the poet to tell the story of the meeting with the Muses of the Thracian singer Thamyris of Oichalia, and how Thamyris boasted of being better than them (2.594–600). It does not matter whether the poet of the Catalogue has confused Dorion with Dotion in Thessaly where the Ps.-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* places the story (fr. 65 and 59.2 West) or vice versa.[16]

Unlike the list of heroes the list of cities seems to be almost contemporary with the poet's lifetime. It is remarkable that the distribution of the cites of Thessaly among the heroes is confused whereas, according to Giovannini (1969: 39), every Thessalian city named in the Catalogue can be securely identified with the exception of only three: Oichalia, Asterion and Elone. Moreover, Oichalia can probably be deleted from this list. According to Visser's interpretation of Strabo 8.3.6 and 9.5.17 (1997: 518ff.) it seems clear that the historical Oichalia is situated in the Hestiaeotis near Trikka as the Catalogue says (2.730). The same confusion occurs with respect to Doulichion and the Echinads. According to Strabo 10.2.19 an island of Dolicha existed. But it is impossible that Dolicha and the Echinads ever existed as a region capable of sending forty ships under the leaderhip of Meges, grandson of Augeas and a fugitive from Elis.[17] Apparently the geographical names are correct, but the region has been invented by the poet of the Catalogue, probably on mythological grounds. The alleged emigration of Phyleus contradicts the rest of the *Iliad* in which, as we mentioned, Meges leads the Epeians. The story of Phyleus' anger at his father seems

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[15] See above p. 216.   [16] Cf. Hirschberger (2004: F 34).   [17] See Giovannini (1969: 40).

to have been of peculiar interest to the poet of the Catalogue. Of course
the geographical description of the regions contributing to Agamemnon
and to Diomedes can only be explained as a contamination of different
mythological traditions.

These are not the only geographical contradictions between the Cata-
logue and the rest of the *Iliad*. We find another inconsistency of this kind
in *Iliad* 2.400. There the Boeotian locality of Ὕλη is mentioned. Strabo
(9.2.20) identified it with the village Ὕλαι which he found near the Forest
Lake (Ὑλικὴ λίμνη). (The coexistence of plural and singular forms is com-
mon, e.g. in Μυκήνη and Μυκῆναι or Θήβη and Θῆβαι.) This contradicts
another occurrence of Ὕλη at *Iliad* 5.707ff. There it is said that Oresbius,
who was killed by Hector, lived at Hyle on the so-called Cephisian Lake,
normally identified with the Copais basin. Strabo comments that Homer
'means the *Hulikē limnē*'. But this is of course special pleading. The expla-
nation of Wallace (1997: 82) is no better. He suggests that the village was
situated 'between' Lake Copais and the Forest Lake. Apparently this is an
inconsistency between the Catalogue and the rest of the *Iliad*.

So far our inquiry suggests that we should analyse the list of cities
independently from the list of heroes. The sheer number of about 160 cities
raises the question of its probable historical background. As I have pointed
out elsewhere (Kullmann 2002b: 101ff., 2007: 111ff.), I am convinced that
the list has something to do with administrative work conducted in the
first half of the seventh century BC in connection with the organization of
the Olympic Games.

Most probably we find an allusion to the Olympic Games in *Iliad*
11.698ff.[18] There Nestor says that the Pylians had sent a four-horse chariot
to 'divine Elis' in order to win a tripod in an interregional *agōn*. But Augeas
confiscated the horses and the chariot and sent back the driver. Of course
revenge followed later.

It is noteworthy that a four-horse chariot is mentioned. We know of
many votive offerings of the eighth century BC from Olympia which rep-
resent chariots with horses. But these are only two-horse chariots. The
same holds true for the funeral games in the myth. Only two-horse char-
iots occur. We conclude that the passage must have been influenced by
the introduction of four-horse races in Olympia. According to the list of
Olympionikai edited by Moretti (1957: 55ff.) this introduction took place
in 680 BC. It does not matter whether this date is absolutely correct or not,

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[18] Cf. Laser (1987: 27), Dickie (1995: 37–8), Crielaard (1995: 201ff.), Kullmann (2002b: 104, 2007:
111ff.).

but it confirms the allusion. Excavations at Olympia now show that the games became an interregional institution after 700 BC, as Alfred Mallwitz and Ulrich Sinn have proved in some detailed publications (Sinn 1991; Mallwitz 1999). From that date many fountains are found in Olympia which were built by groups of participants in the Olympic Games to provide themselves with water. Apparently each city had its own fountain. This implies that the games required a strong organization. The cities had to be invited to the games and this presupposes the existence of lists. We know of such lists from later periods. A long list from Delphi (produced about 200 BC) contains the names of consuls in different cities who received the *theōroi* (called *theōrodokoi*) when they brought the invitations (Plassart 1921). Giovannini has pointed to the strong resemblance of this list to the order of the cities in the Catalogue of Ships and has claimed that such a list underlies it. The routes of the Delphian list are very similar to the geographical enumeration of the cities in the *Iliad* (Giovannini 1969: 57–8, 60 (comparative map)).

If we look at the geographical principle used in the Catalogue, we find that it is hodological as is usual among singers, and not only in Greece (Gehrke 1998: 163ff.). But Danek (2004: 68–9) has convincingly shown from his own comparative perspective that the Homeric Catalogue differs from all other comparable catalogues of oral poetry in that it provides, as he argues, an almost two-dimensional picture of the geography of mainland Greece which can only be explained by its panhellenic tendency. Whether this is a deviation from the hodological principle or not depends on the definition and is of minor importance.

Without doubt, the strategy of the poet of the Catalogue had a strong political dimension. He belonged to a Greek world which was characterized by intensive communication between cities, probably along the routes according to which the contingents are enumerated. The organization of an event like the Olympic Games would have been much more difficult in a world of 160 or more autonomous cities than in an extended kingdom like those of the Asiatic monarchies of the ancient world which was ordered in a strictly hierarchical manner. This historically attested intensive communication is mirrored not only in the Catalogue but also in the stories of the recruiting of the Achaean contingents by Agamemnon and Menelaus (and perhaps Palamedes and Nestor) which we find in the Homeric epics and the *Cypria*. Of course, this picture is deceptive. It is one thing to persuade someone to participate in the Olympic Games by means of a personal visit, and another to recruit an army of 100,000 warriors against Troy in this way. This is possible only in poetry.

Some smaller problems remain. Did the poet of the Catalogue follow a contemporary geographical list exclusively or are some names of cities inserted which were known to him only from the mythical tradition? The problem of the site of Oichalia in the Catalogue seems to have been solved. However, the situation is unclear with respect to Eutresis. Allegedly the city of Eutresis was not settled between 1200 and 600 BC (Goldman 1931). This seems incompatible with the myth that Amphion and Zethus, sons of Antiope, the builders of the walls of Thebes and first founders of that city, were born at Eutresis (Strabo 9.2.28). They are firmly incorporated into the genealogical systems and cannot owe their existence in myth to a Mycenaean tradition. Eutresis should have existed as a geographical notion as early as the first half of the seventh century. But there is no evidence.

Let me summarize. The rigid formal structure of the Catalogue of Ships suggests an origin independent of the *Iliad*, to which it was adapted by its poet. Whether it was nevertheless composed by him for an earlier performance of another epic cannot be excluded, but seems improbable. Additional arguments for independence are inconsistencies between the Catalogue and the rest of the *Iliad*. Special attention is to be paid to the apparent substitution of the main leader of the Boeotians Thersander with three fillers. This hypothesis presupposes that the Teuthranian expedition was a pre-Iliadic part of the Trojan legend, which has been confirmed by the new Archilochus papyrus published in 2005. Moreover, the enormous mass of mythological and geographical detail of the Catalogue cannot be sufficiently explained when it is attributed to the poet of the *Iliad* himself. A great deal of the list of heroes consists of the names of the descendants of the heroes of older legends and oral epics.[19] This list seems to be older than the detailed list of cities which apparently reflects the contemporary world of the poet, although it is older than the *Iliad* as well. The inconsistencies between both lists and between the list of cities and the rest of the *Iliad* corroborate this supposition.

For prosopographical reasons it is obvious that the epic tradition concerning the Argonauts antedates the tradition concerning the Trojan War.

Our inquiry results in the following picture of the relative chronology of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and its constituent parts:

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[19] For a more detailed account of the prosopography of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, cf. Kullmann (2009: 1ff., esp. 18ff.): (1) The list of the fathers of the Achaean leaders mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships; (2) The list of Argonauts mentioned by Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16 which recur among the Achaean leaders of the Catalogue of Ships and their fathers and grandfathers.

1. *Iliad* including Catalogue of Ships.
2. Original Catalogue of Ships without allusions to the situation on the battlefield, but including the Boeotian leader Thersander. The author took account of the Teuthranian expedition, mentioned in the *Cypria* according to Proclus and in a poem of Archilochus.
3. The author of the original Catalogue of Ships used a near-contemporary geographical list of cities composed for bureaucratic purposes, which is not in full agreement with the rest of the *Iliad*.
4. The author of the original Catalogue of Ships used oral epics which were older than the *Iliad*, concerning the 'Expedition of the Argonauts', the 'Seven against Thebes' and other legends, in order to find mythological characters who could help the Atreidae in the Trojan War. He took over either some of the participants in these events themselves or their descendants whom he found among the myths or invented himself.

Towards a chronology of early Greek epic

Martin West

The occasion of the 2006 Oslo conference prompted me to do something I
had long had in mind: to make a synthesis of the views I have formed in the
course of over forty years on the datings of various early Greek hexameter
poems. The dating of the *Iliad* alone, or the *Odyssey*, or the Cyclic epics,
or the *Hymns*, or the poems of Hesiod, would of course have afforded
material enough for a conference paper. But there is much to be said,
especially perhaps in the context of this collective enterprise, for attempting
an overview and for proposing a comprehensive chronological framework.
Naturally I cannot, within the set limits, review the history of scholarship
on the question or engage at length with the work of others who have
come to divergent conclusions. I cannot do much more than explain what
I regard as the best criteria in these matters, and what conclusions I derive
from them. If I make more reference to my own previous publications
than to those of anyone else, it is not because I wish to pose as the
supreme fountain-head of truth but because I am *ex proposito* drawing
together and building on (or in some cases modifying) my earlier work and
thoughts.

   In attempting to establish a chronology for these poems we have to use
a combination of relative and absolute criteria. We start with an overall
time-frame. A hundred years ago scholars of repute were happy to put the
Iliad and *Odyssey* in the tenth or ninth century. Nowadays I think almost
everyone would want to put them somewhere between 750 and 600 (or
at the very latest 520). We see the matter in sharper focus. We no longer
think of Greek history as beginning with the first Olympiad in 776, with
only a misty mythical era before it. Archaeology has given us a picture of
the Mycenaean world and a general framework for the centuries between
the collapse of the palaces and the flowering of the archaic polis. We have
learned how to date some elements of the material culture described in
the Homeric poems. We have built up a model of the stages by which

the Greeks gained knowledge of foreign peoples and places, and we can measure the Homeric picture against it. We no longer imagine that the poems as we have them could have been preserved unchanged over time without being fixed in writing, and we accordingly rule out a date of composition earlier than we believe a written text was likely to exist. We no longer take it as an axiom that epic poems must be earlier than lyric or iambic or elegiac poems.

Within our time-frame there are few anchor-points for absolute dating. Hence relative chronology has a major part to play. If we can establish a sequence for at least some of these poems, that should help us to find the best place for them within our framework of absolute chronology. Sometimes it is a question not of relative dating among these poems themselves but of dating relative to a lyric poet such as Alcaeus. Relative and absolute chronology thus become entangled.

By what criteria may we judge one poem to have been composed before or after another? I will suggest three: (1) verbal echoes, adaptations, or imitations; (2) difference in the degree of linguistic development; and (3) thematic dependence.

I VERBAL ECHOES, ADAPTATIONS, IMITATIONS

In earlier times this criterion was employed with greater confidence than now seems appropriate. It was assumed that Homer was the oldest poet, and verbal parallels between the Homeric poems and Hesiod or other poets were automatically taken as echoes of Homer. The presence of all these apparent echoes of Homer then seemed to confirm his priority.

It is different now. We can often say that an elegiac or melic poet is using epic diction, but we can no longer treat 'epic' as being necessarily synonymous with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We have become much more aware than some of our predecessors that there existed a broad current of oral epic, and that phraseology known to us from the two epics we have was not necessarily unique to them.

Still, there are a few cases where a passage of individual character in one early hexameter poem does plausibly look like the model for a passage in another poet. Several such instances point to the currency of the *Works and Days* from the mid-seventh century.[1] C. A. Trypanis made a persuasive case for the influence of the Hesiodic poems on the *Hymn to Demeter*.[2]

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[1] Semon. 6 < *Op.* 702–3; Alc. 347 < *Op.* 582–7; Sapph. 207 < *Op.* 42–105 (and *Theog.* 565–612).
[2] Trypanis (1938); cf. Richardson (1974: 33–41).

I have elsewhere listed half a dozen instances of possible Hesiodic influence on the *Iliad*. I have reservations now about one of them, the catalogue of Nereids in 18.39–49 (< Hes. *Theog.* 240–62), which Zenodotus and Aristarchus athetized and which may indeed be an interpolation. The others I stand by, and I think they can be added to.[3] There are no places where I see evidence of the converse relationship, the *Iliad* influencing Hesiod.

There are many passages of the *Odyssey* that are evidently modelled on passages in the *Iliad*. The material, with the analysis it requires, is sufficient to fill a book, and just such a book has been written by Knut Usener.[4] I am not aware of any instance of the converse relationship, though I would not wish to deny that the poet of the *Iliad* knew an *Odyssey*, not necessarily identical with the *Odyssey* that we have.[5]

There are two passages of seventh-century elegy that have often been taken to be inspired by the *Iliad*. One is Tyrtaeus 10.21–8, about what a disgraceful sight it is to see an old man killed in the front line instead of a young one; this certainly stands in a close relationship with Priam's appeal to Hector in *Il.* 22.66–76, and equally certainly is not derived from it. The other is Mimnermus' comparison of human lives to leaves, with its parallel in Glaucus' speech to Diomedes in *Il.* 6.146–9. Neither of the Iliadic passages fits its context as well as does the elegiac parallel, and they cannot be used as evidence of priority.[6]

Among the *Hymns*, the one to Aphrodite has always been considered one of the earliest, and certain intertextual relationships are consistent with

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[3] West (1995: 208–9); on the Nereid catalogue, Nickau (1977: 230–6), West (2001a: 245). The other passages I cited were: *Il.* 8.16 < *Theog.* 720; *Il.* 12.20–2 < *Theog.* 337–45; *Il.* 17.738 < *Op.* 245; *Il.* 18.419–20 < *Theog.* 61–4; *Il.* 23.87 < *Op.* 654–6. The following may be added: *Il.* 5.158 < *Theog.* 606f.; *Il.* 6.266–8 < *Op.* 724f., 733; *Il.* 8.13–15 < *Theog.* 868, 811; *Il.* 8.89 and 158 ἰωχμόν < *Theog.* 683; *Il.* 8.404 < *Theog.* 801; *Il.* 8.443 < *Theog.* 842; *Il.* 8.478–82 < *Theog.* 18, 736–8, 759–60; *Il.* 13.19f. < *Theog.* 842f.; *Il.* 13.333–44 < *Theog.* 698–706; *Il.* 14.231, 16.672 < *Theog.* 213, 756; *Il.* 14.273f., 278f., 15.224f. < *Theog.* 851; *Il.* 16.385–8 < *Op.* 220–4; *Il.* 17.549f. < *Op.* 494f., 512ff.; *Il.* 20.56–66 < *Theog.* 839, 681f., 739 = 810, 705; *Il.* 20.491f. < *Theog.* 692–4. Hesiod's Titanomachy and Typhonomachy seem to have made a particular impression.

[4] Usener (1990). He concludes (208) that the *Iliad* must already have existed in fixed form when our *Odyssey* was conceived and that the poet of the Odyssey must often have heard it recited in this fixed form.

[5] This is suggested particularly by the two references to Odysseus as the father of Telemachus, *Il.* 2.260 and 4.354.

[6] See West (1995: 206); on the Tyrtaeus passage also Von der Mühll (1952: 333), who cites earlier discussions. There are many other Iliadic passages that recall the manner of martial elegy and no doubt reflect current poetry of this type: 2.797 (cf. Callin. 1.3f.), 5.529–32 ≈ 15.561–4 (cf. Tyrt. 11.11–14), 6.487–9 (cf. Callin. 1.8–13), 8.95 (cf. Tyrt. 11.17f.), 13.279–86, 15.494–8, 661–6, 17.363–5 (cf. Tyrt. 11.11–13).

this. The description of the goddess's toilet at 58–64 looks like the model for the closely similar one in *Od.* 8.362–6, where it no longer has its proper context of preparation for a seduction (cf. *Il.* 14.166–86). The hymn appears also to have exercised a certain influence on the one to Demeter (Heitsch 1965: 38–40; Richardson 1974: 42–3; and now Faulkner (2008: 38–40)). The Delian part of the Apollo hymn in my opinion owes a certain amount to the Pythian, though I know that many have taken the opposite view (West 1975: 162–5).

2 DIFFERENCE IN DEGREE OF LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT

The epic language was a traditional and conservative idiom which responded only gradually to changes in the spoken dialects of the poets. But neologisms, newer words and newer grammatical forms, made their way into it over time, and their presence, or the extent to which they established themselves as regular features, provides possible indicators of relative chronology. If we had the text of an epic poem composed in the twelfth or eleventh century BC and could set it beside the *Iliad*, there is no doubt that we would easily be able to establish on purely linguistic grounds that the *Iliad* was the younger of the two. There would be morphological and phonological differences much greater than any to be found within the extant corpus.

As things are, we have a quantity of texts and fragments composed within a period of perhaps 200 or 250 years in a rather ossified language, and linguistic differences with a potential chronological significance do not leap to the eye. They exist, but they disclose themselves only through careful analysis and measurement. Richard Janko in his remarkable first book, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (1982), gave us the most sophisticated study of such phenomena. The trouble is, as he recognized, that a number of imponderable factors are involved. It is not just a matter of tracing a slow but steady trickle of changes. Individual poets will have differed in their propensity to archaism and resistance to newer forms. Dialect differences in their vernaculars will have affected both the choices available to them and their perceptions of what was the poetic (non-vernacular) alternative. Differences of genre and subject matter will also have affected the outcome. Janko hoped to overcome these difficulties by means of a broad-based statistical inquiry using a variety of linguistic criteria. He certainly made great efforts to take all relevant considerations into account and spared himself no pains. He made himself a computer concordance of Homer (possibly the first ever) and deployed sophisticated statistical methods. He

arrived at a sequence of texts ordered according to the frequency of newer forms, and made suggestions for converting his relative chronology into possible absolute chronologies by making certain assumptions. It seems, however, that few scholars have felt able to embrace his conclusions as dependable. When we are having to compare texts composed in different areas by poets schooled in different local traditions – one of them perhaps a man aged thirty, another a septuagenarian – it is far from clear that Janko's method will tell us reliably in what order they were produced. There are a few texts showing linguistic features (especially lexical and stylistic) that seem obviously late, and we can agree that these are poems of relatively late composition: the *Cypria*, the *Hymn to Hermes*, the pair of hymns to Helios and Selene, the *Batrachomyomachia*. But for the rest it seems to me that the linguistic criterion is less useful and trustworthy than other indicators, and that where it offers a result that conflicts with arguments based on other kinds of evidence, it should be treated with great caution.

3 THEMATIC DEPENDENCE

The most helpful criterion in my view is thematic dependence. Like the other criteria, it has to be used with circumspection. A recently published papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 4708) has given us part of an elegy of Archilochus in which he recalled an episode from heroic legend: the repulse of the Achaeans by Telephus when, having landed in Mysia under the misapprehension that it was the Troad, they attacked his city supposing it to be Troy. Archilochus must have had the story from hexameter epic current in his time; his adaptation of it into elegiacs is a reflection of his enthusiasm for this poetry. We know that the story was told in the *Cypria*. But we cannot infer that the *Cypria* itself existed in Archilochus' time, because it is clear that much of the material in it did not first appear there but came from older tradition. We can only say that this particular episode was being related in epic in Archilochus' vicinity by the mid part of the seventh century.

It is a different matter when Alcaeus (fr. 44) writes of Achilles calling on his mother, the sea-nymph, who then went and supplicated at the knees of Zeus to persuade him to do something about her dear son's μᾶνις. Alcaeus is clearly echoing, not just some unspecified epic that contained an episode similar to the one we know from *Iliad* 1, but one in which Zeus must have responded as Thetis wished, that is, by allowing the Trojans to gain the upper hand, to be driven back only when Achilles was induced to forget his wrath against Agamemnon: an epic, then, with the same fundamental architecture as our *Iliad*. It would be an excess of caution to doubt that Alcaeus is alluding to the *Iliad* itself – possibly an *Iliad* with

some recensional differences from ours, but still *the Iliad*.[7] In another place (fr. 395) he wrote of how Xanthus (Scamander) had its flow obstructed by corpses, a hyperbolic motif special to Achilles' battle with the river in *Il.* 21.219–20; here again we can say that he is following the *Iliad*. The 'Ammonius' commentary draws attention to the imitation.[8]

What we have to look for in establishing dependence is thematic material that we have reason to think was new at the time or specific to a particular poem. I argued in a recent article (West 2003c) that the *Aethiopis* contained three major motifs that were innovations with respect to the *Iliad*: the arrival at Troy of an army of Amazons under Penthesilea, the further arrival of an army of Aithiopes under Memnon, and the posthumous translation of Achilles to the White Island in the Black Sea. Memnon and the Aithiopes were introduced – I would claim invented – as the immediate response to the problem created when the *Iliad* poet postponed Achilles' death from shortly after Hector's death to an unspecified later time: a new antagonist was needed to hold back the Achaeans' advance as Hector had done, until Achilles could overcome him and pursue his followers to the Scaean Gates. The Amazon episode, which preceded the arrival of Memnon, had no such organic role, and I suggested that it was introduced at a later stage. I distinguish accordingly between a *Memnonis* (without the Amazons) and the later *Aethiopis* (which included them). Now, the poet of the *Odyssey* knows the Memnon episode. He mentions Memnon as the handsomest man that Odysseus saw at Troy (11.522), and he mentions that the bones of Antilochus, whom Memnon killed (4.187–8), are with those of Achilles and Patroclus (24.78); the Memnon poet had used Antilochus as Patroclus had been used in the *Iliad*, as a special friend of Achilles whose fall in battle provoked Achilles to go after the enemy hero. On the other hand the Amazon episode and Achilles' translation to the White Island find no echo in the *Odyssey* or are contradicted in it. This suggests the chronological sequence *Iliad–Memnonis–Odyssey, Aethiopis*. For indications of absolute dating we can turn to the evidence of art. Vase painters begin to depict recognizably Iliadic scenes from *c.* 630. Memnon and Penthesilea first appear around the end of the century. There is another early literary reference to Memnon in a fragment of Alcman (*PMGF* 68) – again around the end of the seventh century, or early in the sixth.[9]

The last third of the seventh century was, I believe, a crucial period for the crystallization of the epic tradition. Oral epic no doubt continued to exist, but some poems were being written up and so taking on a more stable identity and a more or less fixed form. We know that this happened sooner

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[7] Cf. Meyerhoff (1984: 46–53), Fowler (1987: 37); and now Faulkner (2008: 38–40).
[8] Cf. Eisenberger (1956: 78).   [9] On the date of Alcman cf. West (1965: 188–94, 1992a).

or later, and the hypothesis that it was at this period allows us to construct a model that works out very nicely. By the end of the century it appears from various indicators that certain of these epics, identifiable with ones current in the classical period, were widely familiar. The *Odyssey* looks as if it comes quite late in the series. Its poet knows not only the *Iliad* and *Memnonis* but other poems about the Trojan War resembling those later current in the Epic Cycle.

Firstly, he shows an extensive acquaintance with the subject matter of the *Little Iliad*, and must have known, if not that very text, something pretty similar. He refers to Ajax' defeat over the armour of Achilles (11.543ff.); Deiphobus as Helen's last husband (cf. 4.276, 8.517); the fetching of Neoptolemus from Scyros and his defeat of Telephus' son Eurypylus (11.506ff.); Odysseus' entry into Troy disguised as a beggar (4.242ff.); Epeius' building of the horse (8.492ff., 11.523ff.). In other words he is familiar with a whole series of episodes that came in the *Little Iliad*.

Secondly, there is a striking link between the *Odyssey* and the *Iliou Persis*. According to Proclus' summary the *Iliou Persis* began with the Trojans wondering what to do with the Wooden Horse after the apparent departure of the Achaeans. Some wanted to push it over a cliff, some wanted to set fire to it, and some considered that it was a sacred object and ought to be dedicated to Athena. This third view prevailed: the horse was taken into the city, the warriors hidden inside it emerged in the night and opened the gates, and Troy was sacked. Menelaus found Helen at Deiphobus' house, slew him, and took her back to the ships, thus accomplishing the purpose for which the war had been fought in the first place. A good ending for this epic; but the debate over the horse has been thought an unlikely point at which to begin it. Yet the compass of the poem exactly matches the song that is put in Demodocus' mouth at *Od.* 8.500–20. Demodocus diverges in one detail from the *Iliou Persis* as represented in Proclus: of the three options considered by the Trojans for dealing with the Wooden Horse, two are the same, but the third is different, cutting it open rather than burning it. Otherwise everything tallies; if Odysseus accompanies Menelaus to the house of Deiphobus where Helen is to be found, it is because the *Odyssey* poet wants Odysseus' deeds to be given emphasis in this song which is sung in his presence among the Phaeacians. No one nowadays, I suppose, would argue that this short passage of the *Odyssey* provided the basis on which the *Iliou Persis* was constructed.[10] On the contrary, the *Odyssey* poet

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[10] As did Blass (1904: 287f.), 'Nun ist das, was Demodokos in θ von der Einnahme Trojas singt, gerade in dem gewählten Anfang so merkwürdig ähnlich mit dem Anfang von Arktinos' Πέρσις, wie demselben Proklos gibt, daß ich wenigstens überzeugt bin: der Verfasser hat dieses Lied der Odyssee zum Muster gehabt.'

must have known a poem similar to the *Iliou Persis* in scope and content. It is hardly going too far to say that he represents Demodocus as singing the *Iliou Persis*.

Thirdly, he was familiar with the Ἀχαιῶν νόστος, the Return of the Achaeans, as a subject of epic. This is the theme of the song with which Phemius entertains the suitors in 1.326, and it is one of the topics on which Aeolus questions Odysseus in 10.15; the others are 'Ilios' and 'the ships of the Achaeans', which sounds like a version of the Catalogue of Ships. The Return of the Achaeans is the background against which the poet composed his own epic of Odysseus' Return. His references to the other heroes' returns are in fair agreement with the content of the Cyclic *Nostoi*. Nestor in book 3 (130–83, 276–312) relates to Telemachus how Agamemnon and Menelaus quarrelled over the return: Menelaus wanted to set sail straight away, but Agamemnon insisted on waiting and making sacrifices to appease the anger of Athena. So half the army set sail, including Nestor and Diomedes, who both got safely home. Menelaus followed, but he was delayed at Sounion by the death of his helmsman and then caught by a storm which carried him to Crete and from there with five of his ships to Egypt, where he remained for seven years. Meanwhile Agamemnon had got home and been murdered by Aegisthus with Clytaemestra. Seven years later Orestes appeared and avenged his father, and Menelaus returned from Egypt immediately after that. Telemachus learns more from Menelaus himself in book 4, including how the Locrian Ajax perished at the Γυραὶ πέτραι from the anger of Athena and Poseidon (499–510). All of this agrees with the *Nostoi* as summarized by Proclus, except that in Proclus Ajax' death is associated with the Καφηρίδες πέτραι in Euboea instead of the Γυραὶ πέτραι at Tenos. In the parallel account in Apollodorus, however, the storm is located near Tenos and Ajax' body is washed up on Myconos. It may be that this was in fact the *Nostoi* version and that Proclus has been modified to fit the later vulgate version where it was Euboea. In any case the *Odyssey* poet knows an epic account of all these events that was closely related to the *Nostoi* current in classical times. The *Nostoi*, so far as we can see, made only one brief allusion to Odysseus' return: Neoptolemus, making his way home overland, encountered Odysseus at Maroneia. Clearly the poem did not contain the main story of Odysseus' return, and the reason is no doubt that there was already a separate epic dealing with that, some precursor of our *Odyssey*.

It has long been recognized that the *Odyssey* also drew upon an Argonautic epic. Perhaps the same poem lies behind Mimnermus' lines (11–11a) about Jason's successful recovery of the Golden Fleece from the ends of the earth. The epic did not survive into later times, but we can reconstruct

something of its narrative. In a recent reexamination of the question (West 2005) I have shown that this *Argonautica* could not have been composed much before 650. This is one among other reasons for bringing the date of the *Odyssey* down into the latter part of the seventh century. More of this later.

The *Odyssey* in its turn served as the basis for new invention. Proclus' Trojan Cycle ended with the *Telegony*, very plausibly ascribed to a Cyrenaean poet Eugammon active in the 560s. As summarized by Proclus, it appears as a ragbag of legends about the end of Odysseus' life, in which the number of his sons was increased from one to four (or possibly five), born of three different mothers. The first part of the poem covered the journey inland into Thesprotia that Teiresias foretold in the Nekyia (11.121–37). The second part dealt with the arrival in Ithaca of Telegonus, a son that Odysseus had fathered during his stay with Circe. The two parts no doubt had separate origins: the first was designed to glorify a local dynasty in Thesprotia, while the final product, in which Odysseus had a late son by Penelope called Arcesilas, honoured the Battiads of Eugammon's own city Cyrene.

We can thus construct a chronological sequence *Argonautica* > *Odyssey* > *Thesprotis* > *Telegony*. Further reflexes of the *Odyssey* can be seen in the 'Hesiodic' *Catalogue of Women*, where Nestor's daughter Polycaste, who bathes Telemachus on his visit to Pylos in the *Odyssey* (3.464), became his wife and bore him a son (fr. 221), and where the Cephallenians were said to be the progeny of Hermes and Calypso, a union evidently suggested by Hermes' visits to Calypso's island in the *Odyssey*.

In another paper (West 2002b) I have examined reflexes of Ionian epic in the Lesbian poets, who give us a useful chronological peg. By their time, *c.* 600–590, it seems clear that certain celebrated hexameter poems were current in something like a fixed form, no doubt due to the existence of written texts – not that many people *read* written texts, of course. We have seen that the Lesbians knew the *Works and Days* and the *Iliad*. They certainly knew a poem or poems about the beginnings of the Trojan War, and about its end, though they were very selective in what they chose to mention. They were fascinated above all by the two most glamorous characters in the story: Helen, who caused the war, and Achilles, the supreme hero who fought in it. Something of the same perspective characterized the *Cypria*, whose poet gave elaborate accounts of the births of Helen and Achilles, both resulting from initiatives of Zeus to lay the basis for the great war he planned. Both birth legends are referred to by the Lesbian poets: Helen's birth from an egg found and fostered by Leda, and the

wedding of Peleus and Thetis in Cheiron's house, attended by all the gods, which resulted in the birth of Achilles. There is also reference to Helen's abandonment of Menelaus and of her daughter Hermione.[11]

All this agrees well enough with the *Cypria* for that to be a possible source, except that the *Cypria* seems to have been a rather late compilation with no organic unity, a long concatenation of episodes, most of which find no echo in the remains of the Lesbians. The language of its fragments, especially fr. 1, makes a date before 550 seem unlikely (Wackernagel 1916: 182–3). In any case it is not likely that any epic singer in the time of Sappho and Alcaeus was so 'cyclic' in his outlook that he set out to cover in one poem the whole story of the Trojan War from the wedding of Peleus to the point where the *Iliad* begins. What is more easily conceivable is a poem about how the war began, from the births of Achilles and Helen to the Judgement of Paris, his abduction of Helen, and her reception at Troy. Such a poem might well have continued to be transmitted after the time of the Lesbians and been absorbed in the eventual encyclopaedic *Cypria*.

As regards the end of the war, the Lesbians clearly know the main events and what happened in the Returns from Troy. One of Alcaeus' political songs (298, cf. 306A h) contained a substantial digression on the Locrian Ajax' assault on Cassandra in the shrine of Athena, the goddess's anger at the act, and the storm that she roused against the homeward-bound Achaeans because they had neglected to stone Ajax to death. This is in good agreement with the *Iliou Persis* so far as we can tell from Proclus' summary. Sappho (17) retails a cult legend that the Atreidai were delayed at Lesbos on their way home from Troy and were unable to continue until they had prayed to Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus. This connects with the *Nostoi*, though it diverges in detail. Proclus does not mention Lesbos, but that may be the result of excessive compression. The *Odyssey* version, which as we have seen is closely related to the *Nostoi*, gives more detail. It tells that Nestor and Diomedes stopped at Lesbos, and Menelaus came soon afterwards and found them there (3.165–9). Sappho diverges from both epics in having Agamemnon and Menelaus at Lesbos together; in the epics the brothers had parted at Troy and never saw each other again after that. So there is a variant version current at Lesbos, but the overall framework is the same. We cannot say positively that Sappho and Alcaeus knew 'the' *Iliou Persis* or 'the' *Nostoi*, but they certainly knew epic poetry – or epics – of similar content. The fact that the *Odyssey* poet knew poems closely related to the canonical *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis*, and *Nostoi* makes

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[11] Sapph. 16.6ff., 166; Alc. 42.5ff.

it all the more likely that these poems enjoyed some general currency by the end of the seventh century.

There is no reliable evidence that the Lesbians knew the *Odyssey* itself. To suggest that they might not have known it may seem preposterous to those who take it for granted that the two Homeric epics were composed generations earlier. But this is just the sort of inherited prejudice that we must take care to exclude from our reckoning. Our aim is to build a sound edifice from a fresh appraisal of the evidence, taking nothing for granted.

Besides narrative epic, the Lesbians will have known hymns of the Homeric type, and some of Alcaeus' hymns show connections with some of the extant Homeric Hymns. The hymn to Dionysus in which he told the story of Hera's entrapment in a special chair made by Hephaestus (349a–e Voigt) had the same subject matter as a major Homeric hymn of which we only have fragments and which I will discuss later. In his hymn to Hermes (308 + *SLG* S264) Alcaeus told how the infant god stole Apollo's cattle and then his bow, and this naturally provokes comparison with the Homeric hymn. Thirdly there is his hymn to the Dioscuri (34, with which *PMG* 1012 perhaps belongs[12]), in which he describes them as riding over land and sea on their swift horses, and as saving sailors from death, leaping in brightness from afar onto their ships' extremities. The 33rd Homeric Hymn has very similar content. Fourthly there is a fragment of a hymn to Artemis, ascribed by some editors to Alcaeus but by others to Sappho,[13] in which the goddess swears an oath of eternal virginity while touching the head of her father Zeus, and he assents and grants her her special role as a huntress. In the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (5.25ff.) there is a similar description, but applied to Hestia instead of Artemis.

It is clear that the lyric and the hexameter hymns stand in a common tradition, and it is quite conceivable that there are more direct relationships. In the cases of Alcaeus' Dionysus and Dioscuri hymns there seems no reason why he should not have known the poems later transmitted in the Homeric collection. The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, on the other hand, can hardly be dated as early as 600: it contains too many words and expressions not paralleled before the fifth century, and I would prefer to regard it, with Wilamowitz and others, as a later descendant of the hymn that Alcaeus knew.[14] The *Hymn to Aphrodite* is almost certainly early enough to have

[12]   See West (2002b: 216 n. 40).
[13]   Alc. 304 L–P = Sapph. 44A Voigt. Cf. Lobel and Page (1952: 3), Page (1955b: 261–5), Treu (1968: 161–3), Liberman (1999: xciv).
[14]   Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1895: 222, 1913: 311 n. 1); cf. Liberman (1999: 133). For a clear and cautious comparison of Alcaeus' poem with the Homeric hymn see Page (1955b: 252–8).

been known to the Lesbian poets. But one may think it more likely that Hestia's oath in the hexameter poem is adapted from a similar passage in an Artemis hymn, and that such a hymn served as the direct source for the Lesbian poet, than that the Lesbian personally transferred the motif from Hestia to Artemis.

So much for my three criteria and what they yield. Let me now begin to synthesize. I have constructed a number of sequences: Hesiod before the *Iliad*, Semonides and the Lesbians; the *Iliad* before the *Memnonis*, the *Odyssey* and the Lesbians (and of course before the Doloneia, which was never an independent poem but composed to stand in the *Iliad* in its present place); the *Memnonis* before the *Odyssey* and Alcman; the *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis* and *Nostoi* before the *Odyssey* and no doubt before the Lesbians; and so on. The linguistic criterion puts the *Cypria* and certain of the Homeric Hymns well after all these.

To progress towards an absolute chronology we need to find fixed points to which to attach some of the drifting threads. We can roughly date the non-hexameter poets who are involved. Alcman and the two Lesbians flourished in the late seventh and/or the early sixth century. Semonides of Amorgos is less easy to fix. The ancient synchronism with Archilochus[15] may be based on nothing but the fact that these were two of the three principal iambographers. However, if it is true that Semonides was one of those who led the Samian colony to Amorgos,[16] that would put him in the mid-seventh century and agree with the Archilochus synchronism.

There is no good reason to believe that the *Iliad* is earlier than the mid-seventh century, than the generation of Archilochus. When scholars such as Joachim Latacz continue to assert an eighth-century dating, it is due to a phenomenon that may be called dogmatic drag: obsolete views go on exercising a pull even after being discredited, and put a brake on progress to a new position. When scholars were forced to give up the old datings to the eleventh or tenth or ninth century, they continued to cling to the highest dating that seemed admissible.[17] The fact is that there is no clear reflex of the *Iliad* in art before *c.* 630, or in literature before Alcaeus. The weaponry and combat tactics described in it have a series of features characteristic of the first half of the seventh century (van Wees 1994: esp. 138–46; id. in eod. (2000: 125–66)). The design of Achilles' shield, with its scenes of battles, cities, and so on, has its closest archaeological

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[15] Euseb. *Chron*. Ol. 28; cf. Rohde (1901: I. 149–54).
[16] *Suda* σ 431 s.v. Σιμμίας, obviously by confusion with Σιμωνίδης.
[17] Cf. Kullmann (2001: 658): 'Latacz' Ansatz der Ilias im 8 Jh. . . . beruht auf reiner Konvention und kann nicht richtig sein.'

parallels in Cypro-Phoenician metal dishes and bowls of the period 710–675. Walter Burkert has famously connected the passage about the wealth of Egyptian Thebes (9.381–4) with that city's prosperity in the twenty-fifth dynasty (715–663) and with the display of booty taken from it by Assurbanipal in 663 (1976: 5–21). I have proposed another linkage with a historical event in the Near East, connecting the flood which washed away the Achaean fortifications after the war (12.17–33) with Sennacherib's levelling of Babylon by diverted river waters in 689. The reference in 13.5f. to the Ἱππημολγοὶ γλακτοφάγοι implies knowledge of the Scythians, and thus of the Black Sea, that cannot antedate the seventh century. The same is true of the reference to Apollo's shrine at Delphi as a paradigm of riches (9.404f.): it was a functioning oracular centre in the eighth century, but of only local importance and at that time far surpassed by Perachora in the wealth of its dedications.[18] Similarly, when Nestor in 11.698–701 speaks of a prize-winning, four-horse chariot team that his father had sent to compete at games in Elis, the poet must have the Olympic games in view, which did not begin to attract more than a local crowd until around 700 and did not have chariot racing till 680.[19] A further clearly seventh-century element is the Gorgon blazon on Athena's aegis in 5.741f. and on Agamemnon's shield in 11.36f.[20] Taking all the evidence together, I concluded that the likeliest time for the composition of the *Iliad* was between 670 and 640 (West 1995: 211–18). I remain convinced that this dating cannot be far wrong.

With regard to Hesiod I am more inclined to modify the opinions that I first put forward in my edition of the *Theogony* over forty years ago (West 1966: 41–6). I then dated the *Theogony* between 730 and 700; as for the *Works and Days*, which we know is the later poem of the two, I thought it was not likely to be later than 690, with 660 as the latest possible date. I repeated these views unchanged in my edition of the *Works and Days* (West 1978: 32 n. 4). If we are dating Semonides rightly, 660 remains an approximate *terminus ante quem* for Hesiod. But I am now more reluctant to go up into the mists of the eighth century. I originally did so on the grounds that the Amphidamas at whose funeral games Hesiod won a prize in Chalcis (*Op.* 654–7) is connected by Plutarch with the Lelantine War, and that that shadowy conflict perhaps belongs in the last third of the eighth century. But those are very insecure data. Two other considerations

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[18] Cf. Morgan (1990: 126–47), who finds no convincing evidence of a temple in the sanctuary area before the mid-seventh century; Dickie (1995: 37).

[19] Paus. 5.8.7; Dickie (1995: 37f.); Crielaard (1995: 258f.); Kullmann (2002b: 101–4).

[20] Burkert (1976: 19 n. 42) = (2001: 70). Gorgons are first attested in this function around 670 and do not appear in art at all before 700.

suggest a somewhat later dating. One is that if we are dating the *Iliad* and everything else to after 670, an eighth-century dating for Hesiod would leave him isolated up there, a whole generation or two generations earlier than anything else that survived in written transmission. This seems *a priori* unlikely. The other point is that the catalogue of rivers in *Theogony* 337–45 includes the Nile and the Danube, besides some lesser rivers of the southern and western shores of the Black Sea. One cannot say that this would have been impossible in the late eighth century, but it would be less surprising a generation later. So I am now content to contemplate a date for Hesiod *c.* 680–660.

The river list also includes the Phasis, at that time a rather mythical watercourse associated with the Argonautic expedition, not yet firmly located.[21] Hesiod doubtless knew the Argonaut legend, which is also implied in the *Iliad* (7.467–9). But the particular *Argonautica* from which the poet of the *Odyssey* borrowed extensively can hardly have been composed before the middle of the seventh century, because it appears to reflect knowledge of a sector of the northern Pontos, from the Crimea to the Straits of Kerch, which so far as we can judge from the archaeological material was first being explored at that period (West 2005: 49–55, 58).

This gives us a *terminus post quem* for the *Odyssey* itself. What is the *terminus ante quem*? It is difficult to find one earlier than Eugammon's *Telegony*, which we place in the 560s, and Stesichorus (*PMGF* 209). However, the picture of the oriental world in the *Odyssey* would appear to suit the seventh century better than the sixth. Sidon, destroyed in 677, is treated as a flourishing city (cf. especially 13.285). This does not mean that the poet had not heard of the destruction – he is telling of a much earlier time – but we may say that Sidon's prosperity is still a living memory. The picture of Egypt seems to reflect the period of friendly Graeco-Egyptian relations in the time of Psammetichus (Dickie 1995: 42–4). Then there is the passage where Menelaus recalls his visit to Libya, where the sheep quickly grow horns,

> for they give birth three times a year:
> there neither master nor shepherd goes lacking
> in cheese and meat, nor in sweet milk,
> but they ever provide abundant milk.
>
> (4.85–9)

So by the time the *Odyssey* is composed Libya is known and famed for its flocks, and this will surely be at about the time of the foundation of Cyrene or not long before (Dickie 1995: 44–5).

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[21] See now M. L. West (2007).

I observed earlier that the *Memnonis* existed before the *Odyssey*, and that the same is true of three other epics identifiable with, or at least much resembling, the *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis* and *Nostoi* current in the classical period. The *Memnonis* at least is post-Iliadic, and there is no sign of Memnon in literature or art before the end of the seventh century. These Cyclic poems all seem to belong sometime in the second half of the seventh century, with the *Memnonis* in the last quarter.

Memnon is one of a series of heroes who arrive unheralded at Troy towards the end of the war bringing foreign armies to help the Trojans. The others are the Amazon Penthesilea, whose story was prefixed to Memnon's in the *Aethiopis*, the Thracian Rhesus who appears in the Doloneia, and the Mysian Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, who featured in the *Little Iliad* and was killed by Achilles' son Neoptolemus. This motif of the relief force from foreign parts is evidently a novel development serving the purpose of filling out and prolonging the tale of Troy's defeat. The story of Neoptolemus and Eurypylus is known to the *Odyssey* poet, and incidentally to Archilochus (fr. 304), whereas the two allusions to Neoptolemus in the *Iliad* (19.326–37, 24.466–7) seem to be interpolated. The Doloneia, like the *Memnonis*, appears to be not later than 600, as the evidence of art indicates that it was already part of the *Iliad* as known in the Peloponnese by that time or soon after (Friis Johansen 1967: 75; Snodgrass 1998: 121, 131).

Turning to the Homeric Hymns, I begin with the long hymn to Dionysus which has come down to us only in fragments and which is nowadays numbered as Hymn 1. It may plausibly be identified with the hymn whose existence was long ago inferred by Bergk and Wilamowitz from poetic and artistic references to a singular story about Dionysus and Hephaestus.[22] The story is reconstructed as follows. When Hera gave birth to the cripple Hephaestus she was disgusted with him and cast him down from heaven into the sea. He grew up there among the Nereids, developing his engineering skills. Then he sent his mother a fine throne he had made, which was fitted with a secret mechanism so that when she sat down she found herself trapped. None of the gods was able to free her, and evidently Hephaestus would have to be induced to come back and undo what he had done. Ares went and tried to capture him by force, but failed because he defended himself with fire, which Ares could not face. Then Dionysus went equipped with wine and authorized to say that if he consented to come he could have Aphrodite for his wife. The wine

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[22] Bergk (1872: 761 n. 48), Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1895: 221–3); cf. West (2001b).

made Hephaestus drunk, and he was escorted back to Olympus in a merry
state, riding on a donkey. He released Hera and duly received Aphrodite
(somewhat to her distaste). Dionysus' reward was to be admitted as an
Olympian.

I have mentioned that Alcaeus retold the story in a hymn of his own, and
Wilamowitz inferred a seventh-century date for the hexameter model. In
fact we already find a series of echoes of it in the *Iliad*: 1.590ff. (Hephaestus
thrown out of heaven by Zeus to Lemnos); 14.238–41 (a fine throne to
be made by Hephaestus), 257–8 (Zeus throwing gods about, would have
thrown Hypnos down into the sea), 267–8 (promise of Charis as wife);
15.18ff. (Hera bound fast by Zeus, who is throwing gods out of heaven;
none of them can free her); 18.382–3, 395ff. (Hephaestus has Charis as
wife; was once thrown out by Hera because a cripple; his sojourn with the
Nereids and practice of crafts). Charis in these passages is a substitute for
Aphrodite in the hymn.[23] The Dionysus hymn, then, or whatever form of
it was known to the *Iliad* poet, is to be dated not later than the middle
third of the seventh century.

The *Hymn to Aphrodite* may be put twenty or thirty years later. It is
the closest in style of the Hymns to the *Iliad*, and the prophecy which it
contains about Aeneas' descendants ruling among the Trojans in the future
is related to the similar prophecy in *Iliad* 20.307–8. Reinhardt even argued
that the hymn was by the poet of the *Iliad* himself; but later scholars have
given good grounds for seeing its poet as an epigone with his own narrative
style, a slightly more developed vocabulary, and a derivative use of the
Iliad and Hesiod.[24] Still, both of the prophecy passages must have been
composed to gratify the same aristocratic family in the Troad, and there
cannot be a big time-gap, probably a decade or two at most, between these
two celebrations of it. I mentioned earlier that the hymn's description of
Aphrodite's toilet looks like the model for a passage in the *Odyssey*; that
again would suit a dating to (say) the 630s or 620s.

The Aphrodite hymn was also drawn upon by the poet of the *Hymn to
Demeter*, which is therefore later. As it contains no mention of Athens, it
is assumed to date from before the time of Pisistratus, when the Mysteries
came under Athenian control. It can be dated with some probability to
the first half of the sixth century, but not more narrowly within this
time-span.

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[23] Demodocus' song in *Od.* 8.267ff. likewise reflects the tale: there is Aphrodite as Hephaestus'
(unfaithful) wife, Ares is again involved, and the motif of the trap-furniture appears in a different
application.

[24] To the references in West (2003b: 16) add now Faulkner (2008: 23–38).
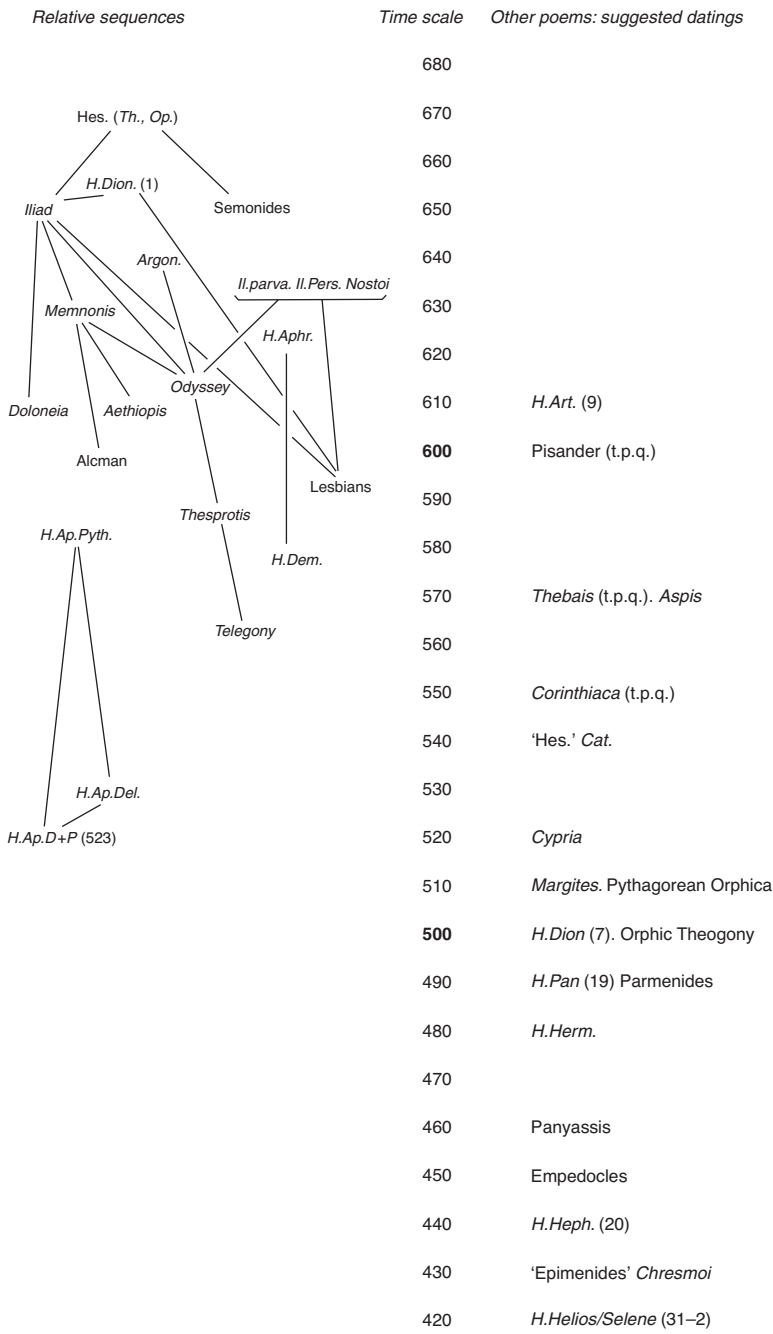
Fig. 13.1 A chronology of early Greek epic.

The Pythian part of the *Hymn to Apollo* was apparently composed shortly after the First Sacred War of 591/590, when the Delphic sanctuary was wrested from the control of Crisa by an alliance of Phocians and others and Crisa itself was destroyed. The warning to the Crisaeans at the end (540–3) is a *post eventum* prophecy referring to the change of governance. It is an attractive conjecture that the hymn was composed for the first Pythian Games in 586. If so, that would be the first exact date that we could attach to a Greek hexameter poem.

The next exact date is 523, the year when Polycrates celebrated a combined Delian and Pythian festival on Delos in honour of Apollo. As Burkert and Janko have seen, this is the likely occasion of the combined Delian and Pythian Hymn that has come down to us (Burkert 1979: 59–60; Janko 1982: 112–13). It is a deliberate conflation of the older Pythian Hymn with a more recent Delian Hymn that had also had an independent existence. As to the date of the Delian Hymn, Burkert noted that it presupposes a temple of Apollo on Delos, something that did not exist until about 540/530 (1979: 62).

Figure 13.1 sums up the conclusions of the discussion. For the sake of a more complete picture I have included in the right-hand column suggested datings for various poets and poems not considered above, based on a range of considerations that could not be discussed within the limits of the present essay; I have argued for some of them in previous publications.[25] I do not pretend that these results are definitive. But they represent an attempt at a new overall chronology of early Greek epic founded on reason and observation rather than tradition and convention, and as such I hope they will be welcomed.

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[25] For the Homeric Hymns listed cf. West (2003b: 16–19); for the *Margites*, ibid. (227); for the *Thebais*, West (2003a: 7); for the *Corinthiaca* ascribed to Eumelus, West (2002a: 130–1); for the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, West (1985: 130–7); for early Pythagorean Orphica and the first Orphic Theogony, West (1983: 7–13, 108–10); for 'Epimenides', ibid. (49–51).

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