

More than Homer Knew – Studies on Homer and His Ancient Commentators

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Edited by

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Preface

The editing of the present volume of collected essays on the occasion of Franco Montanari's 70th birthday has been much more than a call of duty. For us it is a sheer delight to celebrate not only an exceptional scholar and a leading personality in the field of Classical Philology – as Fausto Montana will set out in detail and with heartfelt emotion in the introductory chapter –, but also a dear friend and a long-time companion in the study of ancient Greek scholarship. Commentators on ancient texts have not always had a positive press – Jonathan Swift memorably and ironically accused them (in the words of our book's title and epigraph, *On Poetry: A Rhapsody*, 103f. [1733]: *As learned commentators view/In Homer more than Homer knew*) of pretending to know more than the author about whom they were writing. Franco Montanari's research, by contrast, has vindicated ancient scholarship as a hugely important topic of study for our understanding of ancient literature and society; and Swift himself would have to admit that his research is founded not on any pretences of knowledge but on a profound, humble, and inspiring engagement with the sources.

We want to thank all those colleagues who so willingly contributed to the making of this collection; as a tribute to the honorand's philological achievement, the chapters of the volume are thematically related to his research interests. Moreover, we are grateful to the publishing house De Gruyter (with which Franco Montanari has an extremely productive cooperation for many years), and especially to Serena Pirrotta and Marco Michele Acquafredda who embraced the undertaking of this *liber amicorum* with great enthusiasm.

On a personal note, we wish our friend Franco to be an endless source of inspiration and creativity for years to come. For he has changed our view of classical scholarship and literature in myriad innovative ways. This collection is a small token of our appreciation.

Antonios Rengakos
Patrick Finglass
Bernhard Zimmermann

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Fausto Montana

***Homo faber*. Franco Montanari: the Scholar (and the Man)**

On a summer morning in 1986, at the Institute of Classical Philology of the University of Pisa, a young professor is wrapping up the examination of a student on some issues of Byzantine philology. Immediately after having given him the highest mark, he asks, most unusually: “Would you like to write your dissertation under my supervision? For the topic, I would suggest the *editio princeps* of a Byzantine commentary”. The student barely just manages to keep it together and, hardly concealing his satisfaction and pride, tersely – and obviously – replies: “Gladly”.

This is how my discipleship with Franco Montanari started, a relationship that over the years became a close and steadfast professional collaboration and, if I may, friendship. This episode is worth telling not so much for its (auto)biographical value, which is subjective and personal, but rather because it bears witness, directly and tellingly, to a fundamental trait of the scholar and the man: that is, his practicality. In the example just told, this quality is expressed concretely in his scouting of a young scholar *in pectore*, in his constructive sense of initiative towards a scientific idea, and in his indifference to hierarchies and academic roles.

At the time when Montanari’s mentorship of me began, this feature of his character was already obvious to all who knew him. Franco was a brilliant student at the Liceo classico “Ugo Foscolo” in Pavia, where his teacher of Greek was Domenico Magnino (who later became a professor at the University of Pavia). Recently, a colleague who was a student in the same Liceo maybe ten years later told me that in his days Montanari’s legend was still so alive that, when one wanted to praise another student’s skill in Greek, one would just call them a “Montanari”, meaning someone brilliant by antonomasia. Who could have guessed that, many years later, “il Montanari” would also be the metonymy used by Italian secondary-school students and their teachers to refer to the *Gl. Vocabolario della lingua greca*?¹ This editorial feat powerfully symbolises the talents of the scholar and the man, it being the product of the intersection of linguistic expertise, a pragmatic approach to the conveyance of complex knowledge, a sincere

¹ Torino, Loescher, 1995, 2013³. From *Gl* originate the Greek edition, *Σύγχρονο λεξικό της αρχαίας Ελληνικής γλώσσας*, Αθήνα, Εκδ. Παπαδήμα, 2013, and the English edition, *GE. The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2015. A German edition is currently in preparation.

interest in quality school education, a natural ease when it comes to personal relationships and the dynamics of a team and, last but not least, an “entrepreneurial” and organisational inclination that was and is most unusual in the premises (both physical and metaphorical) of the sciences of antiquity, in Italy and maybe also elsewhere.

After secondary school, Montanari was a student at the University of Pisa, in the ordinary course of the *Scuola Normale Superiore*. In 1973, he graduated in Greek literature under the supervision of Graziano Arrighetti (who, in turn, had studied under Giorgio Pasquali at the Normale) and was immediately admitted to the post-graduate course (1973–1974) – once again at the Normale, an institution towards which he has always fostered a strong connection, culminating in his Chairmanship of the *Associazione Normalisti* from 2003 to 2009. In 1977, when he was still very young, Montanari was appointed to the professorship of Byzantine philology at the University of Pisa and, from the academic year of 1983/84, he was Associate Professor of Greek grammar at the same University, where he met the student from the anecdote.

Since 1986, Franco Montanari has been Full Professor of Greek language and literature at the University of Genoa. Over the course of more than 30 years, he has greatly honoured that University and has significantly contributed to its progress, both by taking on important institutional roles (let it suffice to mention the headship of the Department of Antiquity, Philosophy and History from 2015 to 2018) and by working hard to rebuild the foundations of Greek and Latin studies – such efforts include, but are not limited to, the ideation, promotion and organisation of several initiatives and scientific projects, which over time have formed and involved a great many scholars, both young and old, both Italian and foreign, and made Genoa one of the national and international points of reference in the field of Greek philology. When considering this side of Montanari’s scientific endeavours, another quality of the man and the scholar clearly comes to the surface: his volcanic energy in envisioning projects. This energy is not limited only to his visionary and creative intuition in imagining new and innovative paths for research, but also expands to a great resolution in pursuing such trajectories and to an extraordinary ability to captivate and appeal to others. The list is extremely long and, to mention only some of the most important examples, it includes the activities of the *Centro Italiano dell’Année Philologique* (CIAPh); the online encyclopaedic database *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity* (LGGA); the portals *Words in Progress* (WiP), *Catalogus Philologorum Classicorum* (CPhCl) and *Scholia minora in Homerum*; the *Supplementum Grammaticum Graecum* (SGG); the updating and new edition (ongoing) of the fragments of the *Supplementum Hellenisticum* and the ongoing project for a new critical edition of the scholia to

the *Iliad*. An expression of (feigned?) terror usually appears on his former students' faces when Franco approaches them with a knowing smile and whispers: "I had an idea!"

Similarly long is the list of Montanari's headships and scientific responsibilities, both nationally and internationally, which are always performed (in the truest sense of the word) efficiently and with drive, never purely honorarily. One could list, among the others, the headship of the already mentioned *Centro Italiano dell'Année Philologique*,² the *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica* and the series *Pleiadi*; the co-headship (with Antonios Rengakos) of *Trends in Classics* and *Trends in Classics Supplementary Volumes (TCSV)* and his participation in the Scientific Committee of the *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini (CPF)*, the Scientific Committee of the Centro studi sui papiri e i documenti antichi "G. Vitelli" of the University of Florence, the Conseil de Fondation and the Comité Scientifique of the Fondation Hardt in Vandœuvre, the Editorial Board of the *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta (CLGP)*, the Advisory Board of the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* and the Kommission of the *Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie* project (headed by Bernhard Zimmermann).

However, the scope of Franco Montanari's reputation and the regard for his professional stature go well beyond Genoa, Italy and Europe and can be measured by the myriad of personal relationships he has built with scholars from every corner of the globe, by accolades such as the membership of the Athens Academy and the Gothenburg Academy, by the honorary degree awarded to him by the University of Thessaloniki, by his long-term participation in bodies such as the *Société Internationale de Bibliographie Classique (SIBC)* and the *Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines (CIPSH)* of UNESCO and, even more so, by the prestigious roles he has held within the *Fédération Internationale des Associations des Études Classiques (FIEC)*, where he has been member of the Bureau and Treasurer since 1994 and later was Chairman from 2014 to 2019. In recent history and in our times, very few Italians have represented classical studies as broadly and authoritatively in the world.

Could one dare to measure, even if only provisionally, the scholarly value of such an effervescent and boundless personality? As the oldest of Franco Montanari's former students still performing research, I have been given the honour and obligation of such a task, which I accept with grateful pleasure. After all, Montanari's fundamental contributions to several fields of studies on ancient Greek civilisation are well known. I will only expand on the ones that I believe to be more important.

2 Since 2019, the headship of the *CIAPh* is Camillo Neri's, from the University of Bologna.

The first one is the history of ancient philology. By accepting the epochal significance of Rudolf Pfeiffer's *History*,³ Montanari has been without doubt among the first and most influential specialists in this field of study: in Italy but also elsewhere, he was a forerunner in a branch of research – which is today broadly accepted and appreciated – at a time when the names of Aristarchus of Samothrace or Didymus Chalcenterus were still treated with condescension, if not with utter disdain, by antiquity scholars. A key moment of this line of study was the ideation, organisation and headship in 1993 of the *Entretiens Hardt* devoted to Greek philology in Hellenistic and Roman times, the proceedings of which were published the following year.⁴ This was a turning point for more reasons than one, including that it helped better to highlight evidence of the Peripatetic pedigree of Alexandrian philology (a characteristic that Pfeiffer himself had not denied but rather underestimated). This idea later guided many subsequent studies by Montanari and his pupils, a path enriched by many clues and discoveries and today still fully relevant and promising in terms of potential for the reconstruction and understanding of the theoretical premises of Alexandrian philology. After Pfeiffer's study of 1968 and the *Entretiens* published in 1994, the third milestone in this branch of knowledge is the hefty *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (2015), conceived and edited by Franco Montanari with Stephanos Matthaios and Antonios Rengakos.⁵ This work easily allows one fully to appreciate the depth and the implications brought forward by this field over the course of 50 years. Montanari has played a key role and deserves great credit for his part in guiding the study on ancient Greek philology beyond its pioneering phase and in softening and dismantling the distrust toward this branch of research, while at the same time consolidating the perimeter, structure and contents of this field in a lasting, even definitive way.

Another arena marked indelibly by Montanari is the subject of the forms and texts of ancient Greek and Byzantine erudition, beginning with the definition of the typological, formal and traditional characteristics of the respective “genres”. These researches follow a rich and long tradition of studies and it is only natural to find their more immediate inspiration in the considerations on the subject by Graziano Arrighetti, especially when it comes to ancient biography and the forms

3 R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford 1968.

4 *La philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine*. Sept exposés suivis de discussions. Entretiens préparés et présidés par F. Montanari, Vandœuvres-Genève, 16–21 août 1993, Vandœuvres-Genève, Fondation Hardt, 1994.

5 A new, expanded and updated edition of the historiographical chapters of the *Companion*, edited by Franco Montanari, will appear in 2020.

of exegesis. This is the sphere of Montanari's valuable investigations on the characteristics of Alexandrian *ekdosis*, his studies on Homeric glossography and lexicography from the papyri (the so-called *scholia minora*, which Montanari more correctly renamed "glossaries") to Medieval lexicons via the D-scholia, the studies and critical editions of textual fragments of *grammatikoi* produced or inspired by Montanari (*LGGA*, *SGG*), his encouragement and guidance at times of reflection and broad discussion exemplified in the edited books *Fragments of the Past. Ancient Scholarship and Greek Papyri*⁶ and *From Scholars to Scholia. Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*⁷ and in the proceedings of the *2nd Trends in Classics International Conference* (Thessaloniki, 2008) on *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar*,⁸ also, his constant return to the scholia to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, expressed in a myriad of thorough contributions; and the project, already mentioned above, of a new edition of the *Iliad* scholia that would go beyond Hartmut Erbse's yet exemplary edition.⁹

To Montanari's planning and organisational skills much is owed by many other systemic editorial initiatives within the specialized area of literary papyrology, such as the above mentioned collection of glossaries to Homer, the studies on the so-called *Mythographus Homericus*, the *CLGP* and the *CPF*. These projects have earned him an authoritative position within the field and are destined to last and be relevant for a very long time.¹⁰

Similarly impressive is the mark Montanari has left on contemporary Hellenistics. Apart from several contributions to particular issues, in this field too the ideation and organisation of conferences of global scope and impact are invaluable: the great Genoese *millennial conference* on Homer (2000), with its proceedings collected in *Omero tremila anni dopo*,¹¹ and the *4th Trends in Classics International Conference on Homer in the 21st century* (Thessaloniki, 2010), with

⁶ Edited with Serena Perrone, as a themed issue of *Trends in Classics* 1 (2009).

⁷ Edited with Lara Pagani, Berlin/Boston, de Gruyter, 2011 (*TCSV* 9).

⁸ Organisation of the conference and editing of the proceedings (Berlin/Boston, de Gruyter, 2011, *TCSV* 8) with Stephanos Matthaios and Antonios Rengakos.

⁹ Within this approach in Montanari's scientific activity, it is also possible to place the inclusion of the new critical edition of the *Odyssey* scholia in the series *Pleiadi*, which is ongoing and is edited by Filippomaria Pontani.

¹⁰ Among other things, we should highlight the role Montanari had in the promotion of the publication of the historical *editio princeps* of the Derveni papyrus, in the series *Studi e testi per il Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* (Firenze, Olschki, 2006).

¹¹ Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2002, 2009², with the collaboration of Paola Ascheri.

its proceedings *Homeric Contexts. Neanalysis and the Interpretation of Oral Poetry* edited with Antonios Rengakos and Christos Tsagalis.¹² Finally, the successful volume *Introduzione a Omero*, which boasts several editions, is devoted to the history and the critical refocusing of the “Homeric question”.¹³

History, genres and texts of ancient philology and the ancient and modern reading of Homer are the main directions of a scientific journey that is outright astounding in terms of intensity and quality.

However, this brief and wide-ranging profile would be imperfect if, in conclusion, one were not to highlight the perfect overlapping, in Franco Montanari, of the scholar with the man – because, in this case as never before, the scholar is the man. His sensational intellectual energy, his projects and his practicality belong to both. In line with the most authentic and noble tradition of Lombard anthropology, “il Montanari” fully expresses an ethical, civil and committed ideal of work, here embodied in the form of research and teaching in the field of humanities. Undergraduates and students, many colleagues from all over the world, and also countless secondary-school teachers and pupils who use daily the tools Montanari made available in the field of education,¹⁴ experience and recognise what ultimately appears to be the profound essence of his teaching as *homo faber*: to foster an awareness of the present, an accountable freedom and a constructive and industrious attitude to life, in the name of a modern and secular idea of Hellenism and literature that is non-self-referential but rather useful for the community – genuinely *humanistic*, without any trace of fetishism or rhetoric.

¹² Berlin/Boston, de Gruyter, 2012 (TCSV 12).

¹³ *Introduzione a Omero. Con un'appendice su Esiodo*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1990, 1992²; later Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2013.

¹⁴ Apart from mentioning that Montanari is not “only” the author of the *GI* but also of manuals, textbooks and series of volumes for secondary schools and the portal *Mediaclassica* for the teaching of Greek and Latin (Loescher, Torino), and that he is a member of the Comitato Istituzionale dei Garanti per la Cultura Classica of the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research, the fact that many of his former pupils (in the truest sense of the word) have been and are teachers in secondary schools all over Italy – including myself, many years ago – cannot but help to underline the importance of this side of Montanari's profile.

Part I: **Homer and Homeric Philology**

Herwig Maehler

Bemerkungen zu Homerischen Szenen auf griechischen Vasen

Die erste Begegnung griechischer Dichtung mit bildender Kunst findet am Ende des 18. Gesangs *der Ilias* statt, in der Beschreibung des Schildes, den Hephaistos für Achill anfertigt: zuerst schmiedet er den Schild selbst (*Il.* 18.478–481), „und auf ihm machte er viele Bildwerke mit kundigem Sinn“ (482–607) (dazu Giuliani 2003, 39–46; Fittschen 1969, 15–17). Damit entsteht ein wunderbares Abbild der Welt, wie sie noch nie gesehen worden war. Es ist ein vielschichtiges, kontrastreiches Bild der Wirklichkeit im 8. Jahrhundert, ein großes „Lebensbild“ aus einer Zeit, als auf griechischen Tongefäßen die ersten, einfachen Lebensbilder entstanden: Begräbnis, Reigen, Wagenrennen, Kampf- und Schiffsszenen zeigen häufig wiederkehrende Situationen in ihrer Zeit. Sie zeigen, aber sie erzählen keine Geschichten. Erst gegen Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts finden sich Bilder, die sich auf bestimmte Szenen des Mythos beziehen lassen. Allerdings ist es nicht immer leicht, zwischen Lebensbildern und narrativen Bildern zu unterscheiden (vgl. Fittschen 1969, 199–201).

Bei der Betrachtung von Sagenbildern stellt sich die Frage nach ihren Quellen. Gehen sie auf Dichtung zurück, also auf schriftliche oder mündliche Überlieferung, oder auf andere Bildwerke? Wie wurden in einer noch bücherlosen Zeit die Geschichten von dem einen Medium in das andere transportiert? Früher hat man meist angenommen, dass die Vasenmaler die Geschichten irgendwoher kannten und illustrierten. Gegen diese allzu einfache Annahme hat sich in neuerer Zeit eine differenziertere Sichtweise durchgesetzt, welche die jeweils verschiedenen Darstellungsmöglichkeiten ebenso wie die äußeren Schaffensbedingungen der Dichter und der Töpfer und Vasenmaler berücksichtigt. In jüngster Zeit mehren sich die Stimmen, die den Vasenmalern völlige Unabhängigkeit von jedweder Dichtung und folglich unbegrenzte Kreativität zubilligen. Wie es sich damit verhält, soll an einigen Beispielen von Mythenbildern vor allem attischer Vasenmaler des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts untersucht werden.

Schon im 8. Jh. geht die griechische Bildkunst von deskriptiven Lebensbildern wie Schiffsreise, Kampfszene, Totenklage usw. zum Erzählen über, indem sie narrative Elemente aufnimmt, die Handlung darstellen. Von den vielen Lebensbildern, die Schiffe mit Menschen zeigen, Kämpfende oder Schiffbrüchige, Ertrunkene, unterscheidet sich die Szene auf dem spätgeometrischen Becken in London (Abb. 1). Ein Mann und eine Frau sind im Begriff, ein großes Schiff mit zwei Decks mit Ruderern zu besteigen; beide sind viel größer als die Ruderer. Der

Mann hält ein Schwert in der linken Hand, mit der rechten fasst er das Handgelenk der Frau, die in ihrer rechten einen Kranz hält. Wer sind die Passagiere? Theseus und Ariadne? Viel mehr spricht dafür, dass die Entführung Helenas durch Paris dargestellt ist, also der Anlass des Troianischen Krieges.

Vom hölzernen Pferd und der Einnahme Troias hatte schon am Ende des 8. Jh. die *Iliou Persis* und die sog. *Ilias parva* erzählt. Der Reliefpithos in Mykonos, der um 670 datiert wird (Abb. 2), zeigt oben das Hölzerne Pferd auf Rädern; hinter den 7 offenen Klappen sitzen die griechischen Krieger; nach der *Ilias parva* waren es 13. Zwei sind schon ausgestiegen mit Schild, Helm und Lanze, einer streckt seinen Schild aus der Klappe und wird gleich folgen, 4 weitere stehen hinter dem Pferd, es sind also 13. In den beiden Bildfriesen darunter sind Gewalttaten gegen Frauen dargestellt, in mehreren auch die Ermordung ihrer Kinder, in einem ein erschlagener Krieger; in einem anderen bedroht ein Krieger eine Frau mit dem Schwert, die nach zwei Zipfeln ihres reich verzierten Gewandes greift (Abb. 3). Das Gewand zeigt, dass sie eine gegenüber den anderen herausgehobene Frau ist. Dazu würde passen, dass Menelaos in der *Ilias parva* Helena bedrohte, aber beim Anblick ihres entblößten Busens sein Schwert fallen ließ.

Die Ermordung des Priamos wird verschieden erzählt; in der *Iliou Persis* erschlägt ihn Neoptolemos auf dem Altar des Zeus Herkeios, in der *Ilias parva* schleppt er ihn vom Altar weg und tötet ihn am Tor des Palastes. Die Amphora in London (Abb. 4) gibt die erste Fassung wieder: durch Neoptolemos' Stoß ist Priamos rücklings gestürzt und liegt auf dem Altar, den Kopf zurück geworfen, die Füße in der Luft, hilflos Halt suchend. Neoptolemos holt mit der Rechten zum Schlag aus, aber da ist kein Schwert zu sehen – mit der Hand fasst er ein Bein eines kleinen, nackten Jungen. Der Maler hat die Ermordung des Priamos nach der Version der *Iliou Persis* mit der des Astyanax nach der *Ilias parva* verbunden und damit ein Bild extremer Grausamkeit geschaffen, das deutlich über die epische Überlieferung hinausgeht.¹ Die gleiche Szene zeigt eine Bauchamphora in Berlin (Abb. 5), nur dass hier Priamos seine Rechte zum Kinn des Neoptolemos ausstreckt, um Erbarmen flehend. Aber auch hier hält Neoptolemos das Kind an einem Bein mit der Faust fest, zum Schlag ausholend; hinter ihm steht Helena, die von Menelaos abgeführt wird. Beide Bilder weichen also von den epischen Erzählungen ab, nach denen Astyanax entweder von Odysseus getötet (*Iliou Persis*) oder von Neoptolemos der Amme entrissen und vom Turm geschleudert wird: ῥῆψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου heißt es in der *Ilias parva*, fr. 21.4 Bernabé.

¹ Vgl. Giuliani 2003, 206: „Eine Erzählung, nach der Neoptolemos den kleinen Astyanax als lebende Waffe benutzt, um dessen Großvater zu erschlagen, dürfte es in der epischen Dichtung nicht gegeben haben“.

Das lässt zwei Schlüsse zu: (1) Epische Dichter haben die Geschichte in ihren Grundzügen gleich, aber in Einzelheiten verschieden dargestellt, denn wir sind im 7. und noch am Beginn des 6. Jahrhunderts im Zeitalter der frei improvisierenden Sänger vom Typ des Demodokos in der *Odyssee*. Am Anfang des 8. Gesangs lässt ihn Alkinoos, der König der Phaiaken, zu einem Festmahl rufen, damit er die Gäste mit seinem Lied unterhalte, "wie ihn sein Sinn zu singen treibt" (ὄππῃ θυμός ἐποτρύνῃσιν αἰεῖδεν), das heißt, er improvisiert.² Und (2): Die Vasenmaler verfahren im 7. und noch im 6. Jahrhundert im Prinzip ebenso, denn in der Reliefamphora in Mykonos sind die Kindermord- und die Gewaltszenen mit Frauen multipliziert, wohl nicht nur, um die Vorderseite der Amphora zu füllen, sondern vor allem, um das Erschrecken über die Gewalt zu steigern. Bei der Ermordung des Priamos verbinden sie zwei getrennte Episoden zu *einem* Bild, um das Grauen zu komprimieren, indem Priamos zusehen muss, wie sein letzter Enkel zerschmettert wird, bevor er selbst stirbt. Die Hydria Würzburg (Abb. 6) zeigt Priamos auf dem Altar liegend, mit der Linken sich abstützend, Füße in der Luft (wie Abb. 4) die Rechte abwehrend erhoben; Neoptolemos wird ihm den Todesstoß versetzen. Hinter Priamos steht Hekabe, klagend, dahinter Krieger. Vor dem Altar steht eine Frau in einem reich bestickten Gewand, die mit ihrer Rechten Priamos zu berühren scheint; in der Linken hält sie eine Blume; hinter ihr steht ein Mann. Ist sie Helena, die von Menelaos abgeführt wird?³ Schefold dachte an Polyxena, die von Neoptolemos fortgeführt wird, der sie auf Achills Grab schlachten wird, wie die *Iliou Persis* erzählt. Diese Deutung stößt aber auf die Schwierigkeit, dass Neoptolemos in derselben Szene zweimal dargestellt wäre. Für Priamos' Verhältnis zu Helena vgl. *Il.* 3.161–165 δεῦρο πάροιθ' ἔλθοῦσα, φίλον τέκος, ἵζευ ἑμέϊο, | ὄφρα ἴδῃ πρότερόν τε πόσιν πηούς τε φίλους τε — | οὔ τί μοι αἰτῖη ἔσσι, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν, — | οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν.

Zwei Generationen später, um 480, findet sich die Szene als Fries auf der Schulter einer Hydria des Kleophrades-Malers in Neapel (Abb. 7) in einer ganz neuartigen Konstellation, denn hier wird nicht nur der Mord an Priamos und Astyanax mit dem Schicksal Kassandras kombiniert; es wird gleichzeitig die Wirkung gezeigt, die das grausige Geschehen auf die Betroffenen hat: Priamos hält die Hände an seinen Kopf; ob er auf sein totes, blutendes Enkelkind blickt, ist nicht zu sehen. Seine Trauergebärde wird von der links vom Altar sitzenden Frau wiederholt; sie gehört zur Cassandra-Szene, die durch die Palme von der Priamos-Szene getrennt wird. Es ist wie ein Horrorfilm: die Reaktionen der Betroffenen geben der Szene ein unerhört starkes Pathos, wie es bis dahin weder in der

2 *Od.* 8.45; so singt auch Phemios, um zu erfreuen ὄππῃ οἱ νόος ὄρνυται, *Od.* 1.347.

3 Schefold 1978, 257.

Bildkunst noch in der Dichtung zum Ausdruck gekommen war. Das nüchterne Erzählen des Epos ist dem mitfühlenden Blick auf Leid und Tragik gewichen.

Es ist unverkennbar, dass die bisher besprochenen Vasenbilder, die eine Geschichte erzählen, fast alle auf Episoden aus dem epischen Kyklos Bezug nehmen: aus den *Kyprien*, der *Iliou Persis*, der *Ilias parva*, der *Aithiopis*. Aus der *Odyssee* hat die Vasenmaler vor allem die Blendung Polyphems interessiert, die im 7. Jh. mehrfach dargestellt wurde, aber insgesamt haben sich die Vasenmaler in dieser Zeit relativ wenig von den beiden großen Epen Homers inspirieren lassen.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts kommt eine Neuerung auf, die für die Zuordnung der Sagenbilder sehr relevant ist: die Vasenmaler lernen schreiben. Zwar kannte man die aus dem phönizischen Alphabet entwickelte griechische Schrift schon ein Jahrhundert früher, aber Inschriften auf Vasen erscheinen vereinzelt erst seit etwa 650 und werden im 6. Jahrhundert sehr häufig. So erklärt der Maler Sophilos (Abb. 8), wovon die Zuschauer auf der Tribüne so begeistert sind: es ist das an dramatischen Zwischenfällen reiche Wagenrennen, der Höhepunkt der Wettkämpfe zu Ehren des toten Patroklos (L: ΠΑΤΡΟΦΛΥΣ : ΑΤΛΑΑ); darüber hat er geschrieben ΣΟΦΙΛΑΟΣ : ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ, „Sophilos hat mich gezeichnet“, sagt die Vase. Diese Szene ist eine der ersten, die sich eindeutig auf eine bestimmte Stelle der *Ilias* bezieht, das Wagenrennen, *Il.* 23.362–506, genauer gesagt die Verse 448–9: „Die Argeier aber saßen in der Versammlung und blickten aus nach den Pferden; die aber flogen stäubend durch die Ebene“.

Auch auf der großartigsten und interessantesten Vase des 6. Jh., dem Klitias-Krater in Florenz, der sog. François-Vase, haben die beiden oberen Frieze der Vorderseite einen Bezug zur *Ilias*. Der zweite zeigt dasselbe Wagenrennen zu Ehren des toten Patroklos. Der erste Fries zeigt die Jagd auf den kalydonischen Eber, von der auch Phoinix im 9. Gesang kurz erzählt (538–46). Das Gefäß ist sehr groß, 66 cm hoch, Durchmesser der Mündung 57 cm. Um die große Fläche zu füllen, brauchte Klitias, der Maler, umlaufende Frieze mit sehr vielen Personen. Der längste dieser Frieze zeigt den Zug der Götter, die als Hochzeitsgäste zu dem neuvermählten Paar des Peleus und der Göttin Thetis kommen. Alle Personen haben Namen (L←R), auch die Hunde und sogar Gegenstände (βωμός, ὕδρία, κρήνη). In der Hauptszene (Abb. 9) begrüßt Peleus den Kentauren Chiron, der zusammen mit Iris den Zug der Götter anführt. Zwischen Peleus und Iris hat der Maler seinen Namen gesetzt: Κλιτίας μεγραψεσεν. Interessant für unser Thema ist das ungewöhnliche Hochzeitsgeschenk, das der Kentaure dem Peleus mitgebracht hat: einen Baumstamm mit Zweigen und Blättern. Genau so ist es beschrieben in den *Kyprien*: μελίαν εὐθαλή „eine saftige Esche“, von der dann Athena die Äste und Rinde abschabte und die Hephaistos dann als Lanze herrichtete, mit der zuerst

Peleus und später Achill kämpften. Das Adjektiv εὐθαλῆ “vollsaftig” übersetzt der Maler mit den Blättern am Baum.

Die anderen Frieze erzählen Geschichten aus den *Kyprien*, so z.B. der oberste Fries der Rückseite: da sieht man die Ankunft der 14 jungen Männer und Frauen, die als Tribut der Athener an König Minos und Futter für den Minotaurus auf Kreta an Land gehen, angeführt von Theseus, der Ariadne begegnet; sie hält das Garnknäuel hoch, mit dessen Hilfe er aus dem Labyrinth zurückfinden wird. Nur die Bergung der Leiche Achills auf dem Henkel geht auf die *Aithiopsis* zurück. Einen ähnlich deutlichen Rückgriff auf ein Element epischer Dichtung verraten die Namen der Musen (Abb. 10), die teilweise verdeckt durch den Wagen von Zeus und Hera weiter links im oberen Hauptfeld folgen: Kalliope (Gesicht frontal, Syrinx blasend), Orania, dann Melpomene, Klio, Euterpe, Thaleia und links vom Henkel Stesichore, Erato (vom Henkel verdeckt Amphitrite, [Po]seidon) und unter dem Pferd Polymnis (-mnia). Dieselben 9 Musen zählt Hesiod am Anfang (77–79) der *Theogonie* auf, wobei er Kalliope als Letzte nennt und als die Wichtigste (προφερεστάτη), die der Maler deshalb an den Anfang stellt und durch ihr Instrument hervorhebt; nur Terpsichore heißt bei ihm ΣΤΕΣΙΧΟΠΕ. Der Reihenfolge der Musen in den Versen 77–78 der *Theogonie* entsprechen hier die durch die Götterpaare getrennten Gruppen der Musen, wobei der Maler nur Kalliope und Urania, bei Hesiod die Letzten, an den Anfang gestellt hat. Dazu bemerkt Giuliani 2003, 151: „Kleitias hat seine Musen offenkundig nach der Vorgabe einer in Hexametern gefassten Überlieferung gruppiert, die entweder von Hesiod abhängt oder dem hesiodeischen Verzeichnis zugrunde liegt. Dabei wird man kaum anzunehmen brauchen, dass der Maler einen Dichter zitiert: Er hat lediglich einen Merkvers im Ohr; der hexametrische Rhythmus erleichtert das Auswendiglernen der Namen.“ Ja, aber woher kannte der Maler denn die Namen der Musen in ihrer hexametrischen Reihenfolge, wenn nicht aus Hesiod? Und was ist es dann, wenn nicht ein Zitat?

Im 6. Jh. scheint in Athen der Bittgang des Priamos zu Achill, um den Leichnam Hektors zu erbitten (*Il.* 24.471ff.), viele Maler inspiriert zu haben. Die Reihe dieser Bilder beginnt um 560, das Schema bleibt anfangs das gleiche: Achill sitzt oder lagert auf einer Kline, unter der der tote Hektor liegt, Priamos tritt von links auf ihn zu und streckt die Hände entweder nach dem Toten aus, oder um Erbarmen flehend nach Achill (Abb. 11). Etwas später, um 520, bringen die Maler weitere Personen aus der *Ilias* ins Bild (Abb. 12): rechts eine Frau (Briseis?) mit einem Kranz, links Hermes, der sich verabschiedet, mit einem Jungen, der die Lösegatschenke bringt, und vor die Kline stellen sie einen niedrigen Tisch mit Fleischstücken, die über den Rand herunterhängen bis fast auf die Leiche. Damit entfernt sich das Bild vom Text der *Ilias*: dort bekommt Priamos den Leichnam nicht

zu sehen und Hermes ist bei der Begegnung gar nicht anwesend (468), vor allem aber hatte Achill bei Priamos' Ankunft sein Mahl gerade beendet gehabt (475), der Tisch aber stand noch da (476 ἔτι καὶ παρέκειτο τράπεζα). Dieses Detail verändert das Bild Achills: indem er unbekümmert direkt über der Leiche seines Feindes reichlich speist, erscheint er gefühllos, pietätlos, ganz anders als der Achill der Verse 515ff., der sich des unglücklichen Greises erbarmt. Die ultimative Steigerung bringt dann um 490 die Schale des Brygos-Malers in Wien (Abb. 13). Da hält Achill, der Priamos die Schulter zukehrt, ein Stück Fleisch in der Linken und ein Messer in der Rechten, die rot gemalten Fleischlappen hängen bis auf Hektors Leiche herab, die auf der Brust eine Wunde hat, aus der rotes Blut austritt — in eklatantem Widerspruch zum Text der *Ilias*, wo gesagt war (18–21), dass Hektors Leichnam trotz aller Misshandlung unverseht blieb. In dieser Eigendynamik bieten die Vasen eine noch weitere Steigerung des Pathos: Entsetzen vor der Grausamkeit, Grauen und Mitgefühl, φόβος und ἔλεος.

Von etwa 560 an nimmt die Zahl der Funde attischer Vasen stark zu, sowohl absolut und auch im Verhältnis zu den korinthischen und anderen; zugleich vergrößert sich der Themenkreis ihrer Bilder. Außer dem Tod des Priamos stellen sie vermehrt auch andere aus der *Ilias* bekannte Szenen dar: wie Achill die Waffen anlegt, die Thetis ihm von Hephaistos gebracht hat; Achill, der Hektor verfolgt; Achill auf dem Wagen, der Hektors Leiche schleift; der Kampf um Patroklos' Leiche; außerdem Szenen aus der *Odyssee*. Als Ursache der starken Zunahme homerischer Bilder in dieser Zeit hat man die Neuordnung der Panatheneen durch Peisistratos oder seinen Sohn Hipparch vermutet. Von ihm heisst es in dem kurzen platonischen Dialog *Hipparchos*, er habe "als Erster die homerischen Epen nach Attika gebracht und so die Rhapsoden gezwungen, diese an den Panatheneen in Fortsetzungen fortlaufend vorzutragen, wie sie es heute noch tun" (ἐξ ὑπολήψεως „indem der Eine vom Anderen übernahm“, 228b). Diese Anweisung wurde allerdings schon Solon zugeschrieben (Diog. L. I 57). Aber auch Themen aus dem epischen Kyklos, dem thebanischen Sagenkreis, von den Dioskuren und der Argonautensage, die kalydonische Eberjagd und viele andere sind von den Dichtern und den Vasenmalern umgesetzt worden, und zwar in der Regel nicht als exakte Illustration einer bestimmten Verspartie, sondern als Bild einer prägnanten Szene, die der Maler gehört, im Gedächtnis behalten und dann nach der Logik und den Gesetzen seines Metiers geformt hat, wobei die Bilder dann manchmal ihre eigene Dynamik entwickeln. Im 6. Jh. waren das auf jeden Fall *gehörte* und meist wohl öffentlich vorgetragene Geschichten, welche die Zuhörer und die Vasenmaler inspirierten. Das Lied des Ibykos für Polykrates (PMG 282) nennt die Themen der Trojasage, die auch die Vasenmaler dieser Zeit interessierten.

Die Begegnung des Menelaos mit Helena zeigt eine Szene, die schon in der Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts bekannt war; sie ist auf dem 5. unteren Bildfeld des Reliefpithos in Mykonos zu sehen. Dort wird Helena von Menelaos offen mit dem Schwert bedroht (s. Abb. 3). Literarisch wird die Szene aus einem Dithyrambos des Ibykos zitiert,⁴ später, in Euripides' *Andromache*, wirft Peleus Menelaos vor „Du hast deine Frau nicht getötet, als sie in deine Hände kam — nein, als du ihren Busen sahst, warfst du das Schwert weg und empfindest Küsse, schmeichelnd der treulosen Hündin“, entsprechend in Aristophanes' *Lysistrate*, sowie als Paraphrase in den Scholien zu Aristophanes' *Lys.* 155, *Vesp.* 714 und Eur. *Andr.* 628–31; s. auch Ibykos PMG Fr. 15. Eine Anspielung findet sich in Euripides' *Orestes* 1287: Elektra fürchtet, Orestes Plan, Helena zu töten, könnte misslingen: „Sind die Schwerter stumpf geworden vor der Schönheit?“ ἄρ' εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἐκκεκώφηται ξίφη;

Da die Szene inhaltlich zu den Geschichten nach dem Fall Troias gehört, kann man vermuten, dass Ibykos sie aus der *Ilias parva* kannte. Die Szene der Bedrohung Helenas mit dem Schwert findet sich danach auf mehr als zwei Dutzend rotfigurigen Vasen und Fragmenten. Hier scheint es einen Zusammenhang zwischen den Zitaten und Anspielungen auf der Bühne und der relativ großen Zahl der etwa gleichzeitig entstandenen Vasen zu geben; ihre Beliebtheit dürfte ihrer erotischen Komponente geschuldet sein, die für die Töpfer und Maler verkaufsfördernd gewirkt haben mag. Schon früher, um 540, hatte der Amasis-Maler den Zweikampf des Menelaos mit Paris dargestellt, und auf der Rückseite der Amphore (Abb. 14 und 15) zwischen zwei Herolden Menelaos, der sich zu Helena umwendet, sein Schwert ist verdeckt. Die Wegführung Helenas hat derselbe Maler noch einmal ganz ähnlich dargestellt.

So ist in jedem der vier Jahrhunderte der geometrischen, archaischen und klassischen Epoche Griechenlands die Trojasage in Wort und Bild präsent gewesen, von der Entführung Helenas bis zu ihrer Rückkehr nach Sparta.

Auf die am Anfang aufgeworfene Frage, ob die Vasenmaler ihre Bilder ganz unabhängig von Dichtung und allein aus ihrer kreativen Phantasie schufen, lassen die hier besprochenen Beispiele eine geteilte Antwort zu. Einerseits ist ganz deutlich geworden, dass sie die mündliche und schriftliche Überlieferung sehr

4 PMG 296 ὠικονόμηται τοῖς περὶ Ἰβυκὸν εἰς γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸν καταφεύγει Ἑλένη κάκειθεν διαλέγεται τῷ Μενελάῳ, ὃ δ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἀφίησι τὸ ξίφος. τὰ παραπλήσια <τούτοις καὶ Ἰβυκος ὁ> Ῥηγίνος ἐν διθυράμβῳ φησὶν (suppl. Schwartz); vgl. Ar. *Lys.* 155–6 ὁ γὰρ Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλα πρὶ γυναικῶν παρενιδὼν ἐξέβαλ', οἶώ, τὸ ξίφος und Eur. *Andr.* 628–30 οὐκ ἔκτανες γυναικᾶ χειρίαν λαβὼν, | ἀλλ', ὡς ἐσεῖδες μαστόν, ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος | φίλημ' ἐδέξω, προδοτὶν αἰκάλλων κύνα.

gut kannten. Die ältesten Bilder beschränken sich auf wenige Personen und eine klar erkennbare Handlung. Meist wählen die Maler den Augenblick unmittelbar vor dem erwarteten Ereignis. Andererseits kommen später weitere Personen ins Bild, und durch Gesten und Körpersprache werden Emotionen wie Angst und Trauer erkennbar. So beginnen die Maler seit der Mitte des 6. Jh., sich von der Dichtung zu lösen und die Erzählung so zu verändern, dass der Blick auf das Leid und die Verzweiflung der Opfer gelenkt wird. Dadurch ändert sich auch der Blick auf die Täter: das Bild Achills beim Mahl über dem Leichnam Hektors (Abb. 13) signalisiert eine radikal andere Sicht auf den fragwürdig gewordenen Helden (vgl. Giuliani 2003, 177–185).

Die Serien attischer Vasenbilder des 6. Jahrhunderts, die die Bittgesandtschaft des Priamos zu Achill oder den Mord des Priamos und des Astyanax darstellen, lassen erkennen, dass deren Maler in Konkurrenz zu einander arbeiteten und Neuerungen leicht aufgreifen konnten, denn die meisten Töpfer und Maler stellten ihre Ware im Kerameikos nahe dem Dipylon zum Verkauf aus.⁵ Auf diese Weise konnten die Bilder von einer Werkstatt zur anderen gelangen. Natürlich wanderten sie auch durch Verkauf und Handel, etwa nach Sizilien, Unteritalien und vor allem nach Etrurien. Auf andere Weise wanderten auch die Geschichten mitsamt ihren Neuerungen; so sagt Telemachos über den Sänger Phemios *Od.* 1.351–2) τὴν γὰρ αοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, / ἢ τις αἰόντεσσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέλῃται. Vor allem waren es wohl die großen Götterfeste, die den Sängern die Gelegenheit boten, ihre neuen Lieder öffentlich vorzutragen und einander zuzuhören. Anders als die Töpfer und Maler waren die Sänger nicht an einen Ort gebunden; für sie war die Teilnahme an den Festen und ihren Wettbewerben wichtig, um Auftraggeber und Förderer zu finden.

Die Töpfer und Maler gehörten überwiegend zur Klasse der Metöken und Freigelassenen; die Besten hießen Lydos, Euphronios, Onesimos, Ergotimos und Klitias, sie hatten Zutritt zu öffentlichen Aufführungen in Athen an den Dionysien von Dithyramben und später von Dramen im Theater. Für ihre visuelle Umsetzung von gehörten bzw. gesehenen Szenen haben sie oft geniale Lösungen gefunden. Ihre schöpferische Phantasie war nicht geringer als die der Dichter.

5 Zur Lage der Werkstätten und zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Töpfer vgl. Scheibler 1983, 108–10 und 120–33.

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Abbildungen

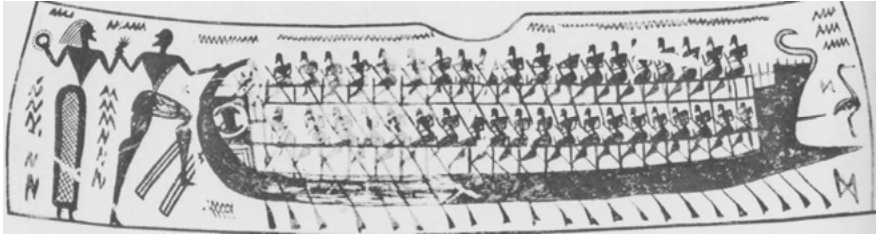


Abb. 1: Becken, London BM 1899–19,1, 8. Jh. v. Chr. Schefold 1983, Abb. 123



Abb. 2: Reliefpithos, Mykonos 2240, ca. 670. Giuliani 2003, Abb. 11a



Abb. 3: Reliefpithos, Mykonos 2240, ca. 670. Giuliani 2003, Abb. 11e

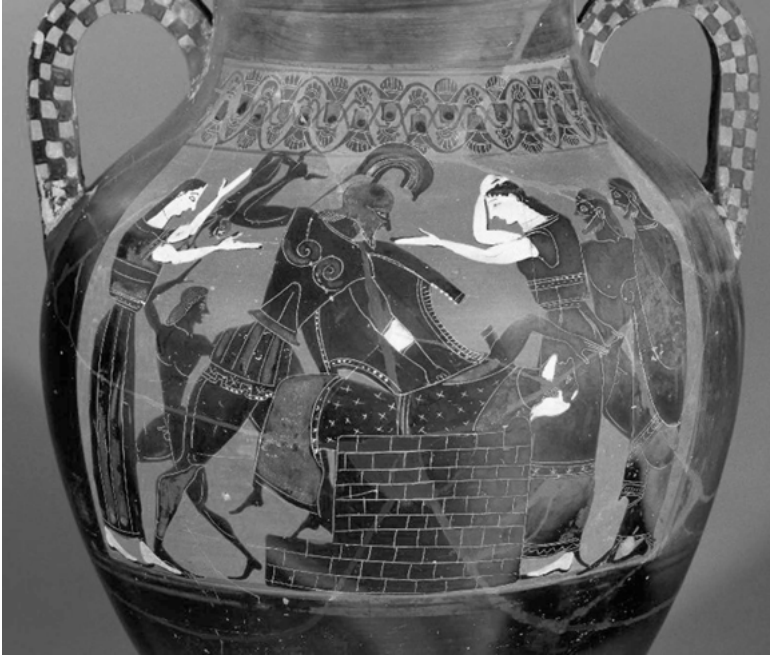


Abb. 4: Amphora, London BM B205, ca. 550. Giuliani 2003, Abb. 40

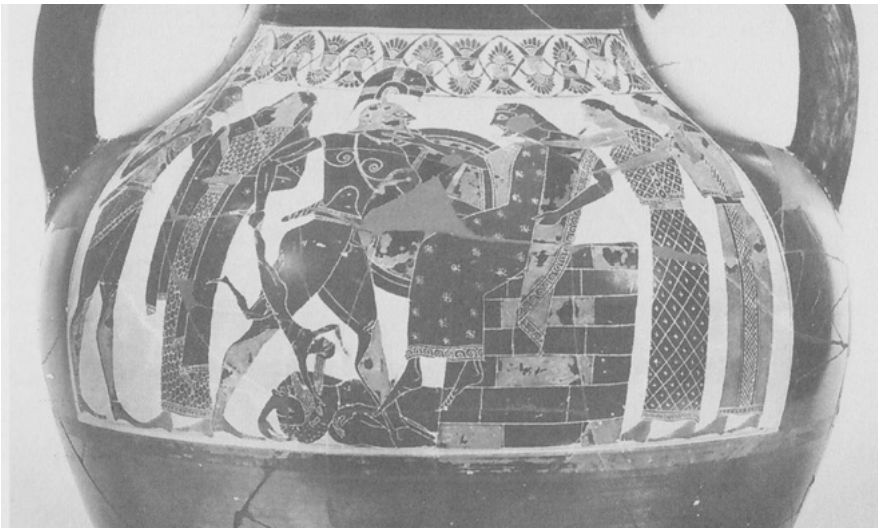


Abb. 5: Bauchamphore, Berlin F1685, ca.550. Giuliani 2003, Abb. 42

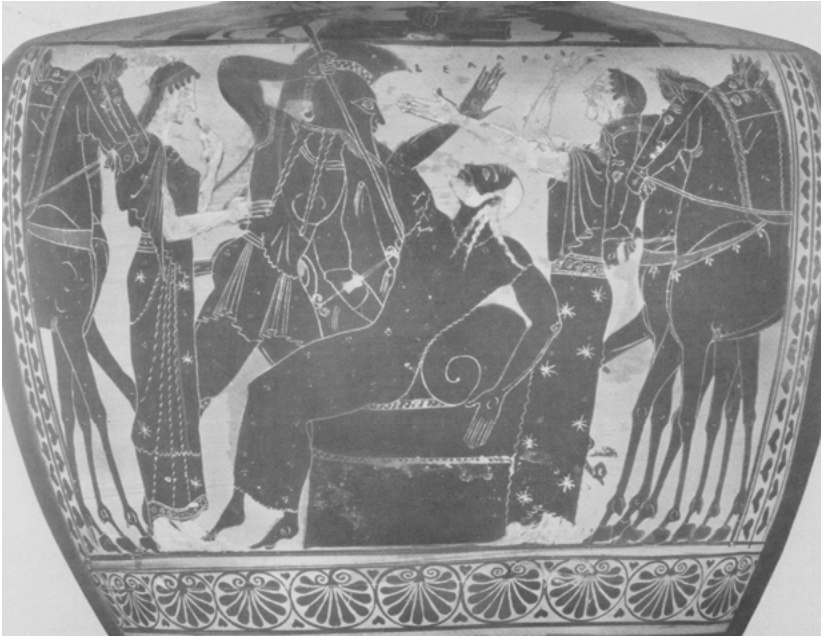


Abb. 6: Hydria Würzburg 311, ca. 510. Schefold 1978, Abb. 344



Abb. 7: Hydria, Neapel 2422, ca. 480. Giuliani 2003, Abb. 45b



Abb. 8: Fragment eines Dinos des Sophilos, Athen Nationalmuseum 15499, ca. 570. Schefold 1983, Abb. 352

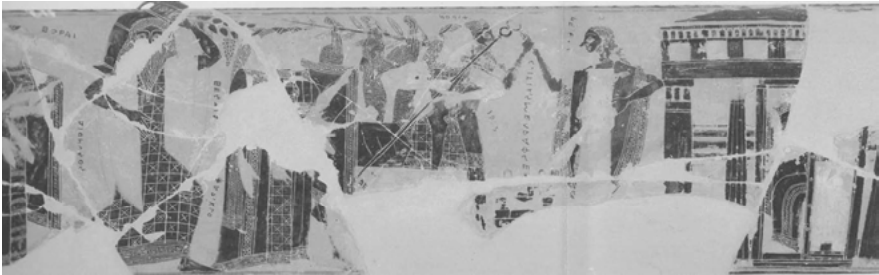


Abb. 9: François Vase, Florenz, Museo Archeologico 4209, ca. 570. Shapiro 2013, Plate 26



Abb. 10: François Vase, Florenz, Museo Archeologico 4209, ca. 570. Shapiro 2013, Plate 31



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Abb. 11: Bauchamphore, Kassel T674, ca. 540. Schefold 1978, Abb. 316



Abb. 12: Schale des Olton, München Antikensammlung 2618, ca. 520. Schefold 1978, Abb. 317



Abb. 13: Skyphos des Brygos-Malers, Wien KHM 3710, ca. 490. Giuliani 2003, Abb. 34



Abb. 14: Privatsammlung; Amphora des Amasis-Malers, Rückseite, ca. 540. Schefold 1978, Abb. 293

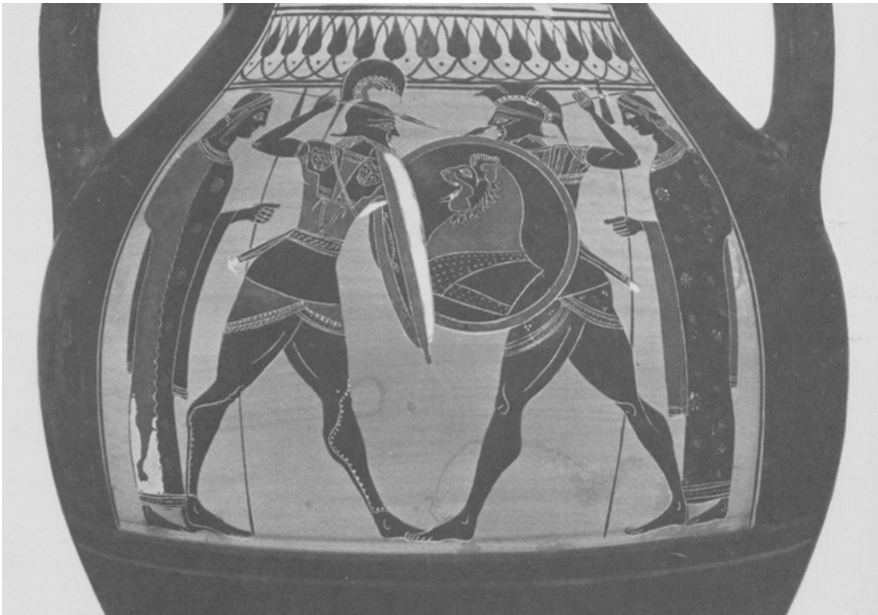


Abb. 15: Privatsammlung; Amphora des Amasis-Malers, Vorderseite, ca. 540. Schefold 1978, Abb. 294

H.-G. Nesselrath

Heracles in Homer

1 Introduction: Heroes of the pre-Trojan War generation in Homer

Every now and then, the Homeric epics — while primarily concerned with the Greek (and Trojan) heroes who fought (and often died) around the walls of Troy — look back to previous generations.¹ A living remnant of these is, of course, Nestor, who more than once likes to remind his younger compatriots what exploits he already achieved before they were even born. However, the hero of the preceding generation who is most frequently evoked in the course of the epics is Heracles,² and on the following pages this paper will try to figure out whether there is a special significance behind these mentions.

2 Heracles in the *Iliad*

Martin West has remarked: “Legends about Heracles were current in abundance”,³ and he assumes that the poet of the *Iliad* could readily draw upon such tales (whether they were still “only” oral or had already been committed to writing). A brief survey of the Iliadic occurrences of Heracles will give us an inkling how prominently present Heracles was in the poem and what his presence might mean.

First of all, there is offspring of Heracles among the Greeks encamped before Troy. In the catalogue of ships an extended passage (2.653–670) is devoted to his son Tlepolemus, who after having slain Heracles’ uncle Lycymnius had to flee from the Greek mainland and went to Rhodes, where he became the leader of the Rhodian contingent that went to Troy. In *Il.* 5, however, he is slain by the Lycian hero Sarpedon in an extended combat scene (5.628–669). Much briefer is the

¹ In the *Iliad*, we thus see mentioned Bellerophon, (Cinyras), Laomedon, Meleager, the two Molione, Niobe, Peleus, Tydeus. In the *Odyssey* we find mentions of Autolycus, Laertes (of course), Melampus, Orpheus, Peleus, Phaedra (and other heroines), Rhadamanthys, Tityus, Sisypheus, Tantalus, Teiresias, Theseus.

² As Kirk 1990, 328 remarks with regard to the *Iliad*: “References to Herakles’ doings are broadly scattered through the poem.”

³ West 2011, 30.

mention of Heracles' grandsons Phidippus and Antiphus (sons of Thessalus, son of Heracles) in 2.678–9, where they lead the Greek contingent coming from the islands of Nisyrus, Cos and some others in the vicinity.

More interesting are several mentions of Heracles himself in *Il.* 5. We find an intriguing passage in vv. 392–404, where Aphrodite's mother Dione — who consoles her daughter, who has just been wounded on the battlefield by the Greek hero Diomedes, by enumerating other instances in which gods suffered grievously from the hands of humans — relates how Heracles once inflicted a painful arrow wound not only on Zeus' consort (and sister) Hera, but also on Hades, the ruler of the underworld, in what apparently was a mighty battle. It is not clear whether these two woundings belong to the same mythical context: according to Panyassis fr. 26 Bernabé and the D-Scholium on *Il.* 11.690 they do,⁴ namely to Heracles' assault on Pylus, in which at least Hades (and perhaps Hera, too) fought on the side of Neleus and his sons against Heracles. According to Martin West,⁵ however, the present *Iliad* passage may actually be the first to suggest this connection by simply juxtaposing the two instances in which Heracles wounded a god during a fight. Nevertheless, other sources have Heracles combat other gods besides Hades in Pylus: in vv. 359–367 of the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*, Heracles himself narrates how on that occasion he also severely afflicted Ares and might almost have taken his armour and weapons as in the case of a slain foe; according to Pindar (*Ol.* 9.25–35), Heracles battled Poseidon and Apollo besides Hades, according to the already-mentioned D-Scholium, Poseidon and Hera. Heracles' assault on Pylus is once more evoked in *Il.* 11, this time by Nestor, who reminisces how Heracles on that occasion killed all his eleven brothers in a military confrontation (11.690–693).

In any case, the present passage evokes a “theomachos” Heracles who represents some kind of model for the “theomachos” Diomedes in *Il.* 5 and who actually outdid him, insofar as Hera and Hades are mightier gods than Aphrodite and Ares.⁶

⁴ This is also the opinion of Emerson 1881, 6.

⁵ West 2011, 160. For different proposals of contextualization of Hera's and Hades' wounding by Heracles see Kirk 1990, 101–102 ad *Il.* 5.392–4 and 5.396–7. See also Hainsworth 1993, 300 on 11.690: “the scholia record many conjectures about Herakles' motivation in making this attack, all more ingenious than persuasive.”

⁶ Lu 2013, 24–6 regards Heracles' fights against gods as mentioned by Dione as key evidence for what she regards as a uniformly negative picture of Heracles in Homer (22: “a negative figure of violence”, “a force of destruction”; 23: “No Greek hero articulates a desire to imitate him”). One

Even more significant is the evocation of Heracles in Tlepolemus' speech (5.633–646) during his already-mentioned fatal encounter with Sarpedon. Tlepolemus taunts Sarpedon by claiming that his father Heracles was a much more worthy son of Zeus than Sarpedon is, and to prove this he points out that Heracles once took Troy in a single onslaught with only six ships (5.640–42),⁷ while the invaders now (as Tlepolemus might have added but in fact does not, because he presumably does not want to insult his fellow Greeks) have not been able to do this with their thousand ships for more than nine years! In his answer, Sarpedon acknowledges Heracles' Trojan conquest, but points out that it was a just retribution for Laomedon's foolish and shortsighted "breach of contract" (5.648–651) — does he want to imply that Heracles' just cause was aided by the gods, while the Greeks now have no similar just cause?⁸ In any case, this Heracleian exploit is highly relevant⁹ as a model — which the Greeks under Agamemnon's leadership can only try to emulate, but never hope to top — for the "current" Trojan war. It is thus not very surprising that it is alluded to in two other passages of the *Iliad* as well: in 14.250–251, it is just after Heracles' conquest of Troy that Hera attacks his ships and drives them off to the island of Cos (see also below); in 20.145–148, there is a brief mention of a "wall of Heracles", which had been built for him — by the Trojans and by the goddess Athena — to serve as a protection against the sea monster that he would have to battle to rescue Hesione. Thus the memory of Heracles' dealings with and conquest of Troy is kept alive throughout the *Iliad*.

Two Iliadic passages (both in connection with the remarkable "deception of Zeus" episode in books 14 and 15) mention the deed of Heracles that immediately

might, however, also draw a more positive conclusion: of all the heroes of the mythical age, Heracles — though remaining mortal — comes closest to a god-like status, for he can take on gods in battle and actually win!

Lu's negative picture seems to be influenced by Effe 1980, 148, who characterized Heracles' role in Homer as "very secondary" and "ambivalent-negative" (as evidence he cited just two passages: Dione's accusation in *Il.* 5.381–404 and Heracles' admittedly brutal slaying of Iphitus in *Od.* 21.22–38, on which see below) and by Liapis 2006, 48–50, who — apart from stating a "multiplicity of images which cannot be readily integrated into a coherent picture" — detects a "prevailing mood [...] of disparagement or of pathos" (48).

⁷ Heracles' conquest of Troy was his revenge for the Trojan king Laomedon's cheating (after Heracles had saved Laomedon's daughter Hesione from being devoured by a sea monster, Laomedon did not give him the horses he had promised for Hesione's rescue). On this story, see also Hes. fr. 43a.61–64 M.-W. = 69.85–88 Most.

⁸ For this argument see Kirk 1990, 124 on 649–54. Tlepolemus might, of course, have answered that the abduction of Helen constituted a similarly (or even more) just cause for the Greeks now.

⁹ West 2011, 165–166: "Of all Heracles' exploits Tlepolemos picks out the one most relevant to the present setting".

followed the capture of Troy: in 14.250–256, the god Hypnus — after being asked to put Zeus to sleep so that other gods can give the Greeks more active support on the Trojan battlefield — ruefully reminisces how Hera once sent him to put Zeus to sleep so that she could attack Heracles' ships (which, as was already mentioned, were just on their homeward journey from his conquest of Troy) and drive him off to the island of Cos;¹⁰ and in 15.24–30 Zeus himself recalls how angry he had been after Hera had driven Heracles off to Cos.

Other details of Heracles' mortal life are evoked more briefly in the *Iliad*. In 14.323–324 we get a brief reference to Heracles' birth (mentioned by none other than Zeus himself, while he wants to prove to Hera how great his current desire for her is!); in 15.639–640 the usual messenger of Eurystheus to Heracles (going by the rather expressive name of Copeus)¹¹ is fleetingly mentioned, because Copeus' son Periphetes is slain by Hector in this passage of the *Iliad*. In the more extensive passage 19.95–133, Agamemnon — while seeking to excuse his disastrous mistreatment of Achilles in book 1 and blaming (among others) the goddess Ate for his misconduct — relates the story how Zeus was cheated by Hera with regard to the birth of Heracles, which she craftily postponed so much that not Heracles but Eurystheus (who was born a bit before Heracles) became king of Argos and Heracles had to serve him.¹² In a briefer (yet more interesting) passage of book 8 (362–369), the goddess Athena — while complaining how ungratefully her father Zeus behaves towards her, in that he favours Hector's devastating onslaught against the Greeks — recalls how often she assisted Heracles (at the behest of his father Zeus!) in his labours, the most difficult of these being the abduction of Cerberus out of Hades: without her assistance, or so Athena asserts, Heracles would never have made it out of Hades alive!¹³

The most interesting reference, however, to Heracles in the *Iliad* — brief though it is — may be three verses in book 18 (117–119), in which Achilles — who after Patroclus' death is finally willing to return into battle in order to revenge Patroclus' death on Hector, even though this means that he himself will die soon

¹⁰ On Heracles' Coan adventure(s), see Janko 1992, 191 ad *Il.* 14.250–61, who provides valuable background information why Cos — to which island Hera had Heracles be driven by strong winds — was such a dangerous place for the hero.

¹¹ On Heracles' further links with a Copeus, see Janko 1992, 298 ad *Il.* 15.638–52.

¹² Leaf 1902, 2.325 *ad loc.* regards an independent *Herakleia* as source of this episode.

¹³ From this episode, Lu 2013, 26 draws the most negative conclusion: "Heracles here is a whiner, a weak warrior who depends on Athena to survive." She does not consider that Athena speaks her words in anger, a mental disposition that probably colours her presentation of Heracles here.

afterwards — remarks that not even Heracles could avoid the fate of death, being overpowered by the moira and Hera's wrath.¹⁴

Thus in the *Iliad*, Heracles is the most important “role model” for the Greeks fighting in the Trojan War, and he is this even more as he is still perceived as being fully mortal — Achilles and his fellow heroes can relate all the more to this Heracles, as no divine post-mortal status is as yet envisioned for him.

3 Heracles in the *Odyssey*

Heracles has much less of a presence in the *Odyssey*: he is mentioned in only four passages, and the most extensive one of them is very probably a later addition, as I will try to show.

Two of these passages are brief and not very significant: in book 8 (223–235), Odysseus — having been asked by the Phaeacians to participate in their athletic contests — declares that though he belongs to the best archers among his contemporaries, he is not as good an archer as the heroes of a former generation like Heracles and Eurytus were; in book 11 (266–270), Heracles' mother Alcmene and wife Megara are briefly mentioned.

A decidedly negative perspective on Heracles is offered by a third passage (21.25–30): here Odysseus relates the story of the brutal slaying of his guest-friend Iphitus by Heracles, which Heracles perpetrated in outrageous violation of the law of hospitality. No other Homeric passage presents a similarly dark picture of the hero.¹⁵

¹⁴ On this, cf. West 2011, 31 n. 7: “It appears from Σ 117–19 that P [= the Poet of the *Iliad*] did not know, or at any rate did not accept, the story of Heracles' translation to Olympus after death.” Already Leaf 1902, 2.277 ad loc. remarks: “legend as yet knows nothing of the apotheosis of Herakles, which appears first in λ 602–04.” Crane 1988, 89–90 contests this view (“Heracles' immortality in the Nekuia should come as no surprise”, 90), but comes up with no sources to prove the notion of Heracles' deification already in Homeric times.

¹⁵ Galinsky 1972, 12 calls this passage “one of the most devastating indictments of Herakles in literature”.

4 Heracles at the end of Odysseus' visit to the underworld

The most extensive and most interesting passage on Heracles in the *Odyssey*, however, occurs towards the end of book 11 as one of the last episodes of Odysseus' famous visit to Hades, i.e. Odysseus' remarkable (or rather strange?) encounter with Heracles' *eidolon* in the underworld (11.601–627). Considering the original purpose of Odysseus' foray into the Beyond — namely receiving information about his homecoming from the famous seer Teiresias —, one may well wonder why he did have to meet Heracles at all. Most of Odysseus' preceding encounters with inhabitants of Hades (Elpenor, his mother, his former companions of the Trojan War) are more or less well motivated (even the heroines whom he encounters in vv. 225–327 are sent to him by Persephone), but this changes in vv. 565–567: immediately before, the great Aias has refused to answer Odysseus' friendly inquiry and gone back into the underworld, but Odysseus nevertheless now claims quite ridiculously that Aias might yet have spoken to him, but no matter — Odysseus now wants to see more ancient heroes.¹⁶ And so he does; but while so far all the dead came to him (i.e. close to the threshold of the underworld, where Odysseus had instituted his sacrifice at the beginning of book 11), he now “sees”¹⁷ (ἶδον in v. 568, εἶσενόησα in v. 572, εἶδον in v. 576, εἰσεῖδον in v. 582 and 593, and finally once again εἶσενόησα in v. 601) various famous heroes of old apparently from afar, but does not (with one exception) enter into conversation with them. How he is in fact able to see all these people from his quite eccentric vantage point, we are not told; it is sometimes assumed that Odysseus has shifted his position deeper into the underworld, but no trace of this can be found in the text.¹⁸

The last of these heroes whom Odysseus sees is Heracles — or so Odysseus claims (v. 601) —, but already in the very next verse he has to correct himself: it

16 565–567: ἔνθα χ' ὅμως προσέφη κεχολωμένος, ἧ κεν ἐγὼ τόν· / ἀλλὰ μοι ἤθελε θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι / τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἰδέειν κατατεθνηώτων. West 2014, 222 has with good reason called this “a frankly ludicrous transition”; Crane 1988, 88 has called it “awkward”, but tried to soften this impression by adding “ending a conversation between the visitor and a shade presents inevitable problems” — which Homer, however, solves much better in all other cases!

17 As West 2014, 218 quite appropriately comments: “Odysseus becomes a curious tourist.”

18 Crane 1988, 87–88 notes the inconsistency and accepts it without qualms. Tsagarakis 2000, 94–98 provides a quite lengthy discussion of Odysseus' position (or positions?) in the Underworld during the Nekyia, but arrives only at vague conclusions: “The picture is blurred and should be so” (97); “Odysseus imagined himself to be inside Hades and as a story-teller he did not draw a line between the ghosts he talked to and those he only saw” (98).

is not really Heracles, but only his shade (v. 602: εἴδωλον), for the “real” Heracles is far away, dwelling as a god on Olympus and enjoying the company of the lovely goddess Hebe (v. 602–603). Ernst Heitsch has pointed out that this “duplication” of Heracles is most un-Homeric¹⁹ — but this is only the first of a number of strange details that this scene contains.

At first, Odysseus watches Heracles’ shade — from afar? — being densely surrounded by a cloud of wildly fluttering and screeching shades of other dead, while the Heracles-shade stands threateningly in their midst, brandishing his bow and arrows and looking like he will start shooting at them at any time (v. 605–608). In the next verse Odysseus suddenly (and without any hint of this in the text) seems much closer, because he can now give his audience a detailed description of Heracles’ impressive baldric (v. 609–61); it is hardly conceivable that Odysseus could have seen both the cloud of shades with the Heracles-shade among them and the small details of the baldric from the same distance and point of view. The latter description is concluded by two verses (613–614) the exact meaning of which still baffles interpreters.²⁰

And the peculiarities continue: in v. 615–616, the Heracles-shade recognizes Odysseus and immediately afterwards begins to talk to him.²¹ Several interpreters²² have very justifiably asked how the Heracles-shade could know who Odysseus was, since he had never met him in his mortal life; and once again we are

19 Heitsch 1972, 9: the dead “führen — nach der homerischen Vorstellung — [...] eine schattenhafte Existenz im Hades, aber Voraussetzung dieses ihres Schattendaseins ist [...], daß sie selbst tatsächlich tot sind. Und genau das ist hier offensichtlich nicht der Fall. Denn hier korrespondieren nicht der Schatten im Jenseits und der tote Herakles, sondern der Schatten im Jenseits und er selbst auf dem Olymp. Das ist unhomerisch [...].” The explanation of Heubeck 1989, 114 (“It is [...] possible that the poet [...] attempted a (strictly speaking, illogical) compromise between the popular belief about the hero and the eidolon concept fundamental to the rest of the book”) is not very satisfying. See also Emerson 1881, 9. Crane 1988, 90–91 has tried to present parallels for the duality eidolon – the person itself, but the Homeric ones are not really comparable and the others are later.

20 11.613–614: μή τεχνήσάμενος μηδ’ ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιτο, / ὃς κείνον τελαμώννα ἐπὶ ἐγκάτθετο τέχνη. A.T. Murray translates: “May he never have designed, or hereafter design such another, even he who stored up in his craft the device of that belt”, which quite literally renders the Greek, but does not convey any sensible meaning. Heubeck 1989, 115: “the lines may be corrupt [...] and are not easily explained even by the reference to iv 684–5.”

21 Crane 1988, 107 presents a very nice comparison to point out the peculiarity of the situation: “It is as if a portrait on a museum wall suddenly recognized the visitor before it and started a conversation.”

22 See already Emerson 1881, 8 (“Hercules Ulixem [...] agnoscit quod ego miror; quis enim unquam audivit Ulixem et Herculem vivos se vidisse aut inter se collocutos esse?”) and 20, and in more recent times West 2014, 223 (and already 215 n. 116).

not told with even one word that (or how) Heracles approached Odysseus.²³ And why does Heracles speak while “weeping” (ὄλοφνυρόμενος)? After all, his “real” self is very much enjoying immortal life on Olympus!²⁴

After that, the little speech the Heracles-shade addresses to Odysseus (v. 618–626) is also not devoid of peculiar features. It begins with a question not unlike that posed to Odysseus by other shades before: a very close model is Odysseus’ encounter with Achilles, who addresses him with the same formal line of greeting (v. 473: διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν’ Ὀδυσσεῦ) and then asks Odysseus how he could dare to come even to the underworld (v. 474–475).²⁵ But while Achilles patiently waits for Odysseus’ answer to his question, after which a real conversation ensues between the two former comrades-in-arms, the Heracles-shade gives Odysseus no room to answer his question, but immediately launches into a set speech about himself: how he — the mighty son of Zeus! — had to suffer “woe beyond measure” (ὀϊζὺν [...] ἀπειρεσίην), because he was obliged to serve a far inferior man, who set him many laborious tasks and as the most difficult among them ordered him to fetch the hound of Hades — which Heracles did, guided by Hermes and Athena. After this speech, the Heracles-shade immediately returns into Hades (v. 627) — without waiting for a reaction from Odysseus —, and the encounter is over. Odysseus, however, is not in the least astonished or offended by Heracles’ curious behaviour, but simply keeps waiting whether yet other heroes of old might turn up (v. 628–629). His hopes, however, of possibly seeing Theseus and Pirithous (v. 630–631) are aborted by a rapid gathering of numerous other shades, which strikes Odysseus with growing fear and makes him leave his position at the threshold of the underworld and hurry back to his companions and his ship (v. 632–636).

5 Conclusions

Galinsky correctly states that “[t]he author risked considerable clumsiness in making Odysseus and Herakles meet”, but then goes on: “The result, however, must have seemed worth the awkwardness, and it is”.²⁶ After the preceding description, it seems rather difficult to agree with this last statement. What we are

²³ See Heubeck 1989, 116: “That Heracles had come up to Odysseus is implied, but not directly stated, at 615.”

²⁴ As again Heubeck 1989, 114 points out: “616–17 seem incongruous after 602–4.”

²⁵ A bit less similar are the questions put to Odysseus by Teiresias (v. 93–94) and his mother (v. 155), asking the reason for his coming and not stressing the daring connected with it.

²⁶ Galinsky 1972, 12.

presented with in the 29 lines in which Odysseus meets the Heracles-shade towards the end of his visit to the underworld is an episode that opens up too many questions and provides too few answers; what we get here is the picture of a very self-centred Heracles who is at the same time annoyingly loquacious and curiously uncommunicative; who for mysterious reasons knows who Odysseus is, but at the same time demonstrates that in fact he does not, because he parallels Odysseus' fate with his own, while the two actually have very little in common; and who has no apparent connection either with the Heracles depicted in the *Iliad* — who is only mortal but nevertheless (or even just because of this) a great role model for the Greek fighters before Troy — or with the Heracles in the *Odyssey* (outside of book 11), who is, on the one side, not important at all and, on the other, very negatively depicted as an archaic brute.

Already in Antiquity, the great Homeric scholar Aristarchus had isolated the verses 565–627 of *Odyssey* book 11 as a later addition, with v. 628 being a perfectly smooth and acceptable sequel to v. 564;²⁷ to the many good reasons supporting this

27 The ancient discussions about *Od.* 11.565–627 are very ably and clearly presented by Petzl 1969, 6–41, the modern ones by Crane 1988, 87 and 91. In recent times there is a palpable reluctance to agree with Aristarchus: Hooker 1980 tries to prove that the whole Heracles episode in *Odyssey* 11 (including the verses 602–4) formed an integral part of the original poem, but addresses almost none of the difficulties raised in this paper. Crane 1988, 87–90 and 106–8 points out all kinds of peculiarities of the Odysseus-Heracles scene, but rejects all previous arguments against its authenticity — he even regards it as the “climax” and “explanation” of the Nekyia. Likewise, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 84–89 interprets 11.568–627 as an integral part of book 11, with the exception of vv. 602–4 (“an interpolation inspired by the desire to reconcile Heracles' presence in Hades in this Nekyia with the fact that in the assumptions of the interpolator and his society his apotheosis was [...] well established”). Tsagarakis 2000, 98–100 downplays the difficulties of Odysseus' encounter with Heracles. Karanika 2011, too, treats the episode as an integral part of the Nekyia, but her analysis is marred by the fact that she ignores two not unimportant details: 1) she claims that the role of viewer is inverted in this episode, with Heracles now becoming the active viewer, but before Heracles even begins to see Odysseus (in v. 615), Odysseus (starting with εἰσενόησα in 601) has already described the visual impression Heracles makes on him for 14 verses; 2) she claims that at the end “Odysseus does not respond to Heracles as he did to the other figures throughout Book 11, but leaves in a swift and sudden manner” (2), which is simply not true: it is Heracles who does not wait for Odysseus' response, but after his own last words immediately stalks off and back into the Underworld. — Like Sourvinou-Inwood, Lu 2013, 29–33 excises vv. 602–4, but otherwise believes the Heracles episode in the Odyssean Underworld to be genuine and interprets it as a fitting follow-up and confirmation of Heracles' negative image in the *Iliad* (on this, see above n. 6 and 13). Likewise, González Merino 2013 accepts vv. 568–640 as an integral part of book 11, though he points out that this part conveys a totally different impression of the underworld than the parts that preceded. Lastly, West 2014, 218 regards the “prolongation” of Odysseus' visit as “a secondary expansion of Q's [= the *Odyssey* poet's] plan” and even concedes: “The later passage [about the heroes of old] looks like an insertion.”

judgement may be added the picture of Heracles, which is totally out of line with what the two Homeric epics have to say about Heracles elsewhere.

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Only after this paper had been completed and submitted, I became aware of Silvio Bär's monograph "Herakles im griechischen Epos" (Stuttgart 2018). Bär devotes one chapter of this study to Heracles in the *Iliad* (pp. 33–44), in which he very well brings out the fundamental parallels between Heracles and Achilles, and another to Heracles in the *Odyssey* (pp. 45–52), in which he also very well depicts the wide distance between the world of this poem and the archaic and barbarous otherness Heracles now possesses. In this light Bär also interprets Odysseus' encounter with Heracles in book 11, without taking note of any of the concomitant difficulties that have been discussed in the present paper.

There is a similar statement on p. 223: "Originally it looks as if 564 was followed by 628f." Yet West cannot bring himself to consider 11.565–627 a later insertion (i.e. by another author than the *Odyssey* poet), while he has no difficulty regarding the whole book 10 of the *Iliad* as such.

Antonios Rengakos

Neoanalysis and Oral Poetry: A Historic Compromise?

The Homeric Question is still a hotly contested issue, as one comes across divergent views concerning the creation and shaping of the two monumental Homeric Epics: were they orally composed by generations of bards or are they the products of writing either by one or more than one author? There is hardly any other sub-field of Classics with respect to which the fundamental issues raised at least with the official ‘birth’ of modern Homeric criticism (Wolf 1795) are still under examination.

A simple query then: what is the present *status quaestionis* with respect to the Homeric Question? Or, in a slightly different way, what have we learned from more than two centuries of modern Homeric criticism? Much has been written over all these years, undoubtedly too much, ‘more ink being spilled on the Homeric Question than blood for the Trojan War’, as Wilamowitz had neatly put it. Which wuthering heights have stood strong in a century of dazzling changes in the fields of Near-Eastern literature, the study of oral cultures, the history of Greek language itself?

In my view, two theories have made us profoundly think about the creation and evolution of Homeric poetry: Neoanalysis and Oral Theory. I will briefly embark on tracing the basic tenets of these two theories and then attempt to offer a critical reassessment of a rather novel attempt to combine them into a new whole, that of Oral (Intertextual) Neoanalysis.

1 Neoanalysis

Neoanalysis is a comprehensive method of interpretation of Homeric poetry, whose name as well as some of its basic principles are owed to Ioannis Kakridis,¹ though its earliest seeds are found as early as Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker’s comparison of the *Aethiopsis* and the *Iliad*,² while its most developed form is rightly

A small token of gratitude to Franco for over two decades of warm, Mediterranean friendship and unfailing collaboration.

1 Kakridis 1944 (=1949).

2 Welcker 1849, 189–191.

associated with the work of Wolfgang Kullmann (from his *Quellen der Ilias* in 1960 until the beginning of the 21st century).³ But since my aim is not to offer the history of the neoanalytical method, I will immediately turn my attention to the core of this theory.

Neoanalysis uses myth as a heuristic tool for the study of Homeric poetry. By exploring mythical variants and tying them to motifs, Neoanalysis is able to determine the relative chronology of given versions of a story, of deciding between symptomatic and derivative innovation, of disclosing the very process of the shaping of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Despite its name, which reflects a rejection of the method of the Old Analysis, Neoanalysis takes a Unitarian stance with respect to the authorship of the Homeric epics, either of both of them or of each of them separately (i.e. one poet for the *Iliad* and one, though different, for the *Odyssey*). Its other important tenet is that Homeric poetry has been created by the use of writing. It bears the mark of a monumental poet, who matures within the tradition but also breaks free of its chains by creating highly sophisticated and dramatic epics, based on a thick web of internal and external associations, a remarkable network of *Fernbeziehungen*, which can only be the result of the use of writing.

The criticism levelled against Neoanalysis has been of different sorts and tones. Now that the often vitriolic attacks have ceased, if not marginalized, we can perhaps see in a more transparent way and contemplate on at least a sustained part of that criticism. Five are the main areas at which the neoanalytical theory has been censured:

- (i) the very idea of treating motifs as symptomatic and derivative;
- (ii) the arbitrary 'reconstruction' of pre-Homeric, lost epics on the basis of a large variety of later sources such as the Epic Cycle, Pindar's poetry, iconography, Apollodorus, even such late epics as the *Post-Homerica* of Quintus of Smyrna;
- (iii) the 'traditionality of oral-storytelling' which is against the idea of specific allusion;
- (iv) the complete lack of interest for the study of Homeric language and style which (at least for the Oralists) goes hand-in-hand with the field-study of living oral traditions of epic singing;
- (v) the use of writing for the composition of Homeric poetry.

³ It should be noted that after 1991 Kullmann abandoned the term 'Neoanalysis' and began to use the term 'motivgeschichtliche Forschung' instead which, however, did not establish itself in the Anglosaxon scholarship. Cf. the detailed explanation in Kullmann 1992, 100ff.

Many of the arguments mentioned in this list are repeatedly stated by a host of recent books of an 'oral tinge' as proof that Neoanalysis is profoundly wrong. Regretably, it has almost become a trend to dispose of neoanalytical reasoning (often by people who have not thought through the core of the neoanalytical theory not to mention its key studies) and then begin to eulogize over and over again the Parry-Lord hypothesis and some of its current, illustrious supporters. At times, one has the impression that he is dealing with a dogma and its never-ending hickups. Having said this, what we need is a cool-minded (even brief) assessment of this criticism.

As far as the dichotomy between symptomatic vs derivative motifs is concerned, Neoanalysis has done nothing different from what Oral Theory has gradually realized and acknowledged with respect to the use of traditional diction. Motifs like formulas are put into different uses, since they may be contextually marked. The economy of the system lies in the use of traditional motifs and traditional diction, not in their unvariegated employment. Let us see a few examples: πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς is a formula regularly placed at a given position (after the trochaic caesura of the third foot). It refers to a well-known feature of Odysseus' mythical armature, i.e. his sufferings and endurance. This is a characteristic that 'belongs' to the Odyssean tradition, since it presupposes the hero's wanderings. And yet, when used in the *Iliad* it is clearly derivative, in the sense that it embodies in epic diction a feature pertaining to a future, from an *Iliadic* standpoint, characteristic of his persona, a feature that at the 'time' of the *Iliad* has not yet been shaped. Derivative does not mean 'weak' nor does it have the connotation of a subsidiary status. On the contrary, the term is alert to the evolution and shaping of diction. Likewise, the idea of attacking the Achaean Wall in the *Iliad* is based on the motif of attacking a walled, protected city and as such is clearly derivative. Whether it has been transferred from an earlier oral tradition reflected in the *Cypria*, where we are told that (according to Proclus' summary) the fighting does not take place with the two armies facing each other in the plain, the Achaeans instead besieging Troy (τειχομαχοῦσι), or has been transferred from an epic rendering of the most famous siege in archaic Greek epic, that of Thebes by the Seven and the Epigonoi (hence the seven commanders of the Achaean garrison in the *Iliad*), the transfer is clear. With this remark I shall move to my next point, i.e. that in both of the abovementioned cases the derivative formula and motif are turned on their head. The much-suffering or much-enduring godlike Odysseus almost 'reminds' the audience (sometimes both internal and external) about the ultimate outcome of his efforts in the *Iliad* by means of conjuring for them the tradition of the *Odyssey*. In a similar vein, the Achaean Wall 'reminds' the audience that it is destined to fall but also, quite ironically, that its fall will not decide

the war, which will only end when the much greater, impenetrable walls of Troy built by the gods themselves will fall not by an Achaean siege but by means of an ambush.

(ii) The criticism aimed at the arbitrary ‘reconstruction’ of pre-Homeric, lost epics by means of the Epic Cycle and Pindar reflects an oralist tendency to explain everything only within and by Homer. Most oralists contend that we should be explaining Homer ‘internally’ without recourse to external material for which there is no guarantee that it reflects pre-Homeric epic. The fluidity of early oral traditions is, in their view, against this idea. How misguided such an approach is can be seen by means of the following considerations:

(a) a fair number of passages in both Homeric epics are imbued with poetological overtones, which operate either within a given epic or across different epics. Some years ago, I have argued that Achilles’ smile at the funeral games in Book 23 ‘looks back’ at his quarrel in Book 1 with Agamemnon and, therefore, functions as a metapoetic gesture by the poet of the *Iliad* towards his work.⁴ In *Odyssey* 24, Agamemnon’s praise of Odysseus who is absent from the Underworld takes the form of an encomium of the *Odyssey* itself, which is characterised as a χαρίεσσα ᾠοιδή (‘a pleasing song’) in contrast to Agamemnon’s and Clytaemnestra’s song, i.e. the *Nostoi*, which are labelled as στυγερὴ ᾠοιδή (‘a hateful song’). Metapoetical innuendos or statements of this kind show that Homeric epic is meta-traditional: it has grown into its monumental size and dazzling sophistication by means of a profound and dynamic relation with the entire tradition of epic song. Referencing of other traditions stands on the very core of its shaping. It is the lasting imprint of the process of its formation.

(b) The Epic Cycle, to stick myself to one of the sources ‘targeted’ by oralists, is a notion with a long history. In their detailed ‘Introduction’ to the Cambridge Companion to the Epic Cycle, Marco Fantuzzi and Christos Tsagalis have given a thorough survey of the evolution of the notion of the Epic Cycle from the Archaic period to the Byzantine era.⁵ They have thus showed that the fourth-century BC marks only the ‘birth’ of the Epic Cycle as a written compendium of epic poetry to Homeric epic, a notional Epic Cycle existing well into the Archaic period.

(iii) As to the non-allusive nature of Homeric epic due to the ‘traditionality’ of oral storytelling, oralists use Albert Lord’s analysis as the ‘ultimate’ truth. For them the Yugoslavian *guslars* were traditional singers and that is the end of the

⁴ Rengakos 2006, 17–30.

⁵ 2015, 28ff.

story. A quite different picture is painted by Georg Danek⁶ and Zlatan Čolaković,⁷ who have traced different 'lines' within the rich modern tradition of South Slavic epic.

Danek drew a line between the Bosnian (Muslim) and the Serbian (Christian) strands of the South Slavic tradition, claiming that whereas the former was deprived of cross-references given that singers did not refer in one song to events taking place in another, the latter included 'some impressive examples where an audience is assumed to be acquainted with a myth which lies outside the text'.⁸ Danek's observations shed new light and require us to see the South Slavic epic tradition not as an undifferentiated system of songs but as a variegated tradition with internal ramifications. Moreover, and this is the most important point, Danek concluded that 'Serbian epic thus employs precise references to individual stories or parts of stories. I believe that, even in an orally-based epic tradition directed at a generally illiterate audience, it is thus proven that intertextual references are possible which go beyond the evocation of a generic model' (ibid. 15).

Čolaković went further: his amazing familiarity with the South Slavic epic tradition allowed him to detect specific allusions even in Bosnian epic. The case in point is of paramount importance, for it involves 'the Slavic Homer', the great singer Avdo Međedović. Čolaković tracked cross references between two of Avdo's epics (*The Wedding of Vlahinjić Alija* and *Chieftain Gavran and Serdar Mujo*), an observation he reduplicated with the songs of Murat Kurtagić.⁹ In fact, Čolaković argued that knowledge of other songs is important in order to comprehend Bosnian epics, which means that intertextuality in such an oral medium is deeply imbued in the system. Such observations with respect to South Slavic epic partly echo G. Kirk's four-stage life cycle of an oral tradition: after an originative first stage comes a highly creative individual poet who reshapes the tradition he has learned from earlier singers and marks it with his own lasting seal.

(iv) Neoanalysis was from its beginning interested in motifs, not the systematic study of Homeric language and meter. The oral theory on the other hand embarked on an unprecedented study of what we would call style. In this field, its contribution to the understanding of Homeric epic is remarkable. I take the oralist criticism as crucial, since the study of Homeric language has really marked a point in Homeric studies.

But this criticism requires two qualifications:

⁶ Danek 2012.

⁷ See Čolaković 2006 and the posthumous article Čolaković 2019.

⁸ Danek 2002, 13.

⁹ Čolaković 2006, 169.

First, one has to admit that even within the ‘oral camp’ scholars debated about the very notion and function of the formula, some concentrating on its technical aspects and usefulness for Homeric diction at large, others exploring its aesthetic aspect and claiming that the formula is endowed with meaning. Ironically (and tellingly so) it was Milman Parry’s rigid definition of the formula against Adam Parry’s and Anne Amory Parry’s more flexible understanding of the formula’s function that set the tone for the evolution of the Oral Theory. In this light, the initial oralist approach to the formula underwent profound modifications both on the structural-compositional and interpretive levels.

Second, one has to ponder on the definition of style within what we call Homeric poetry: is style determined only on the level of language or does it also operate on the level of motifs? The need for a special poetic grammar that certain oralists have emphasized over and over again applies not only to diction but also to the treatment of motifs, the metaphoric ‘fuel’ that makes myth operate. What Homeric epic does with motifs also requires learning a special grammar that operates within this system. A comparison with other archaic epic, e.g. Hesiod, shows that motifs do not operate in any given epic (even within the same chronological range) in the same way they function in Homer. To this end, Homeric style may be plausibly defined as a given set of rules, a poetic grammar consisting of diction and motifs that work in specific ways within the system of Homeric poetry. Let us not forget, that one of the great figures of Neoanalysis, Ioannis Kakridis emphasized the importance of ‘popular style’,¹⁰ maintaining that the narrative patterns and motifs attested in Greek medieval and modern folktales are crucial for understanding and appreciating Homeric art and technique. His insights, especially given his strongly neoanalytical stance, are remarkably close to what the oralists called field-work in living traditions. In my view, this is one of the great desiderata of future research in Homeric studies, i.e. the full exploitation of medieval and modern Greek folk tradition, presently hindered by the lack of a full digitization of the enormously rich material that is available.

(v) As to the use of writing for the composition of Homeric poetry, both theories have started with very rigid positions, Neanalysis assuming that Homeric epic has been composed by writing, the Oral Theory arguing in favor of oral composition. I will highlight one chief argument of both theories, which has often been misunderstood or mistreated by the ‘other side’. Is it possible that an epic of 15.600 verses such as the *Iliad* which is sustained by an exquisitely extended and elaborate web of internal references, such as the one that Michael Reichel has

¹⁰ Kakridis 1949, 166ff.

uncovered in his *Fernbeziehungen in der Ilias*,¹¹ has been created without the use of writing? That is, in my view, the strongest argument of Neoanalysis in favor of a ‘writing Homer’. Now the ‘oral side’: is it possible that two epics such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, of 15.600 and 12.000 verses respectively, were composed by writing but do not contain any reference to it whatsoever? And to make this question more sharp: is it a mere accident that these epics of such monumental size systematically and without a single case of erring always use ‘oralist’ terminology when employing poetological terms? Of course, I do not intend even to tackle the above questions, though I promise to revisit them shortly, when I turn my attention to a distinctive method that has been developing these last years and which, following others, I will call Oral, Intertextual Neoanalysis.

2 Oral Theory

As I did with Neoanalysis, so with Oral Theory I shall not offer a survey of its development as a theory. What I intend to do is to briefly discuss some of its crucial aspects, including neoanalytical criticism against them:

- (i) tradition, not the author, is the paramount factor
- (ii) fixation can be achieved gradually without recourse to writing (at least in the process of composition)
- (iii) every performance entails a version quantifiably different from the previous performance
- (iv) competing versions (local, regional, panhellenic) can be unearthed by studying the Homeric poems.

(i) Oralists have redeemed the historical author as the creative genius behind epic poetry. Instead they have claimed that tradition is the all-powerful factor for the shaping of Homeric epic. Countless generations of bards have sung versions of the Troy story, some of them focusing on the story of Achilles’ wrath. There was no epic **Meleagris* from which the poet of the *Iliad* took the theme of the hero’s wrath, as argued sometimes by Neoanalysis. For oralists, this is a typical theme that informs epic poetry and falls within the much larger framework of praise and blame. One, rather crucial, form of criticism levelled against the oralist ‘apotheosis’ of tradition is that themes (as motifs) may be traditional but their handling is not. Themes are gradually anchored either to specific mythical figures within a

11 Reichel 1994.

given saga and this makes them specific, as they progressively become an indispensable part of a hero's mythical armature. Moreover, the way a traditional theme is developed in two different epic traditions can hardly become so markedly analogous without assuming dependence of one of these traditions upon the other. The stories of Meleager's and Achilles' wrath are so close that it is unthinkable that they are simply parallel manifestations of the same Ur-theme, i.e. a hero's wrath. The use of a similar context (an attack against one's city or camp), the hero's behavior (he withdraws from fighting), the reason for his behavior (being insulted as a hero by means of not being awarded his prize), the need for his return (displayed by the enemy's temporary victory and his supplication by his own people), his refusal to return, the reason for his return being the loss of a dear one (whose name shows a telling analogical reversal: Kleo-patra / Patroklos) are too many elements to be simply typical. Would anyone seriously doubt that the many dictional similarities between the *Epitome* of Pseudo-Apollodorus and Proclus' summaries of the Cyclic Epics are simply caused by the fact that they are dealing with the same subject matter and that no common source or source of a source lies behind them?

(ii) Oralists claim that fixation can be achieved without recourse to writing for the composition of epic. The entire system of formulas, typical expressions, typical scenes etc. further enhanced by the quality, diffusion, and authority of a given version leads to crystallization and stability, which increases enormously if the presentation context of a specific epic or epics influences the manner and size of the performance. For most of them, the Panathenaia are the typical case at hand, the 'bottleneck' for the shaping of Homeric epic, as Nagy has often stressed, though other suggestions have been put forward, like the Panionia.¹² Several scholars, though, who are equally friendly towards the Oral Theory, adopt a 'milder' position, favoring the so-called 'dictation theory'. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed orally but they were dictated to one or more scribes. This approach, accepted by Lord himself, was followed by Minna Skafté Jensen¹³ and Richard Janko¹⁴ but was rejected by Gregory Nagy and his students.¹⁵

(iii) Oralists claim that every performance is quantifiably different from any other performance. Gregory Nagy has stressed this point in a number of publications. Applying this idea to a famous argument he has made for Demodocus' first

¹² Frame 2009.

¹³ Cf., e.g., Skafté Jensen 2011.

¹⁴ Janko 1998.

¹⁵ E.g. Nagy 2014.

song,¹⁶ one is allowed to assume that an epic version of an *Iliad* with a quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles would be heard in a performance, as would be heard our *Iliad* and countless other versions of which we have no traces nowadays. If this approach holds true, then we would have to assume that our *Iliad* 'prevailed' over time, i.e. it was more widely diffused and appreciated, so as to be 'selected' as the authoritative version in the relay-performance by rhapsodes organized by Hipparchus in the Great Panathenaia around 518 BC. This approach is remarkably in tune, though not yet realized, with the nearly complete erasure of alternative versions of the *Iliad* (and the *Odyssey*, with which I will deal in my next point) in the course of time. Take as an example the post-Homeric Cyclic epics composed through writing by individual poets whose names we happen to know. They reflect, according to Neoanalysis, earlier epic poetry which deals with the Trojan saga (let us leave the Theban saga aside for now) but does not cover the same events as the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Performances of these lost, pre-Homeric epics were *not* overshadowed by rival versions which must have not been qualitatively better and, therefore, more highly valued and widely diffused. They influenced historical poets who composed versions close to these pre-Homeric epics: the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, the *Ilias parva*, the *Iliou Persis*, the *Nostoi*, the *Telegony*. Now contrast the situation we are facing with respect to the two Homeric epics: alternative versions heard in performances here and there were eclipsed by our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which continued to be performed (always with differences but of a small scale and unconnected to their plot), until they gained Pan-Hellenic status. And with this oralist 'buzz-term', I come to the next point.

(iv) Some oralists argue that it is possible to trace in the Homeric poems features pertaining to and operating on a local, regional, and Pan-Hellenic level. The case has been made very forcefully for the *Odyssey*. Certain elements connecting Odysseus to the mainland (Elis, Thesprotia) seem to reflect local versions of Odysseus' saga, versions which were absorbed and adapted to the Pan-Hellenic viewpoint of the Homeric *Odyssey*. Likewise, in the false tales. Some scholars have even claimed that the *Odyssey* presupposes a fusion of features pertaining to alternative versions of Odysseus' return, elements having a cyclic tinge, and a Pan-Hellenic view of the Odyssean Odysseus. This last view brings orality close to Neoanalysis, since the shaping of the *Odyssey* is supposed to have been achieved through a process of recasting earlier material either pertaining to the figure of Odysseus, a rather different figure from the Homeric Odysseus, and dealing with sources in a very sophisticated manner.

16 Nagy 1979, ch. 2.

Having discussed some of the crucial aspects of both Neoanalysis and the Oral Theory and before I turn my attention to an effort to synthesize some features of these two approaches to Homeric epic, I would like to draw attention, albeit very briefly, to what has been called ‘Unitarian Orality’,¹⁷ i.e. the attempt to offer a unitarian perspective as to the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* without abandoning the oral *credo*. This approach is represented by O. Taplin,¹⁸ who claims that the poet Homer, being trained as an oral storyteller, composed the *Iliad* orally. The astounding qualitative features of this epic that took audiences by storm and acquired unprecedented status already in the Archaic period are due to the fact that Homer revised and worked on his epic through continuous performances, some of which included novelties, changes, additions etc. Homer’s *Iliad* is the work of one oral singer throughout his entire lifetime. Surprisingly, but perhaps not so surprisingly, the exact same thesis has been argued by Martin L. West,¹⁹ if we just replace the singer with a poet using writing to compose his epic. This *poeta maximus* (so West) is also working and re-working on his epic though his entire lifetime, adding, modifying, adapting his material. I am afraid that the argument is circular. These two last approaches arrive at the same end either through orality or literacy. In my eyes, this is a point not to ‘wink at’.

3 Oral Neoanalysis

What is now called ‘Oral Neoanalysis’ is in fact an ‘Oral, Intertextual Neoanalysis’. The attempt to combine some aspects of oral-formulaic theory and Neoanalysis has started as early as 1984, when Wolfgang Kullmann maintained that the two theories share some common ground.²⁰ Important steps forward having been made by Jonathan Burgess²¹ and Christos Tsagalis,²² who both argued that intertextual references between oral epic traditions are possible, that a level of fixity can be achieved by other means than writing, and that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* feed on pre-Homeric oral cyclic epics as master-manifestations of cyclic myth, namely of mythological traditions pertaining to the Theban and Trojan War sagas. This approach has been well received by the ‘patriarch’ of Oral Theory,

¹⁷ Tsagalis 2016, 408.

¹⁸ Taplin 1992.

¹⁹ West 2011.

²⁰ Kullmann 1984.

²¹ Burgess 2001; Burgess 2006; Burgess 2009.

²² Tsagalis 2008; Tsagalis 2012a; Tsagalis 2012b.

John Miles Foley and has recently been seriously discussed by Bruno Currie²³ and Anton Bierl.²⁴

Oral Neoanalysis argues that motif transference is possible in an oral medium, especially when we are dealing with a developed form of orality that shares a number of features we would tend to associate with written literature. Homeric epic employs a sophisticated system of citation of other song-traditions (*Zitat*) and systematically endorses, absorbs, alters, and adapts material pertaining to other oral epics. It does so to such an extent that it becomes clear that Homeric epic is profoundly conscious of its nature, which it constantly defines by means of 'breaking-free' from these other epic traditions. Seen from this vantage point, this novel approach views Homeric epic as meta-traditional. Taking cue both from Danek's and Čolaković's insights with respect to the meta-traditional status of (at least) Serbian oral epic, Oral Neoanalysis argues that Homeric epic is oral poetry of an advanced kind, that has been shaped by means of motif-transference, of eclectic and highly sophisticated uses of earlier, oral epics, only to achieve wide success and establish itself as the canonical version of certain events pertaining to the Trojan War saga. Oral Neoanalysis has also profited by Near-Eastern Neoanalysis, a method applicable to ancient Near-Eastern texts (as Bruno Currie has brilliantly shown,²⁵ drawing on the work done for a number of years in the field of Near-Eastern studies with respect to various works of literature, *Gilgamesh* having attracted the greatest attention).

Oral Neoanalysis is not only about motif transference, but also about transference of phraseology and formulas. In this area, excellent work has been done by both Neoanalysts and by other scholars who would not classify themselves as Neoanalysts. Pietro Pucci²⁶ has argued for a systematic and thoughtful dialogue between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* on the level of phraseology and theme and Knut Usener²⁷ has studied a series of examples in which phraseology is transferred from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey*, the former functioning as the source text, the latter as the target text. In a similar vein, Seth Schein²⁸ has equally drawn attention to further cases of such phraseological transfer between the two poems, also arguing in favor of Homeric intertextuality. In recent years, many other scholars have joined this approach. Special mention should be made to the following three

²³ Currie 2016.

²⁴ Bierl 2015.

²⁵ Currie 2012; Currie 2016.

²⁶ Pucci 1987.

²⁷ Usener 1990.

²⁸ Schein 1999.

for reasons which will become obvious: Christos Tsagalis²⁹ has devoted a monograph on intertextuality in the Homeric epics, which he interprets as bi-directional, i.e. not only from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey* but also vice versa, since he treats the two poems as epic traditions aware of each other before their definitive shaping. Bruno Currie³⁰ has extended the range of intertextual associations to the field of Homeric Hymns by suggesting that the two versions of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* show specific traces of phraseological and thematic transfer from a source to a target text. Last, Egbert Bakker³¹ has explored the issue of cross-referencing between the two monumental epics by recourse to the term *intertraditionality*, which suits better his theoretical stance in favor of epic traditions than written poems. We see through these examples, which could be multiplied, that phraseological transfer between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is hardly in doubt and this conclusion speaks for a developed and highly sophisticated form of orality.

Oral Neoanalysis tries to do justice to both Neoanalysis and Oral Theory by combining the highly promising aspects of these two interpretive schools of Homeric epic, growing from a creative dialogue with the best of what Homeric criticism has offered so far. It is my firm belief that time has come to put aside dogmatic approaches and biased uses of the research done in the past, and most of all to get rid of a polemical tone in recent secondary literature that makes a lot of noise but little sense. After all, it will forever elude us to trace Homer's exact steps on the sandy beaches of Greek poetry, but walking by the sea will always remain a fascinating experience.

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²⁹ Tsagalis 2008.

³⁰ Currie 2016.

³¹ Bakker 2013, 157ff.

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The Darkest Hour: Odysseus' Smile and the *Doloneia*

One of the main arguments of those scholars who regard the *Doloneia* as a major interpolation in the *Iliad* is that there is absolutely no mention of any of its events in the following Books of the epic and that nothing of what happens in *Iliad* 10 influences in any way the ensuing plot.¹ This argument is sometimes paired with the claim that in Books 1–9 there are no forward references to any of the events occurring in the *Doloneia*.²

In this study I will re-examine the aforementioned claims but only after I attempt to clarify the methodological basis on which they stand. At the very heart of this issue lie two false assumptions that run through a considerable part of modern research: the first pertains to the belief that the absence of event-based references to *Iliad* 10 in the rest of the epic can only have originated from the absence of *Iliad* 10 when the rest of the poem was composed and fixed, while the second concerns the assimilation of 'reference to events' with 'allusion to themes'. Although these assumptions constitute two separate matters, they are misleadingly treated as indistinguishable. After discussing these two theoretical issues, I will explore cases of implicit intratextual references, of backward and forward allusions to themes presented in Book 10, as well as certain cases of specific verbal associations between the *Doloneia* and the rest of the poem.³ Last, I will set out to show what is the interpretive gain from treating the *Doloneia* as authentic with respect to the phenomenon of Odysseus' smile in *Il.* 10.400.

¹ See e.g. West 2011, 233.

² The two major monographs on *Iliad* 10 (Danek 1988; Dué and Ebbott 2010) are both sophisticated and serious pieces of scholarship. They are both alert to the notion of Homer as oral poetry but understand the shaping of the *Doloneia* in different ways. Danek argues for a poet different from that of the rest of the epic who is trained in the techniques of oral verse-making, while Dué and Ebbott maintain that *Iliad* 10 is a manifestation of 'ambush' warfare, a theme with its own typology, and an integral part of the Iliadic epic tradition.

³ According to another line of interpretation, the themes of Book 10 are Iliadic but their execution idiosyncratic, a sign of different authorship (Hainsworth 1993, 154). I will not deal in this study with this issue. For false assumptions about dictional and structural oddities with respect to Book 10, see Dué and Ebbott 2010; Tsagalis (in the forthcoming Valla edition and commentary of the *Iliad*).

1 Methodological Issues

1.1 Silence Means Omission: Disclosing a Fallacy

It has been stated again and again in Homeric scholarship⁴ that since the rest of the *Iliad* completely ignores any event occurring in the *Doloneia*, we must assume that the ‘original’ poem did not contain *Iliad* 10. This line of thought is not convincing for the following two reasons. First, it treads the wrong path, if we consider the fact that the same observation applies to *Iliad* 9, to the events of which no other Iliadic Book ever refers. In fact, the *Iliad* seems to be completely unaware of the existence of the *Presbeia*, since in *Il.* 11.608–610 and 16.72 Achilles seems to be still waiting for an Embassy by the Achaeans.⁵ Although there is also absolute silence in the rest of the epic with respect to any foreshadowing of Book 9, no scholar nowadays argues that the *Presbeia* is a later insertion to the fixed *Iliad*. By analogy, even if there is no mention in the rest of the poem of the events taking place in a given Book of the epic, we are not entitled to use this ‘silence’ as an argument against the Book’s authenticity. What applies to the *Presbeia*, applies to the *Doloneia*. Second, this kind of reasoning is based on an assumption about

4 Further ramifications of this line of thought are based on alleged similarities between *Iliad* 10 and the *Odyssey*, which has led to two, partly different, theories: (a) the poet of the *Doloneia* composed this episode after the composition of the *Odyssey* (Klingner 1940, 337–368); (b) while for most of the *Doloneia* the *Odyssey* must be considered as a source of influence, there is a tiny number of Odyssean passages that show traces of an influence from an already fixed *Doloneia*, which means that a *Redaktor* had changed these Odyssean passages at a later stage (Von der Mühl 1940, 80–103) or that the poet of *Iliad* 10 knew of an *Urodissee*, in which not only the theme of revenge was treated in a different way but also the ‘Telemachy’ had not achieved its final form and the final reworking of the epic’s *nostos* core had not yet taken place (Laser 1958, 385–425). Such approaches show nothing with respect to the authenticity of *Iliad* 10, since they start from the *a priori* belief that the *Doloneia* is a major interpolation and only then and on this basis try to interpret similarities with the *Odyssey*. How misguided this interpretation is can be seen from the fact that there are other Iliadic Books showing a special affinity with the *Odyssey*. Are we to infer from the material shared between *Iliad* 24 and the *Odyssey* that the former is an interpolation? The affinities between the *Doloneia* and the *Odyssey* are due to their sharing the theme of ambush, which comes again and again in the Odyssean tradition, as well as to the key role of Odysseus. From the perspective of oral verse-making interaction between the two traditions goes on throughout the long period of their evolution and shaping. On this issue, see the careful remarks by Danek 1988, 170–176.

5 Motzkus 1964, 122–123; Currie 2016, 74. I am deliberately referring to the opinion of those scholars who follow this kind of reasoning, so as to disclose the fallacy of this type of approach. My personal view on this issue is different; see Tsagalis (2020).

the way the poem was composed that is by no means a given. A significant number of scholars who argue against the authenticity of *Iliad* 10 assume that a single poet composed the entire epic by the use of writing and that his *oeuvre* was finished and fixed, when another poet decided to insert in the made *Iliad*, which — we should assume — had become by then known to various audiences, a novel episode that was purposefully placed between the *Presbeia* and the *aristeia* of Agamemnon. Most Homerists who believe that a single poet composed the entire epic and reject the possibility that he decided, at a later stage, to add the *Doloneia* but did not have the time or desire to create a nexus of intratextual references between his new episode and the rest of the epic, build their approach on the claim that the style of *Iliad* 10 is un-Homeric. They, thus, fail to see that this is a completely different type of argument, based on another debatable assumption about the notion, function, and importance of idiosyncrasies.⁶ It is, therefore, methodologically unsound to interpret the lack of overt intratextual references as proof of an *Iliad* lacking Book 10.⁷

1.2 Reference to Events and Allusion to Themes: Drawing the Line

Even if the above observation did not apply to *Iliad* 9 and we were deprived of the argument from analogy, we would still not be authorized to treat the lack of reference to the events in Book 10 as ‘proof’ that it represents a major interpolation. This view is supported by four reasons, albeit very different one from the other:

(i) The Iliadic tradition suppresses the importance that the theme of μήτις must have had in the entire Trojan war epic tradition. μήτις is marginally effective

⁶ Chantraine's (1937, 59–68) argument concerning the high frequency of ‘late’ features in the diction of *Iliad* 10 (pseudo–archaisms and re-shapings or adaptations of older forms, real archaisms and neologisms) is methodologically outdated and has been seriously doubted in recent studies; see Danek 1988, 41; Wathelet 1989, 231.

⁷ Another methodologically outdated approach has been undertaken by Jens 1955, 616–625, who sees in *Iliad* 10 the *Geist* of a new era. He bases his argument on what he regards as narrative and compositional differences between the *Doloneia* and the rest of the *Iliad*. Nothing of what is found in *Iliad* 10 cannot be paralleled with what we know of the *Iliad*'s narrative technique (see below). Moreover, differences, when they exist, do not reflect different authorship but distinct function. To use a simple example: we do not explain the differences of the Odyssean *Apologos*, which is markedly different from the rest of the *Odyssey*, as stemming from different authorship but by means of its different nature and role in the epic.

in the thematic framework within which the *Iliad* operates. The *Doloneia* is associated with μῆτις-based events that can hardly be significant and useful to the rest of the Iliadic plot. Book 10 seems ‘un-Iliadic’ because of its stress on μῆτις, not because of its authorship.

(ii) Book 10 involves events clustering around the theme of ambush, which is completely marginalized within an epic like the *Iliad*, in which the emphasis is on regular warfare. Night-raids and ambush episodes did occur in the Trojan War epic tradition (Achilles has ambushed Hector;⁸ the ambush of Troilus,⁹ of Helenus,¹⁰ the *Ptocheia*,¹¹ the theft of the Palladium,¹² the Wooden Horse¹³ etc.) but they are left out of the picture in the *Iliad*, since they either do not belong to its time-frame or do not conform to the poem’s fostering of regular martial activity.¹⁴ In this light, the theme of ambush in Book 10 allows only for an evasive glimpse of an alternative to Iliadic warfare. The epic’s indifference about events featuring in *Iliad* 10 stems from the Book’s thematic marginalization, not from its absence from the ‘original’ poem.

(iii) Reference to events occurring in Book 10 may acquire a covert form. Implicit references do exist and are left to the audience to gauge. That they cluster in Books flanking *Iliad* 10 is significant, since they are at relatively close distance from the *Doloneia*, allowing the listeners to connect the dots and make sense.

(iv) Defining intratextual references is a vital and decisive matter. Events and themes can be worlds apart. It may very well be the case that the epic is referring to Book 10 but not in terms of *actual events* but through allusion to themes that

8 Σ (A) ad *Il.* 22.188: σημειώδες ὅτι μόνος Ὅμηρός φησι μονομαχῆσαι τὸν Ἑκτορα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐνεδρευθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως (‘it is important that Homer alone says that he [Achilles] fought Hector in a duel. All the rest say that he was ambushed by Achilles’); on this point, see Dué and Ebbott 2010, 45.

9 Apollod. *Epit.* 3.32: Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνεδρεύσας Τρωΐλον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ φονεύει (‘Achilles ambushed Troilus in the sanctuary of Thybraean Apollo and killed him’); see also Σ (A) ad *Il.* 24.257b (= fr. 41 PEG = 25* GEF).

10 *Ilias parva* arg. l. 211 Severyns.

11 *Ilias parva* arg. ll. 224–227 Severyns.

12 *Ilias parva* arg. ll. 228–229 Severyns.

13 *Ilias parva* arg. ll. 230–236 Severyns; *Iliou persis* arg. ll. 241–245 Severyns.

14 All other Iliadic references to ambush either pertain to events falling outside the scope of this epic (1.226–228; 4.390–397; 6.187–190) or remain possibilities that do not materialize (8.521–522; 24.778–781). One even belongs to an *ekphrasis* (18.513–532). This does not mean that the *Iliad* necessarily degrades the ambush to second-rate military activity. In *Il.* 13.276–291 (Idomeneus’ speech to Meriones), we are presented with a quasi-theoretical evaluation of the ambush as a form of warfare where the brave is distinguished from the coward.

are developed as the plot unfolds. This is a well-known technique that runs through the entire *Iliad* and it is all-pervasive for the *Doloneia* as well.¹⁵

2 Probative Arguments for the Authenticity of the *Doloneia*

2.1 Implicit Intratextual References

Even if we adopt the strictest notion of reference, i.e. reference to events, there are a handful of examples which show that events taking place in Book 10 are actually known to the rest of the epic. In *Il.* 8.489–491, Hector leads the army away from the camp by the banks of a swirling river, on ‘clean ground, where there showed a space not cumbered with corpses’¹⁶ but with no obvious reason. In *Il.* 10.194–202, the Achaean leaders hold a meeting outside the trench, since Hector’s troops are further off. Their meeting is held on ‘clean ground, where there showed a space not cumbered with corpses, at the place whence Hector the huge had turned back’. What is crucial in this case, is that the correspondence is bi-directional, i.e. the meaning is constructed by knowledge of both passages (8.489–491 → 10.194–202 and 8.489–491 ← 10.194–202). The Trojan assembly in Book 8 is held in the same place where the Achaean assembly of the leaders takes place in Book 10. In the Trojan assembly Hector speaks in such a way that he implicitly ‘announces’ Book 10: he declares his decision to stop fighting because of the night, orders that fires are lit while the army camps in the plain and stresses the need to keep watch during the night. In a masterful narrative move, the *Iliad* has him even mention two key-elements that acquire their full semantic potential in Book 10: the danger of an Achaean ambush and the role of Diomedes. But these two features are purposefully misdirected,¹⁷ the ambush pertaining to the danger

¹⁵ See below.

¹⁶ Τρώων αὖτ’ ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ, | νόσφι νεῶν ἀγαγὼν ποταμῶι ἔπι δινηέντι, | ἐν καθαρῶι, ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χώρος.

¹⁷ For an instructive analogy, see *Il.* 6.407–439, where Andromache expresses her fear about the potential death of Hector by the Achaeans. She does not mention explicitly Achilles as the man who will kill Hector but relates that it was Achilles who had sacked her native city, killed her father Eetion and her seven brothers, and had taken her mother captive. This passage implicitly alludes to *Iliad* 22, when Achilles will ‘complete’ the demise of Andromache’s family by killing the most beloved person left to her, Hector. What will happen in the plot, is implicitly

of an assault on Troy while the army is in the plain, Diomedes being imagined as the principal opponent of the Trojans when they attack the Achaean wall (*Il.* 8.517–522, 529–534). None of these two elements will take place, but both of them will be re-directed: the ambush against the Trojan army stationed in the plain, Diomedes as the spy who will kill both Dolon and Rhesus. Hector's speech, which ends with a reference to the horses 'champing white barley and oats', while waiting for the dawn,¹⁸ looks forward to *Iliad* 10, where all the aforementioned features will become fully-fledged narrative units: the ambush, Diomedes, the horses. Therefore, the Trojan assembly taking place in exactly the same area 'flags' the advent of Book 10.¹⁹ The link also works backwards, from Book 10 to Book 8. When the listeners hear that the Achaean leaders are having a mini-assembly outside the trench, 'at the place whence Hector the huge had turned back' (*Iliad* 10.200: ὅθεν αὖτις ἀπετράπετ' ὄβριμος Ἑκτωρ), they can recall the relevant scene in Book 8, realizing that the narrative is picking up from where it left off at the end of *Iliad* 8. One may even argue that the reason the Achaean leaders convene in this particular area is to facilitate the association with the Trojan assembly in Book 8. There is poetic aim here, to create a balance between the Trojan assembly at *Iliad* 8 and the Achaean assembly at *Iliad* 10. This means that there is unity of composition, the reference in Book 8 'announcing' Book 10, the reference in Book 10 acquiring its full meaning only in combination with the reference in Book 8. M.L. West's proposal (ad *Il.* 10.490–491) that the poet of *Iliad* 10 inserted 8.490–491 're-using one of his own verses to prepare for the *Doloneia*' postulates an all-powerful K-*Dichter* who composed Book 10, added it to the fixed *Iliad*, which he altered in other places to fit his addition and made it the canonical version. This I find hard to accept. For if that was his plan, he would first and foremost insert in Books 11–24 references to events taking place in Book 10. But he has not done so, although he could so as to make the *Iliad* compatible with his interpolation.²⁰

In *Il.* 13.159–162 Meriones throws his spear against Deiphobus without result, since the spear is broken. We would expect Meriones to use a second spear, but he does not have one. On the way to his hut to get another spear he meets with

foreshadowed by means of misdirected intratextual references. On misdirection, see Morrison 1992.

¹⁸ Notice the emphasis on horses in *Il.* 8.543–544 and 564–565.

¹⁹ Cf. the generalizing statement in *Il.* 9.76 and 9.232–233 that Hector and the Trojans are close to the ships, which means that the danger for the Achaeans is imminent.

²⁰ Why (e.g.) didn't he make Diomedes use Rhesus' beautiful horses instead of Aeneas' in the chariot race in *Iliad* 23?

Idomeneus and gets one from him. This case is markedly different from other instances (*Il.* 14.402–408, 22.289–295) of the pattern ‘A hits B but breaks or loses his spear’,²¹ since in *Il.* 13.168 it is explicitly said that he had left his other spear in his hut (ὃ οἱ κλισίῃφι λέλειπτο). Why did Meriones have only one spear while fighting Deïphobus? Why did he leave his other spear in his hut? Probably, because when he went on guard the previous night (in Book 10) he had only one spear, since he had with him his bow which he gave to Odysseus.²² In this case, an event taking place in Book 10 clarifies something taking place in the ensuing plot (Book 13).²³ Once again, the association is implicit.

Another example is offered by *Il.* 14.9–10: Nestor takes the shield of his son Thrasymedes that had been left in the hut, while Thrasymedes carried his father's shield.²⁴ One would be left wondering why Nestor took his son's shield, if it was not for *Il.* 10.255–257, where we were told that Thrasymedes had given Diomedes his sword and shield. When Diomedes returned from the spy-mission he and Odysseus met with Nestor.²⁵ It is a fair assumption that Diomedes had returned Thrasymedes' shield to his father Nestor and not to Thrasymedes himself, who was not inside the camp but among the guards outside of the wall of the Achaeans

²¹ Janko ad *Il.* 13.165–168. In *Il.* 22.289–295, Hector asks ‘Deiphobus’ (Athene) for a second spear.

²² *Il.* 3.16–19, where Paris' first appearance in the epic is paired with an overabundance of equipment (he is wearing the hide of a leopard, has a bow, sword, and two spears), is a different case. He is even coming in front of the Trojan ranks (16: προμάχῳ), which is inappropriate for an archer (West 2011, 128 on *Il.* 3.16–20). Alexandrian scholars found fault with this description (Zenodotus: ΣΑ on *Il.* 3.18a, Aristarchus: ΣΑ on *Il.* 3.19–20, commenting on Paris' challenge of the Achaeans [19: προκαλίζετο]). Paris' presentation, which aims at introducing him to the plot in a stark manner, makes sense only by assuming that ‘the bow is slung on his shoulder, not in his hand’ (West 2011, 128 on *Il.* 3.16–20) and that his sword is placed inside its case. Moreover, in Homer only the τόξα (and quiver) are occasionally slung on the shoulders (*Il.* 1.45, 3.17), not the βιός (*Il.* 15.468, 24.605, *Od.* 19.577 = 21.75, 22.2), which is always held in one's hand (this difference is perhaps associated to the fact that βιός, which is the older term, means ‘string’, ‘cord’, hence ‘bowstring’). This means that in *Il.* 10.260 Meriones was having his bow in his hand before giving it to Odysseus and, as a result, Paris' case should not be used to support the possibility that Meriones too had two spears (the bow being slung on his shoulders).

²³ See Shewan 1911, 144.

²⁴ We must assume that Thrasymedes fetched Nestor's shield, while the night mission was taking place, otherwise the uncontested fact that he had kept his father's famous shield in *Il.* 14.11 is left unexplained.

²⁵ The only weapons mentioned explicitly after the return of the two spies in the Achaean camp are those of Dolon (*Il.* 10.570), which Odysseus placed in the stern of his ship as an offering to Athena.

(*Il.* 9.81; 10.196, 229, 255).²⁶ This exchange of shields is not trivial. It is a compliment to Thrasymedes, who had given his shield to Diomedes for his night mission, and ‘perhaps implies his present glory in using his father’s famous shield in battle’.²⁷ It also anticipates Patroclus’ borrowing of Achilles’ armor,²⁸ the more so since Thrasymedes fights close to Patroclus in *Il.* 16.321–327.²⁹ It may even be the case that the pairing of Nestor’s famous, golden shield and Diomedes’ corselet as the two pieces of armor that Hector aims at capturing in *Il.* 8.191–195 prefigures the association between Thrasymedes, Nestor, and Diomedes that we see in *Il.* 10 and 14.9–10. M.L. West’s two alternatives, i.e. that the poet of the *Iliad* not only admitted the addition of the *Doloneia* by a different poet in his own work but also refashioned *Il.* 14.9–10 so as to make it compatible with Book 10 (!), or that the poet of the *Doloneia* modified these lines ‘to make a link with his own invention’ are untenable.³⁰ The former scenario requires that the poet of the *Iliad* knew of the ‘new’ *Iliad* that had been expanded by the *Doloneia*, that he found it better than his own, and that he adopted it. For a refutation of the latter scenario, see above.

Another relevant case occurs in Book 11: at a rather advanced stage of the fighting (Agamemnon and Hector had already routed the Trojans and the Achaeans respectively), Odysseus and Diomedes join the battle (*Il.* 11.312–319) *without their troops and without any other Achaean leader around them*. When Diomedes is wounded, he mounts a chariot and retires but we hear nothing of Sthenelus, who regularly accompanies him. When Odysseus is wounded, Menelaus runs to his help *from some distance*.³¹ It seems that Diomedes and Odysseus joined the fighting after the rest of the Achaeans (their own troops included) because the poet had left them eating at the end of *Iliad* 10.³²

²⁶ See Thornton 1984, 166. The case with Meriones’ bow is different, since Odysseus had no reason to return it to Nestor, who was not related to him (i.e. Meriones). It is assumed that Odysseus returned the bow to Meriones, since the hero uses it in *Il.* 13.650.

²⁷ Thornton 1984, 166.

²⁸ Janko ad *Il.* 14.9–12.

²⁹ In *Il.* 17.377–383, Thrasymedes and his brother Antilochus have still not realized that Patroclus is dead. They learn the bad news much later. It is then that Menelaus sends Antilochus to Achilles, while Thrasymedes stays in the battlefield (*Il.* 17.685–705).

³⁰ Ad *Il.* 14.9–11; see Shewan 1911, 144.

³¹ See Petegorsky 1982, 218–219, who rightly observes that the theme of companionship between Diomedes and Odysseus in *Iliad* 11 is ‘prepared’ by their joint mission in *Iliad* 10.

³² Notice how Diomedes is portrayed in *Iliad* 9. He is not a member of the Embassy to Achilles and his two speeches are tellingly placed at the beginning and the end of the Book. His last speech at the closure of the Book ‘announces’ Book 11, but his late appearance (together with

The last case pertains to the presentation of the Thracians in the *Iliad*. They are first mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.844–845), having Acamas and Peiroos as their leaders. Both of them die before Book 10 (Peiroos is killed by Thoas in *Il.* 4.520–538, Acamas by Telamonian Ajax in *Il.* 6.5–11). So νηλυδες used for Rhesus' troops complies both with the extant version of Rhesus' myth of late arrival³³ and with the fact that at this point the Thracians are deprived of a leader. The Thracians play no role in the ensuing battle narrative of the poem, but this observation applies both to the troops of Acamas and Peiroos and to those of Rhesus. If the seemingly trivial element of Priam's gift to Achilles of a beautiful cup given to him (i.e. Priam) in the first place by the Thracians *when he had been there in an embassy* (*Il.* 24.234–235)³⁴ has not been invented *ad hoc* (for the reference to the Thracians would be inexplicable), there is nothing prohibiting us from associating it with the advent of Rhesus.

All the aforementioned cases involve implicit intratextual references that presuppose that Book 10 is an integral part of the *Iliad*. The attempt by certain scholars to argue that a hypothetical K-*Dichter*, apart from inserting Book 10, was able to make changes to the rest of the fixed *Iliad* with respect to a few minor features of a limited number of episodes but *did not* do the same thing with the major events occurring in *Iliad* 10 is highly unlikely.

Odysseus) in that Book, presupposes Book 10. Reinhardt 1961, 248–249 thinks that the *Doloneia* is built on the Embassy.

³³ Fenik 1964, 6–7.

³⁴ A telling, albeit hitherto unnoticed, analogy is offered by *Il.* 3.186–190, where Priam recalls that he had assisted the Phrygians in a war against the Amazons in the past. Such a detail speaks of an obligation on the part of the Phrygians to the Trojans. Is it a coincidence that the two Phrygian figures mentioned in this passage are Otreus and Mygdon, both being Hecuba's brothers, the latter the father of Coroebus, who is, like Rhesus, another late-arriving ally who comes to Troy to assist the Trojans and is killed by nobody else but Diomedes inside Troy? It may well be the case that in one of the two versions of Coroebus' story (Pap. Rhyl. 22), his assistance to the Trojans resulted from a Phrygian obligation to Priam and the Trojans, while in the other version he was lured to Troy with the promise of marrying Cassandra (*Il. parv.* fr. 15 PEG = 16 EGF = 24 GEF). Rhesus too had an obligation to Hector according to [Eur.] *Rh.* 399–403, since the Trojans had sent a herald and an embassy of elders together with gifts in order to persuade him to come to Troy. This last reference is not mentioned in the *Iliad* and, therefore, cannot have originated from it.

2.2 Allusion to Themes: Backward References

Shared themes represent the most fertile field of intratextual associations between the *Doloneia* and the rest of the *Iliad*. Backward references, i.e. to themes occurring in Books preceding *Iliad* 10, span a range covering Books 1–9.

A startling example is offered by what I would like to call a ‘twofold allusion’. By this term I am referring to an allusion operating between pairs of episodes or, to put it differently, between the members of each of two pairs of episodes. This thematic allusion is of great importance for the matter at hand, since it covers extended narrative units and concerns the overall cohesion of the plot. It lies at the heart of the poem’s plan. *Iliad* 1–2 constitute the first pole of such a twofold allusion. After Achilles’ mutiny in Book 1, the *Iliad* resorts to the *πεῖρα* of the troops by Agamemnon, so as to reinvigorate the army. The result is that the Achaeans will be instilled with courage and will fight in high spirits in Book 4. We see here a close thematic link involving the mutiny of Achilles and the renewal of the army’s desire to fight. Likewise, *Iliad* 9–10 present us with an analogous pair. Book 9 reshuffles the narrative cards played in Book 1, since Achilles’ mutiny is indirectly renewed by means of his staunch refusal to return to the war. His wrath against Agamemnon comes again to the limelight in forceful tones. Book 10 plays with respect to Book 9 a role equivalent to the one played by Book 2 with respect to Book 1, since the highly successful spy mission³⁵ results in the reactivation of the courage of the fighting spirit of the Achaeans, who will launch in Book 11 a large-scale attack headed by Agamemnon himself against the Trojans.³⁶ In this light, *Iliad* 10 is to *Iliad* 9 what *Iliad* 2 is to *Iliad* 1. Such a symmetrical

35 Both Agamemnon’s *peira* and the spy mission in *Iliad* 10 take the form of a deceit, though the former is practiced on the Achaean foot-soldiers, whereas the latter on the Trojans (I thank Bruno Currie for this point).

36 Kullmann (1955, 258–273) has argued that the mutiny of Achilles is ‘played upon’ the potential mutiny of the army. The *Iliad* has reshaped the episode of the epic tradition reflected in the *Cypria*, according to which there was a potential mutiny of the army that was cut short by Achilles’ intervention after his miraculous ‘meeting’ with Helen by means of the aid of Thetis and Aphrodite. This is why we have the (false) impression that the theme of *μῆνις* is undermined by the potential mutiny of the army in Book 2. But the result is that Agamemnon resorts to testing the army in a difficult situation so that their courage is restored.

pairing on the basis of thematic correspondences is a strong sign of compositional unity.³⁷ Remove *Iliad* 10, and the renewal of Achilles' mutiny in the Embassy is left suspended, followed by a wholesale attack of the Achaeans who are left hopeless at the end of *Iliad* 9.³⁸

Another type of allusion may be called 'backward'. It pertains to the association of two passages or episodes, whose link is realized by the recall of the first by means of the second.³⁹ A telling example is offered by a feature of the *Doloneia* that has been considered a stylistic flaw and concerns the series of awakenings of the various Achaean leaders in the first part of the Book. Here is what happens:⁴⁰

- Agamemnon *cannot sleep*; he plans to go to Nestor
- Menelaus *cannot sleep* and *goes to* Agamemnon
- Menelaus goes to Ajax and Idomeneus and wakes them up
- Agamemnon *goes to* Nestor and *wakes him up*
- Agamemnon and Nestor *go to* Odysseus and *wake him up*
- Agamemnon, Nestor, and Odysseus *go to* Diomedes and *wake him up*
- Diomedes goes to Ajax Oïleus and Meges and wakes them up

This is a typical example of the 'chain' pattern,⁴¹ at the end of which is placed the most important member, i.e. Diomedes. He will be the first to volunteer, when the assembly will take place and he will be instrumental in the implementation of the plan. His killing of both Dolon and Rhesus shows that he is the most important

37 See also the two pairs of duels that begin and end the first and fourth day of fighting: on day one, the duel between Paris and Menelaus at the beginning, and between Hector and Ajax at the end; then on day four between Aeneas and Achilles at the beginning and between Hector and Achilles at the end (I am grateful to Erwin Cook for this point).

38 It should not remain unnoticed that the two last speakers at the end of *Iliad* 9 are Odysseus and Diomedes, i.e. the two spies in *Iliad* 10. Although Diomedes suggests that they attack the Trojans the next morning, it should not be forgotten that we never hear Agamemnon's response to the speeches of Odysseus and Diomedes at the end of Book 9. The formulaic οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνησαν βασιλῆες, | μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο (*Il.* 9.710–711) has no bearing on this. Agamemnon has not been convinced by Diomedes' suggestion and is still troubled by the enormous support Hector is receiving from Zeus. Another initiative must, therefore, be undertaken.

39 Conversely, 'forward allusion' concerns two passages or episodes, the first of which either overtly 'announces' the second or covertly prepares for it.

40 Italics indicate narrated events.

41 The 'chain' pattern is also known as 'Esdras' chain' from the relevant story in the Old Testament. I plan to explore this topic in a future publication. On Esdras' chain, see Hansen 2002, 414–425.

Achaean figure in *Iliad* 10. Odysseus, the other member of the spy mission is placed in the penultimate position within the chain, and it is he who will lead to the next member of the chain (Diomedes). This ‘chain’ pattern involves items or persons appearing in succession and clustering around a given theme (here the participation in the spy mission). It belongs to a group of techniques (like the *pramel*) aiming at highlighting a single element in a list, but unlike the *pramel* its constituent elements are not simply placed one after the other but in such an order that one leads to the next. It should be noted that *Il.* 10 presents exclusively those members of the list who are important for the ensuing episode. Both Menelaus’ and Diomedes’ summoning of Telamonian Ajax and Idomeneus, and Ajax Oïleus and Meges respectively are not narrated, only mentioned. In terms of the pattern, they are ‘deaf’ elements. Though typical, the particular shape the ‘chain’ pattern takes in *Iliad* 10 is reminiscent of another series of names in *Iliad* 4, which pertains to the Achaean leaders engaging in the fighting. Menelaus is wounded by Pandarus, and Agamemnon makes sure to call Machaon to cure his brother’s wound. He then goes to Idomeneus and Meriones urging them to fight. He does the same with Telamonian Ajax and Teucer, then with Nestor, Menestheus, Odysseus, and Diomedes. Then (*Il.* 4.422) the battle begins. The list in Book 4 and the ‘chain’ in 10 are not identical, but they are similar: they both begin with Agamemnon and Menelaus, end with Diomedes, and involve all other shared members in the same order. In both cases, the hero whose action will prove to be the most important for the ensuing narrative is Diomedes, who is mentioned last. The list in Book 4 prepares for Diomedes’ *aristeia* in regular combat in *Iliad* 5, the ‘chain’ in the *Nyktegersia* paves the way for Diomedes’ *aristeia* in the irregular form of combat highlighted in *Iliad* 10, the ambush. We can see here that a typical pattern, the ‘chain’ is internally constructed in such a way so as to invite the audience to recall the list of leaders in Book 4. The ‘chain’ in *Iliad* 10 could have contained Achaean leaders presented in a different order, without having to change the key-position of Diomedes at its end. The same ordering of names in equivalent situations amounts to a backward allusion that capitalizes on the theme of Diomedes’ preeminence and testifies to the association between *Iliad* 4 and 10.⁴²

⁴² Handling effectively the parallel dispatching of Agamemnon and Menelaus is not an easy task. The central role of the Atreidai is, to some extent, reminiscent of the mustering of the army in the *Cypria* (arg. *Il.* 111–121 Severyns), in which Menelaus goes first to Agamemnon, then to Nestor, and then they (Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Nestor?) gather the entire army by visiting one after the other the principal Greek leaders, though here (probably because of the pressing need of the current situation) the two brothers act in parallel. Here the stress is on Agamemnon, as the most ‘royal’ of the two brothers (ΣAbT X 25a). Nestor is then ‘attached’ to Agamemnon because it would have been inappropriate to have the man who is regarded as responsible for

A second case in point with respect to backward allusion concerns the 'pairing' of Diomedes' two *aristeiai* in *Iliad* 5 and 10. The first pertains to what is regarded as a conventional type of warfare, the πόλεμος. In Book 5, Diomedes performs superbly. He defeats all opponents and wounds even pro-Trojan gods (Aphrodite and Ares). The title Διομήδους ἀριστεία, which was given by Alexandrian scholars to this Book, captures effectively Diomedes' exceptional accomplishments. Diomedes looms large in *Iliad* 10 too. In fact, this is the last time he distinguishes himself so starkly in military activity in the entire epic. This means that with *Iliad* 10 Diomedes' outstanding fighting deeds come to an end. We are, therefore, entitled to draw attention even more to the pairing of his exploits in Books 5 and 10, the former 'introducing' him as a remarkable hero, the later 'completing' his awesome Iliadic performance. Such a pairing gains further weight by taking into account that Diomedes' skill in a spy mission during the night and its concomitant ambush warfare tactics are, like his performance in *Iliad* 5, an *aristeia*, albeit of a different form. A careful examination of the theme of ambush (λόχος) in the *Iliad* shows that it regularly involves the *aristoi*, and Diomedes is an *aristos* par excellence.⁴³ In this light, the pairing of *Iliad* 5 and 10 by means of the exceptional performance of Diomedes in two types of warfare, the πόλεμος and the λόχος, testifies to an essential association, one that belongs to the heart of a 'martial' epic like the *Iliad*.

A different type of backward allusion is the intratextual equivalent of 'opposition in imitation' or 'contrast-imitation'. Although this form of allusion pertains to a source- and a target-text and operates on an intertextual level, it is also at work intratextually⁴⁴ and becomes more marked when two episodes or scenes are

the withdrawal of Achilles wake up the Achaean leaders (ΣβT X 108b). In contrast to the comprehensiveness of the mustering of the army in the *Cypria*, the *Nyktegersia* has to be selective. This is why only the rousing of the two spies (Odysseus and Diomedes) by Agamemnon and Nestor is narrated, whereas the rousing of Telamonian Ajax and Idomeneus by Menelaus is reported (the same observation applies to the dispatch of Diomedes to the Lesser Ajax and Meges).

⁴³ See *Il.* 1.227 (λόχονδ' ... ἀριστήεσσιν), 4.392–393 (λόχον ... ἡγήτορες), 6.188–189 (φῶτας ἀρίστους ... λόχον), 13.276–277 (ἄριστοι ... λόχον). See especially *Il.* 13.274–310, where λόχος is presented as an alternative type of warfare with its own logic and rules.

⁴⁴ Opposition in imitation can simultaneously operate on an intertextual and intratextual level. A useful example is provided by the theme 'siege of a walled city'. The Trojan assault on the Achaean Wall in Book 12 is a reversal of the siege of Troy, which may have featured in at least one version of an oral *Cypria*, since it occurs in the written *Cypria* (arg. l. 154 Severyns) and is known to the *Iliad* (5.788–790, 9.352–355, 13.105–106, 15.722–723, 18.287, 20.28; see also Bacch. 13.114–20: οἱ πρὶν μὲν [πολύπυργο]ν | [Ἰ]λίου θαητὸν ἄστν | οὐ λείπον, ἀνυζόμενοι [δὲ] | πτᾶσσαν ὀξεῖαν μάχα[ν], εὗτ' | ἐν πεδίῳ κλονέω[ν] μαίνοιτ' Ἀχιλλεύς, | λαοφόνον δόρυ σείων). It may have also interacted (again by contrast-imitation) with Troy's siege by Heracles and/or the siege of

juxtaposed.⁴⁵ *Iliad* 9 is marked by the stubborn refusal of Achilles to return to the fighting. The speeches, gifts, and entreaties of the three envoys are given such an extended space in the text in order to make Achilles' rejection even more striking. At the end of the Book we are left with an uncomfortable feeling. Achilles will not fight. The same theme (participation in the war) is handled in *Iliad* 10 in a way that contrasts its use in *Iliad* 9. It seems as if *Iliad* 10 comments on *Iliad* 9 by contrasting Achilles' negative behavior with the positive attitude of all the other leaders. Such a positive attitude is already implied at the end of Book 9, when Diomedes says that they should not have asked Achilles to change his mind in the first place. The stress put by Diomedes on the futility of the embassy and Achilles' unwillingness to fight acquire their full meaning only when contrasted with the usefulness of the spy-mission and the willingness of the Achaean leaders to participate. Without this contrast, Diomedes' words lose much of their semantic potential.

2.3 Allusion to Themes: Forward References

Forward references constitute another form of intratextual allusion with respect to the relation between *Iliad* 10 and the rest of the epic. They involve four themes, 'isolation before defeat', Achilles' horses, 'solidarity brings victory', 'heroic triumph'.

The isolation of Dolon in *Iliad* 10 prefigures the future isolation of Hector.⁴⁶ Both of them will end up alone, the former caught by the Greek spies, the latter chased by Achilles around the walls of Troy. Both of them will lose their lives either in vain pursuit of the horses of Achilles (Dolon) or after a tragic reminder

Thebes by the Seven and the Epigonoι. Apart from its intertextual aspect, the siege of the Achaean Wall works also intratextually, since it will be followed by Patroclus' futile attempt to sack Troy when he functions as Achilles' surrogate. The reversal here ends dramatically: Patroclus will be killed by the man who 'sacked' the Achaean Wall, Hector.

⁴⁵ Lohmann (1988, 64) has described this phenomenon as 'Umkehr in (der) Wiederkehr (des Gleichen)', i.e. 'reversal in recurrence of the same [motif]'; see Currie 2016, 27 n. 173, 224, 225–226 with n. 16.

⁴⁶ On being alone in the battlefield, see *Il.* 8.80 for Nestor being saved by Diomedes after losing his horses; Petegorsky 1982, 253 n. 63.

of their inability to get hold of them (Hector).⁴⁷ Before their demise they both realize their ἄτη, Dolon presenting himself as the victim of Hector's folly (*Il.* 10.391–393), Hector accusing himself for failing to listen to Polydamas' prudent advice (*Il.* 22.99–104). They offer or consider offering ransom in vain to their enemies to escape death (*Il.* 10.378–381 and 22.111–122). They are subsequently killed by Diomedes and Achilles respectively. Dolon's failure in the field of μήτις and in the night ambush prefigures Hector's lack of μήτις when he refuses to listen to Polydamas and thinks he can win the war. It will only be a matter of time before his failure in the field of βίη against Achilles. We can see here that Dolon does not simply serve the practical 'need' of giving information about Rhesus' whereabouts to the Achaean spies. His role is not limited to the *Doloneia* but stretches well beyond the limits of this Book. His story (in the form of an anticipatory doublet) constitutes an allusion to the fate of Hector: his isolation from the rest of the army, his folly, his death.

Another intratextual allusion is triggered by Achilles' horses. Hector's promise to give to a volunteering spy as prize the horses of Achilles means that he is confident that he will defeat the Achaeans and Achilles himself. He so much believes in this that he rejects Polydamas' warning and breaks the Achaean wall. His loss of φρένες leads to his defeat. The full scale of the consequences of his action becomes obvious only when his world is turned upside down, when he refuses to get inside the Trojan walls, when pursued by Achilles in *Il.* 22. Is it really a coincidence that Hector sets as a reward the best chariot and best horses of the Achaeans (*Il.* 10.305–306), that Dolon makes it clear that these belong to Achilles (*Il.* 10.322–323), and that Hector promises to deliver them to him (*Il.* 10.330–331)? Is it a coincidence that this triple repetition of the chariot and horses pertains to the one thing that Hector will *not* take from Patroclus when he kills him in *Iliad* 16, whereas he strips him of his armor?⁴⁸ This is dramatic irony at its best. If one believes that the *Doloneia* was composed by a different poet, then he would have to assume that the poet is endowed with the same, long-scale cross-referencing technique that the poet of the *Iliad* has so well mastered. I argue that it is much more likely that here we have one more trace of the same, exquisite

⁴⁷ The contrast between Hector's success in taking Achilles' armor from Patroclus' body and his failure to capture Achilles' horses in *Iliad* 16 indicates that he cannot become a Trojan Achilles. His demise in *Iliad* 22 will be ironically linked with these horses, which will drag his corpse to the Achaean ships.

⁴⁸ On the level of the structure of the verse, ἵππους and ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶι are split in two consecutive verses (10.392–393), although they have previously been joined in a single line (10.322). Notice the stress on the outstanding quality of Achilles (10.323: ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα; 10.392: Πηλεΐωνος ἀγαυοῦ).

Fernbeziehung technique, in which the second reference gives meaning to the first. In other words, if for a moment we assume that Book 10 was composed by a different poet and that it was completely independent from the rest of the epic which had been completed before, then what would be the poetic purpose of leaving the immortal horses of Achilles intact? Why didn't Hector take them together with Achilles' armor? That makes his triumph incomplete. On the contrary, if he had promised them to Dolon, how more functional is the — apparently isolated — detail of their being saved by Automedon and returned to their proper owner. Achilles' horses are 'pregnant with symbolism'. As their tears for the dead Patroclus are 'pregnant' tears foreshadowing the death of Achilles,⁴⁹ so the horses themselves function as a backdrop against which Hector's arrogance is measured. Zeus' determination not to give them to Hector covertly points to Hector's future death. Seen from the viewpoint of Hector's speech in the *Doloneia*, his certainty that he will capture Achilles' horses (and give them to Dolon) is an allusion of tragic tinge not only to the soon-to-follow capture of Rhesus' horses⁵⁰ by Diomedes and Odysseus but also to Hector's failure to capture the horses of Achilles, and by extension to Zeus' determination not to allow Hector to have them.

The theme of victorious solidarity is obvious in the joint mission of Diomedes and Odysseus.⁵¹ The two heroes work together in a number of epic episodes spanning the entire Trojan War tradition (the killing of Palamedes in the *Cypria*,⁵² the theft of the Palladium in the *Ilias parva*)⁵³ but their harmonious cooperation in the *Doloneia* aims at exposing Dolon's vulnerability in the short run and Patroclus' weakness in the long run. Patroclus loses his life at the hands of Hector, when he finds himself isolated from the rest of the Achaean army. We see here that 'the vulnerability of the Achaean army without Achilles has become personified in Patroclus'.⁵⁴ The contrast with the joint mission of Odysseus and Diomedes in the

49 *Il.* 17.426–440 (also: 23.283–284); on this scene, see Schein 2016, 11–26 (slightly revised version of 2002, 193–205); on pregnant tears, see Currie 2016, 105–146 and the ensuing discussion of Odysseus' smile.

50 On certain 'oddities' with respect to the description of Rhesus' horses in *Iliad* 10, see Morard 1963, 385–403. His observations are in tune with the theory of adaptation of the Rhesus story to the *Iliad*. They tell nothing about the authenticity or inauthenticity of the *Doloneia*.

51 When Diomedes is wounded and Odysseus fights on his own in *Iliad* 11, his fate is described in similar manner to that of Patroclus (*Il.* 11.471: μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γένηται — *Il.* 17.690: μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γένηται). It is, therefore, obvious that the poem stresses the peril of being alone under difficult circumstances; see Petegorsky 1982, 219.

52 Fr. 30 PEG = 20 EGF = 27 GEF.

53 Arg. ll. 228–229 Severyns.

54 Petegorsky 1982, 215.

Doloneia is stark. The pairing of the two heroes, which has been underscored in *Il.* 10.242–247 when Diomedes chooses Odysseus as his companion, is accompanied by a stress on the theme of μῆτις, which ‘will be far more effective if two go instead of one’.⁵⁵ The antithesis is dictionally highlighted by the use of the word ἀσκηθής (‘unscathed’), which occurs exclusively in these two episodes in the entire *Iliad*.⁵⁶ Patroclus’ mission, then, stands in stark contrast to that of Odysseus and Diomedes in the *Doloneia*. As long as he was fighting together with Achilles, Patroclus was safe, but the one time he is separated from his friend, he will meet his death. While separation from Achilles leads to Patroclus’ death, the combined effort of Diomedes and Odysseus is successful.⁵⁷ The μῆτις of the two heroes wins their νόστος, whereas the βίη of Patroclus, when separated from the βίη of Achilles, costs him his νόστος and leads to his downfall.

As the Dolon episode alludes to Hector’s future death by Achilles, so the Rhesus episode alludes to Patroclus’ death and the subsequent Trojan losses inflicted by Achilles after the death of Patroclus *but before Hector’s demise*. I begin with Patroclus’ death. Diomedes ponders whether to take the chariot (he has no time to tie the horses to it) on which Rhesus’ armor is placed or to kill more Thracians. Athena intervenes (*Il.* 10.507–508) telling him to hasten back to the ships before some god informs the Trojans, which is exactly what Apollo does soon after (*Il.* 10.515–519). Diomedes immediately mounts the horses⁵⁸ and hurries back to the ships. In *Iliad* 17 Menelaus standing in front of the corpse of Patroclus ponders whether to protect the armor and body of Patroclus or retreat. Apollo intervenes and tells Hector to stop pursuing the divine horses of Achilles (*Il.* 17.75–81). Instead, he should be fighting Menelaus who has killed Euphorbus (one of Patroclus’ killers). Hector and the Trojan troops approach and Menelaus retreats and asks Ajax to join him in protecting Patroclus’ corpse. Meanwhile, Hector strips Achilles’ divine armor from Patroclus’ body, which he gives to the Trojans to carry back to Troy, while he mounts his own chariot (*Il.* 17.130). One who has heard or read the *Doloneia* and then hears or reads *Iliad* 17 realizes that the thematization of Rhesus’ chariot (the whip on it that is not noticed by Odysseus, Diomedes pondering whether to take it or not, Rhesus’ armor on it) serves a poetic goal. By leaving behind the chariot and Rhesus’ armor, the epic presents its audience with a situation that will be turned on its head through a sophisticated

⁵⁵ Petegorsky 1982, 218.

⁵⁶ *Il.* 10.212 and 16.247; see Edwards 1981, 169–170; Petegorsky 1982, 220.

⁵⁷ Petegorsky 1982, 218.

⁵⁸ Technically only one horse, the plural being traditional.

counter-mirroring in *Iliad* 17. As in such cases, the second reference is dramatically the more important.⁵⁹ The ambush has given its place to full-scale warfare, the person who ponders what to do is the defender of the dead hero, not its killer, while Apollo's intervention and Hector's return to the scene are standard features. The whole picture becomes clear when one looks at the end result. On the one hand, the splendid armor of Rhesus will be left behind, while the splendid armor of Patroclus (Achilles' first armor) will be taken by Hector. On the other hand, the beautiful horses of Rhesus will be taken by the spies, whereas the divine horses of Achilles will not be captured by Hector.

As for Trojan losses inflicted by Achilles after the death of Patroclus *but before Hector's death*, here is a list with relevant examples:

1. <u>12 Thracians are killed</u> by Diomedes (10.488)	1. <u>12 Trojans</u> are held captive by Achilles (<u>to be beheaded</u> during Patroclus' funeral: 21.27–28)
2. <u>Diomedes & Odysseus wash themselves</u> after coming back (10.575–579)	2. <u>Achilles' postpones his washing off the blood</u> (23.40 ff.) for Patroclus' funeral
3. Odysseus <u>places Dolon's armor at a myrike-tree</u> (10.466–467)	3. Achilles' <u>places his spear by the myrikai</u> (21.17–18) before entering the river (where he will capture the 12 Trojans)
4. <u>Diomedes kills the Thracian king Rhesus</u> (10.495: θυμὸν ἀπηύρα), <u>while heavily-breathing</u> (10.496: ἀσθμαίνοντα)	4a. <u>Achilles kills the Thracian Asteropaeus heavily-breathing</u> (21.182: ἀσθμαίνοντα) 4b. Hector, compared to a lion, <u>kills Patroclus</u> (16.828: θυμὸν ἀπηύρα), compared to a boar, <u>who is heavily breathing</u> (16.826: ἀσθμαίνοντα)
5. Odysseus makes room for the <u>μῶνυχες ἵπποι</u> to pass without stepping over the <u>corpses</u> (10.490–493)	5. Achilles' <u>μῶνυχες ἵπποι</u> <u>step over the corpses</u> (20.499–500)

Seen together, the Dolon and Rhesus episodes display remarkable similarities with the two phases of Achilles' revenge for the death of Patroclus but in reverse order. They thus offer a telling analogy with the plot of the *Doloneia*. We can now see that the diptych-based plot of *Iliad* 10 is effectively interwoven with the unfolding of the plot of the rest of the epic. Diomedes and Odysseus will do in the specially-coded form of warfare known as 'ambush' what Achilles will carry out

⁵⁹ On doublets and anticipatory doublets in Homer and the Epic Cycle, see Fenik 1968, 55–56, 86, 89, 98–99, 119–120, 134, 141, 143, 148–150, 194, 237–239, 213–214; id. (1974) 172–207; Sammons 2017, 102–123. On inclusionary and exclusionary doublets, see Currie 2016, 239–245.

during his revenge of Patroclus' death, first by resorting to massive killings and then by facing his principal adversary, Hector.

2.4 Allusion to Themes: Bridging Backward and Forward References

A third type of thematic allusion concerns the function of *Iliad* 10 as a bridge that contributes to the development of a certain theme linking one part of the epic with another. This form of allusion spans a large amount of text and shows how *Iliad* 10 conforms to the shaping and evolution of a given theme throughout the poem. As shown before, such form of interaction may be presented by the activation of a traditional structure or type of tale, but its contextualization abides by the exigencies of a sustained poetic plan that is gradually disclosed as the plot unfolds. My test-case is the theme of *overconfidence* that reflects both on Hector and Dolon, since the former promises to give as reward the best Achaean horses to the spy who will volunteer for the night mission (*Il.* 10.305–306), while the latter accepts the offer and asks specifically for Achilles' horses (*Il.* 10.322–323). The theme of overconfidence belongs to a type of tale called 'Pride Brought Low', in which someone aspires to great things which he cannot achieve and is soon made to realize painfully the futility of his aspirations.⁶⁰ This is the core of the Aesopic fable 'The Wolf and his Shadow' (Chambry 219 = Perry 260):

Λύκος διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκιάν γαυρωθεὶς καὶ λέων.

Λύκος πλανώμενός ποτ' ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις, | κλίνοντος ἤδη πρὸς δύσιν Ὑπερίονος, | δολιχὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν σκιάν ἰδὼν ἔφη· | «Λέοντ' ἐγὼ δέδοικα, τηλικούτος ὢν; | πλέθρου τ' ἔχων τὸ μῆκος, οὐ θηρῶν ἀπλῶς | πάντων δυνάστης ἀθρόων γενήσομαι;» | Λύκον δὲ γαυρωθέντα καρτερὸς λέων | ἐλὼν κατήσθι· ὁ δ' ἐβόησε μετανοῶν· | «Οἷσιν ἡμῖν πημάτων παραιτία.»

There was once a wolf who went wandering in the desert as the sun was sinking and about to set. Seeing his long shadow, the wolf exclaimed, 'Should someone as great as myself be afraid of a lion? I'm a hundred feet tall! Clearly I should be the king of all the animals in the world!' As the wolf was boasting, a mighty lion seized and devoured him. Realizing his mistake after the fact, the wolf exclaimed, 'My self-conceit has been my undoing!'⁶¹

The underlying meaning of this tale pertains to the overconfidence of a person who overestimates his abilities and asks for more than what he/she deserves. What makes this story particularly relevant to the plot of *Iliad* 10 is not only that

⁶⁰ See L400–L499 in Thompson's Index (1955–1958).

⁶¹ Translation by Gibbs (2002).

Dolon is disguised as a wolf and Diomedes as a lion but that ‘Dolon the wolf’ (*Il.* 10.334)⁶² is made to realize in a dramatic way the futility of his arrogant aspirations by being killed by ‘Diomedes the lion’ (*Il.* 10.177–178). Following the reward set by Hector, Dolon, disguised as a wolf, asks for Achilles’ horses. This is a gift for which he is anything but worthy. When arrested by Diomedes and Odysseus, and before being killed, Dolon speaks like the wolf in Aesop’s tale: ‘Alas,’ he cried, ‘had I not lost sight of the facts, I shouldn’t have been ruined *by my fancies*’ — ‘Hector led me astray *with much ate*, since he promised me the single-hooved horses of Achilles’. This remarkable analogy between the two stories can help us go further. For the story in the *Iliad* is not limited to the wolf-dressed Dolon and the lion-dressed Diomedes (who kills him) but involves Hector and Achilles (through the latter’s horses). In this light, it is significant that Hector himself promises as a prize Achilles’ horses *before* Dolon volunteers. Hector is the one who initially displays the wolfish overconfidence in his abilities, since he takes it for granted that he will acquire Achilles’ horses. As the overconfident wolf will be devoured by the lion, so the overconfident Hector will be killed by Achilles, who will even express his wish to devour him (*Il.* 22.346–347). The two heroes are portrayed, covertly or overtly, as a wolf and a lion respectively. Hector has been systematically presented as having λύσσα in his desire to destroy the Achaeans (*Il.* 9.239 and 305), a rage that is etymologically associated with the wolf (λύκος). Achilles is portrayed as a lion in *Il.* 18.318–322, 20.164–175, and 24.39–45. What is more, the way the story of Dolon is presented in Book 10 looks forward to Trojan demise (that will also lead to the death of Hector). It is the ἄτη (*Il.* 10.391) and ἄτασθαλῖαι (*Il.* 22.104) of Hector that have caused Dolon’s and the army’s huge losses. At the very climax of their fatal encounter in *Iliad* 22, when Hector tries to strike a deal with Achilles, Thetis’ son replies in anger (*Il.* 22.261–263):

«Ἐκτωρ, μή μοι, ἄλαστε, συνημοσύνας ἀγόρευε·
ὥς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὄρκια πιστά,
οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν»

‘Hector, argue me no agreements. I cannot forgive you.
As there are no trustworthy oaths between men and lions,
nor wolves and lambs have spirit that can be brought to agreement⁶³

⁶² On ‘Dolon the wolf’, see Gernet 1936, 189–208; Lissarague 1980, 3–30; Bierl 2012, 151–155. Note that Odysseus wears the cap of his grandfather Auto-lukos, whose story we hear. It is as if the reference to his father’s wolfish name alludes to Odysseus’ imminent role in the spy mission and ensuing ambush. Odysseus ‘out-wolfs’ Dolon.

⁶³ I am using the translation of the *Iliad* by Lattimore 1951.

Though the analogy here is between lions/wolves-Achilles and men/lambs-Hector, Achilles' words operate on another level too. His savagery seems to have come to such an extreme that he has also absorbed the savagery of his opponent who now looks defenseless, like a lamb facing a wolf or a lion. Achilles' brutality has almost bestialized him, since a few lines later (22.346–347) he declares his wish to eat Hector raw. After the death of Patroclus, rage (λύσσα) overtakes Achilles, not Hector (21.542). Hector the wolf has become a lamb. His rage has been passed to Achilles. Seen from this vantage point, the theme of overconfidence can be productively explored via comparison with this Aesopic fable.⁶⁴ The overconfidence of Dolon in *Iliad* 10 mirrors the overconfidence of Hector in the entire *Iliad*. This would make the *Doloneia* a *texte speculaire* for the tragedy of Hector. Once more, we observe that *Iliad* 10 displays the same, mature narrative technique that we know from the rest of the poem.

2.5 Verbal Associations

I will now offer a list of verbal associations between the *Doloneia* and the rest of the *Iliad*.⁶⁵

1. *Il.* 10.330: μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν **ἀνὴρ ἐποχῆσεται ἄλλος**
Il. 17.448–449: ἄλλ' οὐ μὲν ὑμῖν γε καὶ ἄρμασι δαιδαλέοισιν | **Ἔκτωρ Πριαμίδης ἐποχῆσεται**· οὐ γὰρ ἔασω

Hector arrogantly promises to give Dolon the immortal horses of Achilles, i.e. the one thing that Hector will not take from Patroclus when he kills him in *Il.* 16.

⁶⁴ The antiquity of the animal fable in Greece goes back at least to the archaic period. Fables are easily transferred from one culture to the other since they exist in oral form and pertain to situations and/or circumstances shared by various peoples. Scholars have debated about Near Eastern influence, especially since fables, as other forms of cultural transfers, are quickly amalgamated with Greek culture and become an essential part of it. Perhaps, it is advisable to speak of partial assimilation. Animal fables are weakly represented in Homeric epic mainly because of its non-didactic nature, its preference for mythical stories with well-known individuals, and its subordination of the animal world to the human. Animals in Homer are either mentioned within the framework of human activity or in similes. The earliest dense use of the animal fable in Greek literature is by Hesiod (in the fable of the hawk and the nightingale [*Op.* 202–212]) and Archilochus (in the fable of the fox and the eagle [fr. 172–181 *IEG*]). On the ancient fable in general, see Meuli 1954; Nøjgaard 1964; Adrados 1979; Jedrkiewicz 1989; Holzberg 1993; van Dijk 1997; Grethlein 2011, 321–325.

⁶⁵ This list does not aspire to be comprehensive. There are also some other cases, which might have been included here. I have decided to present only the most straightforward examples.

When Zeus speaks to Achilles' horses in *Il.* 17.448–449, he uses phraseology that evokes 10.330. The fact that the verb ἐποχεῖσθαι is employed only in these two passages in archaic epic speaks in favor of a deliberate allusion.⁶⁶ When the audience hears Zeus' words in Book 17,⁶⁷ they realize the tragic irony inherent in Hector's arrogant boast in Book 10. Moreover, Zeus' determination not to give the horses to Hector is a covert sign pertaining to Hector's future death, which very tellingly involves these very horses, since Achilles will tie Hector's corpse to his chariot and drag him to the Achaean ships. Zeus' language (*Il.* 17.448–449) functions as a reminder of Hector's arrogant boast in the *Doloneia*.⁶⁸

2. *Il.* 10.331: διαμπερές ἀγλαΐεῖσθαι

Il. 18.133: δηρὸν ἐπαγλαΐεῖσθαι

Hector promises Dolon 'to take pride forever' in Achilles' horses, while Thetis assures Achilles that Hector will 'not take pride for long' in Achilles' armor⁶⁹ (which he had taken from Patroclus) since he will not live for long. The use of similar diction is sharp and expressively effective. It is strengthened by the expression's non-formulaic character, which makes it context-specific. The full strength of Thetis' prophetic asseveration in the second passage functions as an 'answer' to Hector's arrogant claim in the first.⁷⁰ The goddess picks up a unique expression employed by Hector and turns it on its head.⁷¹

3. *Il.* 10.367–368: ἵνα μή τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων | φθαίῃ ἐπευζάμενος βαλέειν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔλθοι

Il. 22.206–207: οὐδ' ἔα ἰέμεναι ἐπὶ Ἑκτορι πικρὰ βέλεμνα, | μή τις κῦδος ἄροιτο βαλῶν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔλθοι

The dictional similarity of the two passages is strong. Athena puts μένος in Diomedes so as not to come *second* in striking Dolon and lose all the glory to some

⁶⁶ Limited range of repetition, shared phraseology, and similar context are the prerequisites for deliberate allusion.

⁶⁷ They have already seen Apollo (*Il.* 17.75–78) dissuading Hector from trying to acquire Achilles' immortal horses. On this point, see n. 71 (under 'verbal associations').

⁶⁸ Dué and Ebbott 2010, 325.

⁶⁹ *Il.* 17.472–473: τεύχεα δ' Ἑκτωρ | αὐτὸς ἔχων ὤμοισιν ἀγάλλεται Αἰακίδαο.

⁷⁰ See Dué and Ebbott 2010, 325–326.

⁷¹ The expressions μεγάλων δῶρων (*Il.* 10.401) and ἀγλαΐεῖσθαι (*Il.* 10.331), which refer to Achilles' horses and chariot, point to *Il.* 16.867 (ἄμβροτοι, οὓς Πηλεΐϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα), which paves the way for *Il.* 17.75–78 (with the intervening scene of Menelaus); see Heath 1992, 387–400.

other Achaean. Likewise, in *Il.* 22 Achilles nods to the Achaeans not to strike Hector, in order not to come *second* and lose the glory of hitting him first. The two cases involve theme (to be the first to strike), phraseological identity (preceded by a negative statement that needs to be avoided), and analogical pairing of the respective protagonists (Diomedes vs Dolon, Achilles vs Hector). The allusion is clearly deliberate.

4. *Il.* 10.455–457: ὁ δ' αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασεν | φασγάνῳ αἶξας, ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε
τένοντε· | φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε **κάρη κονίησιν** ἐμίχθη
Il. 22.327: **δι' αὐχένος** ἤλυθ' ἄκωκῇ
 22.396: μετόπισθε ποδῶν **τέτρηνε τένοντε**
 22.398: **κάρη δ' ἔλκεσθαι** ἔασεν
 22.402–403: **κάρη δ' ἅπαν ἐν κονίησιν** | κείτο πάρος χαρίεν

The description of Dolon's tendons being smashed by Diomedes' sword, in the middle of his neck, his decapitation and head falling in the dust constitute features that will be all highlighted in Hector's death by Achilles. As for Dolon's decapitation,⁷² (the first in the *Iliad*), prefiguring the death of Hector in Book 22,⁷³ see the case of Imbrius in *Il.* 13.203, which also prefigures Hector's death.⁷⁴ It is clear that Book 10 alludes to future developments in the plot: *the fate of a minor character prefigures the fate of a major character*.

5. *Il.* 10.478: **ὄν ἐπέφνομεν ἡμεῖς**
Il. 22.393: **ἐπέφνομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον**

Odysseus uses the same diction for the killing of Dolon that Achilles will use for Hector in Book 22. There is no other such example in the entire *Iliad* with respect to the use of this phraseology. The allusion is secure, especially if we take into account contextual parameters and the general tendency of the *Doloneia* to create intratextual associations between the deaths of Dolon and Hector. It may be no

⁷² Apart from the cases mentioned above, other decapitations in the *Iliad* occur in 11.146–147 (Agamemnon decapitating one of the sons of Antimachus, also cutting off his arms), 11.261 (Agamemnon decapitating Coon), 14.465–68 (Telamonian Ajax decapitating Archelochus), 14.493–507 (Peneleos decapitating Ilioneus), 16.339–341 (a virtual decapitation of Lycon by Peneleos), 18.334–335 (Achilles intends to decapitate Hector), and 20.481–482 (Achilles decapitating Deucalion), always carried out by Achaeans against Trojans.

⁷³ Achilles has 'promised' to the dead Patroclus in *Il.* 18.333–335 to strip Hector of his armor and decapitate him, whereas in *Il.* 17.126 Hector had planned to decapitate Patroclus but was not able to carry out his threat.

⁷⁴ McClellan 2017, 159–174.

accident that in both cases the plural (ἐπέφνομεν) is *not* used literally (Dolon is killed by Diomedes, Hector by Achilles).

6. *Il.* 10.517: (ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων) τῇι κοτέων

Il. 23.383: Τυδέος υἱὶ κοτέσσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

To ask the question why Apollo is angry at Athena in the *Doloneia* would be to miss the point. Since κότος refers to both a lasting grudge and a rivalry-conditioned wrath,⁷⁵ the question may be rephrased thus: ‘why does Apollo feel this kind of wrath against Athena?’ Although the obvious answer is her support of Diomedes, Apollo’s wrath is related to what Diomedes is doing at the moment, i.e. while he is helped by Athena. In the chariot race at the funeral games for Patroclus Apollo ‘has κότος’ (*Il.* 23.383: κοτέσσατο) against Diomedes because he wishes Eumelus (see *Il.* 2.763–766) to win the race. To this end, he knocks the whip from Diomedes’ hands. Apollo’s action does not escape Athena’s notice (*Il.* 23.388: οὐδ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθηναίην ἐλεφηράμενος λάθ’ Ἀπόλλων), just as Athena’s support of Diomedes does not escape Apollo’s notice in *Il.* 10.515 (οὐδ’ ἀλασκοπιὴν εἶχ’ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων). She immediately gives to Diomedes the whip, inspires his horses and approaches ‘having κότος’ (*Il.* 23.391: κοτέουσα) at Eumelus, the son of Admetus (whose horses had once been under the care of Apollo).⁷⁶ It can hardly be a coincidence that Apollo’s κότος against Athena in the *Doloneia* concerns Diomedes and horses, just as in Book 23. This internal reference, when paired with the fact that upon his return to the Greek camp Diomedes places Rhesus’ horses next to his own horses, links Apollo, Athena, and Diomedes in *Iliad* 10 and 23 by means of horses. The point is effective: Apollo’s throwing away Diomedes’ whip in Book 23 seems to be looking back at *Il.* 10.504–506 and 10.512–513, when Diomedes does not take with him the chariot in which Odysseus left the whip (not noticed by Odysseus in *Il.* 10.500–501). The whip and horses of Rhesus in Book 10 give their place to the whip and horses of Diomedes in Book 23, the wrath and support of Apollo and Athena making the association even stronger.⁷⁷

7. *Il.* 10.528, 10.570: ἔναρα βροτόεντα

Il. 6.480, 8.534, 15.347, 17.13, 17.540, 22.245: ἔναρα βροτόεντα

⁷⁵ On κότος in Homer, see Walsh 2005, 63–66, 80–81, 83.

⁷⁶ See *Il.* 2.766–767.

⁷⁷ On κότος in this episode, see Walsh 2005, 64–67.

This formula (8x *Il.*) nests in contexts in which Hector is involved either directly or indirectly: in his ὀμιλία with Andromache in Troy, Hector imagines Astyanax carrying back from battle the ἔναρα βροτόεντα of some Greek (*Il.* 6.480); in *Il.* 8.534, Hector does the same with respect to the arms of Diomedes; in *Il.* 15.347, Hector advises the Trojans to stop spoiling the ἔναρα βροτόεντα of dead Greeks; in *Il.* 17.13, Euphorbus tells Menelaus to let go the ἔναρα βροτόεντα of Patroclus; in *Il.* 17.540, Automedon takes the ἔναρα βροτόεντα of Aretus and places them on Patroclus' chariot; in *Il.* 22.245, Achilles gets the ἔναρα βροτόεντα of Hector. The fact that in *Il.* 10 the expression ἔναρα βροτόεντα is used twice for Dolon's arms is in tune with the larger picture of the Dolon episode constituting one more allusive link to Hector and his fate in the epic.

The abovementioned cases show that the *Doloneia* interacts with the ensuing Books of the *Iliad* in a particularly strong way that either amounts to *verbatim quotation* or to *evocation* by means of shared phraseology. Both terms describe degrees of allusion of decreasing intensity (*verbatim quotation* > *evocation*) and are key to the realization that apart from themes shared with the rest of the epic, *Iliad* 10 engages in systematic intratextual associations that involve phraseological transfer or reuse. Contextual factors and/or increasing specificity observable in a limited range of attestations guarantee that the links presented above are intentional because they are meaningful and cannot be simply ruled out as mere reflexes on the level of diction within a traditional oral medium.⁷⁸

3 An Interpretive Gain from the Authenticity of the *Doloneia*: Odysseus' 'Pregnant Smile'

In Section 2, I have set out probative arguments in support of the authenticity of the *Doloneia*. I will now advance a detailed interpretation of a phenomenon in *Iliad* 10 (Odysseus' smile) that sees it as pertaining to the *Iliad* as a whole.

Homeric scholarship has drawn attention to the phenomenon of 'pregnant tears',⁷⁹ which in some contexts works allusively and allows us to understand the full range of meanings inherent in sophisticated oral poetry such as Homeric epic.

⁷⁸ On this issue, see Usener 1990; Tsagalis 2008; Bakker 2013, 158.

⁷⁹ Currie 2016, 105–146.

In this section, I draw attention to a similar, albeit hitherto underexplored, phenomenon that I would like to call ‘pregnant smile’.⁸⁰ The main thesis to be presented here is that the *Doloneia* offers a splendid manifestation of this phenomenon and that like its twin trend of ‘pregnant tears’ enables us to ‘read’ behind the emotional response of a given character the way mythological and/or poetic tradition is activated. Before turning our attention to the case in point, some preliminary observations are called for.⁸¹

Like tears, a smile may be imbued with *ambivalence*. A character can smile because he perceives something as pleasing, funny, agreeable, or ironic. Sometimes more than one of these feelings are present, the more so since a smile can operate on different levels, depending on the scene in which it belongs. Smile is to laughter what tears are to wailing. Both are visual, not aural emotional expressions. They are both more restrained, since the sound triggered by the passionate outburst of laughter and by wailing is completely absent. They are also more sophisticated, since their tacit expression allows for a rather inward process of interpretation, as if the character who smiles or sheds tears allows all onlookers to have only minimal access to the world of his feelings. Like tears, a smile may be to an extent involuntary and prone to uncertainty. It calls for the promise of a hidden function that needs to be decoded.

A smile may function as a mechanism promoting distance or identification. The character who smiles at somebody or something engages himself in a process of evaluation. He may agree or disagree with the situation at hand; he may find it ridiculous or unlikely; he may find it familiar and friendly. The smile is, therefore, a response to a sign coming from the environment. As such, it testifies to the ‘dialogic’ aspect of human communication and, in extension, existence.

A smile is an evaluative response to a situation. The character who smiles responds by means of the activation not only of his role in the immediate context in which the scene belongs but also to the larger context that involves events that have happened in the past or even events that have not yet taken place. There are

80 Fenik has interpreted Odysseus’ sardonic smile in *Od.* 20.301–302 (μείδησε δὲ θυμῶϊ | σαρδά- νιον μάλα τοῖον) as a non-verbal sign of Odysseus’ ‘self-controlled, ominous silence’, while Levine (1984, 1–9) has argued that Odysseus’ three smiles in *Od.* 20–23 allude to his superiority over the suitors. Lateiner (1995, 194), who discusses certain examples of smile in the *Odyssey*, argues that while all other smiles ‘supply supportive “redundance” for important messages’, Odysseus’ sardonic smile in *Od.* 20.301–302 ‘textually ironizes his reflexive and passive self-defense’. Russo (ad *Od.* 20.301) states his ignorance as to the meaning of the expression μείδησε δὲ θυμῶϊ (‘smiled in his θυμός’).

81 This introductory section to ‘pregnant smile’ closely follows Currie 2016, 105–106 on tears.

also cases, in which the character's smile stems from his role in the entire tradition. As is the case with traditional referentiality on the level of diction, so on the level of theme a character may be present by means of his 'global' mythical persona that spans an entire poetic tradition and not simply a given scene or poem.

Like tears, a smile may work as a figure of allusion, expressing 'a character's "recollection" of experiences that properly are not available for that character to recall consciously as a character within the poem, but accrue to them only as a character within a "literary" tradition'.⁸² In this case, the interplay concerns character memory and audience memory. A character's smile may prompt a recall of past events that belong to his fictional life and so trigger in the audience's mind a given interpretation of events based on the audience's knowledge of this myth and/or poetic events.

A case in point is offered by *Il.* 10.400–404. Odysseus and Diomedes sneak into the Trojan camp and arrest Dolon, the Trojan spy sent by Hector to get information about the intentions of the enemy. Odysseus asks Dolon about his aims which the Trojan spy immediately discloses together with an accusation directed at Hector who had promised to give him as reward the chariot and divine horses of Achilles. On hearing these words, Odysseus smiles for the first and only time in the *Iliad* and says:

τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδῆσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·
 «ἦ ῥά νύ τοι μεγάλων δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός,
 ἵππων Αἰακίδαο δαΐφρονος οἱ δ' ἄλεγεινοί
 ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι δαμήμεναι ἢ δ' ὀχέεσθαι,
 ἄλλω γ' ἢ Ἀχιλλῆϊ, τὸν ἀθανάτη τέκε μήτηρ».

Then Odysseus the resourceful smiled and spoke to him:
 'Surely now, these were mighty gifts that your heart longed after,
 the horses of valiant Aiacides. They are difficult horses
 for mortal men to manage, or even to ride behind them
 for all except Achilles, who has been born to an immortal mother.'

After this point, Odysseus asks Dolon about the whereabouts of Hector, his armor and his horses, as well as about the Trojan garrisons and location. It is only then, that he repeats verbatim (*Il.* 10.409–411) Nestor's words from *Il.* 10.209–211 about the Trojan plan, a rather odd repetition, since it is obvious that Hector is waiting for the sunrise to launch an even more fierce attack and inflict the fatal blow on the dispirited Greek army. We may ask: what is the purpose of the stress given by Dolon to Hector's promise to reward him with the horses of Achilles? Why do we

82 Currie 2016, 137. Currie's formulation is about tears.

hear about that promise no less than five times (by Hector to the Trojans, by Dolon to Hector, by Hector to Dolon, by Dolon to Odysseus, by Odysseus to Dolon)? And why does Odysseus smile? What does it mean for him to smile at the sound of a promise given by Hector to Dolon that in the dark of the night brings Achilles to the listeners' minds? Is it possible that together with Odysseus it is the *Iliad* itself that winks at its audience?

Odysseus' smile is ambivalent.⁸³ It operates on multiple levels and produces two different effects: distancing and dramatic irony. It also functions as a form of implicit allusion that amounts to a profound metaliterary comment. I will deal with each of them separately, though one aspect of dramatic irony presupposes a metaliterary effect. I will then consider the function of this powerful allusive phenomenon in the *Doloneia*.

Odysseus' smile⁸⁴ amounts to a sophisticated, non-verbal response to Dolon's revelation that Hector has promised him Achilles' horses. But instead of telling Dolon in a straightforward way what he thinks about the likelihood of Hector's promise, Odysseus implies in the beginning of his reply that the promise is overrated. It is an essential feature of the function of Odysseus' smile that he does not explicitly say to Dolon that Hector is not likely to defeat Achilles and take his horses, which is a prerequisite for giving them to Dolon. On a first level, Odysseus distances himself from what his interlocutor says. On a second level, he distances himself even more from what another interlocutor (Hector) has promised to Dolon. This double-distancing is flagged by a smile that implies the double self-deception of both Hector and Dolon. Odysseus' smile remains deliberately vague, since he only reminds Dolon that Achilles' horses are hard to drive or ride for all mortals but Achilles, whose mother is the goddess Thetis. Odysseus' 'justifica-

⁸³ Apart from this case, the participle ἐπμειδῆσας is attested 2x *Il.*, 1x *Od.* in the place of ἀπαμειβόμενος in the speech-introductory formula τὸν/τὴν δ' ἐπμειδῆσας προσέφη ~ - ~ - . With the exception of *Il.* 10.400, all other cases share certain features in common: (a) someone smiles at the complaint or request of another person, reassuring him or her that he means well (*Il.* 4.356: Agamemnon to Odysseus; *Il.* 8.38: Zeus to Athena; *Od.* 22.371: Odysseus to Medon); (b) his reassurance is carried out immediately; (c) the 'smiling' introductory formula is used before the last speech in a dialogue scene. *Il.* 10.400 does not abide by this pattern: Odysseus falsely pretends he means well, since Dolon will be soon killed; Odysseus does not smile (instead the ἀπαμειβόμενος formula is used at 382) when Dolon begs for his life (*Il.* 10.378–381); the dialogue continues even after the use of the 'smiling' formula. But the deviation from this pattern is neither due to incompetence nor is it at random, as I argue below.

⁸⁴ On smiling in Hom. (μειδιᾶω [15x], ἐπμειδίδομαι [4x]), see Dué and Ebbott 2010, 340–6; on Odysseus' smiling in the *Od.*, see Levine 1982, 79–104; 1984, 1–9; see also n. 80 (above).

tion' of his smile is limited solely to the gap separating common men from Achilles.⁸⁵ Dolon is way below Achilles' level and as a consequence the horses he has been promised are not for him. To this extent, Odysseus' distancing smile is a reminder of the limitations of Dolon's aspirations. But at the same time, it is, though on a different level, an allusion to the limitations of Hector's aspirations, since it is he who has promised Dolon Achilles' horses.

Another aspect of Odysseus' smile is dramatic irony. Dramatic irony is based on the discrepancy between a character's limited knowledge of events and the audience's wider knowledge. In this case, Odysseus' smile acquires an ironic tinge by means of both the immediate and larger context of events in the *Iliad*. In the short-run, Odysseus smiles because he surmises that Dolon's aspirations are ill-omened, since he will soon be killed by Diomedes. It does not matter to ask how Odysseus 'knows' that Diomedes will kill Dolon. We can easily assume that this is the natural course of action in a spy mission.⁸⁶ In the long-run, a character can smile ironically but also poetologically, incorporating in his gesture not only his own but also the poem's point of view. Achilles' smile in *Il.* 23.555–557 looks back on the conflict between himself and Agamemnon at the epic's beginning. It functions retrospectively and works as an ironic reminder of the human condition. The potential conflict over the prizes in the chariot race will not take place, a second μῆνις will not occur.⁸⁷ In *Il.* 10.400, Odysseus' smile works proleptically. Through implicit allusion,⁸⁸ he 'knows' all too well that neither Dolon nor Hector will get the horses of Achilles.⁸⁹ Having just learned from Dolon himself (*Il.* 10.391–393) that Hector (through his ἄτη) had assured him (κατένευσε) that he will obtain Achilles' horses for him, Odysseus utters the exact same words Apollo will say to Hector (10.402–404 = 17.76–78), when he reminds him that he is pursuing in vain Achilles' horses, i.e. something that cannot be captured (ἀκίχητα

85 See Heath 1992, 392–400.

86 Dolon tries in vain to save his life by asking the spies either to take him captive or tie him at the spot so as to check the trustworthiness of what he had told them on their way back (*Il.* 10.442–445). Unfortunately for him, Diomedes thinks otherwise. If Dolon is spared, he may act as a spy in a future occasion or fight the Greeks by their ships (*Il.* 10.449–451). It is noteworthy that, although Dolon is a potential threat to the mission itself, since (in case he is spared) he will inform the Trojans about the Greek mission, thus allowing Hector to change his plan, Diomedes says nothing of the sort.

87 See Martin 1989, 188–189 n. 71; on Achilles' smile, see Eust. 782.21–783.1 (van der Valk); Rengakos 2006, 17–30; Currie 2016, 136 with n. 158.

88 See Currie 2016, 144–145.

89 This is not a case of 'transference' (in which the audience's knowledge is 'transferred' to a character), which is a form of *paralepsis*. The audience simply do not know at this point that Hector will not take Achilles' horses and give them to Dolon.

διώκων). Odysseus' smile is the *Iliad*'s smile, an ironic reminder to the audience that Achilles' horses are immortal and that not only Dolon but also Hector will not be able to acquire them: the former will be killed by Diomedes, the latter by Achilles. As with Achilles' smile in Book 23, so with Odysseus' smile in the *Doloneia*, horses, chariots, and prizes become the pretext for a sophisticated ironic and self-referential 'smile' of the *Iliad* to its audience. This smile alerts the listeners to a system of cross-references that sustain the *Doloneia* and effectively weave it into the fabric of the entire epic. How crucial is Odysseus' smile for the poetics of Book 10 and its relation to the *Iliad* can be seen when the following considerations are taken into account. As argued above, the Dolon episode alludes to Hector's future death, while the Rhesus episode brings into the picture other elements which pertain to the Patroclus episode and its aftermath but prior to the encounter between Achilles and Hector. Together they constitute a *Vorbereitung* for the two basic phases of the ensuing plot, the death of Patroclus and the death of Hector. The two deaths are interconnected, one leading to the other, but the analogy is tellingly reversed. The Dolon-Hector analogy comes first, leading to the second analogy. In order not to lose sight of the main goal, the epic aimed at crowning *Iliad* 10 with a heroic feat. This feat was the murder of Rhesus, a Trojan ally for whom there was no room in the *Iliad* but was known from an earlier tradition in which Diomedes and Odysseus killed him before he and his magical horses drank Scamander's water and became invincible.⁹⁰ In this way, the pair of spies who were traditionally connected with the Rhesus story and had become a typical pair in various exploits in the Trojan saga had to accomplish it all: get information, steal Rhesus' horses, and kill the Thracian king before becoming invincible. To make use of these two stories, the *Iliad* transferred phraseology and motifs from Hector to Dolon and exploited a common element that would effectively 'bridge' Patroclus, Hector, Achilles, and Rhesus. This element was the *horses*, the ones Dolon asks for as his prize but never gets, the ones with whom Rhesus comes to Troy but will not yoke and ride in his chariot. The association is brilliant, since it weaves together a dramatic-to-be element of the ensuing narrative with the redirected plot of the night raid of *Iliad* 10. Capitalizing on the immortality of Achilles' horses on the one hand and the would-be invincibility of Rhesus' horses on the other, the poem does not lose sight of its main goal by focusing on the tragic allusion to the deaths of Patroclus and Hector. Just as the spies will not kill Hector but his 'surrogate' Rhesus, so Hector will not kill Achilles but his surrogate Patroclus. Differently, the spies will not get Rhesus' armor, only his horses, while Hector will get Patroclus' armor (the first armor of Achilles), but

⁹⁰ See Σ (D) ad *Il.* 10.435 (van Thiel).

not his horses. The association is sustained, intense, and profound. The gain from such an episode is not small. If at the end of *Iliad* 9, we have experienced the unbending nature of Achilles' refusal, at the end of *Iliad* 10 we have glimpsed at its tragic consequences.

The metaliterary force of Odysseus' smile interacts with the traditional referentiality of his 'epic self' and the audience's knowledge of the poetic world in which this character belongs. It pertains to an interplay between the character's 'memory' and the audience's 'memory'. This time, it is an entire intertextual horizon that rises to the surface, a horizon allowing vistas to events belonging to both the *Antehomerica* and the *Posthomeric*. Odysseus' smile paired with the beginning of his reply to Dolon winks at an event that had taken place before the beginning of the war, when Peleus gave these magnificent horses to Achilles together with a divinely-made suit of armor. Both were gifts from the gods (Poseidon and Hephaestus respectively) to Peleus when he married Thetis. These episodes (the wedding gifts and their transfer from Peleus to Achilles) featured in the *Cypria* but they definitely go back to earlier epic traditions, perhaps to one or more oral **Cypria*, since they are both quoted by the *Iliad* (*Il.* 18.84–85, 23.277–278). Odysseus' smile thus transcends the boundaries of the *Iliad* and stretches back to earlier poetic traditions. It expresses a recollection of events that define him as a character of a non-Iliadic epic. At the same time, his recollection invites an analogous recollection by the audience, who are expected to realize that the Odysseus who smiles here belongs to the entire mythical tradition of the Trojan War and its poetic manifestations. In addition, Odysseus' smile 'looks ahead' to events that have not yet taken place within an unfolding narrative continuum encompassing the later, post-Iliadic phases of the war. These events are 'known' to the audience by means of the Trojan War myth as crystallized in earlier oral epics such as the **Memnonis* and one or more versions of an **Ilias parva*, the former mirrored in the second part of the post-Homeric *Aethiopis* by Arctinus of Miletus, the latter sharing certain features with the post-Homeric *Ilias parva* of Lesches from Mytilene. They are also 'known' to Odysseus' 'epic self', the one whose 'literary life' is constructed by his overall presence in the Trojan War myth and its poetic manifestations. Such interaction of a character's 'life history' with his 'intertextual life'⁹¹ amounts to a form of implicit allusion that is effectively exemplified in the episode known as the ὄπλων κρίσις ('judgment of arms'), which concerns the rivalry between Telamonian Ajax and Odysseus for the acquisition of the arms of Achilles after his death. This episode occurred both at the

91 See Currie 2016, 119.

end of the *Aethiopsis*⁹² and in the beginning of the *Ilias parva*.⁹³ This means that it was not confined to a single poetic tradition but probably to more than one. It may have also been alluded to in other epic traditions by means of a recollection of that crucial and tragic incident. Seen from this vantage point, Odysseus' smile in *Il.* 10.400 is also operating on an intertextual level. By betraying an expectation that makes sense only if Odysseus knows what will happen with Patroclus and Achilles' horses in the *Iliad* and what is going to take place with the quarrel for Achilles' armor in post-Iliadic epic traditions, which must have been known to the audience through earlier oral epic versions, Odysseus' smile draws attention to 'the poem as poem'.⁹⁴ As if a surrogate narrator,⁹⁵ analogous to the gods as figures of the poet or the epic tradition, Odysseus speaks 'in a directorial function'⁹⁶ and 'forces the hearer to become aware of the work's construction of its fictionality'.⁹⁷ By recourse to a standard neoanalytical technique, opposition in imitation, Odysseus smiles at Dolon's and Hector's vanity of acquiring Achilles' horses because his literary self 'knows' that ultimately the only thing that will be passed from Achilles to another hero will not be his horses but his second suit of armor and that the only person who will acquire it for good will be nobody else than the very man who now smiles: Odysseus.

4 Epilogue

Since the equation of Hector's death with the Fall of Troy is the *Iliad*'s way of honoring its chief hero, Achilles, thus placing its own limited plot on a par with the core of the subplot, i.e. the Sack of Troy, the *Doloneia* represents a *sophisticated outlook at the point of convergence between plot and subplot*: the Iliadic λόγος of Odysseus and Diomedes instead of a potential λόγος of Achilles feared by the Trojans (*Il.* 24.778–781), the stealing of Rhesus' horses instead of Hector's futile promise to Dolon to acquire the horses of Achilles (a promise rendered null and void in the episodes of the deaths of Patroclus and Hector), the night-raid of Odysseus and Diomedes against Δόλων instead of the success of the Trojan spy

⁹² Arg. ll. 202–203 Severyns; fr. 5 PEG = 1 EGF = 6 GEF; see Rengakos 2015, 307–309.

⁹³ Arg. ll. 208–210 Severyns; fr. 2–3 PEG = 2–3 EGF = 2–3 GEF; see Kelly 2015, 319, 322, 331–332.

⁹⁴ Currie 2016, 117.

⁹⁵ See Olson 1995, 141–142.

⁹⁶ See Easterling 1993, 80, 81 (I owe this reference to Currie 2016, 116).

⁹⁷ Segal 1994, 123 (where he is referring to the *Odyssey*).

mission planned by Hector, and the ultimate δόλος of Odysseus, the δόλων ἄτοκος⁹⁸ ('insatiate in cunning') who will sack Troy by means of the future λόχος of the Wooden Horse. In a superb move, the *Iliad* allows Odysseus, the hero who will finally sack Troy and bring the war to an end, to use Dolon and the horses of Achilles as a 'window' allowing us a glimpse of both plot and subplot. The Trojan spy has asked for something too great for his stature. Hector has promised him something beyond his grasp. Likewise, Patroclus will only be Achilles' surrogate, unable to brandish his Pelian ash-spear, unable to be a second Achilles. His friend's armor and immortal horses, a gift from the gods, will not suffice for sacking Troy. The former will go to Hector, the latter will be returned to the real master, Achilles, on whose chariot Hector's dead body will later be tied and dragged back to the ships, away from the walls of the still impregnable city. But even Achilles' divine horses are not enough for sacking Troy. To this end, a different kind of horse is needed. One of wood, built by the help of Athena, a gift to resourceful Odysseus. It is this horse with Odysseus (and Diomedes) in its belly that will finally sack the holy citadel of Troy.

The well-knit nexus of intratextual references, backward and forward thematic associations and verbal echoes between the *Doloneia* and the *Iliad* reveals that Book 10 is marked by the same allusive sophistication that permeates the entire epic. On top of this comes Odysseus' 'pregnant smile', which constitutes a phenomenon parallel to that of 'pregnant tears' that characterizes Homeric epic as a deeply self-conscious, mature, and highly allusive form of poetic art. This realization speaks volumes about a profound familiarity, knowledge, and creative use of the scope and aims of the *Iliad*, as well as the full range of Homeric narrative techniques. It discloses that the *Doloneia* feeds on the very core of the *Iliad*, it reveals that the *Iliad* feeds on the *Doloneia*. The extent, depth, and nature of this phenomenon are so harmoniously in tune with the existence of a unified tradition that they make the scenario of the authenticity of *Iliad* 10 a legitimate one. This is a much more plausible and economical line of thought than the one arguing that a poet different from that of the *Iliad* was extremely skilful in understanding and applying the most sophisticated narrative techniques of the *Iliad* to a single episode which he composed and added to an already fixed poem. That this imaginary poet was able not only to carry out this formidable task but also to impose his own version of the epic (with Book 10) on the entire Iliadic tradition, making his personal copy of the text overrun all other copies deprived of *Iliad* 10 and erasing all memory in any later source of an *Iliad* without Book 10 is, to my mind, a much less plausible scenario.

98 *Il.* 11.430.

On the contrary, the systematic and sustained treatment of key-themes of the Iliadic plot and the Trojan War subplot testifies to the *Doloneia*'s integral role in the tradition, of which it is an indispensable part. This insightful, twofold engagement with the kernel of the Trojan War myth is tellingly emblemized in the moment Odysseus comments on Dolon's desire to acquire Achilles' horses. When tricksters meet, the real master prevails, doing nothing short of 'mobilizing the entire Trojan war epic tradition and sending it into battle'.⁹⁹ And all this with a smile.¹⁰⁰

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99 I am deliberately adapting here the well-known summary description of Winston Churchill's eloquence by John Fitzgerald Kennedy upon granting Churchill honorary American citizenship in 1963. Kennedy, who was quoting Edward Murrow, famously said: 'He mobilized the English language and sent it into battle'.

100 It is with great pleasure that I am dedicating this contribution to Franco Montanari, whose scientific acumen, impressive research record, and rich editorial activity have immensely promoted the study of ancient Greek literature not only in Italy but also internationally. This is only a small *pignus* for his enduring and unfailing friendship throughout the years. I would also like to thank Erwin Cook, Bruno Currie, Lowell Edmunds, Jonathan Ready, and Antonios Rengakos for their suggestions and comments.

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Anna Novokhatko

Homeric Hermeneutics on the way from Athens to Alexandria

ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἔν τε ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς διατρίβειν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν Ὀμήρῳ, τῷ ἀρίστῳ καὶ θειοτάτῳ τῶν ποιητῶν,
καὶ τὴν τούτου διάνοιαν ἐκμανθάνειν, μὴ μόνον τὰ ἔπη, ζηλωτὸν ἐστίν.

Plato, *Ion* 530b8–11

The centrality of Homeric poetry in Greek cultural education protected and fortified the special status of this text in all the numerous and complex versions in which it has survived. This paper will analyse the reading and interpretation of the Homeric text in late Classical times and in the context of Plato's dominant views of poetry, which determined the development of 4th century BCE criticism. In Pre-Alexandrian thought approaches to the Homeric language and literary texts cannot be clearly distinguished from one another, examples being proto-dictionaries, and the first lists of words with explanations of their meanings which can be thought of both as studies of grammar and as proto-lexicography.¹ Homeric textual criticism and hermeneutics are also not always clearly distinguishable from literary criticism, as readings were corrected on the basis of an interpretation of the content and the moral values ascribed to characters. This paper will thus attempt an outline of the branches of Homeric studies as these appeared in the 4th century BCE.

1 Early approaches to Homeric criticism

The Homeric epics are the result of very complicated oral and written processes, which interacted with each other, and influenced each other, and these processes cannot at present be fully reconstructed. The first trajectories of moving Homeric performances and fixing the Homeric text reveal routes from Ionia to Athens and the area of Western Greece, mainly South Italy and Sicily.² Epic poetry was recited

¹ Pfeiffer 1968, 3–15; Novokhatko 2015, 28–59.

² On *aidoi* and rhapsodes, see Sauer 1891; Pagliaro 1953, 3–62; Schadewaldt 1965, 54–86; Ford 1981; Ford 1992, 14–16.

from memory and performed in a type of competition, and the rhapsodes were active in competitive performances, or agons.

The Homeric text was the basic text employed in education, its use becoming ever more important for the learning of reading and writing.³ By the same token, the principal subject of interpretation was also Homer. According to a Pindaric scholium, it was the Chian rhapsode Cynaethus and his associates (during the last third of the 6th century BCE) who had composed many of the lines and inserted them into the Homeric text.⁴

Though ancient Greek rhapsodes frequently commented on their own use of language, explained etymologies, glossed rare and obsolete words,⁵ such self-referential deliberations should not be equated with the theoretical study of the written text.⁶ Nonetheless, theoretical writing which consciously engaged with philological concepts and methods gradually increased during the 6th c. and the first half of the 5th c. BCE.⁷ One of the first known names connected with the interpretation of the literary text is the mythographer Pherecydes of Syros who was credited with the practice of allegorical exegesis in the first half of the 6th c. BCE. Pherecydes was the first prose writer in Greek (an important step in the creation of distance from epic poetry!), his work being a theogony and cosmogony with allegorical passages. Important here is the shift from an old archaic evaluative method of perceiving the text to actual interpretation (Pherecydes fr. 76 Schibli = Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6, 6, 53, 5). Pherecydes, working in the framework of this tradition, regards the Homeric gods as representations of cosmic forces, and the secondary evidence that constantly connects him to such views is abundant (Pherecydes DK7 A8, A9, B1, B1a).

Pherecydes perhaps commented on the Homeric text. The evidence is obscure, but it is worth mentioning as it might hint at attempts towards a critical reading of the epic text already in the first half of the 6th c. BCE. Pherecydes is

³ Cf. Pl. *Prt.* 325e–326d; see Latacz 2000, 2–3.

⁴ Sch. Pind. *Nem.* 2, 1c; West 2001, 16–17.

⁵ The main linguistic object of attention for early epic poets was the relationship between name and denominated object. Proper names in epics are often eloquent, containing explicit etymologies. It was not the reconstruction of the root of a particular word that interested the epic poet, but rather the search for an explanation of the naming-motif. Emphasis was placed on the name as a reflection of character. Thus, the name “Odysseus” in Homer was felt to be related to the passive participle ὀδυσάμενος (“odious”), in accordance with one of Odysseus’ characteristics, “to be wroth against, to be hated”, *Od.* 19.407; cf. Soph. fr. 965 TrGF. On self-explanation and self-interpretation of Homer and Hesiod, see Ford 2002, 70 n. 15.

⁶ For early Greek observations on poetry, see Lanata 1963; Grube 1965, 1–12; Nagy 1989.

⁷ Novokhatko 2018a, 39–50.

quoted by the 3rd c. CE theologian Origen as a commenter on the *Iliad* 15.18 ἢ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμω ὑψόθεν, “Or do not you remember when you were hung from on high” (Pherecydes DK 7 B5 = Orig. c. *Cels.* VI 42). The famous punishment of Hera by Zeus (the so-called κόλασις Ἥρας, vv. 18–31) elicited various explanations from ancient scholars. The 3rd c. BCE Homeric scholar Zenodotus, for example, athetized the passage entirely (Did/A) perhaps because of his dislike of impropriety.⁸ Allegorical descriptions presenting Hera as ‘air’ for example, survive in D and Heraclitus’ *Homeric Problems* chapter 40 (end of the 1st – beginning of the 2nd c. CE). What exactly the Iliadic verse is referring to, whether Pherecydes had the same version of the verse as we do, whether it should be read as an attempt to salvage the gods from improper behaviour and understand them as cosmic elements, remains unclear.

Pherecydes’ ideas perhaps influenced his alleged student Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570–495 BCE).⁹ Furthermore, allegoresis as a 6th c. BCE social practice as well as a hermeneutic position constitutes a significant part of Pythagorean discourse. Pythagoras supposedly studied on Samos with the Homeride Hermodamas, and his method of interpretation originated in working with the Homeric text.¹⁰ There are disappointingly few extant testimonia that indicate a concern with the Homeric text in early Pythagoreans;¹¹ they are however enough to suppose that Pythagoreans used and interpreted the Homeric and Hesiodic texts for ritual purposes. The cult of the Muses in early Pythagoreanism reveals their connection to Homer; excerpts from Homer and Hesiod were sung to tranquilize the soul.¹² Pythagorean discourse remained current in the 6th and 5th c. BCE and provided the framework for the interpretation of epic texts.¹³

Parallely, in Magna Graecia, another name was significant for literary studies and early textual criticism. Theagenes of Rhegium (*fl.* between 530 and 520 BCE) was credited with being a rhapsode and one of the first Homeric scholars.

⁸ Janko 1992, 229–231.

⁹ Neanthes FGrH 84,29 f.; Aristox. fr. 14 Wehrli.

¹⁰ Neanthes FGrH 84 fr. 29; see Burkert 1972, 77–78.

¹¹ Analysed by Detienne 1962, 61–81. On early Orphic and Pythagorean exegetic studies, see also Gambarara 1984, 168–198.

¹² Porph. *VP* 32, Iambl. *VP* 111, 113. Lamberton 1986, 35.

¹³ Richardson 2006, 76–77 with further bibliography.

Theagenes is mentioned in the scholion *Sch. Hom. A* on *Il.* 1.381 for his quotation of variants of the Homeric text.¹⁴ According to the 1st c. CE grammarian Seleucus of Alexandria, Theagenes quoted this verse with a rhapsodic variant found in the Cypriot and Cretan editions (Theag. DK 8 A3 = *Sch. Hom. A* *Il.* 1.381). All manuscripts and papyri read ἐπεὶ μάλα οἱ φίλος ἦεν (“for (Chryses) was very dear to him (to Apollo)”), whilst Theagenes quoted ὥα νύ (“thus now”) instead of μάλα (“very”). It would seem the Cyprian and Cretan editions both followed this reading. The scholiast explains this reading (although the explanation seems corrupt) as part of his defence of the gods from the charge of inappropriate behaviour: it is unlikely, according to him, that Apollo loved Chryses so dearly to excess (using in his explanation λίαν as a synonym for the Homeric μάλα). This moralizing variant aimed at eliminating an impious criticism of Apollo on the part of Achilles, for loving Chryses so much.¹⁵ The verse may provide evidence that Theagenes’ motivation in dealing with textual issues was to resolve the meaning of morally problematic passages. The verb προφέρεται describing Theagenes’ activity with regard to this reading, signifying as it does ‘proffering’, means that the reading ὥα νύ is attested in Theagenes. However, it remains unclear whether Theagenes performed Homer as a rhapsode and used this variant, or quoted the Homeric text as a scholar, and then quoted this reading.¹⁶ His enumeration among the rhapsodes probably explains and justifies his close contact with the Homeric text at this early age.

He also offered an allegorical exegesis of the famous theomachy scene in *Iliad* 20, viewing it as both a conflict of physical elements in natural science and as a clash of moral values. He employed allegory to ‘solve’ the ‘problem’ of improper stories involving the gods (Theagenes DK 8 A2 = Porph. *Quaest. Hom.* 1.240 (*Schol. Hom. Il.* 20.67–75)).¹⁷ Porphyry’s account is not necessarily based on Theagenes alone, but rather incorporates later Stoic and perhaps Neopythagorean sources.¹⁸ It is important to emphasize then, taking into account the evidence on

¹⁴ Though in the West, Rhegium was an Euboean colony and therefore Ionian. On *Sch. Hom. A* on *Il.* 1.381, besides Erbse 1969–1988 *ad loc.*, see Ludwich 1884, 1.192; Müller 1891, 35–36; González 2013, 156–159. On Theagenes working with written copies of Homeric text, see Cassio 2002, 118–119; Cassio 2012, 254–255; Biondi 2015, 49–56 and the review in Novokhatko 2018b.

¹⁵ Biondi 2015, 51.

¹⁶ González 2013, 157 and Dickey 2007, 257.

¹⁷ On Theagenes’ allegoresis see Wehrli 1928, 88–94; Svenbro 1984, 101–121; Rispoli 1980; Feeney 1991, 8–11; Ramos Jurado 1999; Ford 1999a; Ford 2002, 68–72; Zumbo 2002; Struck 2004, 27–29; Naddaf 2009, 108–114; Biondi 2015, 57–105; González 2013, 156–167; González 2016, 801–811.

¹⁸ Ford 2002, 68.

Pherecydes, Pythagoras and Theagenes, that it seems that already towards the end of the 6th c. BCE allegoresis was an active mode for the interpretation of the Homeric text in the intellectual centres of Greece.

Further, Theagenes was said to have written on Homer's life, background and poetry (DK 8 A1 = Tatian. 31, 16 Schw.).¹⁹ The 2nd c. CE theologian Tatian credits Theagenes, whom he presents as a contemporary of the Persian king Cambyses II (529–522 BCE), with being the first to search out (the use of the erudite verb προερευνᾶν 'to search out first' is noteworthy here) Homer's work (ποίησις), biography (γένος) and historical background (χρόνος). We do not know what topics interested Theagenes in the Homeric text. Theagenes is named among two other early Homeric scholars by Tatian: Stesimbrotus of Thasus was known for his emendations and discussion of problematic passages of the Homeric text whilst his pupil Antimachus of Colophon was the earliest editor of the Homeric text, and composed a book on Homeric problems.

It is also unclear whether the "traditional" version of the text was known to Theagenes or not. It does however follow that this "Creto-Cyprian" version was known to him, as this is the text quoted. The contact with the Creto-Cyprian edition may be due to a friendly relationship of Rhegium with Elea, founded by Greeks from the Ionian Greek city Phocaea (on the western coast of Anatolia) around 540–535 BCE. Being a Euboian colony Rhegium benefited from its connections, the Euboians being among the first who wrote down poetic texts (the famous Cup of Nestor from Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia (c. 725 BCE) being an outstanding example).²⁰

Another step in the evaluation of the epic tradition was made by Theagenes' contemporary poet, philosopher, and critic, Xenophanes of Colophon (ca. 570–ca. 475 BCE).²¹ Although he acknowledged that "all men always have learnt according to Homer" (DK 21 B10), he twice faulted Homer and Hesiod for their attribution of "everything that among men is to be reproached: stealing, adultery and cheating each other" to the gods (Xenophanes DK 21 B11).²² Xenophanes thus generated a distance between the epic mythological world of the past, and the very different world to which both Homer and Hesiod belonged.

19 There is also testimony DK 8 A4, from the Suda, stating that Theagenes wrote only about Homer, but this is less interesting because the Suda simply epitomized other sources, in this case possibly Porphyry and Tatian.

20 P. Oxy. II 221, where Protagoras' comment on the *Iliad* is preserved.

21 Ford 2002, 55 n. 47.

22 For more, see Pfeiffer 1968, 8–9; on Xenophanes' criticism in sympotic context, see Ford 2002, 46–66.

Drawing on Hesiod, Solon and the oral tradition, Xenophanes represents one movement in the early exegesis of the epic texts. In this movement epic poetry is opposed to rational critical thinking, poetry being connected to falsehood, arbitrariness and fiction (DK 21 B18).

In the later tradition, two 6th c. BCE Athenian rulers — the lawmaker and poet Solon (ca. 638–ca. 558 BCE) and perhaps his distant relative the initiator of the Panathenaic Festival (unless it was his son Hipparchus) Peisistratus (died 528/7 BCE) — are credited with reading, interpolating and criticising the Homeric text.²³ In the late sources three obscure members of Peisistratus' commission — Orpheus of Croton, Zopyrus of Heraclea and Onomacritus from Athens — are even explicitly named. Though Peisistratus' commission was not responsible for establishing the text in its final form, it seems to have played a crucial role in its development.²⁴

2 Homer in Classical Athens

Three 5th c. BCE figures, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, Hippias of Thasus, and Stesimbrotus of Thasus, were credited with the emendation of the Homeric text. Metrodorus of Lampsacus may have written on Homeric textual problems, something that follows from his interpretation of the problematic verses of the book 10 of the *Iliad*.²⁵ Hippias of Thasus, otherwise completely unknown, emended two verses *Il.* 2.1 and 23.328 using the prosody-oriented method. Stesimbrotus of Thasus was referred to in the scholia as having emended the Homeric verse *Il.* 15.189 prosodically.²⁶

Such text passages on prosody could be regarded as ambiguous during the course of the 5th c. BCE, when the transmission of the Homeric poems was essen-

²³ Nagy 2010, 348. On the 'rhapsodic editions' and the 'Athenian recension', see Novokhatko 2018a, 50–61.

²⁴ Lucarini 2019, 397–415. On the end of rhapsodic creativity around this time, see Aloni 1984, 123 and Cassio 2002, 116 who debates the issue. See also West 1988, 39.

²⁵ On Metrodorus' Homeric allegoresis, see Westermann 2002, 134–140 and Novokhatko (forthcoming).

²⁶ Arist. *Soph. El.* 177b–178a. For the list of possible pre-Alexandrian emendations to the Homeric texts, see West 2001, 26–28. See also Bolling 1925, 31–56. On rhapsodic emendations, see Jachmann 1949, 207–208.

tially oral, although they also existed in writing. Aristotle understood and commented upon this ambiguity, as will be discussed below, precisely because he perceived the Homeric work as a written text.²⁷

It remains unclear how these prosodic solutions were explained in the 5th c. BCE, and whether the prosodic terminology used in Plato's *Cratylus* existed already as early as in the 5th c. BCE. Plato's Socrates explains here the difference both in spelling and in pronouncing between the syntagma Διὶ φίλος and the name Δίφιλος.

Pl. *Crat.* 399a–b:

πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοιόνδε δεῖ ἐννοῆσαι περὶ ὀνομάτων, ὅτι πολλάκις ἐπεμβάλλομεν γράμματα, τὰ δ' ἐξαιρούμεν, παρ' ὃ βουλόμεθα ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ τὰς ὀξύτητας μεταβάλλομεν. οἷον “Διὶ φίλος” — τοῦτο ἵνα ἀντὶ ῥήματος ὄνομα ἡμῖν γένηται, τό τε ἕτερον αὐτόθεν ἰῶτα ἐξείλομεν καὶ ἀντὶ ὀξείας τῆς μέσης συλλαβῆς βαρεῖαν ἐφθεγξάμεθα. ἄλλων δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐμβάλλομεν γράμματα, τὰ δὲ βαρύτερα <ὀξύτερα> φθεγγόμεθα.

Firstly one should remember about words that often we insert some letters, and pull out some others, whilst giving names as we wish, and change the acuteness. Like in Διὶ φίλος in order to convert it out of an expression into a noun, we have just taken out the other iota and pronounced grave instead of acute in the middle syllable. In other cases, we insert letters the other way round and pronounce acute instead of grave.

Socrates employs technical terminology here. The expressions such as ἐπεμβάλλομεν γράμματα (“we insert letters”), ἐξαιρούμεν (“we pull out (letters)”), τὰς ὀξύτητας μεταβάλλομεν (“we change the acuteness”), ἀντὶ ὀξείας τῆς μέσης συλλαβῆς βαρεῖαν ἐφθεγξάμεθα (“we pronounced grave instead of acute in the middle syllable”) all reflect contemporary discourses from prosodic studies. We cannot know whether these terms belong to 5th century BCE discourses as well. Some hints suggest that Hippias and Stesimbrotus explained their alterations to the Homeric text in a similar way, using technical terms that must surely have existed in the first half of the 4th c. BCE, such as ὀξύτης (“acuteness”), ὀξύς (“acute”), βαρύς (“grave”). Thus Heraclitus might have used these or similar terms in reference to music:

²⁷ Probert 2006, 17 and Blanck 1992, 113–118.

οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶναι ἁρμονίαν μὴ ὄντος ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος

for there would be neither harmony, if there were not high-pitched/acute and low-pitched/
grave.

Heracl. DK 22 A22 = Arist. *Eudem. Ethic.* 7.1
1235a27

Aristotle paraphrases Heraclitus, and as a result we cannot be sure whether and how these terms were employed. But it cannot be excluded that they were used. And if these were Heraclitus' terms, they might have been found in contemporary prosodic studies as well.²⁸

Similarly, other prosodic terms such as a number of marginal (diacritical) signs (παράσημον and παραγραφή), mentioned in Aristotle, might have been made use of by scholars such as Hippias and Stesimbrotus:

οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ διττὸν τὸ παρὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος γίνεται, διαφρούμενος, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ τὸ “ὄρος”, καὶ “ὄρος” τῇ προσωδίᾳ λεχθέν, σημαίνει ἕτερον. ἀλλ’ ἐν μὲν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις τὸ αὐτὸ <τὸ> ὄνομα, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων γεγραμμένον ᾗ καὶ ὡσαύτως (κάκεϊ δ’ ἤδη παράσημα ποιοῦνται), τὰ δὲ φθεγγόμενα οὐ ταῦτά.

Arist. *Soph. el.* 20, 177b

For it is not ambiguous, that which concerns the division of words. For the utterance becomes not the same being divided, unless in fact ὄρος and ὄρος spelt prosodically mean different things. However, in written texts the noun is the same, written with the same letters, and in the same way, although already marginal signs are used, but the spoken words are not the same.

The manner in which Aristotle mentions the marginal diacritical signs reveals that the practice of using diacritics is recent for him: κάκεϊ δ’ ἤδη παράσημα ποιοῦνται “even if now/already marginal signs are used”.²⁹ This does not exclude the possibility that Hippias and Stesimbrotus might have also have explored and used such signs (if we believe that they emended Homeric text prosodically), but the practice must not have been common even in the mid 4th c. BCE.

Sicilian and Old Attic comic playwrights reflect some prosodic phenomena which again does not necessarily mean that theoretical studies or terminology existed as early as the 5th century BCE. Epicharmus' fr. 76 PCG involves a linguistic exercise on a mythological topic playing with the acoustic misunderstanding

²⁸ Cf. Xenophon's use of tones of voice (on the hunter calling the name of each dog in turn, changing the tone of voice into high, low, soft, loud): τοὺς τόνους τῆς φωνῆς ποιούμενον, ὄξύ, βαρύ, μικρόν, μέγα (Xen. *Cyn.* 6.20).

²⁹ Cf. the similar use of παραγραφή (“marginal note”) in Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 1409a20. Cf. Isoc. 15.59.

between the sayings γ' ἔρᾱνον ("feast, banquet") and γέρανον ("crane"). Similar acoustic jokes were played by the Sicilian playwright Sophron (fr. 38 PCG: ἀμφ' ἄλητα heard as ἀμ' φάλητα)³⁰ and by Attic playwright Strattis (fr. 63 PCG: γαλήν and γαλήν').³¹

So much for prosody. Various contemporary genres reflected the diffusion of Homeric criticism in the course of the 5th c. BCE. One of the earliest attestations is found in Herodotus (before 425 BCE). In book 2 and in book 4 Herodotus was to discuss the question of the authenticity and authorship of the epic poems *Epigoni* and *Cypria*, which he believed not to have been composed by Homer.³²

Further the comic playwright Cratinus is supposed to have mocked Homer for his repeated use of the formula τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος (Cratin. *incert.* fr. 355 PCG = Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 10.3.21). It is unclear from the quotation context whether Homer was mentioned explicitly by name, or whether Cratinus made one of his characters (mis)use the formula so that the audience would recognize Homeric words. In either case this should serve as further proof that discourses of Homeric criticism were popular, to the extent that an audience in the theatre was supposed to react to a joke on Homeric pleonasm. Thus, if the evidence from Eusebius is correct, Cratinus was influenced by contemporary Homeric criticism.

The philological activity of explaining Homeric words is referred to in the much-discussed fragment 233 PCG from Aristophanes' *Daitales* (427 BCE). The dialogue belongs perhaps to an agon and the speakers are a father and a son:

- A. πρὸς ταύτας δ' αὖ λέξον Ὅμηρου γλώττας, τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα;
 ...τί καλοῦσ' ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα;
 B. ὁ μὲν οὖν σός, ἕμός δ' οὗτος ἀδελφὸς φρασάτω, τί καλοῦσιν ἰδύους;
 ...τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὀπύειν;
 A. And now come on in turn tell Homeric words, what do they mean by 'korymba'?
 ... what do they mean by 'amenena karena'?
 B. But let this guy, your (son?) and my brother, explain, what do they mean by 'idyoi'?
 ...what is 'opyein'?

The father is playing at Homeric philology: the use of the syntagma Ὅμηρου γλώττας is crucial, as γλώττα must have been coined as a term at some point

³⁰ See Shaw 2014, 75.

³¹ See Orth 2009, 251–254.

³² On the attestation of Homeric exegesis in Herodotus, see Farinelli 1995; Graziosi 2002, 114–124 and Nicolai 2003.

close to the date of the *Daitales*.³³ Democritus is also credited with the term. Diogenes Laertius mentions a title of a treatise by Democritus, *Περὶ Ὀμήρου ἢ Ὀρθοεπειῆς καὶ γλωσσέων* (DK 68 A33, 11). The title suggests a certain distinction between correct language usage and archaic vocabulary, and this requires explanation. If the title is correct, and Democritus did in fact write this treatise, this must have been a kind of a Homeric-Attic dictionary, one of those proto-dictionaries dating back to the 5th c. BCE which served as a source for scholia minora, or the so-called D[idymus]-scholia.³⁴ Such dictionaries looked like lists and were used by school-children. They explained Homeric expressions, translating them into contemporary (Attic) language.³⁵

From Old comedy, quite apart from the numerous epic allusions and quotations which reveal comedy's engagement with the genre of epic, these two parallels — Cratinus fr. 355 PCG and Aristophanes fr. 233 PCG — are especially significant. Their approach to Homeric language seems to be critical, and they both provide evidence for methods of contemporary textual criticism. Cratinus points to the repeated use of Homeric formulas, Aristophanes points to obsolete Homeric words, and perhaps to the establishment of a new vocabulary for studying obsolete words.

33 On the content and background of the fragment, see Cassio 1977, *ad loc.* Almost a hundred years afterwards the use of the term γλῶττα is discussed by Aristotle. γλῶττα for Aristotle, who relied on a tradition that must have existed before him, belongs to the tools of a poet and is one of the main lexic and stylistic criteria of epic (heroic) poetry, alongside compound words typical for the dithyramb, and metaphors for iambs. Aristotle opposes current words, κύρια, to the words typical of the heroic style, γλῶτται (Arist. *Poet.* 1459a9–10, 1461a10, *Rhet.* 3, 1406b3, 1404b28).

34 DK 68 A33, 11 (= Diog. Laert. 9.48; Diogenes Laertius quotes the titles of Democritus' 'Homeric' works *Περὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἁρμονίης*, *Περὶ ποιήσιος*, *Περὶ καλλοσύνης ἐπέων*, *Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφώνων γραμμάτων*, *Περὶ Ὀμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπειῆς καὶ γλωσσέων*, *Περὶ ἀοιδῆς*, *Περὶ ῥημάτων*, *Ὀνομαστικῶν*), B20a; on Democritus' Homeric studies, A101 (= Arist. *De anim.* 404a27) and B21–25a; Frommüller 1901. See also Janko 2011, 208–215.

35 Latacz 2000, 3–4; Pfeiffer 1968, 41–42 and 78–79. There are several examples of such Homeric-Attic studies, in which Homer is quoted and interpreted, and Homeric words are systematically replaced by Attic (Pl. *Gorg.* 485d, Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.58–59, Aeschin. 1 (*Timarchos*) *passim*; Ford 1999b). Cf. Plat. *Resp.* 3, 393d–394e: a summary paraphrase of *Il.* 1.12–42. On the significance of early Homeric studies for the development of the scholia minora, see Henrichs 1971, esp. 99–101.

3 Homeric studies in the late 5th and early 4th centuries BCE

The sophist Hippias of Elis (*fl.* last third of the 5th c. BCE), associated with polymathy and extraordinary memory, dealt with Homeric explanations and analysed the usage of words.³⁶ He is reported to have explained the usage of the noun τύαννος (*Hypoth.* 2 *ad* Soph. OR = fr. D26 Laks–Most = DK 86 B9).

There are further some indications positing the existence of what may have been 5th c. BCE Homeric criticism, of names vague and general terms such as ἐνίοις τῶν σοφιστῶν, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι κριτικοὶ, τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ὀμηρικοῖς. Thus, the verses *Il.* 20.269–272 were athetized by Aristarchus, but this seems to have in fact been an older elimination (Schol. T *Il.* 20.269–272). The four verses *Il.* 20.269–272 were omitted in some older versions of the text quoted by critics (ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ οὐδὲ ἐφέροντο). A number of older critics, however, must have discussed this omission or argued for their elimination (προηθετοῦντο παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν σοφιστῶν). Unless the rejection was explained in words and not marked in the roll of the Homeric text, this constitutes very important evidence that a number of critical signs existed at this earliest stage of criticism.³⁷

Old Homeric critics also may have explained marked epic expressions elsewhere. Thus the scholiast A quoted above quotes the old critics as part of his explanation of the expression πορφύρεος θάνατος (Schol. A *Il.* 5.83).

The famous pupil of Gorgias and Socrates Antisthenes of Athens (c. 445 – c. 365 BCE) might at one time also have been a textual critic.³⁸ Homeric scholia reveal that Antisthenes interpreted the Homeric text extensively, though Antisthenes' interpretations passed through various stages of later reception and it is hard to reconstruct his original method. His explanations are often on a philosophic and ethically evaluative level, such as *Il.* 11.637 (fr. 191 Giannantoni), *Il.* 15.123 (fr. 192A Giannantoni), *Il.* 23.65 (fr. 193 Giannantoni), *Od.* 7.258 (fr. 188A–2 Giannantoni), *Od.* 5.211 (fr. 188B Giannantoni), *Od.* 9.106 (fr. 189A–1 Giannantoni), *Od.* 9.525 (fr. 190 Giannantoni).

³⁶ Hippias frs. D24–D27 Laks–Most.

³⁷ I tend to agree with Cassio (2002, 128) that it seems more probable that some signs were already in use as early as the first athetesis is attested, but the possibility of simple narration as described by Socrates for the pronunciation of grave instead of acute in Plato's *Cratylus* cannot be excluded (Pl. *Crat.* 399b). The 5th c. BCE critics might have described their atheteses in words.

³⁸ See. frs. 185–197 Giannantoni for Antisthenes' Homeric studies. See also Apfel 1938, 247; Richardson 2006, 80–85 and Prince 2015, 584–677.

Antisthenes explained Homeric expressions such as the meaning of πολύτροπος (“versatile”) in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1.1 and 10.330, fr. 187 Giannantoni = Schol. *Od.* 1.1 and *Il.* 9.305).³⁹ Antisthenes explored the semantic broadness of the noun ‘tropos’.

μήποτε οὖν τρόπος τὸ μὲν τι σημαίνει τὸ ἥθος, τὸ δέ τι σημαίνει τὴν τοῦ λόγου χρῆσιν; εὐτρόπος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ τὸ ἥθος ἔχων εἰς τὸ εὖ τετραμμένον, τρόποι δὲ λόγου αἱ ποιαὶ πλάσεις... τρόπος μὲν οὖν τὸ παλίμβολον τὸ τοῦ ἥθους, τὸ πολυμετάβολον καὶ ἄστατον...

Does ‘tropos’ then mean on the one hand the character, and on the other hand the use of the story-telling/language? For the man is ‘eutropos’ who has this character and is turned to the good, and the ‘tropoi’ of story-telling/language are various mouldings... ‘Tropos’ is the reversibility of the character, changeability and unsteadiness.

Antisthen. fr. 187, 4 and 10 Giannantoni

The crucial verb here is σημαίνει (“signifies”), used in a grammatical sense for meaning. It reveals that Homeric text is semantic.⁴⁰ Plato in his *Hippias Minor* dealt with the meaning of ‘polytropos’ as well, responding apparently to Antisthenes.⁴¹

He is further recorded as having considered that a verse ascribed to Sophocles was in fact Euripidean (Sch. R Ar. *Thesm.* 21 = Antisth. fr. 196 Giannantoni). The scholiast claims that Sophocles’ verse fr. 14 TGrF is attributed to Euripides by Aristophanes himself in his comedy *Heroes*. Plato and Antisthenes concur (καὶ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Πλάτων Εὐριπίδου αὐτὸ εἶναι ἡγοῦνται).⁴² It remains open, however, whether Antisthenes declared that he believed the verse to come from Euripides, or only quoted it as Euripidean following some other source (common to Plato as well), thus this does not resolve the issue.

One of the most important figures of Pre-Hellenistic Homeric scholarship was Antisthenes’ contemporary Antimachus of Colophon (ca. 444 – ca. 365 BCE) who was also connected with the study of glosses, and known for having prepared an edition of the Homeric epics.

³⁹ Prince 2015, 591–622 with further bibliography; Giannantoni 1990, 331–346; Lapini 2015, 1024.

⁴⁰ On the development of the verb σημαίνειν in Classical Greek and its grammatical usage, see Zanker 2016, 72–79.

⁴¹ Prince 2015, 598.

⁴² Pl. *Rep.* 9 568a8–b1; *Theag.* 125b5–d6.

He also seems to have dealt with lexical and thus semantic studies and with the clarification of the difference between words.⁴³ Thus, verses from Antimachus' poem *Lyde* and Hipponax are preserved on an ostrakon from the 3rd c. BCE. These are a series of glosses on Homer. The commentator dealt with the second verse of the text of Antimachus and *Od.* 21.390 (κεῖτο δ' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ὄπλον νεὸς ἀμφιέλισσης "and there lay beneath the portico a double-oared ship's cable"). The reading ὄπλον in the *Odyssey* was misread by the commentator as σοῦσον and then as σοῦσα in Antimachus. Antimachus had to read οὔσον at *Od.* 21.390 and then used οὔσα in verse 2 and ὄπλα in verse 3. In the quoted passage from his *Lyde* Antimachus explained both the difference between these words and his reasons for reading οὔσον in the *Odyssey*.⁴⁴

The scholia quote Antimachus' edition as the first and the oldest individual one.⁴⁵ The other old individual editions were those of Euripides the Younger and Rhianus (3rd c. BCE). Antimachus emended the Homeric text, writing comments. Furthermore, he composed a book on Homeric problems.⁴⁶

Textual critical and lexical studies applied to the Homeric text had led also before Antimachus to the attempt to establish a product embodying the result of these studies. Archaic editions were, to the extent that this was possible, reconstructed on the basis of the available Homeric text, taking into account obsolete writing conventions.⁴⁷ Apart from the "Athenian edition" ascribed to the commission of Peisistratus, the oldest known 'city-editions' were the four Ionic: the Massaliotic, the Sinopic, the Chian, and the Cyprian, and three Aeolic: the Argolic, the Cretan, and the Lesbian. We cannot gauge to what extent these editions were connected to the Athenian Homeric text. It has been argued that the 'city-editions' were the subject of considerable conjection with the aim of eliminating anything that might have seemed improper and also elucidating the meaning and sense.⁴⁸

⁴³ Pfeiffer 1968, 94: "His extensive study of Homeric language is shown by the many glosses with which he adorned his own verses".

⁴⁴ Matthews 1996, 50. Cf. *Od.* 21.390 and Antim. *Lyd.* fr. 57; cf. frs. 3; 53 Wyss; on Antimachus' Homeric studies see Pfeiffer 1968, 93–95; Wilson 1969, 369; Matthews 1996, 46–51, 373–403. West 2001, 52–54 and 84 suggested that Antimachus' edition of the *Iliad* quoted in the scholia as his individual, means in fact that he possessed this edition. Antimachus might have worked on it but he did not necessarily 'edited' the text as διορθωτής. This (originally rhapsodic?) edition reached then the library of Alexandria. See also Gostoli 2006, 123–125.

⁴⁵ See Antimachus frs. 165–188 Matthews (24 fragments). See Pöhlmann 1994, 21. On the obscure Homeric edition of Euripides, see Pfeiffer 1968, 72, n. 4.

⁴⁶ 107 frs. 21–25 FGrHist.

⁴⁷ Cassio 2002, 109.

⁴⁸ On the massive emendations in the city editions, see Van der Valk 1949, 14–25 and *contra* Citti 1966. On the variants in city editions such as *Il.* 13.363 Argolic, *Il.* 14.349 Chian, *Il.* 19.77 Chian

The Antimachus-edition is hard to reconstruct. Altogether twenty of his readings are cited: eighteen for the books 1, 3, 5, 13, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the *Iliad* and two for the books 1 and 22 of the *Odyssey*.

To give some examples of Antimachus' approach to the Homeric text, a note by Didymus in Venetus A mentions Antimachus' edition on verse *Il.* 1.424 (χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο "went yesterday for a feast, and all the gods followed him") extracted from the quotation by Aristarchus in his own edition (fr. 168 Matthews = sch. Did. *Il.* 1.424b¹). The other part of the tradition read μετὰ δαῖτα ("for a feast") and not κατὰ δαῖτα ("on the occasion of a feast"). It is not clear why Antimachus decided for κατὰ δαῖτα. The obvious logic would be that κατὰ δαῖτα is found in *Od.* 2.322 and 22.199 as well, whilst μετὰ δαῖτα is not attested before Callimachus. Another reason might be that Antimachus wanted to avoid the repetition of μετὰ after μετ' ἀμύμονας in the previous verse 423.⁴⁹ Further on, the same Didymus-scholion on *Il.* 1.598 (οἶνοχόει γλυκὺ νέκταρ ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων "started to pour sweet nectar which he drew from the the mixing-bowl") on the 3rd pers. sing. imperf. form ὠνοχόει ("he started to pour"), again due to Aristarchus, mentions Antimachus' edition (fr. 169 Matthews = sch. Did. *Il.* 1.598a). The vulgate version read the Attic form ὠνοχόει, whilst Antimachus is quoted here as the first who decided to read the Ionic form οἶνοχόει.⁵⁰

Further Antimachus seems to have made a prosodic choice Τρωάς in *Il.* 5.461 (Τρωάς δὲ στίχας οὖλος Ἄρης ὄτρυνε μετελθὼν "and baleful Ares entered among the Trojans' ranks and aroused them") (fr. 170 Matthews = sch. Nic. (?) *Il.* 5.461). Antimachus seems to choose the form Τρωάς with iota instead of the common Homeric Τρώας, and thus for the adjective Τρώϊος with the iota instead of the usual plural form Τρώες without the iota for "Trojans". This evidence is important as, if correct, and Antimachus chose the reading Τρωάς instead of the common Τρώας, then it constitutes a further indication that, as in the case of the prosodic corrections of Hippias of Thasus, the distinction between accent signs clearly existed by the late 5th c. BC, albeit only in the written tradition.

Antimachus provided his Homeric text with a commentary, perhaps dealing only with disputed passages. It is interesting to observe distinctions made by later

and Massaliotic, *Il.* 21.126 Chian and such like, see Allen 1924, 283–296, who collected the variants of the city editions; see also Cassio 2002, 117, n. 58.

⁴⁹ Matthews 1996, 375–376.

⁵⁰ Matthews 1996, 376.

sources in the verbs applied to Antimachus' activities: as editor (γράφει, γράφουσι, ἐποίησαν) and as commentator (φησί, λέγει, παραδίδωσι) or interpreter (ὥήθη, νοεῖ, λαμβάνει).⁵¹

An evaluation of Antimachus' work as a Homeric critic is rendered difficult by the paucity of surviving examples of his readings and observations. In some instances his reading may perhaps be preferable to the vulgate (fr. 168, also correct Ionic forms in frs. 167 and 169). In others, while the Antimachean readings have some merit, it is better to retain the vulgate (frs. 170, 171, 174, 175). Sometimes Antimachus departs radically from the traditional text, usually in attempts to impart clarity or to remove ambiguity by means of unnecessary emendations (frs. 173, 176, 177). In one instance he clearly misunderstood the Homeric text (fr. 178).

Furthermore, two fragments from Antimachus' poems, *Thebaid* and *Lyde*, suggest that Antimachus may have retained in his Homeric edition verses which have disappeared in the vulgate.⁵² From seven other fragments (frs. 5; 21, 5; 23, 1; 53, 2; 112, 2; 144, 146) of Antimachus' poetry an understanding of certain uncommon words from Homer becomes clear. His method for revealing his own particular opinions on disputed Homeric words is yet another aspect in which Antimachus anticipated the Hellenistic *poeta doctus*, and this was a further reason why he was regarded as a forerunner of Callimachus.⁵³

Whilst this institutionalisation and standardisation of the Homeric text seems to have been taking place in Athens, in the Western part of Greek world similar developments were taking place. The alleged names of some early intellectuals, referred to above as Peisistratus' commission, such as Orpheus of Croton and Zopyrus of Heraclea or Tarentum, though obscure (these being two of the three or four alleged members of Peisistratus' commission) are suggestive of processes unfolding in the Western Greek world. Still, we cannot know whether such poets and scholars had been educated in their homelands or in Athens, having arrived at Peisistratus' court.

51 See Matthews 1996, 48–49.

52 See Matthews 1987.

53 Matthews 1996, 51.

The scarce evidence on emendations of the Homeric text, on the beginnings of lexicography based on explanations of Homeric lemmata, and, finally Antimachus' edition of Homer, all contribute to a picture of an increasing concern with critical analysis during the course of the 5th c. and early 4th c. BCE.⁵⁴

4 Plato and Homeric hermeneutics

Antisthenes' and Antimachus' scholarly activity which took place in the first half of the 4th century BCE provided a contentious ground for Plato's Homeric inquiries. Plato's approach to Homer remains within the framework of his wider philosophy and his general treatment of literature. "Plato's desire to replace poetry by philosophy as the highest form of *mousike* must be seen against the background of the paramount importance of poetry in Greek culture", noted Penelope Murray.⁵⁵ The relationship to Homeric poetry in Plato's dialogues is ambivalent, and was much discussed among ancient scholars.⁵⁶ For Plato, Homer's role is ethical and not aesthetic.⁵⁷ Plato returned to the question of divine inspiration, referred to in the poetic tradition;⁵⁸ that is to say, whether poets rely on τέχνη, "skill", or on θεία δύναμις, "inspiration".⁵⁹ Plato developed an image of the poet as divinely inspired, an image that was transmitted through Roman writers such as Cicero and Horace and became a topos, influencing later literary theories.⁶⁰

Criticism and praise of Homer went hand in hand for Plato. In his *Republic* Plato emphasized on a number of occasions the similarities between the Homeric text and tragedy (an issue that will be discussed in Aristotle's *Poetics* also).

ἔοικε μὲν γὰρ τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων τούτων τῶν τραγικῶν πρῶτος διδάσκαλός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ πρό γε τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνὴρ...

⁵⁴ The main sources of the state and versions of the Homeric text in the classical and late classical periods are direct quotations and comments in the rhetoricians, Plato, and Aristotle; the earliest papyri date to around 300 BCE. See Haslam 1997, 75–84 and Pagani–Perrone 2012.

⁵⁵ Murray 1996, 24.

⁵⁶ Ferrari 1989; Habib 2005, 23–24; Halliwell 2011, 155–159. See also Apfel 1938, 247–250.

⁵⁷ For Plato's critique of poetry and the written word, see Pl. *Phdr.* 275d–277a. On this critique as "a defence of a literate soul over against orality", see Hatab 2007. On the general ethical evaluation of the Homeric text in Plato's time, cf. Isocr. 2, 48; 12, 18, 33; 13, 2; Xen. *Mem.* 1, 4, 3; *Symp.* 4, 6; 8, 30, and Apfel 1938, 245–246.

⁵⁸ See Nagy 1989, 24–29 and Maehler 1963.

⁵⁹ See Plato's principal passages on the topic in Murray 1996, 235–238.

⁶⁰ For further discussion of inspired poets in Plato, see Büttner 2011.

For he seemed to be the first teacher and leader of all these tragic poets. But a man should not be honoured more than the truth...

Pl. *Resp.* 10, 595b10–c2

The affinity was known on various levels, such as, for example, the social because Homeric epic and tragedy were performed at civic festivals, and on the level of content as tragic plots were often taken from the epics. Furthermore, Homer is seen here “as the originator of dramatic method”, the Homeric epics contributing to tragic performance.⁶¹

ἧ γάρ, ὦ φίλε, οὐ κηλῇ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ σύ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν δι’ Ὀμήρου θεωρῆς αὐτήν;

Are you not bewitched by the poetry yourself, especially when you consider/perceive it through (the text of) Homer?

Pl. *Resp.* 10, 607c8–d1

In the context of the discussion of the nature of imitation and the theory of forms Plato discusses the effects of imitation, poetic ‘bewitchment’ being the main reason for poetry being banished.⁶² The use of the archaic meta poetic verb κηλεῖσθαι (“to charm/bewitch”) is crucial here, as it denotes Plato’s position in the discourse on Homeric poetics. “The word-group of κηλεῖν and κήλησις, long associated with the psychotropic powers of song and poetry in Greek thought, is often of either negative und uncertain shading in Plato’s work, where it usually describes a non-rational susceptibility to the emotionally ‘spellbinding’ qualities of certain uses of language or music”.⁶³ It is noteworthy as well that Plato deliberately employed Homeric language and, as had been noted by ancient stylists, Plato’s writing was particularly poetic as he transferred the flows of Homeric verse into his prose.⁶⁴

In book 3 of Plato’s *Republic* Socrates makes a paraphrase of the beginning of the *Iliad* (Il. 1.12–42). The same narrative was retold by Achilles to his mother

⁶¹ Murray 1996, 188. Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 10, 598d8; 607a2–5; Arist. *Poet.* 1448b35. Cf. also Aeschylus test. 112a TrGF on his own plays being “slices cut from Homer’s great banquets” (τεμάχη εἶναι ἔλεγεν τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων). See Murray 1996, 188–189 with further bibliography.

⁶² On the theory of imitation in the visual and poetic arts as defined in books 3 and 10 of Plato’s *Republic*, see Belfiore 2006.

⁶³ Halliwell 2011, 196. On κηλεῖν as ‘poetic bewitchment’ in Greek poetics, see Halliwell 2011, 47–48 and n. 19.

⁶⁴ Ps.-Long. *Subl.* 13.3–4; cf. Richardson 1992a, 34–35. On the detailed study of 152 Homeric quotations in Plato and on Plato’s treatment of Homeric text, see Lohse 1964, Lohse 1965 and Lohse 1967. On Homer’s influence on Plato, see Hunter 2018, 202–216. On Plato’s practice of citation in the context of his culture and philosophy, see Halliwell 2000.

Thetis, also in book 1 (366–392). Plato’s Socrates, who was well aware of both passages, thus represents both the mimetic and diegetic style of Homer, revealing the difference between ‘simple narrative’ and ‘mimetic narrative’.⁶⁵

Οὐκοῦν διήγησις μὲν ἐστὶν καὶ ὅταν τὰς ῥήσεις ἐκάστοτε λέγῃ καὶ ὅταν τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν ῥήσεων;

And so is it a narrative both when (the poet) presents (direct) speeches on each occasion and the matter between the (direct) speeches?

Pl. *Resp.* 3, 393b

In this way, Plato formulates a clear distinction between prose (Socrates’ account) and poetic narrative (Achilles’ account). Socrates comments on his paraphrase of the *Iliad* himself, using appropriate terminology for narrative.

εἰ γὰρ Ὅμηρος εἰπὼν ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ Χρύσης τῆς τε θυγατρὸς λύτρα φέρων καὶ ἱκέτης τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων, μετὰ τοῦτο μὴ ὡς Χρύσης γενόμενος ἔλεγεν ἀλλ’ ἔτι ὡς Ὅμηρος, οἷσθ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν μίμησις ἦν ἀλλὰ ἀπλὴ διήγησις.

If Homer, having said that Chryses came and gave a ransom for his daughter supplicating the Achaeans, especially the kings, would continue the story not becoming Chryses, but still as Homer, you know that this would be imitation and not a simple narrative.

Pl. *Resp.* 3, 393d

Socrates continues to paraphrase the Homeric episode as a whole without providing any quotation (μὴ ὡς Χρύσης γενόμενος ἔλεγεν) and thus showing what he means and concludes that this was a ‘pure narrative’ (ἀπλὴ διήγησις).

οὕτως, ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ἄνευ μιμήσεως ἀπλὴ διήγησις γίγνεται.

Thus, my friend, said I, a pure narrative without imitation is created.

Pl. *Resp.* 3, 394b

Socrates reproduced in prose the precise text Achilles had said to his mother in verse: *Il.* 1.12–42 is presented without direct speech and thus it constitutes a simple narrative (ἀπλὴ διήγησις) without imitation (ἄνευ μιμήσεως). This distinction between the performed narrative and a scholarly paraphrase is presented in the terms of a meta-commentary. Plato’s way of explaining Homeric text is central to

⁶⁵ On this passage, see Elmer 2016 and Nagy 2016.

contemporary rhapsodic hermeneutics with its tools of interpretation of the Homeric text. But also for contemporary Homeric scholarship which was developing its own terminology.⁶⁶

Plato's treatment of the Homeric text can thus be viewed as part of a process of generic literary and dramatic analysis. Furthermore, Plato's writing contributed to the establishment of certain normative issues and terminology for the analysis of the Homeric text and literary criticism.⁶⁷ Thus ideas about language structure and categories, etymologies, prosody and syntax, literary and textual criticism circulate in Plato's sophistic dialogues. The sophists who appear in his work, such as Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias and Hippias, discuss various scholarly issues which are either closely connected with or a by-product of the analysis of particular Homeric (or lyric, or later on, tragic) texts.

Thus Plato's *Cratylus* deals with discourses on the correct usage of names linked to Prodicus of Ceus, who is said by Socrates to have taught courses on the correctness of designations (ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης, Pl. *Crat.* 384b, cf. Pl. *Euthyd.* 277e). Further in the main discussion between Socrates and Hermogenes which starts at Pl. *Crat.* 391 b3 the Homeric text is analysed in order to define the correct usage of names.

ΕΡΜ. Καὶ τί λέγει, ὦ Σώκρατες, Ὅμηρος περὶ ὀνομάτων, καὶ ποῦ;

ΣΩ. Πολλαχοῦ· μέγιστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἐν οἷς διορίζει ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἅ τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὀνόματα καλοῦσι καὶ οἱ θεοί.

Herm. And, Socrates, what does Homer say about names and where?

Socr. In many places; but the greatest and the best things are there where he distinguishes between the names by which humans and gods call the same thing.

Pl. *Crat.* 391d2–6

Further Socrates discusses various lines from the *Iliad* (*Il.* 20.74; 14.291 and 2.813–814), where double designations, such as the river Xanthus (Scamander), the bird *chalkis* (*kymindis*), and the hill Batieia (Murine), appear (Pl. *Crat.* 391e4–392b2). The whole discussion should be considered in the context of Homeric studies of the item, with a focus on the meanings of words, on obsolete words (γλῶσσαι) and on the 'solution of problems'.⁶⁸ In fact, Plato emphasizes this context himself, for example when his Socrates explains the name of Athena.

⁶⁶ On rhapsodic exegesis in Plato's dialogues, see Westermann 2002, 47–231. On rhapsodic activity in Plato's time, see Nagy 2002; on rhapsodic technical language in Plato, see Nagy 2016.

⁶⁷ Vicaire 1960.

⁶⁸ Ademollo 2011, 149–152.

εοίκασι δὴ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν νομίζειν ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν περὶ Ὅμηρον δεινοί. καὶ γὰρ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξηγούμενοι τὸν ποιητὴν φασὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτὸν νοῦν τε καὶ διάνοιαν πεποιθέναι...

Ancient people seem to have believed the same about Athena as the interpreters of Homer now believe. For, in interpreting (the text of) the poet, many of them say that he created Athena as mind and intellect...

Pl. *Crat.* 407a8–b2

Plato refers here to his contemporary Homeric exegesis using a series of words that are significant: “those who (provide explanations) concerning Homer” (οἱ νῦν περὶ Ὅμηρον δεινοί). The verb “explain/interpret” (ἐξηγεῖσθαι) will later become the main terminus of exegesis (οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξηγούμενοι τὸν ποιητὴν).⁶⁹ This description refers to both main branches of Homeric hermeneutics, to the rhapsodes–*Homeridae* who explained the Homeric text and functioned as guardians of the Homeric tradition and its transmission,⁷⁰ and to such Homeric scholars as Plato’s contemporaries Antisthenes of Athens and Antimachus of Colophon, mentioned above, who dealt with various problems in the Homeric text, offering ‘solutions’.

The sophist Prodicus is a protagonist in Plato’s dialogue *Protagoras* as well. Plato’s *Protagoras* was written in the 380s BCE and thus the terms referred to in the text definitely existed in scholarly debates during Plato’s time. Prodicus is said to have been responsible for differentiating between apparent synonyms based on differences in their semantic load. In Prodicus’ monologue, Plato introduces four couples of synonyms (κοινός and ἴσος, ἀμφισβητεῖν and ἐρίζειν, εὐδοκιμεῖν and ἐπαινεῖσθαι, εὐφραίνεσθαι and ἡδεσθαι) and explains the differences between them (Pl. *Prot.* 337a–c). Further on, two additional couples are introduced, this time through Socrates addressing Prodicus, βούλεσθαι/ἐπιθυμεῖν and εἶναι/γενέσθαι (Pl. *Prot.* 340a1–8). In Plato’s *Meno* and *Charmides* more synonyms are mentioned, once again with reference to Prodicus, πέρας/ἔσχατον and πεπεράνθαι/τετελευτηκέναι (Pl. *Men.* 75e) and ποιήσις/πράξις (Pl. *Charm.* 163a–d).

Protagoras’ alleged discussion of Simonides’ ode to Scopas in Plato’s *Protagoras* (339a3–347a5) is a *locus classicus* in the history of literary criticism.⁷¹ In this

⁶⁹ On the sophistic exegesis of Homer περὶ Ὀμήρου λέγειν in *Hipp. Mai.* 286a3–c1, see Westermann 2002, 269–271.

⁷⁰ On the guild of rhapsodes called themselves *Homeridae*, see Novokhatko 2018a, 53–55 with further parallels and bibliography.

⁷¹ For a hermeneutic approach to this episode, see Most 1994; see further Tsitsiridis 2001 with further bibliography.

dialogue Protagoras, the protagonist, emphatically rectifies Socrates' and Prodicus' correction of Simonides (Pl. *Prot.* 340d6–e7). The motive of literary criticism is introduced in the dialogue from the outset, with Socrates paraphrasing Homer (Pl. *Prot.* 309a9). Socrates quotes a verse which occurs twice in Homer πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη (*Il.* 24.348 and *Od.* 10.279), and introduces the quotation with a critical negative question οὐ σὺ μέντοι Ὅμηρου ἐπαινέτης εἶ (“are you not clearly a praiser of Homer?”). It seems he was addressing a friend and rhapsode.⁷² Literary judgement is thus central.

The Platonic Protagoras argues that to be skilled in judging epic poetry (περὶ ἐπῶν δεινὸν εἶναι) constitutes the most significant part of an education (παιδείας μέγιστον μέρος εἶναι, Pl. *Prot.* 338e6–339a3). Such study of poetry and the value attributed to the poetic text had been an important part of Greek education from the very beginnings, preparing citizens for the values required for the public life of their polis.⁷³

Plato also provides a mass of information on contemporary Homeric interpretative practice. In his dialogue *Ion*, poetry is understood as theatrical performance, and thus it can be evaluated in terms of its effects, without regard to the means employed to achieve them. In the *Ion* some crucial methodological points pertaining to Homeric criticism and scholarly work more generally are developed.⁷⁴ Socrates defines the skill of the rhapsode using the same terms as for the skill of a scholar or critic: “to understand (ἐκμανθάνειν) the thought (διάνοια) of the poet as well as the words”, for τὸν γὰρ ῥαψῳδὸν ἐρμηνεῖα δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς διανοίας γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι (“the rhapsode must interpret the thought of the poet to his audience”, Pl. *Ion* 530b–c). In the *Ion* the role and qualification of the interpreter (Pl. *Ion* 539d–e) as well as the character and potential of Homeric exegesis are further discussed on a theoretical level.⁷⁵ Plato employs for the most part the already fixed vocabulary of Homeric exegesis. Through his writing and due to the influence of his school, Plato contributed to the establishment of the scholarly vocabulary of Homeric scholarship significantly before its flourishing in Alexandria.

Finally, Plato's early dialogue *Hippias Minor* made an important impact on the tradition of Alexandrian and later Homeric criticism, as can be seen from the

⁷² The same noun is used when addressing the rhapsode Ion in Pl. *Ion* 536d: ὅτι οὐ τέχνη ἀλλὰ θεῖα μοῖρα Ὅμηρου δεινὸς εἶ ἐπαινέτης (“because it is not by skill, but by divine fate that you are an astonishing praiser of Homer”).

⁷³ Cf. Pl. *Critias* 113a.

⁷⁴ Hunter 2011.

⁷⁵ See in detail Halliwell 2011, 167–170; Hunter 2011; Ferroni & Macé 2018, 47–51.

Homeric scholia.⁷⁶ Using agonistic vocabulary, Socrates discusses with the sophist Hippias of Elis and evaluates the treatment of Achilles and Odysseus in the Homeric text (ἀτὰρ τί δὴ λέγεις ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως; πότερον ἀμείνω καὶ κατὰ τί φης εἶναι; Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 364b). The Homeric text is in fact analysed thoroughly in the dialogue. The ethical goodness of characters is linked to literary criticism, thus reflecting contemporary critical discourses (Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 365c–d).

ΠΙ. φημί γάρ Ὅμηρον πεποικέναι ἄριστον μὲν ἄνδρα Ἀχιλλέα τῶν εἰς Τροίαν ἀφικομένων, σοφώτατον δὲ Νέστορα, πολυτροπώτατον δὲ Ὀδυσσέα. ...

ΣΩ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα εἶπες ὅτι πεποικῶς εἴη ὁ ποιητὴς πολυτροπώτατον, τοῦτο δ', ὥς γε πρὸς σὲ τάληθ' εἰρήσθαι, παντάπασιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι λέγεις.

Hipp. For I believe that Homer represented Achilles as the best man of those who came to Troy, Nestor as the wisest, and Odysseus as the most versatile...

Socr. And then you said about Odysseus that the poet represented him as the most versatile, and this, to tell you the truth, I do not understand what you mean at all.

Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 364c4–e3

Socrates seizes upon Hippias' idea that the characters in the literary text are the product of poetic craft (Ὅμηρον πεποικέναι... Ὀδυσσέα and τὸν Ὀδυσσέα... πεποικῶς... ὁ ποιητής) and this recalls Aristophanes' criticism of tragedy in the *Frogs*. It should be considered as a fundamental part of the general background of contemporary literary analysis.⁷⁷

The vocabulary of criticism is developed further. Hippias quotes six (v. 311 missing) verses from *Iliad* book 9 (*Il.* 9.308–314), the beginning of the speech of Achilles to Odysseus, and comments on them.⁷⁸

ἐν τούτοις δηλοῖ τοῖς ἔπεσιν τὸν τρόπον ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς εἴη ἀληθὴς τε καὶ ἀπλοῦς, ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς πολύτροπός τε καὶ ψευδής· ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα εἰς τὸν Ὀδυσσέα λέγοντα ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη.

In these verses (the poet) reveals the character of each man, that Achilles is true and sincere, whilst Odysseus is versatile and false. For he makes Achilles say these words to Odysseus.

Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 365b2–5

⁷⁶ See Hunter 2016 in detail. See also Phillips 1987, Giuliano 1995 and Blondell 2002, 128–137 and 154–162.

⁷⁷ On the topics of criticism of Homeric characters, see Kakridis 1974.

⁷⁸ The passage from the *Iliad*, quoted by Plato, differs from the standard text. On a possible variant of Homeric transmission in the 4th c. BCE here, see Labarbe 1949, 51–52. See the summarized discussion on the issue with bibliography in Blondell 2002, 135 n. 124.

That the poet “reveals the character” (δηλοῖ τὸν τρόπον) is for Hippias a criterion of critical evaluation.⁷⁹ The discussion of Odysseus being πολύτροπος recalls Antisthenes’ explanation of the meaning of πολύτροπος in the *Odyssey*, which in fact might have been an answer to the real Hippias’ Homeric criticism (Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 364e–365c).⁸⁰

Plato’s Socrates undermines Hippias’ argument following the manner of Homeric exegesis. It incorporates a paradox (ἄτοπόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι): Odysseus represented by the author as versatile never appears as a liar (ὁ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται ψευδάμενος), whilst Achilles does indeed lie (ψεύδεται γοῦν) and seems in fact to have been versatile (Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 369e5–370a).⁸¹ Socrates claims that the question as to who is ‘better’ represented by Homer (ὁπότερος τούτων τοῖν ἀνδράσιν ἀμείνων πεποιήται τῷ ποιητῇ) should remain difficult to solve (δύσκριτον) as both characters are very similar (ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο παραπλησίω ἐστὸν), at least as far as truthfulness and deceptiveness are concerned (Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 370d7–e).

However, Plato’s Socrates is presented as unsatisfied by the level of exegesis provided by the sophists: the literary critic should not think of poetry as the opinion of the author, since the poet only imitates words and does not necessarily mean what he says. A crucial distinction is drawn between performance per se and the proper understanding of what is performed.⁸²

Plato on the one hand employed the vocabulary already existing in the circles of Homeric exegesis. Still, through the transmission and reception of his dialogues he contributed to the establishment of scholarly vocabulary of literary analysis and linguistic studies. The creation of a language of literary and textual criticism and linguistic studies can be discussed only in the wider context of Homeric scholarship developing in various parts of Greece during the course of the 4th century BCE.

⁷⁹ Pinjuh 2014, 103–104.

⁸⁰ On Antisth. fr. 187 Giannantoni = Schol. *Od.* 1.1 and *Il.* 9.305, see above. See Venturelli 2015 and Hunter 2016, 92–96. On the meaning of πολύτροπος in Plato’s dialogue, see Pinjuh 2014, 110–119.

⁸¹ Blondell 2002, 135–136, 144; Pinjuh 2014, 166–168.

⁸² See Ferrari 1989, 99–104. For more detail on literary criticism in Plato, see Grube 1965, 46–65; Else 1986, 3–64; Murray 1996; Ford 2002, 209–226; Halliwell 2011, 155–207 with further current bibliography.

5 Plato's contemporary Homeric critics

The 4th century BCE was characterised by the increasing role of the written text, a fact that influenced textual criticism in a significant way. This is reflected for example in the development of a terminology for discussing texts: ζήτημα (“question”), πρόβλημα (“problem”), ἀπόρημα (“puzzle”) or λύσις (“solution”). As Malcolm Heath put it: “Posing problems and suggesting solutions came to be an activity of cultured leisure”.⁸³

Heraclides of Pontus, a prolific Academic associated with Speusippus, lost the scholarchate to Xenocrates after Speusippus' death (339/338 BCE) and established his own school in Heraclea on the Pontus. As ascertained by later sources, he also kept up relations with the Aristotelian school, a feature which explains his specific literary interests.⁸⁴ His oeuvre included books dealing with logic, cosmology, physics, ethics, politics and religion, and also encompassed investigations into music (frs. 109–115B Schütrumpf), poetics and the poets (fr. 1(88) Schütrumpf), various treatises on the Homeric text, such as *On Homer* (Περὶ Ὀμήρου, in two books), *On the Age of Homer and Hesiod* (Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας, in two books), *On Archilochus and Homer* (Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὀμήρου, in two books),⁸⁵ on the three tragedians (fr. 1(88) Schütrumpf), three books on material in Euripides and Sophocles (fr. 1(87) Schütrumpf), and others.

In his *Homeric solutions* (Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί in two books), transmitted mainly in Porphyry's *Homeric questions* (3rd c. CE), Heraclides criticised Homer's treatment of certain episodes and pointed out some ‘inconsistences’ in the Homeric text, proposing ‘solutions’ of his own.⁸⁶ Thus the well-known Homeric contradiction about how many cities the island Crete contains, ninety (*Od.* 19.172–174) or one hundred (*Il.* 2.649). Heraclides solves this problem through positing a time space between the statements in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. “For those who went to Troy were from a hundred cities” (οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Τροίαν ἐλθόντες ἐξ ἑκατὸν ἦσαν πόλεων), whilst by the time Odysseus returned back, ten cities on Crete had been sacked (πεπόρθηνται δέκα πόλεις ἐν Κρήτῃ). “So that when (Homer) does not say the same things about the same subject, he does not lie about it” (ὥστε εἰ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγει, οὐ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ψεύδεται, fr. 99 Schütrumpf).

⁸³ See Heath 2009, 252–253 with further bibliography.

⁸⁴ Podlecki 1969, 115–117; Wehrli 1983, 523–529; Montanari 2012, 353.

⁸⁵ Frs. 96–106 Schütrumpf. See Heath 2009, 264–271.

⁸⁶ Frs. 99–104 Schütrumpf, see Heath 2009, 255–263. On the triviality of Heraclides' judgments, see Gottschalk 1980, 136.

Heraclides does not always apologise for Homer, but also criticises him. Thus he commented on the Homeric omission of any reports to Helen about her brothers Castor and Pollux (*Il.* 3.236).

λέγει δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ὅτι ἄλογον ἦν ὄντως τοῦτο, εἰ διατελεσάντων ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐννέα ἔτη μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔσχεν Ἑλένη λέγειν.

Heraclides says that it is unreasonable, when, after all the Greeks had spent nine years in Troy, Helen could not say anything about her brothers.

Heraclid. fr. 100 Schütrumpf

If the fragment ends here (Wehrli and Schütrumpf), then Heraclides finds the Homeric problem unsolvable, or counts it as a Homeric error (ἄλογον ἦν ὄντως τοῦτο). If the fragment were extended, a ‘solution’ or justification can be found: the news did not necessarily have to be brought to Helen and her only informants would have been the Trojans.⁸⁷

Two further fragments from Heraclides (frs. 101–102 Schütrumpf) deal with Telemachus’ rhetoric and his speech to the Ithacan assembly (*Od.* 2.40–79). They discuss the reasons Telemachus reduced the suitors to the Ithacans alone, and they criticise the Telemachus’ aggression towards his audience at the very moment when he needs its help.

Further the inconsistency in the description of the giants Orion, Otus and Ephialtes (*Od.* 11.309 and *Od.* 11.576–577) is questioned (fr. 103 Schütrumpf). The problem is said to have been solved by Heraclides (λύει δὲ Ἡρακλείδης) through three suggestions: that women compare with their kinship (the giants had different mothers: Orion was a son of Euryale whilst Otus and Ephialtes were sons of Iphimedeia); that they would have grown taller if they had lived longer, and that one can excel the other in height and not in beauty.

Finally, Heraclides criticises other Homeric interpreters (his contemporaries or his predecessors) who find it absurd that the Phaeacians set Odysseus down on the shores of his homeland asleep without waking him up (*Od.* 13.119).

διαλύειν πειρώμενος ὁ Ποντικός Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ἀτόπους εἶναι τοὺς ἐξ ὧν εἴρηκεν ὁ ποιητὴς μὴ στοχαζομένους περὶ τοῦ παντὸς τρόπου τῶν Φαιάκων. συνειδόμενος γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς φιληδονίαν καὶ ἀπολαυστικὸν τρόπον... οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλογον, διὰ τίνα τοιαύτην αἰτίαν αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν ταχέως τοὺς ξένους, πρὶν ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐπιδημήσαντας.

In trying to resolve (this problem) Heraclides of Pontos says that those (interpreters) who do not try to guess what the poet said are absurd, with regard to the whole manner of the

⁸⁷ Heath 2009, 258–259 is inclined to extend the fragment.

Phaeacians. For they are aware about their fondness for pleasure and their style of life devoted to enjoyment... Thus it is not unreasonable that for some kind of this reason they send their guests away quickly, before the visitors feel at home at their place.

Heraclid. fr. 104 Schütrumpf

“The point about the proper way to evaluate actions provides the basis for a solution, provided that a countervailing motive can be identified; and Heraclides has succeeded in identifying such a motive from evidence internal to the poem”.⁸⁸ It is hard to evaluate the critical vocabulary of Heraclides as we cannot be sure which part of the text belongs literally to him and where Porphyry’s paraphrase or report might start. However, some criteria such as “unreasonable” (ἄλογον) and “odd/absurd” (ἄτοπον) contribute to the spectrum of critical parameters and analysis known from the earlier and contemporary sources. Heraclides’ *Homeric solutions* should be interpreted in the context of both the 5th and the 4th century BCE debates on Homeric criticism, in which Plato, Aristotle and other contributors were involved; they therefore constitute a key for understanding both Plato’s and Aristotle’s studies of Homer.⁸⁹

It is hard to speculate what exactly was discussed in other Heraclides’ books on Homer. It seems probable that chronological issues and literary dependence were in focus.⁹⁰ Further, according to the Pseudo-Plutarchan treatise *On music* (Heracl. fr. 109 Schütrumpf), Heraclides treated the Homeric singers as real poets and attributed epic poems to them. He attributed a *Nostoi* to Phemius (*Od.* 1.325–327), a *Sack of Troy* (*Od.* 8.499–520) and a *Marriage of Aphrodite and Hephaestus* (*Od.* 8.266–366 on Ares and Aphrodite) to Demodocus.⁹¹

A further critic of Homer was Heraclides’ contemporary Zoilus of Amphipolis, active in the area of historiography and rhetoric. He composed an encomium to the savage man-eating giant Polyphemus following the traditional rhetoric of praising ‘maligned’ epic characters (BNJ 71 fr. 2 = Schol. *Plat. Hipp.* 229d). His work *Against Homer’s poetry* (Κατὰ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως) in nine books earned him the epithet Ὀμηρομάστιξ, the ‘Scourge of Homer’, due to the quantity of errors he found in the Homeric text.⁹² Zoilus’ work seems to have incorporated detailed scholarly examination of the text: he revealed and criticized grammatical

⁸⁸ Heath 2009, 262.

⁸⁹ See Heath 2009, 254. On Heraclides as a Philodemus’ source, see Janko 2000, 134–138.

⁹⁰ Heath 2009, 294–266.

⁹¹ Heath 2009, 266–269.

⁹² Eighteen fragments survive (BNJ 71 frs. 4–19b), cf. Williams 2013. See also Friedländer 1895, 5–46; Apfel 1938, 250–252; Buffière 1956, 22–25; Heath 2009, 253–254; Bishop 2015, 389–392; Mayhew 2019, 5–6.

and lexical errors and analysed the content. Thus he faulted Homer's gods for impiety and his heroes for ridiculous and non-logical behaviour. The later traditions ascribed an especially aggressive criticism of Homer to him, but this does not follow from the surviving fragments (cf. Zoil. BNJ 71 test. 3 = Vitruv. *Arch.* 7, pr. 8–9; Zoil. BNJ 71 test. 8 = Gal. *Meth. med.* 1.3; Zoil. BNJ 71 test. 16 = Ovid. *Rem. am.* 361–370; Zoil. BNJ 71 test. 17 = Tzetz. *Exeg. Iliad.* 3.6–16).

Zoilus tried to explain inconsistencies or troubling passages but also simultaneously interpreted Homer. His treatment of the emotions represented in the Homeric characters is particularly noteworthy. Thus, he criticised the Homeric manner of representing affects such as Achilles' tears during his mourning of Patroclus.

Ζωῖλος δέ φησιν ἄτοπον νῦν εἰδέναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα· προειδέναι τε γὰρ ἔχρην ὅτι κοινοὶ οἱ πολεμικοὶ κίνδυνοι, τὸν τε θάνατον οὐκ ἔχρην δεινὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν, τὸ τε οὕτως ὑπερπενθεῖν γυναικῶδες. οὕτως οὐτ' ἂν βάρβαρος τι<τ>θῇ ἐποίησεν· καὶ τοὶ Ἑκάβης ἐπὶ τῷ συρμῷ Ἑκτορος οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.

Zoilus says it is absurd that Achilles realized it now; for he should have known before that dangers in war are common, and he should not have supposed the death to be terrible, and such excessive grief is woman like. Nor would a barbarian nurse have acted in this way; yet Hecabe is nothing of such at Hector's dragging (cf. *Il.* 10, 405–407)

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 11 = BNJ 71 fr. 11 = Porph.

Quaest. Hom. 11, 18, 22 = *Schol. A Il.* 18.22 Erbse

Further, Zoilus commented on Apollo's fury in verse *Il.* 1.50 where Apollo strikes first the mules and dogs. The grammarian Heraclitus (1st c. CE) attacks Zoilus for this criticism.

Οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς. Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄκριτον ἦν παρανάλωμα τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ὀργῆς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων οὐδ' ἂν ὁ θυμὸς ἀφρόνως ἡμιόνους ἐνήκμαζε καὶ κύσιν, ὥς τὸ Θρακικὸν ἀνδράποδον Ὀμήρου κατεξανίσταται, λέγω δὲ τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην Ζώιλον ἄνω καὶ κάτω τοιούτους τινὰς λήρους φληναφοῦντα.

'The mules he assailed first and the swift dogs'. For the destruction from Apollo's anger did not take place in this way, heedless of living men, nor was his heart so careless so as to strike mules and dogs, as the Thracian slave accused Homer. I speak of Zoilus from Amphipolis, who continually babbled such nonsense.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 5 = BNJ 71 fr. 5 = Heracl.

Hom. Probl. 14

τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἔρωδιὸν ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο (*Il.* 10.274): Ζωῖλος ὁ κληθεὶς Ὀμηρομάστιξ γένει μὲν ἦν Ἀμφιπολίτης τοῦ δὲ Ἰσοκρατικοῦ διδασκαλείου, ὃς ἔγραψε τὰ καθ' Ὀμήρου γυμνασίας ἔνεκα, εἰωθότων καὶ τῶν ρητόρων ἐν τοῖς ποιηταῖς γυμνάζεσθαι. οὗτος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Ὀμήρου κατηγορεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἔρωδιου, ὃν ἐν τῇ νυκτεγερεσίᾳ ἔπεμψε τοῖς περὶ τὸν

Ὀδυσσεά ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ, ὄν, φησίν, “οὐκ εἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν”, “ἀλλὰ κλάγξαντος ἤκουσαν”. πῶς γάρ, φησί, “χαῖρε δὲ τῷ ὄρνιθι Ὀδυσσεύς”; εἰκὸς γάρ ἦν ὑπολαβεῖν περιβοήτους ἔσεσθαι· φωνὴ γάρ σημείον ἐστὶ τοῖς λανθάνειν προαιρουμένοις ὑπεναντίον.

And for them (Pallas Athena) sent forth on their right a heron: Zoilus, called ‘Scourge of Homer’, Amphipolitan by descent, from Isocrates’ school, who wrote “Against Homer” for practice, as it was a custom for the rhetoricians to train in regard to the poets. He criticises Homer for many issues and for the passage with the heron as well, which Athena sent in the night expedition to Odysseus and Diomedes,⁹³ which, says (Homer) “though they did not see it with the eyes, yet they heard its cry” (*Il.* 10.276). So why does he say “Odysseus rejoiced at the bird/omen” (*Il.* 10.277)? For it was plausible to expect that they would be surrounded by cries. For a voice is an opposed signal to those who preferred to be hidden.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 9 = BNJ 71 fr. 9 = Porph.

Quaest. Hom. Il. 10.274–277

Though the main focus of Zoilus’ criticism in all three fragments is in the ‘non-logical’ reaction of characters which contradicts the flow of the plot (εἰκὸς γάρ ἦν), his interest in the affects of Homer’s characters, such as Achilles’ grief (τό τε οὕτως ὑπερπενθεῖν), Apollo’s anger (τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ὀργῆς) and Odysseus’ joy (πῶς γάρ, φησί, χαῖρε) is emblematic for 4th century BCE criticism and should be considered within the context of Aristotle’s *Poetics*. Further, Zoilus’ criticism of *Iliad* Book 10 (*Doloneia*) in BNJ 71 fr. 9 indicates that Book 10 was considered Homeric at least as early as the first half of the 4th century BCE.

At another point Zoilus criticises the troubling description of Priam’s behaviour. Though this is not an analysis of affect, Zoilus is interested in the psychological mood exhibited by the Homeric character.

Ὅρα δὲ ὡς καὶ Ζωΐλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπηρεασταῖς τόπους ἀνασκευῆς ἐν τῇ ῥαψῳδίᾳ ταύτῃ δέδωκεν Ὅμηρος. δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐ πιθανὸν ἐθελῆσαι νύκτωρ τὸν Πρίαμον ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ ναυστάθμῳ μὴ φθάσαντα πρεσβεῦσαι καὶ σχεῖν ἐνδόσιμον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ λαθόντα τοὺς νυκτοφύλακας εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἔσω τῆς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως γενέσθαι κλισίας οὕτω κατησφαλισμένης. καινότατον δὲ καὶ τὸ πείσαι τὸν ἄγριον καὶ λόγοις θέλξαι τὸ θηρίον. τὸ δ’ ἦν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς. ἀπίθανον δὲ καὶ τὸ τολμῆσαι τὸν γέροντα παρρησιάσασθαι τὴν δέησιν...

Pay attention that Homer gave to Zoilus and other abusers (of Homer) places for attacking in his epic poetry. For it does not seem trustworthy that Priam wished to go to the harbor at night and not first pay honor and have a signal; and that he still escaped notice of the night

⁹³ On the meaning τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά as “to Odysseus and Diomedes”, see MacPhail 2011, 179, n. 114.

guards and entered and was inside the hut of Achilles when it was so fortified. And persuading one so fierce and charming him with words is very novel... It is unpersuasive that the old man dared to ask for what he needed...

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 17 = BNJ 71 fr. 17 = Eustath.
ad *Iliad*. 4.970 (ad *Il.* 24.652)

The 'wish' (ἐθέλῃσαι) of Priam does not seem convincing (οὐ πιθανόν) to Zoilus. Persuading (τὸ πείσαι) and bewitching with words (λόγοις θέλῃσαι) is characterised as 'very novel' (καινότατον) by the critic. Finally, Priam's daring (τὸ τολμῆσαι) to ask for what he needed is also 'non convincing' (ἀπιθάνον). Zoilus thus analyses the inner stimulations of the fictive characters to behave in this or that way. This psychological analysis should be considered in the broader Aristotelian context.

Five fragments deal with grammatical and lexical questions.

δῶσι πόλιν Τροίην: Ζωῖλος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Στωϊκὸς σολοικίζειν οἶονται τὸν ποιητὴν, ἀντὶ ἐνικοῦ πληθυντικῶ χρησάμενον ῥήματι· τὸ γὰρ δῶσι φασὶ πληθυντικόν. ἀγνοοῦσι δέ· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ δῶ ἐνικὸν ἐκτεταμένον, ὡς τὸ λέγει λέγησι, φέρη φέρησι.

(If Zeus ever) grants us (to sack) the city of Troy]... But Zoilos of Amphipolis and Chrysippos the Stoic (SVF 3.769) thought that the poet spoke incorrectly, since he used a plural word instead of a singular. For they say δῶσι is plural. But they are ignorant, for the form δῶ has a prolonged singular, such as for λέγει there is λέγησι, and for φέρη there is φέρησι.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 6 = BNJ 71 fr. 6 =
Schol. A *Il.* 1.129

According to the scholion, Zoilus criticised the use of the epic subjunctive aorist 3rd person singular δῶσι (standard δῶ) referring to Zeus as he read it as a plural δῶσι.

Some fragments reveal Zoilus' engagement with Homeric vocabulary, particularly with rare words.

ἀλλὰ μαιρακιδῶδη τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτῶν ἀπέφαινον, δεδιότων ὁμολογεῖν ἀκρατότερον εἰρησθαι τὸ ζωρότερον, ὡς ἐν ἀτόπῳ τινὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἔσομένου· καθάπερ ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης Ζωῖλος ὑπελάμβανε, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν Φοῖνικα καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά πρεσβυτέρους ὄντας εἰδὼς οὐχ ὑδαρεῖ χαίροντας ἀλλ' ἀκρατοτέρῳ, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι γέροντες, ἐπιτείνειν κελεύει τὴν κρᾶσιν.

(I pointed out that) their own ambition was school boyish because they were afraid to admit that ζωρότερον means 'stronger' (ἀκρατότερον), as if this would put Achilles in an awkward position (*Il.* 9.202–203). Zoilos of Amphipolis assumed this, not realizing that in the first

place, Achilles told (Patroclus) to strengthen the mixture because he knew that the other older men like Phoenix and Odysseus prefer their wine strong rather than watery.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 4 = BNJ 71 fr. 4 =

Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 5, 4, 2, 677e–f

In *Il.* 9.203 Achilles tells Patroclus: ‘mingle stronger drink’ (ζωρότερον δὲ κέραϊε). Zoilus perhaps criticized Homer here for the incorrect use of the word ζωρότερον (the Homeric adjective ζωρός means ‘pure’ for wine, not mixed with water). Plutarch argues that this is in fact correct with Zoilus misunderstanding Homer (ὑπελάμβανεν, ἀγνοῶν).

ὁ δὲ Ζωῖλος τὸ ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐα „χαίρων οὔνεχ’ ἐταῖρον ἐνθάδε λεῦσσε” ἐν ἀγῶνι“ ὡς ὄνομα ὑπέλαβεν.

Zoilus understood the word ἐνθάδε in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 8.200), ‘rejoicing because he saw his kind companion in the competition’, as a name (Enēes).

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 10 = BNJ 71 fr. 10 =

Schol. A *Il.* 17.204

Again, Zoilus corrected the Homeric adjective ἐνθής meaning ‘kind, gentle’ and read ἐταῖρον ἐνθάδε (“kind companion”) as “the companion Enēes”. Such ‘corrections’ or ‘misunderstandings’ could be interpreted as Zoilus’ attempt to either avoid or else modernize obsolete words in Homer.

On one occasion, Zoilus inserted a conjecture into the Homeric verse.

εὐρύ τε καὶ μάλα καλόν: Ζωῖλος γράφει „εὐρύ τε καὶ μάλα μακρόν“.

a broad and very beautiful (wall)] Zoilus writes ‘broad and very tall (μακρόν)’.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 13 = BNJ 71 fr. 13 =

Schol. Gen. *Il.* 21.447

Poseidon built for the Trojans the wall so that the city remained “not to be broken” (ἴν’ ἄρρηκτος πόλις εἴη, *Il.* 21.447). The correction of Zoilus μακρόν for καλόν is either Zoilus’ own and is based on logical considerations (a tall wall being more useful than a beautiful one in war) or, alternatively, it reflects a version of Homeric text from the 4th century BCE.

Finally, Zoilus tried to explain a number of inconsistencies or troubling passages in Homer.

ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἤϊτε καπνός: Ζωῖλος δέ φησιν ὅτι ἀλλ’ ὁ καπνὸς ἄνω φέρεται.

The soul went like smoke down through the earth] Zoilus says, ‘but smoke rises upwards’.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 16 = BNJ 71 fr. 16 = Schol. bT

Il. 23.100

Zoilus found the comparison ἥϋτε καπνός ('like smoke') not appropriate, as the soul went into earth (κατὰ χθονός) whilst smoke goes a different direction, carrying itself upwards (ἄνω φέρεται).

And he noted a number of other logical contradictions in the Homeric text.

τοῖόν οἱ πῦρ δαῖεν ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων. Ζωῖλος ὁ Ἐφέσιος κατηγορεῖ τοῦ τόπου τούτου καὶ μέμφεται τῷ ποιητῇ, ὅτι λίαν γελοίως πεποίηκεν ἐκ τῶν ὤμων τοῦ Διομήδους καίόμενον πῦρ· ἐκινδύνευσε γὰρ ἂν καταφλεχθῆναι ὁ ἥρως.

Even such flame had (Pallas Athena) kindled from his head and shoulders (*Il.* 5.7): Zoilus of Ephesus criticises this passage and reproaches the poet because he composed too ridiculously with respect to the fire kindled from Diomedes' shoulders, for the hero would have risked his life had he been burnt by fire.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 7 = BNJ 71 fr. 7a = Porph.
Quaest. Hom. Il. 5.7

Ephesus must be a mistake (of the author or of the scribe) here. Eustathius repeats this error in his report referring to the same passage (BNJ 71 fr. 7b = Eustath. *ad Iliad.* vol. 2 p. 3 (*Il.* 5.4)).

Ἰδαῖος δ' ἀπόρrouσε λιπῶν περικαλλέα δίφρον: κατηγορεῖ καὶ τούτου Ζωῖλος, ὅτι λίαν φησὶ γελοίως πεποίηκε τὸν Ἰδαῖον ἀπολιπόντα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὸ ἄρμα φεύγειν. Ἐδύνατο γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις φυγεῖν.

And Idaeus sprang back, and left the beautiful chariot (*Il.* 5.20): Zoilus criticises this passage too, saying that (the poet) represented Idaeus too ridiculously leaving the horses and chariot and running, for he would have been better off with the horses.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 8 = BNJ 71 fr. 8 = Porph.
Quaest. Hom. Il. 5.20

Even if we cannot be sure about the exact terminology Zoilus employed in his work, his critique (κατηγορεῖ καὶ μέμφεται) and the use of the criterion of 'laughable' (λίαν γελοίως πεποίηκεν) which is used for evaluating how the poet represents his character and which is an equivalent to the usual 'absurd' (ἄτοπον) referring to Homer is noteworthy.⁹⁴

The 'laughable' is used by later critics to describe Zoilus' approach, which may perhaps have incorporated humorous elements within the criticism.

ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε: κῆρας τὰς μοίρας. γελᾷ δὲ τὸν μῦθον ὁ Ζωῖλος. ποδαπαὶ γὰρ αἱ Μοῖραι ἐν ταῖς πλάστιγξι, καθήμεναι ἢ ἐστηκυῖαι;

94 See Friedländer 1895, 19–20.

(Zeus) set therein two fates] Zoilus laughs at the story; for how were the Moirai (weighed) in the scales, whilst sitting or standing?

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 15 = BNJ 71 fr. 15 = Schol. bT
Il. 22.210

Although we cannot know the exact vocabulary employed by Zoilus, it is probable that he mocked the Homeric description as reflected in the scholiast's γελᾷ δὲ τὸν μῦθον ὁ Ζωῖλος.

The remaining fragments reveal various contradictions in Homeric narrative. Thus he refers to the river god's pursuit of Achilles in *Iliad* 21.

φεῦγ' ὅπισθε βέων] Ζωῖλος αἰτιᾶται ὅτι ἀθανάτους ἵππους ἔχων ἐν τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ καιρῷ οὐ χρᾶται.

He (Achilles) fled, and the River followed after] Zoilus objects that although Achilles has immortal horses, he does not use them at the right time.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 12 = BNJ 71 fr. 12 =
 Schol. Gen. *Il.* 21.256

Zoilus also questions the exaggerated deeds of Poseidon.

δήσειν καὶ περάαν νήσων ἔπι τηλεδαπᾶων: Ζωῖλος ζητεῖ, πῶς ὁ Ποσειδῶν τὸν Αἰνεΐαν μεταθείς ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτὸς κινδυνεύει παραθῆναι.

(Poseidon threatened that he would) bind together (our feet and our hands above), and would sell us into isles that lie afar: Zoilus wonders why Poseidon, after he removed Aeneas from the entire army (*Il.* 20.325–329), risked destroying him.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 14 = BNJ 71 fr. 14 =
 Schol. Gen. *Il.* 21.454

Od. 9.60 is criticised for Odysseus' unpersuasive narrative.

ἔξ δ' ἄφ' ἐκάστης νηὸς εὐκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι ὦλονθ'· πολλοὶ κατηγοροῦν τοῦ ἀπιθάνου, ὃν εἰς ἐστὶ καὶ Ζωῖλος· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἡγοῦνται μήτε πλέονας μήτε ἐλάττους ἀνηρῆσθαι ἄφ' ἐκάστης νηὸς, ἀλλ' ἴσους ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτάγματος· χρὴ δὲ τὰ πλάσματα πιθανὰ εἶναι.

Six well-greaved companions from each ship perished] Many (scholars), of whom one is Zoilus, criticise this verse for being unconvincing. For they think that it was absurd that neither more nor fewer were counted from each ship, but rather an equal number, as if from a reserve force; and the fiction ought to be plausible.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 19 = BNJ 71 fr. 19a = Porph.
Quaest. Hom. Od. 9.60

Odysseus says that he lost six sailors from each ship. Eustathius quotes the same commentary to the verse as a direct quotation, slightly altering the text.

ἐξ δ' ἅφ' ἐκάστης νηὸς ἐυκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι ὦλονθ' ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπιφύεται Ζωῖλος ὁ Ὀμηρομάστιξ, λέγων, «ἀπιθάνως ἴσους ἅφ' ἐκάστης ἀπολέσθαι νηὸς καθάπερ ἐξ ὑποτάγματος».

Six well-greaved companions from each ship perished] Here Zoilus, the Scourge of Homer, commented, saying, 'it is implausible that an equal number from each ship perished as if from a register'.

BNJ 71 fr. 19b = Eustath. *ad Od.* 9.60

If we follow Eustathius in considering the quotation as belonging to Zoilus, then Zoilus used the comparison “as if from a register” (καθάπερ ἐξ ὑποτάγματος), and not “as if from a reserve force” (ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτάγματος). However, it is more probable that the text transmission is dubious.

Finally, Zoilus criticised the inappropriate laughter of the gods (*Od.* 8.321–343), which Plato rejected as unsuitable (*Pl. Rep.* 3, 388e–389a). The gods laugh in v. 326 (ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι), when they first see Ares and Aphrodite caught in Hephaestus' trap and following on from the speech of Hermes in v. 343 (ὡς ἔφατ', ἐν δὲ γέλως ὦρτ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν), who wishes to be in Ares' place.

... ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ζωῖλος, ἄτοπον εἶναι λέγων γελᾶν μὲν ἀκολάστως τοὺς θεοὺς... ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν εὐχεσθαι, ἐναντίον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ὁρώντων δεδέσθαι σὺν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ποιητικοὶ θεοὶ φιλόσοφοι, ἀλλὰ παίζονται. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἠθέλησε δηλῶσαι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐπαινοῦντες οἱ δημογέροντες.

Zoilus censures them, saying that it is absurd that the gods laugh licentiously at such matters and that Hermes prays before his father and other gods watching the fact that [Ares] had been tied up with Aphrodite. The gods in poetry are not philosophers, but they joke. But he also wanted to show the beauty of Aphrodite, as in the *Iliad* it is praised by the elders.

Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 18 = BNJ 71 fr. 18 = Schol. T
Od. 8.332

A further form of critique of the Homeric text which was in fact considerably more popular should be mentioned here as well. In the background of the public rhapsodic performances of Homeric epics the dramatic festivals where tragedy and comedy were performed were of crucial importance. These two genres which were intertwined with regard to the issue of Homeric parody should be considered here, the parody of myth in comedy and the parody in epic. Comic playwrights of the 4th c. BCE used the Homeric myths in an utilitarian way. In their parody of the epic genre they were interested more in form than in content.⁹⁵

95 Revermann 2013, 127.

Mythological burlesque, a typical phenomenon of the first half of the 4th century BCE, both in the visual and the literary arts, drew on both epic and tragedy. It combined various Homeric “errors” and “problems”, distorted them, and presented them in a dramatic, artistic, religious and social context.⁹⁶

Another very important road for Homeric reception and critique was parody, which in fact started much earlier with the travesty of the Homeric style in the mock epic *Margites* (6th c. BCE) and was also carried out by poets such as Hipponax (6th c. BCE) and Hegemon of Thasus (5th c. BCE), though surviving textual evidence is not sufficient for analysis.⁹⁷

Archestratus of Gela (first half of the 4th c. BCE) composed a humorous didactic poem *Hedypatheia* in hexameters which parodied epic poetry, contained (distorted) verses from the Homeric text or other epic poets such as the reversal of a Homeric formula ἀπὸ χειρὰς ἱάλλε for ‘laying hands upon food’ in fr. 30.2 Olson & Sens and the Homeric evocation τί σοι τάδε μυθολογεῖω; (“why should I tell this you word for word?”) in fr. 36.2 Olson & Sens, and narrated gastronomic quests on where to find the best food in the Mediterranean world.⁹⁸

Euboeus of Paros (second half of the 4th c. BCE) wrote perhaps four books of parodies, with two fragments from the *Battle of the Bathmen* (Ἡ τῶν βαλανέων μάχη) surviving (Athen. 15, 698a–b = SH 410). Both fragments contain distorted Homeric verses (*Il.* 18.534 = *Od.* 9.55; *Il.* 1.275, 277).

The fragments of Matro of Pitane (second half of the 4th c. BCE) belong to his poem *Deipnon* and contain many Homeric words and verses. The poem represents a gluttonous hero wandering across a huge buffet. Matro knew the Homeric text well, as is clear from his quotations, though it cannot be certain whether he consulted a written text. Some of his readings correspond to alternative readings from the Homeric tradition, such as *Il.* 23.61, where Matro’s κλύεσκε (v. 20) corresponds to the Scholia reading (Schol. A) whilst the vulgate reads κλύεσκον, and also *Il.* 2.557 where Matro’s τρισκαίδεκα recalls the Scholia reading τρία καὶ δέκα (Schol. A) whilst the vulgate reads δυοκαίδεκα. Matro is the earliest attestation for the much-discussed verse *Il.* 2.558: στήσε δ’ ἄγων ἴν’ Ἀθηναίων ἴσαντο φάλαγγες (“and leading (Ajax) stationed them where the battle-lines of the Athenians stood”). This is attributed by the later tradition to Solon as a favour made

⁹⁶ On the rise and decline of “mythological burlesque” or “mythological travesty” between around 400 and 340 BCE, see, for vases, Walsh 2009, and for the Athenian comic theatre, Konstantakos 2014 with further bibliography.

⁹⁷ On the history of epic parody, see Olson & Sens 1999, 5–12 and Olson & Sens 2000, xxxi–xxxv.

⁹⁸ Olson & Sens 2000.

to the Athenians.⁹⁹ Matro's variant reads: θῆκε φέρων, ἔν' Ἀθηναίων κατέκειντο φάλαγγες ("(the cook) served where the battle-lines of the Athenians reclined", v. 97 Olson–Sens). In all probability Matro altered the Homeric text as he had known it.¹⁰⁰

Matro worked with the Homeric text on a more sophisticated level as well. In some places he combined various passages together, this being a predecessor of the Hellenistic *poeta doctus*. Thus the vv. 93–97 Matro were stitched together from two books of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 16.102–103 and *Il.* 2.557–558).¹⁰¹

Matro's parody contributes in a significant way to the understanding of the history of the Homeric text and the reception of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the pre-Alexandrian period. We cannot know to what extent Matro's readers could solve his sophisticated puzzles, which on the one hand represent his own literary aesthetic viewpoints, but on the other build on ideas common to his contemporaries. However, the very fact of such a preparation of the Homeric text provides important information about the way the text was heard and read by its recipients in late classical time.

The comic playwright Strato in his comedy *Phoenicides* (late 4th c. BCE) represents a cook who is a talented rhetorician and who transformed his discourse into Homeric verses and vocabulary (fr. 1 PCG). The fragment is a long monologue (50 lines) from the housemaster who complains about his new cook. The housemaster inserts the alleged dialogue which had previously taken place between them into his monologue. At some point, says the housemaster, he became exhausted by the long quotations and complicated words of his cook, which he could not understand. He did not know anything about Homeric sacrificial rites either.¹⁰² "I am rather a rustic man, thus converse simply with me", states the master in an Aristophanic way, à la Strepsiades (ἀγροικότερός εἰμ', ὥσθ' ἀπλῶς μοι διαλέγου, v. 25). This implies difference in social register, and that uneducated people could not follow obsolete Homeric language which was not "simple" (ἀπλῶς μοι διαλέγου). Further the master asks the cook to speak more clearly (ἐρεῖς σαφέστερον, v. 37), being desperate: "Do you intend to ruin me in a Homeric way?" (Ὀμηρικῶς γὰρ διανοεῖ μ' ἀπολλύναι, v. 30). The dialogue recalls fr.

⁹⁹ The verses *Il.* 2.557–558 were transmitted in various ways, whilst the verse *Il.* 2.558 was regarded as an interpolation, ascribed to Solon already by the ancient sources starting with Arist. *Rhet.* 1, 1375b. Based on this verse, and on other arguments as well, Cassio dates the fixed text of the *Iliad* to some decades before 560 BCE, see Cassio 2002, 115. See also Merkelbach 1952. Cf. further Strab. 9.1.10; Plut. *Vit. Solon.* 10.1–2; Quint. 5.11.39–40; Diog. Laert. *Vit. phil.* 1.48.

¹⁰⁰ Olson & Sens 1999, 19–20.

¹⁰¹ See further examples in Olson & Sens 1999, 21–22.

¹⁰² On the literary analysis of this fragment, see Dohm 1964, 198–201.

233 PCG from Aristophanes' *Daitales* quoted above, as Homeric glosses such as μέρορες (v. 6), δαιτυμόνες (v. 11), μῆλον (v. 21), πηγός (v. 36) are brought on stage providing material for jokes.¹⁰³ The morphological forms are confused as well: the master cannot recognize the Homeric form μίστυλλον and builds a plural μίστυλλα out of it. Further an important piece of evidence for contemporary Homeric scholarship is provided.

...ὥστ' ἔδει
τῶν τοῦ Φιλητᾶ λαμβάνοντα βυβλίων
σκοπεῖν ἕκαστα τί δύνανται τῶν ῥημάτων...

so one would have had to get the books of Philitas to look up what each of the words means

Strat. fr. 1.42–44 PCG

We do not know exactly which 'books' of Philitas of Cos (born c. 340 BCE) are meant here. Philitas did in fact deal with Homeric vocabulary, probably in his glossographical work Ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι and in his Ἑρμηνεία, the exegetical and editorial work on Homer and other authors.¹⁰⁴ Philitas' Homeric treatment was still considered significant in Aristarchus' time (c. 216–144 BCE), as Aristarchus wrote a treatise *Against Philitas*. Here in Strato a kind of reference book, perhaps a lexicon or encyclopaedia is implied, where the meanings of (all?) Homeric words may have been explained (ἕκαστα τί δύνανται τῶν ῥημάτων).

It is noteworthy that Kassel and Austin added three 'Homeric' lines to the fragment of Strato, which were preserved only in papyri, for in the previous editions 47 verses were presented.

καί μοι δοκεῖ ραψωιδοδοτιοῦτου τινὸς
δοῦλος γεγονώς ἐκ παιδὸς ἀλιτήριος
εἶτ' ἀναπεπλησθαι τῶν Ὀμήρου ῥημάτων.

And it seems to me that this scoundrel was a slave of some sort of rhapsode from his childhood so that he has been then filled to the full with Homeric expressions.

Strat. fr. 1.48–50 PCG

The erudition of the cook is thus ascribed to his closeness to a rhapsode. Strato's fragment in particular and epic parody generally serve as important evidence for the context of Homeric reception and interpretation in the late 4th c. BCE.

¹⁰³ On the glosses μέρορες and πηγός, see Spanoudakis 2002, 401–402.

¹⁰⁴ Spanoudakis 2002, 347–400 and Montana 2015, 70–72.

6 Aristotle's Homer and hermeneutics

Alongside his *Poetics* (Περὶ ποιητικῆς), the principle works in which Aristotle expressed his ideas on literature were six (ten?) books of *Homeric problems* (Τὰ Ὀμηρικὰ ἀπορήματα/προβλήματα) and three books of his early dialogue *On poets* (Περὶ ποιητῶν), both surviving in fragments.¹⁰⁵

In discussing the historical evolution of poetry, Aristotle built on the already existing canon while emphasising the history of separate genres. In his view, tragedy and comedy originated in earlier serious, but also light poetry:¹⁰⁶ thus *Margites* had the same relation to comedy as *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to tragedy (Arist. *Poet.* 4, 1448b37–1449a2). Aristotle analysed the concept and φύσις of genre generally, examining the evolution of comedy and tragedy, and also the distinction between epic poetry (ἐποποιία) and tragedy (Arist. *Poet.* 4–5, 1449a7–1449b20).

ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐποποιία τῇ τραγωδίᾳ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ μετὰ μέτρου λόγῳ μίμησις εἶναι σπουδαίων ἡκολούθησεν· τῷ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἀπλοῦν ἔχειν καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν εἶναι, ταύτῃ διαφέρουσιν· ἔτι δὲ τῷ μήκει· ἡ μὲν ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπὸ μίαν περίοδον ἡλίου εἶναι ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττειν, ἡ δὲ ἐποποιία ἀόριστος τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τούτῳ διαφέρει, καίτοι τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοίως ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. μέρη δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ταῦτά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια τῆς τραγωδίας· διόπερ ὅστις περὶ τραγωδίας οἶδε σπουδαίας καὶ φαύλης, οἶδε καὶ περὶ ἐπῶν· ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐποποιία ἔχει, ὑπάρχει τῇ τραγωδίᾳ, ἃ δὲ αὐτῇ, οὐ πάντα ἐν τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ.

Epic poetry agreed with tragedy only in so far as it was a metrical imitation of significant events, but inasmuch as it has a single metre and is narrative they differ. And then in their length, tragedy tends to confine itself within a single revolution of the sun or slightly to exceed that, whereas epic poetry is unlimited in time; and that is another difference, although originally it was the same in tragedy as in epic poetry. The constituent parts are some of them the same and some peculiar to tragedy. Therefore anyone who knows about good and bad tragedy, knows about epics also, for all the elements of epic poetry are to be found in tragedy, though the elements of tragedy are not all present in the epic poetry.

Arist. *Poet.* 5, 1449b8–20

Homeric epics are extensively discussed in Aristotle's *Poetics*. His concept of tragedy is influenced and supported by Homeric paradigms, and this is why the com-

¹⁰⁵ The title *On Tragedies* has also survived. On the tradition of the treatises on poets, see Janko 2011, 385–386. On Aristotle's treatise *On poets*, see Janko 2011, 313–407 and 485–539; Breitenberger 2006, 293–298, 332–346. On Aristotle's *Homeric problems*, see Mayhew 2019.

¹⁰⁶ On the opposition of tragedy and comedy already in Old comedy but also in discourses contemporary to Aristotle, see the reflection in Middle comedy such as Antiph. fr. 189 PCG.

parison of two genres, epic and tragedy, constitutes a focus of Aristotle's analysis.¹⁰⁷ The twenty-fifth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics* is a summary of the Homeric criticism of Aristotle's predecessors and elaborates Aristotle's own methods of dealing with the Homeric text. Aristotle took up a position against the critics of Homer such as his contemporary Zoilus, discussed above, arguing crucially that poetry is not subject to the same criteria as the other arts and sciences.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ὀρθότης ἐστὶν τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς οὐδὲ ἄλλης τέχνης καὶ ποιητικῆς.... ἀδύνατα πεποιήται, ἡμάρτηται· ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει, εἰ τυγχάνει τοῦ τέλους τοῦ αὐτῆς.

Furthermore, the correctness is neither the same for poetry/poetics and for politics, nor for any other art and poetry/poetics... If (the poet) composed the impossible, he made a mistake, but he is right, if he attains the end of his art.

Arist. *Poet.* 25, 1460b13–25

Thus the criterion of “impossibility” (ἀδύνατα) or “unpersuasiveness” applied in literary criticism by Homeric scholars is undermined here by Aristotle for the sake of the “poetry itself” (εἰ τυγχάνει τοῦ τέλους τοῦ αὐτῆς).

The same conclusion is stated towards the end of the chapter.

ὅλως δὲ τὸ ἀδύνατον μὲν πρὸς τὴν ποιήσιν ἢ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἢ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν δεῖ ἀνάγειν. πρὸς τε γὰρ τὴν ποιήσιν αἰρετώτερον πιθανὸν ἀδύνατον ἢ ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατόν.

To sum up, the impossible should be referred to the poetry or to the superior (to ordinary human beings) or to some opinion. For to achieve poetic effect a convincing impossibility is preferable to one unconvincing though possible.

Arist. *Poet.* 25, 1461b9–12

Similar arguments are applied to justify (Homeric) contradictions.

τὰ δ' ὑπεναντίως εἰρημένα οὕτω σκοπεῖν ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔλεγχοι εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὡσαύτως, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτόν τ' ἢ πρὸς ᾧ αὐτὸς λέγει ἢ ὃ ἂν φρόνιμος ὑποθῇται.

Contradictory expressions must be examined in the same way as refutations in argument, whether the same thing in the same relation and in the same sense is referred to; so that to see what (the poet) says himself or what an intelligent person would assume to be the meaning.

Arist. *Poet.* 25, 1461b15–19

¹⁰⁷ On the distribution of the discussion of Homeric epic through the chapters in the *Poetics*, see Hogan 1973. See also Halliwell 1998, 254–266 and Heath 2011.

Another criterion is the use of obsolete words, also analysed by Zoilus. Aristotle considers an example examined by Zoilus, *Il.* 9.203, where Achilles tells Patroclus: ‘mingle stronger drink’ (ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε), and justifies the Homeric choice of a rare word ζωρότερον against Zoilus who criticised its use (Zoil. FGrHist 71 fr. 4 = BNJ 71 fr. 4, see above).

τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν ὁρῶντα δεῖ διαλύειν, οἷον γλώττη... τὸ “ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε” οὐ τὸ ἄκρατον ὡς οἰνόφλυξιν ἀλλὰ τὸ θᾶττον.

Some should be resolved according to the style, such as (in the case of) a rare word... “mingle stronger drink”, which does not mean “stronger” but “faster”.

Arist. *Poet.* 25, 1461a9–16

Through such exegetical interpretations Aristotle prefigures Alexandrian scholarship.¹⁰⁸

Further, book 3 of the dialogue *On poets* (Περὶ ποιητῶν) narrates the story of Homer’s birth, name and death ([Plut.] *De Hom.* 1, 3–4, 21–63),¹⁰⁹ whilst book 1 deals with the criticism of Plato’s views of poetry.

However, the main work which dealt with Homeric scholarship was Aristotle’s *Homeric problems*. This offers a compilation of, and a reflection upon, the previous tradition of Homeric criticism up until his time.¹¹⁰

Thus Aristotle discusses the Homeric contradiction regarding the cities of Crete (*Il.* 2.649 and *Od.* 19.172–174) analyzed by Heraclides (fr. 99 Schütrumpf).

Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ οὐκ ἄτοπὸν φησιν, εἰ μὴ πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ λέγοντες πεποιήνται αὐτῷ· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἀλλήλοις τὰ αὐτὰ παντελῶς λέγειν ὠφείλον.

Aristotle says it is not odd unless they all are represented by (the poet) saying the same thing; for thus they ought to have said completely the same to each other.

Arist. fr. 146 Rose = fr. 370 Gigon = Porph.

Quaest. Hom. Il. 2.649

Heraclides had suggested that there was a time lapse between the statements in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, thus solving the contradiction. Aristotle offered a different solution, that all fictive characters (πάντες) should be always consequent

¹⁰⁸ See Apfel 1938, 253–257; Richardson 1992, 36–37; Latacz 2000, 7–9.

¹⁰⁹ Fr. 65a–e Janko, cf. Janko 2011, 470–476, 527–530.

¹¹⁰ Frs. 142–179 Rose and Ps.–Arist. frs. 20a (145), 30a (156), 38 (165) Rose. See Breitenberger 2006, 369–430; Bouchard 2016, 58–68, 78–83, 251–316; Mayhew 2019. See Heath 2009, 255–263 for a comparative analysis of Heraclides’ and Aristotle’s observations on Homeric problems. See also Blum 1991, 21–23.

and they may say (ἀλλήλοις) different and troubling things to each other. This is significant for 4th century critical thought as it embodies the argument that fictive characters have individual features and that the information they provide should be considered subjective. However, in these two passages it is only in the *Odyssey* that the character Odysseus narrates the story to Penelope, whilst in the *Iliad* it is the author/singer or the Muses and not epic characters who make(s) the statement concerning Crete. Aristotle's argument can be interpreted as stating that epic characters as individuals may say things which contradict the 'author's voice', or alternatively Aristotle's fragment might belong to another contradictory passage from Homer, and Porphyry had erroneously supposed that it belonged to Crete's cities.¹¹¹ Porphyry provides further potentially crucial information on Aristotelian criticism and on the innovation in this field of his contemporaries.

μήποτε δὲ καὶ μεταφορά ἐστι τὰ ἑκατόν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι· οὐ γὰρ ἑκατὸν ἦσαν ἀριθμῶ· καὶ ἑκατὸν δέ τε δούρατ' ἀμάξης.

And perhaps 'hundred' is also a metaphor, such as in "out of (the aegis) a hundred tassels (were suspended)" (*Il.* 2.448); for they were not a hundred in number; and "one hundred are the planks of a wagon" (*Hes. Op.* 456).

Porph. *Quaest. Hom. Il.* 2.649

If Porphyry is in fact referring to Aristotle here (the passage is not included in Aristotle's fragments by Rose, but is included by Gigon), then the Aristotelian solution to the problem is metaphor, and "hundred" should be understood metaphorically as "many", a meaning transferred from a particular number to a general designation (cf. *Arist. Poet.* 21, 1457b11–13; 1461a19–20).¹¹²

Further, the description of the arrangement made by Nestor for his soldiers (*Il.* 4.297–300) was found problematic by Aristotle. The tactic was "horsemen first with horses and chariots, infantry in back... and bad fighters in the middle" (ἱππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχρεσφι, πεζοὺς δ' ἐξόπιθε... κακοὺς δ' ἐς μέσσον, vv. 297–299). The logic is clearly undermined by the 'bad fighters in the middle'.

λῦει δ' Ἀριστοτέλης· ἢ οὐ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος λέγειν τοὺς ἱππεῖς φησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασι. καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι εἶεν ἄν. τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς οὐ τόπῳ διορίζει, ἀλλ' ἐναλλάξ μεταξὺ ἀνδρείου τὸν ἀσθενέστερον. πεζοὺς δ' ἐξόπισθεν τῶν ἱππέων, ὥστε τὰ μὲν κέρατα κρατεῖν τοὺς

¹¹¹ Breitenberger 2006, 383–384; Heath 2009, 255–257.

¹¹² Hintenlang 1961, 67–69; Breitenberger 2006, 384; Bouchard 2016, 252–254, and Mayhew 2019, 97–98.

ἰππέας, μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς πεζοὺς, πανταχοῦ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀνδρείων, ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, τετάχθαι τοὺς κακοὺς, ἥτοι ἰππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς.

Aristotle provides a solution: he says that (the poet) either means that the horsemen not in front of the phalanx, but on the wings. And these people should be first. He does not separate the bad fighters by place, but lets the weaker be alternatively between the brave men. He places the infantry behind the horsemen, so that the horsemen hold the wings, infantry is behind them, and everywhere between the brave men, the horsemen and the infantry, he placed the bad fighters, both horsemen and infantry.

Arist. fr. 152 Rose = fr. 376 Gigon = Porph.
Quaest. Hom. Il. 4.297

Aristotle interprets the passage philologically as he explains the Homeric κακοὺς δ' ἐς μέσσον ("bad fighters in the middle") not as a location but as ἐναλλάξ μεταξὺ ἀνδρείου ("alternatively man for man between the brave men"). The local adverbs πρῶτα, ἐξόπιθε and ἐς μέσσον are to be interpreted as ambivalent, referring to location according to the wings. Thus, the horsemen were on the right and left wings, in between was the infantry, and the bad fighters were distributed man for man amongst them. This method of reading the meanings was called ἀμφιβολία ("ambiguity") by Aristotle himself (Arist. *Poet.* 25, 1461a25–31), and constitutes important evidence of philological work with the Homeric text, although it hardly contributes to explaining Nestor's arrangement.¹¹³

A particularly interesting case is Aristotle's fr. 130 Rose which considers *Il.* 16.283. The Trojans are depicted as frightened by the appearance of Patroclus, thinking that he was Achilles.

πάπτηνεν δὲ ἕκαστος ὅπῃ φύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον: δεινότατον τῶν ἐπῶν Ὀμήρου τοῦτο φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ᾧ πάντες φευκτικῶσι, καὶ οἰκεῖον βαρβάρων.

and each man looked about to see how he might escape utter ruin (*Il.* 16.283): Aristotle says this verse is the most fearful of the Homeric epic, in which all (are represented as) wishing to flee and this is typical for the barbarians.

Arist. fr. 130 Rose = fr. 386 Gigon =
Schol. T Il. 16.283

Aristotle evaluated the poetic visual image and power of persuasion in his *Rhetoric*, when he treated the actualisation (ἐνέργεια) and "bringing-before-the-eyes" (τῷ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν) as a device in rhetoric (cf. Ar. *Rhet.* 3, 11, 1411b 31–1412, 9). In referring to the visual imagery Aristotle draws here an obvious connection between the Homeric epics and his theory of affect-awaking. The composition of

¹¹³ Hintenlang 1961, 80–84; Breitenberger 2006, 390–391. See also Kirk 1985, 360–361.

tragedy so as to cause the fear (δεινότητα) is one of the fundamental emotions transmitted to the recipient. This verbal connection of epic and tragedy through the emotion of ‘fear’ had already been stated in the 5th c. BCE. Aristophanes had used the adjective δεινός in his *Frogs* referring always to the ‘epic’ and visually ‘fearful’ style of Aeschylus (Ar. *Ra.* 680, 814, 816, 823, 880, 925).¹¹⁴ This visual fearfulness in Aristotle’s fragment is thus important in the context of the development of literary criticism in Pre-Alexandrian Greece.

Following a long tradition, Aristotle also considered the exegesis of myths in his *Homeric problems*. Thus he seems to have interpreted the number of Helios’ sacred cattle in reference to the days of the lunar year (*Od.* 12.127–131).¹¹⁵

βόσκοντ’ Ἡελίοιο βόες: ...Ἀριστοτέλης φυσικῶς φησὶν· λέγει γὰρ τὰς τριακοσίους τοῦ χρόνου ἡμέρας πρὸς ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἑπτὰ βοῶν ἀγέλαι· Ἀριστοτέλης φυσικῶς τὰς κατὰ σελήνην ἡμέρας αὐτὸν λέγειν φησὶ τὴν οὐσας· τὸν γὰρ πεντήκοντα ἀριθμὸν ἑπταπλασιάσας εἰς τὸν τριακοστὸν πεντηκοστὸν περιεστάναι εὐρήσεις.

“Cattle of Helios are feeding” (*Od.* 12.128): ...Aristotle scientifically says: for (the poet) means the three hundred days of the year plus the rest. “Seven herds of cattle” (*Od.* 12.129): Aristotle scientifically says that the days according to the moon are 350. For the number fifty multiplied seven times you will find out to turn 350.

Arist. fr. 175 Rose = fr. 398, 2 Gigon = Porph.
Quaest. Hom. Od. 12.128–129

ιστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰς ἀγέλας ταύτας καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τῶν βοῶν φασὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἀλληγορεῖν εἰς τὰς κατὰ δωδεκάδα τῶν σεληνιακῶν μηνῶν ἡμέρας γινομένας πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὅσος καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἀγέλαις ἐχούσαις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα ζῶα· διὸ οὔτε γόνον αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Ὅμηρος λέγει οὔτε φθοράν· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ποσὸν αἰεὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡμέραις μένει.

It should be known that they say that Aristotle explains these herds and especially the herds of cattle allegorically referring to the days of the twelve lunar months, being fifty plus three hundred, which is the number of the seven herds, each having fifty animals. Therefore, Homer says there is neither birth nor perish at them; for the same amount remains the same for these days.

Eustath. *ad Od.* 2.18, 23–27

¹¹⁴ On Aeschylus in the *Frogs*, see especially Scharffenberger 2007, 236–239.

¹¹⁵ Montanari 2012, 348–349. Cf. Aristotle’s note on the practice of allegory in Arist. *Metaph.* 12, 1074b and Montanari 1993, 260.

Eustathius claims that Aristotle interpreted the myth allegorically. Aristotle indeed commented on the meaning of the number 350 (7x50) in the Homeric passage. He seems to explain the origin of the myth as stemming from the physical phenomenon of the lunar year, something also referred in Aristophanes' *Clouds* by the chorus-leader (κατὰ σελήνην ὥς ἄγειν χρὴ τοῦ βίου τὰς ἡμέρας ("that the days of the life should be reckoned by the moon", Ar. *Nu.* 626). There is no allegorical explanation in Aristotle's interpretation itself.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the numbers seven and fifty often occur in epic, and do not necessarily have astronomic connotations.¹¹⁷

The myth of Helios' cattle was analyzed by Aristotle in another passage, as he also wrote a treatise under the title *Περὶ μακαριότητος <ῥ> Τί δήποτε Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν τὰς Ἥλιου βοῦς* (not survived), which may have been the title of one of the books of his *Homeric problems*.¹¹⁸

Aristotelian principles of analysis and criticism were to become a seminal influence for Alexandrian Homeric scholarship — both in a narrow sense in terms of the scrupulous editing of classical texts, and also in a broader sense as he set the methodology for linguistic and literary approaches to the poetic text.¹¹⁹

7 Early Peripatetic Homeric criticism

Few fragments of the early Peripatetics survive. It is however clear that peripatetic scholars showed an interest in the Homeric text, with detailed textual criticism of individual verses.¹²⁰

Like other early Peripatetics, Aristotle's prolific successor Theophrastus (374/369–288/285 BCE) had wide-ranging interests, including rhetoric and stylistics. Titles such as *On style* book 1 (*Περὶ λέξεως α'*), *On solecisms* book 1 (*Περὶ σολοικισμῶν α'*), *On the Art of Poetry* book 1 (*Περὶ ποιητικῆς α'* and *Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἄλλο α'*), and *On metres* book 1 (*Περὶ μέτρων α'*) presuppose the treatment of the

¹¹⁶ Mayhew 2019, 189–190.

¹¹⁷ Cf. also Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.2; Hintenlang 1961, 131–137; Breitenberger 2006, 423–424; Bouchard 2016, 66–68; Mayhew 2019, 188–190.

¹¹⁸ Breitenberger 2006, 424; Mayhew 2019, 32.

¹¹⁹ On Aristotle and his influence on Hellenistic scholarship, see Montanari 1993, 262–264; Richardson 1994; Montanari 2012; Montana 2015; Nünlist 2015, and Lapini 2015. Aristotle's influence can be seen in later anecdotes such as the testimonies collected by Platthy 1968, 124–129.

¹²⁰ Podlecki 1969, 118; Montanari 2012, 349–352.

Homeric text, although no critical analysis of Homer by Theophrastus has survived.¹²¹ Following in Aristotle's footsteps, Theophrastus discussed different kinds of poetry and extended the Aristotelian triple division of good style into four qualities: correct Greek (ἑλληνισμός), clarity, aptness and ornament.¹²² Theophrastus shared further Aristotle's concern with metaphor, to be used in order to elevate diction, but he apparently put forward the idea of avoiding exaggeration in metaphor. This was perhaps a sign of the *synetheia* concept, with actual language usage serving as a criterion in Hellenistic thought.¹²³ In general, the mean (μεσότης) in style, rhythm and structure was of great importance for Theophrastus as well as for other Peripatetics.¹²⁴

Theophrastus' pupil and friend Praxiphanes of Mytilene (second half of the 4th century BCE) was considered by ancient sources to have been the founder of a new approach to grammar that included the critical exegesis of texts.¹²⁵ Praxiphanes engaged in further development of Aristotle's linguistic reflections, discussing the interpretations of poets as put forward by Plato and Isocrates. He also addressed a wide range of themes: poems, numbering in Plato's *Timaeus* 17a, complementary particles, literary criticism and rare words; additionally, he offered an interpretation of Sophocles, and wrote a commentary on *Od.* 11.163–203 (Odysseus speaks to his mother in the underworld).¹²⁶ Thus an anonymous commentary on the *Iliad* quotes Praxiphanes' observations on this passage.

ἐκεῖνος [γὰρ θαυμάζει τὸν Ὀδυσσεά διὰ τὸ] παρη[γ]ορικῶς ὠμειληκότα τῇ μητρὶ κα[τὰ τὴν
τελευτήν] περὶ Τηλεμάχου καὶ Πηνελόπης ἐρωτῆσαι, ἐπειδήπερ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα [ἀκοῦσαι
θέλει τὰ συμβάντα ἐν τῇ ἀ]πουσίᾳ. ἡ δέ, φησὶν, ἡ Ἀντίκλεια συνετωτάτη [οὔσα εὐθὺς περὶ
αὐτὰ κατα]γίνεται

For he (Praxiphanes) wonders that Odysseus, after having spoken consolingly to his mother, asked about Telemachus and Penelope at the end, since in truth he wanted to hear what happened to them in his absence most of all. He says that Anticleia was most intelligent and was immediately concerned with the issue...

Praxiphan. fr. 25 Matelli = *Comm. Il.* 2.763
(*POxy.* 8.1086, 11–18 p. 60 nr. 6 Matelli)

¹²¹ Theophr. fr. 666 FHSG and Fortenbaugh 2005, 120–124, 130–137.

¹²² See fr. 684 FHSG = Cic. *Orat.* 79. See Fortenbaugh 2005, 266–273.

¹²³ Siebenborn 1976, 90ff.; see also Pl. *Cra.* 434e4–435c1 and Fortenbaugh 2005, 276, 286–292.

¹²⁴ See Innes 1985, 262–263.

¹²⁵ Frs. 9a–c Matelli. See also Montana 2015, 72–73.

¹²⁶ Frs. 22–31 Matelli. See particularly fr. 25 Matelli and Matelli 2012, 554–555. On Praxiphanes' activity see also fr. 31 Matelli on the syntagma ἱστορεῖ Πραξιφάνης ("Praxiphanes makes an inquiry").

Praxiphanes comments here on Homer's narratological technique and on the psychological motivation of the characters. Odysseus postpones the most important question to the very end, thus creating a feeling of suspense, whilst his mother starts with answering his final question. Aristarchus further claimed that the inverted order (δεύτερον πρότερον) was generally characteristic of Homeric style (the same papyrus commentary further down). However, Praxiphanes here explained not only the sequence of the narrative, but the emotional state of the Homeric characters such as the intelligent mother (συνετωτάτη) who felt the unspoken desires of her son, and immediately starts with his real concern (εὐθὺς περὶ αὐτὰ καταγίνεται).

One fragment indicates that Praxiphanes explained Homeric glosses.

Ἄζα· ξηρασία. σημαίνει καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀγγείῳ ὀλίγον ὑγρόν. οὕτως Πραξιφάνης

"Aza": dryness. It means a small amount of fluidity in a vessel as well. Thus Praxiphanes.

Praxiphan. fr. 30A Matelli = fr. 21 Wehrli = *Lex.*
cod. Coisl. Gr. 345 = Phot. *Lex.* A428.2

ἄζα is a hapax found only in the description of the old shield (*Od.* 22.184: σάκος εὐρὺ γέρον, πεπαλαγμένον ἄζη "a broad old shield, besprinkled with mould"). The description of Praxiphanes (τὸ ἐν ἀγγείῳ ὀλίγον ὑγρόν) fits to the definition of mould on the surface of the old shield. The fragment should thus be considered as an example of Praxiphanes' Homeric exegesis.

The historian Ephorus from Cyme (c. 400–330 BCE) wrote a treatise on Cyme, which he considered Homer's homeland (Ephor. 70 fr. 1 BNJ). He also composed a treatise *On Style* (Ephor. 70 fr. 6 and fr. 107 BNJ) where perhaps prosodic and rhythm issues were discussed. Aristotle stated that 'it is necessary for prose to have rhythm, but not metre' (Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 1408b).

Chamaeleon of Heraclea Pontica (c. 350 – c. 275 BCE) worked on drama and composed books about satyr plays, and also wrote on Thespis, Aeschylus, and comedy. He studied, among other things, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, Hesiod, Alcman, Sappho, Stesichorus, Lasus of Hermione, Pindar, Simonides and Anacreon.¹²⁷ Chamaeleon's interests were oriented towards historical and literary research, combining literary scholarship with the genre of biography.¹²⁸ Ten fragments belong to Chamaeleon's Homeric studies (frs. 15–24b Martano). Chamaeleon wrote

¹²⁷ Frs. 15–47 Martano.

¹²⁸ On Chamaeleon's critical methodology and on his work on Homeric epic, see Mirhady 2012, 404–408.

a treatise *On the Iliad* perhaps in five books. Thus, he corrected the form of the vocative in *Il.* 12.231:

Πουλυδάμα· αἱ Ἀριστάρχου χωρὶς τοῦ ν, παρὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν· Ζηνόδοτος δὲ καὶ Χαμαιλέων
σὺν τῷ ν, Πουλυδάμαν.

Poulydamas: The (editions) of Aristarchus (write) without the “ny”, contrary to analogy; however, Zenodotus and Chamaeleon (write) with the “ny”, Poulydaman.

Chamael. fr. 18 Martano = Schol. A *Il.* 12.231

Both Chamaeleon and later on Zenodotus deal here with a grammatical or orthographical question.¹²⁹ Chamaeleon discusses the vocative in another passage as well.

ἡθεῖη κεφαλὴ· προσφώνησις νέου πρὸς πρεσβύτερον· δῆλον οὖν ὅτι πρεσβύτερος Ἀχιλλέως ὁ Πάτροκλος. Χαμαιλέων γράφει ὡ θεῖη κεφαλὴ, γελοῖον δὲ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ τὸ ὡ θεῖη· διὸ ἡ διπλή.

“honored head”: greeting of a young man to an older man; it is thus clear that Patroclus is older than Achilles. Chamaeleon writes “oh divine head”, but it is ridiculous to address a dead man “oh divine”. Therefore the *diplé* (the critical sign).

Chamael. fr. 21a–b Martano = Schol. A *Il.* 24.94

Ἡθεῖα δὲ κεφαλὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἡθεῖος γίνεται, περὶ οὗ πολλοῦ δεδήλωται, Χαμαιλέοντος δέ, φασί, τοῦ γραμματικοῦ, γράψαντος «ὡ θεῖη κεφαλὴ» μέμφονται οἱ παλαιοί. ἡθεῖον μὲν γὰρ ὀνομάσαι ἀδελφικῶς τὸν προγενέστερον φίλον εἴη ἂν καλόν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσρησιν, οἶον «θεῖος ὄνειρος» καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐ τῷ τυχόντι διδόναι χρή, καὶ μάλιστα νεκρῷ ἀπλῶς.

“Honored head” comes from the “honoured”, which has been made clear in many places, but they say, that the ancients criticize Chamaeleon the grammarian who has written “oh divine head”. For it would be nice to call in a brotherly way the older friend “honoured”. The address form “divine”, like “divine dream” and such like must not be given to somebody by chance, and surely not to a dead person.

Eustath. *ad Od.* 24.94

Chamaeleon probably corrected the Homeric text or had an earlier version with the vocative form ὡ θεῖη κεφαλὴ. The noun κεφαλὴ does not occur in vocative in Homer otherwise.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ See also West 1998, xxxiv–xxxv.

¹³⁰ Mirhady 2012, 407.

Finally, Chamaeleon either corrected the Homeric text or made semantic observations on it. The much-discussed verse *Od.* 5.334 describes Ino who was transformed into the sea goddess Leucothea.

Λευκοθέη, ἥ πρὶν μὲν ἔην βροτὸς αὐδήεσσα: ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοφάνης τὰς ἀνθρωποειδεῖς θεὰς αὐδήεσσας φησὶν οἶονεϊ φωνὴν μετελῆφναι, ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης οὐδήεσσαν λέγει οἶονεϊ ἐπίγειον. οὕτως καὶ Χαμαιλέων.

Leucothea, who before was a mortal speaking with a human voice (*Od.* 5.334): Aristophanes says that the anthropomorphic goddesses speak with a human voice, as if they have changed their voice, whilst Aristotle reads here “terrestrial” like “of the earth”. So does Chaemeleon.

Chamael. fr. 24a–b Martano =
Schol. HPQ *Od.* 5.334

Αὐδήεσσα δέ, ἥ ἢ διαβόητος κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς ὃ ἐστὶν ἀοίδιμος διὰ τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ συμβάντα. ἥ ἢ ἔνδοξος, εὐγενής γάρ. ἥ κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην, ἥ χρωμένη ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ. οὕτω γὰρ αὐδήεντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς διαστολὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων. γράφεται δὲ καὶ οὐδήεσσα τουτέστιν ἐπίγειος. νύμφη γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανίωνων. Ἀριστοτέλους δέ φασι καὶ Χαμαιλέοντος ἢ τοιαύτη γραφή.

“Speaking with human voice” (means) either “famous” according to the ancients, which means “sung about” due to what happened to her. Or “held in honour”, for she was noble. Or, according to Aristophanes, she used a human voice. For people speak thus with a human voice in distinction from other animals. However, it is written “terrestrial” as well, which means “of the earth”. For she was a nymph and not one of the celestial goddesses. They say, this is the version of Aristotle and Chaemeleon.

Eustath. *ad Od.* 5.334

Aristotle and Chaemeleon who followed him either corrected the Homeric text or already had a different reading here, οὐδήεσσα instead of αὐδήεσσα. This might be a semantic interpolation, but as the difference between two readings is one letter, it is hard to judge, as it might just be the mistake of some scribe (cf. also Arist. fr. 171c Rose and *Od.* 10.136). The adjective οὐδήεις, -εσσα, -εν is otherwise not attested, but if it is a deliberate conjecture it is made based on the Homeric noun οὐδας (“surface of the earth”).¹³¹

Homer was present in the contemporary historiographical work. Thus the historian Philochorus (c. 340–267/261 BCE), the last and most eminent Atticographer, whose works comprise the entire breadth of the history, literature and religion of Athens, dated Homer’s birth one hundred and eighty years after the events of Troy (ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου γένεσιν, Philochor. 328 fr.

211a–b BNJ). He may have been following an opinion expressed by Aristotle (Arist. fr. 76 Rose).

Megaclides of Athens was known as an interpreter and critic of Homer (active around 300 BCE). He wrote on the *Shield of Heracles* which he considered to be have been written by Hesiod (Hyp. 1 in Hes. *Scut.*). He composed further two or more books that dealt with Homer (Περὶ Ὅμηρου),¹³² probably discussed Homer's birthplace, and perhaps commented on Homer's choice of dialect. He probably considered Homer an Athenian and Homeric language to be an older form of Attic.

Ἀθηναίαις· ὁ Μεγακλείδης οὐ φησι καλεῖσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας ἀλλ' Ἀττικάς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὅμηρου, ἅμα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδιδούς· μόνους γάρ, φησι, τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἄνδρας μὲν Ἀθηναίους ὀνομάζουσι, γυναῖκας δὲ Ἀττικάς, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἄγαμον αἱ γαμούμεναι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ κατασχύνωσιν.

“Athenian women”: Megaclides says that the women were called in this way, but “Attic” in his books on Homer, providing the reason; for he says that only men who originated from there were called Athenians, whilst the women were called Attic, in order that married women could not dishonour an unmarried woman, in addressing her in this way.

Phot. α 466 = Suda α 729 = Ael. Dion. α 43

Ἀθηναία was an Attic version of the name Ἀθήνη (Ἀθηναίη in Homer as well). The passage reveals that Megaclides probably discussed both the Homeric dialect and Homer's origin. In book 1 Megaclides also commented on *Il.* 21.195–196.¹³³

Megaclides is quoted in Philodemus' book 1 *On poems*, a corrupt papyrus. A connection between Homer's choice of words and the discussion of dialect may perhaps be posited for his work.

εἰ μέντοι γ' ἐκ πάσης ἐξελέξατο διαλέκτου τὰς ὀνομασίας Ὅμηρος, ἐκ[..... ..] πο[.....
..... ..] ἀ[λ]λου μ[..... ..] νην[..... ..] ἐγλεγεμ[έν]..... . Μεγακλείδ[..... ..] το δὲ
συ[.....

If however Homer selected his designations from every language/discourse/dialect, ... of another is... selected, ... Megaclides says...¹³⁴

Philodem. *De Poemat.* frs. 187–188 Janko

¹³² On the probable reconstruction of the contents of these two books, see Janko 2000, 140–141.

¹³³ Janko 2000, 140–141. For more on Megaclides' philological activities, see Janko 2000, 138–143.

¹³⁴ On the Homeric use of dialects for his epic diction, see Janko 2000, 410–413 and 377.

In his book 2, Megacrides made a narratological commentary on the Homeric text.

ἔγχος δ' οὐχ ἔλετ' οἷον ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο· διὰ τί οὖν μόνον τὸ Πηλιωτικὸν αὐτῷ ἀναρμο-
στεῖ δόρυ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀρμოსάντων ὅπλων; Μεγακλείδης ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ὅμηρου προοικο-
νομεῖσθαι φησιν Ὅμηρον τὴν ὅπλοποιαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ὕλας, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Ἥφαιστος
ἐδημιουργεῖ τὰ ὅπλα, τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον, οὐκ ἀπίθανον εἶναι καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, δέν-
δρον δὲ οὐράνιον λέγειν καταγελαστότατον ἦν...

“he did not take only the spear of the peerless son of Aeacus” (*Il.* 16.140): Why does the spear from mount Pelion alone not suit him, when all other armour fit well? Megacrides in his book 2 on Homer says that Homer premises the ‘making of arms’ (sc. *Iliad* 18), and since other material from which Hephaestus made arms could not in all probability be found in heaven, such as gold and silver, to say that wooden is heavenly would be really ridiculous...

Schol. A *Il.* 16.140

It is not clear which term exactly was used by Megacrides in his text. It is however noteworthy that the epic poet is said to introduce/anticipate (προοικονομεῖσθαι) the scene of the making of arms by having Patroclus refuse to take Achilles’ wooden spear. The scholiast ascribes the verb to Megacrides, who comments on the narratological techniques of Homer and the way Homer structures his story.

Both Megacrides and another critic (Megacrides’ younger 3rd century BCE contemporary) Andromenides were often quoted in Philodemus’ work *On poems*. Both were important sources for Philodemus.¹³⁵ Both Megacrides and Andromenides seem to share an interest in glosses and Homeric word-choice.

The early Peripatetic scholar and politician, Theophrastus’ pupil Demetrius of Phalerum (c. 360–280 BCE) was a prolific writer. In the quantity of his books and the number of lines composed he exceeded almost all the Peripatetics of his time.¹³⁶ Among much else, he contributed to the study of language, rhetoric and poetry, dealt with orthography,¹³⁷ wrote on oral singers generally,¹³⁸ and Homer in particular, composed a dialogue or a speech (Ὅμηρικός) in one book, two books on the *Iliad* and four books on the *Odyssey*.¹³⁹

Thus, he composed a critical analysis of the Homeric text, discussing the problems of *Il.* 2.409: ἤδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονείτο (“for he knew

¹³⁵ On Andromenides’ work, see Janko 2000, 143–154.

¹³⁶ D.L. 5.80–81. On the attributions of various readings in the Homeric scholia to various grammarians called ‘Demetrii’, see Montanari 2000, 392–396. See Innes 1985, 251 for ancient references.

¹³⁷ Fr. 148 SOD = fr. 173 Wehrli.

¹³⁸ Fr. 146 SOD = fr. 192 Wehrli, see Montanari 2000, 409–410.

¹³⁹ Frs. 143–146 SOD = frs. 190–193 Wehrli.

in his heart that his brother was suffering”). The verse is a kind of apology of why Menelaus came to Agamemnon's dinner without invitation.

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐπαρίστερον τὴν τοῦ στίχου παράληψιν ἐπειπὼν καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀλλοτριάν, τὸν ᾗδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο' μικρολογίαν ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς ἡθεσιν. 'οἶμαι γάρ, φησίν, ἕκαστον τῶν χαριέντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν καὶ οἰκεῖον καὶ φίλον πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἔλθοι θυσίας οὔσης τὸν καλοῦντα μὴ περιμείνας.'

Demetrius of Phalerum said that the use of this verse is wrong and alien to the style of the poet, and that this verse (*Il.* 2.409 quoted) imputes meanness to the characters. “For I think, he says, that every refined person has either a relative or a friend, to whom he could come for a sacrificial feast, without waiting to be invited”.

Demetr. fr. 143 SOD = Athen. 5, 4 177c–178a

Demetrius seems to have commented on the authenticity of *Il.* 2.409. Athenaeus had earlier stated that some scholars ascribed the verse to the Homeric text, adding as a reason why Menelaus appeared at the dinner: καίτοι τινὲς στίχον προσέγραψαν τὴν αἰτίαν προστιθέντες (Athen. 5, 4 177c8), which means that this verse had been considered an interpolation. Demetrius is thus the oldest quoted source to have believed that this verse was spurious, an opinion that would later be supported by some of the Alexandrian grammarians.¹⁴⁰ The criteria Demetrius employs for his criticism are noteworthy: the acceptance of such verses as do not suit or are alien to Homeric poetry (τῆς ποιήσεως ἀλλοτριάν), by which the logical coherence of the Homeric narrative is meant. “It seems likely that we have the remains of a *zétēma* in genuine peripatetic style, perhaps for example on the Homeric representation of the symposia, on rules and customs in symposia or something of this nature, in which interpretation of the text also led naturally to debate on an issue of coherence”.¹⁴¹

Similarly, Demetrius commented on *Od.* 23.296.

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἰς σωφροσύνην ἔλεγεν ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ‘ἀσπάσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἴκοντο’.

Demetrius of Phalerum said that (Homer) composed the following verse for reasons of prudence: “(Odysseus and Penelope) then joyfully came to the custom of the old bed” (*Od.* 23.296).

Demetr. fr. 145 SOD = Stob. *Anth.* 3.5.43

¹⁴⁰ See in detail Montanari 2000, 399–402 and Montanari 2012, 341–342.

¹⁴¹ Montanari 2000, 402.

This commentary by Demetrius has a special significance in the context of the general consideration of this verse, which engendered further discussions in Alexandria. Thus, the major authorities Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace considered it to be the real end and climax (πέρας and τέλος) of the *Odyssey* (Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦτο ποιοῦνται, Schol. MV Vind. 133 *Od.* 23.296 and τοῦτο τέλος τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας φησὶν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης, Schol. HMQ *Od.* 23.296). This could mean that either the remainder of the poem was regarded as inauthentic or that this verse constituted the culmination of the story, the real end of Odysseus' wanderings.¹⁴² Demetrius' comment (and again, as in fr. 143 SOD, a kind of apology) about the poet's prudence (εἰς σωφροσύνην ἔλεγεν) concerning this verse reveals firstly his treatment of Homeric narrative's coherence and also an analysis of the meaning of this culmination and 'anticipation' in the context of the following book 24. The pre-Alexandrian analysis of Homeric narrative techniques and Demetrius' eventual reply to the arguments of his (Peripatetic) contemporaries are also evident.¹⁴³

Demetrius of Phalerum constitutes a good example of direct continuity between pre-Alexandrian and Alexandrian scholarship: in effect, he moved to Alexandria after 297 BCE and worked there at least until 283 BCE when Ptolemy II came to power, a period which coincided with Zenodotus in his prime.¹⁴⁴

Another example of such continuity can be considered the poet and scholar Philitas of Cos, mentioned for his Homeric glossary in Strato's comedy *Phoenicides* (discussed above). Philitas was a tutor of Ptolemy I Soter in Alexandria and a teacher of the scholar Zenodotus of Ephesus.¹⁴⁵ Philitas probably came back to Cos before the foundation of the Alexandrian Royal Library. From the surviving fragments it is hard to reconstruct Philitas' methodology, but the exegetical works Ἰατρικοὶ γλῶσσαι and Ἑρμηνεΐα are important for his Homeric studies (frs. 29–58 Kuchenmüller). Here Homeric rare words were for the most part explained, such as πέλλα "(wooden) bowl" (hapax *Il.* 16.642, Philet. fr. 33 Kuchenmüller = fr. 5 Dettori), which Philitas explained as a Boeotian designation for a cup (Φιλητᾶς δ' ἐν Ἰάτρικοις τὴν κύλικα Βοιωτοῦς).¹⁴⁶

On some occasions Philitas' evidence is important for the status of the earlier Homeric text transmission.

¹⁴² Montanari 2000, 403–406 and Montanari 2012, 345–347. See also De Jong 2001, 561–562.

¹⁴³ Cf. Aristotle's analysis of the plot of the *Odyssey* in his *Poetics* (Arist. *Poet.* 1455b16–23) and Montanari 2000, 405–406.

¹⁴⁴ See Pfeiffer 1968, 96, 99–104; Richardson 1994, 13–14, and Montanari 2000, 402–403.

¹⁴⁵ Pfeiffer 1968, 88–92; Dettori 2000; Spanoudakis 2002, 347–403; Montana 2015, 70–72.

¹⁴⁶ Dettori 2000, 69–77; Spanoudakis 2002, 359–361. For the list of Homeric glosses in Philitas' grammatical fragments, see Spanoudakis 2002, 387–388.

σκῖρος· ῥύπος καὶ ὁ δριμύς τυρός· καὶ ἄλσος καὶ δρυμός. Φιλιτᾶς δὲ τὴν ῥυπώδη γῆν

“hard (perh. chalk) land overgrown with bushes, scrub” (LSJ): filth and bitter cheese. Also grove and copse. But Philitas designates filthy earth in this way.

Philet. fr. 49 Kuchenmüller = fr. 21 Dettori =
Hesych. σ 893

According to the Homeric scholia, Aristarchus is said to have shortened two verses *Il.* 23.332–333 ἢ τό γε νύσσα τέτυκτο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων, / καὶ νῦν τέρματ’ ἔθηκε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς (“or it was made as a turning-post in the time of earlier men; and now swift-footed divine Achilles appointed it to his end-marker”) into one ἢ ἐ σκῖρος ἔην, νῦν αὖ θέτο τέρματ’ Ἀχιλλεύς (“or it was hard/filthy land, but now Achilles appointed it to his end-marker”, Schol. T (ex.) 23.332–3 Erbse). Philitas’ explanation of the obscure word σκῖρος might mean here that this was the Homeric reading that he and perhaps Aristarchus had available at the time. And, in this case, it would not have been Aristarchus’ conjecture but the reading transmitted from earlier periods.¹⁴⁷

Both Demetrius of Phalerum and Philitas of Cos signal the beginning of the Alexandrian era and thus guide us on to certain conclusions. The dynamics involved in the process of developing and establishing literary criticism, textual criticism and language functions and categories, the spectrum of approaches found in pre-Alexandrian scholarship, lead to what would later be thought of as Homeric scholarship in a narrower Alexandrian sense, studies in grammar and the editing of the canonical text.

The coining and use of terminology in poetic contexts has meant that various poetic genres also greatly contributed to the arguments developed by Homeric scholars. Terms that came to be widely used in philological and scholarly thought crossed over from one type of text or genre or context to another. This rendered a kind of fluidity to thought on scholarship at the time. The multi-disciplinarity in the creation of scholarly terms should therefore be considered crucial for a fuller understanding of their dynamic over the centuries.

Methodical, theoretical and practical approaches to the study of the Homeric language, text, style and interpretation were already established by the beginning of the 4th century BCE. Nonetheless, in the period thereafter institutions such as schools, academies and libraries had to be created to promote the devel-

147 Dettori 2000, 147–152; Spanoudakis 2002, 374–375.

opment of scholarship “as a separate intellectual discipline”, leading to scholarship’s flourishing in the Alexandrian age.¹⁴⁸ The search for error was in Alexandria to become one of the fundamental methodological tools for philological work.¹⁴⁹ Its path was prepared in reflections from the 5th century BCE.

The gradual movement of Homeric criticism and hermeneutics from Athens to Alexandria had in fact been completed by the time Hellenistic Homeric scholarship began to proliferate.

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¹⁴⁸ Pfeiffer 1968, 3.

¹⁴⁹ On the methods of Alexandrian scholarship, see Montanari 2015 in detail.

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Lara Pagani

Hybridization of Scholiastic Classes in the Iliadic Corpus

A long and intricate process transformed the scholarly works of the Hellenistic and Imperial ages, which were conceived to help the understanding and interpretation of ancient literature, into the scholiastic corpora we read today, mostly in the margins of Medieval manuscripts.¹ It is almost impossible to retrace in detail the steps which, between Late Antiquity and the beginning of the Byzantine Age, led to this outcome, even if we sometimes have clues that hint at some turning points. In the most substantial of the scholiastic corpora to ancient Greek authors, that to Homer, it has been possible to identify evidence of different and independent traditional strands of compilation, which we usually call “scholiastic classes”. During the slow passages from autonomous works of secondary literature to a scholiastic arrangement of their contents, various kinds of intermediate compilations were accomplished, each of them with a differentiated aim and approach, and therefore with recognizable and distinctive features. To identify the “class” to which a scholion belongs means to define its provenance from one or another of these traditions of exegetical compilation. It is not my intention to discuss this topic anew,² but it will be useful to recall its crucial aspects briefly.

The topics studied in this paper have gained inspiration and advantage from the continuous discussion with the other members of the team responsible for the new edition of the scholia to the *Iliad*, Franco Montanari, Fausto Montana, Davide Muratore: I wish to thank them all. The manuscripts are quoted according to the following *sigla*: A (Venetus A): Venice, Bibl. Marciana, gr. 822 (= Marc. gr. Z. 454), 10th c.; B (Venetus B): Venice, Bibl. Marciana, gr. 821 (= Marc. gr. Z. 453), 11th c.; C: Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 32,3, mid-12th c. (on the dating cf. Montana 2018); E³: Madrid, El Escorial, Graec. 291 (y.l.1), 11th c.; E⁴: Madrid, El Escorial, Graec. 509 (Q.l.12), 13th c. (on the dating cf. Maniaci 2006, 222–223 n. 32; Montana/Prato forthcoming); T (Townleianus): London, Brit. Mus., Burney 86, A.D. 1014 or 1059; b: common ancestor of the *scholia exegetica* of BCE³E⁴; c: common ancestor of b and T; S: Paris, BNF, Suppl. gr. 679, 11th c.; Pal²: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. gr. 222, 14th/15th c.; Q: Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 33, 11th c.; X: Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 32, 12th c.; Y: Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 2193, 11th c.; Z (Romanus-Matritensis): Rome, Bibl. Naz. Centr., gr. 6 + Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 4626, 9th c.

1 Cf. e.g. Montanari 1993, 244–249; Montana 2011; Montana/Porro 2014; Dickey 2015, 497–514.

2 A clear perspective on this issue has now been achieved, beginning from Erbse's work (see Erbse 1969, *Praefatio*). The most recent and precise survey of the classes of scholia to the *Iliad* can be found in Montana forthcoming/b.

The same distinctions apply to both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,³ but here I will focus my investigation on the *Iliad*.

1) The class containing the most ancient material is that of the D-scholia,⁴ which include different components, such as explanations of words (*glossai*) or paraphrases of expressions, mythographical accounts (*historiai*), summaries of whole books (*hypotheseis*), and the identification of questionable aspects, with the relevant solutions (*zetemata/aporiai* and *lyseis*). 2) The class called VMK-scholia drew its contents from a Late Antique commentary (conventionally known as the *Viermännerkommentar*, whence the acronym), whose existence is inferred from the subscriptions of the main manuscript witness of this class, ms. A.⁵ It must have been a mixed compendium of four treatises (by Aristonicus, Didymus, Nicanor and Aelius Herodian) accomplished during an unknown time period in Late Antiquity in order to preserve the learned discussion about textual and interpretive problems that had mainly been prompted by Aristarchus of Samothrace.⁶ 3) The *scholia exegetica* are mainly interested in content-based explanations of the text. 4) A potential further class may be recognized in the hyper-compilation accomplished in the 11th–12th c. by blending together the materials of the three previously existing classes and by re-working them in an original way with the addition of otherwise unknown remarks: since this operation is attested by manuscripts mainly belonging to the family that has been identified as h from Allen onward, the presumptive scholiastic class too can be called h.⁷

The class of a scholion can be inferred by combining evaluations based on the content and wording of the scholion itself, sometimes complemented by the observation of its position in the manuscript tradition. The latter, however, is not unambiguous evidence, since the majority of the witnesses, though displaying a prevalence of scholia belonging to one class, are not exclusive representatives of that class, but also preserve elements of other classes intermingled with one another. With this *caveat* in mind, we can describe the manuscript distribution of each scholiastic class, with some simplifications, as follows: 1) the D-scholia have four witnesses *par excellence*, QXYZ (plus a few fragments in S and in ms. Venice,

3 For an in-depth study of the scholiastic tradition to the *Odyssey*, see Pontani 2005.

4 Van Thiel, 2014b², Einleitung; cf. Schimberg 1892; de Marco 1932; Montanari 1979, esp. 3–25.

5 On these subscriptions, see Pagani 2014, with bibliography.

6 On the VMK see Lehms 1882³, 31–32; Ludwich 1884–1885, 1, 78–82; van der Valk 1963–1964, 1, 107; Erbse 1969, XLV–XLVII; van Thiel 2000, 11–12 (cf. 2014a, 1, 27–28), who brought the very existence of the VMK into question; Dickey 2015, 501; Schironi 2015, 609.

7 Allen 1931. This hypothesis has been taking shape during the research for a new comprehensive critical edition of the scholia to the *Iliad*: see Montanari/Montana/Muratore/Pagani 2017, with bibliography. About the h-family/class, see also Muratore 2014, with bibliography.

Bibl. Marciana, gr. 474 [= Marc. gr. Z. 142], f. 266rv),⁸ which display the scholia in a full-page layout, without the Homeric text; moreover E⁴, which has generally been considered almost solely for its role as a witness of *scholia exegetica*, in fact bears D-scholia, arranged as frame-scholia, as the unique paratext originally appended by the first hand which also wrote the *Iliad* and its paraphrase;⁹ scholia of this class are, finally, interspersed in the exegetical apparatuses of the manuscripts A, C, E³, and have been added by later hands in the manuscripts B and T.¹⁰ 2) The VMK-scholia are mainly attested by A, whose corpus, however, also includes D-scholia and *scholia exegetica*, fully integrated with one another and so representing three ingredients of the editorial project that originally gave rise to the exegetical apparatus of this manuscript. Conversely they appear also in the paratexts of BCE³T and that of the secondary hand of E⁴. 3) The *scholia exegetica* are mostly preserved by BCE³T, as well as being added by a later hand in E⁴, but are also scattered within the scholiastic corpus of A. The h-family is composed by a plentiful group of manuscripts that display a very peculiar version of D-scholia, often rephrased in comparison with the text of the primary witnesses of this class, and increased with additions stemming from the traditions of both the VMK-scholia (derived from an ancestor of A) and the *scholia exegetica* — besides other unknown materials.¹¹

Therefore it is the norm for the scholiastic classes not to appear in a “pure” condition in our manuscript tradition, but as contaminated with one another. This characteristic seems not to have been a complete innovation introduced at the turning point towards the scholiastic format. To the contrary, we have evidence of a mixture of different currents and approaches *in nuce* already in antiquity, at the level of the *hypomnemata* that were sources of the scholia. The renowned “Ammonius commentary” of P.Oxy. 221 (LDAB 1631; MP³ 1205, 2nd c. CE),

⁸ For a description see van Thiel 2014b², 10–12, whose primary point of reference (possibly overestimated) is ms. Z (9th c.). The position of another witness, Pal², which has so far proven to be closely related to Q, still needs further clarification (Montanari/Montana/Muratore/Pagani 2017, 6). The Venice folium (12th c.), reused as a flyleaf of a 13th c. codex of Dionysius the Areopagite, bears D-scholia relevant to around 150 lines of *Il.* 2: I owe this information to Davide Muratore, whom I thank.

⁹ This error of perspective has been perpetuated from Erbse’s edition onward, where the D-scholia were not taken into consideration. Recent studies have pointed out the complexity of E⁴ (cf. Montana/Prato forthcoming), and shifted forward the dating of the manuscript from the 11th to the 13th c. (Maniaci 2006, 222–223 n. 32; Montana/Prato forthcoming).

¹⁰ A description of these manuscripts can be found in Erbse 1969, XII–XXVIII, but see also at least Montana 2018 regarding C; Maniaci 2006, and Montana/Prato forthcoming on E⁴.

¹¹ Muratore 2014, with bibliography.

for instance, contains not only several notes that explain and interpret the content of the text, which are very similar to those that can be seen in the *scholia exegetica*, but also materials, such as the discussion of textual variants, which are an outcome of the Alexandrian-Aristarchean strand.¹² This trend is continued and even magnified in the joint presence, in a single scholiastic output, of scholia belonging to different traditional classes.

That kind of permeability is also detectable in the existence of scholia of different classes that deal with the same problem in the literary text and give similar answers to it, though with varied formulations: this type of overlap happens *e.g.* between *scholia exegetica* and *zetemata* of the D-scholia that attempt to interpret the meaning of the same Iliadic passage or the sense of a specific poetic choice.¹³ Interferences of this sort are perhaps not so strange, since they after all represent different appropriations, by different exegetical currents, of the same learned material, which was knowledge that was shared and in circulation. However, we also observe more specific cases interpretable as sheer hybridization among classes, such as a wording in a scholion that seems to have been affected by the formulation in another class, or even the intrusion of elements from a different class in almost identical verbatim form.

Since the examples we will be dealing with involve the *scholia exegetica*, it is useful to recall briefly our picture of the origin of this compilation and its manuscript tradition, as a premise. We do not have precise information about the antecedents of the corpus of the *scholia exegetica* or the provenance of their material: recent attempts to connect it with the work of the grammarian Demetrius Ixion¹⁴ (2nd c. BCE) do not seem to be sufficiently well-grounded. What we can infer from internal elements is that the compilation was formed by drawing on at least three ancient commentaries,¹⁵ characterized by a uniform and specialized

¹² Grenfell/Hunt 1899, 55–56; Pagani forthcoming.

¹³ One need only cite a couple of scholia to *Il.* 1.1, *sch. ex.* 1.1b Erbse and *sch. D* 1.1 (μῆνιν) van Thiel, both of which are interested in explaining why the poet began from the end of the story (of the Trojan war) and from a word like “wrath”, by using arguments that at least in part coincide. The picture becomes even more intricate if one considers also the contribution of the h-family, as we are doing in preparation for the new edition (a *specimen*, including ll. 6–11, can be found in Montanari/Montana/Muratore/Pagani 2017, but a wider one is planned for the near future).

¹⁴ Van Thiel 2014a, 1, 20–22 (cf. 10). On Demetrius Ixion, a pupil of Aristarchus who “betrayed” his master by moving to the school of Pergamon, see Ascheri 2009², with bibliography.

¹⁵ Erbse 1969, LI. The inference is based on the fact that sometimes one and the same part of a line is discussed three times with similar arguments but different wordings.

interest in a content-based explanation of the text. The hypothesis of the existence, at the beginning of the Byzantine age, of *hypomnemata* with these features has been corroborated by the recently published fragments of a codex datable to the 5th/6th or 6th/7th c. CE (P.Oxy. 5095; LDAB 128516; MP³ 1194.01) bearing the remains of a commentary which can be described, on good grounds, as an abridged version of one of the sources used to compile the corpus of the *scholia exegetica*.¹⁶

The prototypical compilation of the *scholia exegetica*, accomplished in the Byzantine age, was written down in an archetype, called c by Erbse, from which our witnesses of *scholia exegetica* are deemed to derive in their entirety. However, the corpus has come down to us divided into two slightly different realizations, which we read in the manuscripts of the b-family and in ms. T respectively.¹⁷ It has been acknowledged for a long time that T preserves a scholiastic apparatus closer to that of c, whereas b made some innovations on it, by moving or conflating parts of scholia, with a generally recognizable tendency to shorten the text.¹⁸ We can legitimately infer from the evidence that the archetype c had access also to the VMK-branch and made use of its material, by excerpting and blending it together with that belonging to the *exegetica*-tradition. Conversely, both from the archetype c and the hyparchetype b contents of the *scholia exegetica* have flowed into those of the VMK-branch before the latter found its way into ms. A.¹⁹ On the other hand, the interactions between the so-called *scholia maiora* (i.e. the VMK-scholia and the *scholia exegetica*)²⁰ and the D-scholia have not yet been disentangled so well, a clear consequence of the fact that, so far, the two groups have been edited independently.²¹

A partial inquiry, which for the time being has involved only random tests, seems to suggest a certain openness on the part of the *scholia exegetica* as attested by the b-family (in contrast to the version preserved by ms. T) to influences and intrusions from materials stemming from the D-class. The results should be considered provisional and will need to be confirmed by a thorough and comprehensive investigation of the corpus, but a definite trend seems to emerge.

16 Montana 2013. *Editio princeps*: Montanari 2011. A date in the 7th c. has been proposed by Porro 2014, 204 n. 27.

17 Erbse 1969, XLVIII–LII.

18 Roemer 1879; cf. Erbse 1960, 6; Erbse 1969, XLVIII–IL, L.

19 Erbse 1969, LII–LVI; *stemma codicum* on p. LVIII.

20 Cf. Erbse 1969, XI.

21 Examples of the many ways in which an integrated edition of the whole corpus can improve our knowledge and understanding of the Iliadic scholia are to be found in Montana forthcoming/a.

My first example shows a potential interference by the D-class into the re-working made by b of the interpretation that must have been in c, according to the witness of T. During Diomedes' *aristeia* in book 5, after a prayer by the hero (114–120), Athena encourages him by saying that she has lifted the fog from his eyes so that he can distinguish men and gods: if his opponent is a god, unless it is Aphrodite, he should avoid fighting with him/her (121–132). According to the scholion preserved in ms. T, the point is, very reasonably, that he is now able to distinguish a god disguised as a man from a real man.²²

Sch. ex. Il. 5.128a¹ (Erbse): <ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκοις ἡμὲν θεὸν> ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα: θεὸν ὁμοιωθέντα ἀνδρὶ, ἵνα διακρίνης καὶ τὸν ὄντως ἄνδρα· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ ἡμὲν θεὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα. **T**.

“<So that you can well recognize> both a god and a man”: so that you can distinguish a god with the same aspect as a man and that which is really a man: the expression “both a god and a man” means this. **T**.

The version of this scholion handed down by b (i.e. mss BCE⁴)²³ maintains, to the contrary, that the opposition established by Athena's words is between a god with his true divine aspect and a god who has assumed a human aspect.

Sch. ex. Il. 5.128a² (Erbse): ὅπως εὖ διακρίνοιο καὶ τὸν ἄτρεπτον θεὸν καὶ τὸν ὡς ἄνδρα πάλιν θεόν. **b**(BCE⁴)²⁴.

ὅπως εὖ διακρίνοιο: τινὲς δὲ τὸ θεὸν καὶ ἄνδρα ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅπως διακρίνης pone sch. 127 E⁴

So that you can well distinguish both the unchanged god and the god who has turned into a man. **b**(BCE⁴).

This makes no sense in the relevant Iliadic context and clearly seems to be a distortion of the correct explanation, which was probably already present in c and

²² Here and in the following passages, I reproduce the texts and an adapted selection of the critical apparatuses of respectively Erbse's edition and van Thiel's *proecdosis*. I checked the digital copies of the most relevant witnesses.

²³ E³ is missing here, because the present f. 63r, where this line is written, is not the original one, which had been lost and has then been restored by a recent hand, without any scholastic apparatus: cf. Erbse 1969, XIX.

²⁴ The hand of E⁴ which is responsible for the transcription of the *scholia exegetica* (see Montana/Prato forthcoming) writes this explanation between the lines of the paraphrase, consecutively to the scholion on l. 127 which assigns a pedagogic value to this scene, and modifies the incipit accordingly, in order to connect the two remarks. It therefore replaces ὅπως εὖ διακρίνοιο with τινὲς δὲ τὸ θεὸν καὶ ἄνδρα ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅπως διακρίνης (but some [think that] the expressions “god” and “man” stand for “so that you can distinguish etc.”).

has flowed into T. That would not be surprising if this were due to a trivial misunderstanding.²⁵ However, the paraphrastic explanation of the D-scholia for this passage offers an interesting parallel.

Sch. D Il. 5.128 (van Thiel): ἡμὲν θεὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα: τὸν τε αὐτοπρόσωπον θεὸν καὶ μεταβαλλόμενον εἰς ἄνδρα (= T') τὴν ιδέαν. ZYQI ~ G.²⁶

“Both a god and a man”: the god with his own face and one who has changed his aspect into a man.

This opinion has left its trace also in T, where the later hand that added D-scholia (= van Thiel’s *siglum* T') wrote τὸν ὄντως and τὸν μεταβαλλόμενον εἰς ἄνδρα above the Homeric words θεὸν and ἄνδρα respectively. In this case we find the two different interpretations, one stemming from the *exegetica*-tradition, the other from the D-scholia, both present on the same page, as the result of a stratification in the writing of the scholiastic apparatus. So the manuscript displays a joint presence of different classes, but they remain clearly separate, independent of one another and also visually distinct. In b, on the contrary, it is possible that the explanation of the D-class has played a role in determining the misinterpretation of the (in itself linear and clear) interpretation of the *scholia exegetica*.²⁷ Suggesting this possibility implies the presumption that b had some access to the D-class and made use of it while reworking its corpus of *scholia exegetica* as inherited from the archetype c. As we will see, other examples seem to point in the same direction.

A second level of possible interaction by b with the D-tradition appears in cases where b adds an explanation, missing in T, that rephrases the same content attested within the compilation of the D-class. An example that involves the glossographic/paraphrastic component of D can be found at the beginning of book 3, with reference to the insult addressed to Paris by Hector, who calls him “eminent for your beauty” (3.39). The commentary unanimously transmitted by both b and T remarks that Paris is discredited by pointing out exactly the characteristic of which he is proud, and that it is indeed an insult (in different contexts it would not be), because Paris’ excellence in beauty does not find an equal match in his

²⁵ Erbse 1971, 22, *app. ad loc.*: “interpretationem genuinam ex instituto suo corrumpit **b**”.

²⁶ I = Roma, Bibl. Angelica, 122; G = Genève, Bibl. de Genève, gr. 44, which has a slightly different arrangement of the text: θεὸν τὸν αὐτοπρόσωπον, ἄνδρα δὲ τὸν μεταβαλλόμενον εἰς ἀνδρὸς ιδέαν.

²⁷ Erbse 1971, 22, *app. ad loc.*: “cf. D; **b** aut hanc recensionem respexit aut verba exempli male interpretatus est”.

temperament; subsequently two Homeric parallels are added, one of which recalls a handsome aspect in a negative perspective, while the other describes a situation in which exterior appearance matches interior disposition, and a Hesiodic one, containing an exhortation that this equivalence be achieved.²⁸ The following part is attested only by the b-family (see below about the role of E4) and provides two alternative explanations for the epithet γυναιμανής, which continues the series of insults by Hector to Paris: it identifies either one who makes women crazy by deceiving them with his beauty, or one who goes crazy for women.

Sch. ex. | ex. | D Il. 3.39c (Erbse): εἶδος ἄριστε: ἐφ' ᾧ μεγαλύνεται, τούτῳ αὐτὸν διασύρει. ὄνειδος δέ ἐστιν οὐχ ὁμοιούμενον τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς τὸ “Ἑκτορ, εἶδος ἄριστε” (*Il.* 17.142) καὶ “εἶδος ἀγῆτος” (*Il.* 24.376) καὶ “σὲ δὲ μὴ τι νόον κατελεγχέτω εἶδος” (*Hes. Op.* 714). **b**(BCE³E⁴)**T** | γυναιμανής δὲ ὁ τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς μαινάδας τῇ τῆς ὥρας ποιῶν ἀπάτη, **b**(BCE³) | ἢ ὁ ἐπ' αὐταῖς μαινόμενος. **b**(BCE³E⁴).

1 εἶδος – διασύρει T, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εἶδει, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μεγαλύνεται, διασύρει αὐτόν (coni. cum sch. b) **b** 2 οὐχ T, εἶδος οὐχ **b** τῇ om. **b** 2–3 καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτος om. **b** 5 ἢ – μαινόμενος ante sch. b in E⁴ ὁ om. E⁴

“Eminent for your beauty”: he ridicules him through the aspect of which he (sc. Paris) is proud. It is a reproach, being not equivalent with his disposition, as in the expressions “Hector, eminent for your beauty”, “pleasant aspect”, and “may your appearance not disgrace your disposition”. **b**(BCE³E⁴)**T** | γυναιμανής is one who makes women crazy through the trick of beauty, **b**(BCE³) | or the one who goes crazy for them. **b**(BCE³).

The remark in b has a close parallel in the D-class, where the two possible interpretations of the Homeric word γυναιμανής are presented in reverse order:

Sch. D Il. 3.39 (van Thiel): γυναιμανής: ἥτοι ἐπὶ γυναιξὶ μαινόμενε, ἢ γυναῖκας εἰς μανίαν φέρων διὰ τὸ κάλλος. ZYQT³U^mI (~ E³).

γυναιμανής: either “oh you, who go crazy for women”, or “who bring women to madness through your beauty”.

No trace of this last part is to be found in the corpus of *scholia exegetica* of ms. T, where, however, the later hand which added D-scholia has copied, between the lines above γυναιμανής, the D-scholion exactly, with the exception of the lemma and the first disjunctive ἥτοι, thus reproducing a similar picture to that of the

²⁸ Hesiod's hemistich is quoted with the variant reading νόον for the νόος mostly accepted in modern critical editions (cf. e.g. West 1978, 130, *app. ad loc.*, 331, commentary), i.e. understanding εἶδος as the subject: however, the meaning does not change substantially.

previous example. The situation in b is more complex: the first option, whose expression is markedly different from that of D, was considered by Erbse to belong to the *scholia exegetica*; the second one, which has a closer affinity with D, was directly labeled as D by him. I suggest instead that the whole explanation of the word γυναιμανής in b-manuscripts can be judged to be an addition, which has arisen out of D material,²⁹ but has been reworked (and also reversed in order) and added on within the *exegetica*-corpus of this group of manuscripts. The peculiar arrangement of E⁴ may perhaps shed more light on this problem: here one of the hands responsible for D-scholia wrote only the “active” interpretation of D (“who causes madness”), with a slightly different formulation: τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς μανίαν φέρων διὰ τὸ προσόν σοι κάλλος (“you who bring women to madness through the beauty belonging to you”);³⁰ the subsequent hand which added *scholia exegetica* went on to write the opposite option ἢ ἐπ’ αὐταῖς μαινόμενος,³¹ omitting the article of the participle but for the rest unsurprisingly overlapping with the formulation of b, and not that of the D-manuscripts, where the paraphrase conserves, among other things, the vocative of the Homeric passage (cf. σοι in the D part of E⁴). This may prompt us to infer that both the alternative interpretations had been incorporated within the corpus of *scholia exegetica* of b and that the copyist who used this material to fill up the spaces left free from D-scholia in E⁴ recognized that one of the explanations of γυναιμανής was already there, though expressed differently, and added only the other one.

Sometimes the intrusion of D-material in b is even more pronounced, since it is inserted almost without formal modifications within the explanation stemming from the *scholia exegetica* as attested in T. When Agamemnon rejects Chryses’ plea at the beginning of book 1, the priest asks Apollo that “the Danaans may

²⁹ From the D-scholia tradition the explanation of the Homeric lemma γυναιμανής has also flowed into lexicography (e.g. Hsch. γ 10 [1, 394 Latte], a part of which is a gloss of Cyrillus): for D as one of the sources of Hesychius and Cyrillus see Latte 1953, XIV, XLVI.

³⁰ At the beginning of the upper margin of f. 27v, connected by a symbol to γυναιμανής in the Homeric text. According to Giancarlo Prato and Fausto Montana, this is the second hand of E⁴, the one which adds further D-scholia and Porphyrian material in the margins. Recognizing this part as a D-scholion, Erbse did not include it in his edition. Nor is it to be found in the *proecdosis* of van Thiel 2014b², 152, where only a generic reference to the existence of a similar passage is given (“~ E” [= E³]: *lege* “~ F” [E⁴]: E³ has the same arrangement as BC).

³¹ The disjunctive at the beginning has been written very close to the *dicolon* at the end of the previous part (possibly covering the horizontal line, which may have been set there to form, together with the *dicolon*, the sign that marked the end of the scholion), with a clear intention of coordinating the two notes.

repay my tears through your arrows” (*Il.* 1.42). A *zetema* of the D-scholia is focused on the question why Chryses curses all the Greeks and not only Agamemnon, and suggests as alternative explanations that Agamemnon’s death would have been counter-productive, in contrast to a plague devastating the whole army; that dying would have been for Agamemnon the end of his pains, whereas facing this dramatic situation is a better punishment; that, as a matter of fact, the other Greeks deserved Chryses’ curse, since they did nothing to prevent Agamemnon’s *hybris*.

Sch. D Il. 1.42 (van Thiel): διὰ τί δὲ ὁ Χρύσης οὐ κατὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἤρχετο τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων; φαμέν δὲ ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀποθανόντος ὁ στρατὸς ἐλύετο καὶ Χρυσηΐς εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγετο· ἀναιρουμένων δὲ τῶν ὄχλων, ζήτησις μὲν ἦν τοῦ πάθους, ἀπόδοσις δὲ τῆς κόρης· καὶ ἀποθανὼν μὲν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄλυπος ἦν. ζῶν δὲ βασανίζεται, βλέπων ἅτε βασιλεὺς ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς ὄχλους· ἢ ὅτι πᾶσιν ἡράσατο ἀνθ’ ὧν πάντες ὁμοῦ γενόμενοι οὐκ ἐπέσχον τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὕβριν· δικαίως οὖν αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον· καὶ γὰρ Ἡσίοδος φησὶν “πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρός ἀπηύρα” (*Op.* 240). ZQU, cf. ISTs³²

6 γενόμενοι QU

Why did Chryses not pray against Agamemnon, who offended him, but against all the Greeks? We say that, had Agamemnon died, the army would have broken up and Chryseis would have been brought to Greece; if, on the contrary, the masses (*i.e.* of soldiers) were to die, there would be an inquiry into the calamity and a restitution of the girl; and Agamemnon, had he died, would have been without pain, but alive he is tortured seeing, as a king, the masses (*i.e.* of soldiers) dying; as an alternative, that he cursed all of them as a repayment for the fact that they all did not prevent the arrogance of the king, joining their forces; it is therefore fair that they suffered; and in fact Hesiod says “even an entire city often is affected by an evil man”. ZQU, cf. ISTs

The same inquiry occupies also the *scholia exegetica*, which give some similar answers, outlining the context of a generic sharing of interpretive ideas among different classes (see above): the first two proposed explanations have the same content as, but a distinctly different wording from, the first exegesis in the D-scholia.³³ Ms. T continues with two further options, absent from the D-tradition, whereas the text unanimously attested by the b-family inserts between the same

³² The collations made by the team responsible for the new edition, especially by Davide Mura-tore, prove that this scholion is also attested in manuscripts of the h-family.

³³ Something similar, with a further different wording, is to be found in a scholion of the h-family: διὰ τί ὁ ἱερεὺς οὕτως ἠῤῥατο ἀδίκως, “τίσειαν Δαναοί”; ἢ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀπώ-λετο, ᾤχοντο ἂν ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ οὐδ’ ἀπεδόθη ἡ Χρυσηΐς· σωζομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁρῶντες τὰ γενόμενα, μένειν τε ἔμελλον καὶ ἀποδώσειν ἐκβιάσασθαι τῷ αἰτίῳ τῆς μῆνιδος τὴν Χρυσηΐδα.

remarks of T, which are apparently specific to the *scholia exegetica*, two of the other answers given by D, as well as an observation based on plain common sense (an expression such as “the Danaans” after all includes Agamemnon too). The distance between b and D in terms of phrasing in this scholion is not higher than that between b and T in their common portions. Trying to restore a text without any evident intrusion of D-material, Erbse chose however to publish the text of b cleansed of the two sections that overlap with D.³⁴ For the sake of clarity I will reproduce here the versions of b and T respectively, arranged side by side.

Sch. ex. Il. 1.42c (Erbse): <Δαναοί:> πῶς Ἑλληνισιν ἐπαρᾶται τοῖς ἐπευφημήσασι δοθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον Ἀγαμέμνονι; φαμέν οὖν ὅτι, εἰ ἀπέθανεν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἀνεκζήτητος ἂν ἔμεινεν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ λοιμοῦ· ἢ πλεόντων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναπόδοτος ἔμεινεν ἡ Χρυσήϊς. **b**(BCE⁴)³⁵

1 cum sch. 42a (Erbse) coniunxit **b** πῶς δὲ BC ἀπορία πῶς δὲ E⁴ εὐφημήσασι (-σιν E⁴) **b**
2 καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον Ἀγαμέμνονι om. **b** ὅτι om. T ὁ ἀγαμέμνων **b** 3 ἂν om. T ἔμεινεν T ἐγένετο **b**

ἢ ὅτι αὐτοὶ Θήβας πορθήσαντες ἐξέδοντο αὐτὴν Ἀγαμέμνονι· καὶ ὅτι ἀποθανὼν μὲν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄλυπος ἦν. ζῶν δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκει, βλέπων ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς ὄχλους | καὶ ὅτι συμπεριλαμβάνεται καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς Δαναοῖς· καὶ ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀρᾶται διότι μὴ πάντες ἐπέσχον τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὕβριν | καὶ ὅτι ὡς βάρβαρος ὁ Χρῦσης πᾶσιν Ἑλληνισιν ἐχθρὸς ἐστίν. **b**(BCE⁴)

ἄλλως τε Ἑλληνισιν ἀρᾶται, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ πορθήσαντες Θήβας ἀπέδωκαν Ἀγαμέμνονι. εἰ δὲ προσθεῖης ὅτι βάρβαρος ὁ Χρῦσης καὶ πᾶσιν ἐχθρός. **T**

<“The Danaans”:> how is it that he curses the Greeks, who had assented to give him his daughter, and not rather Agamemnon? Well, we say that, if Agamemnon died, the reason for the plague would remain not sought out; as an alternative, if the Greeks sailed home, Chryseis would remain not given back; **b**(BCE⁴)^T

as an alternative, (we say) that they (i.e. the Greeks) after plundering Thebes had given the girl to Agamemnon; | and that Agamemnon, once dead, would be without pain, but if alive he dies every day seeing the masses (i.e. of soldiers) dying |

as an alternative, (we say) that he curses the Greeks because they had given (her) to Agamemnon, after plundering Thebes. And if you would add that Chryseis is a barbarian and enemy of all of them... **T**

³⁴ Erbse 1969, 22.

³⁵ In E³ this line is to be found on f. 2r, which was written in the 12th c. and does not bear *scholia vetera*.

and that he himself (*i.e.* Agamemnon) is included among the Danaans; and that he curses all of them because they did not prevent the arrogance of the king | and that Chryses, as a barbarian, is enemy to all the Greeks. **b**(BCE⁴)

Here again **b** seems to have had access to some form of the compilation of D-scholia while creating its own exegetical apparatus to the *Iliad*: in this case, the person in charge of organizing the scholia of **b** apparently decided to increase the remarks of its main corpus of *scholia exegetica* by organically integrating it with material drawn from the D tradition. The potential overlap of interests and points of view between D-zetemata and the content-based explanations typical of *scholia exegetica* may have favoured this kind of interaction, in contrast to the practice adopted by **b** in the addition of VMK material, which has mostly been juxtaposed to the rest, leaving it distinct and separate. As mentioned above, a more in-depth analysis is necessary in order to verify whether this characteristic is systematic and consistent, and above all whether there is nothing that would contradict this picture.

On a general level, this choice of examples, very selective though it be, gives a tangible proof that not only almost every copy of the scholiastic compilations to the *Iliad* has conflated more than one class of scholia together, but also that a class may reveal itself with a partially different aspect depending on which witness we look at; or, even better, that the concept itself of “scholiastic class” is something fluid, since the features of a class can develop over time, according to the specific choices made by each witness in terms of *mise en texte* and contamination. This is not very surprising, after all: conceived as unstable materials, scholia have been selected, combined, and reworked in order to give, from time to time, the most satisfying answer to specific cultural needs, obviously even crossing the boundaries, if need be, between what we conventionally call “scholiastic classes”. This awareness should of course not downplay their importance. To the contrary, it is precisely the identification of the classes, their meaning and characteristics that allows us to gain a more in-depth understanding of the complex interactions that lay behind the constitution of a scholiastic corpus: we should be all the more grateful to have the classes, when we have the chance to detect them as in the case of the Homeric corpus, to take as our reference point, in order not to get lost in the labyrinth of the scholia.

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Fausto Montana

Poetry and Philology. Some Thoughts on the Theoretical Grounds of Aristarchus' Homeric Scholarship

It could hardly be denied that 'la scelta di un metodo esegetico comporta automaticamente un'idea di poetica',¹ and for this reason 'pare assurdo pensare che Aristarco non avesse idee proprie sulla poetica'. The problem is that we struggle to find positive evidence of them. But that should not be a surprise, since 'è troppo ovvio trovare scarsi indizi su questioni teoriche ed epistemologiche nei frammenti filologico-esegetici conservati'.² The history of research on this topic shows that this difficulty has not led to discouragement — quite the contrary. Two approaches have been explored and remain fundamentally in play. The first is the historical reconstruction of the two phenomena — the Athenian Peripatos and the Alexandrian Museum — and their respective contexts, accompanied by a focus on figures, circumstances, and situations where the two overlap. The second approach consists in recovering methods and content specific to each of the two cultural experiences, in order to document and measure at a formal level their degree of affinity and relation. Interaction between these two points of view is useful, and methodologically desirable, in order to prevent partial and unbalanced readings. In other words, once we admit in general and intuitive terms the difference between the two realities (philosophy and philology), the comparison of Peripatetic reflection on the art of poetry with the practice of Alexandrian philology on literary texts in the Hellenistic period will gain by focusing on the corresponding historical, conceptual, and critical categories, and by translating the

1 Montanari 1987, 17 ('the choice of an exegetical method automatically brings with it an idea of poetics').

2 Both passages are from Montanari 1993a, 263 ('it seems absurd to suppose that Aristarchus did not have ideas of his own about poetics', 'it is quite natural to find only a few indications of theoretical and epistemological questions in the philological-exegetical fragments which are preserved'), who continues (n. 62): 'Che la *Poetica* di Aristotele non sia citata negli scolii è un'ovvietà che non dimostra niente: perché dovrebbe esserlo, a commento di quale passo (soprattutto considerando la riduzione del materiale)? Forni invece strumenti di pensiero e posizioni critiche' ('That the *Poetics* of Aristotle is not cited in the scholia is a self-evident point that proves nothing: why would it need to be, in comment upon which passage (above all considering the reduction of the material)? Yet it provided tools of thought and critical positions').

achievements in one sphere into the categories corresponding to the other. Rudolf Pfeiffer would not have backed this approach,³ but after him these two interconnected lines of inquiry have over time made it possible, and continue to do so, to assemble a sizable quantity of indications and reconstructions that sketch out the existence of a historical and intellectual relation between Museum and Lyceum.⁴

Recent developments in the debate have touched the heart of this issue, involving directly what we may consider the two most substantial pieces of evidence for an Aristarchean philological theory. Modern scholars wonder if it is possible to re-read against the background of Peripatetic influence Aristarchus' principle of the internal analogy and consistency of literary works (a principle condensed in the famous maxim "Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν, of disputed origin), as well as his presumed anti-allegorist stance. These two aspects of a critical approach have usually been set into the framework of the ancient 'historiographical' pattern which describes the relationship between Aristarchus (and Hellenistic Alexandria) and Crates of Mallus (and Hellenistic Pergamum) in terms of bipolarity and of a strong opposition between philological 'schools': analogy vs anomaly, textual and factual exegesis vs allegoresis.⁵ However, the sharp lines of this picture need to be nuanced from various angles. First of all, we cannot be so sure that the philological experience in Hellenistic Pergamon can be classed as a 'school' in the manner of the Alexandrian one, that is, one with a complex group of figures and intellectual relations along the horizontal temporal axis, and with continuity and longevity along the vertical axis.⁶ Next, the idea, which has been particularly persistent and tenacious in the research literature, of Crates'

³ While he did not rule out a connection (e.g. Pfeiffer 1968, 79–84 and 103–104), Pfeiffer maintains that the Alexandrian cultural enterprise was substantially autonomous and, if anything, he judges the direct influence of Philetas of Cos to have been more important.

⁴ Selectively: Turner 1962, 140–141, and 1968, 106–107; Bevan 1968, 124; Momigliano 1968; Wilson 1969, 368–369; Fraser 1972, I, 314–315 and 320; Rossi 1976, 111–115; Blum 1977, 27–134; Arrighetti 1987; Nicolai 1992, 265–270; Porter 1992, 67–85; Canfora 1993, 11–16; Montanari 1993a, 259–264; Richardson 1994; Erskine 1995, 39–40; Nagy 1996, especially 187–206; Nagy 1998, 189–206; Canfora 1999; Montanari 2000 and 2012; Montana 2015, 76–82; Bouchard 2016; Montana 2017.

⁵ On the positioning as opposed schools, e.g. *Suda* α 3892 Adler (Ἀρίσταρχος) Κράτῃ τῷ γραμματικῷ Περγαμηνῷ πλείστα διημύλλησας ἐν Περγᾷ. The discussion has recently been revived by Matthaïos 2018.

⁶ E.g. Montanari 1993b, 648–649. On Crates' pupils, see Broggiato 2001, XVIII–XIX, 30–38 (Crat. testt. 20–27), and 137–138; Broggiato 2013.

penchant for allegoresis (Crat. fr. 12 Broggiato) is based on conjectural constructions that are hardly solid.⁷ Mirroring this, it has been pointed out that ‘rhetorical allegory’, that is, the use of allegory as a figure in poetry, is one of the literary categories considered in Aristarchus’ criticism.⁸ To this has been added the radical reconsideration of one of the most important pieces of evidence for the definition of Aristarchus’ presumed anti-allegorism. This is the testimony provided by sch. D *Il.* 5.385, ll. 1–3 van Thiel. I here give the text, which I have checked in the manuscripts of the D-class (**d** = E⁴Pal²QXYZ)⁹ and in some witnesses of the two main branches of the **h** family of manuscripts of the *Iliad* scholia (AgBdP M¹P¹¹):¹⁰

Ἀρίσταρχος ἀξιοῖ τὰ φραζόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ μυθικώτερον ἐκδέχεσθαι κατὰ ποιητικὴν ἔξουσίαν, μὴδὲν ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ περιεργαζομένους.¹¹

1 Ἀρίσταρχος οὖν M¹P¹¹ κατὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν Pal²QX 2 μὴδὲν: μὴ δὲ Pal² περιεργαζομένους Z M¹P¹¹ περιεργαζόμενος E⁴Pal²QXY AgBdP

Eustathius reports the same information, but in a context and with a textual addition that are not without weight (*Comm. Il.* 2.101.13–15 van der Valk, again on *Il.* 5.385):

⁷ Porter 1992; more recently, Savio 2017.

⁸ Cucchiarelli 1997; Nünlist 2011.

⁹ E⁴ = Scorial. Ω.1.12, f. 44v; Pal² = Pal. gr. 222, f. ρμζ'v; Q = Vat. gr. 33, f. 79rv; X = Vat. gr. 32, f. 50v; Y = Vat. gr. 2193, f. 122v; Z = Rom. BNC gr. 6 + Matrit. BN 4626, f. 139r (in the Roman part). Z is the most ancient witness of the D-scholia (9th c.); Q (11th c.), with Y, attests to a different ‘release’ of the compilation, closely mirrored in the later E⁴ (which is also a witness of the *scholia exegetica* to the *Iliad* and is to be dated quite probably not to the 11th c., as usually repeated, but to the 13th) and Pal² (14th–15th c.).

¹⁰ Ag = Ang. gr. 122 (= I in van Thiel’s *proecdosis*), f. 54r; Bd = Bodmer. 85, f. 54v; P = Paris. gr. 2556, f. 65r; M¹ = Ambr. A 181 sup., f. 25v; P¹¹ = Paris. gr. 2766, f. 81v. AgBdP belong to the Western (Otrantine) branch of the **h** family, M¹P¹¹ to its Eastern branch.

¹¹ Some recent translations: Porter 1992, 70: ‘Aristarchus felt that interpreters ought to take what Homer said ... more poetically ..., not wasting their time on anything not said by the poet’. Nünlist 2011, 106: ‘Aristarchus demands “that <readers> accept the things said by the poet in a more mythical way in accordance with his poetic licence, without busying themselves about anything outside of the things said by the poet”’. Bouchard 2016, 86: ‘Aristarque croit qu’il faut accepter ce qui est présenté par le poète de façon plutôt mythique, en vertu de la licence poétique, sans broder inutilement à l’extérieur de ce qui est présenté par le poète’. Schironi 2018, 140: ‘Aristarchus thinks that [readers] should take what is said by the poet more as a fiction, according to poetic license, without bothering with anything beyond what is said by the poet’.

ἡ δὲ ἀλληγορία, εἰ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος ἤξιου, ὡς προεγράφη, μηδὲν τι τῶν παρὰ τῇ ποιήσει μυθικῶν περιεργάεσθαι ἀλληγορικῶς ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων, κτλ.¹²

Developing an observation by Pfeiffer,¹³ René Nünlist has argued that to take Aristarchus' view as 'directed specifically and uniquely against allegorical interpretations' is a forced reading by modern scholars, conditioned by the testimony of Eustathius.¹⁴ The latter mentions Aristarchus' idea just after (and because) he has defined the Homeric passage as an allegory, and he simplifies the wording reported in the D-scholium, by also including (interpolating?) the adverb ἀλληγορικῶς among Aristarchus' words.¹⁵ According to Nünlist, Eustathius' version is the result of overinterpretation and his testimony seems less reliable than that of the D-scholium. The twofold Aristarchean recommendation, to accept the Homeric stories in their mythical character on the basis of poetic licence (μυθικώτερον ἐκδέχεσθαι κατὰ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν) and to stick to what has been said by the poet (μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ περιεργαζομένου), has as its polemical target not specifically allegoresis but more generally the tendency to explain the myths narrated or mentioned by Homer by comparing them with works of later poets (*neoteroi*). Ultimately, Aristarchus' invitation is nothing other than a way of expressing the principle "Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου. If that is the case, Aristarchus' critical outlook remains within the sphere of textual and factual exegesis, without further theoretical implications aside from the presupposition of the internal coherence of literary works. In this sense, it would be a sound conclusion that, for the ancient scholar, the measure of *diorthosis* and of exegesis of an author's works is the literary production of that author himself.

Against this revision of the significance of the two testimonia, Elsa Bouchard has offered a defence of the traditional interpretation.¹⁶ According to her, the

¹² Nünlist's (2011, 106) translation: 'The allegorical interpretation <of this passage is>, even if Aristarchus demanded, as has been written above, that one should not busy oneself with any of the poem's mythical stories in an allegorical way outside of the things that are said ...'. Bouchard's (2016, 89) translation: 'Même si Aristarque demande, comme il a été écrit plus haut, de ne broder de façon allégorique, et à l'extérieur de ce qui est présenté, aucun des éléments fictionnels du poème, il s'agit d'une allégorie [...]'.
¹³ Pfeiffer 1968, 227 n. 1: 'Eustathius ... probably "interpolated" ἀλληγορικῶς; according to Schol. D Aristarchus' sentence was more general, not particularly against allegory'; cf. Nünlist 2011, 109 with n. 11. *Contra*, Porter 1992, 73.
¹⁴ Nünlist 2011, 109. Cf. Nünlist 2015, 737 with n. 107.
¹⁵ Cf. van der Valk in the critical apparatus to the passage of Eustathius: 'Eust. adi. ἀλληγορικῶς'.
¹⁶ Bouchard 2016, 86–99, to which I refer for the details of the argumentation. The core of Bouchard's viewpoint is shared by Schironi 2018, 140–142.

other passages in which Eustathius alludes to the same subject confirm that his knowledge of Aristarchus' thought was not an inference, and so he is not straining its sense but, rather, he must have found it documented in exegetical materials available to him.¹⁷ Further, in response to other arguments by Nünlist, Bouchard observes that the anti-allegorist interpretation is better suited to the unitary structure of the logic and syntax of the scholium (whereas the other explanation requires its two parts to be treated as separate); that the concept of poetic licence (κατὰ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν) cited in the scholium applies not to the approach of the allegorists, whose objective was to find *the* deep sense of the text, but to the Aristotelian idea of the autonomy of poetry; and, finally, that the expression ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων, which in the eyes of the allegorists might seem tendentious and unsuitable as a definition of their exegetical approach, was, on the other hand, apt from the point of view of their opponents, who imputed to allegory an arbitrary and instrumental interpretation.

Bouchard's discussion has the merit of having identified two points apparently shared by Aristarchus and Aristotle. The first is the admission of a liberty or licence specific to artistic fiction, even in material as sensitive as mythological and theological narrative. The D-scholium refers to the passage of book 5 of the *Iliad* (vv. 385–404) in which Dione consoles Aphrodite for the wound she has suffered at the hand of Diomedes, by recalling examples of divine suffering inflicted by mortals; and, *pace Platonis*, the discourse on gods, τὰ περὶ θεῶν, is indicated among the fields apt for poetic *mimesis* (and for poets' freedom or independence) by Aristotle in *Poet.* 25, 1460b32–37.¹⁸ The second point of contact is the identification of the mechanism of metaphor (to which rhetorical allegory can be related) as a key element of poetic expression, and so also of its interpretation, halfway between allegoresis and literalism.¹⁹ According to this reconstruction, the D-scholium and Eustathius attest that Aristarchus distanced himself from allegoresis under the influence of the Aristotelian conception of poetry. The Alexandrian exegesis (the Homeric scholarship of Aristarchus) adheres to the textual significance of the literary story, in line with the Aristotelian conception that theorizes the autonomy and self-sufficiency of the art of poetry, and it is not interested in,

¹⁷ *Comm. Il.* 1.65.15–29; 3.484.34–485.18; 1.4.8–23 van der Valk.

¹⁸ ἐὰν ἐπιτιμᾶται ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ' ἴσως ὥς δεῖ, οἷον καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη αὐτὸς μὲν οἶους δεῖ ποιεῖν, Εὐριπίδην δὲ οἷοι εἰσὶν, ταύτη λυτέον. εἰ δὲ μηδετέρως, ὅτι οὕτω φασίν, οἷον τὰ περὶ θεῶν· ἴσως γὰρ οὕτε βέλτιον οὕτω λέγειν οὐτ' ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ' εἰ ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνει· ἀλλ' οὖν φασι. Bouchard 2016, 87–88.

¹⁹ Bouchard 2016, 95 and 97–98.

or is indifferent to, the potentials of allegoresis in the field of the *poietike technē*.²⁰ In other words, there is a type of problem (for instance, theological issues) that the allegorists try to solve when they believe they have encountered it in literary works, but which, in the eyes of Aristarchus as well as already in those of Aristotle, is foreign to the sphere of poetic composition. To understand poetry as theology or zoology is seen as a mistake in the application of the allegorist method, and therefore plainly non-sense.²¹ From this perspective, the criteria of the Alexandrian *diorthosis* and explanation of literary works are dictated not by the particular products or personal poetics of the individual author, but by the specificity of poetry *tout court*.

The debate on this point is a crucial one, and it does not yet seem to be exhausted. It is not my intention to enter into the finer subtleties of the discussion, nor at this point to take a position on it. I hope, rather, to make a small contribution by considering more closely the context and function of the quotation from Aristarchus in the remarkably long D-scholium to *Il.* 5.385 (fifty-five lines of Greek text in van Thiel's edition). At the least, we can try to define more precisely the sense of Aristarchus' concept from the viewpoint of this testimony. We need to remember that this line of Homer falls in one of the passages that is most emblematic for divine anthropomorphism in archaic epic. In the course of the irresistible *aristeia* of Diomedes, Aphrodite is wounded by the hero and flees in tears into the arms of her mother Dione; the latter consoles her by listing a short catalogue of gods who had in the past suffered at the hands of mortals (Ares enchained by the Aloids Otus and Ephialtes, Hera and Hades wounded by Heracles). The exegetical issue — a typical *aporia* — raised by the passage, and which can be seen to be implicit in the scholium through its initial citation of Aristarchus' stance, is of how it is possible for a divinity to undergo physical harm at the hand of a human being and to experience suffering like a human being as a result of it. Different explanations have been stitched together by the compiler. The scholium opens with a consideration of general methodological scope which is unusual for the D-scholia, the Aristarchean call to accept the '(more) mythical' meaning of the Homeric narrative and not to waste time in useless detours (*Il.* 1–3 van Thiel).²² The statement of principle is followed immediately by a mythographic *historia* that

²⁰ Savio 2018, 48–55, shows that allegoresis was an instrument admitted and practised by Aristotle himself, but not in relation to questions of literary criticism or exegesis.

²¹ As for the relationship between poetry and zoology, the two examples adduced by Aristotle in chapter 25 of his *Poetics* are well known.

²² It is generally assumed that Aristarchus' words refer to this very passage of the *Iliad* (e.g. Porter 1992, 70; cf. Nünlist 2011, 105–106 with n. 4), but I am afraid that we are not in a position to state it with certainty.

summarizes one of the episodes recalled by Dione, the chaining of Ares by Otus and Ephialtes (Il. 3–11 van Thiel). This material can ultimately be traced to the *Mythographus Homericus*, like the majority of the *historiai* contained in the D-scholia.²³ The second explanation is of a Euhemerist and rationalizing type, and asserts that the Aloads were kings and that Ares represents war (Il. 11–16 van Thiel). The scholiast at this point reports a synthesis of the version of the episode preferred by the *neoteroi poietai* (Il. 16–20 van Thiel). The scholium continues with two extensive allegorical explanations: the first reads the imprisonment of Ares by the two Aloads in the sense of physics (mathematics and astronomy), in reference to the movements of the heavenly bodies (Il. 20–28 van Thiel); the second claims to decipher in it an ethical-philosophical allegory, in which Ares represents θυμός, Otus and Ephialtes οἱ ἐν παιδείᾳ λόγοι, ‘the speeches during education’ (Il. 28–55 van Thiel).²⁴

On a closer view, in this compilation of hermeneutic options the *historia* (i.e. the exegetical contribution typically provided by the *Mythographus Homericus* to the compiler of the D-scholia) fulfils the task of representing, in the panorama of the existing approaches, the strictly mythographic interpretation of the Homeric mythical accounts, which corresponds to that recommended by Aristarchus with the precept reported immediately before (μυθικώτερον ἐκδέχσθαι). By contrast, in the explanations cited in the remainder of the scholium — that is, the rationalizing interpretation, the comparison of different poetic versions,²⁵ and the allegorical explanations of the mythical stories — we can identify the approaches that were (or were believed to be) rejected or not preferred by Aristarchus because they variously wander ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ. There is a small but significant linguistic clue to the attempt by the compiler (or his source) to establish a precise connection between the Aristarchean principle and the *historia*, namely the connective particle οὖν with its ‘inferential or progressive’ value²⁶ (‘so’, ‘therefore’) at the beginning of the mythical summary: Ἀρίσταρχος ἀξιόι ...

²³ In general on the *Mythographus Homericus* see Pagès Cebrián 2007, with scrutiny of the previous bibliography (especially Montanari 1995 and 2002); in particular on the *historia* in the D-scholium to Il. 5.385, see 154 and 286–287; on the composite character and unusual length of this scholium, 97 n. 52.

²⁴ Analytical commentary on the scholium, and specifically on the allegorical-mathematical interpretation (corresponding in its broad lines to that assigned to Demo by Eust. *Comm. Il.* 2.98.17–99.8 van der Valk = Demo fr. 4 Savio), in Savio 2018, 264–277.

²⁵ According to Nünlist 2011, 108–109, the recourse of readers and commentators to mythical versions found in the *neoteroi*, and in post-Homeric sources in general, are plausibly (one of) the target(s) of Aristarchus’ recommendation.

²⁶ Denniston 1954, 416, and 425–426.

ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ περιεργαζομένους. Ἰωτος οὖν καὶ Ἐφιάλτης²⁷ γόνῳ μὲν ἦσαν Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ Ἀλωέως. κτλ. The fact that in the passage the particle is indeed working as an inferential connective is confirmed by two more instances of this same feature later in the scholium. When presenting the second allegorical interpretation, the scholiast or his source observes (ll. 28–30): βέλτιον δ' ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖν βούλεται διὰ τῆσδε τῆς ῥαψωδίας ὡς καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ποιήσεως. Ἄρη οὖν ὀνομάζει τὸν θυμόν, Ἰωτον δὲ καὶ Ἐφιάλτην τοὺς ἐν παιδείᾳ λόγους. The conjunction evidently establishes a substantial logical relation between the general premise and the particular explanation. The latter is followed by a further general statement (ll. 30–32 τοῦτων γὰρ τῶν λόγων ὁ μὲν τις ἐκ μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας κινεῖται, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐνδιάθετός ἐστι καὶ ἐκ φύσεως παρεπόμενος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), once again linked in the same way by οὖν to its special explanatory consequence for the Homeric passage commented upon (ll. 32–33 τὸν μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς μαθήσεως διδασκόμενον λόγον Ἰωτον προσηγόρευσεν, κτλ.).²⁸ In light of these close parallels, I think that one can hardly doubt the strictly connective value attached to οὖν also in its first occurrence in the scholium, at the beginning of the mythographic *historia* and immediately after (that is, as an explanation consequent upon) Aristarchus' words.²⁹

²⁷ AgBdP invert Ἰωτος καὶ Ἐφιάλτης οὖν κτλ, which is irrelevant to the logical connection with what precedes.

²⁸ Further select examples of inferential οὖν in the D-scholia (references are to van Thiel's edition): to introduce the *lysis* of an *aporia* or *zetema*, in *sch.* 1.1 ἄειδε, 1.31 ἰσθὺν ἐποιομένην, 1.52 θαμειαί, 2.212 Θερσίτης, 2.649 ἑκατόμπολιν, 3.22 προπάροιθεν ὀμίλου, 3.105 Πριάμοιο βίην, 3.365 ὁλωτέρως, 3.369 κόρυθος, 4.2 χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ, 4.2 Ἥβη (bis), 4.43 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σοι δῶκα ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ, 4.88 εἴ που ἐφεύροι, 4.129 βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἄμυνεν, 5.4 ἀκάματον; to draw explanatory consequences from a mythographical *historia* or mythical/narrative circumstances, in *sch.* 1.2 Ἀχαιοῖς, 1.10 λαοί, 1.52 πυραί, 1.55 Ἥρη, 1.420 ἀγάννιφον, 2.461 Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, 2.494 Βοιωτῶν μὲν Πηνέλεως καὶ Λήϊτος ἦρχον, 4.171 πολυδίψιον, 5.127 ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον (the consequence is an *aporia*); after the statement of a generic (grammatical, lexical, or stylistic) 'rule', to introduce its specific application in a passage, in *sch.* 2.190 δαιμόνιε, 2.565 ἰσόθεος φῶς, 2.827 τόξον, 4.2 χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ (the consequence of the 'rule' is an *aporia*), 5.2 δῶκε μένος καὶ θάρσος (*ter*).

²⁹ The manuscripts M¹P¹¹ (Eastern branch of the **h** family) give the reading Ἀρίσταρχος οὖν at the beginning of the sentence reporting Aristarchus' thought: it is interesting that in both manuscripts the sentence follows directly (namely without any trace of discontinuity, such as the lemma in other testimonies) the *sch.* D ll. 5.385/Z van Thiel, of mythographic content: τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης, ὅτε μιν Ἰωτος κρατερός τ' Ἐφιάλτης: ἐκατέρησεν μὲν ὁ Ἄρης, ὑπέμεινεν. Ἰωτος δὲ καὶ Ἐφιάλτης, Ἀλωέως παῖδες καὶ Ἰφιμεδείας, κατ' ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, μέγιστοι καὶ ἰσχυροὶ γενάμενοι ἔπαυσαν τοὺς πολέμους, διὸ ἐμυθεύθη, ὅτι ἔδρσαν τὸν Ἄρην. This arrangement of the annotations likewise shows that the scholiasts/copyists understood Aristarchus' statement as demanding a mythographic explanation.

This linguistic detail, though small, is positive evidence of the specific initiative of an ancient commentator or the compiler of the D-scholia.³⁰ From his viewpoint, the Aristarchean prescription of not departing in interpretation from the limits of the poetic composition finds an apt, concrete realization by reporting the mythographic *historia*, that is, by detailing the narrative content of the mythical-poetic tradition presupposed by Homer. Artistic invention, along with the mythical tradition on the shoulders of which it stands, contains all that is needed to justify it. The contextual framework of the scholium, thus, reveals a reception of the Aristarchean concept under a sense which, on the one hand, would fit as an alternative (if not openly hostile) interpretation also to allegoresis and, on the other hand, sounds compatible with the Aristotelian vision of the autonomy of the art of poetry.³¹

It is important that reflection on this matter should continue, both on a particular level (the meaning of the D-scholium on *Il.* 5.385 and of the Aristarchean recommendation mentioned in it) and on a general one (the theoretical side of the relationship between the Museum and the Lyceum). What is at stake is our understanding of the cultural significance of Aristarchean and Alexandrian philology as a whole. We may expect in the end to reach one of two conclusions. The first possibility is that Alexandrian scholarship was (no more than) an outstanding historical experience of pioneering diorthotical and exegetical technique, which quite reasonably applied the principle of formal and content-related analogy and internal consistency when reading whichever work or poet. In this perspective, Aristarchus was engaged essentially in emending and explaining Homer through Homer himself — namely, Homer's works according to the features of his *works* themselves. The alternative possibility is that Aristarchus and his colleagues conceived the idea of 'explaining Homer through Homer' in a more challenging and sophisticated sense, under the influence of the great intellectual

30 Some traces of the reuse of the *Mythographus Homericus* by the compiler of the D-scholia are frequently recognizable in the way those materials are connected or merged together with different components (glosses, paraphrases, and short explanations), sometimes effecting a renewal or increase in exegetical functionality. I will deal with this topic in a forthcoming paper.

31 Cf. Porter 1992, 71 (who, however, assigns directly to Aristarchus the mythographic explanation reported in the D-scholium to *Il.* 5.385): 'We might call the Aristarchan alternative to physical and moral allegory a λύσις ἐκ τῆς ποιητικῆς, or a poetic solution to an interpretive scandal. In this, Aristarchus is following good, chiefly Aristotelian precedents, not inventing a new mode of interpretive analysis. So, one should think, the so-called "Aristarchan maxim," if it is tied in any way to the D-scholium, does no more than express a traditional way of finding and justifying a specifically aesthetic dimension within a poetic text through a procedure that is, moreover, patently *self-justifying*'.

turn brought about by Aristotle in reflection upon the autonomous nature of the *poietike techne*. If so, then they meant that Homer's poems, and poetry in general, can actually be understood and explained only in the light of the intrinsic rules of Homer's *poetics*, within the wider independent sphere of *poetry* itself.³²

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³² This paper benefitted from insightful readings and help by Davide Muratore, Lara Pagani, and Serena Perrone. English translation by Orla Mulholland.

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Margalit Finkelberg

The Dream Simile in *Iliad* 22 and Aristarchus' Formula τῇ κατασκευῇ εὐτελεῖς

The *Iliad* simile describing Achilles' futile pursuit of Hector around the walls of Troy is the only dream simile in the Homeric poems. It runs as follows:

ὥς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν·
οὔτ' ἄρ' ὁ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὔθ' ὁ διώκειν·
ὥς ὁ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσίν, οὐδ' ὃς ἀλύξαι (*Il.* 22. 199–201)

As in a dream a man is not able to follow one who runs
away, nor can the runner escape, nor the other pursue him,
so he could not run him down in his speed, nor the other get clear. (Tr. R. Lattimore)

Although closer to the original than most translations, Lattimore's text is still a considerable improvement on it. A plain rendering of the Greek of the passage would probably look as follows: 'As in a dream [one] is not able to pursue one who runs from him, / nor is he therefore able to run from him, nor he to pursue, / so he was not able to catch up with him, nor he to flee'.

Aristarchus condemned the passage in unambiguous terms:

Schol. A on *Il.* 22.199–201 ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τρεῖς, ὅτι καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τῷ νοήματι εὐτελεῖς.

'Three verses are athetized, for they are inferior in both their *kataskeuē* and their thought'.

The text that follows makes it clear that the 'thought' (*noēma*) the comment addresses is the alleged contradiction with an earlier simile triggered by the same event, which explicitly emphasizes Achilles' superiority as a runner (*Il.* 22.157–166). This is paraphrased in the T scholia as follows (note that Aristarchus 'inferior in *kataskeuē*' is replaced here by 'weakness of expression'):

Schol. T on *Il.* 22.199–201 ἀθετοῦνται οἱ τρεῖς διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς φράσεως, καὶ ὅτι ὑπεκλύουσι τὴν ποδώκειαν Ἀχιλλέως.

The three [verses] are athetized on account of their weakness of expression and because they undermine Achilles' swiftness of foot.

The modern commentators usually focus on the second part of Aristarchus' comment, the one that addresses the 'thought' of the passage, correctly pointing out that there is nothing unusual in two similes describing two different aspects of

the same action.¹ It is, however, much less obvious what the first part, namely the condemnation of *kataskeuē* (which I preliminarily translate as ‘style’)² could have specifically addressed. The term *phrasis* (‘expression’), which replaces *kataskeuē* in the T scholion quoted above, hardly helps clarify matters. Let us, then, try to examine the available options.

1

As far as I can see, there are three aspects in which the style of *Iliad* 22.199–201 can be regarded as flawed. First, owing to its awkward use of the same pronoun for designation of both the pursuer and the pursued, it fails to effectively express the relationship of reciprocity which is essential to the simile.³ Some scholars defend the passage on the grounds that the same pronouns are put to a similar use in the parallelism /οὔθ’ ὁ τόν ... /οὔθ’ ὁ τόν... emerging in *Iliad* 15.417–418.⁴ At *Iliad* 22.200–201, however, the reciprocity between the two agents (rendered by Lattimore’s ‘he’ vs. ‘the other’) is not expressed, as in *Iliad* 15.417–418, by a balanced parallelism between two consecutive verses — instead, we have a monotonous repetition of the same pronoun in each one of the two verses that form the simile: /οὔτ’ ἄρ’ ὁ τόν... οὔθ’ ὄ... (22.200) and /ὥς ὁ τόν... οὐδ’ ὄς... (22.201).⁵ The absence of a subject in 22.199 adds to the obscurity of expression characteristic of the entire sequence.⁶

But it is not only the handling of demonstrative pronouns that renders *Iliad* 22.199–201 overly repetitive. ‘And there is undoubtedly grave room for objection,’ Walter Leaf wrote in an appendix to his *Commentary to the Iliad*, ‘in the repeti-

1 See, e.g., de Jong 2012, *ad loc.*; cf. Leaf 1900, *ad loc.*: ‘there is every poetical justification for one simile to introduce the chase by the notion of speed, and another to close it by a representation of helpless fatigue’.

2 Following Nünlist 2009, 376 (the glossary).

3 Cf. Leaf 1900, *ad loc.*, addressing v. 200: ‘tautological and awkward’.

4 Richardson 1993, *ad loc.*; de Jong 2012, *ad loc.* On ‘economy and balance’ of *Il.* 15.416–418 see Janko 1992, *ad loc.*

5 Willcock 1984, *ad loc.*, refers to the string of pronouns at *Il.* 22.200–201 as ‘striking examples of what later became the definite article being used as a demonstrative pronoun’.

6 See Leaf 1900, 617. Richardson 1993, on 22.199, finds no fault with this: ‘the absence of any specified subject suits the generalizing tone and increases the compression of the sentence’, but de Jong 2012, on 22.199, finds it necessary to clarify how the sentence is to be understood: ‘δύναται sc. τις’.

tions δύναται ... δύναται ... δύνατο, φεύγοντα ... ὑποφεύγειν (...ὑπεξέφυγεν), διώκειν ... διώκειν...'⁷ Paradoxically, the bT scholia praise the passage for its *metaphrasis*, that is, the opposite of repetitiveness, picking out φεύγοντα (v. 199), ἀλύξαι (v. 201), μάρψαι (v. 201) and διώκειν (vv. 199, 200) to illustrate the point. Although Aristarchus, as we saw, does not specify the aspects of *Il.* 22.199–201 that he finds stylistically faulty, it is nevertheless not out of the question that the apologetic bT comment was written with his criticism in mind.

Although only rarely touched upon, metrical issues that *Iliad* 22.199–201 involves are no less conspicuous. Leaf found suspicious the length of the -ω in ὄνειρῳ οὐ at 22.199 — with no sufficient reason, for in Homer -ω stays long in hiatus in 23% of times.⁸ Nor does the *brevis in longo* in ὥς ὁ τὸν οὐ δύνατο : (22.201), emerging as it does at the mid-verse caesura, create an acute problem, especially as, as we shall see in Section 3, Aristarchus treated Homeric caesurae as fully pronounced breaks. The situation is different, however, in the case of ὥς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ οὐ : at 22.199. It is not only that, in violation of the normal Homeric usage, the mid-verse caesura separates the negative from the rest of the sentence thereby impeding its natural flow. The scansion as a whole is highly anomalous, for placing a word shaped – (οὐ) in the first semiped of the third foot is extremely rare in Homer. According to Eugene O'Neill's statistics, it occurs in the *Iliad* in 3.7% of cases,⁹ and it is reasonable to suppose that the negative οὐ(κ) emerges in this specific position even less frequently.

Iliad 22.199–201 is thus problematic in respect of its syntax, vocabulary, and metre. Did Aristarchus' words 'inferior in their *kataskeuē*' address all of the three or did he have a specific aspect in mind? Let us examine the expression τῇ κατασκευῇ εὐτελεῖς in a broader context of the scholia.

2

Although the term *eutelēs* ('cheap', 'inferior') is used rather frequently in the scholia, its combination with *kataskeuē* is attested only four times, all of them in

⁷ Leaf 1900, 617, but see Richardson 1993, on 199–201: 'The repetitions are surely deliberate, suggesting constant, frustrated effort' and Tsagalis 2008, ch. 12: 'The verbal repetitions that form the framework of the representational re-narration of the fated conflict in *Iliad* XXII 199–201 condense this last simile even further'.

⁸ Monro 1882, 283.

⁹ O'Neill 1942, 139 (Table 2).

the A scholia. Much more frequent is the similarly built εὐτελείς τῇ συνθέσει ('inferior in the arrangement') and its variants: the expression, which usually refers to the matters of suitability of a given passage to the context in which it appears, emerges in the scholia no less than ten times.¹⁰ Although indicating unambiguously that the two expressions should be approached as semantically different, their distribution does not throw much light on the question as to what the formula τῇ κατασκευῇ εὐτελείς may specifically address. Let us examine its remaining three occurrences one by one.

(1) *Il.* 8.164–166, Hector to Diomedes:

ἔρρε κακὴ γλήνη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἴξαντος ἐμεῖο
πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσσαι, οὐδὲ γυναῖκας
ἄξεις ἐν νήεσσι· πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω.

'Down with you, you poor doll. You shall not storm our battlements
with me giving way before you, you shall not carry our women
home in your ships; before that comes I will give you your destiny'. (Tr. R. Lattimore)

The lines were athetized by both Aristophanes and Aristarchus. Here is the latter's comment:

Schol. A on *Il.* 8.164–166 ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τρεῖς ὅτι εὐτελείς εἰσι τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τὸ πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω τελείως ἐστὶν οὐ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν. ἀνάρμοστα δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα τοῖς προσώποις.

Three verses are athetised, for they are inferior in their *kataskeuē* and 'I will give you your destiny' is absolutely un-Homeric. Besides, what is said does not suit the characters.

It is generally agreed that Aristarchus' condemnation of the unparalleled δαίμονα δώσω at v. 166 is fully justified. Zenodotus had replaced it with πότμον ἐφήσω — 'a more likely phrase, but to all appearance a mere conj[ecture]',¹¹ and the bT scholia labelled it as 'poor' (λόγον κακόν). At the same time, the commentators have found no fault with the rest of the passage. Thus, while admitting that δαίμονα δώσω is 'indeed hard to stomach', G.S. Kirk wrote: 'His [Aristarchus'] first

¹⁰ Schol. A on *Il.* 1.133–134; 10.497; 11.413 (on Zenodotus' text); 11.767–785; 15.56–77; 15.212–217; 16.93 (on Zenodotus' text); schol. bT on 20.180–186 (paraphrasing Aristarchus); 22.487–499 (quoting Aristarchus?); schol. *Od.* 5.94–95.

¹¹ Leaf 1900, *ad loc.* Cf. Willcock 1978, *ad loc.*, on δαίμονα δώσω: 'a rather strange expression'.

two reasons can be rejected; style and language throughout are vigorous and rather original'.¹² The question why Aristarchus marked these verses as εὐτελεῖς ... τῇ κατασκευῇ remained open.

As far as I can see, the only common ground between this passage and *Il.* 22.199–201 is the scansion of ἐπεὶ οὐκ : εἴξαντος ἐμεῖο in the second half of 8.164. Here again we find the flow of the sentence being interrupted at a caesural break, this time at the hephthemimeral caesura, with the negative οὐκ standing apart from the rest of the sentence.¹³ With this in mind, let us turn to the next example.

(2) *Il.* 11.130, introducing the supplication of Antimachus' sons:

Ἄτρεΐδης· τὼ δ' αὖτ' ἐκ δίφρου γοναζέσθην·

... Atreus son; but the two of them kneeled before him from the chariot (my translation).

Aristarchus criticized the verse for several reasons:

Schol. A on *Il.* 11.130 ὅτι δωδεκασύλλαβος ὁ στίχος, καὶ σπανίως χρήται ... ἡ δὲ ἀναφορά πρὸς ἐπικρισιν τῆς στιχοποιΐας ὅτι εὐτελεῖς τῇ κατασκευῇ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οἱ τοιοῦτοι. καὶ ὅτι τὸ γοναζέσθην καταχρηστικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰκέτευν.

Because the verse consists of twelve syllables, and it [the dodecasyllabus] is rarely used ... It is a repetition (*anaphora*) in respect of the resolution of the speech,¹⁴ because such verses seem to be inferior in their *kataskeuē* and because 'they kneeled before him' is used inappropriately instead of 'they entreated'.

Note that here the words εὐτελεῖς τῇ κατασκευῇ address not just *Il.* 11.130 but the anaphoric verses in general. The fully spondaic character of the verse and its inappropriate use of γοναζέσθην ('the two of them kneeled') as a verb of speaking are commented upon separately.¹⁵ In view of this, we may well ask whether Aristarchus had something specific in mind in this particular application of the *kataskeuē*-formula. It is not out of the question that the answer lies again with the passage's scansion. Note indeed that here, as in the two previous cases, a word shaped — (αὖτ', 'whereas', 'on the other side') is placed before a caesural break. Considering the additional caesura after the runover at the beginning of the

¹² Kirk 1990, *ad loc.* Cf. Leaf 1900, *ad loc.*

¹³ According to O'Neill 1942, 139, words of this metrical shape are found in this specific position in 7.0% of cases.

¹⁴ Namely, ὧς τὼ γε κλαίοντε προσαυδήτην βασιλῆα at *Il.* 11.136.

¹⁵ Fully spondaic verses are indeed rare in Homer. Aristarchus adduces *Od.* 21.15 as a parallel, but see also *Il.* 2.544, 23.221; *Od.* 15.334, 22.175, with Leaf 1900, *ad loc.* and Nünlist 2009, 215 n. 76. On γοναζέσθην see Hainsworth 1993, *ad loc.*

verse, the ensuing scansion renders the entire first half of *Il.* 11.130 semantically and syntactically truncated: Ἀτρεΐδης : τὼ δ' αὖτ' :.

(3) *Il.* 20.180–186, Achilles to Aeneas:

ἐλπόμενον Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξιν ἵπποδάμοισι
τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου; ἀτὰρ εἴ κεν ἔμ' ἐξεναρίξης,
οὐ τοι τοῦνεκά γε Πρίαμος γέρας ἐν χερὶ θήσει·
εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ παῖδες, ὃ δ' ἔμπεδος οὐδ' ἀεσίφρων.
ἦ νύ τί τοι Τρώες τέμενος τάμον ἔξοχον ἄλλων
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης, ὄφρα νέμῃαι
αἷ κεν ἐμὲ κτείνῃς; χαλεπῶς δέ σ' ἔολπα τὸ ρέξειν.

...in hope you will be lord of the Trojans, breakers of horses,
and of Priam's honour. And yet even if you were to kill me
Priam would not because of that rest such honour on your hand.
He has sons, and he himself is sound, not weakened.
Or have the men of Troy promised you a piece of land, surpassing
all others, fine ploughland and orchard for you to administer
if you kill me? But I think the killing will not be easy. (Tr. R. Lattimore)

Aristarchus' comment is rendered in the A-scholia as follows:

Schol. A on *Il.* 20.180–186 ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι ἑπτὰ, ὅτι εὐτελεῖς εἰσὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τοῖς νοήμασι, καὶ οἱ λόγοι οὐ πρέποντες τῷ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προσώπῳ.

Seven verses are athetized, because they are inferior in their *kataskeuē* and their notions, and the words are not appropriate to the character of Achilles.

The bT scholia paraphrase the above comment:

Schol. bT on *Il.* 20.180–186 ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι ἑπτὰ ὥς καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν εὐτελεῖς.

Seven verses are athetized, for they are inappropriate in their sense and inferior in their arrangement.

The bT comment proceeds with explaining why the entire episode of the Achilles-Aeneas encounter does not suit the context of a narrative about Achilles hurrying to the battlefield with the only purpose to slay Hector. The explanation may account for both the 'sense' (*dianoia*), which replaces Aristarchus' 'notions' (*noēmata*), and the 'arrangement' (*sunthesis*), which replaces Aristarchus' *kataskeuē*. The meaning of the latter remains unexplained.

Note now that in ἀτὰρ εἴ : κεν ἔμ' ἐξεναρίξης at 20.181 the conjunction εἴ (scanned –) is separated from the rest of the conditional clause by the hephthem-

meral caesura; this is accompanied by violation of Hermann's Bridge and the enclitic *κεν* left without support. But there also are the peculiar *ἦ νύ τί τοι* at the beginning of 20.184,¹⁶ οὗ τοι τοῦνεκά γε in the first hemistich of 20.182 does not make much sense, and *δέ σ' ἔολπα τὸ ῥέξειν* after the hephthemimeral caesura, which, again, violates Hermann's Bridge, is awkward. With all these taken into consideration, it would be hard not to agree with Aristarchus that, insofar at least as the scansion is concerned, the sequence in question is of inferior quality.

To sum up, in the A scholia the expression 'inferior in the *kataskeuē*' is repeatedly associated with inadequate scansion. More specifically, each one of the four cases where the *kataskeuē*-formula is applied involves a violation of syntax and sense issuing from a caesural break separating a conjunction scanned — (οὐ, οὐκ, αὐτ', εἰ) from the rest of the sentence.

3

This is not to say that the term *kataskeuē* as used by Aristarchus was meant to address every metrical issue emerging in the Homeric poems. On the contrary, judging by the separate entry on a fully spondaic verse in a scholion in which the *kataskeuē*-formula is also employed (above, on *Il.* 11.130), Aristarchus did not apply the term *kataskeuē* to the issues of metre proper. This is further corroborated by his use of the expression *διὰ τὸ μέτρον*, which addresses such purely prosodical matters as synizesis in *μελαινέων* at *Il.* 4.117, the augment in *ῶρνυτο* at *Od.* 2.2, or the lengthening of *α* in *Ἀπόλλωνι* and *Ἑρμεία* at *Il.* 1.36 and *Od.* 9.210 respectively. He also comments more than once on Homer's replacing of *ἐκεῖνος* with *κεῖνος* as prompted by metrical needs (on *Od.* 1.177 e.a.) and on liquids making position (on *Il.* 9.210 e.a.).¹⁷ As distinct from these, all the instances of the *kataskeuē*-formula involve flawed scansion issuing from a caesural break cutting through a sense unit.

That Aristarchus paid serious attention to the role of the caesurae can be seen from the scholia on *Il.* 8.378 and *Od.* 8.251. In the former, he preferred the reading *γηθήσει προφανέντε* : *ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας*, with hiatus at the feminine caesura, to Zenodotus' *γηθήσει προφανεῖσας* : *ἰδὼν ἐς δοῦπον ἀκόντων*, which

¹⁶ *Il.* 20.184–185 is almost identical to 6.194–195, but, as Edwards 1991, *ad loc.* remarks, 'the initial collocation *ἦ νύ τί τοι* does not recur in archaic epic and must be another peculiarity of Achilles' diction'.

¹⁷ Schol. *ad loc.*, all of them with references to Aristarchus, see further Rauscher 1886, 7–12.

avoids hiatus but creates problems of its own.¹⁸ In the *Odyssey* scholion, it is said that Aristarchus read παῖσατε, : ὥς χ' ὁ ξεῖνος ἐνίσπη οἷσι φίλοισιν, with a syntactic break and hiatus at the caesura after the first foot, rejecting Zenodotus' παῖσατον : purported to avoid hiatus.¹⁹ In both cases, Aristarchus demonstrates a remarkable tolerance as regards hiatus at a caesural position, obviously proceeding from the assumption that caesura should be approached as a distinctly articulated metrical, semantic, and intonational break, thereby creating a situation in which hiatus is allowed.

The contemporary practice of seeing the caesurae as sense-breaks rather than as merely metrical breaks originates in 'Der kallimachische und der homerische Hexameter', a seminal article published by Hermann Fränkel in 1926.²⁰ Alongside the mid-verse caesura, whose significance has been recognized since antiquity, Fränkel highlighted the importance of two additional caesurae, at the beginning and the end of the verse, having assigned several alternative positions to each. In recent decades, Fränkel's theory has been further corroborated by application to the Homeric hexameter of contemporary theories of spoken speech. Thus, it has been convincingly argued that metrical units of Homeric verse correspond to intonation units of the spoken language.²¹

But negotiating the hexameter verse by breaking it down into intonation units is far from being the modern scholars' prerogative. To quote Egbert Bakker, 'The coincidence of intonation with metrical units is a universal characteristic of performed poetry in oral traditions, and in the study of Homer it seems justified to use the latter as evidence for the former'.²² The practice, however, should not be restricted to oral traditions alone. In fact, the coincidence of intonation with metrical units takes place whenever Homeric poetry (or any poetry, for that matter) is read aloud or scanned silently in the mind of the reader. And when the reader for whom Homer's metre is inseparable from Homer's meaning encounters a line such as ὥς δ' ἐν ὀνείρῳ οὐ : δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν, whose scansion goes against the natural flow of the sentence, he or she stumbles. Needless to say, this is a clear signal that the person responsible for the line in question was not proficient enough in the basics of Homeric verse-making. As far as I can judge,

¹⁸ See further Kirk 1990, 329.

¹⁹ Schol. *ad loc.* On the caesura after the first foot (the 'A caesura') see Fränkel 1955, 110–113; cf. Finkelberg (forthcoming).

²⁰ Revised version in Fränkel 1955.

²¹ See Bakker 1997, who operates with the mid-verse caesura only; Edwards 2002, 1–13, and Edwards 2011, who takes into account all of the three caesurae highlighted by Fränkel.

²² Bakker 1997, 50.

this is precisely the problem that Aristarchus' formula 'inferior in *kataskeuē*' addresses.

4

We saw that the bT scholia twice replace Aristarchus' *kataskeuē* with other terms — *phrasis* in the commentary on *Iliad* 22.199–201 and *sunthesis* in that on 20.180–186. This seems to indicate that the bT commentators did not feel comfortable with the term *kataskeuē* as used by Aristarchus. Their reasons will become clearer if we take into account the T scholion on *Iliad* 12.53–54. When referring to Homer's account of Hector's horses' unwillingness to cross the ditch in front of the Achaean Wall, the scholiast defines the two verses which elaborate on the description of the ditch as *kataskeuē*: 'the *kataskeuē* of the report is redundant'.²³ The meaning of *kataskeuē* here is plainly 'elaboration'.

In Greek rhetorical theory of the Roman period 'elaboration' is indeed a firmly attested meaning of *kataskeuē*: it is used in this sense by Philodemus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo, among others. In addition, Dionysius employs the expressions '*kataskeuē* of the letters' and '*kataskeuē* of the syllables', both referring to the aural aspects of a piece of poetry or prose; 'manipulation' is the LSJ translation for both.²⁴ Alongside 'elaboration', LSJ also provide such meanings as 'artistic treatment' (Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus), 'correct style' (Diocles of Magnesia), and 'technical resources' (Philodemus), all of them under the rubric 'rhetoric'. Franco Montanari's new dictionary is more helpful, adding 'artifice', 'device', 'technique' (Aeschines, Polybius, Aelian).²⁵ All of the latter come from outside of rhetorical theory and are closer to the word's original meaning 'preparation', 'construction'.

Although neither dictionary cites the evidence of the scholia, it is obvious that Montanari's 'technique' suits Aristarchus' *kataskeuē* much better than the much too general 'style' and that the meaning 'elaboration', adopted in the bT scholia, was not yet available to Aristarchus. Indeed, if we consider that, as we saw in Section 2, the common denominator of all the instances of the *kataskeuē*-formula attested in the A scholia is their inadequate scansion, it would be hard to avoid the conclusion that by *kataskeuē* Aristarchus meant the basic technique

²³ Schol. T *Il.* 12.53–54 περιττὴ δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας.

²⁴ Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 15, 16. He also uses '*sunthesis* of the syllables' (16).

²⁵ LSJ s.v. 10; Montanari 2015, s.v. C.

of verse-making which allowed the verses to be scanned so as to follow the sense in a smooth and ostensibly effortless manner.

With this in view, let us return to *Iliad* 22.199–201, with which we started this discussion. It is true of course that rather more often than not modern scholars have stoutly defended the authenticity of the passage — not in the least, I suppose, on account of its content, which fits to perfection the twentieth-century fascination with dreams and the dream experience. It is also true that Virgil, inspired by the *Iliad* dream simile in his depiction of the death of Turnus, developed its main theme into a powerful piece of poetry.²⁶ This, however, does not change the fact that, as was clear already to Aristarchus, the dream simile in *Iliad* 22 is one of the most incompetent pieces of poetic craftsmanship in the entire Homeric corpus — not only on account of its scansion but also because of its syntax and style (see Section 1). All things considered, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the three verses under consideration could not be composed by the poet responsible for our *Iliad*.

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²⁶ *Aen.* 12.908–914; beyond its opening hemistich *ac uelut in somnis*, the passage actually has nothing in common with the Homeric prototype.

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René Nünlist

Some Further Considerations on Herodicus' Epigram against the Aristarcheans (SH 494)

Towards the end of book 5 of his *Deipnosophistae*, Athenaeus (5.222a) transmits an epigram that has attracted some attention in modern scholarship because the famous Alexandrian critic Aristarchus and his 'school' receive a severe thrashing by the Cratetean Herodicus of Babylon:

φεύγετ', Ἀριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
Ἑλλάδα, τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος,
γωνιοβόμβυκες, μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμηλε
τὸ σφὶν καὶ σφῶϊν καὶ τὸ μὴν ἤδὲ τὸ νῖν.
τοῦθ' ὑμῖν εἴη, δυσπέμφελοι· Ἡροδίκῳ δὲ
Ἑλλάς ἀεὶ μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβυλῶν.¹

1 θαλάσσης edd., θαλάττης codd. 4 <τὸ> σφῶν Pierson 5 δυσπέμφελοι C, sscr. -ον, δυσπέμφε-
λον A

"Flee from Greece, students of Aristarchus, over the wide back of the sea, you who are more cowardly than the brown deer, buzzers-in-corners, masters of the monosyllable, concerned with *sphin* and *sphōin* and *min* and *nin*. Let this be yours, you nagging people. For Herodicus, on the other hand, may Greece always be there and Babylon, child of the gods." (trans. Olson, modified)

After modern scholars debated for some time what exactly the point of the Aristarcheans' flight (φεύγετ', Ἀριστάρχειοι, 1) was, there is now a growing consensus among them that Herodicus is urging them to leave Greece (Ἑλλάδα, 2) in a figurative sense.² Their presence in the Greek world is deemed superfluous and their relevance for it considered negligible because they fail to tackle the big and important questions. In their cowardice (δειλότεροι κεμάδος, 2), they deal with mere trivialities and minutiae such as Homeric *hapax legomena* (κεμάδος, 2; δυσπέμφελοι, 5) and monosyllabic words (μονοσύλλαβοι, 3, remarkably referring to the Aristarcheans themselves). The monosyllabic words are exemplified by variants of two personal pronouns (v. 4). Instead of entering the spotlight of the public

¹ SH 494 = Herodicus fr. 1 Broggiato (Broggiato 2014, 59–68, with extensive commentary and bibliography).

² The point is argued in detail by Manetti 2002 approvingly quoted by Broggiato 2014, 60. What exactly Herodicus means by Ἑλλάς (in a figurative sense) is more difficult to say.

arena where the big issues are discussed, the Aristarcheans retreat to a small corner where they fuss about their petty goals (γωνιοβόμβυκες, 2). Let them disappear altogether and leave the important domain of Greek culture to people like Herodicus of Babylon himself (vv. 5–6)!

This, in a nutshell, is the general picture that scholarship on this epigram has produced in the past two decades. In spite of the documentation that can be found there on the individual aspects, a few additional points can still be made.

The first point is a small one. Not only is it the case that *κεμάς* and *δυσπέμφολος* are Homeric *hapax legomena* (Il. 10.361, 16.748), as commentators aptly observe. In light of the epigram's anti-Aristarchean polemics, one should also note that Aristarchus' commentaries regularly identified *hapax legomena*. This feature did not go unnoticed by the founding father of modern studies on Aristarchus, Karl Lehrs, who concluded that Aristarchus systematically marked *hapax legomena*.³ Whether or not this particular hypothesis is correct, Aristarchus had a palpable interest in this phenomenon.⁴

At the same time, the former of the two relevant words, *κεμάς*, is perhaps apt to produce a minor qualification. Hellenistic poets and Alexandrian grammarians both took a keen interest in the word *κεμάς* and its meaning.⁵ Among the grammarians, the key player is Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 181–6 Slater), whereas there is no positive evidence that Aristarchus actually treated the word.⁶ On the proviso that Herodicus was aware of this situation, the possibility should perhaps not be ruled out that the term *Ἀριστάρχαιοι* (v. 1) includes Aristophanes of Byzantium and should therefore not be understood as Aristarcheans *stricto sensu*.

Herodicus' second example of a Homeric *hapax*, *δυσπέμφολος*, lies at the centre of three interrelated problems. What is the correct reading in line 5 of the epigram? What does the passage mean? Why did Herodicus choose this particular word? In her recent edition with commentary, Broggiato follows Manetti (2002) in favouring the textual variant *δυσπέμφελον* and understanding the passage as the inversion of a *προπεμπτικόν* ("questo [viaggio] sia per voi tempestoso"). The alternative (*δυσπέμφελοι*) is, however, considered possible too ("questo [studio] resti a voi, persone sgradevoli"). Broggiato then remarks (2014, 66–7):

³ Lehrs 1882, 12 (the list of examples is incomplete).

⁴ N.b. contrary to modern practice, Aristarchus' concept of *hapax legomena* goes well beyond the realm of lexicography (see Nünlist 2015, 400–1).

⁵ For the details, see Broggiato 2014, 64 with n. 53.

⁶ Unless the entry in Apollonius Sophista (p. 97.33 Bekker) goes back to him, which is no more than a possibility.

“Qualunque sia la lezione que vogliamo preferire, è interessante notare che la medesima alternanza tra singolare e plurale si trova anche nel testo dell’unico passo omerico dove compare il nostro termine, *Il.* 16.748:⁷ infatti sappiamo che l’alessandrino Zenodoto scriveva εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελοι εἶεν, riferito a πολλοί del verso precedente, mentre Aristonico (e quindi Aristarco) sosteneva la lezione δυσπέμφελος. Seguendo l’esempio dei poeti ellenistici, è possibile che Erodico abbia usato l’*hapax* omerico nella consapevolezza della discussione filologica su di esso, prendendo posizione su una controversia tra il testo omerico di Zenodoto e quello di Aristarco”.

In what follows, I attempt to substantiate the ‘possibility’ raised by Broggiato. As the relevant note shows, Aristarchus does not simply reject Zenodotus’ text but does so by means of a semasiological argument which addresses the question ‘singular or plural?’ in a wider perspective:

ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει “εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελοι εἶεν” ὥστε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, οἷον εἰ καὶ δυσάρεστοι εἶεν οἱ συνεσθίοντες. βέλτιον δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, “εἰ καὶ δυσχεῖμερος εἴη καὶ τραχεῖα” τὴν γὰρ τοῦ κολυμβητοῦ ἐντρέχειαν ἀντιπαράτιθῃσι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου κεκυβισθηκότι. καὶ Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τέταχε· “καὶ τοῖς, οἱ γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον ἐργάζονται” (*Th.* 440) (sch. *Il.* 16.748a Ariston.).

<The marginal sign,> because Zenodotus writes *ei kai duspempheloi eien*, with the result that <the adjective> is referring to the men (i.e., the *polloi* of *l.* 747), meaning: ‘even if the table companions (sc. of Cebriones) are hard to appease’. Better, however, <to have the adjective refer> to the sea, ‘even if it (sc. the sea) is stormy and rough’. For he (sc. Homer/Patroclus) makes a comparison between a man who has tumbled from the chariot (i.e., Cebriones) and the skill of a diver. Hesiod, too, applies it to the sea: ‘and those who work the bright storm-tossed sea’.

A Homeric *hapax legomenon* such as δυσπέμφελος, by definition, does not provide readers with parallel passages that help them to identify the word’s meaning, usage, etc. In the absence of such comparative evidence of the first order that Aristarchus would normally use, he is prepared to abandon his well-known principle ‘to elucidate Homer from Homer’ (“Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν), preferably by looking at the poet whose poetry comes closest to Homer’s: Hesiod.⁸ In the

⁷ In context the relevant passage reads (*Il.* 16.747–8, Patroclus speaking): πολλοὺς ἄν κορέσειεν ἄνθρωπος δὲ τήθεα διφῶν, | νηὸς ἀποθρόσκων, εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη (“This man could fill the hunger of many men, by diving for oysters, jumping from the ship, even if <the sea> were stormy”).

⁸ The point is argued in Nünlist 2015.

present case, a Hesiodic parallel supports the argument that the adjective δυσπέμφελος normally describes the sea.⁹ Zenodotus is therefore wrong, Aristarchus argues, to have it modify Cebriones' men. From Herodicus' perspective, such a punctilious analysis of a *hapax legomenon* and its usage with subsequent rejection of a textual variant wonderfully illustrates the pettifoggish activity of the grammarians that he despises so much. His selection of δυσπέμφελος is anything but innocent or random.

Another aspect provides additional support for the view that Herodicus advisedly chose this particular word. The relevant Homeric passage (quoted in n. 7) comes from the vaunting speech where Patroclus abandons the amiability for which several Iliadic characters praise him, including Zeus (*Il.* 17.204). In this speech he ruthlessly mocks Hector's deadly wounded charioteer Cebriones by comparing his involuntary fall from the chariot to a diver who jumps from a ship in order to ply his trade (*Il.* 16.745–50). Herodicus' jibe is not so very different from Patroclus'. The difference is, however, that Herodicus is, to some extent, caught up by his own mockery. If the above analysis is correct, his epigram betrays intimate familiarity with a type of scholarship that he allegedly despises. Since the same holds true for the implied readers (otherwise Herodicus' subtle jokes are lost on them), the question arises whether the epigram's intention really is dead serious.

A similar familiarity with Alexandrian scholarship underlies the joke about the personal pronouns (v. 4), especially because Aristarchus insists that the correct Homeric form is σφῶν and not its monosyllabic variant.¹⁰ This may well be the actual reason why this line does not consist of monosyllabic words alone.¹¹ Herodicus would have deliberately sacrificed consistency (monosyllabic words only) in order to insert the particular form that, according to Aristarchus, alone is true to Homeric morphology. One might object to this explanation that *viv* is not attested in Homer.

As to the textual problem in line 5, there seems to exist no compelling argument that is apt to settle the case once and for all. I confess to feeling much in favour of reading δυσπέμφελοι.¹² It produces a nice contrast between, on the one hand, the domain that is appropriate to the Aristarcheans (monosyllabic words

⁹ Most interestingly, a related T-scholion (sch. T *Il.* 16.748b Ariston.) argues exactly the same point by means of a different Hesiodic parallel: *Op.* 722. Did Aristarchus' commentary originally give two Hesiodic parallels? Or was there even an extended discussion on the adjective's usage and meaning?

¹⁰ See Aristarchus fr. 116 Matthaios 1999, with commentary (466–7).

¹¹ Hence Pierson's conjecture <τὸ> σφῶν.

¹² Following Page, Lloyd-Jones/Parsons, de Martino (cf. Broggiato 2014, 66).

etc.) and, on the other, the domain that is appropriate to Herodicus himself (the Greek world at large). At the same time, the vocative δυσπέραστοι deals the Aristarcheans a final blow by treating them as people who are hard to please (i.e., naggers). By contrast, one wonders why Herodicus would want to wish them a particularly difficult journey (instead of simply declaring 'good riddance' after their departure). Moreover, depending on how familiar he was with the specific details of the scholarly debate sketched above, it might have looked attractive to him, as it were, to side with Zenodotus against Aristarchus. Be that as it may, goddess Τύχη has left us with a textual problem in the text of Athenaeus that is strikingly similar to the textual problem in Homer which caught Herodicus' attention. It almost looks as if she did it on purpose.

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Filippomaria Pontani

From Aristarchus to Vermeer: ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα

Introduction

Since antiquity, many observers have considered Homeric philology as the realm *par excellence* of the short-sighted βιβλιακοὶ χαρακῖται (Timo SH 786.2), who are ready to fight battles and to waste their entire lives for the sake of a comma, an accent or an obelos. Occasionally, however, philological debates on Homeric words or expressions may lead to canvas a broader context of literary and cultural interactions and receptions, stretching throughout the centuries.

This paper will attempt to follow the fates of the formulaic hemistich πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα, which occurs four times in the Homeric epics. This *iunctura* is always used in a very specific context, namely in describing the act of leaning an object (or, in one case, the state of an object leaning) against a vertical surface.¹

Θ 435 ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα

[the Horai] leaned the chariot against the shining inward wall.²

N 260–61 δούρατα δ' αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα καὶ ἔν καὶ εἴκοσι δῆεις
ἔσταότ' ἐν κλισίῃ πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα

“You [*scil.* Meriones] will find one spear, and twenty spears, if you want them, standing against the shining inward wall in my shelter”.³

δ 42 ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα

Then they [*scil.* Menelaos' servants at Sparta] tilted the chariot against the bright entrance walls.⁴

¹ Translations are by Lattimore 1951 and Murray 1919 respectively.

² The Horai take care of the chariot that has just carried on mt. Olympus both Hera and Athena, summoned by Zeus who wants to prevent them from aiding the Achaeans.

³ These lines are addressed by the Cretan king Idomeneus to Meriones, who was looking for a spear in order to replace his own, lost shortly before in the duel with Deiphobos.

⁴ This is the chariot on which Peisistratos and Telemachos have just arrived from Pylos at the palace of Menelaos.

χ 120–21 τόξον μὲν πρὸς σταθμὸν ἐυσταθέος μεγάροιο
ἐκλιν' ἐστάμεναι, πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα

He [*scil.* Odysseus] leaned the bow against the door-post of the well-built hall,
and let it stand against the bright entrance wall.⁵

Innocuous as it might seem, the formula under exam has raised a number of conflicting interpretations, concerning both its exact meaning and its syntax.

1 Meaning

1.1 Meaning of ἐνώπια in Homer

In the first and third passage, the word ἐνώπια has generally been referred by exegetes and translators to the walls of the πρόδομος in the αὐλή: these walls are in front of the main entrance, are hit by the sunlight, and lie on either part of the doorway leading to the μέγαρον. This is the first part of the house seen by visitors upon entering the αὐλή, or upon looking inside from the street when the main gate is open.⁶ The following ancient scholia point in this direction:

schol. D Θ 435 πρὸς ἐνώπια: πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν εἰσόδων τοίχους, διὰ τὸ φωτίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν θυρῶν (see also Hsch. ε 3469 οἱ καταφωτιζόμενοι τόποι).

schol. bT N 261b πρὸς ἐνώπια: τοὺς κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τοίχους ἥτοι τοὺς ἀντίους τῶν εἰσόδων

schol. D(A) N 261 οἱ ἐναντίοι κατὰ τὰς εἰσόδους τοῖχοι (cp. also schol. bT (Hrd.) O 320, where ἐνώπια is glossed as τὰ ἐναντία)

schol. BEHM^aPTes δ 42d1 πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα: τοὺς ἀντικρὺ τόπους⁷ τῆς εἰσόδου “ἐνώπια” καλεῖ ὁ ποιητής, τοὺς φωτιζομένους ὑφ’ ἡλίου τόπους ἢ σελήνης

⁵ This is the moment of the mnesterophony when Odysseus runs out of arrows and proceeds to fight with spears (the suitors’ shots, incidentally, hit the door-posts or the wall: 257–59, 274–76).

⁶ Casaubon 1599, 318 (*ad* Theophr. *Char.* 21 ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου): “Ita moris fuit apud Graecos, eam partem aedium (quae ab ingredientibus prima conspicitur, aut a praetereuntibus, quando fores patent, quam ἐνώπια vocabant) omnibus modis ornare: ideo Homerus ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα dixit”.

⁷ The correction τοίχους, proposed by H.J. Polak, should probably be accepted in the text. Cp. also schol. M^a χ 121 ἐνώπια] τὰ κατ’ ἀντικρὺ.

schol. Eur. *Andr.* 729 ...καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ {προσ}ενώπια καλεῖ τοὺς καταντικρὺ τοίχους τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς οἰκίας.⁸

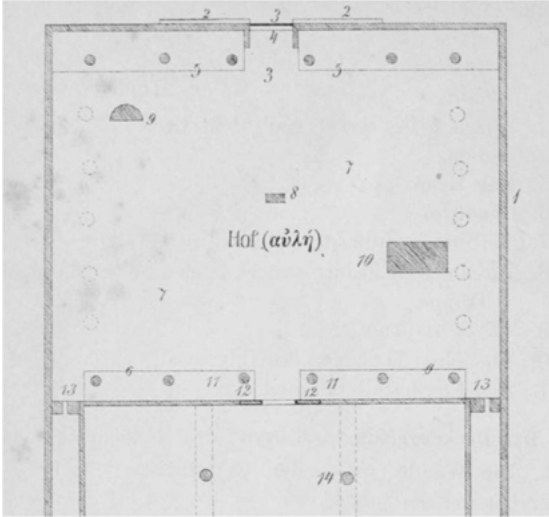


Fig. 1: Buchholz 1881, last page: the ἐνώπια are no. 12

Alternative explanations are rare in ancient exegesis: a single scholium and a long and ambiguous passage of Eustathios of Thessalonike seem to identify the ἐνώπια with the outer walls of the palace (the παρόδιοι τοῖχοι):

schol. ex. (bT) Θ 435c ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα: τοὺς παροδίους τοίχους· οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοι φαίνονται τοῖς παριοῦσιν.

Eust. in *Il.* 722.5–14 “ἐνώπια” δὲ τὰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ κείμενα, πολλοὶ μὲν τοὺς παροδίους τῆς οἰκίας λέγουσι τοίχους, τουτέστι τοὺς ἀντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου, οἱ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰσι τῶν παροδευνόντων ἔξωθεν. διὸ καὶ “παμφανόνωντα” τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ἡ μὲντοι Ὀδύσσεια ἐν τῇ κατὰ τοὺς

⁸ The apparatus criticus of Jacopo Cavarzeran’s forthcoming edition (I thank the author for letting me see it ahead of publication) shows that the reference to our Homeric passages is clear, but that it has suffered contamination with other forms (see below § 1.2): {προσ}ενώπια Schwartz: προσένώπια MVo: πρενώπια N: προνώπια Ne: προσενώπια παμφανώνωντα Ge: προενώπια παμφανώνωντα V.

μνηστῆρας μάχη ἐμφαίνει ἐνώπια μάλιστα τοίχων εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ τῶν θυρῶν εἰσόδῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ πλάγια, ὡς ἐκεῖ δεδήλωται.⁹

However, a number of elements rule out this idea:¹⁰ it is unlikely that the chariots might be parked outside to encumber the street; upon leaving Sparta, Telemachos and Peisistratos “drove forth from the gateway and the echoing portico” (ἔκ δ’ ἔλασαν προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου, ο 146), which means that the chariots had been kept inside the αὐλή; an important lemma in Pollux and Hesychios opposes ἐνώπια to προνώπια, the “inner walls” to the “outer walls”:

Poll. 2.53 καὶ “ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντά” φησιν Ὅμηρος τὰ ἐντὸς τῶν θυρῶν· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τραγωδοῖς “προνώπια” τὰ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

Hsch. π 3604 προνώπια (Eur. Bacch. 639): τὰ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πυλῶν, καθάπερ “ἐνώπια” τὰ ἔνδον, ὅπου αἱ εἰκόνες τίθενται.¹¹

Incidentally these εἰκόνες, which no modern interpreter seems to take into account,¹² might be statues standing in the αὐλή,¹³ or perhaps frescoes painted on the outer walls of the *megaron*: they could be the same ones alluded to in

Hsch. ε 3470 ἐνώπια τὰ κατ’ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ πυλῶνος φαινόμενα μέρη, ἃ καὶ διεκόσμουον <ἔνεκα> [add. Musurus] τῶν παριόντων.

In sum, most scholars nowadays — with at least one important exception¹⁴ — believe that by ἐνώπια Homer means a part of the wall separating the αὐλή (and its

⁹ As van der Valk observes in his note, the reference to the *Odyssey* exegesis is slightly improper and conflicting with what Eustathios himself annotates on the relevant passage (see below).

¹⁰ See Buchholz 1881, 102–103 for the refutation of Ameis’ view of the ἐνώπια as “die hellleuchtenden Seitenwände des Eingangs von der Strasse in den Hof” (not only in δ 42: see Ameis-Hentze 1930, 70).

¹¹ In Euripides (*Bacch.* 639, 645; *Hipp.* 374) the adj. προνώπιος refers to “the open space in front of a house” (Barrett 1969, 227), or “devant le mur d’enceinte du palais” (Roux 1970, 450: see also Roux 1961, insisting on the difference between the inner θύρα and the outer πύλη; later developments of the term in Le Feuvre 2015, 132–34, who suggests an analogic re-formation of the word from προσώπια “façade”).

¹² In Theognost. *can.* 767 Cramer the εἰκόνες are (erroneously?) associated with the προνώπια rather than with the ἐνώπια.

¹³ So Paley 1879, 19: “ἐνώπια are properly the inner walls of a temple or court, against which statues were placed”.

¹⁴ I am referring to Claire Le Feuvre’s linguistic argument, on which more below § 1.2.

portico, the πρόδομος) from the μέγαρον proper.¹⁵ This interpretation, tailored on the palaces of Zeus and Menelaos, appears slightly catachrestic in N 261, a passage in which Idomeneus is applying the term to his tent (κλισίη) in the Achaean camp, which will hardly have consisted of brick walls at all.¹⁶ Still, the aforementioned explanation tallies perfectly with the passage of book χ, for there Odysseus is most plausibly depicted as shooting his arrows from the door of the ἀνδρωνίτις, and hiding himself behind the door-posts when re-charging his bow so as not to be targeted by the suitors.¹⁷ Precisely this reconstruction was already proposed by Eustathios of Thessalonike in his note on the passage:

Eust. in *Od.* 1921.7–10: ἔνθα σημείωσαι ὅτι “ἐνώπια” λέγει τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς εἰσόδου τοίχους. πάντως γὰρ ὁ πρὸς τῇ φλιᾷ ιστάμενος καὶ μὴ ἐθέλων αὐτῆς ἀποστήναι ἐκεῖ που ἐκ πλαγίων τὸ τόξον ἀνέκλινε καὶ οὐ πρὸς τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ ἀνδρώωνος τῷ ἀντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶχετο. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἀνέκλινε τὸ τόξον ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς.¹⁸

In Eustathios’ words, Odysseus is standing next to the φλιά. As a matter of fact, through a somewhat “idiosyncratic” interpretation, the Pergamene scholar Crates of Mallos (fr. 6 Broggiato) took the ἐνώπια not as walls *suo iure*, but rather as φλιαί, or “door-posts”:¹⁹

Hsch. ε 3470 ἐνώπια τὰ κατ’ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ πυλῶνος φαινόμενα μέρη, ἃ καὶ διεκόσμου <ἔνεκα> [add. Musurus] τῶν παριόντων. ὁ δὲ Κράτης τὰς φλιάς ἀπέδωκεν²⁰ τένινοχος.²¹

Whether or not this reference to the φλιαί has something to do with the otherwise poorly attested interpretation of ἐνώπια as πρόθυρα,²² the textual corruption of Hesychios’ *interpretamentum* might perhaps be healed if we consider which of

¹⁵ See Buchholz 1881, 101–103. Less convincing (see Vürtheim 1928, 85) is Leaf 1900, 361: “the word is better taken quite generally, *inner walls* or rather *inner face of the walls*... Here [scil. in Θ 435] and δ 42 it means the inner face of the wall of the αὐλή: in N and χ it is used of the walls of the μέγαρον itself”.

¹⁶ See Janko 1992, 80. Broggiato 2001, 147.

¹⁷ Buchholz 1881, 102–103. See above note 5.

¹⁸ Eustathios’ note was appreciated and partly translated by Alexander Pope (Pope 1967b, 293 *ad* 22.137). Fernández Galiano 1986, xxix–xxx, adds that the brick walls of the αὐλή guarantee that the bow will not end up in the hands of the suitors.

¹⁹ I cannot see how this interpretation could overlap with the schol. bT N 261b (so Broggiato 2001, 147).

²⁰ παρέδωκεν ms., corr. Latte.

²¹ ἐν Ἰλιάδος Schmidt, ἐν Ἰλιάδος <ὑπομνήματι> Latte.

²² schol. bT N 261b πρὸς ἐνώπια: ... οἱ δὲ τὰ πρόθυρα, δι’ ὧν εἰσβάλλει τὸ φῶς.

the four Homeric passages is the most viable for a reading of ἐνώπια as φλοιαί or “door-posts”: this is no doubt, again, the passage of the mnesterophony in book χ, where the focus is on a single bow, not on more encumbering chariots or on entire rows of spears. No wonder that in an unpublished scholium of ms. Vind. phil. gr. 56 (Y) to χ 121 we read:

ἐνώπια] τὰς φλοιὰς αὐτὰς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἔνδον εὐωχομένων εἶρηκεν, ἢ τὸ πλησιάζον τῇ φλοιᾷ τεῖχος.²³

In the light of this, it seems to me quite likely that under τένινοχος we should hypothesise something like “ἐν τῇ χ’ Ὀδ(υσσεΐας)”, if not (taking into account normal manuscript abbreviations that might easily have been misunderstood) “ἐν ὑπο(μνήματι) χ’ Ὀδ(υσσεΐας)” — a suggestion that would follow on Latte’s, but would conflict with the lack of adequate witnesses for the very existence of Crates’ *hypomnemata* on Homer on top of his Διορθωτικά and Ὀμηρικά.²⁴

1.2 An alternative form?

The etymological relationship between ἐνώπια and the adverb ἐνώπα is maintained by the schol. bT O 320, it is implied by Poll. 2.53.6, and it remains valid to our own day:²⁵ it rests on the analysis of the term as the univerbation of the preposition ἐν and the nominal root of ὦψ, an analysis already put forth by Herodian in schol. A E 19 (οὕτως “μεταμάζιον” ἐν ποιητέον ὡς τὸ “μετάφρενον” [Ψ 380] καὶ “ἐνώπιον” [Θ 435]). A recent, strict linguistic analysis has cast serious doubts on the idea that ἐνώπια should mean, as in ancient exegesis, “internal walls”, and has suggested that this meaning was in fact a secondary development after singers and exegetes forgot and misunderstood the original adverbial meaning at Θ 435 (“*en face*”, with ἄρματα to be taken with παμφανόωντα as argued by Aristarchus [see § 2.1], and πρὸς to be taken as the prefix of the verb προσκλίνω, with tmesis and anastrophe: “et elles y appuyèrent le char, en face, étincelant”): this

²³ τὸν πλησιάζοντα τῇ φλοιᾷ ms., correxi. On ms. Y, a Salentine manuscript written before 1300 and equipped with good marginal scholia, see Pontani 2005, 230–42. I stress that no other manuscript known to me has any kind of exegesis to this passage of book χ.

²⁴ See Pfeiffer 1968, 239 and Broggiato 2001, xxi.

²⁵ Beekes 2010, 432–33, and particularly Le Feuvre 2015, 129 on the possible derivations of ἐνώπα. See also the translation given by *LfGrE* II.611: “was vor dem Gesicht, gegenüber (s. ἐνώπα) ist”.

misunderstanding would be attested in the passages of the *Odyssey*, and possibly already in N 261.²⁶

Whatever we make of this reconstruction, it appears that an alternative and more mysterious form, the otherwise unattested compound προσενώπια, circulated widely in textual interpretations: this is shown both by manuscript variants²⁷ and by an entire scholium to the *Odyssey* (of uncertain date) which insists precisely on the problem of the *distinctio verborum*.²⁸ The form προσενώπια could either be taken as predicative to the neuter plurals (ἄρματα, δούρατα; impossible in χ 121) or more plausibly as adverbial (syntactically possible in all occurrences, as long as in χ 121 we take παμφανώνοντα as a masculine acc. with σταθμόν). Indeed several lexicographical sources seem to point to the latter solution (see also above the scholium to Euripides' *Andromache*):

Hsch. π 3734 προσενώπια· ἔμπροσθεν πρὸς τοὺς κατάντικρυς τῆς ἀνατολῆς²⁹

Hsch. π 3423 προενώπια· ἔμπροσθεν (the word προενώπια does not exist in Greek,³⁰ and it is probably a corruption of προσενώπια)

EM 346.11 (s.v. ἐνώπιον; cf. Zon. 1589.16): ...τὸ δὲ “προσενώπιον” ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξεναντίας τῶν εἰσόδων τοίχους, διὰ τὸ φωτίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν θυρῶν (Sturz's note in Gaisford's edition invites to correct the form as πρὸς ἐνώπιον).

26 This is the point ingeniously made by Le Feuvre 2015, 135–40: her arguments for the adverbial meaning are interesting, though her segmentation ἐκλιναν πρὸς | ἐνώπια παμφανώνοντα, with the verb προσκλίνω to be re-segmented and implicitly referred to the κάπησι in Θ 434, may look quite harsh (even more doubtful, by admission of Le Feuvre herself, the alleged tmesis of προσεστάοτ' in N 261).

27 Allen's apparatus in the *editio maior* says nothing for Θ 435, but it gives a general προσενώπια (save for 6 mss. carrying πρὸς ἐνώπια) in N 261; see also schol. Ge N 261. In both passages of the *Iliad* Sponde's edition bears a marginal note γρ. προσενώπια (Spondanus 1583, 145 and 247). Ludwich's apparatus of the *Odyssey* has προσενώπια carried by 3 mss. (FPT) in δ 42 and by 3 other mss. (DPH) in χ 121. Nothing is registered in more recent editions of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.

28 schol. E δ 42d2 (following immediately upon the schol. d1 quoted above): προσενώπια] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τινες διαλελυμένην γράφουσι τὴν λέξιν τιθέντες εἰς τὸ πρὸς βαρεῖαν.

29 The lemma is προσενώπια in the ms., and was corrected to πρὸς ἐνώπια by Markos Mousouros. I am more hesitant about Suid. ε 1414 ἐνώπια: εὐθέα (see also Hsch. ε 3469 εὐθεῖα...ἐμπρός, and synag. ε 473 εὐθεῖα).

30 προενώπιον is only a grammatical recreation (Eust. in *Il.* 82.36) to explain προνώπιον in Euripides, see below.

2 Syntax

2.1 The syntax of ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα

The other philological problem with ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα concerns the syntax of the adjective, and it is more challenging: the treatises *On tropes* by Trypho and Cocondrius/Concordius show that line Θ 435 was taken as a paradigmatic example of ἀμφιβολία.³¹ We know for sure that in both Iliadic passages (Θ 435 and N 261) Aristarchus of Samothrace, the greatest philologist of antiquity, took παμφανόνωντα (whose meaning of “bright, shining” is beyond dispute) not with ἐνώπια but with ἄρματα or δούρατα, thus implying a slight hyperbaton that makes no difficulty in the frame of Homeric diction. Aristarchus’ view emerges from two scholia stemming from Nicanor’s Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς στιγμῆς:

schol. A (Nican.) Θ 435b <ἄρματα δ’ ἔκλιναν> πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα· βραχὺ διασταλτέον ἐπὶ τὸ “πρὸς ἐνώπια”, ἵνα ᾗ “ἄρματα παμφανόνωντα”

schol. A (Nican.) N 261a1 <ἐσταότ’ ἐν κλισίῃ πρὸς> ἐνώπια <παμφανόνωντα>: ...βραχὺ δὲ διασταλτέον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνώπια, ἵν’ ᾗ “δούρατα παμφανόνωντα”. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Θ ῥαψωδίᾳ (435)· “ἄρματα δ’ ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια, παμφανόνωντα”³²

and above all from a scholium by Aristonicus on another passage, Ψ 509–10, where Diomedes springs down from his chariot during the funeral games for Patroklos:

αὐτὸς δ’ ἐκ δίφροιο χαμαὶ θόρε παμφανόνωντος,
κλῖνε δ’ ἄρα μάλιστα ποτὶ ζυγόν

He himself vaulted down to the ground from his shining chariot
and leaned his whip against the yoke.

In his note on these lines, the grammarian Aristonicus — perhaps the most faithful *porte-parole* of Aristarchus’ views — takes his cue from the definition of the

³¹ Tryph. 203.28 Spengel; see also Cocondr. 243.10 Sp. ἀμφίβολον γάρ, πότερον τὰ ἄρματα εἴρηκεν ἢ τὰ ἐνώπια.

³² See also schol. T (Nican.) N 261a2: οἱ δὲ “δούρατα παμφανόνωντα”; schol. D N 261 ... ἵν’ ᾗ “δούρατα παμφανόνωντα” δηλονότι. καὶ ἐν τῇ Θ οὕτως “ἄρματα δ’ ἔκλινεν πρὸς ἐνώπια, παμφανόνωντα”. We shall neglect here the witness of manuscripts, which is so slippery in the case of orthography and especially punctuation (according to West’s apparatus, a comma occurs before παμφανόνωντα in mss. AFG at N 261).

chariot (δίφρος) as shining (παμφανόνων) in order to back the connection of ἄρματα with παμφανόνωντα (ἄρμα being a synonym of δίφρος) in Θ 435: it is most likely that this argument followed closely in the footsteps of Aristarchus':³³

schol. A (Ariston.) Ψ 509a¹ δίφροιο... παμφανόνωντος: ὅτι τοῦτο διακρίνει τὴν ἐν ἄλλοις (sc. Θ 435) ἀμφιβολίαν, “<ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν> πρὸς {τὸ} ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα”· δείκνυται γὰρ τὰ ἄρματα “παμφανόνωντα”³⁴

schol. T Ψ 509a² ἐκ δίφροιο παμφανόνωντος: ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ “[πρὸς ἐνώπια] παμφανόνωντα” τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐπίθετον.

This syntactical option was seemingly espoused by Eustathios of Thessalonike, who ended his review of Θ 435 as follows:

Eust. in *Il.* 722.13–14: Εἰ δὲ μὴ παμφανόνωντα ταῦτα [*scil.* τὰ ἐνώπια], θετέον ἄρα ἐνταῦθα τὴν λέξιν ταύτην ὑπερβατῶς εἰς τὸ ἄρματα, ὃ καὶ οἰκειότερόν ἐστι μάλιστα.

The opposite solution, namely the syntactical connection of παμφανόνωντα with the immediately preceding ἐνώπια, is envisaged by other exegetes, most notably Eustathios himself on N 261,³⁵ and a newly published scholium on δ 42:

schol. M^a δ 42e παμφανόνωντα] τὸ δὲ “παμφανόνωντα” ἢ πρὸς τὰ “ἄρματα” ἀποδοτέον καὶ συντακτέον οὕτως “ἄρματα λαμπρά”, ἢ — ἐπειδὴ “ἐνώπια” τὰ ἀντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου μέρη, ταῦτα δὲ τὰ πλειόνως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἕτερα μέρη εἰσι φωτιζόμενα — συντακτέον οὕτως κατ' εὐθεΐαν “πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα”.

The exegetical T-scholium on Θ 435 solves the issue in the opposite way with respect to Aristarchus: it maintains namely that the very comparison with the occurrence of χ 120–21 (where there is no neuter to which παμφανόνωντα could be attached) demonstrates that the adjective must indeed be taken with ἐνώπια:³⁶

³³ See van Thiel 2014, II.59–60 and 359, who speaks of an “experimenteller Beziehungswechsel”, perhaps prompted by a simple reference to Ψ 509 in Aristarchus' *Handexemplar* (but this of course depends on van Thiel's picture of the early transmission of the fragments of Alexandrian philology, van Thiel 1992).

³⁴ It should be remarked that van Thiel leaves the text untouched and believes Erbse's supplements to be unnecessary.

³⁵ Eust. in *Il.* 930.22: τὸ δὲ παμφανόνωντα ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἐνώπια κολλητέον ἢ πρὸς τὸ δόρατα, ὅποιον καὶ τὸ “ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα”: this looks like an elaboration of the schol. D on the same passage, see above.

³⁶ van Thiel 2014, II.60 on the typical “τί οὖν” transition.

schol. ex. Θ 435c ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα: τοὺς παροδίους τοίχους· οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοι φαίνονται τοῖς παριοῦσιν. τινὲς δὲ τὸ ἐξῆς “ἄρματα παμφανόωντα”. AbT³⁷ τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ “τόξον μὲν πρὸς σταθμὸν ἔκλινε πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα” (cf. χ 120–21); T

This interpretation reigns almost unchallenged nowadays, and it looks as if (Le Feuvre aside) modern translators and exegetes of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had no real doubt about the syntax of the passages.

2.2 Shining walls

Now, if we follow the interpretation of the T-scholium, the question arises of why should the walls “shine” or “be bright” (Alexander Pope went so far as to translate Θ 435 “The Chariot propt against the Crystal Walls”).³⁸ The most obvious explanations are: because the light falls upon them both directly from the sky and obliquely from the open doors of the central gate; more importantly, because they were covered with white plaster that made them shine in contrast to the darkness of the μέγαρον σκιδόντα³⁹ (the peculiar case of the tent in N 261 might be explained through a cover made of “poliertes oder verkleidetes Holz”).⁴⁰

Still, we have seen above that two Hesychian glosses may imply that the ἐνώπια were in fact decorated with frescoes — a curiously pertinent note, for it has often been remarked, after the great historical season of Mycenaean archaeology, that in Homer “there is no mention of the frescoes with their lively scenes and brilliant colouring, nor of the plaster floor, also gaily decorated”.⁴¹

The adj. παμφανόωντα rather brings to mind the glaring daylight than a triumph of colours, hence the idea of wall-paintings is not very likely. And yet, there is no evidence whatsoever that Hesychius’ glosses (let alone the archaeological

³⁷ As is clear from Erbse’s apparatus, ms. Venetus A has a very neat οὐκ εὖ after the syntactical interpretation “ἄρματα παμφανόωντα”.

³⁸ Pope 1967a, I.422 (line 8.539 of his translation; similarly Anne Dacier 1716, I.84 “mettent le char dans une remise dont l’esclat éblouit les yeux”). It is interesting to see that in the other passages where our formula occurs, both Dacier and Pope refrain from describing in detail the wall itself (e.g. for δ 42 see Pope 1967b, I.122 (lines 4.51–52): “Part in a portico, profusely grac’d / With rich magnificence, the chariot plac’d”; for χ 120–21 see Dacier 1716, III.438: “il pendit son arc à une colonne qui estoit dans le vestibule mesme dont il occupoit l’entrée”).

³⁹ Buchholz 1881, 102; Leaf 1900, 361 “παμφανόωντα because covered with polished stucco, like the walls at Tiryns, or perhaps with polished wood”; Lorimer 1950, 428 note 1 “presumably are the faces of crude brick walls covered with plaster”; Fernández Galiano 1986, xxx.

⁴⁰ *LfGrE* II.611 (H.W. Nordheider). But see Le Feuvre 2015, 131.

⁴¹ Lorimer 1950, 428, who connects this issue precisely with the ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα occurring in the epics.

remains of Mycenaean palaces) may have been known to the earliest translator and commentator of Homer in the Latin Middle Ages, the Greek scholar Leontius Pilatus, who penned *suo Marte* on the margins of his *Odyssey* a rather sophisticated note on this passage, which imagines what we see today *in situ*:⁴²

currus autem flexerunt in circumlatera splendida] murorum vel portae latera circum limina: nam circum limina et vestibula muri depicti et ornati solent esse.

3 Later occurrences of ἐνώπια

After Homer, occurrences of ἐνώπιον as a noun (and partly of ἐνώπιος as an adjective, which only becomes popular in the *formule figée* ἐνώπιος ἐνωπίῳ defining God and Moses in *Exod.* 33.11)⁴³ are rare. Perhaps the most unequivocal one can be found in the last lines of the long inscription of 179 BCE by which the Delian ἱεροποιοί celebrated the restoration of various buildings in the precinct of the sanctuary: *Inscr. Del.* 442 B 245 ἐκατέρῳ ἐνωπίῳ τῶν στοῶν.⁴⁴ Despite the fragmentary context, it is clear that the ἐνώπια are here a pair of walls under a portico, much in the same way as we have imagined the situation in the Homeric πρόδομος and αὐλή. An occurrence with by and large the same meaning (façade) has been conjectured by Toup and Porson in *Xen. Anab.* 7.8.1, where Cleagoras' frescoes in the Athenian Lyceum are mentioned: but the text of most manuscripts rather gives a plausible reference to the subject-matter of the frescoes:

τοῦ τὰ ἐνώπια (f: τὰ ἐνοίκια c: τὰ ἐντοίχια anon. apud Bornemann, rec. Marchant: τὰ ἐνώπια Toup et Porson) ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος.⁴⁵

Alas when it comes to poetic occurrences the situation is much foggier: of three certain occurrences of ἐνώπια, two belong to badly fragmentary texts and one is extremely ambiguous. Alcaeus fr. 58 is only transmitted by PBerol 9810: some remains of this Alcaic ode point clearly to a sympotic content (l. 9 κέραμον μέγαν,

⁴² Ms. Marc. gr. IX 29, f. 39v: see Mangraviti 2016, 119. On Leontius' annotations and sources see Pontani 2002/2003.

⁴³ In Theocr. 22.152 ἥ μὲν πολλάκις ὕμιν ἐνώπιον ἀμφοτέροισιν the manuscript tradition is divided between ἐνώπιον and ἐνώπιος (MLa): see Gow 1965, 401 *ad loc.*, who reminds that the adj. form is frequent in papyri.

⁴⁴ Durrbach 1929, 155.

⁴⁵ See the discussion on the nature and disposition of Cleagoras' frescoes in Lendle 1995, 477–78.

l. 12 μεθύων, l. 19 ἰλλάεντι θύμῳ, l. 24 αἰίδα), but a ship and the sea are also evoked, and no clear sequence of thoughts can be reconstructed: hence the fragmentary l. 17

].ύσαμεν προτενωπια

remains basically unexplained, both in its use of the first person plural⁴⁶ and in the problematic word-separation: should we read πρό τ' ἐνώπια (Diehl, followed by Lobel) or προτ' ἐνώπια (Sitzler, followed by Voigt), and — if the latter — should we refer this to the “face of the wind”, like Edmonds (who takes this together with κέρα τρώ]ποντες in l. 18 as “the while we turned the sailyard to front the breeze”) and Liberman (who cautiously suggests that this might be a device to inflate the sails, as in the French expression “brasser à contre”)?⁴⁷ Be that as it may, in this context the mention of walls (of the poet's mansion?) seems quite unlikely, and this is why exegetes tend to prefer an unattested — if etymologically plausible — meaning of “face”.

Sophocles' fr. 269a R. (POxy 2369) has long been attributed to the lost satyr play *Inachos*. In ll. 21–28 of this fragment we find a dialogue between the protagonist (Io's father Inachos) and a character disguised as a stranger, possibly Hermes: whatever the role of the chorus in this context, the scene was possibly following upon the narration of the metamorphosis of Io,⁴⁸ and Inachos probably complained about Hermes' deceiving manoeuvre against him (l. 28] φηλώσας ἐμέ); but since we ignore if (as Pfeiffer believed) this was a stichomythy, and hence we ignore who was described as doing good and doing harm in ll. 25–26 (].ἐπηνέθη καλά /].ηυρέθη κακά),⁴⁹ there subsist serious doubts on the interpretation of l. 27

]. ἐξ ἐ[ν]ωπίων

Most exegetes believe that here ἐνώπια should indicate walls close to an entrance, possibly the same gate through which the stranger has just escaped;⁵⁰ if the scene is set in front of the palace, then the ἐνώπια might well be “die Wände

⁴⁶ As opposed to the first singular of ll. 10, 12, 21, 25: see Rösler 1980, 38 n. 32.

⁴⁷ See Liberman 1999, 208.

⁴⁸ See for the whole (indeed very hypothetical) reconstruction, Sutton 1979, 57–62.

⁴⁹ See Carden 1974, 61.

⁵⁰ Carden 1974, 61.

auf beiden Seiten des Palasteingangs”;⁵¹ if the metamorphosis is described as taking place in the countryside, then this might be a reference to a temple of Hera.⁵² Be that as it may, the very connection with the preposition ἐκ makes a material, architectural meaning all the more likely.

The interpretation of ἐνώπια in this Sophoclean fragment is interrelated with what we make of the only other occurrence of the word in dramatic poetry (this time a fully preserved text), namely Aesch. *suppl.* 146:

Θέλουσα δ' αὖ θέλουσαν ἀ-
γνά μ' ἐπιδέτω Διὸς κόρα
ἔχουσα σέμν' ἐνώπι' ἀσφαλές (144–46).

And may he, on her part, Zeus' pure
daughter, who holds the august
front of her shrine in security [transl. Friis Johansen - Whittle]

This passage of the Danaids' choral song has raised a strong controversy between those who believe that ἐνώπια — a transparent Homeric loan⁵³ — should be understood here as “walls” or “façades” (with reference to some religious building) and those who maintain that walls have nothing to do in this context and that the word should rather mean, on account of its etymology, “face” or “countenance”. In either case, the “pure daughter of Zeus” here implied is of course Artemis: if we believe that ἐνώπια should have the elsewhere unattested meaning of “aspect” (the only parallel invoked for this is the problematic Alc. 58.17, discussed above),⁵⁴ then the Danaids would be alluding to Artemis' “august countenance unshaken”,⁵⁵ to her dispensing “de son visage austère un regard assurant mon salut”.⁵⁶ But if we believe that ἐνώπια are the “front wall(s)” of a building, then several ideas are possible (and have been proposed over the decades), from the “wall (ὑποσκήνιον) below the stage, where a statue of Diana was placed”,⁵⁷ to the façades of Athenian monuments within sight from the theatre (the Parthenon? the Propylaea? the southern city wall?) or of Argive monuments as imagined by the viewers (the temple of Artemis Orthia?); alternatively, the reference may be,

51 Pfeiffer 1958, 15, who rightly remarks that we already have a reference to the θύραι in l. 24.

52 Allan 2003.

53 Sideras 1971, 211.

54 Friis Johansen - Whittle 1980, 122.

55 Bowen 2013, 178.

56 Mazon 1920. This is also the only possibility envisaged by Le Feuvre 2015, 131.

57 Paley 1879, 19. The idea, without much support in what we know of the play's scenery, was dear to Wilamowitz 1914, 5.

more generically, to the many temples dedicated to Artemis throughout the Greek world, “ehrwürdige mächtige Tempelfassaden” — a particularly appropriate hint here, where it would feature in stern contrast with the nomadic life of the homeless, wandering Danaids.⁵⁸

Whatever our choice in the Aeschylus passage, it should be stressed that if we consider ἐνώπια as a physical reality, the generic sense of “wall” (probably to be narrowed down to “façade”, “front wall”) does not entirely fit with the more specific meaning of “interior walls” we have posited for the Homeric occurrences (this was remarked by Le Feuvre already for Homer’s passages themselves).⁵⁹ On the other hand, both the verb ἔχω and the adj. ἀσφαλέα would in my view be hard to reconcile with the “facial countenance” of a goddess, and the comparison with Sophocles’ fragment also points in this direction.

4 ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα: Nicetas Choniates

Greek literature has a long tradition of puns and word-plays on Homeric terms and formulas: in the vast province of epic parody,⁶⁰ one need just think of Matro of Pitane’s 4th-century mock epic poem *Attic Dinner-Party*, where the humorous substitution of Homeric words, or indeed of single letters within words (e.g. ὄστρεα for ὀστέα, πολυτρόφα for πολύτροπον, λιμός for λαός, ὄτριχας for ἄτριχας) is one of the most important stylistic devices in view of the metamorphosis of an epic narrative into a triumph of food, cuisine, and gluttony.⁶¹ The genre of parody stretches roots well before Matro (Athenaeus 15.697–99 traces it back to Hipponax, Aristotle *poet.* 1448a12 to Hegemon of Thasos), and of course one ought not to forget that comedy (above all Aristophanes) massively resorted to word-play both in paratragic style and in epic parody.⁶² Still, Matro’s specific form of parody, centered on παραγραμματισμός,⁶³ should be distinguished from other related forms such as those implying an incongruous or degrading use of epic

⁵⁸ See Vürtheim 1928, 83–90, with an acute critical discussion of previous scholarship (including Bücheler, Körte, Wecklein), basically inherited by Garvie 1969, 156–58. Note also Tucker’s conjecture ἐδῶλια, that shows how problematic the “odd” ἐνώπια (Garvie 1969, 158 n. 2) is perceived by scholars.

⁵⁹ See Le Feuvre 2015, 134–35.

⁶⁰ See the overview by Olson-Sens 1999, 5–13.

⁶¹ Olson-Sens 1999, 33–40.

⁶² Rau 1967. Lelièvre 1954, 66–81.

⁶³ See Salvioni 1979–80, 21–29, esp. 25–27 on Matro. Olson-Sens 1999, 13–24.

vocabulary or quotations, or those involving more substantial alterations of single lines or entire scenes — a good mixture of these elements can be found in the fragments of the *Silloi* of Timon of Phlius, where parodies of Homeric scenes co-exist with humorous deformations of single lines sometimes implying witty verbal echoes, e.g. fr. 20 κενεώτερον for *Od.* 7.216 κύντερον.⁶⁴

Now, we do not know of any parodies specifically involving our hemistich ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα in the ancient Greek tradition, but it is interesting to remark that exactly the same deformation of this *iunctura* occurs (independently) in two authors and contexts belonging to the “*longue durée*” of Hellenism. It is not impossible that both these authors had at least some knowledge of the philological and semantic controversies around the word outlined above in §§ 1–2: for both of them, however, the link of the adj. παμφανόνωντα with ἐνώπια is taken as a given.

Nicetas Choniates (†1217) is one of the most important Byzantine historians: his account of the Comnenian dynasty is not only an invaluable source for the development of events, but also a stylistic *tour de force* in which he displays an extremely refined and artificial diction, with reminiscences of Classical and patristic literature cropping up on almost every line.⁶⁵ This feat of erudition, however, is no mere self-exhibition, nor does it serve primarily aesthetic purposes: by elevating the tone of his narrative, particularly in the last decades before the catastrophe of 1204, Nicetas aims at framing the account of the steady decline of the Byzantine empire within an overall “tragic” tale of fault and punishment, with corruption and neglect outdoing all previous merits of Byzantine rulers, and inexorably leading to a well-deserved moral and political collapse.⁶⁶

A symbolic turning-point in this narrative is the confrontation between the ambassadors of the German emperor Henry VI Hohenstaufen and the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos with his court, on Christmas Day, 1196. Henry VI had just asked the “Romans” for a high amount of money in exchange for his withdrawal from the vast regions of the Balkan peninsula that his troops had recently occupied, and that he vindicated as a legitimate part of his own territory. In order to impress the German envoys – whom he implicitly ascribed, like most Byzantines, to the vast category of “barbarians”⁶⁷ – Alexios

⁶⁴ Di Marco 1989, 42–46. Clayman 2009, 117–36.

⁶⁵ See A. Pontani 2001.

⁶⁶ See e.g. Harris 2000.

⁶⁷ This is why I have recently surmised that this passage might be one source of inspiration behind Constantine Cavafy’s famous poem *Waiting for the Barbarians*: see Pontani 2018. On the

αὐτός τε τὴν διάλιθον βασιλείον στολὴν ἡμφιάσατο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν ἐπετετάχει τὰς χρυσοῦφεις περιθέσθαι καὶ πλατυσήμους ἐσθῆτας, οἱ δ' Ἀλαμανοὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπείχον ἔκθαμβοι τοῖς ὀρωμένοις τούτοις φανῆναι, ὥστε καὶ ἀνέθαλλον μᾶλλον τὸν ἔρωτα, ὃν ὑπέτυφον ταῖς λαμπριμοναῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐναυόμενον, καὶ ἡῤυχοντο τάχιον κρατῆσαι Γραικῶν ὡς ἀγεννῶν τὰ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ περισπουδαζόντων τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις χλιδάς. ... “οὐ χρεῖαν — ἔφασκον — Ἀλαμανοὶ τοιούτων ἔχουσι θεαμάτων, οὔτε μὴν ἐπιτηδεῖν γυναῖξιν ἐμπορημάτων καὶ στολισμάτων φιλοῦσι θειασταὶ καθεστάναι, αἷς ἢ κονία καὶ κρήδεμνα καὶ ἐνώτια παμφανόνωντα καὶ τὸ ἀρέσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι διαφερόντως ἀσπάζεται”. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους μορμολύττοντες “νῦν ἰκάνει καιρὸς — ἔλεγον — μεθαρμοσθῆναι τῶν γυναικωδῶν ἐμπορημάτων καὶ σιδήρῳ περισταλῆναι ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ”. εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὰ τῆς πρεσβείας λήψονται πέρας καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κυρίου σφῶν καὶ βασιλέων συμβαῖεν Ῥωμαῖοι βούλημα, ἀνάγκη τις ἐστάναι πάντως διὰ μάχης ἀνθρώποις χωρεῖν, οἵτινες οὐ λίθοις ὡς λειμῶνες περιανθίζονται, οὐδ' οἰδαίνονται πρὸς ἦθος ἀγέρωχον μαργάρων σφαιρώμασι πρὸς φῶς διαγελάντων σελήνης ἢ ταῖς ἀμεθύσοις μεθύουσι λίθαξιν ἢ ὡς ἀλαζῶν ὄρνις ὁ Μηδικὸς πορφύρα καὶ χρυσῷ περιχρῶνται, ἀλλ' Ἄρεος ὄντες τρόφιμοι θυμοῦ μὲν πυρὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρυθραίνονται τοῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπίσης ἀκτινώδεσιν, ἰδρῶτας δὲ θρομβοῦντες ἐν τῷ μογεῖν πανημέρια ὑπὲρ στιλπνότητα μαργάρων αὐτοῖς καλλωπίζονται.

donned his imperial robe set with precious stones, and commanded the others to put on their garments with the broad purple stripe and interwoven with gold. The Germans were so far from being astonished by what they saw that their smouldering desire was kindled into a flame by the splendid attire of the Romans, and they wished the sooner to conquer the Greeks, whom they thought cowardly in warfare and devoted to servile luxuries. ... ‘The Germans — they said — have neither need of such spectacles, nor do they wish to become worshippers of ornaments and garments secured by brooches suited only for women who like makeup, headdresses, glittering earrings, and being attractive to men’. To frighten the Romans they said, ‘The time has now come to take off womanly brooches and to put on iron instead of gold.’ Should the embassy fail in its purpose and the Romans not agree to the will of their lord and emperor, then they would have to stand in battle against men who are not adorned by precious stones like meadows in bloom, and who do not swell in pride because of pearls shimmering like moonlight; neither are they inebriated with amethysts, nor are they coloured in purple and gold like the proud Median bird [the peacock], but being the foster-sons of Ares, their eyes are inflamed by the fire of wrath like the glowing gemstones, and the clotted beads of sweat from their day-long toil outshine the pearls in the beauty of their adornment.⁶⁸

reciprocal contempt between Byzantines and Westerners see Schreiner 1992 (with further bibliography); on the Latins as “barbarians” see Lechner 1954; Asdracha 1983; Schmitt 1997, esp. 168–9.

⁶⁸ Nic. Chon. 15.10.4 (p. 477.66–478.1 van Dieten). Translation adapted from Magoulias 1984, 262 (a notoriously unreliable translation, whose flaws are unfortunately inherited by recent studies such as Simpson 2013, 261; Simpson–Efthymiadis 2009, 23). See now the Italian translation, the *apparatus fontium* and the commentary on this elaborated passage in A. Pontani 2014, 464–66.

This long quotation has been essential in order to show that this embassy is first and foremost a tale of bitter humiliation for the Byzantine ruler, who fails in his ambition to impress the Western counterpart, and exposes himself (and his empire) to sheer ridicule by giving an impression of weakness and effeminacy countered by the rude and virile Germans through a straightforward praise of their own national and military pride. Hence, the dazzling mixture of military and civil language is not intended as a parody for humour's sake, but rather as a conscious rhetorical device in order to highlight the distance between true warriors who act according to the ethical principles of epic heroes and lazy defenders who can only rely on the gleam of their sophisticated luxury and on the ostentation of their pristine dignity and prestige (the toga, the jewels, the crown),⁶⁹ thus proving *de facto* ready to surrender in military terms.

At the heart of this passage lie the contemptuous words of the Germans about the womanly attire and *cultus* that they despise and the Byzantines hold in high esteem: it is women, not men — they argue — who love κονία καὶ κρήδεμνα καὶ ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα. The three items of this sentence all carry an epic overtone: κονία is ubiquitous in the *Iliad* as the dust of the battlefield (the famous clausula ἐν κονίῃσιν), but here it becomes the soap-powder (a meaning well attested since Aristophanes' comedy) or perhaps more probably the women's makeup (see e.g. Philostr. *epist.* 22 οὐ γὰρ κονιᾶς τὸ πρόσωπον);⁷⁰ κρήδεμνα are the veils of modest and virtuous Homeric women such as Penelope (see α 334, π 416 etc.: the schol. AbT X 469–70 translates the word as μαφόριον!), while here they become light garments intended as instruments of seduction (τὸ ἀρέσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι); finally — and this is what interests us now — the simple substitution of one letter, a τ for a π, transforms the “bright walls” of Idomeneus' tent and of Odysseus' palace into the “glittering earrings” of an alluring Byzantine *matrona*.

There is no trace of this pun before Nicetas, and it is well thinkable that he was the first to invent it: even if it is hard to find exact parallels, creative re-use of earlier literary models constellates his historical work, and the 12th-century scholar John Tzetzes went so far as to consider παραγραμματισμός as a rhetorical figure of speech (*Hist.* 8.169.113–21; 10.319.233–41).⁷¹ Given Nicetas' familiarity

⁶⁹ This ceremony has been connected with the ritual of *prokypsis*: see Dagron 2003, 184–5; *contra* Macrides-Munitiz-Angelov 2013, 404–5.

⁷⁰ The semantic ambiguity highlighted by Eustathios of Thessalonike (in *Il.* 332.23 and particularly 1113.62 with van der Valk's note) concerns the meaning of κονία as “plaster”.

⁷¹ Preliminary notes on the typologies of Homeric receptions in Nicetas (from undifferentiated to ironic to erudite) appear in Maisano 2000, 41–53. But more studies will be possible now that a commentary with full apparatus fontium has been completed (A. Pontani 1999–2017).

with Homer — a key feature of most literati of the Comnenian age⁷² — and given the fact that he was most probably, like so many other rhetors and members of the Constantinopolitan elite, a pupil of the μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων Eustathios of Thessalonike,⁷³ there is little doubt that Nicetas knew intimately the contexts of the original lines he was parodying, as well as the ambiguity (ἀμφιβολία) that marked the hemistich here at stake. Still, while the debate over the exact semantic value of ἐνώπια is less important in Nicetas' perspective, the syntactical connection of the word with the adj. παμφανόωντα (rejected by Aristarchus and in his wake — at least in the exegesis on Θ 435 — by Eustathios as well) is of course essential for his pun to become fully meaningful.

To push the analysis a little further, one might also argue that Nicetas had in mind the two very different narrative roles of the ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα in the Homeric epics, namely their military function (as temporary repositories of spears and bows in books Ν and χ) and their status-symbolism of luxury and prestige (the dazzling beauty of the Olympos and of Menelaos' palace at Sparta in books Θ and δ): by choosing to focus on this very hemistich, Nicetas might have had both these ideas in mind. On another, parallel though not contradictory note, one could even surmise that the entirely feminine scene of book Θ (Hera, Athena, the Horai) inspired his decision to stress the ἐνώπια (earrings were part of Hera's own sexual attire in the Διὸς ἀπάτη, see Ξ 182) as a parodic counterpart to the ἐνώπια of Zeus' palace. Be that as it may, the “gleaming walls” have given rise here to a full-fledged epic parody intended to measure the gulf between the good old times of heroic virtue and the present decay of a shaky and effeminate empire.

5 ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα: Odysseas Elytis

Many centuries later, the Cretan poet Odysseas Elytis (1911–1996) selected precisely our formula for a set of three Homeric expressions to be included in the “travel sack” of *memorabilia* for his journey in the future. In Elytis' 1985 collection *The Little Mariner* (Ὁ μικρὸς ναυτίλος) three sections carry the Sapphic title (cp. fr. 16.4 V) Ὅττω τις ἔραται: each of these sections works as a repository of — respectively — artistic masterpieces in chronological order (the ταξιδιωτικὸς σάκος), 400 words in alphabetic order (Αἰγαιοδρόμιον), and specific memorable

⁷² See Vasilikopoulou-Ioannidou 1971–72, and further bibliography cited in Pontani 2015, 369–70.

⁷³ See on this Pontani forthcoming.

chronotopes of his life (Τὰ στιγμιότυπα). The first of these repositories (“I emptied and refilled my travelling bag. “Only the indispensable”, I said. And they were enough for this life, and for many others still. I sat down to catalogue them one by one”)⁷⁴ opens with some frescoes from Crete, Thera and Egypt, and then features a literary anthology including words and lines from Archilochus, Sappho, Heraclitus, Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles; this anthology starts with the following items:⁷⁵

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ

δνοφερόν ὕδωρ

ἐνώπια παμφανόνωντα

οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ

HOMER

dark water

glaring walls

endless bright air spills from the heavens.⁷⁶

This tribute to the ἐνάργεια and to the visual and acoustic power of single literary expressions, which have the capacity to evoke the true essence of the ancient Greek spirit, is by no means isolated in Elytis, a poet who made the most of the synaesthetic power of art, and who viewed literary language as the main ideal stimulus of his own creation — the “glottocentric” dimension of Elytis’ poetry highlighted by Maronitis,⁷⁷ the “poetic meta-language and meta-poetic language” detected in his work by Babiniotis.⁷⁸

It is of course difficult to tell whether Elytis was fully aware of the philological dimension and the semantic peculiarities of the specific expressions he chose (in particular, δνοφερόν has a debated etymology from νέφος,⁷⁹ and the “eruption” of aether is discussed in ancient exegesis as a powerful meteorological metaphor

⁷⁴ This is the introductory note of this section: Ἄδειασα καὶ ξαναγέμισα τὸν ταξιδιωτικό μου σάκο. Μόνον τ' ἀπαραίτητα εἶπα. Κι ἦταν ἄρκετὰ γι' αὐτὴ τὴ ζωὴ — καὶ γιὰ πολλὲς ἄλλες ἀκόμη. Βάληκα νὰ τὰ καταγράψω ἕνα ἕνα.

⁷⁵ Elytis 2007, 37.

⁷⁶ The first item occurs in I 15 and II 4, the third in Θ 558 and II 300.

⁷⁷ Maronitis 2010. On similar topics see also Mitsakis 1989, a book that despite its title does not deal with the pun that is the object of this paper.

⁷⁸ Babiniotis 1999, the best survey of Elytis’ linguistic talent, with a special reference to the *Little Mariner*, seen as a sort of “poetic handbook”. Interesting observations also in García Marin 2010 and in Cazzulo 2010.

⁷⁹ See e.g. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.14; EM 281.15 etc.

for the cracking of the clouds),⁸⁰ but this is not wholly impossible given that Elytis was a critical connoisseur of philological studies and editions of ancient Greek authors,⁸¹ and particularly given that Homer remained at the heart of Elytis' poetry throughout his long career:⁸²

Τὴ γλώσσα μου ἔδωσαν ἑλληνική·
τὸ σπ(ί)τι φτωχικὸ στὶς ἀμμουδιὲς τοῦ Ὁμήρου.
Μονάχη ἔγνοια ἡ γλώσσα μου στὶς ἀμμουδιὲς τοῦ Ὁμήρου.⁸³

I was given the Hellenic tongue:
my house a humble one on the sandy shores of Homer
My only care my tongue on the sandy shores of Homer.

Be that as it may, words are never for Elytis an object of “play” (Δὲν παίζω μὲ τὰ λόγια, he wrote in another prose poem of the *Little Mariner*), but rather the device by which a new world can open up — this is the role of the poet as a creator, as a hunter of synaesthesias, as a researcher of new and old terms, of vowels and consonants that might pump new life in the august tradition of Greek vocabulary.⁸⁴ Therefore, it is certainly no chance (and no typo!) if in the first section (Ὁ κῆπος βλέπει, *The garden sees*) of the visionary collection *Three poems under flag of convenience* (Τρία ποιήματα μὲ σημαία εὐκαιρίας, 1982), when staging a special, diaphanous poetic look capable of discerning signs and symbols, present and future, Elytis describes perfection as follows (ll. 17–22):

κάπου
συντελεσμένη κεῖται ἡ Τελειότητα
κι ἀφήνει νὰ κυλήσει ὥσαμε δῶ ρυάκι
ὁ Vivaldi ὁ Mozart
ἐνώτια παμφανόωντα
τὴν ὥρα ποὺ τ' ἀντανακλᾷ ἡ στροφὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς

somewhere
Perfection lies accomplished
and lets a stream flow until this place

⁸⁰ See schol. D and bT Π 300, and particularly on the rhetorical force of the metaphor Eust. in *Il.* 1061.6–7 ἐπιφώνημα ὃν ῥητορικὸν ἔχει συνήθως καὶ τόλμαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν.

⁸¹ This is particularly evident in his translation / recreation of Sappho, which counts on a good bibliography: Elytis 1984 (less complex is Elytis' personal version of the epigrams of Crinagoras: Elytis 1987).

⁸² Iakov 2000, 27–34.

⁸³ O. Elytis, *Ἄξιον ἐστὶ*, Psalm 2.1–3.

⁸⁴ Babiniotis 1999, 384–90.

Vivaldi Mozart
glaring earrings
when the turning head reflects them.⁸⁵

The fragmentary nature of this long chain of meditations, all syntactically related but devoid of any sign of punctuation and connected primarily on the niveau of emotions,⁸⁶ hampers any further strictly rational comment on these lines; but two things are clear:

- first of all, the variation on the Homeric formula ἐνώπια παμφανώνοντα in l. 21 is not a mere word-play or parody, nor just the fruit of a long-standing veneration for ancient Greek poetry and for its powerful, sometimes alienating possibilities of intersection with the rhythm of modern Greek verse,⁸⁷ but also the outcome of a conscious deformation of a specific ancient expression that Elytis, as we have just seen, loved *per se* because of its iconic power;⁸⁸
- secondly, the ἐνώπια παμφανώνοντα are here put under the sign of (phonetic, semantic, and visual) perfection, and immediately after the evocation of musical masterpieces: hence the ensemble of ll. 21–22 calls to mind a specific artwork that many consider as one of the most perfect paintings ever realised by human hand, namely Vermeer’s 1665 *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (The Hague, Mauritshuis).⁸⁹

Vermeer is one of Elytis’ favourite painters: in the aforementioned “travel sack” of the *Little Mariner* we find no less than three of his works (only Matisse and Picasso get as many), and in the essays collected in *Ἐν λευκῷ* the poet compares the Dutchman’s light to that of Piero della Francesca, ranging him amongst the “white-robed” (λευκοφόροι), i.e. those artists who display in their work some powerful sign of the colour white.⁹⁰ It is therefore by no means surprising that in our passage of the *Three poems* Elytis identifies perfection — a somewhat “holy” perfection incarnated in the appearance of a young girl⁹¹ — with a painting by Vermeer, and with its most prominent light spot; on the other hand, it is unlikely

⁸⁵ Elytis 1982, 11. The collection has been translated into Italian by Minucci 1993.

⁸⁶ Vitti 1986, 318–19.

⁸⁷ See on this Iakov 2000, 127.

⁸⁸ I am not sure that Iakov (2000, 28–29 and n. 20) is right to consider this pun as the mere fruit of “genuine surrealist liberty”, comparing it with similar features in the verse of Nikolaos Kalas.

⁸⁹ This was seen independently (and rather superficially) by Rigopoulos 1997, 137–38.

⁹⁰ See Elytis 2006, 59 and 188.

⁹¹ On the salvific and almost celestial role of the Κόρη in the *Little Mariner* and the *Three Poems*, see Carson 1991, 774–81; Stauropoulou 1999, 468–69.

that this pun on the Homeric word (ἐνώτια for ἐνώπια) should presuppose the knowledge of Nicetas' precedent, for the latter carried — as we have seen — a totally different symbolic overtone.

What is indeed peculiar in these earrings — as in all Elytis — is the role of light in relation with the shape of words: if the ἐνώτια παμφανόωντα hark back to Vermeer's earring, it is difficult to believe that the original ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα, the “glaring walls” of Homer's epics, should not have brought to Elytis' mind the image of the “petit pan de mur jaune” in Vermeer's 1661 *View of Delft* (today also at The Hague's Mauritshuis), celebrated as the Dutch painter's masterpiece in one of the most famous pages of Marcel Proust's *Recherche*:

Mais un critique ayant écrit que dans la *Vue de Delft* de Ver Meer (prêté par le musée de La Haye pour une exposition hollandaise), tableau qu'il adorait et croyait connaître très bien, un petit pan de mur jaune (qu'il ne se rappelait pas) était si bien peint qu'il était, si on le regardait seul, comme une précieuse oeuvre d'art chinoise, d'une beauté qui se suffirait à elle-même, Bergotte mangea quelques pommes de terre, sortit et entra à l'exposition.⁹²

Ironically enough, much like the Homeric ἐνώπια, the exact identification of this “pan de mur” has been tormenting exegetes for over a century (it must rather be a roof, or even a bridge).⁹³ Whatever the exact reference of the architectural element, these ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα of Delft undoubtedly stand for a kind of perfection; and I find it more than likely that Elytis, so keen on the systematic perusal of ancient Greek vocabulary, did not miss the stimulating resonance between Homer's *iunctura* and the triumph of light celebrated by Proust. Hence, when choosing how to represent the single other most glaring and celebrated light-spot in the entire production of this λευκοφόρος painter, he resorted to a small and witty variation (a παραγραμματισμός) of that same Homeric formula in order to show, once again, the wealth and the potential of ancient Greek poetic language.

Centuries after Aristarchus' philological debates, Homeric diction, in all its pregnancy, multiplicity and ambiguity, still proved the most effective way to describe the world.

⁹² Proust 1988, 692.

⁹³ See on the topic Renzi 1999.

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Manuel Sanz Morales

Were the Homeric Poems the Work of a Woman?

Ptolemy Chennus and the diverse faces of a theory

1 An extravagant hypothesis?

The episode from which I will commence, which is not the first in the chronology of events — as will be attested —, takes place when in 1897 Samuel Butler publishes his book *The Authoress of the Odyssey: where and when she wrote, who she was, the use she made of the Iliad, and how the poem grew under her hands*.¹ The author of novels, essays, and works of literary criticism, Butler (1835–1902) is remembered above all for his utopic and satiric novel *Erewhon, or over the range* (1872), as well as for a work published posthumously, *The way of all flesh* (1903), classifiable as a semiautobiographical *Bildungsroman*. Among his admirers were writers of the standing of George Bernard Shaw and Edward M. Forster, and some of his works had an influence on, for instance, James Joyce, Aldous Huxley, or Robert Graves.

Butler's initial calling was not that of a writer. The son of a clergyman, he had been initially forced by his father to pursue this very mission, and he managed to obtain a first-class degree in Classics in Cambridge, St John's College (1858). To avoid an undesired destiny, he emigrated in 1859 to New Zealand, where he owned a sheep run, whose sale in 1864 allowed him to return and enjoy some economic ease.² His classical education, however, had not fallen into oblivion, as demonstrated by the translations of the Homeric poems that he later published, which still remain in print today.³

Butler had an intuition. He read that Richard Bentley had accidentally suggested the idea of the *Iliad* being a poem for men, whereas the *Odyssey* was for

I am grateful to my colleague Míriam Librán Moreno for her valuable suggestions regarding the content of this work.

¹ Butler 1925. I will cite by this edition.

² About Butler, see the classical biography of his friend Henry Festing Jones (Jones 1919), as well as Stillman 1932 and Raby 1991; about his thought, cf. Furbank 2014.

³ *Iliad* (1898) and *Odyssey* (1900), cf. Whitmarsh 2002, 71. As example of his prevalence, I can cite the edition of Barnes and Noble, New York 2013, with an introduction by Michael Dirda.

women.⁴ If the *Odyssey* was a poem for women, Butler thought, why could it not be a poem also written by a woman? And he went on to work on supporting his theory, trying to find evidence within the poem itself.⁵ The arguments he marshalled are of different nature. Some are of a material or factual character, such as the way Euryclia lights Telemachus to bed, and folds up his clothes for him (1.428–442), which would suggest the authorship of a woman.⁶ But above all they are related to people's conduct or way of thinking: a man would not have made Helen imitate the voices of the wives of the heroes hidden in the wooden horse (4.274–279); when the spouses tell each other of their respective vicissitudes after the reencounter, Penelope takes the initiative, but a male author would have put the narration of Odysseus in first place.⁷ The underlying idea, in general, is that men and women have a different way of thinking and behaving. Furthermore, the author argues that in the *Odyssey* the female figure would be considered and represented according to a more dignified and honorable perspective than the one granted to men.⁸ Butler's pursuit resulted in the idea that behind the name of Homer lay hidden a young unmarried Sicilian woman, who lived around 1050–1000 BC. This great poetess would have represented herself in the poem through the character of princess Nausicaa.

Butler's hypothesis had almost no echo among classical scholars. If we follow the statement of his friend Henry Festing Jones, which probably reflected the beliefs of Butler himself, the theory was simply ignored.⁹ Nevertheless, recent studies by Whitmarsh (2002) and, especially, Beard (2007), show that although professional classicists reacted with silence, there was indeed a far from negligible cultural impact, which spans up to our days.¹⁰

4 Butler 1925, 4 and n. 1. He cites as his source R.C. Jebb, *Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey* (1888), 106. Bentley's phrase is in his work *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free Thinking* (London 1713); about this, cf. Beard 2007, 336 and n. 58 in p. 342.

5 The book can be divided into three main parts. The extensive Chapter Two (pp. 14–108) is a book-by-book exposition of the poem's argument. Chapters 3 to 7 (109–165), gather the arguments in favor a feminine authorship; chapter 11 (210–219) ponders about who could be the writer. In the third place, chapters 8 to 13 (166–242) try to locate the homeland of said author, which relates to the old problem of the geography of the *Odyssey*. Linked to these three main parts are chapters 14 and 15 (243–272), which study the poem in relation to the *Iliad* and to the poems of the Cycle respectively.

6 Butler 1925, 150.

7 Butler 1925, 151 and 165, respectively.

8 Butler 1925, especially chap. 4, 120 ff.

9 Jones 1925, xxvi–xxvii.

10 Perhaps the clearest example of this dichotomy comes from the reviews of the *Authoress* and the pamphlets which had advanced the theory. They were numerous, but almost all were relegated to newspapers or middlebrow journals. The generalized idea is that specialized magazines

In this regard, it is of interest to point out the seductive power of Butler's theory in the purely literary realm. Perhaps the most eminent example of this was Robert Graves, who in 1955 published *Homer's Daughter*, described as 'a fictionalizing version of the *Odyssey* in the voice of a Butlerian Nausicaa'.¹¹ The fact that Butler, undoubtedly without intent, provides Graves with an idea for creating a novel, takes part in a game between philology and literature in which the border separating both is not clearly delimited, and of which we will see more examples throughout the following pages.

2 A corrected and augmented hypothesis

I am not aware of any new attempts at demonstrating a feminine authorship of the *Odyssey*¹² until the onset of our century, when a hypothesis that goes even further was proposed. In a study of the main traditional problems linked to Homeric poetry, Andrew Dalby reaches the conclusion that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*

published very few, and that these were very dismissive: e.g. Whitmarsh 2002, 76. Beard points out that the *Authoress* was not ignored by classicists, 'at least, not in the extreme fashion that is usually suggested' (Beard 2007, 325; cf. also 326–327 and 331), and states that perhaps there has been a wrongful association of 'the lack of scholarly *agreement* with the theory with a lack of scholarly *impact*' (Beard 2007, 332). Among the specialists, Benjamin Farrington defended Butler with his book *Samuel Butler and the Odyssey*, of 1929, although 'his book (...) does little more than restate Butler's arguments with approval' (Beard 2007, 331). It should be highlighted that the *Authoress* has two Italian translations, published in Trapani (1968) and Rome (1998), cf. Pontani 2000, 37. Trapani, the ancient Drepanum, is the Sicilian locality where Butler located the authoress of the *Odyssey*.

11 Beard 2007, 326. About the gestation of the novel and the debt to Butler, cf. Murnaghan 2015.

12 There are two exceptions: two works that I cite through Pontani 2000, 37, since it has not been possible to consult them. The book by Raymond Ruyé, *Homère au féminin* (1977), which Pontani was equally unable to consult, and only mentions it. In turn, about the work by Louis Paret, *L'Odysée d'Homère* (Paris 1992), he is categorical: 'un libercolo delirante e pieno di errori (...), nel quale sostiene che "Omera" sia stata in realtà una poetessa fenicia appartenente alla cerchia degli armatori e degli importatori di metalli e minerali'. I point out, incidentally, the coincidence that this book presents with the well-known poetry book of Pierre Louÿs *Les chansons de Bilitis* (1894), since Bilitis is the daughter of a Greek father and a Phoenician mother, and her name is also Phoenician. This fictional poetess and her homoerotic poems are inspired of course by Sappho, of whom Bilitis would have been contemporary. It is of interest to remind that Louÿs presented these texts as his own French translations of ancient Greek poems found by the German archeologist G. Heim ('geheim' = 'secret, hidden'). Only after some time it became clear that the true author was Louÿs. As we will see later, this looks as if conceived by Ptolemy Chennus.

could have been the work of a single poetess.¹³ After a phase of oral composition, they would have been put in writing, first the *Iliad*, around 650 BC, and about twenty years later the *Odyssey*. Unlike Butler, Dalby does not attempt to identify this supposed poetess nor to situate her geographically. Conscious of the oral nature of epic poetry, and of who the *aoidoi* were, his principal argumentation goes against the extended idea of oral epic as a product of men. To that end, he presents data from very different cultures in which women have created poems, and not only of lament, praise, invective, or satire, but also epic poems. Having demonstrated this, he takes on the case of the Homeric poems, arguing that the *Iliad* was created in a private context, and not in a normal performance (i.e., a public performance), since it would have been difficult to persuade a singer to renounce the labor that provided food and shelter for him, while a woman would have been convinced more easily, as she would have been more used to acting in a private setting, entertaining family and friends; at the same time, while male *aoidoi* would not have been interested in creating written poems, since they were already able to reach a large audience through their performances, a woman could have envisioned the existence of a potential audience (one composed of women), thus enhancing her scant private audience.¹⁴

In his analysis, Dalby emphasizes the novelty of his hypothesis,¹⁵ stating that it was not proposed by any ancient author.¹⁶ But the truth is that there was an

13 He analyzes the matter in chapter 6, “Identifying the Poet” (Dalby 2006, 129–153), and cites Butler as precedent, but does not use his arguments for support nor disputes them (Dalby 2006, 151).

14 The repercussion of his thesis does not seem to have been significant. I will mention the review by Donnet 2009, who points out that ‘l’auteur ne peut prétendre emporter la conviction du lecteur (notamment en 5 A, 6 F et H)’. Precisely what concerns the authorship of the poems: 5 A = Two Poets or One?, 6 F = Women and Men as Oral Poets, 6 H = A Female Poet of the *Iliad*. In general, his assessment is not corresponding with a specialized work: ‘une bonne contribution à la culture générale’.

15 As sole modern precedent, and possible support for his theory, he cites Nagy 1998, of whom he says: ‘he has dared to ask whether the *Iliad* was made by a man or a woman. He is one of the very few modern scholars who have considered this issue at all’ (Dalby 2006, 147). But Nagy does not ask himself such thing, at least not in that article. While talking about female songs in the setting of one type of epic from India (known as Candainī and native to Chhattisgarh), songs that possess the narrative content of this epic, but a different form (with different tune and style), he finds ‘a striking ancient Greek parallel in Sappho *fragment* 44, the so-called Wedding of Hektor and Andromache’ (Nagy 1998, 170). But, in reality, it would be a counterexample of Dalby’s proposal, since the female poets sing an epic theme in a poetic form different from the dactylic epic hexameter.

16 ‘There will be objections to the hypothesis that a woman singer created the two poems. The first is that no early author says it’ (Dalby 2006, 152).

author that spoke of two women that could have composed poems about the Trojan War or the adventures of Odysseus prior to Homer, on which the bard would have based his own. His name was Ptolemy Chennus.

3 What Ptolemy Chennus said

Πτολεμαῖος, son of Hephaestion and nicknamed for unknown reasons ὁ Χέννος, i.e., Ptolemy ‘the Quail’, was a native of Alexandria and author of a *καὶνὴ ἱστορία* in seven books.¹⁷ The work was lost, but we can read the epitome composed by Photius, which occupies 22 Budé pages, as well as eighteen passages preserved in summaries or paraphrasis, twelve by Eusthatus of Thessalonica, and six by John Tzetzes.¹⁸ Surely it is the *Novel History* the work that Suda calls *περὶ παραδόξου ἱστορίαι*,¹⁹ which is not surprising, since it is characterized by the mixture of extravagant elements taken from myth, literature, or history, curious questions and answers, absurd etymologies, lists of characters that only have the name in common and of whom strange or decisively fantastic facts are told, and, in sum, all sorts of curiosities. This work has been classified as symposium-literature, i.e., curious literature intended for the entertaining of participants. It bears similarities in this sense with Aelian’s *Varia Historia*, with works of Plutarch such as *Table Talk*, *Greek Questions*, and *Roman Questions*, with Athenaeus’s *Deipnosophists*, or with Aulus Gellius’s *Attic Nights*.²⁰ As it has been stated, this is a work whose major particularity resides in providing many new and surprising answers

¹⁷ Suda π 3037 s.v. Πτολεμαῖος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, cf. also ε 2004 s.v. Ἐπαφρόδιτος, Χαίρωνεύς and the beginning of the very epitome of Photius (cf. n. 18). About the title he says: *περὶ τῆς εἰς πολυμαθίαν καὶνῆς ἱστορίας λόγοι* ζ’ (ζ’ is an error of his own or the transmission’s, since he later summarizes seven books).

¹⁸ It is cod. 190 of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, 146a40–153b29. I will cite by the Budé edition (Henry 1962, vol. III, 51–72), since it is the most accessible text, even though it has the defect of not providing the testimonies of Eusthatus and John Tzetzes. These texts are in Chatzís 1914, who edits them along with the summary of Photius in parallel columns and, ultimately, in Pagani 2006 (as an entry to the *Lessico dei grammatici greci antichi / Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity* directed by Franco Montanari), who summarizes basic questions, exhaustively gathers the existing bibliography until that date, and collects all testimonies about the author and his work, including the long summary by Photius. There is also an introduction to Ptolemy in K. Dowden, *BNJ* 56 F1b, s.v. Antipater of Acanthus. I have not been able to consult this work.

¹⁹ Suda π 3037 s.v. Πτολεμαῖος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς.

²⁰ Tomberg 1967, 54–62; Cameron 2004, 135.

to old questions, which it often does while polemizing with its predecessors.²¹ But the polemic was not exclusive to the *καινή ιστορία*, since Ptolemy wrote an *Anti-Homer* poem (*Ἀνθόμηρος*), in 24 books, which perhaps compiled versions of tales that opposed or corrected those offered by Homer. Also, there is a mention of a *δρᾶμα ιστορικόν* entitled *Σφίγξ*, possibly a novel.²²

Two are the main problems that have been proposed regarding Ptolemy Chennus. Surrounding the first one there seems to be a generalized agreement: this Ptolemy is not the same author as the platonic philosopher nor the peripatetic writer ancient sources tell us about.²³ On the contrary, he would be a different grammarian, who lived in the first or second century AD²⁴ and who spent part of his life in Rome, where he possibly moved in elevated social circles.²⁵

The second problem concerns the nature of the *καινή ιστορία*. The debate²⁶ began in the middle of the nineteenth century with the analysis of Rudolf Hercher, whose ‘demonstration’ of the fact that Chennus exhibited a ‘gelehrte Lüge’ in his work marked the posterior valuation of the author.²⁷ Nevertheless,

21 Cameron 2004, 136.

22 π 3037 s.v. Πτολεμαῖος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς. The novel had no generic type codification in Antiquity, and because of that there was no specific term to denominate it either. Photius usually employs the term *δρᾶμα*, or the corresponding adjective: such is the case with Heliodorus (cod. 73), Achilles Tatius (87), Iamblichus (94), and Antonius Diogenes (166). The adjective *ιστορικόν* may refer to argumentative elements taken from history, as is the case in the novel by Chariton, but this is debatable. On the other side, there is no complete certainty that it was a novel: cf. Hartley 2014, 17–18.

23 Ptolemaeus [7] Peripateticus and Ptolemaeus [9] Platonicus in *RE*. Cf. the discussion in Dihle 1957, with the essential in Dihle 1959a (here especially what concerns the identification of the authors), 1959b, and 1959c. Prior to this, the tendency was a different one (cf. n. 28), but more recent scholars accept, implicitly or explicitly, that we are dealing with an author different from the two cited: Bowersock 1994, 24–27; Pontani 2000, 31 and 35; Ibáñez Chacón 2007, 48 and 58–59; Hose 2008, 179–180 and n. 10; Dowden 2009, 158–159; Ogden 2009, 142; Villarrubia Medina 2009, 144–147; ní Mheallaigh 2014, 117; Djurslev 2018, 544–545. In this same line, Hartley 2014 does not see it necessary to mention the problem. For Matthaios 2001, 559 the identification is ‘zweifelhaft.’

24 Between the reigns of Nero (54–68 AD) and Hadrian (117–138 AD), as extreme dates, if we follow the reports of the *Suda*, ε 2004 s.v. Ἐπαφρόδιτος, Χαίρωνεύς and π 3037 s.v. Πτολεμαῖος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, respectively. About the chronology, cf. Hartley 2014, 14–15.

25 According to Photius, 146b10, Ptolemy dedicated the work to a lady called Tertulla. It could perhaps be Julia Tertulla, sister-in-law of a consul who served in 100 AD: the details are in Bowersock 1994, 26; cf. also Dihle 1959c.

26 Summaries of the question in Pagani 2006; Hose 2008, 181–182, with interesting commentaries; Hartley 2014, 29–34.

27 Hercher 1856–1857.

half a century and a century later, the monographs by Chatzís and Tomberg, the latter in a more nuanced manner, tried to vindicate him as a true grammarian, although one that accumulated data and cited sources without any critical sense.²⁸

With this state of affairs, after the publication of Tomberg's book there was little interest in Ptolemy for almost another half century. However, in a short span of years we have seen the emergence of several studies that seem to have approached the problem in a different way. A recently formulated idea²⁹ suggests that, beyond the debate about the supposed falsehood of what Ptolemy tells, his work should be interpreted as a fiction created with literary elements which also occur in other works of fiction from the Imperial Period. It would be, consequently, a fictional text whose defining elements, no longer understood by the recipient, can be taken in a pragmatic sense, which obscures its original sense. Therefore, the unawareness about the procedures of the literary communication for which a concrete work was intended causes it to be perceived as a falsehood. In summary, the *Novel History* would be a work that, without having been created by a forger, could in fact be taken as a falsification.³⁰

4 The authoresses of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the context of the *Novel history*

In two passages from his work, Ptolemy Chennus attributed to two different women the merit of having narrated the Trojan War prior to Homer. One of them would have been the authoress of the *Odyssey* as well. The first notice, that we know only thanks to Photius's summary (149b22–26), belongs to one of several lists of homonymous characters, in this case of women named Helen:

καὶ ἕτεραι ὀκτώκαίδεκα, ὧν καὶ ἡ πρὸ Ὅμηρου Ἑλένη ἢ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν συγγραψαμένη πόλεμον, Μουσαίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου θυγάτηρ γενομένη· παρ' ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρον λέγεται λαβεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· ἣν καὶ κτήσασθαι τὸ δίγλωσσον ἄρνιον·

²⁸ Chatzís 1914, LIII–LXX, LXXI–LXXXIV; Tomberg 1967, esp. 19–24. They coincide in identifying Ptolemy Chennus with the peripatetic grammarian already mentioned in n. 23.

²⁹ The discussion, developed at an eminently theoretical level, presents the evident difficulty of not knowing the work of Ptolemy, but only the summary of Photius, plus the already mentioned scarce testimonies of Eusthatius and Tzetzes. Hartley 2014, 20 covers this problem briefly.

³⁰ In the summary of Hose 2008, 196, which concludes his work.

Of the second narration of Ptolemy we have, besides the summary of Photius (151a37–151b5), the paraphrasis of Eusthatus of Thessalonica (*ad Od.* 1379, 62–1380, 1 Stallbaum [= Chatzís 1914, p. 36, 11–24]). I reproduce them in that order:

ὅτι Φαντασία τις Μεμφίτις Νικάρχου θυγάτηρ συνέταξε πρὸ Ὅμηρου τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν περὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας διήγησιν καὶ ἀποκεῖσθαι φασὶ τὰς βίβλους ἐν Μέμφιδι, Ὅμηρον δὲ παραγενόμενον, καὶ τὰ ἀντίγραφα λαβόντα παρὰ Φανίτου τοῦ ἱερογραμματέως, συντάξαι ἐκείνοις ἀκολούθως.

φασὶ γὰρ Ναυκράτην τινὰ ἱστορῆσαι, ὡς ἄρα Φαντασία γυνὴ Μεμφήτις, σοφίας ὑποφῆτις, Νικάρχου θυγάτηρ, συντάξασα τὸν τε ἐν Ἰλιάδι πόλεμον καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως πλάνην, ἀπέδοτο τὰς βίβλους εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἄδυτον. ἔνθα τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλθόντα, λαβεῖν παρὰ τινος τῶν ἱερογραμματέων ἀντίγραφα, κάκειθεν συντάξαι τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσειαν.

The only difference of some importance is that Eusthatus (besides omitting the name of the scribe Phanites) adds that the narration was told by Naucrates. This, as well as the fact that in general his summaries are more complete, proves that Eusthatus did not know the text of Ptolemy through Photius, but rather directly.³¹ It is possible that Naucrates corresponds to Naucrates of Erythrae, a commentator on Homer mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium and by Eusthatus himself in another passage.³² However, the identification is not certain, and the expression utilized by Eusthatus to refer to the passage of Ptolemy, *Ναυκράτην τινά*, at least raises some doubts about its accuracy.³³

From both narrations we can deduce that Ptolemy Chennus did not assert, in a strict sense, that Homer was a woman, but rather that the poet had not been the first author of the poems, since he had based his own work on previous poems written by two women, Helen and Phantasia (the *Iliad* by both, the *Odyssey* only by Phantasia).³⁴ The truth is that several poets are attributed with singing about

³¹ The possibility of him knowing it only by way of extracts is not of interest at this point; about this question, cf. Hercher 1855–1856, 269–272; Chatzís 1914, XLVI–XLIX; Tomberg 1967, 42–45.

³² Steph. Byz. p. 280, 12–13 ἐχρημάτιζε δὲ καὶ Ναυκράτης Ἐρυθραῖος, ὁ Ὅμηρον ὑπομνηματίσας, Eusthatus *ad Il.* 267,2 (cf. Pontani 2000, 35).

³³ According to Hercher 1855–1856, 275 the indefinite is enough to conclude that the character cannot be Naucrates of Erythrae.

³⁴ The adverb ἀκολούθως, perhaps taken from Ptolemy by Photius, possibly had a meaning similar to that of ‘analogically’, which it possesses in grammatical works: A.D. *Synt.* 159.6, cf. *Pron.* 11.21 (LSJ s.v. ἀκόλουθος, on 5 and DGE s.v. III 2). Also, it is probable that, in the narration about Phantasia, Ptolemy used the verb συντάττω, since Photius and Eusthatus coincide in its use, the latter twice. In the passage about Helen he would have used συγγράφω, if Photius has limited himself to reproducing the verb.

the Trojan War prior to Homer. Therefore, the particularity of Ptolemy consists of being the only one to attribute it to women.³⁵

Firstly, and before going into more concrete aspects of both narrations, it may be surprising and contradictory that the grammarian Ptolemy should offer, in two passages from the same work, two different explanations of how his 'loathed' Homer was, in modern terms, a plagiarist. But it so happens that, far from being satisfied with this, he mentions a third author of the *Iliad*: according to Antipater of Canthus,³⁶ as Photius states, there was a Dares, a μνῆμων or mentor of Hector, who advised him not to kill Achilles's companion. He adds that this Dares wrote the *Iliad* before Homer (πρὸ Ὁμήρου γράψαντα τὴν Ἰλιάδα).³⁷ This information inevitably brings to mind the Dares under whose name was transmitted a work of Homeric revisionism, *De excidio Troiae historia*, a Latin work from the fifth or sixth century AD that was probably based on a Greek original text perhaps contemporary with Ptolemy.³⁸ The coincidence of both works in one point is interesting: the author of the *Iliad* is not someone foreign to the narration, or any given poet or poetess, but rather someone who participated in the very story narrated, a *character* of it. But there is yet a fourth narration in which Ptolemy spoke of a new Iliadic poem. Without citing any ancient authority this time, Photius says that Odysseus came out victorious in a flute contest in Tyrrenia, and that he did so by performing a poem by Demodocus, the *Conquest of Ilion* (ἠῦλῃσε δὲ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν, Δημοδόκου ποίημα).³⁹ In other words, a character from the *Odyssey*, an *aoidós*, composed a poem about the fall of Troy, a poem in turn performed by someone who was the protagonist of the *Odyssey*, a character in the *Iliad* and, we

35 Cf. Hercher 1855–1856, 277–278, n. 4 and, especially, the account by Tomberg 1967, 192: Oï-agrus or Syagrus (Ael. *VH* 14.21: Οἶαγρος König, *edidit* Dilts 1974, σύαγρος codd., Eust.), Corinnus of Ilium (Suda κ 2091), Daphne (D.S. 4.66.5–6), Palamedes (Suda π 44), Pronapides (Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 8 Rusten, p. 135, *apud* D.S. 3.67.5; Tz. *H.* 13.634), Sisyphus of Cos (Tz. *H.* 5.830). Perhaps it would be fitting to review these passages to attempt to determine what kind of intervention the sources attribute to each author. For instance, Dionysius Scytobrachion does not say that Pronapides composed a poem about the Trojan War: Προναπίδην τὸν Ὁμήρου διδάσκαλον, εὐφυῆ γεγονότα μελοποιόν. Neither does, in a strict sense, Daphne, the only woman among those mentioned and daughter of the seer Teiresias, according to Diodorus: παρ' ἧς φασι καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ὅμηρον πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν σφετερισάμενον κοσμήσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ποίησιν.

36 Cf. Dowden, cit. in n. 18.

37 Photius 147a26–29. About the μνῆμονες see the analysis by Cameron 2004, 137–140, which I cite *infra*.

38 As it is well known, this author would have been the priest of Hephaestus mentioned in *Il.* 5.9 and 27. About the chronology of that Greek original, and whether Ptolemy could have known it, cf. Hartley 2014, 181–182, with bibliography.

39 Photius 152b34–36.

might suppose, also a character in the poem that was performed. The story, consequently, goes even beyond in the possibilities of literary elaboration. It establishes a nexus, certainly an imaginative and very attractive one in terms of literary value, between the two major poems, and does something that we could expect from Ptolemy at this point: he mixes a 'verisimilar' element, such as a bard composing an epic poem, with one less credible, like Odysseus taking part in an auletic contest. Besides that, the four stories about epic poets, or poetesses, precursors of Homer, as well as their coexistence within the same work, show either an absolute lack of criterion on the part of Ptolemy as a grammarian or (what seems to be much more logical) the fabrication of a story that utilizes a show of purported erudition to generate what in reality served the interest of the author: the creation of a literary object.

In fact, these 'notices' about the authorship of the Homeric poems are not exceptional in the *καὶνὴ ἱστορία*, since Ptolemy Chennus spoke of Homer frequently in this work, and not precisely to corroborate the poet par excellence. We should remember that he was also the author of the poem *Ἀνθόμηνος*. This could be linked to the trend, predominant in erudite circles of the period, of analyzing, discussing, or refuting in the tone of a literary game the argument of the poems.⁴⁰ Affirmations such as Alexander legally taking Helen as his wife, or Hector killing Achilles, are examples of the tenor of these works,⁴¹ which does not differ significantly from that of the *καὶνὴ ἱστορία*. However, the peculiarity of this is that Ptolemy furnishes the reader with a serious and complete erudite apparatus. A different matter would be the verisimilitude of the authorities he cites. A good example of an erudite apparatus may be found in yet another one of the usual lists of Ptolemy, in this case a list regarding the six *μνήμονες* (meaning something similar to mentors or bodyguards) of so many other Homeric heroes.⁴² As is often the case with our author, this information, with its ensuing ensemble of authorities, is known to us only through him, since no other source, including the numerous Homeric scholia, gives an account of these authors or even of the *μνήμονες* themselves. As Cameron points out after carefully studying the problem, the only doubt is whether Ptolemy 'created' these figures by himself, or utilized unreliable sources. His own analysis concludes that the first option is the correct one.⁴³

⁴⁰ Anderson 1993, 174–176; Cameron 2004, 136–137.

⁴¹ Examples from the *Troicus* of Dio of Pruse: *Or.* 11.53 and 11.96, respectively.

⁴² Eusthatius, *ad Od.* 1697, 51–65 Stallbaum (= Chatzís 1914, 18–19). Not mentioned by Photius.

⁴³ 'The probability is that he invented all six *mnemones*, complete with names, biographies, and source references' (Cameron 2004, 140).

This leads us to mention another characteristic of Ptolemy, which is the abundance of minutiae, the detailed expression of data or circumstances that can be irrelevant or marginal and produce a certain effect of accumulation. This can be seen in both narrations about the poetesses, especially the one about Phantasia. It is difficult to avoid suspecting that Ptolemy accumulated minutiae to give verisimilitude to his narrations, a verisimilitude that paradoxically is put in jeopardy, above all whenever the erudite apparatus, as I said before, piles on references to unknown authors or works.⁴⁴

There is another characteristic in the work of Ptolemy that is related to the previous one because it serves as a complementary factor and moderator of the practice already described. It is difficult to avoid thinking that, at times, Ptolemy has introduced in his narration elements taken from a tradition already existing and known, possibly to grant more credit to the very narration. In the passage about Phantasia, the fact that she came from Egyptian Memphis can be linked to a very well documented tradition according to which Homer was taught by Egyptian teachers, or was even born in that country.⁴⁵ By offering the ‘news’ of Homer taking from the temple of Hephaestus in Memphis the exemplars that Phantasia had deposited, Ptolemy was possibly elaborating his narration as a marginal note to an undoubtedly widespread tradition.

One of the most clarifying aspects of the objective that Ptolemy pursues in his work is the way in which he seems to play with the names of his characters. One simple example can be the wine-steward eunuch of Mithradates Eupator, with whom the iambographer Charinus (a poet, of course, unknown) falls in love, and whose name is significantly Eros.⁴⁶ But there are other examples throughout the work. One very interesting case is that of Agamestor of Pharsalus, an unknown poet to whom Ptolemy attributes an epigram about how Achilles was put

44 ‘... this sort of circumstantial detail is characteristic of Ptolemy, as of many forgers’ (Cameron 2004, 154).

45 The former is in Diodorus Siculus 1.12.10 and 1.96.2, who attributes the narration to the Egyptian priests (we should remember that Phantasia is σοφίας ὑποφῆτις, ‘priestess interpreter of wisdom’). For the latter, cf. Alexander of Paphus *apud* Eusth. *ad Od.* 1713.19. About this, there is a documented discussion in Pontani 2000, 38–39; cf. also the essential in Tomberg 1967, 193. It is noteworthy to find echoes of this tradition in Heliodorus’ novel (3.14.1–3.15.1), and it is remarkable that Lucian (*VH* 2.20) mentions that Homer came from Babylon, surely reacting to the tired polemic about his origin.

46 Photius 153b6 ff.

in the fire by Thetis to make him immortal.⁴⁷ It is certainly worth mentioning the suspicious circumstance of the epigram harbouring two of Chennus's favorite games when it comes to names. On one side, an original and attractive name: Achilles received from Thetis the name Πυρίσσοος, because he had been saved from the fire; on the other side, a peculiar and also attractive etymology: Peleus changed his name for Ἀχιλεύς (with one lambda) because fire had made him lose one lip, i.e. ἄ-χειλος. But even more interesting is that the homeland of the poet was Pharsalus, 'coincidentally' the place in which Thetis and Peleus lived after their wedding, and where the main temple of Thetis was located in historical times.⁴⁸

A clear example of this procedure of name election, which seems clearly intended and is not an exception in the *καινὴ ἱστορία*, is the fact that the female author of the *Iliad* is called Helen,⁴⁹ the name of the person responsible for the war.⁵⁰ Besides, the poetess is the daughter of an Athenian called Musaeus, which does not seem unwarranted either. Musaeus, whose name itself evokes the Muses ('He of the Muses'),⁵¹ is considered one of the founders of poetry, and as such he appears in association with Orpheus. He also belongs to the primordial quartet 'Orpheus, Musaeus, Homer, Hesiodus',⁵² and is said to be the inventor of hexameter.⁵³ On top of that, he is Athenian either by virtue of being native of Eleusis or having arrived there from Thrace.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Tzetzes, *Exeg. ad Il.*, p. 811, 31 Bachmann (= Chatzís 1914, 42 ll. 5–20) offers both elegiac distichs of the epigram; Photius 152b29 ff. paraphrases it without citing the author. About the passage, see the analysis by Cameron (2004, 152–153).

⁴⁸ E., *Andr.* 17–21; Pherecyd. F1 (= Fowler, *EGM* i.276); cf. Cameron 2004, 153 and n. 162.

⁴⁹ That Helen, of course, is unknown to us, as well as all women with that name that form the list to which she belongs (cf. Cameron 2004, 143).

⁵⁰ Note that, contrary to the news about Phantasia, Helen is only the authoress of an *Iliad*, but not of an *Odyssey*.

⁵¹ From the Muses comes the inspiration of the poet, as attested by the first verse of each of the great poems. For the data that I present afterwards, cf. the documented presentation by Heinze 2000.

⁵² Hippias Eleus., fr. 86 B 6 DK; Pl., *Ap.* 41a; and cf. the critical allusion against this tradition by Hdt. 2.53.2–3.

⁵³ Democr., fr. 68 B 16 DK.

⁵⁴ Cf. Suda μ 1294, s.v. Μουσαῖος, Ἐλευσίνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ... ἐποποιός, μαθητὴς Ὀρφέως. There is a reference to Helen here, but one that states that she was the mother of Musaeus, not his daughter: Μουσαῖος ... υἱὸς Ἀντιφῆμου ... καὶ Ἑλένης γυναικός. Tomberg 1967, 142, mentions it, but without further comment. It is suitable to think that Ptolemy knew a different tradition at this point, or that perhaps he has altered it on his own. It is not impossible, however, that Photius would have made a mistake when composing his summary, writing θυγάτηρ instead of μήτηρ.

Regarding Phantasia, Ptolemy's other poetess, her name possesses evident connotations. One of the meanings of the word is 'creative imagination',⁵⁵ a meaning that is very evident in, for instance, the passage of *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* in which Philostratus presents his own concept of artistic creation (Philostr., VA 6.19.24–26): φαντασία (...) ταῦτα εἰργάσατο σοφωτέρα μιμήσεως δημιουργός· μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει, ὃ εἶδεν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν. Making a woman that carries the name of the very creative force, which is superior to mimesis since it is not confined to the limits imposed by imitation, and superior also because of its capacity to represent what it does not see (in other words, what does not exist), the authoress of both poems, has all the looks of a verbal and conceptual game. It is not easy, finally, to interpret the allusion to the temple of Hephaestus, where Phantasia had deposited her poems, later picked up by Homer, but there could be a relationship with the Trojan priest of Hephaestus mentioned in *Il.* 5.9 and 27. This character, called Daëres, gives his name to another supposed author of the *Iliad*, as seen *supra*.

We should observe, finally, that Phantasia was the daughter of Nicarchus and, besides, Ptolemy cited as authority of the narration the already mentioned and dubious Naucrates. I suggest this only as a hypothesis, but it seems defendable to me that the meaning of both names ('the one who rules or governs the victory, or governs thanks to the victory', and 'the one who dominates or is powerful in or with his ship') alludes to the essential facts of the poems, the war in the case of the *Iliad*, and the wandering journey in the poem of Odysseus.⁵⁶ If that is the case, we would have new examples of names created *ad hoc*.

I will lastly mention Photius's strange allusion to the lamb of two tongues (τὸ δίγλωσσον ἄρνιον) that Helen the poetess owned. Tomberg compares this marvel to some cases of fabulous animals, but cannot produce a similar case.⁵⁷ It is possible that Ptolemy used this fanciful animal as implicit indicator of the fanciful character of the narration in its entirety, as if winking at the reader. It is worth highlighting that Photius does not make any sort of comment on the lamb, which perhaps means that Ptolemy did not do it either.

⁵⁵ Cf. LSJ s.v. φαντασία 2 c.

⁵⁶ In Eusthatus's summary (*vid. supra*), συντάξασα τόν τε ἐν Ἰλιάδι πόλεμον καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσεύως πλάνην.

⁵⁷ Tomberg 1967, 142. It is difficult to know what Photius is trying to say, but the article seems to suggest a reference to a known lamb, or perhaps a lamb already mentioned by Ptolemy in his narration. On the other hand, the normal meaning of δίγλωσσος is 'speaking two languages', not 'bearer of two tongues' (cf. LSJ, DGE s.v.). Perhaps 'double-tongued, deceitful'? (LSJ s.v. II, Lxx Si. 5.9, al.).

The most reasonable conclusion, in light of the data presented in previous pages, is that Helen and Phantasia belong more to fantasy than to reality. It is difficult to know why Ptolemy conferred upon two women the important role of being Homer's precursors, but the truth of the matter is that this feature does not seem out of tune with the prominent role he usually grants to women in diverse cultural manifestations. As Hose has suggested, this could be related to the fact that he dedicated his work to a woman, Tertulla.⁵⁸

After the analysis of the two narrations I will return now to the problem of the nature of the *καὶνὴ ἱστορία*, which I mentioned in previous pages. As recent studies have shown,⁵⁹ the work of Ptolemy presents notable similarities with other works, such as *The incredible things beyond Thule*, by Antonius Diogenes, as well as *True stories*, where Lucian parodies the former. Other works, like the *Chronicles of the Trojan War*, by Dictys of Crete, preserved in a Latin translation (there are fragments of a Greek text from the second or third century AD), or the *Troicus* by Dio of Pruse, are not very far away. The fact that the *Novel History* can be inscribed in the realm of these works, as well as being considered among the texts probably aimed at the literary games of Imperial Period symposia, perhaps could be enough to conclude that the work is not a fraud and that Ptolemy is far from being a forger.

However, although such reflections can allow us to better know the literary keys to the work of Ptolemy and the objective that guided him while writing it, the problem regarding the authenticity of its sources remains. Bringing up the consideration of other texts, such as the ones I have mentioned shortly before, implies the necessity of taking into account the fictionalization of the sources on which these texts are based.⁶⁰

In other words, a procedure like the one described requires the use of invented elements. I will try to summarize it on the basis of an affirmation and a question borrowed from Cameron: 'To be sure Ptolemy did not fake *all* of his citations, but it is hard to doubt that he faked *some* of them. And how many sources does a scholar have to fake before his honesty is called in question?'.⁶¹ According

⁵⁸ Hose 2008, 181, which refers to the very words of Photius, 146b10–12, προσφωνεῖ δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα Τερτύλλα τινί, ἣν καὶ δέσποιναν ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ τὸ φιλόλογον αὐτῇ καὶ πολυμαθὲς ἐπιφημίζει. The last phrase is especially significant, overall if we abide by the very title of the work, in the words of Photius (see n. 17).

⁵⁹ Hose 2008, esp. 192–194, and Dowden 2009; see also ní Mheallaigh 2014, 121–122 and 125, who agrees with the idea, but without losing sight of the fact that many of Ptolemy's sources are false.

⁶⁰ For this, I refer to the opportune analysis of ní Mheallaigh 2014, 121–123.

⁶¹ Cameron 2004, 135.

to what has been presented in this work, the first reflection is true and opportune; in other words, there is a need to ponder whether the sources are real or not, and conclude that many are invented (we would only have to write ‘*many*’ instead of ‘*some*’). In contrast, the latest studies about the nature of Ptolemy’s work lead us to conclude that the question raised by Cameron is no longer pertinent: the honesty of Ptolemy is not compromised.

The abundance of data, at times extravagant, ingenious, and even entertaining, at times genuine as well, along with the reiterated citation of unprovable authorities, steers us towards the reasonable conviction that Ptolemy has created a work that belongs more to fiction and entertainment than to erudition, even though the latter can be also present at times.⁶² My conclusion is that the female poets who composed an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey* before Homer belong to that fiction.

5 Back to the future: is Butler’s hypothesis what he wanted it to be?

In an essay about interpreters of Homer it seems imperative to return to the starting point, in accordance with the procedure of the *Ringkomposition*. Henry Festing Jones was compelled to affirm that his friend Butler had formulated his theory about the authoress of the *Odyssey* in all seriousness. ‘He was serious’ was the answer to many ‘literary men’ that manifested their doubts about the seriousness of Butler.⁶³

The idea that Butler’s theory was a joke was common among classicists of the time.⁶⁴ However, it is clear that Butler always meant what he said.⁶⁵ From this point on, a first reflection can be made, with Mary Beard: that his considerable literary reputation at the end of the 19th century, was established above all in the fields of satire and parody; and that, given that a satirist must always write ‘seriously’, the price is that everything that he writes afterwards can be taken in that sense.⁶⁶ A second reflection can complete the first one, in this case following Whitmarsh: it is true that the question of whether the theory was a joke or not

⁶² Is it by chance that our sources about Ptolemy Chennus the grammarian do not mention any grammatical work, but only a poem and what was probably a novel?

⁶³ Jones 1925, xxviii.

⁶⁴ Whitmarsh 2002, 77 and 79; Beard 2007, 323, 329.

⁶⁵ Beard 2007, 323; Whitmarsh 2002, 77: ‘Yet if it was a joke, Butler never dropped the mask’.

⁶⁶ Beard 2007, 323.

haunts many readers of Butler still today, and it is not possible to answer authoritatively, but, instead of making an effort to answer the question, he points out, it is preferable for the question to remain open.⁶⁷

When Samuel Butler shared his hypothesis with Lady Ritchie, William Thackeray's eldest daughter, she answered that Anne Hathaway had likewise written the sonnets attributed to her husband, William Shakespeare. Butler, who did not understand the joke, considered it foolishness.⁶⁸ I do not know whether Lady Ritchie had read Photius's summary of the *Novel History*, but if she did so, I think she would have perfectly understood what Ptolemy Chennus intended to convey.

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⁶⁷ Whitmarsh 2002, 77: 'The whole project is far more potently subversive if we allow it to inhabit the uncertain territory between the serious and the parodic', with which Beard 2007, 323 coincides. The 'subversive' character of Butler's proposal would consist of having transferred the authorship of the poem from a Greek male to an Italian female, with all of it being 'a calculated blow to the androcentric Hellenophilia of late-Victorian classics' (Whitmarsh 2002, 68).

⁶⁸ It is told by Alberto Manguel, who takes the anecdote from Mary J. MacCarthy, *A Nineteenth-Century Childhood*, London 1924 (Manguel 2010, 193 and 261). I have not been able to use Manguel's book in its original English edition, so I quote by the Spanish translation; in any case, Manguel dedicates chapter 18, *Madame Homero*, to Butler's theory, and claims that the readers will never have the certainty of knowing if Butler presented his theory seriously (by the way, he does not mention Ptolemy Chennus).

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⁶⁹ Tomberg's thesis appears cited in almost all the bibliography with the date 1968, except in Hose 2008, 180 n. 10, where 1967 is given. The copy that I have consulted, which belongs to the library of my university, is from 1967.

William W. Fortenbaugh

A Scholion on the *Odyssey*: Penelope and Eurycleia

The present essay takes its start from a well-known Homeric problem: Why did Odysseus fail to make himself known to Penelope soon after his return to Ithaca? After all, Penelope is Odysseus' wife and the mother of their child Telemachus. Instead, Odysseus reveals himself first to Telemachus, then to a swineherd, and to a cowherd. Penelope must wait until the suitors have been killed and the *Odyssey* is drawing to a close.

In discussing this problem, I want to do two things. First, I shall take a close look at a scholion that is found in a manuscript now in the possession of the Marcian Library in Venice. Since the Greek text of the scholion is not readily available in all academic libraries, at least in my country, I shall present the Greek text and offer a translation which may be of assistance to persons who are interested in Homer but know him largely through translation. Second, I shall relate the scholion to Aristotle's characterization of women in *Politics* 1.13.1260a13 and in *Poetics* 15.1454a20–4.¹ In the former passage, we are told that women have deliberative capacity but they lack authority. In the latter passage, women are described as inferior and inappropriately characterized as courageous or clever. Not surprisingly Aristotle's remarks have been much discussed by feminists and philosophers, but the scholion — its characterization of Penelope and the old nurse Eurycleia — has remained largely outside the discussion. With this paper, I want to raise awareness of the scholion and to encourage further consideration in relation to Aristotle's view of women.

1 The Scholion

The scholion under consideration is found in the margins of codex N = Venetus Marcianus Gr. IX, 4 (=1209). The codex divides into two parts. The first was written in the 13th century; it contains Homer's *Odyssey*, running from folio 1 to 142. The second dates to the 15th century; it contains Hesiod's *Works and Days* and

¹ References to Aristotelian texts are to the OCT. In some cases, the chapter and line numbers found in the OCT differ from those in the Bekker edition, but the differences are minor and should cause no confusion.

Shield of Achilles (up to verse 327), running to folio 190. Our particular concern is with a scholion that occurs on folio 80 recto and verso. It was first published in 1855 by Gulielmus Dindorfius (henceforth Dindorf) in an appendix to his book *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*. There he attributes the scholion to Porphyry (c. 233–304 AD), albeit cautiously (*ut videtur*), and reports that it is attached to Book 13 but would be better attached to Book 16. Earlier in the preface to his book, Dindorf is confident in attributing the scholion to Porphyry (*haud dubium*). In addition, he tells us that the scholion is noticeably long when compared with other scholia found in the codex.²

Fourteen years later in 1869, Aemilius Heitz published the scholion together with a Latin translation in his book *Fragmenta Aristotelis*. He agreed with Dindorf that the scholion would be better attached to Book 16; only he is more specific in that he refers to line 302.³ Another twenty-one years later in 1890, Hermannus Schrader published the scholion in his *Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum ad Odysseam Pertinentium Reliquiae*. He too favors assigning the scholion to Book 16. No line number is mentioned.⁴

The differences between these three editions of the Greek text are few and might not call for a new edition of the scholion,⁵ but the explicit mention of Aristotle in regard to the first of several proposed answers to the stated problem attracted the attention of two scholars interested in the founder of the Peripatos. They are Valentine Rose and Olof Gigon,⁶ who differ markedly in separating out the Aristotelian material from what is not Aristotelian. Both recognize that the Aristotelian material begins immediately after the statement of the problem (1–4)⁷ and with a specific reference to Aristotle (5).⁸ In addition, both recognize that

² Dindorf 1855, appendix p. 789–90 and preface xiv. In naming Porphyry, Dindorf is referring to his lost *Homeric Questions on the Odyssey*.

³ Heitz 1869, 148–9.

⁴ Schrader 1890, 121–3.

⁵ Not to be overlooked is the fact that Filippomaria Pontani is producing a new edition of the *Odyssey*-scholia. To date three volumes have appeared covering the scholia to Books 1–2 (Rome 2007), 3–4 (Rome 2010), and 5–6 (Rome 2015). Whether the scholion is attached to Book 13 or to Book 16 (see below end of Section 1), publication of Pontani's edition is some years off. Accordingly I am offering here an edition of the scholion, since it is relevant to current discussion among feminists and philosophers.

⁶ Rose 1886, 135–6; Gigon 1987, 538.

⁷ Numbers appearing in parentheses and not otherwise attributed are to the lines of the scholion as printed below on pages 239–240.

⁸ If we follow Dindorf and attribute the scholion to Porphyry, then it is reasonable to assume that the statement of the problem with which the scholion begins is attributable to Porphyry and

the Aristotelian material terminates long before the scholion ends. They differ, however, in that Rose thought that the Aristotelian material is not continuous. Rather it is interrupted with the introduction of Eurykleia (8), so that in his 1886 collection of Aristotelian fragments, the scholion, frag. no. 176, is divided into two distinct segments (5–7 and 15–22). A full century later in 1987, Olof Gigon published a new/revised collection of Aristotelian fragments including the scholion. This time there is no gap between distinct segments. Instead, Gigon offers a continuous text, frag. 399, with strikingly more material (8–14) than that recognized by Rose.

Regrettably, time has not been kind to the scholion. The ink in which the Greek text is written has now faded so badly, that photos sent to me by the Library in Venice are quite illegible.⁹ Accordingly I have decided to adopt the text of Schrader after comparing it with the earlier texts of Dindorf and Heitz. That comparison has led me to make three changes to Schrader's text: all minor — two words and the omission of a supplement — and of little importance for our understanding of the scholion.¹⁰

In their editions of the Greek text, Dindorf, Heitz, and Schrader present the scholion without introducing paragraphs.¹¹ That has the virtue of encouraging the reader to decide for himself where major breaks in content justify the introduction of breaks, i.e., paragraphs appropriate to a modern edition. Nevertheless, I have decided to introduce paragraphs. Indeed, the division into paragraphs is as it were telegraphed by the use of transitional phrases. After the opening question, which is itself introduced by the formulaic *dia ti* ("why" 1), come four answers, each introduced by a formulaic phrase: *esti phanai* ("it is possible to say" 5), *esti de eipein kai* ("it is possible to say also" 15), *isôs de kai* ("perhaps also" 22), *eiche de pou k'* ("perhaps he also held" 25). The occurrence of several answers is not surprising. Indeed, multiple answers are a feature of questions-literature from early on.¹²

If there is a problem here, it is the introduction of Eurycleia at the end of the first answer and before the beginning of the second answer. She has not been

that the Aristotelian material begins with the specific reference to Aristotle (5), but certainty here is elusive and perhaps of little importance.

⁹ That is not a complaint. I was well informed in advance, both by the librarians in Venice and by other scholars familiar with the manuscript, that the scholion in question had faded badly.

¹⁰ See the app. crit. to lines 4, 33, and 44. References to Polak in the *app. crit.* are taken over from Schrader, who in the introduction to his 1890 book p. VIII cites Polak 1881.

¹¹ The same is true of Rose and Gigon in their partial editions of the scholion.

¹² For an early example of multiple answers and for comment, see ps.-Aristotle, *Physical Problems* 3.31 together with Fortenbaugh 2015a, 103.

named in the preceding question and therefore might be part of a later addition. That possibility will have encouraged Rose to omit from his edition of the scholion some seven lines and to begin again with the phrase *esti de eipein* (15).¹³ The omission is also encouraged by the fact that testing does not apply to Eurycleia. Whereas Odysseus does not reveal himself immediately to Telemachus and the two herders, but rather spends time with them during which he may be said to test the three, Eurycleia is not in any way tested. She is directed by Penelope to wash the feet of Odysseus and proceeds to do so. Furthermore, the idea that Odysseus reveals himself does not apply to Eurycleia. By rubbing the scar on Odysseus' leg, she knows without prompting that she is in the presence of Odysseus (19.392–6, 467–75). Doing what one is directed to do may seem trivial, but in context it speaks for a later addition.¹⁴

That said, the phrase *dia tauta* ("therefore" 8) does tie the material concerning Eurycleia to what precedes. It does not separate in the way that the four transitional phrases do: "it is possible" twice and "perhaps" twice. Moreover, the material introduced by *dia tauta* emphasizes the particular/critical situation, the *kairos* (10), which is a concern of Aristotle not only in his ethical and political writings (see Bonitz, *Index* 358 s.v. *kairos*) but also in *Poetics* 25.1461a4–9, where Aristotle says that in deciding whether someone has spoken or acted well or not well, we should consider not only the deed or utterance, whether it is good or bad, but also the agent or speaker, toward whom he acted or spoke, or when, or with what or for the sake of what (25.1461a4–8). To be sure the word *kairos* does not occur in this passage, but the list of considerations is all about the *kairos*: Odysseus has returned and must confront suitors who had plotted to kill Telemachus and will be no better disposed to Odysseus.

I do not claim that the list speaks strongly against introducing a new paragraph beginning at *dia tauta*, but neither is the list to be ignored. Here an editor must make a choice: either respect the four transitional phrases and not introduce a new paragraph, or introduce a new paragraph thereby indicating a break with the preceding material. Rightly or wrongly, I have chosen not to begin a new paragraph. Another editor may feel differently.

The fourth answer introduced by *eiche de pou k'* ("perhaps he also held" 25) differs from what precedes in that it quotes whole lines of Homeric text. More-

¹³ See Hintenlang 1961, 110 n. 2.

¹⁴ It might be argued that Odysseus reveals himself to Eurycleia by allowing her to take his leg in her hands, but that is not suggested by Homer's text. Commenting on *Poet.* 16.1454b26–8, Halliwell 1995, 84 n. a observes correctly that whereas Odysseus shows his scar to the swineherds for proof (*Od.* 21.205ff), Eurycleia sees the scar when washing Odysseus (*Od.* 19.386ff).

over, the text involves significant lacunae. After mention of Amphinomus, to whom Odysseus speaks in Book 18.125, Agamemnon is referred to (25) and quoted from Book 11.441–2. Something has dropped out. And the same is true when Odysseus is cited (33) and his advice to Telemachus is quoted from Book 16.302–4.

The conclusion of the scholion (37–53) is quite different. The poet and his intentions have become the focus of the scholion. I have signaled this difference by beginning a new paragraph. For the most part the conclusion is not relevant to my primary concern, Penelope, Eurycleia, and Aristotle's view of women, so that I shall not discuss it,¹⁵ but neither do I omit the Greek text and English translation, for they will be of interest to others who have different interests and wish to assess the scholion as a whole.¹⁶

The Greek Text

διὰ τί Ὀδυσσεὺς τῇ μὲν Πηνελόπῃ ἡλικίαν τε ἤδη ἔχουσα καὶ
 φιλούσῃ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδήλωσεν ὃς ἦν, τῷ δὲ Τηλεμάχῳ νέῳ ὄντι
 καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις, τῷ μὲν συμβῶτι τῷ δὲ βουκόλῳ ὄντι; οὐ γὰρ
 δῆπου μὴ πεῖραν ἐκείνης εἰληφώς.
 ἔστι φάναι, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἔδει ὥς ἂν 5
 μετέχειν μέλλουσι τοῦ κινδύνου εἰπεῖν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ
 τούτων ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς μνηστῆρσι· διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῇ
 Εὐρυκλείᾳ ἐκκαλύπτει αὐτὸν χρησίμῳ
 ἐσομένῃ πρὸς τὴν θυρῶν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεραπεινίδων
 ἡσυχίαν, πᾶσι δ' οὐχ ἅμα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν καὶ ἰδίᾳ 10
 ἐκάστῳ καὶ μόνῳ ἐκφαίνων, ἵνα μὴ ἐκλαλήσας τις εἰς ἕτερον τὴν
 αἰτίαν ἀνενέγκῃ. κατ' ἰδίαν γὰρ καὶ πρῶτῳ τῷ υἱῷ, εἴτα τῇ
 τροφῷ, εἴτα τῷ βουκόλῳ καὶ τῷ συμβῶτι, καὶ πρὸς οὐδένα διότι
 ἤδη τις ἄλλος μεμάθηκεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ εἰδότες λανθάνειν ἀλλήλους σπουδάζουσιν.
 ἔστι δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι ἡὺλαβήθη μὴ περιχαρὴς ἀκούσασα 15
 γένηται καὶ ἐπίδηλον ποιήσῃ· ἑώρα γὰρ αὐτὴν σφόδρα
 ἐπιθυμοῦσαν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ υἱός; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν καὶ μειδιᾶν εἴωθε
 καὶ ἀπλῶς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν τοῦ πάθους, ἡ δὲ μόνον
 κλαίνειν. παυσαμένης οὖν τοῦ κλαίνειν μόνον, εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς
 ἐξεῖπεν, ὑποψία τις ἐγένετο. οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσεποιήθη δακρύνειν· ἡ 20
 γὰρ χαρὰ ὑποῦσα οὐκ ἂν κρατεῖν τῆς προσποιήσεως εἴασεν.
 ἴσως δὲ καὶ μὴ σῶσαί τινας βουλευθείη ὑπείδετο· ἑώρα γὰρ
 καὶ ἑαυτὸν πεπονθότα τοῦτο πρὸς τινας, ὥστε καὶ τῷ Ἀμφινόμῳ
 ἐπαρρησιάσατο.
 εἶχε δὲ πού κἀκεῖνα ἐν μνήμῃ, ἃ Ἀγαμέμνων συνεβούλευσε. 25
 τῷ νῦν μὴ ποτε καὶ σὺ γυναικὶ περ ἥπιος εἶναι,

15 Note 34 below is exceptional in that it makes reference to lines 38–41 of the conclusion.

16 In an earlier article (2015b, 396–7), I offered a translation of lines 1–21 without Greek text. Lines 22–53, both translation and Greek text, were entirely omitted.

μηδ' οἱ μῦθον ἅπαντα πιφασκόμεν
 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· καὶ πάλιν ἐπάγει·
 ἀλλ' οὐ σοί γ' Ὀδυσσεὺ φόνος ἔσσεται ἐκ γυναικός,
 ἀλλ' αὖθις παρακελεύεται· 30
 κρύβδην μηδ' ἀναφανδὰ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν
 νῆα κατισχέμεναι·

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο *** παρακελεύεται Ὀδυσσεύς·
 μήτ' οὖν Λαέρτης ἴστω τόδε μήτε συμβώτης
 μήτε τις οἰκίων μήτ' αὐτὴ Πηνελόπεια, 35
 ἀλλ' οἷον σύ τ' ἐγώ τε.

μήποτε δ' οὐχ ἅμα πάσας τὰς ἀναγνωρίσεις ἠθέλησε λαβεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν πρὸ τῆς μάχης, τὰς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην. ὑπερτίθεται δὲ
 τὰς πρὸς οὓς ἦκιστα ἐχρῆν, τὴν τε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν πατέρα,
 διώκων τὸ παράδοξον καὶ ἵνα ἐκπληκτικαὶ γένωνται· εἰ μὲν γὰρ 40
 πρότερον ἐποίησεν, ἦττον ἂν τὸ παράδοξον παρέσχε, νῦν δὲ ἅμα καὶ
 τὸ χαρτὸν μέγα τοῖς φιλτάτοις παρεσκεύασε, τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τῷ
 πατρὶ· ἅμα τε γὰρ ἀκούουσι παρόντα αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς μνηστήρας
 ἅπαντας θεθνεῶτας. ἀγωνίας δ' ἂν οἱ μὲν πολεμοῦντες μείζονος
 ἐπλήσθησαν, ἥς καὶ ἐσπούδασε τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ 45
 καθευδουσι μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔχουσι τέρψιν καὶ μὴ περὶ
 τὰ ἔργα ἀσχολουμένοις ἐξαίφνης δηλῶσαι ἀκίνδυνον τὸ εὐτύχημα ἢ
 τὸ εὐφρόσυνον τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρουσίας διὰ τὸν φόβον ἀπολέσθαι τῆς
 τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβάσεως. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὴν μνηστηροφονίαν
 περὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ μεριμνῆσαι πολέμου οὐχ οὕτως ὄντος 50
 ἐκπληκτικοῦ διὰ τὴν κατὰ τῶν μνηστήρων λαμπρῶς ἀποβάσαν
 νίκην, ἢ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐξεκρούετο πᾶν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος
 ἐπανιστάμενον.

2, 12 Telemachus: *Od.* 16.186–212 3, 13 subuleus et armentarius: *Od.* 21.186–220 8–10, 12–
 13 Eurycleia: *Od.* 19.467–98, 21.381–7, 22.417–34, 23.40–4 23–4 Amphinomus: *Od.* 16.394–
 8, 18.125–50 26–33 Agamemnon *Od.* 11.440–6, 454–6 35–7 Odysseus: *Od.* 16.302–4 39
 mulier et pater: *Od.* 23.5–57, 24.321–46 50–3 bellum civile *Od.* 24.353–5, 413–16

3 οἰκέταις *Dind.*: ἰκέταις *cod.* 4 ἐκείνης *cod.*: ἐκείνων *Schr.* 7 διὰ ταῦτα –14 *om. Rose* 8
 αὐτὸν *Polak*: αὐτὸν *cod.* 19 μηδεὶς *cod.*: μηδὲν *coni. Polak* 20 *post* ὑποψία *inser. ἂν Polak*
 21 προσποιήσεως *Schr.* (*cf. Arist. EN 9.3 1165b10*): ποιήσεως *cod.*: προθέσεως *Polak* 22
 βουληθεῖη *Polak*: βουληθεῖσα *cod.* 23 πεπονθότα *Pluygers ap. Polak*: πεποιθότα *cod.* 33
post τοῦτο *fort. 9 litterae evanuerunt*: καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ *suppl. Schr.* 44 μὲν *cod.*: μὴ *Schr.* 51
 λαμπρῶς *Schr. praeunte Heitz dubitanter*: λαμπρὰν *cod.*

Translation

Why does not Odysseus reveal his identity to Penelope, who was already of a mature age and loved him, but (did reveal himself) to Telemachus, who was young, and to the slaves: one being a swineherd and the other a cowherd? Surely not because he had not made test of her (1–4).

It is possible to say, (as) Aristotle says, that it was necessary to speak to them (Telemachus, the swineherd, and the cowherd) as persons who would share in the danger. For

without them it was impossible to attack the suitors. Therefore he (Odysseus) also reveals himself to Eurycleia, who will be useful in securing the doors and keeping the maidservants calm. Not to all (who will be useful) at the same time, but disclosing (himself) at the right moment and individually to each and alone, in order that no one through blabbering might convey to another his (Odysseus') motive. For individually and first to his son, then to the nurse, then to the cowherd and swineherd, and to no one (does he say) that someone else has already learned (his identity). But also those who know (his identity) strive to be unnoticed by each other (5–14).

And it is possible to say also that (Odysseus) was cautious lest (Penelope) having heard (that he was present) might have become exceedingly joyful and revealed (his presence). For he saw that she longed (for him) with intensity. Surely then the son as well? But he was accustomed also to smile and to converse normally and to control his emotions. But she (Penelope was accustomed) only to cry. Therefore, were she only to cease crying, even if no one spoke out, some suspicion would have occurred, for she would not have pretended to cry. For her latent joy would not have allowed her to control the pretense (15–21).

And perhaps he also suspected that she might wish to save certain persons. For he was aware that he himself felt this way toward certain persons, and as a result he also spoke openly to Amphinomus (22–24).

And perhaps he also remembered the counsel that Agamemnon had given: In the present case, you too should never be gentle even toward your wife, nor declare to her all your thoughts (25–27).

et cetera. And again he (Agamemnon) adds,

But not to you, Odysseus, will death come from (your) wife (28–29).

But again he (Agamemnon) advises (Odysseus)

Secretly and not openly to bring his ship ashore in his dear fatherland (30–32).

And on this account *** Odysseus advises (Telemachus),

Let neither Laertes know this, nor the swineherd,

nor any of the household, nor Penelope herself,

but you and I alone (33–36).

On no account did he (the poet¹⁷) wish to take up at the same time all the cases of recognition, but some cases before the battle (with the suitors) and other cases after the battle. He postpones the cases involving persons who were least needed (for the battle), that involving the wife and that (involving) the father, (and in doing so the poet is) pursuing the unexpected and the occurrence of astonishment. For if he had produced (recognition) before (the battle), he would have diminished the unexpected, but now at the same time he also procured great joy for the persons most dear (to Odysseus), both for his wife and for his father. For at the same time they hear that he is present and that all the suitors have been killed. Those engaged in battle were probably filled with greater trepidation, from which he (the poet) strove to free the persons most dear (to Odysseus), and to show that for them — both sleeping more and having the pleasure that comes from sleep rather than toiling in deeds — (there awaits) straightway good fortune without danger or good cheer arising from

17 Schrader 1890, 122–3 correctly notes that “the poet” is to be understood. He describes the transmitted text as wrongheaded, *prave excerpta*, and supports his judgment by citing scholium Vindobonense phil. Gr. 133 fol. 128^a.

the presence (of Odysseus) on account of the removal of fear concerning the outcome of the battle. For it suffices them after the killing of the suitors to worry about the civil war, which was not so terrifying on account of the brilliant victorious outcome over the suitors, which left the entire civic insurgency frustrated of hope (37–53).

In introducing the scholion, Dindorf writes, “*Rhapsodiae N in codice Veneto N haec adscripta sunt (Porphyrii, ut videtur), quae rhapsodiae P potius adscribi debebant* (p. 789). We might translate, “In the Venetian codex N, these (words) — Porphyry’s, so it seems — are attached to Book 13. Rather they should have been attached to Book 16.” As mentioned above, both Heitz and Schrader agree with Dindorf in preferring Book 16. The rationale for preferring Book 16 is clear. There Odysseus reveals himself to Telemachus. He is ordered to do so by the goddess Athena and proceeds to do so. Telemachus is not immediately convinced, but soon he is won over; the two embrace and weep together (16.168–215).

A different location, still in Book 16, might be lines 299–304, where Odysseus enjoins Telemachus not to tell anyone that Odysseus is at home: neither Laertius, nor the swineherd, nor any of the servants, nor Penelope herself” (301–03). Here Penelope is mentioned, but only in concluding the list of persons who are to remain ignorant of Odysseus’ return. That might seem incompatible in regard to a problem that focuses on Penelope. But I am not certain. In some contexts, coming first confers emphasis — pride of place — but here coming last, especially combined with *autê*, attracts attention. We can imagine a scholiast being moved to put the question, “Why not Penelope, who is mature and loves Odysseus?”¹⁸

That said, I want to suggest that attaching the scholion to Book 13 need not be foolishness. Odysseus’ return to Ithaca begins in Book 13 and as such begins, as it were, a new chapter, in the course of which Odysseus will reveal his identity not only to Penelope (much later in Book 24) but also to his son Telemachus (Book 16) and the loyal herdsmen, Eumaeus and Philoetius (Book 21). Moreover, there is a passage in Book 13 that all but puts the question with which the scholion begins. Athena tells Odysseus that he is prudent (*echephron* 332) and goes on to explain that another man on returning home would hasten to see his children and wife, but you, Odysseus, prefer not to inquire until you have made test of

¹⁸ Something like that may explain why Heitz (149 col. 1) suggests Book 16 line 302. In private correspondence, Robert Mayhew has suggested line 303. That is the line in which Penelope is named. It is also a continuation of line 302, which begins the list of persons who are not to be told of Odysseus’ return. Hence, the two scholars are in essential agreement. Heitz cites the beginning and Mayhew the close of a list of persons who are to be kept ignorant until later.

your wife (*sês alochou peirêseai* 336).¹⁹ Here prudence is being cautious. There follows a brief account of hiding valuables that were given to Odysseus by the Phaeacians, after which the goddess tells Odysseus that suitors have been actively pursuing Penelope for three years. Penelope's response to the suitors has been mixed. On the one hand, she mournfully awaits the return of her husband, and on the other, she sends messages with promises to each of the suitors (375–81). Odysseus' response to the goddess is to recall the fate of Agamemnon — in the underworld he had advised Odysseus to return to Ithaca in secret, for there is no longer any faith in women (11.455–6)²⁰ — and to urge Athena to develop a plan of revenge on the suitors (323–6). Penelope's conflicted mental state has been noted already in Book 1 and will be focused on again in Books 16 and 19.²¹ Here in Book 13 it provides a reason for leaving Penelope in ignorance. Were she told that Odysseus is present, her confliction might explode into uncontrolled joy before action could be taken against the suitors.

Attachment to Book 13 may also explain a textual issue. In lines 3–4 of the scholion as reported by Dindorf, we read, “For surely not that he (Odysseus) had not made test of her.” Schrader deems the pronoun *ekēinês*, feminine singular, foolish and so prints *ekēinôn*, masculine plural referring to Telemachus, the swineherd, and the cowherd. But *ekēinês* is not foolish. Odysseus is prudent (so the goddess asserts) and mindful of Agamemnon's words. Foolish would be revealing himself to Penelope and thereby involving her before the slaughter of the suitors, to which she could contribute little if anything. Correctly understood the pronoun *ekēinês* refers to Penelope, and the introductory phrase *ou dêpou* “surely it is not so” implies a negative answer.²² The subsequent construction, *mê ... eilêphôs* is causal.²³ We might flesh out the translation to read: “For surely it is not the case that Odysseus fails to reveal himself to Penelope because he has not made test of her.”

¹⁹ The verb *peirêseai* is cognate with the noun *peiran*, which occurs in the question with which the scholion begins (4). Lines 13.333–8 were deleted by Aristarchus, but his judgment can be challenged. See, e.g., Stanford 1954, 211 and Bowie 2013, 151–2.

²⁰ Actually the meeting with Agamemnon is more complicated. Initially he tells Odysseus not to tell Penelope all that he is thinking (11.441–3), but then adds that she will not be the cause of his death, for she is prudent (11.444–6).

²¹ See below, toward the end of Section 2.

²² See LSJ s.v. δῆπου II ad fin.

²³ See LSJ s.v. μή B6 ad. fin, on *mê* with a participle having causal significance. I am grateful to Stefan Schorn for discussing with me the Greek text at this point in the scholion.

2 The Scholion in Relation to Aristotle's *Politics* and *Poetics*

What especially interests me in the scholion is the description of Penelope as unable to control strong emotion. We read that Odysseus was cautious lest Penelope, upon hearing of his return, would become exceedingly joyful and reveal his presence. Indeed, the intensity of her longing for Odysseus' return was so strong that her crying had been continuous. And if she only stopped crying suspicion would occur. Indeed, she would not be able to pretend to cry, for joy at Odysseus' return would not allow her to control the pretense (15–21).

Penelope's inability to control (*kratein* 21) her emotions is contrasted with Telemachus' ability to control his emotion. We read that he had accustomed himself to smile and to converse normally with the suitors and to control (*kratein* 19) his emotions. The contrast is striking and suggests a common prejudice: that women are by nature acratik and in this way differ fundamentally from men who can be expected to control their emotions. Telemachus is no longer a child (*Od.* 1.296–7). Now twenty years old, he is fast developing a manly character. Indeed, Homer has him assert control over the household, and that includes sending Penelope off to the women's quarters (see below). To be sure, Penelope has good qualities, but her dispositional weakness in regard to emotion makes her a liability in regard to taking back the house from the suitors. And that agrees not only with a view advanced by Aristotle in his *Politics* but also in the *Poetics*.

The *Politics* passage occurs toward the end of Book 1 and has been central to recent discussions of Aristotle's view of women. We read, "The slave wholly lacks the deliberative element; the female has it but without authority (*akuron*); the child has it but incomplete" (1.13.1260a12–14). Out of context, the assertion is puzzling, but when one realizes that Aristotle is thinking in terms of his bipartite psychology,²⁴ in which deliberation is marked off from emotional response, the idea seems clear enough. The slave lacks deliberative capacity, the child's deliberative capacity is developing, and in women deliberation is often overruled by emotion.

²⁴ Aristotle has introduced his bipartite psychology earlier in *Pol.* 1.5.1254b5–6, b8–9 and does so again in 1.13.1260a5–7 only a few lines prior to the text cited above, i.e. 1.13.1260a12–14. On bipartition of the soul, see Fortenbaugh 1975, 23–44.

One is tempted to dismiss what Aristotle says in *Politics* 1.13 as nonsensical prejudice that plays a role in justifying an outdated social order: one that supports slavery and keeps women in their place.²⁵ But before doing that we should recognize that Aristotle introduces a similar view of slaves and women in *Poetics* 15. While discussing tragedy, he takes up character, *êthos*, and tells us that the stage-figures should be good.²⁶ And that occurs when speech or action reveals good moral choice. Aristotle adds that good character is found in each kind of person: there is a good woman and a good slave, even though the class of women is inferior, *cheiron*, (to the class of men)²⁷ and the slave is wholly paltry (1454a16–22). The phrase “wholly paltry”, *holôs phaulon* at *Poetics* 1454a21 recalls “wholly lacks the deliberative element”, *holôs ouk echei to bouleutikon* at *Politics* 1260a12. If we understand the *Poetics* passage as making the same point as that made in the *Politics*, then we have two texts in which slaves are denied deliberative capacity. But, of course, that is absurd, for even the most menial tasks often require moments of reflection, i.e., deliberation concerning how to proceed when an unexpected obstacle presents itself. The slave who cannot deal with even minor impediments would be all but worthless.²⁸

In *Poetics* 15, we are also told that character should be appropriate. In a woman, that means both courageous character and being clever²⁹ are inappropriate (1454a22–4). We might understand Aristotle to be saying, e.g., that neither the courage exhibited by a citizen when fighting in the vanguard is appropriate to a

²⁵ Indeed, Aristotle’s words might be deemed not only nonsensical but also self-contradictory. For immediately prior to telling us that slaves entirely lack the deliberative part of the soul (1.13.1260a12), he says that the parts of the soul are found in all persons, albeit differently (1.13.1260.10–12).

²⁶ Since “character” is ambiguous — it can refer either to a stage figure or to moral character — it is well to be clear that Aristotle’s focus in *Poetics* 15 is on the moral character of the characters on the stage. See Lucas 1968, 157.

²⁷ Cf. *Pol.* 1.5.1254b13–14.

²⁸ The absurdity of Aristotle’s claim can be ameliorated, if we understand *bouleutikon* to refer narrowly to the capacity to deliberate for oneself. To qualify as a human being, the slave must have some share in *logos* and that he has not only during emotional response (emotions involve both factual judgments and assessments that are often moral in nature) but also when he is given instructions by his master and when reprimands are accompanied by explanations. We may compare Plato’s slave boy who cannot do geometry when left to himself, but he can follow the reasoning of his master (Plato, *Meno* 82–5). See Fortenbaugh 1975, 54–5 and 2006c, 252–6.

²⁹ The Greek here is *deinên einai*. To be sure, the adjective is cognate with *deinotês*, which can be used negatively of unscrupulous deliberation/planning (e.g. *EN* 6.12.1144a23–8). But it is not necessary to impose such a negative meaning on Aristotle’s use of the adjective at *Poet.* 15.1454a24. Most likely he is thinking of intelligent planning combined with successful execution.

woman, nor is the cleverness required of a politician when debating contentious issues in the assembly. Fair enough, but Aristotle's observation is not limited to the public sphere in which the role of women is severely limited. His observation is also applicable within the home. We could say that he is adopting a view/attitude well illustrated by Homer, when he has Telemachus counter Penelope's attempt to stop the minstrel Phemius from singing of the Achaeans' return from Troy. Telemachus first tells Penelope to go to her chamber and to busy herself with her own tasks, the loom and the distaff. After that he asserts that speech will be for men, all men, and that his is the authority within the house (*Od.* 1.356–9).³⁰ The phrase “all men” is important for it makes clear that Telemachus is drawing a sharp distinction between men and women. It is not most men but all men who have the decisive voice in regard to household management. To be sure, Penelope had been left in charge of the household when Odysseus departed for Troy. But it was made clear that her oversight was temporary. If Odysseus should be killed, then once Telemachus was of mature age (as soon as he had grown a beard), Penelope should remarry and leave the house (*Od.* 18.269–70).³¹

Here it might be objected that however limited a woman's authority may be, there is no reason to label women as a class “inferior”, *cheiron* (1454a21),³² in regard to a moral virtue like courage. Being physically weaker she would be a liability in the vanguard, but in other areas and on other occasions she is capable of boldness that matches the courage of a man. Here again we might turn to Homer: this time to his portrayal of Eurycleia, who had nursed Telemachus when he was a child (*Od.* 1.435). She is best known for her role in the so-called Bath Scene, during which Eurycleia recognizes Odysseus. When she washes the feet of Odysseus and comes upon his scar, she immediately recognizes that Odysseus is present. She drops his foot and is overcome with joy and grief at the same time. Her eyes fill with tears, and she says aloud, “You are Odysseus, dear child” (*Od.* 19.467–75). The recognition involves simple reasoning, but nonetheless demonstrates that Eurycleia can combine memory with present fact and reach a sound conclusion. We might compare *Poetics* 16, where Aristotle refers to the Bath Scene

30 Cf. *Pol.* 1.13.1269a30, where Aristotle cites Sophocles, *Ajax* 293, “Silence brings enhancement to a women.” See also *Pol.* 3.4.1277b 20–5, where Aristotle tells us that temperance and courage are different in a man and a woman. For a man would appear cowardly if he were courageous in the manner of a woman, and a woman would appear loquacious if she were restrained in the manner of a good man. Aristotle then adds by way of explanation that a man's role in household management is different from that of a woman: his role is to acquire and hers to preserve.

31 On the translation of 18.269–70 see Heitman 2005, 44–5.

32 The adjective *cheiron* recurs in Arius Didymus' *Eptitome of Peripatetic Ethics* 26.149.7 W = p. 59 Ts. For brief commentary see Fortenbaugh 2018, 118–19.

(1454b30) and takes note of recognition through signs, *dia tôn sêmeiôn*, which are acquired, *epiktêta*, and bodily such as scars, *oulai* (1454b21–4). In such cases recognition is said to proceed through memory, *dia mnêmês* (1454b37) and to result from reasoning, *ek sullogismou* (1455a4).

More importantly, Odysseus responds to Eurycleia's unguarded expression of joy by grabbing her neck, demanding silence, and threatening to kill her. She in turn responds boldly, claiming to be steadfast and unyielding, hard as stone or iron. She even offers to help Odysseus by identifying the women who have dishonored him (*Od.* 19.479–98). But is she hard as stone? Her protest might be deemed a sham motivated by fear. At least Odysseus does not appear persuaded. He tells Eurycleia to be silent and leave the matter to the gods (*Od.* 19.499–502). We may compare a later passage in which Homer describes Eurycleia's response upon seeing the suitors lying dead atop one another. She begins to cry aloud with joy, so that Odysseus rebukes her saying that it is unholy to boast over corpses (*Od.* 22.407–12). Here again Eurycleia's emotional response is countered by harsh words.

But is Odysseus being entirely fair to Eurycleia? The nurse's claim to be steadfast and unyielding (*Od.* 19.493) can be understood as a strong assertion of will. Indeed, the scholion tells us that Eurycleia will be useful when Odysseus begins to slaughter the suitors. She will secure the doors and keep the maidservants calm (8–9). And that is what she does in the poem itself (*Od.* 21.381–7). Moreover, when Eurycleia first recognizes that she is washing the feet of Odysseus, an immediate response involving verbal expression is entirely appropriate. Indeed, for the old nurse not to be moved deeply would be quite out of character, even a mark of unattractive indifference. In addition, the response is in line with Aristotle's remarks on recognition: it is said to be best when the recognition follows from events, which give rise to *ekplêxis*: strong emotion that drives out one's senses (*Poet.* 16.1455a16–17).³³ In the case of Eurycleia, that is what Homer presents. She is acting as directed by Penelope, who is known to treat beggars well (*Od.* 14.126–32). And that is what Penelope does in regard to the Cretan beggar (Odysseus in disguise). She directs Eurycleia to wash the feet of the Cretan, and that leads to recognition, which is quite unexpected and results in *ekplêxis*.³⁴

³³ See LSJ s.v. ἐκπλήσσω II.1–2.

³⁴ In the concluding portion of the scholion, we are told that the poet postpones cases of recognition involving persons who were least needed for the battle with the suitors: namely, recognition on the part of Penelope and Laertes. The poet is said to be pursuing the unexpected, *to paradoxon*, for such cases of recognition cause astonishment, *anagnôriseis ekplêktikai* (37–40). In the case of Eurycleia, recognizing Odysseus is quite unexpected and the cause of sudden and overwhelming astonishment that manifests itself in a verbal response.

Perhaps then Eurycleia should be understood in terms of *Politics* 1.13, where the courage of a woman is marked off from that of a man. The latter is described as fit for ruling, *archikê*, while the former is said to be fit for serving, *hupêretikê* (1260a23). Apparently steadfastness is appropriate to a woman, only her steadfastness should be in the service of a man, typically but not necessarily her husband.

Leaving Eurycleia aside, *Politics* 1.13 provides grounds for saying that Aristotle views women as naturally acratice. And when the scholion connects Penelope with exceeding joy, *pericharês* (15) and intense longing, *sphodra epithumousan* (16–17), it is not unreasonable to see her as an example of Aristotle's view of women. We might compare Medea, who in the Euripidean tragedy is driven by strong emotion. Prior to killing her children, she is made to say that she knows the evil that she intends to do, but her fury is stronger than her deliberations/reasoned reflections (1078–9).³⁵ But here caution is in order. Such a case of acrasia is not to be equated *simpliciter* with Penelope's indecision concerning the suitors and her own future. For much of the poem, a proper/best course of action remains unclear to Penelope, so that she takes no action. Four times we read of her weighing competing choices — twice emphasized by an either-or construction (*Od.* 16.73–7, 19.525–8) and twice by a neither-nor construction (*Od.* 1.249–50, 16.126–7) — without her deciding on a course of action. If we focus on such cases, then we may want to widen our understanding of *akuron* at *Politics* 1260a13, so that it includes indecisiveness attributable not only to strong emotion but also to competing deliberations.

That does not mean that Homer's Penelope fails to experience emotions that might drive her to act in one way or another. When Telemachus tells the goddess Athena that Penelope neither refuses the loathsome, *stugeron*, marriage,³⁶ nor is she capable of making an end (*Od.* 1.249–50), we learn she is reacting negatively to her situation. Viewing marriage as loathsome is certainly not pleasant, and so

35 For discussion of the Euripidean lines, see Fortenbaugh 1970, 239–40, reprinted in 2006a, 50. To be sure, Medea is not a Greek but rather a barbarian and for that reason might be deemed a mismatch when compared with Penelope. But in regard to intense emotion, the comparison is apt: strong anger in the case of Medea and exceeding joy in the case of Penelope.

36 The adjective *stugeros* refers to a strong emotion; hence, a translation like “loathsome” or “abominable” is to be preferred to “hateful” which is less clearly tied to pain. At least for an Aristotelian “hate” may suggest *misos*, which in the *Rhetoric* is said to be without pain (2.4.1382a12–13). That makes sense in a work concerned with civic speech. Ideally a prosecutor and a jury should condemn a hateful murderer and do so dispassionately, i.e., without feeling pain that distorts judgment. (See Fortenbaugh 2006b, 75). But Penelope is not given to mild feelings. Her joy at Odysseus' return would be intense and awaken suspicion among the suitors.

too is the prospect of leaving the house, in which she has lived for two decades. But these feelings compete with the realization that a new marriage brings certain benefits: she could leave with the best of the Achaean suitors, one who offers countless gifts (*Od.* 16.76–7, 19.528–9). Moreover, Telemachus having reached maturity wants Penelope to leave (*Od.* 16.530–4, 19.159–61), which is in line with Odysseus' injunction to Penelope upon his departure from Ithaca.³⁷ But that is countered by the loss of an admirable reputation that depends on fidelity exhibited over two decades (*Od.* 16.75, 19.527), as well as by an uncertainty how the suitors would react if Penelope favored one over the rest.³⁸ Far from being irrational, Penelope's indecision is understandable. If it were otherwise, she would not be the sympathetic character that she is.

Not to be overlooked is the fact that Penelope's indecision does come to an end. She decides in favor of leaving the house with a suitor, and toward that end she arranges a contest to see who can string the bow of Odysseus and shoot an arrow through twelve axes (*Od.* 21.68–79).³⁹ The suitors fail and Odysseus, who will soon reveal his identity, succeeds, so that Penelope's plan is not carried through as intended. But she did put her plan in motion, demonstrating that she can deliberate effectively. Moreover, we might say that by putting her plan in motion she is showing courage fit for serving. She is not yet aware that Odysseus has returned home and chooses to respect the wish of her son, who has become head of the house.⁴⁰

But if that is correct, are all women really inferior to men in certain key respects: in particular, courage and deliberative capacity? If that is not the case, should women without exception be labeled inferior and excluded from certain manly roles within the household and the larger civic community? After all, Plato in the *Republic* took note of women who are spirited and philosophic, and therefore allowed for their inclusion among the Guardians of the state. They are not denied all participation on the grounds that they possess the requisite qualities

³⁷ See above at n. 31.

³⁸ For commentary see Heitman 2005, 49, 68–70, 82–4.

³⁹ I follow Heitman 2005, 1–10 in rejecting the view that Penelope is deceiving the suitors: that she has no intention to remarry. To be sure, she is capable of deception—for over three years she wove and unwove a burial shroud for Laertes (*Od.* 2.103–09) — but deception is not in play when she arranges the contest involving Odysseus' bow and twelve axes.

⁴⁰ Thinking in terms of *Poet.* 15.1454a16–24, 31, we can say that Penelope's choice exhibits moral goodness appropriate to a woman: it is intended to preserve the household for Telemachus. And it does not involve inappropriate cleverness, as did the speech of Melanippe in Euripides's play *Melanippe the Wise* (fr. 480–88 Nauck). See, e.g., Else 1963, 467, Lucas 1968, 158–61, and Mayhew 1999, 89–104.

to a lesser degree (5.456a–b). Aristotle was certainly not ignorant of the *Republic*, and in the *Politics* he tells us that a difference of degree in natural ability does not in itself justify the assignation of different roles. For the difference between being ruled and ruling is a difference in kind, which the difference of more and less never is (1.13.1259b37–8).⁴¹ I fear that Aristotle has put himself in a bind. Or can he say that a woman's deliberative capacity is unqualifiedly *akuron*? It is natural and likely to fail, should strong emotions be in play. Within a household that may be manageable, but in matters of state the consequences can be severe.

I leave off here in order to salute the honoree of this volume, Professor Franco Montanari, whose philological expertise is known to and appreciated by scholars world wide. I can only hope that my contribution to this Festschrift, albeit short, is philologically sound and of interest to Franco. What I can say with confidence is that I have greatly enjoyed interacting with Franco at conferences on two continents and in welcoming his article “Demetrius of Phalerum on Literature” into the series Rutgers University Studies in Classical Philology. Looking to the future, I join all the contributors to this Festschrift in wishing Franco many more years of productive scholarship.

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41 For discussion see Schütrumpf 1991, 371–3, 6.

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Margarethe Billerbeck

Im Dickicht der Quellenforschung: Eine kleine Nachlese zu den Homerziten in den *Ethnika* des Stephanos von Byzanz

1 Zur Einführung

In seiner Rezension des ersten Bandes unserer Stephanos Gesamtausgabe¹ nahm Camillo Neri auch Stellung zum ‚Similienapparat‘; einen solchen solle man strikt teilen in die Quellen des Lexikographen einerseits und in die Rezeption bzw. Testimonien der *Ethnika* andererseits. Dies sei ein erster, wenn auch provisorischer Schritt, die verwickelte Quellenlage zu entwirren.² Trotz dieser Empfehlung sind wir in den folgenden Bänden von unseren Editionsprinzipien und der Anlage des ersten Apparates nicht abgewichen.³ Dieser trägt der Quellenbenutzung sehr wohl Rechnung, sei es durch Konfrontation des Originaltextes mit dem entsprechenden Zitat im Lexikon, sei es im Nachweis einer nicht namhaft gemachten Quelle. Gleichzeitig hat der ‚Similienapparat‘ rezeptionsgeschichtliche sowie kommentierende Funktion und dient der textkritischen Entscheidung, wo die direkte Überlieferung der *Ethnika* verderbt ist oder sich dem Verständnis verschliesst. Neris Anregung verhalte jedoch nicht ungehört. In den Folgebänden wurden im Sinn der Leserfreundlichkeit die ausschlaggebenden ‚Similia‘ in der Regel voll ausgeschrieben.

Hinderlich für eine erfolgreiche Quellenforschung bei Stephanos ist in erster Linie der verkürzte Zustand des Lexikons. Wie viele Belegzitate in der überlieferten Epitome verloren gingen, lässt sich erahnen, wenn man dieselbe in den Artikeln δ 139 (Δυμῶνες) — δ 151 (Δώτιον) der ursprünglichen oder zumindest volleren Fassung (Fragment S) des Werks gegenüberstellt sowie mit den umfänglicheren

1 Billerbeck et al. 2006–2017, im Folgenden nach Band- und Seitenzahl zitiert. Dr. A. Neumann-Hartmann, der langjährigen Mitarbeiterin im Stephanos-Projekt, sei für kritische Lektüre des Beitrags herzlich gedankt.

2 Neri 2008, 6 „una rigorosa divisione tra ciò che sta a monte e ciò che sta a valle, e tra le due possibili tipologie di fonti, è infatti, in ogni caso, un primo passo per cercare di dare qualche pur provvisoria risposta all’annoso e tuttora irrisolto problema delle fonti (lessicografiche o solo geografiche?)”.

3 Dazu Bd. I 46*.

Stephanos-Exzerpten in den Schriften *De administrando imperio* und *De thematibus* des Kaisers Konstantinos VII. Porphyrogenetos vergleicht.⁴ Kommt hinzu, dass auch Zitate auszumachen sind, bei denen der Quellennachweis fehlt. Ob dieser in der Überlieferung verloren ging oder bereits vom Verfasser bzw. später vom Epitomator unterdrückt worden war, können wir in der Regel nicht mehr feststellen. Selbst die Epitome verzeichnet noch an die dreihundert verschiedene Autoren, auf welche sich der Verfasser beruft; deshalb stellt sich unweigerlich die Frage, welche Werke Stephanos direkt konsultierte und welche Nachrichten und Zitate durch Vermittlung gelehrter Vorgänger ins Lexikon aufgenommen wurden. Es ist in erster Linie diesem Umstand zuzuschreiben, dass die ältere Quellenforschung über bloße Vermutungen und spekulativ konstruierte Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse oft nicht hinauskam oder die unmittelbaren Vorlagen gar auf wenige Autoren wie Herodian, Oros und Herennios Philon von Byblos reduzieren wollte.⁵ Spätere Untersuchungen zu einzelnen Gewährsautoren zeigten freilich differenziertere Ergebnisse;⁶ ein solches im Bereich der Homer-Zitate anzuzeigen, soll der Zweck dieses Beitrags sein.

Seit den quellenkritischen Untersuchungen von Benedikt Niese (1873) hielt sich der Grundsatz, Stephanos verdanke die in den *Ethnika* eingestreuten Homer-erklärungen, also auch das Material, welches er mit den Homerscholien gemeinsam habe, den vom Grammatiker Epaphroditos (1. Jh. n. Chr.) verfassten Kommentaren zu *Ilias* und *Odyssee*. Widerspruch gegen diese Hypothese erhob Hartmut Erbse, der im Rahmen seiner Studie zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Iliasscholien die rund zwanzig einschlägigen Epaphroditos-Fragmente einer kritischen Prüfung unterzog.⁷ Das Scholiencorpus (in der Hauptsache bT), so das Fazit, dürfte auch dem byzantinischen Lexikographen als Ausgangspunkt gedient haben, doch bereicherte dieser nach Bedarf die Exegese durch Zitate aus vollständigeren Hypomnemata, aus den genannten Kommentaren des Epaphroditos und mit Belegen aus grammatischen, historischen und geographischen Werken. Mit Blick auf die geplante Ausgabe der Scholien zur *Ilias* zielte Erbse mit seinen Untersuchungen darauf ab, aus dem exegetischen Material bei Stephanos den Kernbestand des Scholiencorpus herauszudestillieren und dadurch Rück-

⁴ Zusammengestellt in Bd. I 5*–7*; vgl. ferner St. Byz. χ 1–9.

⁵ Für einen Überblick über die ältere Quellenforschung s. Honigmann 1929, 2379–2389.

⁶ Dazu s. Bd. V 155–160; 169–172.

⁷ Erbse 1960, 251–269 (mit Vorläuferbibliographie). Seiner Untersuchung liegen die Fragmente des kaiserzeitlichen Homererklärers in der veralteten Ausgabe von E. Luenzner (*Epaphrodit Grammatici quae supersunt*, Diss. Bonn 1866) zugrunde; doch s. jetzt Braswell/Billerbeck 2008.

schlüsse auf dessen Zustand in frühbyzantinischer Zeit zu ziehen. Diese Quellenkritik bedarf einer Abrundung und zwar — in Neris Worten — sowohl „a monte“ als auch „a valle“. Beginnen wir mit dem ersteren.

In Strabons kulturgeschichtlichem Werk *Geographika* dürfen wir die Hauptquelle des Stephanos vermuten. Dies zeigen sowohl die vielen direkten Zitate als auch die noch zahlreicheren zitatlosen Verweise auf den Autor.⁸ Kommen hinzu die Stellen, deren Kontext auf Strabon als Vorlage schliessen lassen, z.B. α 53 (mit Anm. 80); α 103 (mit Anm. 132); α 160 (mit Anm. 191 und 192); α 204 (mit Anm. 292), β 149 usw. Diese Abhängigkeit widerspiegelt sich auch im homerischen Zitatenschatz. Beide Autoren zitieren vorwiegend aus der *Ilias*, hin und wieder denselben Vers mehrfach. Eine kleine Statistik veranschaulicht, wie viele der beim Lexikographen ganz oder teilweise angeführten Verse sich mit den entsprechenden Zitaten beim Geographen decken:

Tab. 1: Gemeinsame Homerzitate

Stephanos	Strabon	
Zitate aus <i>Ilias</i> 145	übereinstimmend 98	68%
Buch II (Schiffskatalog ⁹)	Übereinstimmung	81%
Zitate aus <i>Odyssee</i> 41	übereinstimmend 15	37%

Dass hellenistische Homerexegese über Strabon Eingang in die *Ethnika* gefunden hat, wurde bereits von Erbse am Rand seiner Untersuchungen angemerkt.⁹ Und diese Spur wollen wir nun anhand ausgewählter Beispiele weiter verfolgen.

2 Spurensicherung

2.1 Κρῶμναν Κ(ρ)ωβίαλόν τε (Il. 2,855)

Im Eintrag St. Byz. α 100 (Αἰγιαλός) heisst es zum paphlagonischen Küstenstrich dieses Namens ἔχει δὲ καὶ κῶμην ὁμώνυμον. Ὅμηρος (B 855) „Κρῶμνάν τ’

⁸ Über unseren Stellen-Index (Bd. V 253–255) hinaus verdeutlichen die Testimonien (Stephanos v. Byzanz) in Radts Strabon-Ausgabe (Bd. 10, 442–450) die Nähe des Lexikographen zu seiner Vorlage.

⁹ Erbse 1960, 253 Anm. 2.

Αἰγιαλὸν τε“. γράφεται δὲ „Κρῶμναν Κωβιάλὸν τε“ („dort liegt auch ein gleichnamiges Dorf. Homer: „Kromna und Aigialos“. Man schreibt auch „Kromna und Kobialos“.). Die Quelle dieser Notiz, wenn bei Stephanos auch nicht namentlich verzeichnet, ist Str. 12,3,10 (C 545,3) ἔχει δὲ καὶ κώμην ὁμώνυμον, ἧς μέμνηται ὁ ποιητὴς ὅταν φῇ (B 855) „Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἑρυθίνους“. γράφουσι δὲ τινες „Κρῶμναν Κωβιάλὸν τε“. Bei Strabon ist die Überlieferung Κωβιάλον einstimmig; das bezeugt auch Eust. zu B 855 (I 570,9) λέγει δὲ ὁ Γεωγράφος καί, ὅτι τὸ Ὅμηρικόν τὸ „Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλὸν τε“ γράφουσι τινες „Κρῶμναν Κωβιάλὸν τε“. Bei Stephanos hingegen hat erst Meineke mit Blick auf die strabonische Vorlage, die schadhafte Lesung des Archetypus κοβίαν (κω- R) bereinigt. Gemeint ist jedoch die Örtlichkeit Κρωβιάλος. Apollonios Rhodios (2,942) erwähnt sie, und diesen zitiert Stephanos als Gewährsmann im einschlägigen Artikel, κ 236 Κρωβιάλος· πολίχνιον πρὸς τῇ Ποντικῇ. Ἀπολλώνιος β' „Κρωβιάλον Κρῶμναν τε καὶ ὑλήεντα Κύτωρον“. οἱ οἰκοῦντες Κρωβιαλεῖς („Krobialos, Städtchen an der pontischen Küste. Apollonios, 2. Buch: „Krobialos und Kromna sowie das walddreiche Kytoros“. Die Einwohner Krobialeer). Stephanos hat hier seinen Quellenautor offensichtlich direkt ausgeschrieben, akzentuiert doch die einstimmige Überlieferung von A. R. 2,942 Κρῶμναν, ebenso das zugehörige Scholion (2,941–42b) Κρωβιάλος πόλις περὶ Παφλαγονίαν, ἧς μέμνηται Στράβων ἐν Γεωγραφούμενοις· παρ' Ὁμήρῳ δὲ μεταγράφει ἀντὶ τοῦ „Κρῶμναν τ' Αἰγιαλὸν τε“, Κρῶμναν Κρωβιαλὸν τ' .¹⁰ Wenn Eustathios in seinem Eintrag zu B 855 weiter vermerkt (I 570,12) Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ γράφει ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ „Κρωβιάλον Κρῶμναν τε καὶ ὑλήεντα Κύτωρον“, λέγει δὲ ὁ τὰ Ἑθνικὰ γράψας πολίχνιον πρὸς τῇ Ποντικῇ τὴν Κρωβιάλον, bezieht er das Apollonios-Zitat höchst wahrscheinlich mittelbar aus den *Ethnika* und nicht aus dem Original.

2.2 Ἀνεμώρεια / Ἀνεμώλεια (Il. 2,521)

St. Byz. α 314 Ἀνεμώρεια· πόλις Φωκίδος, ἣ νῦν Ἀνεμώλεια. Ὅμηρος (B 521) „οἳ τ' Ἀνεμώρειαν καὶ Ὑάμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο“. ... ὠνόμασται ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος <πάθους suppl. Holste>· ὑπερκεῖμενον γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ καλούμενον Κατοπτῆριον χωρίον, <ἐξ οὗ suppl. Holste> δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καταγιγίσκεται πανταχόθεν

¹⁰ Die Akzentuierung des Toponyms schwankt bereits in der Überlieferung von Il. 2,855 zwischen Κρῶμνα und Κρῶμνα. Herausgeber der *Argonautika* normalisieren in 2,942 in der Regel die Paradosis Κρῶμνα zu Κρῶμνα. In gleicher Weise verfuhr Meineke in den *Ethnika* des Stephanos, sei es im Homerzitat, so α 100 (κρῶμναν bis RQPN), α 262 (κρῶ- bis RQPN), sei es im Apollonioszitat, so κ 236 (κρῶ- RQPN); vgl. aber κ 237 (κρῶ- R, κρῶ- QPN). Gehalten hat sich Κρῶμνα in der Fachliteratur, so Ptol. *Geog.* 5,1,7; EM 79,17 und 541,34; Suid. κ 2494.

(„Stadt in Phokis, das heutige Anemoleia. Homer: „und jene, die ringsum Anemoreia und Hyampolis bewohnten“. ... Sie hat den Namen von dem Ungemach, das sie trifft: Über der Stadt liegt nämlich der Ort, den man ‚Warte‘ nennt, woher sie Tag und Nacht von Stürmen [ἄνεμοι] aus allen Richtungen heimgesucht wird“). Stephanos rundet die topographische Lage des Ortes ab ἔστι δὲ μεθόριον Φωκίδος καὶ Δελφῶν, κειμένη ἐπὶ λόφου ὑψηλοῦ (es handelt sich um einen Grenzort zwischen Phokis und Delphi, auf hohem Hügel gelegen“).

Was die alten Erklärer an Ἀνεμώρεια interessiert, ist die Namensetymologie, so Sch. b zu B 521a (I,298) <Ἀνεμώρειαν>: ἀνεμώδη καὶ δυσχείμερον, παρὰ τὸ καταιγίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Κατοπτευτηρίου („windig und stürmisch, fegen doch die Winde vom Katopteuterion herunter“). Etwas ausführlicher lautet die Erklärung in Sch. D Ἀνεμώρειαν· αὕτη μεταξύ κεῖται Φωκίδος καὶ Δελφῶν, ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου, ὅθεν καὶ οὕτως ὠνόμασται παρὰ τὸ καταπνεῖσθαι αὐτὴν σφοδρῶς („liegt zwischen Phokis und Delphi, hoch oben, weshalb es den Namen davon hat, dass es dort tüchtig herunterweht“). Vergleichen wir nun die Aussage des Stephanos mit der entsprechenden Passage bei Strabon 9,3,15 (C 423,32) ἡ δ’ Ἀνεμώρεια ὠνόμασται ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος πάθους· καταιγίζει γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ καλούμενος Κατοπτήριος χῶρος, ...· ὅριον δ’ ἦν ὁ τόπος οὗτος Δελφῶν τε καὶ Φωκέων ...· τινὲς δ’ Ἀνεμώλειαν καλοῦσιν. Stephanos straft die Vorlage und modifiziert das Vokabular geringfügig, nämlich χωρίον für χῶρος sowie μεθόριον für ὅριον. Dies berechtigt jedoch nicht, mit Radt den Schluss zu ziehen, der Lexikograph gehe nicht auf Strabon zurück, sondern auf eine (nicht definierte) gemeinsame Quelle.¹¹ Hier drängt sich die Gegenprobe durch den Kommentar des Eustathios zu B 521 (I 421,17) auf, ἡ δὲ Ἀνεμώρεια ὠνόμασται μὲν, φασίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος πάθους· ὑπέρκειται γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ καλούμενον Κατοπτήριον χωρίον, ἐξ οὗ δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καταιγίζεται πανταχόθεν. ἔστι δὲ μεθόριον Φωκίδος καὶ Δελφῶν κειμένη ἐπὶ λόφου ὑψηλοῦ. ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς Ἑθνικοῖς, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὅτι Ἀνεμώρεια ἢ νῦν Ἀνεμώλεια. Die Erklärung stammt also namentlich aus den *Ethnika*, was Holste veranlasste, die gestörte Überlieferung im Vorlagentext (St. Byz. α 314) zu bereinigen. Dann vermerkt Eustathios weiter (421,21) τὸ μέντοι ἐν Κιλικίᾳ Ἀνεμούριον ἐξ ὁμοίου μὲν τινος πάθους ὠνόμασται, οὐδετέρως μέντοι προάγεται („das Kap Anemurion in Kilikien hat vom gleichen Phänomen seinen Namen, der indessen im Neutrum angeführt wird“) und rundet seinen Kommentar mit dem Referat aus Strabon ab (421,22 ἡ δὲ τοῦ Γεωγράφου περὶ Ἀνεμωρείας ἱστορία φησὶ καὶ αὕτη usw.). Der Quellenkritiker wird sich nun fragen, woher der Einschub über Anemurion stammt. Im Apparat von van der Valk lesen wir dazu „videtur Eust. loco Strabonis usus ipse explicationem praebuisse“. Dass wahrscheinlich

11 Radt, Bd. 7,84.

auch hier Stephanos Pate gestanden hat, schliessen wir aus einem weiteren Zeugnis ‚a valle‘, nämlich aus Et. Sym. α 906 Ἀνεμούριον· πόλις Κιλικίας· κεῖται δὲ ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου. παρὰ τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τὸ οὖριον (Lasserre, ὄριον CV) εἰκὸς λέγεσθαι. Ἀνεμουριεύς καὶ Ἀνεμούριον. Der Eintrag steht im *Etymologicum Symeonis* in der Reihenfolge der Artikel Ἄνδριπα (904/St. Byz. α 311), Ἄνδρος (905/St. Byz. α 313), Ἀνεμώρεια (907/St. Byz. α 314), Ἀνήτουσσα (sic, 908/St. Byz. α 315 RQPN, Ἀνητοῦσσα Meineke) usw., welche den engen Anschluss an die *Ethnika* als Textvorlage belegt. Offen bleibt freilich die Frage, ob Eustathios für die Notiz zu Ἀνεμούριον eine vollere Fassung der Epitome vorgelegen hat als jene, welche die Hss. RQPN überliefern; denn die Formulierung mit dem zurückverweisenden ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς Ἑθνικοῖς lässt keinen sicheren Schluss auf seine tatsächliche Vorlage zu. Hingegen erwähnt er in seinem Kommentar zu Dionysios Periegetes 855 ein kilikisches Vorgebirge dieses Namens und verweist auf Strabon als seine Quelle, GG II 367,14 ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ φησιν ὁ αὐτός (sc. ὁ Γεωγράφος [14,5,5 = C 670, 32–34]), ὅτι Κώρυκος ἄκρα Κιλικίας, μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Ἀνεμούριον. Es zeichnet sich also ab, dass Stephanos im Artikel α 314 (Anemoreia) die Lagebeschreibung des Ortes und die Namensetymologie seinem Quellenautor Strabon verdankte, der seinerseits sein Wissen aus der gelehrten Homerexegese bezogen hatte. Entwirren lässt sich der quellenkritische Knäuel auch im folgenden Fall.

2.3 Ἀβυδῶν / Ἀμυδῶν (Il. 2,849; 16,288)

St. Byz. α 17 Ἀβυδῶν· ... χωρίον Μακεδονίας, ὡς Στράβων. (B 849) „τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀβυδῶνος ἀπ’ Ἀξίου (RQPN, Ἀξιοῦ Homeri codd., sed -ίου v.l.) εὐρὺν ῥέοντος“ ὁξύνεται δέ (‚Örtlichkeit in Makedonien, wie Strabon. [Il. 2,849; 16,288] „Fernher aus Abydon vom Axios, der breit daherströmt“. <Der Name> ist endbetont.‘). Der Artikel ist äusserst verknappt und birgt daher Ungereimtheiten. Stephanos schöpfte aus dem 7. Buch von Strabons *Geographika*, einem Teil, der verloren gegangen ist; die sog. Epitome überliefert aber die einschlägige Passage, Str. 7 fr. 12b ἐπέκειτο δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ χωρίον ἐρυμνόν, ὃ νῦν μὲν καλεῖται Ἀβυδῶν, Ὅμηρος δ’ (B 849; Π 288) Ἀμυδῶνα καλεῖ (‚an diesem Fluss liegt eine sicher geschützte Örtlichkeit, welche man heute Abydon, Homer jedoch Amydon nennt‘). Dass es sich bei Ἀβυδῶν um eine phonetische Namensvariante zum homerischen Ἀμυδῶν handelt, geht im lexikalischen Eintrag gänzlich vergessen. Durch Unterdrückung der Gegenautorität Ὅμηρος δὲ Ἀμυδῶνα καλεῖ, welche die strabonische Vorlage anführt, wird das nun fehlerhaft gewordene Zitat aus der *Ilias* zum Beleg für Ἀβυδῶν umfunktioniert. Dessen ungeachtet verzeichnet Stephanos aber auch ein Lemma Ἀμυδῶν (α 281), mit der minimalistischen Bestimmung πόλις Παιονίας, wie sie wörtlich Sch. D zu B 849 überliefert, und rundet ab τὸ

ἔθνικὸν Ἀμυδώνιος, ὡς Καλυδών Καλυδώνιος. Dass in diesem Eintrag das entsprechende Zitat aus Homer (*Il.* 2,849; 16,288 ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος) fehlt, nährt den Verdacht, im Artikel α 17 stecke hinter dem als homerisch angeführten Beleg ἐξ Ἀβυδῶνος eine Streitfrage der Homerexegese über die korrekte Form des Ortsnamens und nicht bloss die falsche Angleichung durch den Epitomator im angeführten Homervers. Über diese Frage gibt die Benutzung von St. Byz. α 17 durch den Verfasser des *Etymologicum Symeonis* nichts aus, da er sich auf Toponym und Ethnikon beschränkt, I, p. 10,6 L.-L. (= Ps. Zon. 8 Tittmann) Ἀβυδῶν· χώρα Μακεδονίας· καὶ κλίνεται Ἀβυδῶνος ὡς Καλυδῶνος.¹² τὸ ἔθνικὸν Ἀβυδώνιος ὡς Καλυδώνιος. Anders hingegen Eustathios: In seinem Kommentar zu B 849 zitiert er — ohne Namensnennung — seine direkte Vorlage (St. Byz. α 281 Ἀμυδών), fügt anonym die Namensvariante Ἀβυδών ein und reicht deren Fundstelle später nach: (I 565,19) Ἀμυδὼν δὲ ἢ κατὰ τινὰς Ἀβυδῶν πόλις Παιονίας, ἣς ὁ πολίτης Ἀμυδώνιος ὡς Καλυδώνιος. ... (566,1) ὁ Γεωγράφος φησὶ λέγων, ὅτι ἡ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Ἀμυδῶν Ἀβυδῶν ὕστερον ἐκλήθη.

Wie im vorigen Beispiel klärt die Quellenkritik auch hier die ‚Abhängigkeitskette‘: Die erhaltenen Homerscholien kennen lediglich die homerische Örtlichkeit Ἀμυδών und lokalisieren sie in Makedonien, so T zu Π 288 (4,231) Ἀμυδῶν φρούριόν ἐστι Μακεδόνων περὶ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν κείμενον, bzw. in der Heimat der Paionen, so D zu B 849. Darauf basiert Strabon (7 fr. 12b), der noch die Namensvariante Ἀβυδών beifügt, ohne freilich die Quelle dieser Auskunft zu nennen. Stephanos beruft sich namentlich auf Strabon als seine Quelle und verfasst entsprechend zwei Einträge, nämlich α 17 Ἀβυδών und α 281 Ἀμυδών. Eustathios stützt sich in der Erklärung von B 849 (ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος) auf St. Byz. α 281 (Ἀμυδών) und schiebt in Kenntnis von St. Byz. α 17 (Ἀβυδών) die phonetische Namensvariante aus Strabon nach.

2.4 Ἄρνη / Τάρνη (*Il.* 2,507)

Ein weiteres Zetema der antiken Homerexegese hat bei Stephanos seine Spuren hinterlassen, nämlich im Artikel α 440 Ἄρνη· πόλις Βοιωτίας. Ὅμηρος (B 507) „οἷ τε πολυστάφυλόν τ' Ἄρνην ἔχον“ („Arne, Stadt in Boiotien. Homer: „und die traubenreiche Arne besassen“.). Da später keine Ortschaft dieses Namens in Boiotien ausfindig zu machen war, erklärte man die Diskrepanz zwischen dem Homertext und dem geographischen Befund auf verschiedene Weise. Sch. A (zu B 507 [1,294]) bemerkt, Zenodot habe Ἄσκηρην für Ἄρνην konjiziert, was jedoch gar

¹² Die Analogie deutet die Angabe ὁξύνεται δέ der Vorlage aus.

nicht angehe; denn bedenke man das rauhe Klima von Askra, wie es Hesiod (*Erga* 640) beschreibt, sei Weinbau dort ausgeschlossen. Diese Diskussion hat Strabon im Abschnitt über Boiotien übernommen und folgendermassen ergänzt, 9,2,34f. (C 413,9) τὸ δ' Ἀκραίφιον καὶ αὐτὸ κεῖται ἐν ὕψει. φασι δὲ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι Ἄρνην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ (B 507) ὁμώνυμον τῇ Θετταλικῇ. οἱ δὲ φασι καὶ τὴν Ἄρνην ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης καταποθῆναι καὶ τὴν Μίδειαν (,Akraiphion liegt ebenfalls auf einer Höhe. Und dieser Ort, sagen sie, heisse bei Homer Arne, also gleich wie das thessalische. Andere dagegen sagen, sowohl Arne als auch Mideia seien vom [Kopais-] See verschlungen worden'). ... (16) οὐκ εὖ δὲ οὐδ' οἱ Τάρνην ἀντὶ τῆς Ἄρνης γράφοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ μία δείκνυται Τάρνη παρὰ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς· ἐν δὲ Λυδοῖς ἐστίν, ἥς καὶ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται [E 44]) (,Gar nicht richtig liegen auch jene, die Tarne anstatt Arne schreiben, denn es lässt sich bei den Boiotern überhaupt kein Tarne nachweisen; ein solches befindet sich indes bei den Lydern, welches auch Homer erwähnt'). Die von Strabon kritisierte Konjektur Τάρνη bezeugt das Et. Gen. α 1208 für Herodian (καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Τάρνη, ὡς λέγει Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν [2,176,2]). Eine Stadt Tarne hat auch in die *Ethnika* Eingang gefunden, wo sie allerdings in Achaia lokalisiert wird, St. Byz. τ 32 Τάρνη· πόλις Ἀχαιῶν. Einen Beleg für diese Verortung gibt es jedoch weder hier noch in einer anderen bekannten Quelle. Eine Metonomasie der boiotischen Stadt Arne verzeichnet Stephanos im Artikel χ 6 Χαῖρωνεια· ... ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ Ἄρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον. ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος (B 507), ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, τῇ ἀρχαιοτέρᾳ ἐχρήσατο ὀνομασίᾳ (,Die Stadt hiess zudem in alter Zeit Arne. Daher hat auch Homer meiner Meinung nach die ältere Bezeichnung <Arne anstatt Chaironeia>gebraucht').¹³ Diese Auskunft stimmt mit dem homerischen Sch. b zu B 507 (1,295) überein, welches zu Ἄρνην(v) vermerkt ἡ νῦν Χαῖρωνεια. Doch kehren wir nochmals zu St. Byz. α 440 zurück, wo der Lexikograph als zweite Stadt namens Arne die thessalische erwähnt, eine Kolonie der boiotischen: β' πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἄποικος τῆς Βοιωτίας. Und dazu zitiert er als Beleg einen Orakelspruch: περὶ ἧς ὁ χρησμός (310 Parke/Wormell = L76 Fontenrose) „Ἄρνην χηρεύουσα μένει Βιοῳτίων ἄνδρα“ (,Verwitwet wartet Arne auf einen boiotischen Mann'). Dann hält er fest, die eponyme Heroine beider Städte, der boiotischen wie der thessalischen, sei Arne, Tochter des Aiolos: θυγατέρα δὲ φασιν Αἰόλου τὴν Ἄρνην. Hierin fassen wir als Vorlage Pausanias 9,40,5 Λεβαδέων δὲ ἔχονται Χαῖρωνεῖς. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ τούτοις Ἄρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον. θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι λέγουσιν Αἰόλου τὴν Ἄρνην, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης κληθῆναι καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλιν (,Nach Lebadeia kommen die Chaironeer. Ihre Stadt hiess in alter Zeit Arne; denn sie soll die Tochter des Aiolos gewesen sein. Und nach ihr habe auch

¹³ So in unserer Ausgabe Bd. V 71 Anm. 12, zu verbessern.

die thessalische Stadt Arne den Namen erhalten'). Ob sich Stephanos bei der zusätzlich erwähnten Umbenennung des thessalischen Arne in Kierion (πόλις Θεσσαλίας ..., ἢ Κιέριον καλεῖται) von Strabons Beschreibung (9,5,14 [C 435,34]) der Thessaliotis mit den Städten Ἄρνη und Κίερος inspirieren liess, können wir angesichts der dort unsicheren Überlieferung nicht entscheiden. Abrundung findet der Artikel des Stephanos durch eine dritte Stadt Arne in Mesopotamien und eine vierte an der Grenze zu Thrakien; doch über diese beiden Orte ist nichts bekannt.

Wenden wir uns nun dem Kommentar des Eustathios zu, um zu sehen, wie er mit dem Erklärungsgut seiner Vorgänger umgeht. Sein Eintrag zu B 507 (I 414,3) über den Ort Arne beginnt mit dem Hinweis auf die Eponyme, ἡ δὲ Ἄρνη ὁμώνυμός ἐστι τῇ ἡρώϊδι. Diese Auskunft geht letztlich auf Sch. D zurück, Ἄρνη· πόλις Βοιωτίας ἀπὸ Ἄρνης. Was bei Eustathios dann folgt, ist eine Namensetymologie, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπὸ περιουσιασμοῦ ἄρνων ἔοικεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἄρνη κληθῆναι (,Offenbar wurde sie wegen der Schafe [ἄρνες], die dort in grosser Zahl vorhanden waren, von ihrem Vater Ἄρνη genannt'). Diese Etymologie fassen wir im Et. Gen. α 1208, wo sie auf Krates (fr. 4 Broggiato) zurückgeführt wird.¹⁴ Anschliessend erwähnt Eustathios (414,5), dass Arne dem Poseidon einen Sohn geboren und diesem in Ableitung von ἐκ τῶν βοῶν den Namen Βοιωτός gegeben habe. Zum Beleg dafür zitiert er Euphorion (fr. 96,3–4 Powell = fr. 158 Lightfoot) wörtlich aus St. Byz. β 116 (Βοιωτία), ohne jedoch seine Vorlage zu nennen. Beide Namensetymologien seien überzeugend, (414,7) ὡς οὖν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἐκλήθη Βοιωτὸς ἐκ τῶν βοῶν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὴ, ὡς εἰκός, Ἄρνη ἐκ παρωνυμίας ἄρνων (,wie also ihr Sohn nach den Rindern [βοῶν] Boiotos genannt wurde, so geht selbstverständlich auch der Name Arne auf die Schafe [ἄρνες] zurück'). Diesen exegetischen Schlenker verlängert Eustathios durch den Hinweis auf die Wörter ἄρνησθαι (,ein Schaf als Preis bekommen') und πολύαρνος (,an Schafen begütert'), welche in den Etymologika diskutiert werden.¹⁵ Das folgende Referat stammt z.T. wörtlich aus St. Byz. α 440 (Ἄρνη), wird aber verallgemeinernd den alten Homerklärern (τοῖς παλαιοῖς) zugeschrieben,¹⁶ bzw. auf die Scholien (τὰ Σχόλια) bezogen: (414,10) τέσσαρες δὲ Ἄρναι ἀριθμοῦνται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἐν αἷς καὶ Θετταλικὴ ἄποικος τῆς Βοιωτίας, περὶ ἧς ἐχρήσθη οὕτως· „Ἄρνη χηρεύουσα μένει Βοιωτίον ἄνδρα“. τὰ δὲ Σχόλια γράφουσι καὶ ὅτι Ἄρνη νῦν Χαιρωνείας (Sch. b zu B 507, oben S. 260) καὶ ὅτι ἦν καὶ Τάρνη τις πόλις Ἀχαΐας (St. Byz. τ 32). Über eine Stadt

¹⁴ Ἄρνη· πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῆς Θετταλίας. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ Ἄρνης τῆς Αἰόλου τῆς μητρὸς Βοιωτίας. ὁ δὲ Κράτης φησὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἄρνας, ἐπιτηδεῖα γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἄρνας τρέφειν ἢ πόλις, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός.

¹⁵ Dazu s. Valk im App. zu 270,31 (I 414,9).

¹⁶ Valk I, p. LXII zur Bezeichnung οἱ παλαιοί.

Tarne in Achaia gibt es sonst keinerlei Nachricht; dass Eustathios die Notiz den *Ethnika* entnommen hat, bestätigt er im Kommentar zu *Il.* 5,44 (II 19,7), ὁ δὲ γράφων τὰ Ἐθνικά καὶ πόλιν Ἀχαιῆς Τάρνην φησί. γέγονε δέ τις μνήμη Τάρνης καὶ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ.

In der Erklärung von B 507 fährt der gelehrte Erzbischof fort (I 414,13) ἡ δὲ παρ' ἐτέροις Λεοντάρνη κώμη καὶ αὐτὴ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ἢ κρήνη κληθεῖσα οὕτω, διότι Ἀδράστου θύοντος, φασίν, ἐκεῖ λέων τὸν ἄρνα ἥρπασε („was bei anderen Autoren das Dorf Leontarne ist und am Helikon liegt oder die so benannte Quelle, wo ein Löwe dem opfernden Adrastos das Schaf entriss“). Zwar vermerkt das Homerscholion b zu B 507 (1,295) ἑτέρα (sc. Ἄρνη) δὲ ἡ Λεοντάρνη, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτόθι λείοντος, aber auch hier dürfte es eher Stephanos gewesen sein, der Eustathios zum kurzen Exkurs über Leontarne angeregt hat. In α 440 zitiert der Lexikograph nach dem Homervers (B 507) nämlich aus Lykophron (644) Ἄρνης παλαιᾶς γέννα, Τεμμίκων πρόμοι („das Geschlecht aus dem altehrwürdigen Arne, die Vornehmsten der Temmiker“), der seinerseits im folgenden Vers (*Alex.* 645) „die Felsen von Leontarne“ (Λεοντάρνης πάγους) erwähnt. Dazu vermerkt das entsprechende Scholion (645c) Λεοντάρνη πόλις Βοιωτίας. οὕτως ἐκλήθη, ἐπειδὴ Ἀδράστου ἐκεῖ βασιλεύοντος καὶ μέλλοντος θύειν ἐλθὼν λέων ἥρπασεν ἄρνα τὸν τυθησόμενον („Leontarne, eine Stadt in Boiotien. Den Namen hat sie von der folgenden Begebenheit: Als der dortige König Adrastos opfern wollte, kam ein Löwe [λέων] daher und entriss ihm das Schaf [ἄρνα], welches für das Opfer vorgesehen war“). Nun figurieren die *Scholia vetera* zu Lykophron unter den Quellen des Stephanos, und Erbse hat daraus den Schluss gezogen, Eustathios schöpfe hier aus einer vollständigeren Fassung von Artikel α 440 (Ἄρνη) der *Ethnika*.¹⁷ Viel wahrscheinlicher diene ihm jedoch als Vorlage in den *Ethnika* ein eigener Eintrag Λεοντάρνη, in welchem sich Stephanos auf das Scholion zu Lyc. 645 abstützte. Dass uns der vermutete Artikel Λεοντάρνη nicht erhalten geblieben ist, hat seinen Grund im mechanischen Textverlust, welchen (nach der Zeit des Eustathios) der Archetypus der Epitome innerhalb des Buchstabens λ erlitten hatte.¹⁸ Nach dem Exkurs über Leontarne referiert Eustathios (anonym) aus Str. 9,2,35 die alte Kontroverse über Ἄρνη/Ἄσκη (Zenodot) bzw. Ἄρνη/Τάρνη und erwähnt die angeblich im Kopaissee verschwundenen Orte Arne und Mideia (s. oben S. 260).

¹⁷ Erbse 1,295.

¹⁸ Zur Epitome als Vorlage des Eustathios s. Billerbeck 2015.

2.5 Die Fehlerfalle

Wie treu Eustathios dem Text der *Ethnika* folgte und dabei auch Fehler übernahm, soll an zwei Beispielen illustriert werden. In α 224 (Ἀλόπη) kommt Stephanos nach der Aufzählung von sechs Städten dieses Namens auch auf die kleinasiatische Ἀλόπη zu sprechen und zitiert als Beleg *Il.* 2,857 „ἐλθόντ’ ἐξ Ἀλόπης, ὅθ’ Ἀμαζονίδων γένος ἐστίν“, also in der Textfassung, wie sie Ephoros — in Strabons Urteil abwegig (12,3,20–22 [C 549,23]) — aus der homerischen Überlieferung des Verses (τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη) abgeändert hatte. Für ihre Lokalisierung an der Küste beruft sich der Lexikograph namentlich auf Homer, Ὅμηρος τὴν μεταξύ Μυσίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας (sic RQPN) παράλιον φησιν. Mit Blick auf Strabon (12,3,21 [C 550,14]) verbesserte Meineke Λυδίας, wie es übrigens St. Byz. α 205 (Ἀλιζῶνες) mit Berufung auf Ephoros überliefert, Ἀλιζῶνες· ἔθνος. ... Ἐφορος (FGrHist 70 F 114b) οἰκῆσαι φησι τοὺς Ἀλιζῶνας τὴν παραλίαν τὴν μεταξύ Μυσίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας κειμένην. Genau derselbe Befund liegt bei Eustathios vor. Während er sich im Kommentar zu *Il.* 2,682 (οἱ τ’ ... Ἀλόπην ... νέμοντο) auf St. Byz. α 224 (Ἀλόπη) beruft und schreibt εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι Ἀλόπαι, ὧν μία μεταξύ Μυσίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας (sic), ἣν λέγει, φασίν, ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ „ἐλθόντ’ ἐξ Ἀλόπης“ (I 498,8), kopiert er dann im Abschnitt über *Il.* 2,856 aus St. Byz. α 205 (Ἀλιζῶνες) richtig ὁ δὲ τὰ Ἐθνικά ἐπιλεξάμενος ... λέγων, ὅτι Ἐφορός φησι τοὺς Ἀλιζῶνας τὴν παραλίαν οἰκῆσαι τὴν μεταξύ Μυσίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας (I 572,16).

Ein geradezu kreativer Fehler des Stephanos oder des Epitomators steckt in St. Byz. γ 94 Γόννοι· πόλις Περραιβίας, ἀπὸ Γουνέως κληθεῖσα τοῦ ἀπογόνου Κύφου, ὡς φησιν Ὅμηρος (B 748) (,Gonnoi, Stadt in Perrhaibien, benannt nach Guneus, dem Nachfolger des Kyphos, wie Homer sagt‘). Ausgangspunkt dieser unbekannten Genealogie ist der Versanfang von *Il.* 2,748 Γουνεὺς δ’ ἐκ Κύφου (sc. ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας). Aus der homerischen Richtungsbezeichnung ἐκ ist also perseverierend ein genealogisch verstandenes ἀπὸ geworden. Eingeschlichen hat sich diese ‚ghost‘ Genealogie dann nicht bloss wiederholt in St. Byz. κ 303 Κύφος· πόλις Περραιβίας, ... ἀπὸ Κύφου τοῦ παιδὸς Περραιβοῦ, sondern auch bei Eustathios (I 523,8) ἡ Κύφος, πόλις, φασί, Περραιβίας, ἀπὸ Κύφου κληθεῖσα, υἱοῦ Περραιβοῦ τοῦ Παλληνέως, und lebt in modernen Lexika fort.¹⁹

¹⁹ So Pape/Benseler 1911, s.v. Κύφος, Nr. 4; RE XII 1 (1924) 57.

2.6 Eine Grammatikerkontroverse: ἄσπιδιώτης (Il. 2,554; 16,167)

Abschliessend wollen wir aus der Homerexegeese des Stephanos noch einen kleinen Fall betrachten, wo die Vorlage ebenfalls verschwiegen wird. Im Artikel Ἀσπίς (α 485) verzeichnet der Lexikograph als erste eine libysche Stadt dieses Namens und diskutiert später, auf diese bezogen, die Bildung des Ethnikons. Nach epichorischem Gebrauch, wie er in Äthiopien und Libyen gelte (τῷ ἔθει τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν πόλεων καὶ Λιβυσσῶν), würde es Ἀσπιδίτης lauten; möglich seien auch die Bildungen Ἀσπίδιος und Ἀσπιδεύς. Nicht infrage kommt offenbar eine Form auf -ώτης, in Parallele zum entsprechend lautenden homerischen Epitheton, τὸ δ' ἄσπιδιώτης (‚schildbewehrt‘) παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ (B 554; Π 167) κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ω. Diese Form sei vom Diminutiv ἄσπιδιον abgeleitet, wie ihn Menander (fr. 676 Kassel/Austin) verwende. Hinter der Aussage des Stephanos verbirgt sich eine Grammatikerdiskussion: Erfolgt die Bildung ἄσπιδιώτης durch Pleonasmus, d.h. durch Zusatz von ω, also ἄσπίς > ἄσπιδος > ἄσπιδίτης > ἄσπιδιώτης, oder handelt es sich um die Ableitung ἄσπίδιος > ἄσπιδιώτης? Diese Kontroverse machte ihren Weg durch die Lexika und Etymologika und wird im *Etymologicum Genuinum* (A) Herodian zugeschrieben, α 1293 ἄσπιδιώτης· εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄσπίς ἄσπιδος ἄσπιδίτης, δῆλον ὅτι πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ω· εἰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄσπίδιος, ἔνθεν (N 158) „ὑπασπίδια“, παραγωγή καὶ οὐ πλεονασμός. ὥσπερ ἴδιος ἰδιώτης καὶ ἥλιος ἡλιώτης καὶ ἀφηλιώτης, οὕτως ἄσπίδιος ἄσπιδιώτης. Ἡρωδιανὸς Περὶ παθῶν (potius Περὶ σχημάτων Dyck; 2,235,9); ähnlich Epim. Hom. II α 368 (Dyck). Werfen wir einen Blick zurück auf St. Byz. α 485, stellen wir einen Widerspruch fest, wird doch dort die Ableitung ἄσπιδιον > ἄσπιδιώτης als πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ω erklärt. Hier hat also die Verkürzung der ursprünglich volleren Fassung dem Textverständnis übel mitgespielt. Dass Stephanos die Kontroverse kannte, steht ausser Zweifel, zumal Herodian zum Hauptbestand seiner grammatischen Gewährsautoren gehört.

2.7 Schlussfolgerung

Die Liste von Beispielen wie die hier besprochenen liesse sich beliebig fortsetzen. Doch bereits die wenigen führen zu allgemeineren Schlüssen: Die Quellenforschung in den *Ethnika* des Stephanos bleibt — auch wenn sich der TLG dabei als ein unersetzliches Instrumentarium erweist — eine grosse editorische Herausforderung und zwar aus folgenden Gründen: Erstens ist das Lexikon nur in einer stark verkürzten Fassung auf uns gekommen. Zweitens stammen zahlreiche Belege, auch wenn Stephanos deren Verfasser nennt, aus verlorenen Werken; die

Zitate sind also Fragmente, deren indirekter Überlieferungsträger ausschliesslich der Lexikograph bzw. der Epitomator des ursprünglichen Lexikons ist. Drittens stossen wir in den *Ethnika* in zahlreichen Artikeln auf Auskunft und Erklärungsmaterial, dessen Herkunft ungenannt bleibt und die mögliche Quelle daher schwer zu identifizieren ist. Im Bereich der eingestreuten Homerexegese erweist sich die Quellenforschung ebenfalls als aufwendig, doch die hoch entwickelte Homerforschung erlaubt eine Verlagerung auf die Quellenkritik. Die modernen Ausgaben der Homerscholien und der homerischen Lexika sowie die neueren Editionen von Strabons *Geographika* und von Eustathios' Ilias-Kommentar mit dem wertvollen ‚Similien‘-Apparat sind Wegweiser auf einem verschlungenen Pfad durch den gelehrten Fundus der *Ethnika*. So wichtig wie die Suche „a monte“ nach den Vorlagen und Quellen des Lexikographen bleibt der Blick „a valle“ auf die Rezeption des (epitomierten) Lexikons durch Eustathios. Für ihn zählt Stephanos in der Erklärung von *Homerica* zu den Hauptlieferanten und gibt somit gleichsam einen Raster vor, welchen Quellen man die von unserem Lexikographen absorbierte Homerexegese am ehesten zuordnet.

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Part II: **Reception of Homer**

Adrian Kelly

With, or without, Homer: hearing the background in Sappho

‘Wir müssen uns hüten, unsere Vorstellung von der poetischen Produktion dieser Zeit nur nach dem erhaltenen zu machen.’¹

Nature may well abhor a vacuum, but Classicists could definitely give her a run for her money, especially those of us who deal with the literary history of the Archaic period. Scholars in this area are used to patchy evidence, unclear lines of influence and development, and a persistent darkness surrounding the genesis, earliest transmission and reception of our texts. Readers unfortunate enough to be familiar with my previous work will recall a certain kind of intellectual fallacy to which, I have suggested, Classicists are especially susceptible — WYSIATI, or what you see is all there is.² That is, scholars are prone to filling the gaps in our evidence by pretending that there aren’t any, as though the extant literature from this period amounts to all that we need to know, or all that is worth knowing. In practical terms, this leads them to construct the literary history of the Archaic period around the central pillars of the Homeric poems, and then to link those texts with every other, in a story of development and literary influence familiar from later stages of antiquity. In sum, we are told that we should use the same strategies of the Augustan poets in Rome as the model to understand the visible beginnings of Greek literature.³

With this chapter I thank Franco Montanari for his enormous contributions to Classical scholarship, though it is an inevitably unequal return. I would also thank the editors for their invitation to contribute to the volume, audiences in Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh and São Paulo for their patience and questions, and Bill Allan, Angus Bowie, Felix Budelmann, Penny Bulloch, Douglas Cairns, Andre Lardinois, Luke Pitcher, Lucia Prauscello, Henry Spelman, and Stephanie West (not least for the epigraph for this title) for their help with its material, though none should be presumed to agree with me. The text of Sappho is generally that of Voigt (with modifications as noted), and the translations my own.

¹ Bethe 1924, 67.

² See Kelly 2015a.

³ See Currie 2016 (and often). Following the lead of Hinds 1998, 34–47, I distinguish between ‘allusion’ as a reference to a particular version of a song or story, and ‘intertextuality’ as a reference to a more generic, less reified (and in this case, traditional) background. Historically, the former develops from the latter, and distinguishing between them in practice may well prove in many cases to be very difficult.

Yet this was a period when most poetry was never written down, and almost all of what was written down was lost to later ages. However it was manifest or maintained beyond the moment of performance, most poetic creation and reception in the Archaic world remains invisible to us. It thus makes little sense to privilege two works which became canonical sometime towards the end of this period as though they comprised either the norm or the entirety of early Greek poetic culture, especially since the arguments used for identifying allusions to them — essentially, that such and such a phrase or theme in another poet's work also occurs in Homer — are so weak. When there were dozens if not hundreds of bards, and hundreds if not thousands of performances and stories for audiences to listen to, the historical uncertainties are just too great, the methodology too circular and limiting: the newly fashionable 'homerocentric' enterprise is built upon sand.⁴

One has to admit, nonetheless, that scholars have enjoyed lounging on the beach thereby provided. It is very tempting to bask in the light of Homer as the epicentre of all literary creation in the Archaic Greek world; after all, its proponents say, it's natural, it works, and it produces interesting readings.⁵ The first two of these reasons unwittingly reveal why it is proving increasingly popular to talk about allusion in these terms — *Graecia capta*, the process by which Roman literary culture interacted with and developed itself as a conscious reaction to the highlights of Greek literary culture.⁶ No-one now, for instance, tries to interpret Vergil without first examining his deliberate, self-conscious relationship to Homer and Apollonius. This kind of reading practice, where one text develops from another in a knowingly interactive manner — and a manner designed to be recognised by its audiences — is simply part and parcel of our discipline. Because of that, because of the way in which we are trained, Classical scholars find it difficult to imagine literary dynamics of any other type.

But it is the third reason, the interesting reading, which I want to address in this chapter. Though one might wonder whether this is a particularly scholarly criterion — after all, whether a reading is 'interesting' is almost comedically subjective, and says nothing *per se* about the truth value of the overall claim as to

⁴ The emergence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into wider Greek consciousness, on which much of the homerocentric position depends, is not securely evidenced before the middle of the sixth century: see West 1999, 377 = 2011, 429. For traditions of visual art, which do not show any impact from the Homeric poems until then, see Cook 1983, Snodgrass 1998 and now Spelman 2017, 5–6.

⁵ Cf., e.g., Currie 2016, 4–33, and 33–5 on 'meaningfulness'; Rawles 2018, 8–11.

⁶ This is not to imply that the process was simple, monovalent, or inevitable: see the salutary survey of Henrichs 1995, and now Feeney 2016.

literary influence — part of the challenge here is to outline poetic meaning without falling back on allusion. So, while one can make many arguments as to why we should not believe that Homer's texts were at the centre of all literary culture in this period, what can we do once we remove these two poems from the frame? That is, if we cannot assume that all the Archaic poets and their audiences knew the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, if we cannot draw straight lines of influence from these texts to others or *vice versa*, if we cannot interpret Homer and his early reception in the same way we think about Vergil and his — well then, what can we do? Let us try to offer an answer to this question in this chapter by looking at the reception or, more accurately in my view, the non-reception of Homer in the works of Sappho.⁷

1 Fragment 1

The temptation to link the two giants in early Greek literary history is powerful, and much fruitful work has been done on the ways in which the female perspectivism of Sappho's poetry can play with the audience's understanding of epic conventions.⁸ Fragment 1 is the poem almost always cited in this connection: Sappho's request to Aphrodite to aid her in an erotic venture gone wrong again seems to contain so many references to epic language and themes, specifically from the *Iliad*, that scholars have long read this as an attack on the male ethic of war in that poem. John Winkler, for instance, speaks confidently of direct links between the authors, and Sappho's deliberate recall of a certain Homeric situation in the fifth book of the *Iliad*, where Diomedes calls on Athene to aid him in recovering from a wound given him by the Lycian hero Pandarus:⁹

⁷ This chapter will focus on fr. 1, 16, 44, and the 'Brothers Poem', as the principal examples of Homeric (non-)interaction. Many more cases could have been adduced (e.g. fr. 17 and its differences from the *Odyssey*), but these will serve to make the point. Though more attention will be paid to the interpretative advantages of an intertextual reading, some reasons for rejecting the plausibility of allusion will be mentioned in passing at the start of each section. For a similar argument, but more focused on rejecting allusion to Homer in Hipponax, see Kelly (forthcoming); for a wider survey, see Kelly 2015a.

⁸ See Kelly 2020, with much further bibliography.

⁹ Winkler 1990, 169. Krischer 1968, 12–14 suggests that Sappho has in mind Achilles' prayer to Thetis in *Iliad* 1, but Book 5 seems to be the more usual target: see, e.g., Di Benedetto 1973; Svenbro 1975; Rawles 2018, 10. For treatments of Sappho fr. 1, see Marry 1979; Rissman 1983, 1–29; Winkler 1990, 169–76; Greene 1994, 50–4 (= 1996, 243–6); Snyder 1997, 7–17; Stehle 1997, 296–9; M. Johnson 2007, 41–8; Blondell 2010, 373–7.

Sappho's use of homeric passages is a way of allowing us, even encouraging us, to approach her consciousness as a woman and a poet reading Homer. The Homeric hero is not just a starting point for Sappho's discourse about her own love, rather Diomedes as he exists in the *Iliad* is central to what Sappho is saying about the *distance* between Homer's world and her own. A woman listening to the *Iliad* must cross over a gap which separates her experience from the subject of the poem, a gap which does not exist in quite the same way for male listeners.

Before we follow Winkler down this allusive path, however, let us review the text of the fragment, with the common elements usually invoked as evidence of allusion in bold characters (and then listed underneath, with Homeric parallels):

πο ικιλόθρο ν' ἄθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα, παῖ Δ ί ος δολ όπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε, μῆ μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα, πότν ια, θύ μον,		Cunningly-throned (?) divine Aphrodite, Zeus' daughter deceit-weaver, I beg you, don't tame my soul, mistress, with distress nor troubles,
ἀλλ ὰ τυιδ' ἔλ θ', αἴ ποτα κατέρωτα τὰ ς ἔμας αὖ δας αἰοισα πῆλοι ἔκ λυες, πάτροις δὲ δόμον λίποισα χρῦ σιον ἤλθ ες	5	but come here, if ever at other times hearing my voice from afar you hearkened, and leaving your father's golden house, you came,
ἄρ μ' ὑπασδε ύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον ὦ κεες στροῦ θοι περὶ γὰς μελαίνας πύ κνα δίν ενντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠρανῶ θε- ρο ς διὰ μέσσω·	10	yoking your chariot; and fair swift sparrows led you, wheeling their close wings around the black earth from heaven through mid-ether.
αἶ ψα δ' ἐξίκο ντο· σὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα, μειδιαῖ σαισ' ἄθανάτωι προσώπωι ἦ ρε' ὅττι ι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι δηῦτε κ άλ η μμι	15	And immediately they arrived; and you, o blessed one, smiling with your immortal face asked what now have I suffered and why now am I calling
κ ῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι μ αινόλαι θύμωι· τίνα δηῦτε πείθω . σάγην ές σάν φιλότατα; τίς σ', ὦ Ψά πφ', ἀδίκησι;	20	and what now do I really wish to have in my maddened soul; 'whom now do I persuade to lead back to your love? Who, o Sappho, wrongs you?
κα ὶ γ ὰρ αἱ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει, αἱ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει, αἱ δὲ μὴ φιλεῖ, ταχέως φιλήσει κῶυκ ἐθέλοισα.		For if they flee, swiftly they will pursue, and if they don't receive gifts, yet they will give, and if they don't love, soon they will though she may not want to
ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λύσον ἐκ μερίμναν, ὅσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι θυμός ἱμέρρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ' αὐτα σύμμαχος ἔσσο.	25	come to me even now, and free me from difficult cares, and everything my soul desires to complete, complete it, and do you in person be my ally.

- 3–4: οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὦδε θεᾶς ἔρος οὐδὲ γυναικὸς / θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσαν (*Il.* 14.315–6); δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν (*Il.* 9.496).
- 9: ζεύξειεν ὑφ' ἄρμασιν (*Il.* 24.14); ζεύξασθ' ὑφ' ἄρματ' (*Od.* 3.476) etc.
- 10: γαῖα μέλαινα (8x Hom.).
- 11: δινεύουσιν ὑπὸ πτέρυγος βάλε (*Il.* 23.875); ἔνθ' ἐπιδινηθέντε τιναξάσθην πτερὰ πυκνά (*Od.* 2.151) etc.
- 11–12: αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἴκε (*Il.* 2.458); οὐρανὸν εἴσω / αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης (*Il.* 16.364–5); οὐρανὸν ἴκε δι' αἰθέρος (*Il.* 17.425) etc.
- 13: αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανον (*Il.* 3.145) etc.; αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο (*Il.* 18.532) etc.
- 14: μειδιῶν βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι (*Il.* 7.212); ἐφ' ἡμερτῶ δὲ προσώπῳ / αἰεὶ μειδίαι (*HApfr.* 10.2–3); φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη (6x Hom., *HDem.* 102) etc.
- 17–18: ὅσον ἤθελε θυμός (*Il.* 9.177) etc.; ἤθελε θυμῷ (*Il.* 16.255) etc.; εἰ σύ γε θυμῷ / σῶ ἐθέλεις (*Il.* 17.488–9 ~ 23.894).
- 24: ὅς μ' ἔθελεν φιλότῃτι μιγῆμεναι οὐκ ἐθέλουσῃ (*Il.* 6.165); ἐμεῖο μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλούσης (*Il.* 24.389); οὐκ ἐθέλουσῃ (*Od.* 2.50); καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσ', ὑπ' ἀνάγκης (*Od.* 2.110).

Most of these apparent allusions don't look particularly close to the Homeric phrases in question, and those which do are formulaic expressions. That is, the *Iliad* poet held them in common with every other narrative epic poet of his time, and so their presence in Sappho fr. 1 is not evidence that she derived them from the *Iliad*, or that her audiences would link them with that poem. If we're being methodologically honest, this list of apparent parallels cannot support a direct, allusive relationship between Sappho and Homer.¹⁰

It might, however, support the notion of an indirect, generic reference to all such episodes in epos (and beyond), something akin to what John Miles Foley termed 'traditional referentiality'.¹¹ He was talking mainly about semantics within the epic tradition itself, the ability of any repeated unit to bear with it the associations of its previous occurrences, but the principle seems naturally capable of a broader application — and, as several scholars have noted, somewhat closer to Kristeva's original conception of intertextuality.¹² In the case of fr. 1, the form of divine summoning (the so-called 'clitic' invocation) matches the patterns we can see abstracted across narrative and hymnic epos: that is, invocation of the

10 Richard Rawles suggests to me that it is the confluence of the episodes in Book 5, rather than the presence or absence of direct reminiscences, which is at issue here. He is right to point out the inherent interest in comparing the two treatments, as long as we don't treat them in a genealogical manner; indeed, under the current model, they are indispensable, complementary tools to reconstruct the totality of the poetic tradition about Aphrodite's function in the world of epic heroes.

11 See, e.g., Foley 1999, and the narrative and further references in Kelly 2007, 5–9, and 5 n. 20.

12 See, e.g., Danek 2002, 8.

deity with an epithet, reference to an established or soon to be established relationship with that deity, a request, and an immediate epiphany to complete the task.¹³ This is an extraordinarily common event in early Greek poetry (and life!), and so the idea that we should valorise one particular scene from *Iliad* Book 5 in the interpretation of fr. 1 is inherently implausible. Indeed, once we get away from the allusive straitjacket, then we start to appreciate the inclusiveness and the ambition of Sappho's epic interaction: she casts herself, and her close relationship with Aphrodite, as a particular case of the typical, exalted relationship between an extraordinary mortal and a god, specifically where the hero calls on that patron deity for aid — think Heracles and Athene, Diomedes and Athene, Odysseus and Athene, Jason and Hera, Helen or Paris and Aphrodite, and so on, right throughout the potential corpus of Greek epic storytelling.¹⁴

Moreover, the *Dichterweihe* topos, the moment where the Archaic poet narrates a meeting with the divine patron or source of his or her poetry, is also firmly in the background here.¹⁵ The most famous extant cases are Hesiod's meeting with the Muses in the *Theogony* (*Th.* 22–34) or the experience of Archilochus (test. 3.22–55 Gerber), but these are in themselves obviously related typologically to the narrative experiences of the epic characters exemplified above. Once we start to invoke the whole canvas, then we are open to the totality of the epic tradition, and the way in which it is received and recreated in the moment of poetic mission or ordination. This makes a much more powerful, polyvalent and universalising

13 For a review of the formal elements, see Bremer and Furley 2001, 1.50–64. For hymnic forms in melos, cf., e.g., Sappho fr. 2 (Aphrodite), 17 (Hera), Alcaios fr. 34 (Dioscuroi), 308 (Hermes), Anacreon fr. 348 *PMG* = fr. 3 Page (Artemis); see also Burzacchini 2005 on the hymn in Sappho, and Page 1955, 244–72 on hymns in Alcaeus. Though the current chapter is more concerned with the epic background, it is artificial to isolate epic in the audience's conglomerate, as Henry Spelman and Penny Bulloch point out to me: the ordinary prayer, so closely related to the 'cletic' invocation we see in the poetic tradition(s), needs to be added to our interpretative model, and to help close the triangulation between poet, myth and audience: not only can the latter relate Aphrodite to her (and analogous) poetic treatments, but it can see itself in the god-mortal relationship as well.

14 For an actual reminiscence of this theme, see Athene's claim about Herakles frequently calling on her aid during his labours (*Il.* 8.362–5); though she talks about Zeus sending her down to aid his son, this is clearly shaped for the rhetorical context (complaint about Zeus' selective memory and current disregard for her wishes) and in no way precludes her independence of action. Such figures in Homer tend to be men, as Angus Bowie points out to me (excepting Penelope's appeal to Artemis in *Od.* 20.60–90); if this represents a wider norm, then Sappho's manipulation of epos here has a gendered element.

15 For other generic self-fashioning in the poems under examination here, this time the Brothers' Poem, see below, pp. 281–3.

background for Sappho's relationship with Aphrodite in fr. 1, and the kinds of narrative situations to which she's comparing herself and her own circumstance.

In effect, Sappho claims her relationship with the goddess is a distillation and refraction of *every and any such* relationship any audience member could ever have experienced. Not just one, but all possible instantiations.¹⁶ It's also, thereby, a more inclusive statement: it appeals to a more varied, less homogeneous audience, with differing levels of knowledge or preference, and it allows that audience to map their own, various experiences onto her claims of authority and poetic sensibility. If an audience member listening to fr. 1 recalls Heracles' summons to Athene during his labours, or Diomedes' during his rampage across the Trojan or Theban plains, or Odysseus' in his many journeys, or Nestor's in his various adventures, or Jason's calls to Hera, or whoever else's, or all of them, it doesn't matter — no individual recall needs to crowd out or prioritise any other. And this is another reason not to privilege one scene's version in this process, especially when we can't make any claim about which particular story or version of that story would do so.

Of course, we cannot preclude *a priori* the idea that Sappho's original audiences might have contained people who 'knew' the *Iliad*. But this in turn gives rise to even more questions, which must be faced. What does 'knowing the *Iliad*' mean, for instance? Does it mean knowing the text in detail, knowing of it in its outlines, perhaps having heard or even read some of its marquee episodes? In a period when this knowledge could only or mostly have come from performance, how much recall of phraseological detail can be expected? Moreover, even for an audience member who did know the *Iliad*, and knew it so well as to pick up the allusions which scholars have detected, would it have been the only source of reference in the interpretative process? Next to that poem stood hundreds of performances and stories, about Troy and many other heroic nodes, which also jostle for attention and offer their resonance.¹⁷ Would such a person have represented

¹⁶ As Douglas Cairns reminds me, we must try to avoid exclusive categories (i.e. labelling something as *either* intertextual *or* allusive), since every tradition is only the sum total of individual realisations, and no audience member brings entirely the same range of such events to bear. This is why it is so difficult to isolate intertextuality from allusion, but also why no poet could afford to focus on only one instantiation of that tradition as the primary semantic touchstone of their work. Once we factor traditional variation back into our conception, the text and its possibilities come to life. See further the conclusion below, pp. 287–90.

¹⁷ Trojan stories held deep resonance for Lesbian culture: Lesches of Pyrrha or Mytilene was the author of the probably sixth-century *Little Iliad* (see Kelly 2015b), and the island itself is close to Troy and somewhat prominent in Homer (*Il.* 9.129, 664, 24.544, *Od.* 3.169): see West 2002, 208 (= 2011, 393–4); Spelman 2017, 5–8; Budelmann 2018, 139–40.

a majority of Sappho's audience, and would the *Iliad* have presented itself as a priority in the interpretative response to her poem? How would those who did not recognise the supposed allusion, or did not know the *Iliad*, or did not know the *Iliad* to the required extent, have interpreted the poem? Was she not concerned with those parts of her audience? In other words, unless we imagine that the appearance of the *Iliad* utterly and immediately cancels out every other artist, song or story in the audience's experience, then there must have been a tremendous amount of variation in that experience.

Thus, by moving away from an allusively homerocentric model, not only do we avoid limiting our vision, but we get a glimpse of Sappho's aims and audiences which acknowledges our uncertainties about the varied complexities of life, literary experience and poetic performance in Archaic Lesbos. By confronting the limitations in our knowledge, by recognising that what we see is not all that there is, we open up new possibilities for interpretation. At the same time, these are not really completely unfamiliar avenues. They are, rather, broader boulevards, since a more traditionally-oriented intertextuality does not negate the fundamental insights of those who have tried to link Sappho directly with Homer. Expanding the reference pool of fr. 1 as we did above doesn't change the basic fact that this fragment takes a frequently male-dominated setting or context and feminises it, eroticises it, and plays with it — in much the same manner as John Winkler, and many other scholars, have seen. Indeed, let us reprint his earlier quotation, but reformulated in line with our discussion.

Sappho's use of the epic tradition is a way of allowing us, even encouraging us, to approach her consciousness as a woman and a poet experienced in that tradition. The epic hero is not just a starting point for Sappho's discourse about her own love, rather he is central to what Sappho is saying about the distance between the epic world and her own. A woman listening to an epic poem must cross over a gap which separates her experience from the subject of the poem, a gap which does not exist in quite the same way for male listeners.

His conclusion remains almost unchanged, whether one agrees with it or not, but it now stands on a much sounder methodological footing.

This kind of reading may, additionally, strengthen and expand the potential of allusive conclusions. Eva Stehle, for instance, has very plausibly argued that fr. 1 is fundamentally antipatriarchal in asserting Aphrodite's power and influence specifically as a response to her negative portrayal in Book 5 of the *Iliad*.¹⁸ Her point in fact becomes much stronger if we discount the allusion, since all the

18 Stehle 1997, 299.

evidence we have for the treatment of this goddess in early epos shows a consistent program of downplaying her power and independence: in Aphrodite's (undated) major *Homeric Hymn*, her power is acknowledged while her sexual freedom controlled, when she is tricked by Zeus into a parturitive relationship with Anchises. That this sort of narrative can be told in an ostensibly honorific text is surely significant in itself, but it reflects the tone of her treatment throughout the literature of the period: in the *Iliad*, she is contrasted to the warlike deities and encouraged to stay out of battle, even being wounded twice (in Book 5 and Book 21), while also being tricked by Hera to give up her *kestos* as Zeus' wife attempts to foil her husband's apparently pro-Trojan plan (Book 14); in Demodocos' song in the *Odyssey*, she is the paradigm of the faithless wife (Book 8); in Trojan War myth in general, however it was known to Sappho and her audiences, Aphrodite is obviously important and responsible as one of the proximate causes of the whole war, granting Helen to Paris, and supporting the Trojans all the way to the destruction of their city.¹⁹

In other words, one doesn't require a single version of a single story about this goddess to see the purpose and effect of Sappho's anti-patriarchal appropriation of epic norms and situations in fr. 1. In the search for her programmatic fuel, Sappho takes the configuration of this goddess in *the entirety of epos* and twists it around. Rather than being a somewhat uncertain source of divine support to the questing or fighting hero, Aphrodite is now central to Sappho's poetic identity and the experience of her audiences — she is to Sappho in her poetry what Athene is to her hero in battle, Hermes to his in travel, Artemis or Apollo in the hunt, and so on. This appeal doesn't depend on the audience recognising one episode in one other poem, but it accounts for the variation and experience of that audience by reaching out to every possible depiction of this goddess, and other gods, in analogous narrative circumstances. The semantic potential here is enormous and ambitious; to limit it to one scene in the *Iliad* impoverishes the poet, her audiences, and our understanding. When we can't be sure that Sappho or her audiences knew the *Iliad*, then the interpretative advantages of not relying on that link are another reason not to be homerocentric.

¹⁹ For general treatments of Aphrodite in early Greek literature, see Pirenne-Delforge 1994, Budin 2003, Faulkner 2008, 18–19.

2 Fragment 16

These advantages become clearer, and more varied as well, when we move beyond the oft-studied fr. 1. Where that fragment seems to enlist the themes of epos for an eroticised and feminised program, challenging conceptions and norms in order to bend them to her purpose, fr. 16 is at least on the surface more openly antagonistic:²⁰

[ο]ἱ μὲν ἱππῶν στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων
οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ί] γὰν μέλαι[ν]αν
[ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
τω τις ἔραται·

Some say a host of charioteers,²¹ others (a host) of troops, and others (a host) of ships is the finest thing on the black earth, but I say it is whatever someone loves.

[πά]γχυ δ' εὖμαρες σύνετον πόησαι
[π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ', ἃ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα
κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα
τὸν [...ἀρ]ιστον

5 And it is entirely easy to make this understood to everyone, for the one who far surpassed the beauty of humans, Helen, leaving her husband the [... b]est

καλλ[ί]τοις' ἔβα ἵς Τροίαν πλέοι[σα]
κωῦδ[έ] παῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων
π[ά]μπαν ἐμνάσθη, ἀλλὰ παράγχα' αὐτὰν
[.].[.....]σαν

10 went to Troy sailing and neither for her child nor her dear parents at all had thought, but [...] led her astray ...

[.....γν]άμπτον γὰρ [.....] νόημα
[....]... κούφως τ[.....] νοήσηι,
[..]με νῦν Ἀνακτορι[ας] ὀνέμναι-
[σ' οὐ] παρεοίσας.

15 for [un?]bending thought ... lightly ... intends, ... now reminding me of Anactoria when she is [not] here.

[τᾱ]ς <κ>ε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
κάμάρυγμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπων
ἦ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα ἱκανοπλοισι
πεσοδομ[ά]χεντας.

20 I would rather see her lovely step and the bright gleam from her face than the Lydians' chariots and in their armour their [footf]ighters.

1–2: ἱππῶν στρότον ... πέσδων ~ πέζοι θ' ἱππῆς τε (3x Hom.)

2: ἐπ[ί] γὰν μέλαι[ν]αν ~ γαῖα μέλαινα (8x Hom.).

13–14: γν[ά]μπτον ... νόημα ~ νόημα / (Il. 24.40–1)

20 Text after Obbink 2016, once more with the apparently Homeric expressions highlighted in bold text, and their parallels set out below.

21 ἱππῶν could denote 'cavalry', which would be less in keeping with epic usage, but charioteers finds its complement in the 'chariots of the Lydians' in 19 (I am indebted to David Gribble on this point).

Largely by ignoring the multiform deployment of war in the personal poetry of Alcaeus, Archilochus and Tyrtaeus, scholars frequently hold that the contrast in the opening priamel is firmly, almost exclusively, aimed at the *Iliad*. Marguerite Johnson, for instance, calls it “a rejection of the *Iliad* in particular and its martial ethics”,²² yet it should hardly need pointing out that the highlighted expressions are formulaic, and there doesn’t seem to be any particular reason beyond these generic echoes to invoke the *Iliad* itself. As Gregory Hutchinson says, “the *Iliad* may be one element in the male militarism which the poem dismisses; but the structure of the stanza presents rather a crowd of contemporary men”.²³ I would go further: there is no reason to think that the *Iliad* is being invoked here. Again, that’s not because it can be ruled out *a priori*, but because a stronger case in favour of reading its influence needs to be made. It is certainly not made by arguing, as Patricia Rosenmeyer does, that to refer at this time to Helen was to refer to Homer’s Helen in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*²⁴ — a ringing example of WYSIATI.

Aside from being unjustified on the level of evidence and argument, homerocentrism again narrows our interpretative ambitions, this time by drawing our attention away from the task of interpreting this complex poem, and offering instead the seductively straightforward paths criticised above, so that fr. 16 is all about ‘love’ versus ‘war’, Sappho versus Homer. True, the priamel is structured around the complementarity of men, ships, charioteers and war, a common and meaningful pairing throughout early Greek epos (and, once more, melos as well). But the sea and sailing, whether in the form of military ventures or trade, is a dangerous place in that world more generally; its dispreferred status as a means for livelihood of the latter sort is clear in Hesiod’s *Works and Days* (45–6, 618–62), and the Homeric poems frequently exploit an opposition between a quiet life at home and a dangerous existence involving, and conducted over, the sea (e.g., *Od.* 14.244–7, cf. *Il.* 2.453–4, 11.13–14; also *Od.* 8.138–9, 15.343); this suggests that the sea’s characterisation in these terms is a topos.²⁵ So Sappho begins fr. 16 by apparently rejecting that topos in (almost) all its variety, not just as it is found in the

²² Johnson 2007, 68. For the wider deployment of this theme in the personal poetry of the Archaic period, see Swift 2015.

²³ Hutchinson 2001, 149.

²⁴ Rosenmeyer 1997, 125; cf. Kelly 2015a, 28 n. 34.

²⁵ Kelly 2011, 780. Stephanie West reminds me that Laertes in *Odyssey* 24 is an excellent representation of a nobleman who has opted for the quiet life, and his ‘careful husbandry’ of the orchard gives us one of the most pleasant images of that poem. Of course, here too epic depictions must be complemented by those from the melic tradition (see Heirman 2012, 146–72, Uhlig 2018, 80–91) as well as those drawn from contemporary life.

story-predicate of the *Iliad*. For an audience member fully to appreciate her point, they *have* to include a much bigger picture of epos within their frame.²⁶

Moreover, there is a little bit more to the straightforward opposition with which the homerocentrists content themselves. After all, epos — even just the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* — is hardly monovalent on these issues: on the one hand, war and adventure is a means to *kudos* and riches during one's life and *kleos* after it, but there is also always a balancing domestic world to preserve and (re)claim. So Sappho is not just taking aim at epos, if that genre is taken as a whole. Nor is fr. 16 so straightforward about the relationship between love and that dispreferred subject matter. Sappho uses the paradigm of Helen and Menelaos (15–16) to map onto her own relationship with Anactoria, an odd comparandum if she's trying to imply a strict generic separation between epos and her own melos, since this is the archetypal story which required ships, men and charioteers to resolve.²⁷

In fact, that link makes much more sense if Sappho's engagement with epos goes beyond narrowly martial themes, and does so in a complex manner. She both invokes that poetic world in all its variety, and claims her place within it. She inserts her comparison, her valorisation and her poem into the world dominated by epos, but with a(nother) twist on that background: while epic foregrounds the stories of war and risk, and the actions then required to (re)claim life and home, Sappho directs our view of that thematic nexus onto the central figure of the beloved, as an object both of desire and interest, and not simply the starting off point for a story.²⁸

Thus, merely to invoke the *Iliad* as the target for Sappho's poetic alienation is as unwarranted and as limiting as it was with fr. 1, though the effect of that limitation is felt a slightly different way. Here, homerocentrism amounts to a distraction, a refusal to look beyond easy comparisons and simplistic conclusions. When we use instead a more flexible conception of intertextuality to think

26 This should be obvious, as Emily Kearns points out to me, from the multiplicity indicated by οἱ μὲν / οἱ δὲ / οἱ δέ. One might reply that Sappho is positioning herself rhetorically against an imagined plurality so as to increase the individuality of her claim, but there is surely more than enough nonhomeric early Trojan War (or more widely heroic) material for us to be confident that the plurality here is an actual one.

27 Much in this paragraph is owed to Pfeijffer 2000.

28 Felix Budelmann pertinently asks me if the above characterisation is entirely fair to early epic, given the prominence of female figures and agents, especially in the *Odyssey*. Yet the role which these figures have in that poem in particular is granted because of, and very much after, the central fact of the Trojan War: the large-scale ramifications of Helen and Paris' elopement, and their opportunities for interesting narrative, are more important to the epic aesthetic than they are to Sappho in fr. 16.

through how Sappho's composition invokes the traditional background, we reach beyond narrow definitions and routes of significance to challenge and enrich our readings of the text.

3 The 'Brothers Poem'

To vary the tune a bit, let's look at Sappho's invocation of the *Odyssey*. Most scholars doubt whether that latter poem was known at all to the Lesbian poets,²⁹ but the discovery of the 'Brothers Poem' seems to some to have changed that, with Dirk Obbink suggesting that Sappho was playing the role of a Penelope-style figure in waiting for her brother to come home, or making Larichos into a Telemachos figure.³⁰ Eva Stehle has taken Obbink's seemingly throwaway suggestion further: Sappho's desire that Charaxos 'find us *steadfast*' (ἐπεύρην ἀρτεμέας P. Sapph. Obbink 9) is, for them, an allusion to Odysseus' wish that he 'return to find [his] wife at home with her *steadfast* friends' (ἄκοιτιν / νοστήσας εὔροιμι σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισιν *Od.* 13.42–3).³¹ But the adjective is formulaic when a warrior returns safely from battle (*Il.* 5.515 = 7.308) and the idiom could well be an underrepresented formula adapted for the context of a *nostos* or return song. Moreover, it is also an expression deployed just once in the *Odyssey*, and so it could only activate and sustain an allusion if we assume that Sappho's audience knew their *Odyssey* well-nigh verbatim. Again, we can't rule that out *a priori*, but — in a context where performance is the most realistic setting for audience interaction with the poem — is it likely?³² Perhaps if there were other such Odyssean interactions in the vicinity, or elsewhere in what we have left of Sappho (or Alcaeus), one might be inclined to consider this a direct interaction. But there aren't such other traces,³³ and the general context is rather dissimilar as well.

²⁹ Meyerhoff 1984, 13, West 2002, 214 = 2011, 401; *contra* Mueller 2016. Winkler 1990, 178–80 links the opening of fr. 31 with Odysseus' praise of Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.158–61).

³⁰ Obbink 2014. For recent studies of this poem, see the essays in Bierl and Lardinois 2016.

³¹ Stehle 2016, 275–6.

³² Henry Spelman reminds me of Xenophon's Nikeratos (*Sym.* 3.5–6), who was cast as quite peculiar for having been made to memorise both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. How much less likely is this kind of knowledge two hundred years earlier, when texts were much less prevalent?

³³ See above, n. 29. Mueller 2016 attempts to read several Odyssean intertexts into the Brothers Poem, but none are convincing, and all her (perfectly sensible) conclusions about Sappho's take on the *nostos* can be reached (and strengthened) without them, as we have seen above with regard to frs. 1 and 16.

Granted, a male figure (in this case the brother Charaxos) is absent, and women are left at home to deal with that absence. But there is also another younger brother, Larichos, who is roundly denounced for his failure to live up to his family's needs, and another female figure (perhaps Charaxos' lover Doricha) who is unwisely happy about his current fortunes. Is Larichos to be framed as Telemachos in this arrangement, while Charaxos plays Odysseus? But Charaxos and Larichos are brothers, neither child nor husband to Sappho, and so surely more caution is needed before we bed the poem down into the somewhat procrustean frame of the *Odyssey*. After all, the *nostos* was a popular type of song, as we can see even in the *Odyssey* itself; we know of at least one archaic poem called the *Nostoi* which told the stories of the other heroic homecomings from Troy,³⁴ and it seems to be typical in these songs to focus on the hero's ability to reclaim the home, and so the wellbeing of the household in his absence.³⁵ There must have been many such epic women in Sappho's position, and a sister rebuking an absent and missed brother might seem closer anyway to the frame of the Orestes myth, which was already so well-known to Homer as to be used as a paradigmatic story for his central narrative in the *Odyssey*.³⁶ Moreover, intra-sibling strife is a common parainetic setting in early Greek poetry, as Laura Swift has recently shown,³⁷ so that Sappho's riff on that theme here amounts to another feminised take on a very typical narrative trope.

What's the effect of all this? Sappho's tone and purpose in this poem puts her at odds with epic women who try to deal with the actual or imminent absence of their menfolk: Hecabe seeks to dissuade Priam from going to the Greek camp (*Il.* 24.200–16), Andromache and, to a lesser extent, Hecabe and even Helen try to stop Hector from returning to the fight (*Il.* 6.407–9, 354–8, 22.79–89), and so on. Unlike those women, and the many others in extant epos who try to have an influence of varied sorts on the world around them, there is no male to close down or deny her voice. While Priam silences Hecabe, and Hector Andromache, Telemachos Penelope, and so on, Sappho is not silenced, she does not return to a confined space, and she dispenses authoritative advice to all those around her. Indeed, having rebuked one brother for his failings, she then turns her attention to the other (P. Sapph. Obbink 17–20)! Where the limitations on the epic female

³⁴ See now Danek 2015.

³⁵ Foley 1999, ch. 5.

³⁶ See Olson 1990. I doubt whether the basic thrust of Olson's thesis — that the parallel is used to raise real doubts in the audience's mind about the fate of Odysseus and his family — is right, but the use of the story in this way shows the strength of its presence in the tradition.

³⁷ Swift 2018.

are enforced by the men around her, Sappho asserts her continued agency. In doing this she appropriates a usually male parainetic role, such as we see in figures like Nestor and Phoenix in the *Iliad*, and Theoclymenos in the *Odyssey*, but we can readily extend this kind of authoritative criticism to poetic self-portraits within and beyond epos, informing the ‘characters’ of Hesiod, Theognis, Archilochus, etc. This is a project of self-fashioning which takes us well beyond the very tired cliché of ‘Sappho, lover’, or even ‘Sappho, poet of love’. Once more the poetic background, and Sappho’s use of it, becomes much more interesting when we stop trying to oversimplify it.³⁸

4 Fragment 44

The proof — or otherwise — of the pudding served up in this chapter has to come in an examination of fr. 44, ‘Sappho’s most Homeric poem’.³⁹ The story itself is not known from our exiguous traces of early epic, but it is not difficult to imagine it within the narrative scope of several other stories linked with the Trojan War, as Henry Spelman has most recently argued.⁴⁰ He points to the prominence of the wedding of Helen and Paris in the *Cypria* and early art as reasons for us to think that this popular episode may have been Sappho’s most immediate source.⁴¹ Fr. 44 would still be seen as referring to Troy’s destruction, but once more we do not need the *Iliad* — or even the *Cypria* — to see the point of the poem.

Yet, predictably, this is precisely what the majority of scholars try to do. Given the fact that Homer mentioned their wedding on several occasions (most memorably in *Il.* 22.470–2),⁴² these scholars have suggested that Sappho is drawing directly on several passages from that poem, principally from Books 6, 22 and 24, in order to create a lyric, miniature *Iliad*, undermining the ostensibly happy

³⁸ This remains true, by the way, even if the phraseological link with *Odyssey* 13.43 we touched on above is in fact an allusion: there is so much more going on in this poem, in the intertextual sense, that any allusion here plays a decidedly secondary role.

³⁹ Rissman 1983, 121. For treatments of this poem, see e.g., Rissman 1983, 119–41; Meyerhoff 1984, 118–39; Schrenk 1994; Bowie 2010, 71–4; Kelly 2015a, 28–9; Sampson 2016; Spelman 2017; Sampson 2019.

⁴⁰ Spelman 2017.

⁴¹ Other scholars have found connections with the *Cypria*: see, e.g., Steinrück 1999, Suarez de la Torre 2008. But Spelman’s undoubtedly correct point is that Sappho refers to the episode, not to any single treatment of it.

⁴² Cf. also 1.366–9, 2.691, 6.394–7, 413–28, 9.188, 16.153–4, 23.826–9.

moment of Hector and Andromache's marriage with Troy's inevitable fall as represented, or foreshadowed, in the poem.⁴³ Here follows the fragment, with the usual markings for apparent Homeric allusions:⁴⁴

<	>	a
<	>	b
<	>	c
Κυπρο.[— 22 —]ας·		Cypro- ...
κάρυξ ἦλθε θε[— 10 —]ελε[. .]θεις		a herald came ...
Ἰδαος ταδεκα. . . φ[. .]ις τάχυς ἄγγελος		the swift messenger Idaios
<“	>	‘ ...
τάς τ' ἄλλας Ἀσίας [.]δε.αν κλέος ἄφθιτον ·		and of the rest of Asia ... undying fame.
Ἔκτωρ καὶ συνέταιρ[ο]ι ἄγοισ' ἐλικώπιδα	5	Hektor and his companions bring a bright-eyed girl
Θήβας ἐξ ἱέρας Πιλακίας τ' ἀπ' [αἰ]ν<ν>άω		from holy Thebe and Placia which always flows
ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦσιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον		graceful Andromache – in their boats over the salt
πόντον · πόλλα δ' [ἐλ]ιγματα χρύσια κάμματα		sea. Many are her golden coils,
πορφύρ[α] καταὔτ[με]να, ποίκιλ' ἀθύρματα,		purple-scented halters, elaborate playthings,
ἀργύρα τ' ἀνάρ[ι]θμα [ποτῆ]ρ[ι]α κἀλέφαις.”	10	countless are her cups of silver and ivory.’
ὥς εἶπ'· ὁτραλέως δ' ἀνόρουσε πάτ[η]ρ φίλος·		So he spoke, and his dear father leapt up deftly.
φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρύχορον φίλοις.		To friends the rumour circulated through the broad-
		wayed city.
αὐτικ' Ἰλιάδαι σατίναι[ς] ὑπ' ἐντρόχοις		At once the Ilian men yoked to their well-wheeled
ἄγον αἰμιόνοις, ἐπ[έ]βαινε δὲ παῖς ὄχλος		wagons mules, and the whole mob climbed on,
γυναικῶν τ' ἅμα παρθενικά[ν] τ. . [.] . σφύρων	15	of women and [?]-ankled maidens.
χωρίς δ' αὖ Περάμοιο θυγ[α]τρ[ε]ς[And separately Priam's daughters
ἔπι[οις] δ' ἄνδρες ὕπαγον ὑπ' ἄρματα		and their men yoked their chariots to horses
π[]ες ἡἰθεοί, μεγάλω[σ]τι δ[a[l] young men, and greatly
δ[] . ἀνίοχοι φ[. . . .] . [... charioteers ...
π[]ξα.ο[20	...
< <i>desunt sex vel septem versus</i> >		< six or seven verses are missing >
		alike to the gods
ἦ κελοι θεοί[ς]		altogether [?] ... holy ...
] ἄγνον ἀολ[ε]-		
ὄρματα[they set out to Troy
αὔλος δ' ἄδυ[μ]έλης[and the sweet-sounding aulos ... and [?] blended
καὶ ψ[ό]φο[ς] κ[ροτάλ][ων, λιγέ]ως δ' ἄρα		and the din of castanets, too. And the maids clearly
πάρ[θ]ενοι	25	sang a holy song, and unto the ether went
ἄειδον μέλος ἄγν[ι]ον, ἵκα]νε δ' ἐς αἰ[θ]ερα		

⁴³ For such readings, cf. e.g. Rissman 1983, 119–41, Schrenk 1994 (‘more speculative’ according to Budelmann 2018, 143); for a more positive interpretation, which (to my mind) is unpersuasive in its attempt to remove these negative intimations, and which still relies on seeing the *Iliad* directly in the background, see Pallantza 2005, 79–88.

⁴⁴ Text after Sampson 2016. Budelmann 2018, 144 suggests that the lacuna indicated after verse 20 is probably smaller than Sampson believes.

ᾄχω θεσπεσία γελ	a divine echo ...
πάνται δ' ἦς κατ' ὁδο	and everywhere in the streets was ...
κράτῃρες φιάλαί τ' ὀ ... υεδε . . . εακ . . .	bowls and saucers ...
μύρρα καί κασία λίβανός τ' ὄνεμείχυντο	30 the aromas of myrrh and frankincense mingled
γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυσοδ ὅσαι προγενέστεραι	and the women cried out – all the elders
πάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἐπ ήρατον ἱαχον ὄρθιον	and all the men raised the lovely high cry
πάον' ὄνκαλέοντες ἘκάβOLON εὐλύραν,	of Paian, calling on the Far-shooter, the well-lyred,
ὕμνην δ' Ἔκτορα κ' Α νδρομάχαν θεο<ε>ι- κέλο ς.	and they hymned god-like Hektor and Andromache.

- 3: *re* Idaios, cf. *Il.* 5.11 (another figure); also Wathelet 1988, 1.598–600 (§ 157); τάχυς ἄγγελος ~ *Il.* 18.1, 24.291, 309, *Od.* 15.5252, etc.
- 4: κλέος ἄφθιτον = *Il.* 9.413, Hes. fr. 70.5; *CEG* I 344.2 (Phocis, 600–550?); Ibycus S 151.47 *PMGF.*
- 7–8: ἐπ' ἄλμυρον πόντον ~ ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ (8x Hom.)
- 22: ἵκελοι θέοις ~ ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν (6x Hom.)
- 27: ᾄχω θεσπεσία ~ ἡχῇ θεσπεσίῃ (*Il.* 15.353) ~ θεσπεσίῃ ἔχε (9.1)
- 34: θεο<ε>ικέλο|ς ~ *Il.* 1.131 = 19.155 (of Akh.), but also *Od.* 3.416 (Telemachos), 4.176 (Deiphobos), 8.256 (Alcinoos), *HDem.* (Doso) etc.

The case against the homerocentrists need only be brief: formular expressions (κλέος ἄφθιτον 4, ἐπ' ἄλμυρον / πόντον 7–8, ἵκελοι θέοις 21, θεο<ε>ικέλο|ς 34) cannot be used as evidence for a direct link with the *Iliad*, nor can the occurrence of shared characters (such as Idaios) or their situations. So how might a less allusive approach help us here? Firstly, in the story itself. The murder of Astyanax had an early presence in the visual discourse about the Trojan War.⁴⁵ It was also a fixed element in the poetic discourse, since the *Little Iliad* (fr. 21 Bernabé) and *Iliou Persis* (arg. 20 Bernabé) differed on whether Neoptolemos or Odysseus was the murderer.⁴⁶ So the marriage of Hector and Andromache is notably bound up with the death of their child, and the end of their community, and any reference to their wedding is likely to invoke that curtailed future, whether the *Iliad* — which did not narrate this death — is involved or not. Andromache's post-Trojan War fate is a little more varied in the early traditions, with e.g. the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 20 B) and the *Little Iliad* (fr. 21 B) having her allotted to Neoptolemos at the war's end, but the Trojan couple's marriage always has this ending point.

Secondly, somewhat like the situation of the familial advisor in the Brother's Poem, fr. 44 also invokes a wider narrative circumstance well-known to epos —

⁴⁵ Anderson 1997, 54–6.

⁴⁶ See Kelly 2015b, 324–5.

the heroic wedding.⁴⁷ This kind of event is often rather fraught: the apparently positive images of (non-narrative) weddings on the shields of Achilles (*Il.* 18.491–6)⁴⁸ and Heracles (*Scut.* 272–80) seem isolated when compared to Helen's wedding in the *Catalogue of Women* ('Hes.' fr. 196–204 M-W) and the *Cypria* (arg. 19–20 Bernabé), or the cause of the Lapith-Centaur war (*Il.* 1.262–8), the unhappy transformations consequent on the *Wedding of Ceyx* ('Hes.' fr. 263–9 M-W),⁴⁹ or the fact that the *Odyssey's* remarriage contest ends in the slaughter of all Penelope's suitors. The 'marital' entrance of Helen and Paris into Troy in the *Cypria* would hardly have been an occasion for unbridled joy (whether narrated as a full event or not), still less her subsequent marriage to Deiphobos in the *Little Iliad* (arg. 10, fr. 4 Bernabé), while the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in the *Cypria* (arg. 5–6 Bernabé) was not an easy process, and had ended unhappily already in the *Iliad*, where she is living with her sister sea-nymphs in the house of Neleus (18.35–65). Both Johannes Haubold and Ettore Cingano have noted the common association between marriage contests and violent death in early epos.⁵⁰ In short, a wedding in epic narrative style seems a somewhat ambivalent blessing, and was probably also, at least with regard to the Trojan War, bound up with the notion that this war was one way of getting rid of the heroic race.⁵¹ The openly epicising wedding in fr. 44, therefore, consistently points the audience forward to the marriage's unhappy end.

As in our earlier cases, we observe here the continuities between the traditional, intertextual interpretation and the allusively homerocentric reading, in the gloomy prediction they both share. Sappho's poem once more takes the usually privileged male view and gives a great deal more emphasis to its female agents, and maps that appeal onto a broad vision of the heroic marriage. The description of Andromache's appearance, as well as the catalogue of her dowry, is

⁴⁷ This is not to deny the presence or traditionality of this theme in melos (see n. 51 below), as revealed in the very existence of *epithalamium* as a song type; a complete interpretation of fr. 44 would have to engage, as we have noted elsewhere, with the entirety of the melic tradition as well. Angus Bowie points out to me that would cancel out the negativity at play here, but the probability that this poem is not straightforwardly epithalamic suggests at least a generic play, or the manipulation of that play to create an associative conflict in the audience.

⁴⁸ Taplin 1980 notes that the scene on the Shield of Achilles is somewhat at odds with the rest of the poem.

⁴⁹ The marriage party itself seems to have been relatively peaceful, but it is set within a series of violent and aggressive deeds of its apparent focus, Heracles: see Cingano 2009, 125–6.

⁵⁰ Haubold 2000, 137–43; Cingano 2005, 124–7.

⁵¹ Once more, it should not be forgotten that this theme is also reflected in Lesbian melos as well, e.g. in Sappho fr. 16 and Alcaeus fr. 283, both of which treat Helen's wedding to Paris as something a little less than perfect.

matched by the joyful participating of the Trojan women, set off next to the communal singing of the maidens and the older women. Idaios' message (5–6) is typically Sapphic in its praise for Andromache's beauty (for ἄβραν, cf. fr. 2.14, 58.25, 128, etc.), and the κλέος ἄφθιτον (4) is surely not unconnected with the wife's contribution.

Thus, the gloom of the future is contrasted with the happy promise endowed specifically in the figure of the bride and her accoutrements, so that Sappho's recreation of the epic stories juxtapose the loss and violence of that world — in its entirety — with the hope and expectation represented in the figure of Andromache herself.⁵² She is like every heroic bride who hoped for something great, and this focus on her, this encouragement to look at the female participant in this typical epic situation, represents the same kind of reorientation we saw in fr. 16: in both poems, Sappho harnesses epos for new ends by asking us to view a familiar epic circumstance or figure in her own right, as the focus for poetic contemplation. Again, she is not taking a merely oppositional or derivative stance vis-à-vis the *Iliad*, but engaging in a recreation of the heroic wedding and the very story of Troy, an angling into the world of epic from a different starting point — and to a different end.

None of this, once more, is alien to those scholars who see the *Iliad* as the semantic touchstone for fr. 44 and its exploration of marriage and future loss, but nothing here requires us to privilege one text as the basis for the entire program. It doesn't even require a single epic version of this actual event for Sappho to be working with or referring to, rather than starting from the potential danger and destruction behind *all* heroic weddings, especially those in Troy, that lie behind her manipulation of the audience's understanding. If we look solely for allusive evidence of the Homeric poems in Sappho, we miss a lot of what she's doing, and the ambition of what she's doing. When we cast our net more widely, we come up with a bigger haul.

* * *

This chapter has sought to put the case for the kind of 'interesting' reading one can derive from using a generic, traditionally intertextual model for thinking about the relationship between a literary artist and his or her background in the Archaic period. This kind of intertextuality is to be preferred to an allusive model

⁵² One may suspect that Sappho is also, through the catalogue of the dowry items (and perhaps even the stress on her conveyance to Troy), hinting at Andromache's future marriages and peregrinations, and at the idea that her story is not coterminous with that of Hector and Astyanax. For details, see Wathelet 1988, 2.277–83.

for several reasons, not the least of these being the fundamental contiguity between the results derived from the two. That shouldn't surprise us, because allusion is intertextuality once the reference points are more fixed and better known, so that the question is one above all of diachronic literary and textual development. Yet the reader must be eager at this point to ask, if it doesn't really change the fundamentals in our interpretation of Sappho's readings of epic or Homer, why should we bother? If the earliest or original audiences understood these epic appropriations in roughly the same way, why make the distinction?

The first response is to ask some questions in return, such as, why should we frame the question in these terms, as though allusion is an ordinary part of Sappho's toolkit, a given, something that has to be disproven? If allusion adds nothing to a traditional intertextual reading, isn't that a reason to question the validity or applicability of an allusive reading in the first place? That is, why look for allusion in Sappho at all, when — aside from the fact that it may not have been possible — it does not add materially to the interpretation? However, though more scepticism would be welcome in this area than we see currently, this is probably the wrong way to proceed, since any tradition is made up of individual examples, and individual audience members are likely to have particular passages or songs in mind, making the line between an intertext and an allusion always difficult to determine. Far better, then, to recognise that, if allusive dynamics were possible, they would have functioned within the usual referential, intertextual framework, as one more version for the audience to add to its store of knowledge, one more version to bring into play as the poem is performed or experienced. The challenge for any poet in such a circumstance, i.e. when no version dominates the consciousness of its audience, is to cast the appeal broadly, to capture as much of that audience as s/he can. So, before we start wondering about the boundary between intertextuality and allusion, let's first be sure that there is good evidence for the latter's presence and interaction.⁵³

Indeed, as it is conceived and practised at the moment, there are two serious disadvantages to allusive homerocentrism. The first is that we gain — or rather, we reinforce — a false impression that other poets in this period were only or

53 That allusion did come to play an increasingly prominent role over the course of the Archaic period is beyond question: Kelly 2015b argues that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are used for allusive play in the work of Stesichorus, roughly a generation after Sappho. But the story does not proceed in a simple developmental line: though a contemporary of Stesichorus, Hipponax of Ephesos does not seem to allude to Homer in the same way (Kelly forthcoming), but this may be due to his region or genre as much as to his putative knowledge of the Homeric poems.

mainly concerned with Homer, and that all other artists and songs simply evaporated once the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* hove into view. The second drawback is that it leads us away from interpretative opportunities and challenges; when we remain aware of the limits to our knowledge, we can widen and deepen our readings, and do so in a more historically grounded manner.

For example, the discussion of fr. 1 showed that Sappho's programmatic appeal to Aphrodite can be framed and understood next to any similar action in the multitude of epic narrative situations with which the individual audience member would have been familiar; its appeal is not limited to Homeric *cognoscenti*. This kind of intertextual dynamic, drawing on the typical situation and the range of particular stories possible within it, enlarges our readings, as it did with fr. 16, where we saw that the temptation of constructing simply oppositional readings with the *Iliad* had led scholars away from Sappho's complexity; and with the Brothers Poem, which is dealing with other stories from the body of Greek myth and the typical strategies of poetic self-representation found across the whole spectrum of Archaic literary culture. But Sappho's program of reorienting epic is perhaps clearest in fr. 44: this poem invoked the many such marriages which presaged or ended in suffering for all those involved, and encouraged her audience to revisit the epic world and its framing of marriage from another perspective, through the figure of Andromache.

Finally, though, the basic question with which I am concerned, as an historian of early Greek literature, is what Sappho and her audiences thought they were doing. And not just Sappho, but every poet in the Archaic period as it progressed. How did they respond to the spread of writing and the physical textualisation of poetic phenomena usually experienced in performance? Was it all just self-evident, and did the strategies of Callimachus just appear fully-formed at the start of this process, as Athene from the head of Zeus?⁵⁴ We would be naive, or lazy, to expect it.

If we neglect these difficult questions, we lose sight of the distinctive qualities and challenges of thinking about Archaic literary history. It cannot be enough, as C. Michael Sampson does in his forthcoming essay on fr. 44, simply to put all this down to 'methodological anxiety' and then continue reading texts next to one another as though it doesn't matter.⁵⁵ It cannot be enough, but a lot of scholars simply ignore the particularities of literary dynamics in this period, or nod at them as they fly past in a headlong rush to prove Sappho as 'sophisticated' as Callimachus or Catullus. Yet to consider these methodological questions as

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Henry Spelman for the expression.

⁵⁵ Sampson forthcoming.

central to the process of interpretation is not to suggest that Sappho is in some way ‘primitive’ or lacks sophistication; it is just to acknowledge the possibility that the poetic sophistication of Archaic Lesbos was not necessarily the same as that of Augustan Rome — or Nebuchadnezzar’s Babylon.⁵⁶

There is, therefore, a wider purpose to the kind of project advanced here: let us stop the convenient practice of reading one period as simply another in disguise, forgetting the need to ask difficult, historically contingent questions of our material. It is easier not to do so, since the payoff is quicker, easier, more seductive, and the results can be interesting and point us in the direction of a reasonable, if somewhat limited, interpretation. Yet, by acknowledging the diversity of the epic background to the melic tradition, by not ignoring the ‘known unknowns’, we get *more*, not less, interesting readings of our texts. Once we cease running in homerocentric circles, we will be free from thinking that the reality of poetry, performance and reception in the Archaic world was as limited as our very imperfect vision of it would have us believe.

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56 A point entirely lost on Currie forthcoming, à propos the arguments in Kelly 2015a.

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André Hurst

Homère chez Pindare : le «paradis» de la deuxième *Olympique*

Les mentions explicites d'Homère ne sont pas fréquentes chez Pindare¹ et cependant les études ne manquent pas à propos de l'«Homère de Pindare». ² C'est dans cette perspective que l'on se propose d'examiner une nouvelle fois un point particulier: la description de l'île des Bienheureux dans la deuxième ode olympique (O. 2.68–83), une vision du bonheur définitif et parfait, un «paradis».

Décrire un «paradis» n'est pas nouveau; le bonheur parfait constitue sans doute de très longue date un souci de l'imaginaire humain et continue d'y figurer en bonne place.³ La littérature grecque apporte plus d'une pierre à cet édifice, qu'il s'agisse d'établir les conditions de la vie parfaite dans le monde des vivants, d'évoquer la nostalgie d'une vie parfaite supposée disparue ou de repousser au-delà de la mort l'image d'une vie parfaite qu'on n'a guère l'occasion de rencontrer dans la réalité. Dans ce contexte, l'île des Bienheureux de la deuxième *Olympique* mérite incontestablement une place de choix.

On la trouve décrite dans une épinicie composée pour célébrer la victoire de Théron d'Agrigente à la course des chars lors des jeux olympiques de 476.⁴ Pindare présente cette victoire comme une annonce du bonheur futur de Théron, un bonheur dont il veut affirmer qu'il le voit se dessiner jusqu'au-delà de la mort. C'est ce qui l'amène à livrer une vision des cycles de la vie et de la mort culminant dans la description d'un paradis, l'île des Bienheureux, lieu d'un bonheur final, désormais stable et assuré (O.2, 57–83).

Dans cette partie de l'ode, on se trouve à la conjonction de deux axes de réflexion: imaginer la vie après la mort d'une part, explorer les conditions du bonheur parfait de l'autre.⁵

Dans la deuxième *Olympique*, en effet, accéder à l'île des Bienheureux constitue le stade ultime du bonheur, car seuls parviennent à cette île ceux qui ont par

¹ Cf.e.g. Mann 1994.

² On mentionnera surtout les livres de Nisetich 1989, Nagy 1990, Sotiriou 1998, ainsi que, par exemple, les études de Aubriot 2003 et Renaud 2007.

³ Récemment encore, par exemple, un contributeur régulier du *Scientific American* s'est penché sur la question pour faire valoir un point de vue sceptique: Shermer 2018.

⁴ E.g. Bowra 1964, 408, Gentili *et al.* 2013, 45–46 ; ou ceux de 473, cf. e.g. Lehnus 1981, 25.

⁵ On a pu dire que cette partie «mythique» se présentait comme une sorte de *contaminatio*, fondée sur la tradition épique, entre la *nekylia* et l'île des Bienheureux (Gianotti 1971, 49).

trois fois connu le cycle de la mort et de la réincarnation sans commettre d'injustice. Les interprétations divergent sur la signification des étapes qui précèdent chez Pindare l'accès à l'île des Bienheureux. Pindare distingue en effet trois groupes et les Bienheureux appartiennent au troisième. Le premier groupe est constitué de ceux qui, dans l'au-delà, sont condamnés à un châtement (O.2.57–60). Le deuxième groupe, celui des ἐσλοί, les «excellents» (O.2.61–67), mènera une vie quasiment paradisiaque.⁶ Pour la majorité des interprètes, ces deux catégories sont à situer dans l'au-delà. On a cependant suggéré que pour ces deux premiers groupes, l'au-delà n'était que le lieu du jugement des âmes, et qu'elles étaient ensuite immédiatement réincarnées et renvoyées à la vie terrestre. Elles y menaient alors une existence soit misérable (première catégorie) soit heureuse (les «excellents») en récompense d'une vie antérieure dépourvue d'injustices.⁷ Le troisième groupe, celui des Bienheureux, est quant à lui nécessairement situé dans l'au-delà de la mort. Sur leur île, les Bienheureux ont échappé au cycle des réincarnations.

En tout état de cause pour ce qui touche les deux premiers groupes, et malgré la solidarité de cette vision d'ensemble de l'au-delà avec le reste de l'ode, on se concentrera ici sur l'île des Bienheureux. Nous allons tenter de montrer que la description de Pindare présente tout à la fois des éléments relevant de la tradition épique et des traits qui la rattachent à l'actualité intellectuelle son temps.

Voici comment Pindare décrit les conditions de vie qui règnent sur l'île (O.
2.68–83):⁸

ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἐσπίρις
ἐκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν
ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρό- 70
νου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων
νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες
αὔραι περὶ πνέουσιν· ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει,
τὰ μὲν χερσὸθεν ἀπ' ἀγαλῶν δενδρέων,
ὔδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρβει,
ὄρμοισι τῶν χέρας ἀναπλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνους
βουλαῖς ἐν ὀρθαῖσι Ῥαδαμάνθυνος, 75
ὄν πατὴρ ἔχει μέγας ἐτόμιον αὐτῷ πάρεδρον,
πόσις ὁ πάντων Ῥέας
ὑπέρτατον ἐχούσας θρόνον.
Πηλεὺς τε καὶ Κάδμος ἐν τοῖσιν ἀλέγονται·

⁶ E.g. Sotiriou 1998, 206, Gentili *et al.* 2013, 400–405.

7 Bollack 1963, 239–245.

8 Texte d'après l'édition de Snell-Maehler.

Ἀχιλλέα τ' ἔνεικ', ἐπεὶ Ζηνὸς ἦτορ
 λιταῖς ἔπεισε, μήτηρ· 80
 ὃς Ἴκτορα σφάλλε, Τροίας
 ἄμαχον ἀστραβῇ κίονα, Κύκνον τε θανάτῳ πόρεν,
 Ἀοῦς τε παῖδ' Αἰθίοπα. κτλ

Tous ceux qui eurent le courage
 En un triple séjour dans l'un et l'autre monde
 De tenir l'âme en tout à l'écart de l'injuste
 Achèvent le parcours de cette Voie de Zeus
 Qui les conduit au château de Kronos.
 À cet endroit, l'île des Bienheureux
 Tout à l'entour est baignée dans les souffles
 Des brises océanes. Là s'enflamment les fleurs
 Les unes sur la terre, aux rameaux d'arbres glorieux,
 Et d'autres que les eaux nourrissent.
 Façonnant pour leurs bras des lacs de guirlandes
 Ils enchevêtrent des couronnes,

Par droits décrets de Rhadamanthe,
 Du parèdre que tient, dispos à le servir,
 Le Père auguste de tous les dieux,
 L'époux de cette Rhée qui siège
 Sur le plus haut des trônes.
 Kadmos, Pélée ont en ce groupe un rang,
 C'est là toujours qu'Achille
 Après qu'à force de suppliques
 Elle eut fléchi le cœur de Zeus
 Fut acheminé par sa mère,

Lui qui fit trébucher Hector,
 Colonne inattaquable, impliable de Troie,
 Puis à la mort livra le Cygne
 Et l'enfant brûlé de l'Aurore. (Traduction de Willy Borgeaud⁹)

Cette vision du bonheur parfait a son modèle homérique, comme on l'a vu depuis longtemps: il saute aux yeux malgré la différence des termes utilisés pour nommer le lieu.¹⁰ Il s'agit de l'évocation de la «plaine élyséenne» dans l'*Odyssée* (4.561–569).¹¹ C'est le lieu où Ménélas aboutira, selon la prophétie de Protée :

⁹ Willy Borgeaud, *Pindare, Dix odes*, mises en français et commentées par W.B., Lausanne 1951, 32–34. Sauf indication explicite d'un traducteur, j'ai moi-même traduit les passages cités.

¹⁰ Cf. schol. ad O.2, 128–129.

¹¹ Voir à ce sujet Stephanie West 1981, 362–364. Survol des questions étymologiques chez Gelin 1988, 227–229.

σοὶ δ' οὐ θέσφατόν ἐστι, διοτρεφὲς ὦ Μενέλαε,
 Ἄργει ἐν ἵπποβότῳ θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἥλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
 ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς, —
 τῇ περ ῥῆϊστη βιοτῇ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν·
 οὐ νιφετός, οὐτ' ἄρ' χειμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνεῖοντος ἀήτας
 Ὤκεανὸς ἀνίσιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους, —
 οὔνεκ' ἔχεις Ἑλένην καὶ σφιν γαμβρὸς Διὸς ἐσσι.

Et toi, nourrisson des dieux, Ménélas, ton destin n'est pas de mourir en Argos où l'on élève des chevaux. Les immortels t'enverront dans la plaine élyséenne, aux confins du monde, où se trouve le blond Rhadamanthe. C'est là que les humains jouissent de la meilleure des vies: pas de neige, pas de long hiver, pas même de pluies. Avec constance, là-bas, Océan fait souffler la douceur du zéphyr pour raviver les humains. C'est que tu es le mari d'Hélène: ils voient en toi le gendre de Zeus.

Les conditions de vie dont jouissent les occupants de la plaine élyséenne sont proches de celles qui règnent sur l'Olympe (*Od.* 6.41–47), et cela malgré l'incohérence que cela entraîne par rapport à la vision traditionnelle d'un Olympe neigeux¹². La connotation divine du lieu est claire: Ménélas s'y trouvera par une décision des dieux.

L'île de Calypsô (*Od.* 5.55–74), éloignée du monde, habitée par une créature divine, présente pour sa part des caractéristiques qui préfigurent les conditions du bonheur parfait, notamment les éléments constitutifs d'un *locus amoenus*: parfums agréables, végétation, chant des oiseaux, abondance de l'eau. Calypsô propose d'ailleurs à Ulysse de devenir un immortel s'il demeure auprès d'elle; n'était la limitation du nombre des insulaires, on aurait là une véritable île des Bienheureux, ou, à tout le moins, une île de deux Bienheureux accompagnés de leurs servantes.¹³

Dans l'*Odyssée*, cependant, les lieux de la vie heureuse n'appartiennent pas tous au monde des dieux.

C'est ainsi que, chez les Phéaciens, le palais d'Alcinoos et son jardin présentent des traits d'une prospérité permanente qui les rapprochent d'un paradis (*Od.* 7.81–132). La splendeur du palais et le bonheur de ceux qui l'occupent, loin des

¹² West 1981, 363–364; Hainsworth 1982, 191; Nisetich 1989, 59–60.

¹³ Dans l'*Iliade* on ne rencontre pas de lieux paradisiaques auxquels les mortels pourraient avoir accès. La rencontre amoureuse d'Héra et de Zeus, soigneusement préparée par Héra (*Il.* 14.346–353), comporte il est vrai la description d'un véritable jardin extraordinaire, suscité par Zeus pour tenir la rencontre à l'abri des regards. Mais, à l'évidence, il s'agit d'un lieu éphémère, créé pour la circonstance et strictement réservé.

soucis matériels, mangeant et buvant dans l'abondance, éclairés la nuit, s'accompagnent de la faveur divine: Athéna a donné aux Phéaciennes et aux Phéaciens l'art de tisser et de naviguer. Le jardin d'Alcinoos présente également des caractéristiques qui l'éloignent du commun: égalité du Zéphyr qui souffle en toutes saisons, production ininterrompue de fruits, abondance de l'eau. On note en outre que le pays n'est pas facile d'accès. Non seulement Ulysse souffrira beaucoup avant de pouvoir y aborder (*Od.* 5.388–463), mais le pays est donné comme volontairement choisi pour que les Phéaciens s'y trouvent à l'écart du reste des humains (*Od.* 6.3–10).

«L'île de Syrie»¹⁴, lieu de naissance d'Eumée (*Od.* 15.403–414), se caractérise elle aussi par des traits «paradisiques»: tous les biens s'y trouvent en abondance, les habitants n'y souffrent jamais ni de la faim ni de la maladie; le moment venu, ils meurent d'une «mort douce» sous les coups des flèches d'Apollon et d'Artémis (ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσι *Od.* 15.411). On ne saurait imaginer des humains plus proches de la condition des immortels.

Ces lieux du bonheur présentent quelques traits communs:

Le plus visible et le plus constant est que l'on s'y trouve à l'écart du reste du monde habité. À l'exception de l'«île de Syrie», donnée pour accessible aux marchands phéniciens (*Od.* 15.403–404 et 415), la difficulté d'accès est chaque fois clairement indiquée: la plaine élyséenne est aux «confins du monde». ¹⁵ Ôgygie, l'île de Calypsô, est éloignée des dieux et des hommes (*Od.* 7.244–247). Pour l'atteindre, Ulysse sera poussé par «une divinité» (δαίμων *Od.* 7.248) ou par «les dieux» (*Od.* 12.448). Quant à Schérie, le pays des Phéaciens, il n'y parviendra que grâce à l'intervention d'une divinité, Inô Leukothéa (*Od.* 5.333–353), mais il n'y mettra pas pied à terre sans difficultés et non sans qu'Athéna doive lui porter secours (*Od.* 5.400–463).

Autre caractéristique commune: on est à l'abri des soucis ordinaires des humains. Les traits mentionnés à ce propos sont:

- Le rapport à la mort: absente bien évidemment de la plaine élyséenne, la mort est défiée chez Calypsô lorsque cette dernière offre à son invité de devenir immortel (*Od.* 5.135, 209; 23.335–336), elle est défiée dans le palais d'Alcinoos non seulement parce que le roi est «comparable à un immortel» (*Od.* 6.309), mais encore dans la présence de chiens de garde immortels fabriqués de la main d'Héphaïstos (*Od.* 7.91–94). Enfin, dans l'île de Syrie, on ne se

¹⁴ Pour la question de sa localisation, cf. e.g. Hoekstra 1984, 264.

¹⁵ Dans l'expression ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης (*Od.* 4.563), καὶ doit se comprendre comme épexégétique.

préoccupe pas de la mort: une vie sans maladies est suivie d'une mort subite et indolore (*Od.* 15.407–411)

- Le rapport à la nourriture: si l'abondance de la nourriture est soulignée chez les Phéaciens, — le verger d'Alcinoos produit des fruits sans interruption —, aussi bien que dans l'île de Syrie, où l'on ne connaît pas la faim (*Od.* 15.406–407), elle est implicite également dans la notion de «vie facile»¹⁶ qui prévaut dans la plaine élyséenne (*Od.* 4.566), ainsi que dans l'abondance qui entoure Calypsô lorsqu'elle invite Ulysse à table, où elle consomme les nourritures divines cependant qu'Ulysse se rassasie de la nourriture des humains (*Od.* 5.196–199), ou encore lorsqu'elle lui fournit d'abondantes provisions de voyage (*Od.* 5.265–267).¹⁷
- Le rapport au climat: il peut se définir sur le mode positif ou sur le mode négatif. Sur le mode négatif, on note l'absence d'hiver, de neiges et de pluies dans la plaine élyséenne. Dans le verger d'Alcinoos, c'est à peine si l'on remarque l'alternance des saisons, puisque la production fruitière y est continue (*Od.* 5.117–128). Sur le mode positif, on est à l'abri des intempéries chez Alcinoos dans son palais à l'architecture sublime; on l'est également chez Calypsô, mais grâce aux bienfaits de la nature offrant une grotte digne d'une divinité. On est à l'abri des grandes chaleurs: la plaine élyséenne est agrémentée de brises venues de l'Océan,¹⁸ le zéphyr souffle chez Alcinoos, l'eau coule en abondance chez Alcinoos comme chez Calypsô. La douceur du climat se marque encore par la présence de végétaux: arbres fruitiers chez Alcinoos, arbres sans production comestible chez Calypsô (*Od.* 5.64 aulnes, peupliers, cyprès).¹⁹

¹⁶ Le mot utilisé, βιοτή (*Od.* 4.565), désigne la vie plus particulièrement sous l'angle des moyens de vivre, des ressources, ce qui implique évidemment la nourriture. Cf. Chantraine 2009, 168, s.v. βίος.

¹⁷ Bien que le monde de Circé ne soit pas présenté comme un «paradis», il en partage le trait de l'abondance de nourriture. Ulysse et ses compagnons y demeurent une année entière à faire bombance (*Od.* 10.467–469).

¹⁸ Sur le rapport entre ἀναψύχειν et ψυχή, cf. Rudhardt 1971, 87–88 n.6, Gelinne 1988, 230–231, le verbe pourrait avoir le sens de «redonner le souffle».

¹⁹ Peut-être une manière de marquer qu'elle n'a pas de problèmes de ravitaillement. Calypsô se nourrit comme les autres dieux d'ambrosie et de nectar. En outre les dieux respirent la fumée des sacrifices: or c'est justement la fumée s'échappant d'un feu de cèdre et de «thua» qui produit le parfum perçu par Hermès à son arrivée (*Od.* 5.59–61, «thua» désignant d'ailleurs toutes sortes de plantes aromatiques brûlées en offrandes aux dieux). Seule la vigne fait exception (*Od.* 5.78–79).

L'environnement sonore mérite une attention particulière: Calypsô chante devant son métier à tisser, et des oiseaux nichent dans le bois qui entoure sa caverne.²⁰ Quatre sources s'écoulent, évoquant implicitement le murmure de l'eau (*Od.* 5.61–71). Dans le verger d'Alcinoos, aucun oiseau n'est mentionné dans les arbres, et l'on ne perçoit que la sonorité des deux sources (*Od.* 7.129–131). Dans la plaine élyséenne et dans l'île de Syrie, plus rien n'est évoqué qui frapperait l'ouïe. On ne peut se défendre de l'impression que le poète n'évoque que très parcimonieusement le chant qui ne serait pas la musique de sa propre voix, une exception particulièrement notable étant constituée par l'évocation des voix d'« enchanteresses » comme Calypsô ou Circé (*cf. Od.* 5.62 et 10.222).²¹

Enfin, on note une insistance sur la proximité avec les dieux. Ils décident du séjour dans la plaine élyséenne, ils veillent sur l'accès au royaume d'Alcinoos (dont la dynastie repose sur une parenté avec Poséidon), ils sont en contact avec Calypsô, elle-même divine, ils se manifestent clairement dans la manière dont les Syriens accèdent à une mort douce.

Pindare, on le voit, pouvait puiser dans *l'Odyssée* des traits propres à décrire sa vision du bonheur dans l'au-delà. Cependant, il pouvait encore trouver chez Hésiode, comme dans *l'Odyssée*, un matériel susceptible d'être intégré à la description de son île des Bienheureux. En effet, dans *Les Travaux et les Jours*, voici le destin réservé après leur mort aux hommes de la génération des héros, ou à certains d'entre eux tout au moins²² (*Les Travaux et les Jours*, 167–173a):

τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοντα καὶ ἥθε' ὀπάσας	
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐν πείρασι γαίης,	168
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες	170
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν παρ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην·	
ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιθήα καρπὸν	
τρίς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα	
(169 τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων· τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει. Κτλ)	

À d'autres enfin, Zeus, fils de Cronos et père des dieux, a donné une existence et une demeure éloignée des hommes, en les établissant aux confins de la terre. C'est là qu'ils habi-

20 L'unique cri d'oiseau explicitement mentionné est celui des κορώναι / εἰναλῖαι (« corneilles »? « cormorans »? « de mer »), oiseaux « à la langue étendue » (τανύγλωσσοι *Od.* 5.66–67), ce qui implique un bec largement ouvert et, par conséquent, un son qui pourrait faire contraste avec la voix de Calypsô.

21 On songe ici au livre de Jean Starobinski *Les enchanteresses* (2005), notamment au développement sur Rousseau et la musicalité de la poésie grecque (20–21), que l'on peut appuyer, pour la récitation poétique, sur l'usage du terme d'αἰδός.

22 West 1978, 192.

tent, le cœur libre de soucis, dans les îles des Bienheureux, aux bords des tourbillons profonds de l'Océan, héros fortunés, pour qui le sol fécond porte trois fois l'an une florissante et douce récolte (loin des Immortels, et Cronos est leur roi).²³

(traduction: Paul Mazon)

Le rapprochement le plus évident se trouve dans le nom lui-même de ce paradis: les «îles des Bienheureux» préfigurent l'«île des Bienheureux» pindarique. On a parfois hésité sur la question du singulier de l'«île» dans le texte de Pindare,²⁴ mais il semble bien qu'il faille se résoudre à constater une différence sur ce point entre les deux poètes béotiens. Pour le reste, dans ce passage d'Hésiode comme dans les lieux paradisiaques de l'*Odyssée*, on se trouve dans un lieu éloigné, les souffles de l'Océan sont perceptibles comme dans la plaine élyséenne, on mène une vie sans soucis, avec une insistance sur l'abondance de la nourriture. La proximité des dieux est présentée de manière plus complexe: c'est bien Zeus lui-même qui choisit le lieu où séjournerons ces héros devenus immortels. Mais, s'il faut en croire la partie problématique du texte, il choisit un lieu «éloigné des immortels», un lieu où règne Cronos. Ainsi, cette caste d'immortels désormais fermée reculerait dans le temps jusqu'à l'âge où régnait la précédente génération divine, l'éloignement dans l'espace ayant semble-t-il pour corollaire l'éloignement dans le temps.

Cette royauté de Cronos, pour sa part, renvoie directement à la «génération d'or», première génération dans la série qui comportera en quatrième position les héros que Zeus établit dans les «îles des Bienheureux» (*Les Travaux et les Jours* 109–126). Bien que mortels, les humains de cet âge d'or ne connaissent pas vraiment la mort: après avoir vécu d'une vie dépourvue du moindre souci, et notamment sans problème liés à la nourriture (*Trav.* 116–119), ils s'endorment sans avoir vieilli (*Trav.* 112–116) et subsistent sous terre comme puissances bénéfiques (*Trav.* 121–126).

Cet état de bonheur était d'ailleurs préfiguré chez Hésiode lorsqu'il déclare que, d'une manière générale, l'humanité vivait sans connaître ni fatigues ni maladies avant l'arrivée de Pandore et de sa jarre (*Trav.* 90–92).

Hésiode présente par conséquent, dans *Les Travaux et les Jours*, une démarche conduisant par trois degrés à la description de la vie heureuse: c'est

²³ Le vers 169, généralement renommé «173a», est déplacé par les éditeurs et prend place en tête des fragments papyrologiques qui nous conservent un état du texte probablement postérieur à Hésiode. Cf. West 1978, 103 et 194–196.

²⁴ E.g. Lehnus 1981, 48. Le singulier est défendu par exemple chez Gentili *et al.* 2013, 405.

d'abord l'idée d'une absence de fatigues et de maladies (l'humanité avant l'arrivée de Pandore), c'est ensuite le cas particulier des humains de la génération d'or, à la limite de l'immortalité, et c'est enfin le destin heureux des héros devenus immortels dans les îles des Bienheureux. De la sorte, l'idée générale que la bonne vie appartient au passé (avant l'intervention de Pandore) se décline sur deux modes: les humains de l'âge d'or, encore actifs sous terre après leur mort en qualité de forces bienfaitrices, et les habitants des îles des Bienheureux, bénéficiaires d'une éternité de bonheur hors de la portée du reste des humains.

Pour ce qui touche les lectures de Pindare, notre ignorance est grande, mais on peut affirmer sans trop de risques d'erreur que l'*Odyssee* et *Les Travaux et les Jours* constituent des modèles pour lui lorsqu'il entreprend de décrire l'île des Bienheureux.

Il est à noter qu'avant cela, Pindare n'avait pas attendu d'avoir à dépeindre l'au-delà de la mort pour évoquer la vie heureuse. Dans le premier poème qu'on ait de lui (la dixième *Pythique*, de 498), il évoque le bonheur parfait dans lequel vivent les «Hyperboréens», et situe leur paradis terrestre dans un au-delà du monde accessible, un lieu que l'on ne peut joindre «ni par bateau, ni à pied» (P. 10.29–30).²⁵ Dans les assemblées de ces «hommes bienheureux» (P. 10.46: ...ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὄμιλον), on festoie en honorant les dieux par des sacrifices d'ânes auxquels Apollon prend plaisir. Des chœurs de jeunes filles, le son des lyres et des aulos forment un décor sonore. Il n'y a ni vieillesse, ni maladie. Ils ne travaillent ni ne font la guerre (P. 10.29–46).

On reconnaît chez ces Bienheureux Hyperboréens des traits présents déjà dans les descriptions de la vie heureuse homérique et dans celle des îles des Bienheureux hésiodiques: éloignement du monde des humains, «vie facile» impliquant assez ouvertement l'accès à la nourriture (leurs occupations sont solidaires de la fête: sacrifier, banqueter, tresser des couronnes), absence de vieillesse et de maladies, proximité des dieux.

Une particularité mérite une parenthèse: un climat sonore est évoqué dans cette ode, sans doute de manière autoréférentielle puisqu'il s'agit très probablement des sonorités musicales mises en jeu dans son exécution: voix, lyres, aulos (P. 10.38–39). La présence de ces références sonores explicites dans la description du bonheur des Hyperboréens pourrait nous livrer un indice important pour com-

²⁵ Cf. Köhnken 1971, 158–187. On ne pourrait joindre le monde des Hyperboréens qu'en passant par les airs (176). En outre, Köhnken souligne un parallélisme de fonction entre le monde des Hyperboréens et l'île des Bienheureux (170–171): dans la troisième épinicie de Bacchylide, Apollon récompense Crésus pour sa piété en le transportant chez les Hyperboréens (Bacch. 3.58–62).

prendre son absence totale dans la description de l'île des Bienheureux de la deuxième *Olympique*. Dans le cas des festivités des Hyperboréens, on repère sans difficulté le reflet d'une fête thessalienne.²⁶ Autrement dit, la félicité des auditeurs de l'ode est rapprochée de la félicité d'un peuple légendaire (tous deux sont à l'enseigne du mot «bienheureux», car si l'assemblée des Hyperboréens est une réunion «de Bienheureux», ἀνδρῶν μακάρων [P. 10.46], la Thessalie entière est définie au début de l'ode comme μάκαιρα, «bienheureuse» [P. 10.2]): les sonorités qui accompagnent la fête des Hyperboréens sont désignées au travers de celles-là même que l'on entend au moment où l'on exécute la dixième *Pythique*. Ce sentiment de proximité est sans doute ce qu'il fallait éviter à tout prix dans la description de l'île des Bienheureux de la deuxième *Olympique*. Dans ce deuxième cas, l'effet recherché consiste à faire sentir qu'on se trouve à distance du monde des mortels. Pour l'obtenir, il importait de renoncer à tout ce qui aurait évoqué sur le moment l'exécution matérielle de l'ode devant son public. On se sent d'autant plus autorisé à le penser que Pindare n'exclut pas la musique d'une vision qu'il offre d'un autre paradis, celle que l'on trouve dans l'ode funèbre citée par Plutarque dans sa *Consolation pour Apollonios* (120C = fr.129 S.-M.). Là, parmi les occupations des «âmes pieuses» dans la demeure d'Hadès, Pindare mentionne explicitement la pratique musicale: certaines âmes récompensées s'occupent à jouer de la *phorminx*, tandis que d'autres cultivent l'équitation, les sports du gymnase ou le jeu de dés (fr. 129 S.-M., 6–7). La mention de sonorités qui pouvaient accompagner l'exécution de cette ode funèbre, tout comme celle de jeux tirés des loisirs humains, sont à situer dans la ligne des festivités hyperboréennes de la dixième *Pythique* et du sentiment de proximité avec l'auditoire que Pindare paraît soucieux d'éviter dans la deuxième *Olympique*.

Dans sa description de l'île des Bienheureux, Pindare reprend de manière plus systématique encore que dans sa dixième *Pythique* l'ensemble des traits caractérisant la vie heureuse dans *l'Odyssée* et dans *Les Travaux et les Jours*. En effet, si l'on résume la situation, la plaine élyséenne homérique et les «îles des Bienheureux» hésiodiques offrent le cadre éloigné du monde humain où se trouve l'«île des Bienheureux» de Pindare, ainsi que son nom. On y reconnaît l'ensemble des caractéristiques observées précédemment: immortalité, douceur du climat (brises venues de l'Océan comme chez Hésiode, présence explicite d'eau, de terre

²⁶ Pour les rapports entre la Thessalie et les Hyperboréens, cf. e.g. Gentili et al. 1995, 168, 630–631.

fertile, de fleurs et d'arbres), vie facile (l'occupation des habitants consiste à tresser des guirlandes, donc la nourriture n'est pas un souci),²⁷ proximité des dieux. La présence de Rhadamanthe dans la plaine élyséenne homérique comme dans l'île des Bienheureux pindarique manifeste cette proximité par l'évocation d'un héros que les dieux ont favorisé. Comme chez Hésiode, l'accès à ce lieu paradisiaque semble impliquer un recul dans le temps jusqu'à la royauté de Cronos. Une originalité notable cependant: chez Pindare, à la différence de ce qu'on trouve chez ses prédécesseurs, le mérite personnel joue un rôle dans l'accès à l'île des Bienheureux.²⁸

Ainsi, dans un premier temps, on pourrait considérer que le paradis de la deuxième *Olympique* réunit en une heureuse synthèse des traits qui se trouvent distribués dans les précédents homériques²⁹ et chez Hésiode. Non seulement *nekya* et vie heureuse sont jointes en un seul segment de l'ode, mais le segment de la vie heureuse rassemble les traits caractéristiques évoqués dans les textes que l'on peut situer parmi les précédents de l'île des Bienheureux. À telle enseigne qu'à propos de Pindare et de ses modèles homériques et hésiodiques, on a pu écrire : «Bien que ces trois auteurs n'aient pas tous les mêmes conceptions eschatologiques, les images qu'ils donnent du séjour des Bienheureux sont remarquablement concordantes».³⁰

²⁷ On a observé que l'île des Bienheureux ne produit que des fleurs et pas de nourriture, et tresser des guirlandes est une occupation en rapport avec le monde des épinicies (ici pour célébrer le triomphe des justes): Nisetich 1989, 68–69. Gentili *et al.* 2013, 406, notent à ce propos qu'Empédocle, au moment où il se présente aux Agrigentins comme un dieu, se décrit lui-même comme couronné de feuillages tressés (fr. B112, 6).

²⁸ E.g. Gelinne 1988, 234, Sotiriou 1998, 207 (§9). On notera que le thème de la justice donnant accès aux îles des Bienheureux se retrouvera plus tard sur la stèle d'Archidikè (musée de Volos), cf. Peek 1960, 138, n.209 et <http://lespierresquiparlent.free.fr/volosimages/steleArchidike.html>. C'est pour son mérite personnel que Harmodios se trouve dans les îles des Bienheureux selon la chanson qui le célèbre (Page, PMG, 894). On en dira autant d'Antigénès, dont la stèle, également au musée de Volos, atteste que Minôs l'a conduit aux îles des Bienheureux en récompense de sa valeur guerrière, cf. Peek 1955, 259–260, n° 943 et <http://lespierresquiparlent.free.fr/volosimages/steleAntigenes.html>.

²⁹ Le rapport avec les épopées homériques est examiné par Sotiriou (1998), 75 et 85 pour des détails lexicaux, 204–211 pour la conception d'ensemble. Nisetich (1989), 68 et 85 (n.8) observe pour sa part que, si l'on excepte le nom de l'île, tout semble venir du texte homérique et rien d'Hésiode. Il note cependant que le critère de la justice déterminant le choix des occupants de l'île est commun aux visions d'Hésiode et de Pindare, tout comme l'est la réunion chez tous deux des matières de Thèbes et de Troie.

³⁰ Rudhardt 1971, 88.

Ce premier pas franchi, on est conduit à se poser une question: Pindare apporte-t-il du nouveau dans ce paysage ou se contente-t-il de rassembler des éléments appartenant aux représentations traditionnelles de la vie heureuse dans l'au-delà ?

Pour y répondre, il est temps de se tourner vers les contemporains de Pindare. Dans les fragments conservés qui témoignent des savoirs de son temps, une piste s'impose: la deuxième *Olympique* célèbre Théron d'Agrigente, or Agrigente est la patrie d'Empédocle.³¹ Parmi diverses visions du monde privilégiant tantôt l'un ou l'autre des «éléments» que l'on s'accordait à distinguer (Thalès pour l'eau, Anaximène pour l'air, Héraclite pour le feu ...), celle d'Empédocle est connue pour les combiner. Chez Empédocle, les éléments constitutifs du monde sont en effet, sur un même plan (fr. B17, 18 D.-K.):

πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ ἥερος ἄπλετον ὕψος

le feu, l'eau, la terre et l'air, hauteur immense.

Or, une découpe par morceaux de la description de l'île pindarique des Bienheureux fait apparaître la séquence de ces quatre éléments :

O.2.70–73:

ἔνθα μακάρων
ναῖσον ὠκεανίδες
αὔραι περιπνέοισι
... AIR

ἀνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ **φλέγει**,
... FEU

τὰ μὲν **χερσόθεν** ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων
... TERRE

ὔδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρβει...
... EAU

³¹ Le rapprochement de Pindare et d'Empédocle n'est pas nouveau: cf. e.g. Bollack 1963, 244 n.2, Bowra 1964, 93–94, Solmsen 1982, 19–20, Lloyd-Jones 1985, 259–260.

Donc, sous les atours d'une expression poétique, on retrouve ici un énoncé des quatre éléments, tels qu'on les voit combinés dans le récit cohérent du fonctionnement de l'univers que nous offre Empédocle d'Agrigente.³²

Une remarque préliminaire s'impose: s'il est évident que Pindare ne saurait s'expliquer d'une manière générale à la lumière des fragments conservés d'Empédocle, il est tout aussi évident que la deuxième *Olympique* est une œuvre qui s'adresse en premier lieu à un prince et à un auditoire agrigentins. Par conséquent, supposer qu'on y rencontre des échos d'une vision du monde défendue par un Agrigentins ne saurait être tenu d'emblée pour aberrant.

Une question de chronologie mérite cependant d'être posée. La deuxième *Olympique* est datée de 476, la naissance d'Empédocle du début du siècle, avec des degrés variables de précision suivant les auteurs. C'est dire que le rapprochement n'a rien d'in vraisemblable. Cependant, si l'on cherchait à le contester sur la base de la seule chronologie, on pourrait encore opposer à un tel argument l'existence possible d'un milieu philosophique dont Empédocle serait le reflet, mais qui préexistait dans l'entourage de Théron.³³ On partira néanmoins de l'hypothèse que la vision du monde que nous connaissons par Empédocle se reflète dans cette ode de Pindare, sans que Pindare ait en effet cité nommément Empédocle: il ne le fait pas davantage dans cette même ode pour Hésiode ou pour Homère, pourtant bien présents comme on l'a constaté.

Pour commencer par le niveau de l'expression, on notera qu'il arrive à Empédocle de nommer les quatre éléments de manière oblique (fr. B6 D.-K.):

τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ριζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε·
Ζεὺς ἀργής Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἦδ' Ἀιδωνεύς
Νῆστις θ', ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνῳμα βρότειον.

Écoute pour commencer quels sont les quatre racines de toutes choses : Zeus brillant, Héra qui donne vie et Aidôneus ainsi que Nèstis, laquelle par ses larmes abreuve les mortels.

À l'évidence, ce fragment évoque les quatre éléments. C'est un point sur lequel on est toujours tombé d'accord, même s'il peut y avoir occasionnellement des divergences de vues sur la question de savoir laquelle des dénominations se réfère

³² Ce rapprochement particulier a été suggéré sans développement dans une discussion des *Entretiens* Hardt 1985, 283.

³³ Voir à ce propos, e.g., Lloyd-Jones 1985, 263 ; Santaniello 2001, 258–263: une vision du monde sous-jacente à Pindare, Empédocle et Platon relève de religions à mystères d'inspiration orphico-pythagoricienne. Voir à ce sujet la formulation de Rohde 1903³, II.309: «Von dem Gericht, das im Hades «Einer» halte, redet allerdings Pindar (O. 2.59), aber im Zusammenhang einer Schilderung der letzten Dinge, die er den Lehren mystischer Separatisten entlehnt».

auquel des quatre éléments. Ce qui nous importe, c'est d'observer que la désignation oblique des éléments, ici au travers de figures divines, fait partie du mode d'expression d'Empédocle. La présence des quatre éléments sous des traits poétiques chez Pindare n'a donc rien de surprenant dans l'hypothèse où il se référerait à la vision d'Empédocle.

La présence des quatre éléments ne suffit pas, toutefois, à identifier la vision d'Empédocle. On sait que pour lui, le récit cohérent de l'univers passe par un déroulement temporel, qui implique dans la coexistence des quatre éléments une collaboration de deux forces: *φιλότης* et *νεῖκος*, mots que l'on traduit ordinairement par «amour» et «dispute». La description de leur fonctionnement, reposant sur une alternance de la prédominance de chacune de ces deux forces, montre qu'il s'agit de conjonction et de disjonction (fr. B 17 D.-K., fr. B 35 D.-K.). Ce déroulement prévaut depuis la mise en marche du monde à partir du *Σφαῖρος κυκλοτερής*, «boule de parfaite rondeur» (fr. B 27, 4 D.-K.; fr. B 28, 2D.-K.) par l'effet de *νεῖκος* (fr. B 30 D.-K.). Les humains nomment la force de conjonction «Aphrodite» (fr. B 17, 24 D.-K.), ou la force de disjonction «Disputes» (*Ἐριδες* fr. B 20, 4 D.-K.), tout comme ils ont d'autres noms pour désigner les quatre éléments (fr. B 6 D.-K.). Le langage humain manifeste les effets perceptibles des données fondamentales que constituent les quatre éléments soumis à l'action des deux forces.

Or, si les quatre éléments sont identifiables dans la description que Pindare donne de l'île des Bienheureux, on peut également y reconnaître, sous le couvert du langage humain, la présence des deux forces.

Le dernier mentionné des habitants de l'île est Achille, héros dont l'évocation est préparée dans une certaine mesure par celle de Pélée tout comme la présence de Cadmos pourrait présager celle de Théron. Or, Achille est présent dans l'île grâce à l'intercession de sa mère auprès de Zeus (une situation qui a été rapprochée d'un épisode célèbre du premier chant de l'*Illiade*, 1.493–533). Il est difficile d'imaginer une situation plus chargée de *φιλότης* que celle-là: l'amour maternel de Thétis pour Achille se surimprime à l'amour de Zeus, à son désir («Aphrodite» !) de celle qu'il aurait été dangereux pour lui de séduire (*O.* 2.79–80), Zeus étant précisément désigné au travers de la mention de sa vie affective (*Ζηνὸς ἡτορ*), et Thétis arrivant en fin de phrase dans le seul mot, affectivement chargé, de «mère». Quant à la force de disjonction, *νεῖκος*, on ne peut s'empêcher de la reconnaître à l'œuvre dans la mention des adversaires qu'Achille a vaincus (*O.* 2.81–83): non seulement la guerre est l'une des manifestations majeures de la «dispute», mais la mort, comme dissolution de l'agrégat d'éléments qui constituent le corps, est une forme incontestable de l'action de *νεῖκος* (fr. B 8 D.-K.: il n'y a pas de naissance ni de mort, il n'y a que l'union et la séparation des

éléments). Peut-être faut-il encore discerner une alternance de φιλότης et de νεῖκος dans la séquence des adversaires d'Achille: Hector «solide colonne invincible de Troie», reçoit un éclairage marqué par la force de conjonction telle qu'elle est présente dans l'existence même d'une cité, Memnon est désigné comme fils d'Aurore, et le rapport de la mère et du fils, qui n'est pas sans rappeler ce qui vient d'être dit à propos d'Achille lui-même, donne à l'évocation de ce héros une incontestable touche de φιλότης. Entre les deux, Cynos est simplement «livré à la mort» (θανάτωι πόρεν, *O.* 2.82), sans plus, et l'on se trouve purement du côté de la force de disjonction. L'alternance des deux forces est par conséquent perceptible dans la séquence choisie des exploits d'Achille, et la chronologie des hauts faits relatés ou l'importance des textes qui les charrient pourrait bien n'avoir aucune incidence sur cette séquence de héros.³⁴

Ainsi, la simple présence d'Achille montre les deux forces en action, cependant que la suite des exploits d'Achille offre une occasion supplémentaire d'en percevoir les effets ainsi que l'alternance.

Pour ce qui touche le déroulement des alternances dans le temps, on le voit évoqué par le double mouvement de remontée dans le temps (la «voie de Zeus» qui fait reculer jusqu'à la génération antérieure des Titans)³⁵ et de «descente», selon l'axe chronologique ordinaire, de Rhadamante à Achille (et dans l'attente d'une venue suggérée de Théron lui-même).³⁶

Ces rapprochements avec Empédocle une fois observés, la question qui se pose est de savoir en quoi l'intégration d'une conception «empédocléenne» du monde dans la vision de l'île des Bienheureux s'accorde, dans ce poème, avec une perspective générale sous-jacente ou proclamée par Pindare. En effet, si l'on

34 Nisetich 1989, 71–72 tire argument de la séquence Hector-Cynos-Memnon pour en induire que l'*Iliade* occupe une place privilégiée, une sorte de primauté sur les épopées du cycle. Cette vue est contredite par Nagy 1990, 414–416, aux yeux de qui Pindare met sur le même plan les héros «homériques» et les héros «cycliques», la tradition homérique étant justement assumée dans la tradition cyclique. Pour Mann 1994, 314–316, le passage indiquerait une préférence de Pindare pour les poèmes du cycle. On trouve chez Sotiriou 1998, 210–211, l'idée que l'évocation de la valeur guerrière d'Achille sert à démontrer que l'intercession de Thétis n'est pas la seule raison qui motive sa présence dans l'île des Bienheureux. Incidemment, on pourrait voir dans ces arguments une réponse à la remarque dépréciative de Wilamowitz 1922, 247, qui considère que la mention d'Achille est déplacée dans le contexte («...obgleich gerade Achilleus kaum recht herpasst»).

35 Sur la «voie de Zeus», cf. également Rohde 1903³, II.213 n.2.: à son avis, l'allusion à cette route était sans doute compréhensible pour les οὐρτοί à qui Pindare s'adresse. On peut néanmoins en retirer l'impression que l'île est aussi inaccessible que l'est le pays des Hyperboréens. Gentili *et al.* 2013, 404–405 soulignent la valeur mystique de l'expression.

36 Hurst 1981, 125 n.2; Lloyd-Jones 1985, 259; Sotiriou 1998, 209.

peut spéculer sur l'opportunité de recourir à la réflexion d'un Agrigentin dans un poème destiné à glorifier un autre Agrigentin, cela ne saurait suffire pour argumenter en faveur d'une présence dans la deuxième *Olympique* d'éléments relevant de la vision du monde d'Empédocle. L'hypothèse ne se trouvera confirmée que dans la mesure où ce recours s'ajusterait à la conception fondamentale de l'ode et ne constituerait pas une sorte d'allusion décorative confinante à la *captatio benevolentiae* de quelques Agrigentins.

On a généralement noté qu'une démarche fondamentale de Pindare dans la deuxième *Olympique*, une sorte de «démarche-unité», consiste dans la mention de passages du malheur (ou de la difficulté) au bonheur.³⁷ Il en résulte un sentiment d'impermanence, certes bienvenu lorsqu'il s'agit de persuader un vainqueur aux jeux olympiques que sa victoire annonce le bonheur après les difficultés présentes, mais ce même sentiment d'impermanence pourrait également augurer de retournements de fortune défavorables comme ceux que le poète évoque lorsqu'il parle du sort commun des mortels, emportés par des courants contraires, jamais assurés d'un bonheur constant (*O.* 2.30–34). C'est ici que l'évocation de ce qui constituerait les fondements du monde dans leur inébranlable pérennité peut prendre sa pleine signification.

Comme l'impermanence dans la deuxième *Olympique*, les mouvements alternés du monde selon Empédocle (fr. B 17 D.-K., fr. B 26 D.-K.) font entrevoir une mutation continue de ce qu'il nomme «le tout» (τὸ πᾶν fr. B 26, 7 D.-K.).³⁸ Dans une conception selon laquelle tout n'est qu'agglomérats passagers (fr. B 8 D.-K.) soumis aux deux forces contraires de l'attraction et de la séparation, la permanence n'est concevable que si l'on se reporte au niveau des composantes fondamentales simples, à savoir les quatre éléments et les deux forces. Or, c'est là justement ce que semble viser Pindare dans sa description de l'île des Bienheureux. La présence des quatre éléments et celle des deux forces comme parties constitutives de l'île garantissent en quelque sorte sa durabilité sur le fond d'impermanence qui impulse la matière du poème.

On peut par conséquent défendre l'hypothèse d'un souffle empédocléen dans l'île des Bienheureux pindarique non pas seulement en relevant la présence

³⁷ Hurst 1981, 125–126.

³⁸ L'incidence de cet usage de τὸ πᾶν sur l'expression pindarique ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν dans le passage qui suit immédiatement la description de l'île des Bienheureux (*O.* 2.85) mérite d'être prise en compte (e.g. Hurst 1981, 130–131) par-delà les rapprochements classiques avec des expressions où ces mots expriment telle ou telle forme de généralité (e.g. Most 1986, 307; Patten 2009, 197 et nn. 30 et 31). Ce serait encore un trait «empédocléen» dans le poème. En accord avec Most, qui propose lui aussi que ἐρμανέων désigne les poètes, on peut donc traduire ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐρμανέων χατίζει (*O.* 2.85–86) : «car dire le monde requiert des poètes».

plus que probable des quatre éléments et des deux forces dans la description qu'il en donne, mais en constatant que le recours à ces données correspond à une visée profonde du texte: assurer l'existence d'un bonheur stable à la lumière d'une forme de savoir. Pindare affirme que les Bienheureux ont échappé aux cycles alternés de vie et de mort: la vision d'Empédocle discernable dans la description pindarique de l'île des Bienheureux permet de faire apparaître que leur demeure est le véritable lieu de la permanence. L'île tire sa pérennité de la pérennité de ses éléments constitutifs.

Le public pouvait-il comprendre tout cela? Probablement pas, et c'est Pindare lui-même qui nous le donne à penser: la description de l'île des Bienheureux débouche en effet sur l'affirmation célèbre selon laquelle les nombreux «traits» contenus dans le «carquois» du poète sont «compréhensibles aux connaisseurs» (O. 2.83–85). On ne saurait dire plus clairement que le sens profond n'est pas accessible à tout un chacun. Grâce à Pindare, Théron triomphe ainsi sur tous les plans: sa victoire aux jeux olympiques lui annonce des succès à venir, et l'ode pindarique qui la célèbre lui révèle à cette occasion qu'il fait partie désormais d'une élite capable de comprendre la marche du monde.

En conclusion, on dira que dans l'île des Bienheureux de la deuxième *Olympique* la tradition épique livre un matériel dont l'utilisation permet à l'auditeur de situer immédiatement la parole du poète en terrain connu. C'est l'aspect «homérique» de notre passage pindarique, son niveau le plus visible. Sous cette apparence première, on perçoit que l'appropriation des données épiques n'est pas incompatible avec la mise en œuvre d'une vision contemporaine du savoir, en l'occurrence celle qui nous est connue par les fragments d'Empédocle d'Agrigente. Cette démarche, à son tour, relève d'une donnée quasiment obligée de l'épique: à travers la référence au milieu intellectuel d'Agrigente, Pindare loue à sa manière la cité du vainqueur.

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Gregory Nagy

On the paraphrase of *Iliad* 1.012–042 in Plato's *Republic* 3.393d–394a

This essay has never before appeared in print. A tentative online version exists, listed as Nagy 2016.09.23 in the bibliography, but I have been waiting for the right moment to prepare a definitive new version, to be presented in print. Well, that right moment is here. It is a delight for me that the editors of the Festschrift for my dear colleague and friend, Franco Montanari, have accepted my piece in their volume. I hope that my small contribution proves to be worthy of this grand Homericist nonpareil.

1 Introduction

My essay was inspired by a point that David Elmer (2016.09.21) makes about verses 366–392 of *Iliad* 1, where Achilles retells to his mother Thetis what was told in the Homeric narrative at the beginning of the *Iliad*, at verses 12–42 of *Iliad* 1. Just as the words of Socrates in Plato's *Republic* 3.393d–394a retell that same narrative, verses 12–42 of *Iliad* 1, without “quoting” any of the speakers who were featured in the action, so also the words of Achilles himself at verses 366–392 of *Iliad* 1 retell the same action without any “quotation” of direct speech. This point made by Elmer is relevant, I argue, to the concept of *paraphrase* as it is conventionally applied to what Plato has done here at *Republic* 3.393d–394a: supposedly, he is simply turning into prose the poetry that we read at the beginning of the Homeric *Iliad*, verses 12–42. In terms of my argumentation, however, things are not all that simple.

2 Paraphrasing in poetry as well as in prose

To begin, I highlight a formulation added by Elmer (again, 2016.09.21) to supplement the point that he makes about the wording of Plato where Socrates paraphrases Homer: this wording, Elmer says, is “mimetic” just as the wording of Achilles is “mimetic,” insofar as the *diēgēsis* (διήγησις) or ‘narrative’ that is performed here by Plato's Socrates “is embedded within Plato's *mīmēsis* [μίμησις] of Socrates.”

In terms of Elmer's interpretation, Plato's *mīmēsis* of Socrates — where I translate *mīmēsis* as 're-enactment' — is parallel to the *mīmēsis* 're-enactment' of Homer, as it were, by Achilles. The master narrator of the *Iliad* — let us continue to call him 'Homer' — is narrating the *diēgēsis* or 'narrative' at the beginning of the *Iliad* and is thus making a *mīmēsis* or 're-enactment' of what was done and what was said in the *Iliad*, but then Achilles, in retelling the same narrative, performs a *mīmēsis* 're-enactment' of Homer in the act of narrating that narrative.

3 Plato's simplification of mimesis

This interpretation, I must emphasize, differs from what is claimed by Plato's Socrates after he finishes his retelling of the Homeric narrative as it was originally told at verses 12–42 of *Iliad* 1: the retold narrative of Socrates, says Plato's Socrates at *Republic* 3.394b, 'becomes a simple *diēgēsis* without *mīmēsis*', ἄνευ μιμήσεως ἀπλῇ διήγησις γίνεται.

In terms of this claim made by Plato's Socrates, there is no *mīmēsis* 're-enactment' in your *diēgēsis* 'narrative' if you do not actually quote whatever is being spoken by the characters inside the *diēgēsis*. That seems at first to be the whole point of the mental exercise performed by Plato's Socrates within the framework of *Republic* 3.393c–394b.

4 Paraphrasing the quotations that inaugurate the Homeric *Iliad*

The two characters who are actually quoted by 'Homer' at verses 12–42 of *Iliad* 1 are:

1. a grieving father who is trying to free her captive daughter: he is a priest named Chryses
2. a cruel despot who possesses the captive woman: he is Agamemnon, overking of the Achaeans.

At *Republic* 3.393d, before he begins his paraphrase of what these two Homeric characters are quoted as saying in the *Iliad*, Plato's Socrates claims that he will not paraphrase the entire beginning of the *Iliad* but will start where 'Homer' starts quoting the characters in the narrative. While saying that he will not paraphrase

what happens at the beginning of the narrative before the quotations start, however, he is actually doing exactly what he says he will not do: at *Republic* 3.393d, Plato's Socrates starts by paraphrasing verses 12–15 of *Iliad* 1, which precede the verses containing the quotations: he tells how the grieving father Chryses came with offers of supplication to Agamemnon in a quest to free his daughter from captivity. All this, as told at verses 12–15 of *Iliad* 1, is paraphrased by Socrates at *Republic* 3.393d in the course of his saying that he will not paraphrase this introductory narrative preceding what happens at verses 16–21 of *Iliad* 1, where the words of supplication spoken by the priest are then quoted directly.

After the quotation of the priest's words at verses 16–21 of *Iliad* 1, the narrative resumes at verse 22, where we hear that the Achaeans 'gave their approval', as expressed by the verb *ep-eu-phēmeîn*, of what the priest was imploring Agamemnon and his Achaean warriors to do by way of supplicating them. More specifically, as we hear at verses 22–23, the Achaeans approved of the request that Agamemnon should show respect for the divine order by heeding the supplication of the old father. But Agamemnon refuses the supplication, as we hear from the narrative at verses 24–25, and now at verses 26–32 we hear a quotation of the harsh words of refusal as uttered by the king, who threatens the old priest with harm if he persists with his supplication and does not go away. Then at verses 33–36 we hear how the old father, frightened by the king's threat, goes away without saying another word and finds a remote place where he may pray to the god Apollo in private. And then at verses 37–42 we hear the priest Chryses being quoted as he prays to Apollo and implores the god to punish Agamemnon and his Achaeans for disrespecting the tears of an old father.

In the mental exercise of retelling in *Republic* 3.393d–394a this whole narrative as found in verses 12–42 of *Iliad* 1, all the Homeric quotations are missing, and such a retelling is for Plato's Socrates a thing that is now *ἀνευ μιμήσεως* 'without *mīmēsis*', 3.394b. Both for Plato's Socrates and for Plato himself, as we see here, a *diēgēsis* 'narrative' that contains no quotations of the speakers involved in the action is no *mīmēsis* 're-enactment' at all: rather, such a narrative becomes a *ἀπλή διήγησις* (*haplê diēgēsis*), 'a simple narrative', 3.394b.

5 A rhapsodic view of *mimesis*

I challenged such a view of *mīmēsis* 're-enactment' in Chapter 3 of the book *Poetry as Performance* (1996). In the era of Plato and Aristotle, I argued there, the *rhapsōidos* 'rhapsode' as a professional performer of Homer was engaged in a kind of *mīmēsis* 're-enactment' that re-created not only the characters of heroic

song but also the composer and prototypical performer of that song, Homer himself. Here is how I formulated the argument (PP 80):

From a modern point of view that sees Homer as the author of a text, the re-creating of a real Homer in the performance of a rhapsode may not even seem to be a matter of mimesis. Even for Plato and Aristotle, a straightforward third-person narration in heroic song is technically a matter of diegesis or 'narration' as opposed to mimesis. In contemplating the 'I' of 'tell me, Muses' or 'tell me, Muse', we find ourselves at a loss in finding the element of the mimetic — or, to say it in a more modern way, the dramatic. And yet, my claim is that this 'I' is perhaps the most dramatic of all the characters in heroic song — once we see this song on the level of performance as well as composition. This 'I' is Homer speaking. For us, however, his role is no longer overt as it had been for audiences of Homeric song, and Homer has lost his power as a dramatic persona.

In line with this formulation, there is a chain of mimesis here from the ~~the~~ standpoint of a professional rhapsode. First, the narrative at verses 12–42 of *Iliad* 1 is mimetic in the sense that the rhapsode is making a mimesis of 'Homer' in the act of narrating the *Iliad*. Second, the narrative is double-mimetic in the sense that 'Homer' makes a mimesis of himself making a mimesis of the old priest and the over-king as they interact and speak with one other. Third, the retelling by Achilles at verses 366–392 of *Iliad* 1 is triple-mimetic in the sense that 'Homer' makes a mimesis of himself making a mimesis of Achilles making a mimesis of the old priest and the over-king.

To push this chain even further, the retelling of Homer as performed by Plato's Socrates at *Republic* 3.393d–394a is quadruple-mimetic in the sense that Socrates is shown in the act of re-enacting — or let us say simply *imitating* — a professional rhapsode in the act of interpreting Homer. I analyze this aspect of rhapsodic activity in the book *Plato's Rhapsody and Homer's Music* (2002), where I argue that the professional rhapsode in the era dramatized by Plato not only re-enacted Homer by way of performing the poetry of Homer: besides performing the poetry, the rhapsode could also interpret Homer by way of performing in prose his own paraphrases of what Homer said — and then by performing interpretations based on such paraphrases.

6 Evidence for rhapsodic technical language in Plato's *Ion*

Here is a compressed summary of my relevant argumentation in *Plato's Rhapsody and Homer's Music*, organized by way of listing ten examples of rhapsodic technical language as brought to life in the Platonic dialogue *Ion*, where Socrates compares notes, as it were, with a professional rhapsode named Ion (PR 25–32):

1. *hormân* + accusative, in the sense of 'move, get [the performer] started, inspire'. The key passage is at *Ion* 534c3. In this context, where Plato's ear catches the technical aspects of a rhapsodic expression, we read that the Muse 'moves' various different kinds of poets to produce their various different kinds of poetry: the Muse 'moves' Homer to make epic just as she 'moves' other poets to make dithyrambs, encomia, and so on. The Homeric context of the word *hormân* makes it clear that inspiration by the Muse happens in the context of performance, and it has to happen from the very start: the Muse has to 'start' the performer. At *Odyssey* 8.499, we see the blind singer Demodokos about to start his performance: *hormêtheis theou arkhetō* (ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἄρχετο) 'getting started, he began with the god'. That is, the performer got started or was 'moved' by the Muse and then he began his performance, starting by hymning a god. What follows this start, as we hear it paraphrased by the *Odyssey*, is an epic account of the *Iliou Persis*, the destruction of Troy (*Odyssey* 8.500–520).

2. *āidein* 'narrate' (= 'sing') + accusative of a given topic of song, which must be named at the very beginning of the performance. The topic, signaling a given epic event or a given epic character defining the event, must be in the accusative case. When Homer or the rhapsode 'sings' in the accusative that given event or character, he notionally conjures them, bringing them back to life in the process of performance. It is a common feature of oral poetics that the events mentioned in performance become part of the event that is the performance and that the characters featured in the events become members of the audience attending the performance in the here-and-now (on this point, see Martin 1989, XIV). The key passage is at *Ion* 535b3–7, where we find a veritable catalogue featuring "accusatives of the rhapsodic topic" following *āidein* (ᾄδεις): (1) Odysseus at the epic moment when he leaps upon the threshold, ready to shoot arrows at the suitors; (2) Achilles as he lunges at Hector; (3) some other highlighted thing (*tī*, accusative) from epic moments, as when (3a) Andromache bids farewell to Hector, or from other similar epic moments involving (3b) Hekabe or (3c) Andromache. We may compare the Homeric usage of *aeidein* = *āidein* 'narrate' ('sing')

+ accusative of the topic, such as the wrath of Achilles in *Iliad* 1.1. Thus the rhapsode's topics are put into the same dimension of heroic-age "reality" as Homer's topics. The rhapsode performs as someone who is parallel to and in continuity with Homer (further analysis in PP 60–64). In the case of 'Homer', he of course starts his topic at the beginning—as at *Iliad* 1.1. As for the rhapsode, his topics can start anywhere in Homeric poetry, as we have just seen from the catalogue of heroic topics at *Ion* 535b3–7.

3. *ep-aineîn* + *Homēros* (in accusative) 'quote Homer'. This expression refers to the 'quoting' of Homer *in medias res*, in a specific context and for a specific purpose. The key passages are at *Ion* 536d6, 541e2 (agent noun *ep-ainetēs*, 536d3, 542b4; see also the comment at BA 98n). The specific purposes, as in the *Ion*, have to do with arguing specific points. We may compare the usage of *ep-aineîn* in Lycurgus *Against Leokrates* 102, where the orator 'quotes' Homer in order to make his specific case. Aside from the various specific purposes involved in this activity of 'quoting' Homer, there is of course one overriding general purpose, from an Athenian point of view: that is, the State officially 'quotes' Homer to its assembled citizens on the occasion of its highest holiday, the Panathenaia, in the format of rhapsodic competitions. On this occasion, each competing rhapsode gets the chance to 'quote' Homer before a general audience of 20,000 persons (535d3) — a round figure that seems notionally equivalent to the body politic of Athens (details in PR 28). In this case, each competing rhapsode would be required to take up the Homeric narrative continuum where the previous rhapsode had left off (PR 28). This rhapsodic imperative of maintaining continuum is relevant to the etymology of *ep-aineîn*: 'to continue [*epi-*] making praise [*ainos*] for' (+ accusative of the *laudandus* as the receiver of praise or of the *laudator* as the ultimate giver of praise). By implication, rhapsodic art is a continuation of praise poetry (details in PR 28). The idea of continuum is explicit in the *epi-* of *ep-aineîn*.

4. *dianoia* 'train of thought', applying primarily to Homer's train of thought, not to the rhapsode's. The key passages are at *Ion* 530b10, c3, d3. The rhapsode can enter into Homer's train of thought at any point of the continuum that is the narrative. He can enter into it midstream, *in medias res*. To be able to join the Homeric narrative in progress is to know the *dianoia* of Homer. As such, the rhapsode is the *hermēneus* 'interpreter' of the *dianoia* of Homer (530c3; see no. 5 below). Since the rhapsode can become part of Homer's train of thought, of Homer's *dianoia*, he can also *tell* the thoughts of Homer as a verbal commentary (so, not necessarily a written commentary) *about* Homer (530c9; see no. 6 below). Such 'commenting' thoughts become, by extension, *dianoiai* as well: 530d3. On Socrates' different 'understanding' of *dianoia*, see no. 6 below. The idea of continuum is explicit in the *dia-* of *dianoia*.

5. *hermēneus* ‘interpreter’, applied to the rhapsode as one who must know the *dianoia* of Homer on behalf of his audiences. The key passage is at *Ion* 530c3: τὸν γὰρ ῥαψωδὸν ἐρμηνεῖα δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς διανοίας γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι ‘you see, it is imperative that the rhapsode [*rhapsōidos*] should become an interpreter [*hermēneus*] of the poet’s train-of-thought [*dianoia*] for his listeners’. Here we see the essence of the rhapsode’s “hermeneutics”: everything depends on his knowing Homer’s *dianoia* ‘train of thought’ (see no. 4; for more details, see PR 29). There are further applications of the word *hermēneus* at 535a6, a9 (see also 534e4). This concept of an ‘interpreter’ or ‘go-between’ acknowledges the reality of a mental gap between Homer on one side and his audience in the here-and-now on the other side. That gap can be bridged by the rhapsode, whose mind can implicitly neutralize the distance that separates the two sides.

6. *legein peri + Homēros* (in genitive) ‘make a verbal commentary on Homer’. The key passages are at *Ion* 530c9, d2–3. Here Ion is reacting to the claim of Socrates that a rhapsode is expected to be a *hermēneus* ‘interpreter’ of a poet like Homer, and that therefore Ion must surely know the poet’s ‘intention’, that is, his *dianoia* (531c). By using the literary word “intention” here, I am seeking to find a common ground between the specialized Socratic/Platonic understanding of *dianoia* as ‘intellect’ (as at *Republic* 6.511d) and a more general understanding of the word as reflected by the primary definition in the dictionary of Liddell, Scott, and Jones: “thought, i.e. intention, purpose” (details in PP 124). When Socrates uses the word *dianoia* at *Ion* 531c, he understands it to mean Homer’s intellectual capacity as revealed by his words (see also Aristotle *Poetics* 1450a6, etc.). Affirming his own rhapsodic understanding of *dianoia* as ‘train of thought’, Ion replies that he can indeed ‘speak most beautifully about Homer’, more so than any of his predecessors could speak about Homer (καὶ οἶμαι κάλλιστα ἀνθρώπων λέγειν περὶ Ὀμήρου, 530c; see also 533c–d), and that the *dianoiai* that he ‘speaks about Homer’ are more beautiful than those spoken by any of his predecessors, including Metrodorus of Lampsacus, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Glaucon, etc. (ὥς οὔτε Μητρόδωρος ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὔτε Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος οὔτε Γλαύκων οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν πρόποτε γενομένων ἔσχεν εἰπεῖν οὕτω πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς διανοίας περὶ Ὀμήρου ὅσας ἐγώ, 530c–d; more at PP 124–125).

7. *exēgeîsthai* ‘speak authoritatively, make an exegesis’ about Homer. The key passages are at *Ion* 531a7, b8, b9; 533b8; cf. 533b1; at 531a7, the word picks up the idea of *legein peri + Homēros* (in genitive) at 530c9 (PP 125n81). See no. 6 above.

8. *diatribēin* ‘perform’ (that is, perform rhapsodically). The key passage is at *Ion* 530b8. We may compare Isocrates *Panathenaicus* 19, where *diatribē* refers to the ad hoc performances of ‘sophists’ at the Lyceum who are described at

18 as ‘performing rhapsodically’ (*rhapsōidountes*) the poetry of Homer, Hesiod, and other poets; at 33, Isocrates refers again to the same ‘sophists’ at the Lyceum who are ‘performing rhapsodically’ (*rhapsōidountas*) and who also ‘speak about’ — stupidly — Homer, Hesiod, and other poets (*lêreîn peri* + genitive; to be compared with no. 6 above; see also PP 123–124). Their activity of speaking about Homer, Hesiod, and other poets is described as *dialegesthai* (διαλέγειντο, 18), on which see no. 10 below.

9. *mnēsthēnai* (and related forms) ‘make mention’ concerning a sequence from Homer within an exegetical frame, that is, to ‘quote’ it within such a frame and also to make comments or make a commentary. The key passages are at *Ion* 532c2, 536c7. As in the case of no. 6 above, what is meant is to ‘make a verbal commentary’ (further details at PP 122–125). Where *mnēsthēnai* takes the accusative case, it means ‘recall’, as when Socrates is trying to recall some verses from Homer (ἐὰν μνησθῶ τὰ ἔπη, 537a2; see also HQ 152). The rhapsode notes that his attention is always awakened when someone *mnēsthēi* ‘makes commentaries’ about Homer (ἐπειδὴν δέ τις περὶ Ὀμήρου μνησθῇ, 532c2). Later on in the *Ion*, the same theme of the rhapsode’s awakened attention is transferred from the act of making commentaries about the poet (περὶ μὲν Ὀμήρου ὅταν τις μνησθῇ, 536c7) to the act of actually performing or ‘singing’ something from a poet (ἐπειδὴν μὲν τις ἄλλου του ποιητοῦ ᾄδῃ, 536b6; see also PP 125n88). On ‘singing’, see no. 2 above.

10. *dialegesthai* in the sense of ‘engage in dialogue’ about a given poet. The key passage is at *Ion* 532b9 (ὅταν μὲν τις περὶ ἄλλου του ποιητοῦ διαλέγηται). This term appears in a context that is parallel to the context of *mnēsthēnai* at 532c (see PP 125n80). See no. 9 above.

7 Thoughts about Plato’s discrediting of mimesis in the *Republic*

Viewing these ten examples of technical rhapsodic terminology as used by Plato, we can see that he fully understands the mentality of rhapsodes: these professional performers and interpreters of Homer claim to possess the authority of Homer because they can supposedly re-enact Homer’s thinking as well as his performance. For the rhapsodes, even a paraphrasing of Homer is such a re-enactment. For Plato, however, mimesis is not a re-enactment as it is for rhapsodes: it is mere imitation. And it is easier to discredit such imitation when you hear a rhapsode paraphrase Homer in prose: now the poetic power is lost, since the voice of the supposedly original speaker, Homer, is no longer there. To imitate

Homer is not to be Homer, and the imitation of Homer is most evident when a rhapsode tries to speak Homer's mind without even speaking by way of poetry. That is why Plato's Socrates demonstrates the most vulnerable aspect of rhapsodic authenticity by performing a Homeric paraphrase as if he were a rhapsode himself.

But Plato here and there shows off his own rhapsodic expertise when he lets Socrates paraphrase Homer, since the prose of the paraphrase performed by Socrates is not always 'simple diegesis'. At times Plato's Socrates slips into Homeric poetry when he is ostensibly performing non-Homeric prose. I find the most obvious example at *Republic* 3.394a, at the moment when the old priest Chryses is praying to Apollo to punish Agamemnon and his Achaeans. The god, says the grieving old man, must make the transgressors pay for his fatherly tears, and the paraphrase refers to these tears by way of wording that is perfectly Homeric: τὰ ἄ δάκρυα 'his tears'. This is not prose. It is poetry, Homeric poetry, with a transformation of the Homeric phrase ἐμὰ δάκρυα 'my tears', spoken by the old man at verse 42 of *Iliad* 1, into the equally Homeric τὰ ἄ δάκρυα 'his tears' as spoken by that prodigious pseudo-rhapsode, Socrates himself.

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Paul Demont

Un «brouillamini» platonicien à propos du «cycéon» homérique (Λ 624–641)

Dans l’*Ion*, puis dans la *République*, Platon¹ cite un même passage de l’*Illiade*, quand Machaon l’Asclépiade, blessé, est recueilli dans la tente de Nestor et reçoit des mains de sa captive Hécamède un breuvage réconfortant, le cycéon, dans la fameuse coupe de Nestor:

Τοῖσι δὲ τεύχε κυκείῳ ἐϋπλόκαμος Ἑκαμήδη,
(...)
Ἦ σφωῖν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιπροΐηλε τράπεζαν
καλὴν κυανόπεζαν ἐύξρον, αὐτὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς
χάλκειον κάνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμυον ποτῶ ὄψον,
ἥ δὲ μέλι χλωρόν, παρὰ δ’ ἀλφίτου ἱεροῦ ἀκτὴν,
(...)
Ἐν τῷ ρά σφι κύκησε γυνὴ εἰκυῖα θεῇσιν
οἶνῳ Πραμνεΐῳ, ἐπὶ δ’ αἶγειον κνῆ τυρόν
κνήστι χαλκεῖῃ, ἐπὶ δ’ ἄλφιστα λευκά πάλυνε,
πινέμεναι δ’ ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπεὶ ῥ’ ὥπλισσε κυκείῳ.

(Il. 11.624–641, éd. Allen)

D’une part, dans l’*Ion*, le passage lui permet de faire avouer au rhapsode Ion que le meilleur commentateur d’Homère ici n’est pas le rhapsode, mais le médecin, qui peut seul juger de l’efficacité médicale du breuvage:

ΣΩ. Τί δὲ δὴ ὅταν Ὅμηρος λέγῃ ὡς τετρωμένων τῷ Μαχάονι Ἑκαμήδη ἢ Νέστορος παλλακὴ κυκείῳ πιεῖν δίδωσι; καὶ λέγει πως οὕτως — οἶνῳ πραμνεΐῳ, φησὶν, ἐπὶ δ’ αἶγειον κνῆ τυρόν κνήστει* χαλκεῖῃ· παρὰ δὲ κρόμυον ποτῶ ὄψον· ταῦτα εἴτε ὀρθῶς λέγει Ὅμηρος εἴτε μή, πότερον ἰατρικῆς ἐστὶ διαγνώωναι καλῶς ἢ ραψωδικῆς; ΙΩΝ. Ἰατρικῆς.

(Platon, *Ion* 538b7–c6, éd. Ferroni sauf pour κνήστει)

*κνήστει W S t Labarbe : κνήστη T κνήστι F κνήστι edd.

¹ L’authenticité de l’*Ion* a été discutée, mais paraît désormais acquise (voir le tableau historique très complet de Flashar 1958, 1–16 et surtout l’analyse de Rijksbaron 2007, 1–8, qui conclut, après une étude du vocabulaire : «the *Ion* belongs to the same period (...) as *Meno*, *Symposium* and especially, as suggested above, *Republic* (R. II–X that is) and *Phaedrus*»; voir aussi en dernier lieu Ferroni/Macé 2018, XVIII–XXIII). Cette étude, comme on le verra, propose un argument supplémentaire pour situer la composition de l’*Ion* en rapport avec celle de la *République*.

D'autre part, dans la *République*, il en tire argument pour opposer la médecine ancienne et la médecine moderne dans la savoureuse dénonciation du modernisme, sous ses deux aspects (l'inflation de la judicature et de la médecine), qu'on lit au livre III. Pour la médecine moderne, le remède proposé est «étrange», car il favorise l'inflammation; mais, explique Socrate, les médecins des héros anciens ne se souciaient pas du régime alimentaire, contrairement à Hérodocos, lequel passe son temps, comme trop de ses contemporains, à se soigner, et a bien du mal... à mourir:

Τὸ δὲ ἰατρικῆς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, δεῖσθαι ὅτι μὴ τραυμάτων ἕνεκα ἢ τινων ἐπετείων νοσημάτων ἐπιπεσόντων, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀργίαν τε καὶ δίαίταν οἶαν διήλθομεν, ρευμάτων τε καὶ πνευμάτων ὥσπερ λίμνας ἐμπιμπλαμένους φύσας τε καὶ κατάρρους νοσήμασιν ὀνόματα τίθεσθαι ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς κομψοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ; Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη· ὡς ἀληθῶς καινὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄτοπα νοσημάτων ὀνόματα. Οἶα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὡς οἶμαι, οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ. τεκμαίρομαι δέ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ οἱ υἱεῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ Εὐρυπύλῳ τετραμένῳ ἐπ' οἶνον Πράμνειον ἄλφιστα πολλὰ ἐπιπασθέντα καὶ τυρὸν ἐπιξυσθέντα, ἃ δὴ δοκεῖ φλεγματώδη εἶναι, οὐκ ἐμέμψαντο τῇ δούσῃ πιεῖν, οὐδὲ Πατρόκλῳ τῷ ἰωμένῳ ἐπετίμησαν. Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη, ἄτοπόν γε τὸ πῶμα οὕτως ἔχοντι. Οὐκ, εἴ γ' ἐννοεῖς, εἶπον, ὅτι τῇ παιδαγωγικῇ τῶν νοσημάτων ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν ἰατρικῇ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδα οὐκ ἐχρῶντο, ὡς φασι, πρὶν Ἡρόδικον γενέσθαι· Ἡρόδικος δὲ παιδοτρίβης ὢν καὶ νοσώδης γενόμενος, μεῖζας γυμναστικῇ ἰατρικῇ, ἀπέκναισε πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα ἑαυτόν, ἔπειτ' ἄλλους ὕστερον πολλοὺς. Πῇ δὴ; ἔφη. Μακρόν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ ποιήσας. παρακολουθῶν γάρ τῳ νοσήματι θανασίμῳ ὄντι οὔτε ἰάσασθαι οἶμαι οἷός τ' ἦν ἑαυτόν, ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τε πάντων ἰατρευόμενος διὰ βίου ἔζη, ἀποκναιόμενος εἴ τι τῆς εἰωθυίας διαίτης ἐκβαίῃ, δυσθανατῶν δὲ ὑπὸ σοφίας εἰς γῆρας ἀφίκετο. Καλὸν ἄρα τὸ γέρας, ἔφη, τῆς τέχνης ἡνέγκατο.

(Platon, *République* III, 405c8–406b8, éd. Burnet)

Les héros d'autrefois avaient évidemment un bon régime sans intervention médicale. Les Asclépiades Podalire et Machaon se donnaient seulement pour tâche de soigner les plaies de ces héros, qui étaient en bonne santé et mesurés dans leur régime, conclut Platon, cette fois à propos de Ménélas et d'Eurypyle, en utilisant aussi *Illiade* 4.218:

Ἦ οὐ μέμνησαι ὅτι καὶ τῳ Μενέλεω ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος οὗ ὁ Πάνδαρος ἔβαλεν— αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσαντες ἐπ' ἡπια φάρμακ' ἔπασσον, ὅτι δ' ἐχρῆν μετὰ τοῦτο ἢ πιεῖν ἢ φαγεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τῳ Εὐρυπύλῳ προσέταττον, ὡς ἱκανῶν ὄντων τῶν φαρμάκων ἰάσασθαι ἄνδρας πρὸ τῶν τραυμάτων ὑγιεινούς τε καὶ κοσμίους ἐν διαίτῃ, κἂν εἰ τύχοιεν ἐν τῳ παραχρήμα κυκεῶνα πίνοντες, νοσώδῃ δὲ φύσει τε καὶ ἀκόλαστον οὔτε αὐτοῖς οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ᾤοντο λυσιτελεῖν ζῆν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν τέχνην δεῖν εἶναι, οὐδὲ θεραπευτέον αὐτούς, οὐδ' εἰ Μίδου πλουσιώτεροι εἶεν. Πάννυ κομψοὺς, ἔφη, λέγεις Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδας.

(Platon, *République* III, 408a2–b6, éd. Burnet)

Jules Labarbe, dans son ouvrage classique, commente ainsi ce dernier texte:²

Platon exagère vraiment. Non content d'avoir poussé Eurypyle dans la baraque de Nestor, il y introduit l'Asclépiade Podalire qui, selon Homère, est toujours au combat. Evincé comme patient dans l'allusion de la *République*, Machaon a donc pris une éclatante revanche: il s'est adjoint son frère et joue avec lui, par la grâce d'une bévue platonicienne, un vague rôle de médecin en consultation. (...) Après tout cela, il est piquant de songer que le nom κυκεών a fini par prendre, en grec, le même sens figuré que *brouillamini* possède en français.

De fait, la situation est quelque peu embrouillée, et c'est pourquoi j'ai emprunté à Labarbe son «brouillamini» dans mon titre.

Quand Platon cite textuellement l'*Iliade*, dans l'*Ion*, il mêle deux passages, d'abord le v. 639 et le premier hémistiché du v. 640: οἶνω πρᾶμνειῶ, ἐπὶ δ' αἴγειον κνή τυρὸν / κνήστι χαλκείῃ, puis le second hémistiché du v. 630: ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμον ποτῶ ὄψον, en remplaçant ἐπὶ par παρὰ, car, note justement Labarbe, ἐπὶ obligeait «à imaginer des oignons râpés dans le vin: processus ayant à sa base une hérésie à la fois sémantique et gastronomique».³ L'ajout, ici, de l'oignon, à la place de la farine, composant habituel du cycéon, est une erreur, et, comme le note Labarbe à juste titre, ne peut guère remonter à une autre version ancienne.⁴ D'autre part, il utilise probablement, lui, la forme εἰ du datif singulier de κνήστις, à en juger par la tradition manuscrite.⁵ Selon Labarbe, Platon cite de mémoire, et en se trompant. Albert Rijksbaron relève en faveur de cette conclusion le fait, incontestable, que «there are many other potentially confusing correspondences between *Il.* 11.639–640 and 630–631», qui peuvent expliquer l'erreur.⁶ Platon utiliserait donc en quelque sorte la nature formulaire des vers d'Homère pour forger inconsciemment dans l'*Ion* son texte à lui.⁷ Dans l'*Ion*, Ion ne remarque pas l'erreur. Labarbe se demande «comment justifier, devant la méprise de Socrate, la

² Labarbe 1949/1987, 375.

³ Labarbe 1949/1987, 105. La mention de l'oignon «as a seasoning of the drink», au v. 630, reste «an unexplained complication of the recipe for the κυκεών» (Hainsworth 1993, qui renvoie à la discussion d'Athénée 24F-25E).

⁴ Labarbe 1949/1987, 107 («on se gardera de faire remonter à son exemplaire de l'*Iliade* la variante fautive où apparaît l'oignon»).

⁵ Ferroni 2018, 153–154 remarque que «le fait que cette variante soit attestée par des manuscrits indépendants appartenant à des branches différentes du stemma ne peut que renforcer la position du savant belge», mais il édite néanmoins le texte qu'il juge homérique («la forme contractée est certainement homérique»).

⁶ Rijksbaron 2007, 39–40.

⁷ Labarbe 1949/1987, 420: «Platon était-il en mesure de créer des variantes du genre formulaire ? Cela n'est pas douteux: il suffit de considérer certaines leçons qui sont sûrement dues à

passivité du rhapsode Ion». ⁸ La question se pose aussi si l'on se place du point de vue du lecteur de l'*Ion*: pouvait-il, lui, remarquer l'erreur? Labarbe estime que l'on surestime souvent la connaissance moyenne qu'avait un Athénien des œuvres homériques et que le cas de Nicératos, à qui son père avait fait apprendre par cœur l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssée*, évoqué par Xénophon dans le *Banquet* (3, 5–6), est une exception, signalée comme telle, et non la règle. ⁹ Selon lui, donc, ni Socrate, ni Ion, dans le cadre du récit, mais aussi ni Platon, ni le lecteur athénien, si l'on se place au niveau extradiégétique, ne se rendaient compte de l'erreur. C'est tout à fait possible. Peut-être y a-t-il une autre possibilité, cependant. Peut-on faire l'hypothèse d'une erreur volontaire de Platon, destinée à suggérer à un lecteur avisé, d'une part, qu'Ion ne connaît pas une composition standard du cycéon, avec céréales (et est donc encore bien moins capable qu'il ne le reconnaît lui-même de juger de son efficacité médicale — ce qui est l'objet de la citation), et, d'autre part, que, même pour ce qui est de la connaissance du texte d'Homère, Ion n'est pas infallible? En tout cas, dans la *République*, en évoquant un mélange constitué de vin de Pramnos, de farine et de fromage, Platon montre qu'il connaît le texte transmis, avec la mention de la farine.

La *République* corrige donc l'erreur de l'*Ion*, mais elle en ajoute d'autres, non moins graves. Ce n'est pas Eurypyle, mais Machaon qui est blessé dans le passage cité de l'*Iliade*, et ce n'est pas Patrocle qui le soigne... Dans le cadre diégétique, il faut reconnaître que, à nouveau, personne ne se rend compte de ces erreurs. Faut-il supposer que l'Homère de Platon avait un texte différent du nôtre? ¹⁰ L'abondance des à peu près rend l'hypothèse fragile. D'autre part, les choix narratifs de l'*Iliade* ne facilitent certes pas la mémorisation, et peuvent expliquer les erreurs; ¹¹ à nouveau, est-ce que cela implique, d'une part, que Platon lui-même

des défaillances de mémoire (...). Mais (...) les groupes de mots qui ont causé ces contaminations appartiennent à des passages dont on peut affirmer que le philosophe les connaissait».

⁸ Labarbe 1949/1987, 108.

⁹ Labarbe 1949/1987, 422 («le fruit d'une éducation exceptionnelle»: en l'écoutant, Antisthène pense immédiatement «aux spécialistes, aux rhapsodes», et «tout le monde n'avait pas, comme lui [Nicératos], le loisir d'écouter *presque chaque jour* des récitations homériques»).

¹⁰ Adam pense ainsi que l'Homère de Platon «related a similar incident in connexion with the treatment of Eurypylus also» (1902, *ad loc.*). «Es handelt es sich aber offenbar um eine naheliegende, auf einem Gedächtnisfehler beruhende Verwechslung» (Flashar 1958, 81).

¹¹ «Makhaon remains with Nestor (...) but is ignored by the speakers even when the presence of a wounded man would have served Nestor's argument at 762 ff. (...) He has served his purpose in motivating Patroklos' visit (...). Patroklos comments on the paradox of a wounded doctor at 833–6 but fails to include him in his report to Akhilleus at 16.23–9» (B. Hainsworth 1993, *ad v.* 647).

n'en était pas conscient, et d'autre part, que les lecteurs de Platon ne s'en rendaient pas compte non plus, et qu'ils avaient tous seulement de vagues souvenirs de l'épisode homérique, suffisants pour leur faire accepter la version socratique? C'est ce qui permettrait ensuite à Platon d'«exagérer» (la formule de Jules Labarbe laisse cependant ouverte la possibilité d'erreurs *volontaires* ici, par une sorte de jeu de Platon), en ajoutant Podalire à son frère Machaon un peu plus tard.

Il semble bien, en tout cas, que le passage de Platon dans la *République* propose un premier commentaire, en forme de problème médical, de ces vers de l'*Illiade*: le traitement au cycéon est-il ou non bien choisi? Ces citations platoniciennes appartiennent à l'une des catégories de citations répertoriées par Franco Montanari pour la période hellénistique: «those fulfilling an ideological aim, when a passage is cited — and sometimes manipulated — in support of a given position». ¹² Revenons donc à cette fonction idéologique, ou, dans le cas de Platon, argumentative. ¹³

Auparavant, il faut répondre à une question préliminaire. Y avait-il des commentaires médicaux à Homère à l'époque classique? Un cas au moins est bien connu. L'auteur hippocratique du traité des *Articulations* cite un hexamètre sur les bœufs qu'il attribue à «Homère», mais qui ne figure pas dans notre texte d'Homère, à l'appui de sa discussion médicale du traitement des luxations humaines, tout en s'excusant de sortir ainsi un instant de la médecine (humaine): ¹⁴ les luxations, dit-il, sont plus rares et plus difficiles à guérir chez les hommes gras que chez les hommes maigres, mais plus fréquentes et plus faciles à guérir chez les maigres, tout comme chez les bœufs à la fin de l'hiver, car ils sont amaigris (en raison de leur difficulté congénitale à brouter l'herbe quand elle est rase). De là viendrait l'épithète homérique dans l'expression βουσὶν ἔλιξιν, que le médecin glose ensuite par une autre épithète homérique: εἰλίπουν ἐστί. Le vers cité évoque

¹² Montanari 2016, 78.

¹³ Un aspect important, que je n'aborde pas ici, en est le contraste, peut-être polémique, avec l'histoire de la médecine telle que la conçoit le traité de l'*Ancienne Médecine*, contraste que j'ai analysé dans: «Progrès ou décadence de la *technè* médicale selon [Hippocrate], *Ancienne Médecine* et Platon, *République*», *Études platoniciennes* X, 2013 (<http://etudesplatoniciennes.revues.org/196>).

¹⁴ Il annonce même plusieurs vers (τάδε τὰ ἔπη), comme le note E. Littré, mais les manuscrits conservés n'en donnent qu'un seul.

les bœufs quand arrive le printemps, qui leur permettra de grossir: «Comme lorsque le printemps aimé survient pour les bœufs aux pattes tortueuses». ¹⁵ «Homère» sert donc de «preuve» (μαρτύρια) à l'appui du raisonnement médical.

Γίνονται δὲ βόες λεπτότατοι, τοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος· τότε οὖν καὶ ἐξαρθρώουσι μάλιστα, εἰ δὴ τι καὶ τοιοῦτο δεῖ ἐν ἱητρικῇ γράψαι· δεῖ δέ· καλῶς γὰρ Ὅμηρος καταμεμαθήκει, ὅτι πάντων τῶν προβάτων βόες μάλιστα πονέουσι ταύτην τὴν ὥρην, καὶ βοῶν οἱ ἄρῳται, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐργάζονται. Τούτοις τοίνυν ἐκπίπτει μάλιστα· οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα λεπτόνονται. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα βοσκήματα δύναται βραχεῖν τὴν ποίην βόσκεισθαι· βοῦς δὲ οὐ μάλα, πρὶν βαθεῖα γένηται· τοῖσι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοισιν ἐστὶ λεπτή ἢ προβολὴ τοῦ χεῖλεος, λεπτή δὲ ἢ ἄνω γνάθος· βοὶ δὲ παχείη μὲν ἢ προβολὴ τοῦ χεῖλεος, παχείη δὲ καὶ ἀμβλείη ἢ ἄνω γνάθος· διὰ ταῦτα ὑποβάλλειν ὑπὸ τὰς βραχείας ποίας οὐ δύναται. Τὰ τε αὖ μώνυχα τῶν ζώων, ἅτε ἀμφόδοντα ἔοντα, δύναται μὲν σαρκάζειν, δύναται δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν βραχεῖν ποίην ὑποβάλλειν τοὺς ὀδόντας, καὶ ἥδεται τῇ οὕτως ἐχούσῃ ποίῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ βαθείῃ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπίπαι ἀμείνων καὶ στερεωτέρη ἢ βραχεῖ ποίῃ τῆς βαθείης, ποτὶ καὶ πρὶν ἐκκαρπεῖν τὴν βαθεῖν. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐποίησεν ὧδε τάδε τὰ ἔπη· Ὡς δ' ὁπότ' ἀσπᾶσιον ἔαρ ἤλυθε βουσὶν ἔλιξιν, ὅτι ἀσμενωτάτῃ αὐτοῖσιν ἢ βαθείῃ ποίῃ φαίνεται. Ἀτὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ βοὺς χαλαρὸν φύσει τὸ ἄρθρον τοῦτο ἔχει μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ζώων· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰλίσπουν ἐστὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν λεπτὸν καὶ γηραλέον ᾖ. Διὰ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ἐκπίπτει βοὶ μάλιστα· πλείω δὲ γέγραπται περὶ αὐτέου, ὅτι πάντων τῶν προσηρημένων ταῦτα μαρτύρια ἐστίν.

Hippocrate, *Articulations* 8 (Littre IV, p. 96–98)

Ce texte étonnant propose, en plus du raisonnement médical, de l'analyse de la physiologie des bovins et de la comparaison entre homme et animal, une sorte de glose de l'adjectif ἔλιξ par εἰλίπους, et il offre ainsi un témoignage intéressant pour la compréhension de la formule homérique longue εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς, dont le sens est discuté, ainsi que pour sa relation aux deux formules courtes εἰλίποδας βοῦς et ἔλικας βοῦς. Le Feuvre les a récemment étudiées en détail et a proposé une nouvelle interprétation, très convaincante, selon laquelle, dans la formule longue, qui serait la formule la plus ancienne, ἔλικας doit être compris comme un ancien substantif à l'accusatif de relation, réanalysé secondairement en adjectif. Ce processus aurait ainsi donné naissance aux deux formules courtes. Elle propose donc le sens suivant pour la formule longue: «bœufs aux pattes qui tournent sur elles-mêmes en demi-tour», ce qu'elle met en rapport avec les virages des bœufs pendant le labour. ¹⁶ Ce texte des *Articulations*, qu'elle ne cite pas, va tout à fait, à mon avis, dans le sens de son analyse, car dans la luxation, les pattes (ou les jambes) tournent

¹⁵ Ces épithètes homériques sont notamment associées en *Il.* 9.466; 21.448; 23.166; *Od.* 1.92; 4.320 et 9.46 (dans la formule εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς).

¹⁶ Le Feuvre 2015, 445–463, 643, 649.

en effet sur elles-mêmes. Le médecin, cependant, ne fait aucun rapport entre la pratique du labourage «boustrophédon» et la formule: pour lui, les épithètes renvoient uniquement à une propension remarquable des bovins à la luxation. Certes, il insiste sur le fait qu'il s'agit des «bœufs de labour» (βοῶν οἱ ἄρόται), ce qui peut suggérer un souvenir du sens originel reconstruit par Le Feuvre, mais le médecin comprend que, puisque ce sont des bœufs de labour, ils doivent travailler en hiver, saison où l'herbe est courte — herbe que leur morphologie leur interdit de brouter facilement, ce qui les fait maigrir, et les rend plus vulnérables aux luxations. En tout cas, ce texte prouve que, pour le médecin et ses lecteurs de l'époque classique, il n'est nullement question ici de «cornes recourbées» et, plus généralement, il prouve l'existence de commentaires médicaux de vers homériques.

C'est pourquoi, à mon avis, on peut considérer comme vraisemblable l'existence aussi de gloses médicales à propos du cycéon offert à Machaon, dont la *République* procure un exemple. Mais la réaction de Glaucon à Socrate, quand il trouve le breuvage vraiment «étrange», car «inflammatoire» (φλεγματώδη), suggère que la glose pouvait être dans une perspective critique.

Il est donc temps d'en venir au cycéon lui-même, auquel Armand Delatte et Calvert Watkins ont consacré de très belles études, qui ne vont pas exactement dans la même direction, le premier ignorant les parallèles et antécédents indo-européens, et le second ignorant le travail du premier. Le cycéon, dit Armand Delatte, est en Grèce «une mixture formée par l'association d'un aliment solide, le gruau d'orge, avec un liquide: comme le notaient déjà les Anciens, son nom vient de ce qu'il faut remuer (κυκᾶν) le mélange¹⁷ avant de l'absorber», c'est «un mets riche et substantiel, destiné à restaurer des forces épuisées par de rudes épreuves ou un travail pénible»,¹⁸ bref, c'est une «boisson de paysan», comme le dit Pierre Chantraine en citant Delatte,¹⁹ une boisson dont Delatte analyse expressément (et jusque dans le titre de son livre) l'usage «rituel» dans les mystères d'Eleusis. Dans le passage de l'*Iliade*, outre le gruau, il y a du fromage, du miel et c'est du vin de Pramnos qui sert de liant pour cette nourriture, toujours présentée comme une boisson.

Le remède iliadique, malgré Platon, «is not an aberration».²⁰ Il est attesté aussi, avec les mêmes ingrédients, dans l'*Odyssée*, où, mêlé à des drogues supplémentaires, il est employé par Circé pour endormir les compagnons d'Ulysse.

¹⁷ Le cycéon a donc servi de modèle pour certaines représentations présocratiques du mélange ou de la δίη des éléments primordiaux (Héraclite, fr. 22 B 125 DK par exemple), et Marc-Aurèle encore oppose le monde comme «cycéon» en brouillamini et le monde comme «cosmos» organisé (*Pensées pour moi-même*, IV, 27; voir aussi Chrysippe, fr. 937 SVF).

¹⁸ Delatte 1955, 25.

¹⁹ 1968, s.v.

²⁰ Hainsworth 1993, *ad* v. 638.

Ἐν δέ σφιν τυρόν τε καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν
οἶνω Πραμνεΐῳ ἐκύκα· ἀνέμισγε δὲ σίτω
φάρμακα λύγρ', ἵνα πάγχυ λαθοῖατο πατρίδος αἵης.

Od. 10.234–236

Calvert Watkins a bien montré que le cycéon magique de Circé doit être rapproché du «soma», la boisson rituelle centrale du culte indo-iranien, «a ritual potation which is *drunk* (píbati ; it is *intoxicant* or *hallucinogenic* (madirá); it is a *mixed potion* (āśír, śrīṇāti), combining the pressed juice of a *plant* (sóma; amśú, ándhas), the source of the hallucinogenic agent, with *water* (apó vásānah etc.), *milk* (páyas etc.) or a milk product like curds; *honey* (mádhu) or abstractly sweetness; and *barley* (yáva)». ²¹ Une fonction rituelle du cycéon, évoquée dans le titre du livre de Delatte, apparaît en Grèce dans la formule célèbre et obscure des mystères d'Eleusis (il s'agit très probablement des mystères attiques) citée par Clément d'Alexandrie (*Protreptique* II, 21, 2) et d'autres : «J'ai jeûné, j'ai bu le cycéon, j'ai pris dans le panier et, après avoir travaillé, j'ai déposé dans la corbeille, puis, reprenant de la corbeille, j'ai remplacé dans le panier». ²² L'ancienneté de ce type de formule est prouvée, en particulier, par l'*Hymne à Déméter*, que Calvert Watkins rapproche aussi du «soma» indo-iranien: c'est bien un «cycéon» au vin, préparé également par une femme, Métaneira, contenant un hallucinogène (γλήχων, *Mentha pulegium*), ²³ qui est offert à Déméter assise, dans «an extremely archaic piece of traditional lore, both linguistically and thematically»: ²⁴

Τῇ δὲ δέπας Μετάνειρα δίδου μελιηδέος οἶνου
πλήσας, ἥ δ' ἀνένευσ'· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν οἱ ἔφασκε
πίνειν οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, ἄνωγε δ' ἄρ' ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ
δοῦναι μίξασαν πιέμεν γλήχωνι τερεΐνῃ.
Ἡ δὲ κυκεῶ τεύξασα θεᾷ πόρεν ὥς ἐκέλευε.

(*Hymne à Déméter* 206–210)

²¹ Watkins 1978, 14 («The exact correspondence of features with the soma ritual must be more than accidental»; un élément archaïque particulièrement notable (*H. Dém.* 208) est la forme ἄλφι, unique dans les textes grecs conservés). Je remercie Claire Le Feuvre de m'avoir fait connaître cette étude importante.

²² Delatte 1955, 25.

²³ Il faut corriger ici Delatte 1955, 38–39.

²⁴ Watkins 1978, 15, complétant Richardson 1974, 344–348 (voir aussi p. 15, où le *soma* est mentionné, p. 165–168 et p. 213–218 de son commentaire).

Pour Calvert Watkins, «far from being a simple ‘boisson de paysan’, with Chantraine, the *kukeon* of Demeter, the drinking of which is the central cultic act of Indo-Iranian religion, is an invaluable part of the proof of the cognateness of the latter with the soma ritual».²⁵ Il interprète donc aussi le passage iliadique dans la même perspective, tout en reconnaissant que le langage homérique est «consciously irreligious»: le passage, «in appearance wholly secular, is in fact describing a religious ritual, and indeed a liturgical act of Indo-European date, identical with the soma-ritual of Vedic India»,²⁶ l’absorption d’un breuvage, appelé «mixed potion» aussi bien en grec qu’en indo-iranien, préparée par une femme,²⁷ et destiné rituellement à renforcer le guerrier. De fait, le texte iliadique n’a aucun aspect rituel. Il est sûr seulement que le cycéon de l’*Iliade* n’est pas une boisson de paysan, mais un mélange raffiné, servi dans une coupe prestigieuse.²⁸ En revanche, qu’il y ait à l’arrière-plan de la scène un rite proto-indo-européen est très plausible.

A la différence de Delatte, Watkins n’étudie pas les emplois postérieurs du cycéon grec, qui sont fréquents et n’ont le plus souvent rien de rituel non plus. On le rencontre en effet souvent, sous des formes variées, chez les médecins de la *Collection hippocratique*.²⁹ Le traité du *Régime* consacre même un développement aux différents types de cycéon, selon qu’ils sont à l’eau, au vin, au miel ou au lait (de vache ou de chèvre). Il en ressort qu’un cycéon au vin et au miel est modérément échauffant, nourrissant et resserrant.³⁰ Il y avait des discussions sur la nocivité ou l’utilité de son utilisation, par exemple en cas de «maladies aiguës»: «Certains donnaient n’importe quoi comme potage, d’autres, même du cycéon; mais tous ces régimes étaient pires que les autres» (*Régime des maladies aiguës* XXXIX, 1 p. 52 Joly). Dans le traité *Maladies II*, il est employé sous une

²⁵ Watkins 1978, 15. Il faut cependant tenir compte de la remarque de Richardson 1974, 346: «Certainly, any theory which accords a central significance to the Cyceon in the Mysteries must be false, since it formed part of the preliminary ritual. There is also no evidence that the initiates regarded themselves as participating in the substance of the deity».

²⁶ Watkins 1978, 16.

²⁷ Qui a peut-être un nom signifiant, comme le suggère Hainsworth 1993, *ad v.* 624: «perhaps suggested by her role in preparing the restorative *κυκεών*» (il rapproche *Ἀγαμήδην, ἡ τόσα φάρμακα ᾗδην*, 740–1).

²⁸ La coupe de l’*Iliade* peut être qualifiée, comme la «coupe de Nestor» retrouvée à Pithécussai, de ΕΥΠΟΤ[ΟΝ] ΠΟΤΕΠΙΟ[Ν]. Le cycéon de l’*Iliade* est dit apaiser la soif. D’autres cycéons peuvent être aphrodisiaques, comme on le verra (et comme la coupe de Pithécussai déclare l’être).

²⁹ On en trouvera une description rapide dans Delatte 1955, 28–29; voir aussi Auberger 2000, 4–5 (qui ajoute un parallèle anthropologique avec une «soupe froide» revigorante, sans nature rituelle, des méharistes du Sahara) et Demont (à paraître).

³⁰ Hippocrate, *Régime II*, XLI, 1 (p. 64 Byl-Joly CMG I, 2, 4).

forme «légère» pour «restaurer» après prescription de «vomissements à jeun» (*Maladies II*, XV, 3, p. 149 Jouanna) ou après d'autres vomissements (*ibid.* XLIII, 3, p. 174 Jouanna). Cette fonction restauratrice du cycéon pris «à jeun» semble particulièrement notable; elle apparaît aussi, en particulier, dans les traités gynécologiques, où il peut être «épais» (*Nature de la femme* XVI, 3 p. 20 Bourbon, avec la note, XXXVIII, 3 p. 55 Bourbon): le cycéon, souvent avec du vin, peut être la seule nourriture autorisée à la femme qu'on fait d'abord jeûner avant de l'envoyer s'unir à son mari pour tomber enceinte (e.g. *Maladies des femmes* I, 11, VIII p. 46 Littré). Dans certains cas, sans qu'on sache pourquoi (probablement serait-il trop échauffant), le cycéon est interdit au malade (*Maladies II*, L, 4, p. 187 Jouanna). L'une des «sept preuves» alléguées par un médecin du fait que la nourriture va dans le ventre et non dans le poumon est le fait, qui lui semble incontestable, que, si un cycéon allait dans le poumon, on serait tellement échauffé qu'on périrait aussitôt, ou du moins qu'on éprouverait une chaleur forte et violente, et de rudes souffrances (θερμὴν ἂν δοκέω πολλήν τε καὶ ἰσχυρὴν τῷ σώματι γίνεσθαι καὶ πόνον πολλόν, *Maladies IV*, LVI, 6, p. 121 Joly).³¹ Pour les médecins de l'époque classique, le cycéon est donc un remède bien connu, notamment pour restaurer les femmes *après un jeûne* (un point que Watkins ne mentionne pas et que Delatte ne commente pas suffisamment à mon avis), un remède cependant à utiliser avec précaution, pour éviter les risques d'échauffement excessif. Il y a un parallélisme net avec le cycéon des mystères d'Eleusis, lui aussi après un jeûne.³² Aristophane fait une utilisation comique de cette fonction restauratrice et échauffante, voire aphrodisiaque, du cycéon, dans la *Paix*: Trygée demande avec inquiétude à Hermès s'il va pouvoir, après si longtemps (διὰ χρόνου), s'unir sans dommage à la belle Théôria, et Hermès lui répond qu'il n'y aura aucun dommage... si du moins il boit un cycéon au βλήχων.³³

Que penser alors, du point de vue de la médecine hippocratique, de son utilisation homérique après la blessure que Machaon a reçue à l'épaule droite? On ne trouve jamais l'adjectif φλεγματώδης pour qualifier un cycéon dans les traités hippocratiques, mais un texte permet cependant de répondre, et de préciser le

31 «The same argument was used by Erasistratus» contre Platon selon Plutarque (*Propos de table*, 698 B, cf. Lonie 1981, *ad loc.*).

32 Sur le jeûne, voir Arbesmann 1929, 75–83 («Die νηστεία [le jour de jeûne] war eine Vorbereitung auf den Empfang des sakramentalen Kykeon und der folgenden τελετή»). Tout en examinant les textes médicaux à la fin de son étude, il ne propose pas le rapprochement que je suggère.

33 Aristophane, *Paix* 710–712 (εἴ γε κυκεῶν' ἐπιτίσις βληχωνίαν). Il s'agit de l'espèce de menthe mentionnée dans l'*Hymne à Déméter* (avec le doublet ionien γλήχων), à fonction plus ou moins magique. Le scholiaste explique que ce breuvage permet d'éviter les nausées quand on a trop mangé de fruits et qu'Aristophane joue sur le double sens d'Opōra.

sens de cet adjectif, qui signifie ici «inflammatoire». Le traité des *Plaies* (le titre français est trompeur: il s'agit des «ulcères» aussi bien que des «plaies»), en particulier dans son premier chapitre, donne des conseils généraux de régime à suivre en cas de plaie ou d'ulcère, et il est très éclairant pour comprendre la réaction de Socrate et de Glaucon:

Ὀλιγοσιτέειν τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ ὕδωρ ξυμφέρει πᾶσι τοῖσιν ἔλκεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖσι νεο-
τρώτοις τῶν παλαιωτέρων, καὶ ὃ τι ἄλλο φλεγμαίνει ἔλκος ἢ μέλλει, καὶ ὃ τι σφακελίσαι
κίνδυνος, καὶ τοῖσιν ἔλκεσι καὶ φλέγμασι τοῖσιν ἐν τοῖσιν ἄρθροισι, καὶ ὅκου σπασμούς κίνδυ-
νος ἐπιγενέσθαι, καὶ τοῖσιν ἐν κοιλίῃ τρώμασι, παντῶν δὲ μάλιστα τοῖσιν ἐν κεφαλῇ καὶ
μηρῷ κατεαγεῖσι, καὶ ἄλλω ᾧ κάτηξις ἂν γένηται.

[Hippocrate], *Plaies* 1 (Littré VI, p. 400–402)

En cas de blessure, donc, et surtout de blessure récente, il est utile, dit le médecin, de limiter l'alimentation et de ne boire que de l'eau, pour éviter «l'inflammation»,³⁴ danger souligné de façon récurrente dans toute la première partie du traité avec le verbe φλεγμαίνω ou le substantif φλέγμα. Un peu plus loin (c. 3), le médecin recommande même de pratiquer des évacuations par en bas! Il est clair que le breuvage donné à Machaon est tout à fait éloigné de telles recommandations: il est nourrissant, et fait avec du vin. Les textes évoqués ci-dessus montrent que le cycéon, en général, pouvait présenter des dangers d'échauffement excessif. *A fortiori* en cas de blessure, et *a fortiori* quand il est fait avec du vin et du fromage. La scholie A d'Homère au v. 624 reprend donc avec raison, d'un point de vue hippocratique, l'explication platonicienne (sans indiquer sa source): φλεγματώδη δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πολέμια τοῖς τραυματίαις.

Le vin est du «vin de Pramnos», c'est-à-dire, selon Athénée (qui propose aussi d'autres explications plus ou moins étymologiques), venant d'une montagne sur l'île d'Icaria, ou bien rattaché à l'île de Lesbos selon Ehippos (fr. 28 PCG), mais le nom de Pramnos n'est pas connu par ailleurs. Quel est son rôle? Ce n'est pas absolument clair. D'un côté, c'est un vin (rouge) utilisé en médecine; il apparaît dans des recommandations de traités hippocratiques gynécologiques, où il est notamment prescrit pour arrêter un écoulement rouge: Πόου ἐρυθροῦ

³⁴ Le sens de φλέγμα et de ses dérivés est discuté. Le mot φλεγματώδης dans la *Collection hippocratique*, peut notamment désigner une maladie, «inflammation», selon certains, ou «pitiuite», selon les autres, tout comme φλέγμα peut référer à une «inflammation» ou au «phlegme» (cf. Jouanna 1983, 271–272, et, en un sens différent, Lonie 1981, 277–279, qui juge plausible un «semantic development from φλέγμα = 'heat', 'inflammation' to φλέγμα = 'the agent which causes the inflammation'»; on peut ajouter que l'humeur supposée être à l'origine de l'inflammation apparaît froide par rapport à l'inflammation).

ποτὸν ἀγαθόν· ἐλάφου κέρας κατακαύσας, ὠμήλυσιν κριθέων ξυμμιῖται διπλασίην, ἐπὶ οἶνον πρᾶμνιον ἐπιπάσσοιςα πινέτω, καὶ ἴσταται (*Maladies des Femmes* II, 192, 8, 370 Littré). Il s'agit bien ici aussi d'un cycéon, même si le mot n'est pas employé (un peu plus loin dans ce chapitre, qui est une suite de recettes obscures, un autre «cycéon», dont la composition n'est pas précisée, est prescrit aussi). Cet emploi dans une recette gynécologique ancienne peut faire penser à un usage en cas de blessure aussi, pour arrêter l'écoulement du sang. Homère n'a donc pas nécessairement tort. D'un autre côté, il est mentionné par Aristophane comme un vin assez dangereux, qui resserre les sourcils et le ventre, et que les Athéniens n'aiment pas plus que les poètes secs et raides (fr. 688 PCG).³⁵ Plus tard, Dioscuridès (fr. 594 F 8, 17 *FGrHist*, cité par Athénée I, 15–18, 8^E–11^B) en parle comme d'un vin ὃν ἴδμεν παχὺν καὶ πολύτροφον et admire la façon dont Nestor en fait boire beaucoup à Machaon, alors qu'il est contre-indiqué pour les inflammations, en lui proposant du fromage, et en plus de l'oignon, selon lui pour le faire boire davantage (ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμον ποτοῦ ὄψον, ἴνα πλεῖον πίνη): mais, dit-il en suivant Platon, ces héros ne risquaient pas les inflammations, ni physiques ni morales (τοὺς οὕτω τεθραμμένους ἀφλεγμάντους εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς). Galien, qui le connaît aussi, comme il connaît le cycéon,³⁶ le qualifie de μέλας καὶ αὖστηρός (XIX, 132 K). Donc, un vin nourrissant, ce que le traité des *Plaies* déconseille en cas de plaie, trop resserrant selon les Athéniens, mais qu'une vieille recette gynécologique recommande pour arrêter un écoulement sanguin. Quant au fromage, il «produit la flatulence, la constipation, l'inflammation des aliments, mais aussi des humeurs crues et indigestes; le pire est d'en manger en buvant, après le repas» (*Régime des maladies aiguës* (app.) XLVI, p. 89 Joly), même si certains peuvent mieux le supporter que d'autres (*Ancienne Médecine* XX, p. 147 Jouanna, avec la note) — ce qui permet ici aussi le débat sur son emploi. C'est tout cela qui fait du cycéon de l'*Iliade* un mets qu'on doit juger très mal choisi du point de vue de la médecine 'moderne' des plaies, même s'il y a quelques arguments qui suggèrent sa possible utilité.

³⁵ Aristophane, *Cavaliers* 107 semble garder une trace des pouvoirs magiques de ce vin ("Ἐλκ' ἔλκε καὶ τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦ Πραμνίου). Selon le fr. 334 PGC des secondes *Thesmophories* d'Aristophane, en tout cas, il faisait partie des vins ayant un pouvoir aphrodisiaque certain sur les hommes (ὅστις ἐπεγερεῖ τὸν ἔμβολον, c'est-à-dire, selon Eustathe et Hésychius, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον αἰδοῖον). Polémon, utilisant Phrynichos, l'évoquait pour opposer la force et la raideur sophocléenne à la saveur douceâtre des mauvais poètes (Gigante 1963, 241).

³⁶ Pace Delatte 1955, 2, l'intéressant commentaire à *Epidémies* VI n'est pas la seule occurrence du cycéon chez Galien (voir e.g. *Des facultés naturelles* II, 155 Helmreich, *Des facultés des aliments* VI, 503 Helmreich, *Des antidotes* XIV, 38 Kühn), et ce commentaire-même suggère aussi qu'il y avait encore des débats sur son emploi à son époque.

Revenons aux deux citations de l'*Ion* et de la *République*. J'ai fait l'hypothèse que la citation de l'*Ion* était volontairement biaisée par Platon. Deux éléments vont dans ce sens. Comme le signale Flashar, Socrate introduit la citation avec une modalisation notable: λέγει πως οὕτως.³⁷ Cette modalisation me semble destinée à signaler explicitement un écart par rapport au texte source au lecteur attentif. Socrate avait déjà, peu auparavant, suggéré que lui-même ne se souvenait plus avec exactitude des paroles d'Homère (ἐὰν μνησθῶ τὰ ἔπη), et Ion avait répondu que lui, en revanche, s'en souvenait parfaitement... (ἐγὼ γὰρ μέμνημαι, 537a2–4), comme si Platon préparait ce petit piège.³⁸ Et Ion, ensuite, apparaîtra de fait bien «oublieux»: καίτοι οὐκ ἂν πρέποι γε ἐπιλήσιμονα εἶναι ῥαψωδὸν ἄνδρα (539e8)... De plus, le biais qui est introduit par la confusion des passages n'est pas neutre, d'un point de vue médical. Mettre côte à côte oignon et cycéon, en rapprochant des passages iliadiques distincts, permet à Platon de forcer le trait. On a vu les risques de l'emploi médical du cycéon au vin et au fromage; mais y ajouter de l'oignon accroît le danger, car l'oignon est «âcre», et «ce qui est âcre ne convient nullement à un malade» (*Maladie sacrée* I, 4, p. 5 Jouanna, avec la note). Dans le traité sur la *Maladie sacrée*, utiliser l'oignon pour soigner est même le fait des charlatans, des mages et autres prêtres mendiants que l'auteur du traité ridiculise et combat. Ion ne remarque rien de tout cela. Et pourtant, dans le dialogue qui porte son nom, il arrive tout juste des Asclépieia d'Epidaure (530a3–4)!

Plaçons nous enfin au point de vue de l'œuvre de Platon dans son ensemble, car cette double citation permet peut-être, pour une fois, de saisir un aspect de la façon dont le philosophe a organisé son œuvre. Le texte de l'*Ion* semble en effet préparer le développement de la *République*. Quand Socrate demande à Ion si la question de savoir si le traitement est «correct ou non» relève de la médecine ou de l'art du rhapsode, il annonce la possibilité d'une discussion médicale sur ce point: le cycéon est-il ou non un remède correct après une blessure? Et c'est cette discussion qui intervient dans la *République*. Mais le jeu sur les interlocuteurs est très curieux. Ion, tout connaisseur d'Homère qu'il prétende être, est incapable de se prononcer dans l'*Ion*. En revanche, dans la *République*, Socrate, non médecin,

37 «Dass Platon im *Ion* ungenau zitiert, ist angedeutet durch die Worte λέγει (sc. Ὁμηρος) πως οὕτως (538 C 1)» (Flashar 1958, 81 n. 1). Flashar reproche à Labarbe de considérer l'*Ion* comme reproduisant une conversation réelle entre Ion et Socrate, ce qui semble un peu excessif. Il ne propose pas d'explication pour cette approximation platonicienne.

38 Si c'était Platon qui avait attribué cette «légère faute de mémoire» à Socrate, «il est probable qu'il aurait souligné cet effet en faisant reprendre Socrate par Ion», estime Macé (2018, 112). A mon avis, il laisse plutôt au lecteur le soin de l'observer, et d'en tirer les conséquences sur la valeur de la *technè* d'Ion.

sait fort bien que le remède est réputé être «inflammatoire» (ἀ δὴ δοκεῖ φλεγμᾶτώδη εἶναι), et son interlocuteur, lui aussi non médecin, auquel le lecteur peut s'identifier, approuve immédiatement Socrate, et trouve le remède «étonnant» dans le cas d'une blessure (Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη, ἄτοπόν γε τὸ πῶμα οὕτως ἔχοντι)! La compétence médicale, que le rhapsode Ion n'a pas, Socrate, lui, semble l'avoir (et auparavant il s'est révélé aussi, pourtant sans être rhapsode, un critique très attentif d'Homère)... D'une part, donc, le commentaire d'Homère n'est pas réservé aux rhapsodes, montrent l'*Ion* et la *République*. On sait d'autre part qu'un certain nombre de traités médicaux n'étaient pas réservés aux médecins, mais visaient un public cultivé plus large. De la même façon, les gloses et commentaires médicaux d'Homère n'étaient donc certainement pas le privilège exclusif des médecins et devaient, dès l'époque classique, donner lieu à des «problèmes» débattus largement. Les «philosophes», grâce à leur savoir architectonique (ce savoir des savoirs auquel Ion prétendait), pouvaient ainsi jouer avec les analyses des rhapsodes et avec les analyses médicales, voire les critiquer et prendre leurs distances par rapport à elles.³⁹

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³⁹ Cette étude est offerte à Franco Montanari en témoignage de reconnaissance, d'estime et d'amitié.

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Serena Perrone
Homer on the Comic Stage

*Mira colui con quella spada in mano,
che vien dinanzi ai tre sì come sire:
quelli è Omero poeta sovrano.*

(Dante, *Inferno* IV 86–88)

Pre-Hellenistic evidence about the figure of Homer has received increasing attention in recent decades, no longer with the sole and disputable aim of assessing from early sources the veracity of the biographical tradition, but as a meaningful testimony of ancient reception of Homeric poetry, against the backdrop of the ‘Homeric question’ and its ancient roots.¹ This approach is that of the history of the perception or, rather, ‘invention’ of Homer, «a name, around which a legend had started thickening together with the authority and the cultural importance that the poems were taking on in Greek civilization».² The legend of Homer had been growing out of a variety of inputs, such as rhapsodic performances at the Panathenaea, iconographic representations of him, or discussions about him by historians or philosophers, and so biographical traditions were well under way by the fifth century.

I would like to consider in this framework the evidence from classical theatre, and specifically from ancient Greek comedy. Unquestionably, dramatic texts can be an important source for understanding fifth- and fourth-century Athenian perception of Homer’s persona, and indeed constitute a part of the development of the traditions about the poet under whose name go the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and more. Theatrical representations both mirror and shape the audience’s image and conception of the traditional poets, and among them the Poet.

Several studies exist of how ancient Greek dramatists drew upon and referred to Homeric works, and of the presence of citations, echoes, allusions, and motifs,

¹ Suffice to mention Burkert 1987, West 1999, Graziosi 2002 and 2016, 7–11, Latacz 2008 and 2011, with further bibliography. On the biographical tradition see Lefkowitz 2012², who maintains the fictionality of ancient biographical tradition. For a quite different stance see Kivilo 2010 (but not specifically on Homer).

² «C’è chi invece ritiene trattarsi di un nome fittizio, intorno al quale cominciò ad addensarsi una leggenda connessa all’autorevolezza e importanza culturale che i poemi venivano assumendo nella civiltà greca. Una leggenda che dura ancora» Montanari 2003a.

but that is beside the point for the present purpose.³ Rather, in order to investigate how Homer's persona was represented in Athenian theatre, I shall confine my analysis to cases of explicit citation of Homer by name (§1), and shall focus on the possible use of Homer as a character on the stage (§2).⁴ The occurrences, not surprisingly, centre on comic texts.

The questions addressed concern the functions and appearance of the figure of Homer, the role of comedy in the conceptualization of Homer and his visual dimension, and whether and how the comic representation of the Poet may have influenced the contemporary and subsequent perception of this figure and indeed the interpretation of Homeric poetry.

1 Naming Homer in comic texts

In what remains of ancient Greek comedies we find the name of Homer eighteen times (including two occurrences of the adjective Ὅμηρικός), in a dozen passages of Athenian comedians ranging from the fifth to the third century BC.⁵ I will briefly go through these passages starting from the complete plays by Aristophanes, and then moving to fragmentary comedy in a roughly chronological order.

The eight mentions of Homer in Aristophanes have already received some attention.⁶ Homer is one of the most frequently evoked names of a poet in the extant material (indeed, the most frequent after that of a contemporary of Aristophanes, the tragedian Euripides). In the vast majority of occurrences Homer seems to be summoned as an *auctoritas*, as happened also in historians and lyric poets.⁷

3 For the presence of Homeric poetry in comedy see e.g. Russo 1987; de Lamberterie 1998; Magnelli 2004; Ornaghi 2004; Quaglia 2007; Bastin-Hammou 2009. More generally on poetic citations in comedy see Goldhill 1993; Wright 2002, 141ff.

4 Attention has been given to the comic portrayal of Homer so far by Ornaghi 2004, who deals specifically with the interesting case of Cratinus' *Archilochoi* (see below), cf. also Ornaghi 2012 concerning Hesiod; Bastin-Hammou 2009, 143–144, who deals with the references to Homer's name in Aristophanes; there are some notes also in the comment on Metagenes (see below) by Orth 2014, 435–439.

5 Bastin-Hammou 2009, 144, erroneously lists Epicharmus among the comedians who cite the name of Homer: the mention of Homer is indeed found in the sources of Epicharmus' fragments, in the wider citation context, but not in Epicharmus' verses themselves.

6 For a general assessment see Bastin-Hammou 2009, 143–149. According to her, the Homer of Aristophanes is essentially tragic, a monument of bygone times, from which the comedian differentiates himself in order to rival tragedy.

7 Bastin-Hammou 2009, 143–144.

In the *Clouds* (423 BC) Homer is mentioned during the agon between Right and Wrong. The issue at stake is the best education. Wrong is easily refuting Right's arguments point by point, beating him at his own game: on the basis of the heroic tradition. The warm springs of Heracles demonstrate that warm baths cannot be criticized (vv. 1043–1052). Likewise Iliadic heroes demonstrate that spending time in the *agora* is not at all a fault, as Right maintains. How could it be a fault when Homer represented Nestor and other wise men as *agoretes* (vv. 1055–1057) [N1]⁸?

Ητ. εἴτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν διατριβὴν ψέγεις· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπαινῶ.
εἰ γὰρ πονηρὸν ἦν, Ὅμηρος οὐδέ ποτ' ἂν ἐποίει
τὸν Νέστορ' ἀγορητὴν ἄν, οὐδὲ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἅπαντας.⁹

In the *Iliad* Nestor is called *agoretes* in the sense of 'orator', 'public speaker' (*Il.* 1.248; 4.293), as otherwise elders are (*Il.* 3.150; 7.126), and these Iliadic instances clearly have nothing to do with the frequentation of the public marketplace, castigated by Right. Wrong is here slyly playing on the shift in meaning of *agora*,¹⁰ thus making Homer, the undisputed moral authority for the old ways of education advocated by Right, rebound on Right's argument. The name of the Poet, and the tradition he embodies (here specifically the Iliadic heroic model), can be used both for a cause and for its opposite.

Apparently, one can get Homer to say almost anything. That is true in the next Aristophanic case, too. Homer, so often associated with military honour (see below), can be deployed to commend peace, no less. Indeed, the name of Homer occurs twice in a scene of *Peace* (421 BC), when Trygaeus responds in kind to the oracle-monger Hierocles by quoting, as an oracle inspiring sacrifice to Eirene, some pacifist hexameters he attributes to Homer [N2a-b]:

Ιε. ποῖον γὰρ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐκαύσατε μῆρα θεοῖσιν;
Τρ. ὄνπερ κάλλιστον δῆπου πεποίηκεν Ὅμηρος·

⁸ For quick reference to the passages under analysis I will use the siglum N + number for the texts in which Homer is cited by Name, and the siglum P + number for the texts in which Homer is arguably a *dramatis persona*.

⁹ «Worse argument: Then you object to their frequenting the Agora; I, on the contrary, commend it. If it were something wicked, Homer would never have described Nestor and indeed all his men of wisdom as “agoretes”» (transl. Sommerstein 1991³).

¹⁰ Dover 1968, 225 «Wrong is playing on the changes in meaning of *agora*: in epic, 'assembly', 'meeting-place' and '(sc. public) speech', later 'city centre' as focus of public life, and 'market'». As Sommerstein 1991³, 212 points out, *agoretes* can be used also in a negative sense «of persons who are allegedly clever talkers and nothing more» (*Il.* 2.246 Thersites, *Od.* 20.274).

“ὥς οἱ μὲν νέφος ἐχθρόν ἀπώσάμενοι πολέμοιο 1090
 Εἰρήνην εἶλοντο καὶ ἰδρύσανθ’ ἱερείῳ.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ’ ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχν’ ἐπάσαντο,
 ἔσπενδον δεπάεσσιν, ἐγὼ δ’ ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευον.”
 χρησμολόγῳ δ’ οὐδεις ἐδίδου κῶθωνα φαεινόν.
 1095
 1ε. οὐ μετέχω τούτων· οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ’ εἶπε Σίβυλλα.
 Τρ. ἀλλ’ ὁ σοφός τοι νῆ Δι’ Ὅμηρος δεξιὸν εἶπεν·
 “ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,
 ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος.”¹¹

This seems interesting early evidence of the use of Homeric poems for divination, a well-attested practice by Roman times.¹² Thus we may imagine Homer, along with Musaeus and Orpheus, among the ‘sacred’ rolls of hexametrical poetry consulted by the itinerant *manteis* and *chresmologoi* (cf. Hdt. 7.6.2, Ar. Av. 959–991, Plat. Resp. 364b–365a). However, apart from the last two hexameters (vv. 1097–1098), which are from *Il.* 9.63–64, these are not really Homeric verses. Trygaeus is actually making a cento of forms and verses from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (cf. *Il.* 17.243, 16.251, 1.464, *Od.* 7.137, 6.261). Homer — or better: a Homer-like comic invention — is used as an authoritative text, in a parody of oracles and the instrumental use of the sapiential heritage.

In *Birds* (414 BC), Homer’s name occurs three times in two different scenes. At vv. 571–572 the birds’ choregos fears that humans will never believe they are gods, since they fly and have wings. Peisetaerus replies bluntly by listing examples of winged gods: Hermes, Nike, Cupid, and Iris, who according to Homer is «like a trembling dove» (v. 575) [N3]:

11 Hierocles: Say, what oracle authorized you to burn thighs for the gods?

Trygeas: The very fine one that Homer composed, of course.

“Thus casting away the detestable vapour of warfare,
they opted for Peace and with a victim established her.

And when the thighs were burnt and the innards devoured,
they poured libation from cups, and I led the way.”

but to the oracle monger no one passed a gleaming goblet!

Hierocles: That’s nothing to me; Sibyl did not say it!

Trygeas: But here’s something the sage Homer said that, by god, is well put:

“Clanless, lawless, heartless is that man

who lusts for the horror of warfare among his own people” (transl. Sommerstein 1998).

12 There is evidence from the period between the second and the fifth century AD. Cf. in particular the three *Homeromanteion* papyri: P.Bon. 3, P.Oxy. 56.3831, P.Lond. 1.121, and Pseudo-Plutarch *Life of Homer* II 218 4. There is a synthesis in Martín-Hernández 2013. For further epigraphic and literary references from the imperial period see Cluzeau 2014.

Ἴριν δέ γ' Ὅμηρος ἔφασκε' ἰκέλην εἶναι τρήρωνι πελείῃ.¹³

Here again the comic hero uses Homer's authority for his own convenience, and the Poet's name is used to shut up any objection to his plan. With this epic-style verse-ending Aristophanes seems to be citing a Homeric simile. This comparison actually occurs in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, where Iris and Eileithyia rush to help Leto in labour (v. 114 βὰν δὲ ποσὶ τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι). In the *Iliad* we find the trembling dove simile, but never with Iris as *comparandum* (cf. *Il.* 5.778 αἱ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι referred to Hera and Athena).¹⁴ The attribution of the simile to Homer may here reflect the common belief that he was the author of the hymns. That seems to be confirmed later in the same play, when Homer's name is said twice [N4a-b] by the character of the poor Poet, the first of the unwelcome visitors intruding on the ritual sacrifice for the newly founded *Nephelokokkygia*:

Πο. ἐγὼ μελιγλώσσω ἐπέων εἰς αἰοιδᾶν

Μουσᾶων θεράπων ὅτρη-

ρός, κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον.

910

Πε. ἔπειτα δῆτα δοῦλος ὦν κόμην ἔχεις;

Πο. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐσμέν οἱ διδάσκαλοι

Μουσᾶων θεράποντες ὅτρη-

ροί, κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον.¹⁵

The beggar versifier, wishing to be hired as official poet of the new city, presents himself as «servant of the Muses» κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον, as he repeats twice, suddenly lowering the high style of his verses to name his source (vv. 910 and 914).

¹³ «And Iris was said by Homer to be “like a tremulous dove”» (transl. Sommerstein 1987).

¹⁴ The fact had been already noticed by ancient commentators: sch. Av. 575a Ἴριν δέ γ' RΓ Ὅμηρος RVΓ: ὅτι ψεύδεται παίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἴριδος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας. RVM, ΓMLh αἱ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι RVΓMLh πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι. RVΓMLh οἱ δὲ ἐν ἐτέροις ποιήμασιν Ὀμήρου φασὶ τοῦτο φέρεσθαι. εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὕμνοι. VΓLh. Bentley maintains that Aristophanes wrote Ἥρην (a reading found in M), but Hera is not winged, whereas in art and literature Iris regularly is (cf. the epithet “golden-winged” in *Il.* 8.398 and 11.185). Cf. Dunbar 1998, 264. Fausto Montana has suggested to me another attractive possibility: Ἴριν for the almost homophonic Ἥρην may be an intentional pun by Aristophanes (cf. ψεύδεται παίζων in the scholion), with an ironic allusion to the Iliadic hypotext.

¹⁵ *Poet*: I? One who pours forth a strain of honey-tongued words, a punctual servant of the Muses [*speaking*] — to quote Homer. *Peisetaerus*: You mean you're a *slave*, with that long hair? *Poet*: Nay, all we songmasters are punctual servants of the Muses [*speaking*] — to quote Homer. (transl. Sommerstein 1987). However, the question mark after the initial ἐγὼ (v. 909) is not present in the text of Wilson's OCT.

The self-description as «servant (of the Muses)» triggers a joke, and Peisetaerus takes him literally for an actual servant, a condition that would be in accordance with the poor robe the character is wearing, but not with his aristocratic long hair (vv. 911 and 915). It seems like a mockery of the archaic conception of the poet as servant of the Muses, which we find expressed in the *Hymn to Selene* [32] 19–20, *Margites* fr. 1.1–2W.², Hes. *Theog.* 99–100, and Thgn. 769, and which had already been challenged by Archilochus (fr. 1 W.²). The formula «Muses' servant» in reference to the *aoidos* does occur in works that were generally attributed to Homer (*Hymn* and *Margites*), but not in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, where however the syntagm θεράπων ὀτρηνός is attested. That again seems to reflect a quite broad vision of Homer's authorship, but of course Aristophanes could simply have put together a combination of high-style phrases without having in mind a specific passage.¹⁶ The name Homer seems to encompass a variety of old-fashioned high poetry (e.g. the expression μελιγλώσσων ᾠοιδῶν is in Bacchyl. 3.97–98 and *Paeon*. 4.25), which the versifier assembles badly.¹⁷ Here Homer's name is used beyond Homeric works, as the symbol of a poetic tradition in which the poor versifier asking for patronage wishes to inscribe himself. Homeric *auctoritas* may be used and abused not only by the comic hero, but also by negative characters.¹⁸

Perhaps the best known occurrence of Homer's name in Aristophanes is that in the agon of the *Frogs* (405 BC), in the mouth of Aeschylus. Aeschylus claims he made the Athenians better, inspiring in them the will to fight, courage, and prowess in war (vv. 1006ff.). Asserting the educative function of poetry, the tragedian traces how from the beginnings the poets have been useful (ὠφέλιμοι) (vv. 1030–1036), and mentions the fabled four: Orpheus for mysteries and refraining from blood crimes, Musaeus for cures of diseases and oracles, Hesiod for working the land, crops, and ploughing, and — last but not least — the godlike Homer for tactics and warfare (vv. 1034–1036) [N5]:

ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος
ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμῆν καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν πλὴν τοῦδ', ὅτι χρήστ' ἐδίδαξεν,
τάξεις, ἀρετάς, ὀπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν;¹⁹

¹⁶ Dunbar 1998, 356.

¹⁷ Cf. Dunbar 1998, 353 «his absurd claim that he 'has been celebrating the city for ages' (921) probably implying a ready-made character in his songs».

¹⁸ On the character of the false poet in the *Birds* see Bastin-Hammou 2003.

¹⁹ «And the divine Homer, what did he get his honour and renown from if not from the fact that he gave good instruction about the tactics and virtues and arming of soldiers?» (transl. Sommerstein 1996).

Just as Hesiod here stands for the poet of the *Works and Days*, overlooking the *Theogony*, Homer stands for the *Iliad*, the poem of war. Against the background of an on-going debate about the function of poetry, which was renewed with the rise of the sophists,²⁰ the notion of poets as teachers is here taken to its extreme and paradoxical consequences. If the relevance of poetry lies in the practical advice and technical knowledge it conveys, Homer's outstanding value rests, then, on his military teaching. The idea of Homer as educator of all the Greeks was indeed common throughout antiquity,²¹ yet even the characterization of Homer as master of warfare should not be too surprising. It can also be found elsewhere, most notably in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, in Plato's *Ion*, and perhaps in a comedy by Metagenes staged shortly after the *Frogs* (see below). In the *Certamen* the preference for the peaceful land-working represented by Hesiodic poetry rather than the war represented by Homeric poetry is the decisive element in assigning victory in the contest to Hesiod over the people's favourite Homer. An intertextual relationship has been convincingly suggested between *Frogs* and a pre-Alcidas version of the *Certamen*.²² In Aristophanes' agon Aeschylus is to Homer, as Euripides is to Hesiod, and the final unexpected verdict by Dionysus is a sort of inverted parallel of that by Panedon in the *Certamen*. The close association of Homer and war will again be evident in Plato's dialogue *Ion*. Not only is war the first argument cited among the Homeric ones (531c), but, above all, *Ion* comes to claim that a good rhapsode is also a good general, thanks to his knowledge of Homeric poetry: the alleged practical utility of Homer as a source of wisdom on tactics is undermined by pushing it to the point of paradox (540d–541c).²³

Another question that may arise from Aristophanes' verses is about the sequence of the authors mentioned, bearing in mind the ancient debate about the chronological priority of Hesiod or Homer.²⁴ Ford 2002, 144–145 maintains that this passage in the *Frogs* is a sort of historical outline of cultural advances («an enlightened reinterpretation of musical history in which old singers are assigned a role in the progress of civilization»), thus the authors would be in chronological

²⁰ See Wright 2002, 17ff. for Aristophanes' 'contribution' to the debate.

²¹ For the first evidence of this notion see Xenophanes B 10 DK, Heraclitus B 56 DK, Hdt. 2.53. Cf. Ford 2002, 198ff.

²² Cavalli 1999 and Rosen 2004.

²³ For Homer in connection to understanding warfare see Graziosi 2002, 176 and cf. Plat. *Symp.* 4.6–7/174b, Xen. *Mem.* 3.1.1–4 and 2.1–4.

²⁴ Hippias 86 B 6 D.-K.; Plat. *Apol.* 41a. Cf. Ford 2002, 145 n. 53. See also sch. *Ran.* 1033c Chantry Ἡσίοδος δὲ VE: ὡς πρώτου ὄντος Ἡσιόδου μέμνηται. RVEΘBarb (Ald).

order: first the legendary figures of Orpheus and Musaeus, then Hesiod and eventually the younger Homer. I am not persuaded, however, that Aristophanes is addressing any chronological question here (see also the inversion of *Seven against Thebes* and *Persians* at v. 1026). The order is ultimately that required by Aeschylus' argument: placing Homer last is far more effective for his point, since the character Aeschylus is asserting that his tragedy was «full of Ares» (v. 1020), and so equating his utility to that of Homeric poetry.

Worth noting is the use of the epithet *theios*: Homer is 'divine', 'godlike' (perhaps a hint of early formal cults of the poet?).²⁵ The same epithet for Homer is used, significantly, in Pl. *Ion* 530b (and *Phd.* 95a), and in the *Certamen* (fr. 5.156 and fr. 7.195 Avezzù).

Turning now to discuss the evidence from fragmentary comedies, in two passages the issue at stake is rare and obscure words (γλώτται) from Homer. One of the fragments is from Aristophanes' debut comedy, the *Banqueters*, staged in 427. The play involves an old countryman and his two sons, the good one receiving a traditional education, the other, prodigal one studying law and rhetoric with the sophists. In a fragment preserved among Galen's *Hippocratic Glosses* (19.65 Kühn = fr. 233 K.-A.) [N6] the father is testing the degenerate son on the meaning of some Homeric words (1–2 πρὸς ταῦτα δ' αὖ λέξον Ὅμηρου γλώττας: τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα;... τί καλοῦσ' ἄμενῆνὰ κάρηνα;) from the *Iliad* (κόρυμβα 9.241) and the *Odyssey* (ἄμενῆνὰ κάρηνα 10.521, 536; 11.29, 49). In a contrast of old vs. new education, as in the *Clouds* (in which an allusion is made to this earlier play at vv. 528ff.), Homer of course stands for the traditional poetry, keystone of any decent education according to the old father and the good son, and ultimately also according to the prevailing moral and social conventions, as opposed to the bad son's modern sophistic/rhetorical deviancies.²⁶ The joke on Homeric *glottai* in fact reveals a perceived distance between Homeric language and the present. The name Homer, synonymous with his work, entails the idea of a tradition whose vocabulary is not easily comprehensible and requires explanation, albeit still used by fifth-century tragedians, for example.²⁷ Indeed, the joke implies 'close reading' or 'practical criticism' of Homeric poetry,²⁸ yet as a common first level of

²⁵ We have little evidence of any type of cult of poets in the fifth century, yet Graziosi 2002, 152–154, considers it possible. Cf. Alcidas fr. 10 Avezzù; *Certamen* 302–308.

²⁶ Cassio 1977, 75; Montanari 2003b; Olson 2007 D2; Pellegrino 2015, 156–157.

²⁷ The naval term κόρυμβα is in Aeschl. *Pers.* 411, 659, and later in Eur. *IA* 258. However, ἄμενῆνὰ κάρηνα, designating the vain shadows of the dead, is not present as a syntagm in extant tragedies, though both ἄμενῆνός (Soph. *Ajax* 890, and then Eur. *Suppl.* 1116 and *Tro.* 193) and κάρηνον (Aeschl. *Choeph.* 396, and then Eur. fr. 537.2 K.) are.

²⁸ Wright 2012, 141ff.

educational practice rather than a scholarly activity on the epic texts. We find another joke on Homeric glossography about a century later, in a comic fragment from the *Phoenicides* of Strato (fr. 1) [N7a-b]. It is a long fragment known in two different versions from Ath. IX 382c and P.Cair. 65445.²⁹ A man reports his dialogue with a cook he hired for a banquet.³⁰ The cook is annoyingly erudite and his speech is peppered with rare poetic expressions mainly from Homeric poems. The two speakers don't speak the same language and the misunderstandings create comic effects. We have to assume that the theatre audience was able to get the puns, and therefore would have had at least a rough idea of the words in question. Not so the character of the *agroikos* man, who protests at the quirky vocabulary of the cook. In response the cook evokes the name of Homer, asking (v. 26 pap., not in Ath.): "Ὅμηρον οὐκ οἶθα λέγοντα;"³¹ The interlocutor disregards the argument, and at the insistence of the cook says (v. 30 pap.): "Ὅμηρικῶς γὰρ διανοεῖ μ' ἀπολλύναι;"³² shifting the reference from Homeric style to Homeric content. Homeric words may not have been clear to an *agroikos* like him, but the Homeric world was. In the papyrus the fragment ends with three verses, of disputed authenticity (cf. Kassel/Austin 1989, 622), which point to a rhapsodic context for the cook's pedantic knowledge of Homeric vocabulary.³³ Interestingly enough, some glosses do not actually belong to the Homeric works as we know them.³⁴ That may imply that they are variant readings otherwise unknown or, more likely, that the name of Homer was generically used for any Homer-like diction. The target is not so much Homeric glossographical studies, which are nonetheless significantly attested here (at v. 43 a reference is made to Philitas' work), but rather the cookbooks in epic style, requiring glossographical aids as if high poetry: again an improper use of Homer by a rather annoying character.

29 On the question of the dubious authorship and relationship with Philem. fr. 114, see Di Marco 2010 and Bruzzese 2011, 204–206 with further bibliography.

30 Learned chefs also at Philemon (fr. 114) and Damoxenus' *Syntrophoi* (fr. 2). Cf. Wright 2013, 609: «Most of these clever chefs are actually rather silly, irritating characters, which makes one wonder just what to make of their special association with book learning».

31 «Don't you know Homer spoke that way?»

32 «Are you going to kill me in the Homeric manner?»

33 Καί μοι δοκεῖ ῥαψωιδιοποιούτου τινὸς | δοῦλος γεγονὼς ἐκ παιδὸς ἀλιτήριος | ἔπειτα πεπληῆσθαι τῶν Ὁμήρου ῥημάτων «I think he as a young man was a servant to some rhapsode, the scoundrel, therefore filled up with Homer's words».

34 Neither ῥηγίχθων (19 pap.) nor ἐρυσίχθων (19 Athenaeus) are in Homer. The case of μίστυλλα (42), listed by the master as one of the incomprehensible words of the cook, is quite different. The form μίστυλλον does occur in the *Iliad* (e.g. *Il.* 1.465) as the imperfect of the verb μιστύλλω and the coarse master could have mistaken the verb used by the cook with the noun (cf. Dettori 2000, 11).

Stepping back to Old Comedy for a last occurrence, Theopompus (5th–4th c.) recalls Homer’s mastery in simile in fr. 34 K.-A. from the play *Odysseus* [N8] (cited at Eust. *Od.* p. 1863.50). The comic character Odysseus is speaking and says:

χιτῶνά μοι
φέρων δέδωκας δαιδάλεον, ὃν ἤικασεν
ἄρισθ’ Ὀμηρος κρομμύου λεπυχάνωι.³⁵

There is indeed a Homeric simile comparing a tunic with an onion skin in the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus in disguise as Aithon describes to Penelope her husband’s magnificent clothes (*Od.* 19.232–233 τὸν δὲ χιτῶν’ ἐνόησα περὶ χροῖ σιγαλόεντα, | οἷόν τε κρομμύοιο λοπὸν κατά ἰσχαλέοιο). The comedian, while celebrating Homer’s sublime style, is probably making fun of it. In a parodic context it is easy to imagine the comic distortion of this «excellent» Homeric simile towards an association with cheap food.

Speaking of food, in two fourth-century comic fragments Homer is mentioned in connection with the heroic diet and lifestyle. Both fragments are quoted by Athenaeus (*Ath. epit.* I 25c) in a section mainly based on a Hellenistic treatise *About the life of heroes in Homer* attributed to Dioscurides (*Ath. epit.* 1 8e–25f; Diosc. *FGrHist* 594 F *8), which «enlists Homer as a supporter of a moral ideal of moderation in eating, drinking, and other sensual pleasures».³⁶ In an unspecified play of the fourth-century comedian Eubulus (fr. 118.1, partly cited also by Eust. *in Od.* 1720.30) [N9] Homer’s name appears in a crude mockery of heroic deeds, joking about the unpleasant life of Homeric heroes, who lacked the culinary delights of fish and stewed meat (1–3), and the erotic pleasures of *hetairai* (4–5).

ἰχθὺν δ’ Ὀμηρος ἐσθίοντ’ εἶρηκε ποῦ
τίνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν; κρέα δὲ μόνον ὥπτων, ἐπεὶ
ἔψοντά γ’ οὐ πεποίηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδένα,
ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μίαν ἄλλην ἑταίραν εἶδε τις
αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς δ’ ἔδεφον ἐνιαυτοὺς δέκα·
πικρὰν στρατείαν δ’ εἶδον, οἵτινες πόλιν
μίαν λαβόντες, εὐρυπρωκτότεροι πολὺ
τῆς πόλεος ἀπεχώρησαν, ἥς εἶλον τότε.³⁷

³⁵ «You have brought and given to me a marvellous tunic, which Homer likened very aptly to the skin of an onion» (transl. Storey 2011).

³⁶ Gray 2018 *ad l.*

³⁷ «Does Homer anywhere describe any of his Achaeans as eating fish? And as for pieces of meat, all they did was roast them, since he hasn’t represented any of them as doing any stewing, not even a little. And none of them laid eyes on a prostitute, and they jerked off for ten years. The

By the name of Homer (v. 1) Eubulus is referring here only to the *Iliad*, as is evident from vv. 4–8. There is no case of any hero eating fish in the *Iliad*, whereas a couple of cases do occur in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 4.368; 12.330–331).³⁸ That would later provide an argument for the *chorizontes*, advocating that the two poems were by different authors. Against this thesis it was pointed out that a familiarity with fishing is indeed proven by Iliadic similes, and so the avoidance of fish consumption by the Iliadic heroes is to be considered the poet's intentional choice (sch. Ariston. *Il.* 16.747a [A]):³⁹ in the world of the Homeric poems, unlike in classical Athens, fish are vulgar food, unworthy of heroes. We cannot say if Eubulus' joke is an early hint of a debate about the authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (as Montanari 1995b suggested),⁴⁰ but it is possibly making fun of a current discussion on the Homeric model of society and heroic lifestyle, contrasted with the contemporary Athenian ones. Indeed the antiquarian dilemma of the absence of fish and stewed meat from Homeric heroes' diet puzzled philosophers and grammarians from the fourth century BC at least (cf. Pl. *Resp.* III 404b–c), and was a long-lasting issue in Alexandrian philology (Montanari 1995b) and beyond (Ath. *epit.* I 8e–25f). Thus, in a sense, Eubulus' fragment could be read as a mockery of early Homeric scholarship.⁴¹ Moreover, Eubulus' verses imply close familiarity with the poem in its entirety (vv. 1–2 ἰχθὺν δ' Ὅμηρος ἐσθίοντ' εἶρηκε ποῦ τίνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν;), which may be quite revealing of his and his audience's modes of reception of Homeric poetry.

expedition turned out badly for them: after seizing a single city, they left having been fucked a lot harder up the arse than the city they captured then», transl. Olson 2007 D4. Cf. also Hunter 1983 *ad l.*

38 There are indeed occasional references to fishing in similes, but fish is never present at the banquet table. Also in the *Odyssey* fish is consumed only when starving: this is the case both for Menelaus' companions on Pharos (*Od.* 4.368) and Odysseus' companions on Thrinacia (*Od.* 12.330–331). On heroes and eating fish, see Heath 2000 and Berdowski 2008, with further bibliography.

39 πολλοὺς ἂν κορέσειεν ἄνθρωπος <ὅδε τήθεα διφῶν>: ὅτι ἅπαξ εἶρηκε τήθεα. ἔστι δὲ εἶδος τῶν θαλασσιῶν ὀστρέων. πρὸς τοὺς Χωρίζοντας (fr. 7 K.). φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι ὁ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ποιητῆς οὐ παρεισάγει τοὺς ἥρωας χρωμένους ἰχθύσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς (cf. δ 368, μ 331). φανερόν δὲ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ παράγει χρωμένους, ἴσασιν, ἐκ τοῦ τὸν Πάτροκλον ὀνομάζειν τήθεα. νοητέον δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν διὰ τὸ μικροπρεπὲς παρητησθαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ λαχάνους παρεισάγει χρωμένους. ἀλλ' ὅμως φησὶ „δμῶες Ὀδυσσεύς τέμενος μέγα κοπήσοντες“ (p 299). Cf. also sch. ex. *Il.* 16.747b.

40 Cf. Hunter 1983, 219–220.

41 For the mockery of Homeric studies in Eubulus, see also Montanari 1995a.

The same Homer was doubtless the subject of a brief fragment of Eubulus' contemporary colleague Antiphanes [N10]. His fr. 248 *incertae fabulae* is preserved at *Deipnosophistai* in the same discussion about the heroic diet (Ath. *epit.* I 12b):

οὐδ' ἤψεν κρέα
οὐδ' ἐγκέφαλον, ὥπτα δὲ καὶ τὰς κοιλίας.
οὕτω σφόδρ' ἦν ἀρχαῖος.⁴²

Homer is here considered σφόδρα ἀρχαῖος because he did not know of stewing (cf. above Eub. fr. 118.2–3), following the view that the heroic period lacked in creature comforts and technical advances, and followed a simple and frugal way of life (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 3.2 678cd; Theophr. *On Pleasure*, fr. 551 Fortenbaugh). Athenaeus records positions taken against this conception of Homer as 'primitive', which maintained that stewing was not undiscovered (it was a known culinary method but was deliberately excluded from the heroic diet for moral reasons), or tried to detect cases of stewing in the poems (Ath. *epit.* I 25d–e). These verses may preserve traces of an ancient *zetema*, involving the question of fixing the Homeric world, and Homer, in time. Thus, again, comedy seems to provide important evidence for pre-Alexandrian scholarship, well beyond glossography, or at least early references to Homeric *zetemata* that would be much discussed in the Peripatus (cf. the Aristotelian *Problemata*), and then by Alexandrian and Roman grammarians.⁴³ The fragmentary state of the evidence does not allow us to detect clear mockery of early Homeric studies, but these fragments do allow us to trace back to the classical period the questioning of many practical aspects of the Homeric world.

Of a similar type is the occurrence of the adjective *homerikos*⁴⁴ in a fragment of the Middle Comedy poet Ephippus. Fr. 10, which comes from *Epheboi*, is quoted at Ath. X 423D for the presence of the comparative *zoroteros* referring to wine (cf. *Il.* 9.203), perhaps not by chance another Homeric word that was the subject of heated debate with various interpretations (cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1461a 14.16; sch. ex. *Il.* 9.203a [bT]), in an apparent effort to spare a hero the barbarity of drinking unmixed wine.

⁴² «(Homer) didn't stew chunks of meat or brain, and he even roasted the guts; that's how old-fashioned he was» (transl. by Olson 2007, 168).

⁴³ On pre-Alexandrian scholarship in archaic and classical Greece cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 3–84 and Novokhatko 2015 (esp. 30–32 on the origin of Homeric criticism).

⁴⁴ The adjective occurs in comic texts here and at Strato fr. 1.30 (see above).

Another occurrence of Homer's name in Middle Comedy is in Alexis fr. 140.6 [N11] from a play titled with the name of the mythical singer *Linus*.⁴⁵ Homer is here cited along with other authors in a scene in which Linus, who is educating Heracles, advises him to pick up and read one of the many books available to him. Among them he mentions, in an apparently casual order, Orpheus, Hesiod, tragedies, Epicharmus, Homer, Choerilus, and various prose treatises. The glutton Heracles, however, will pass over these serious works and select a cookery book. Here the name Homer stands for his works, or better his books, and is one among other representatives of reputable forms of literature, elevated and morally suitable for reading in an educative context, in opposition to other 'lower' genres as cookery (and indeed comedy).⁴⁶

Occurrences of Homer's name in New Comedy are unsurprisingly limited to one case: Philemon fr. 99 K.-A. from an unspecified play [N12], transmitted in the anthology of Stobaeus 3.36.18. It is a seven-line fragment concerning who is and who is not to be considered 'verbose' (μακρός): 1–4 τὸν μὴ λέγοντα τῶν δεόντων μηδὲ ἔν | μακρὸν νόμιζε, κἂν δὲ εἴπη συλλαβάς, | τὸν δ' εὖ λέγοντα μὴ νόμιζ' εἶναι μακρὸν, | μηδ' ἂν σφόδρ' εἴπη πολλὰ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον «consider verbose him who does not say anything of what needs to be said, even if he says just two syllables; do not consider verbose him who speaks well, even if he says very many words and for a long time». That is to say, it is not a matter of the number of words or length of time, but of effectiveness and quality. Homer is mentioned as an example of this quite paradoxical statement: 5–7 τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδε τὸν Ὅμηρον λαβέ· | οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν μυριάδας ἑπὼν γράφει, | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἷς Ὅμηρον εἶρηκεν μακρόν «as proof of that take Homer: for he writes for us myriads of words, yet nobody has ever called Homer verbose». Unfortunately we have no idea of the context of this passage. Homer is exemplary of a very long yet not long-winded work.⁴⁷ Noteworthy is the verb γράφει (v. 6): Homer 'writes' his epic. For us, after a century of the oralist approach to Homer,⁴⁸ this makes quite an impression. We

⁴⁵ Arnott 1996, 409; Olson 2007, 266 G3; Wright 2013, 609–610; Stama 2016, 274–276.

⁴⁶ Wright 2013, 610 remarks the absence of comedians from Linus' library (Epicharmus usually being considered here to have been cited as the author of wisdom maxims rather than as comic poet): «this library consists mainly of improving, serious literature representing genres (epic, tragedy etc.) that were widely used for educational purposes» and maintains that Alexis is «establishing an implicit contest (as seen so often elsewhere) between comedy and other 'higher' or more respectable forms of literature».

⁴⁷ Kassel-Austin p. 281 recall Greg.Naz. *Epist.* 54 (p. 70 Galloway) and Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.43 as parallels of Homer cited for a similar notion.

⁴⁸ On Oral theory and how much it changed Homeric scholarship over the last century it may suffice here to refer to Montanari/Rengakos/Tsagalis 2012.

have no evidence of that verb used of Homer before this, though that is perhaps just chance. By the time of Philemon it is assumed that an author writes down his work and the reception of epic poems takes place by reading. The fragments of Philemon along with that of Alexis are significant indications of the transition from the audience of a story-performance to the reading of a book as the standard reception of Homer.

2 Homer as a character on the comic stage

The extant evidence for Homer as a *dramatis persona* in Athenian theatre is undeniably poor, but there are at least two cases: one in Cratinus, and the second in Metagenes. In both cases we are dealing with fragmentary evidence, with its inherent degree of doubt and uncertainty. Yet we may be fairly confident that Homer was actually on the stage in these two plays.⁴⁹ What made this character distinguishable to the audience?

2.1 Homer the blind loser in Cratinus

The oldest extant case of Homer as *dramatis persona* is in Cratinus' *Archilochoi* [P1]. Its date of production was in the second half of the fifth century, probably in the 430s/420s.⁵⁰ Titles consisting of poets' names — particularly poets of the distant past — are not unusual in comedy: the name is pluralized in a couple of cases and conceivably identifies a chorus constituted by the poet and his followers; then from the end of the fifth century the name is always in the singular.⁵¹ In the *Archilochoi* of Cratinus, as in the *Hesiodoi* of Teleclides (datable about 429–423), the topic seems to be poetological. According to the prevailing view, in Cratinus'

⁴⁹ Cf. Quaglia 2007, 241.

⁵⁰ Useful elements for chronology are the praise for the late Cimon at fr. 1, providing a *terminus post quem* of 449 BC, and the mention of a *komodoumenos* Callias at fr. 12, which suggests a range between 435 and 423/422 BC. Cf. Rosen 1988, 45–46 n. 35, and Bianchi 2016, 18–20. Storey 2011, 1.271 argues for a date in the late 420s.

⁵¹ In the plural also *Hesiodoi* by Teleclides (with Ornaghi 2012 and Bagordo 2013, 117ff.) and perhaps *Kleoboulinaí* by the same Cratinus (but the historicity of a poetess Kleoboulina is disputed: see Bianchi 2016, 13 n. 1). In the singular *Homer* by Metagenes (see below); *Cinesias* by Strattis (the only case referring to a contemporary poet); *Sappho* by Ameipsias, Ephippus, Amphis, Antiphanes, Timocles, and Diphilus; *Orpheus* by Antiphanes; *Hesiod* by Nicostratus; *Linus*, *Archilochus* and *Kleoboulina* by Alexis. Cf. Orth 2014, 435.

play there were two semi-choruses, one of Archilochus and his followers facing another one of Homer (and Hesiod?) and his followers. The agon thus opposes two prominent models of Cratinus' comedy, and the winner will be the iambic one.⁵² Two of the sixteen fragments are of particular relevance for this reconstruction: fr. 2 and fr. 6. In fr. 2 the poets are called a σοφιστῶν σμήνος 'a swarm of sophists',⁵³ and according to Diogenes Laertius 1.12 Cratinus in the *Archilochoi* uses the word *sophistai* to praise 'Homer, Hesiod and their followers'. We may thus infer that one of the competing parties represents epic poetry and that Homer was associated with Hesiod. It is uncertain whether Hesiod was a character in the play. On the other hand the presence of the character Homer on stage, along with Archilochus, finds confirmation in fr. 6, which may possibly be from the *sphragis* of the agon:

εἶδες τὴν Θασίαν ἄλμην, οἷ' ἅττα βαῦζει;
ὥς εὖ καὶ ταχέως ἀπετείσαιο καὶ παραχρήμα.
οὐ μὲν τοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς ἔοικε λαλῆσαι.⁵⁴

The piquant sauce of Thasus (v. 1) stands metaphorically for Archilochus, while the blind man (v. 3) par excellence is Homer.⁵⁵ The verses characterize Archilochus as biting and vengeful, referring to his harsh poetic of invective, and depict him as prevailing over his rival. He proves to be perfectly able to reply even to Homer, the blind man who does not seem "to speak to a deaf man", as the proverb says,⁵⁶ i.e., he will get an earful in response. Blindness is one of the most stable and distinctive features of Homer's persona: it is first attested in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (*Hymn. Ap.* 172), a passage that Thuc. 3.104.5 cites saying explic-

⁵² For this reconstruction of the play cf. Pretagostini 1982; Ornaghi 2004, 218ff.; Bakola 2010, 70ff.; Bianchi 2016, 13ff. with further bibliography.

⁵³ οἷον σοφιστῶν σμήνος ἀνεδιφῆσατε «what a swarm of sophists you people stirred up» (transl. Storey 2001). The quoting source, Clem.Al. *Strom.* 1.24.1–2, specifies that the verse comes after a list of poets. The interpretation of the *hapax* ἀναδιφάω is uncertain: Conti Bizzarro 1999, 44–45, suggests the epic poets were perhaps resurrected from the underworld.

⁵⁴ «Did you notice what the Thasian pickle brine was barking? He well and quickly and immediately got his own back. It's not, however, a blind man talking to a deaf one» (transl. Storey 2001).

⁵⁵ As already Meineke 1839, 17 pointed out in the case of Archilochus and Zieliński 1885, 242 in the case of Homer. See Pretagostini 1982, with further bibliography.

⁵⁶ The proverb is widely attested, with the meaning of wasted effort (see Tosi 2017, nr. 554), also with the variant "fart" for "speak". Ornaghi 2004, 221 n. 44 supports the conjecture ἔοικ' ἀποπαρδεῖν by Naber in Cratinus' fragment, more sceptical is Bianchi 2016, 65 and 71 following Tosi.

itly that Homer is talking about himself, and Homer is blind or turns blind according to many written sources (e.g. the paretyymology of the name *Homeros* by Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 1 or the *Vitae Homeri*). And indeed the iconographic evidence confirms this notion: a common way of portraying Homer was as an elderly blind man, as in the mid-fifth-century model of the so-called *Epimenides-type Homer*, as well as in later sculptural types.⁵⁷ The figure of the blind singer was widespread in antiquity, perhaps modelled after Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, and partly overlapping with that of the blind seer. It seems likely that Cratinus represented the blindness of Homer by a mask. We have evidence of a tragic mask for a blind man: Pollux lists the mask of the blind Phineus among the ‘special masks’ (ἔσκεινα πρόσωπα), along with the horned Actaeon and other characters with a special eye feature, such as the blind singer Thamyris having a blue eye and a black one (Pollux 4.141). Even if Pollux’ taxonomy is of course not straightforwardly applicable to fifth-century plays, we can fairly assume the existence of a mask for blind men before Pollux’ time and the Hellenistic period. Already by 430/420 it may have been famous from the Sophoclean Oedipus plays and other Euripidean tragedies,⁵⁸ and perhaps even earlier, for example for the character Thamyris in Sophocles’ *Thamyris* (a role played by Sophocles himself; probably before 449 BC), or that of the blind seer Tiresias in *Antigone* (442 BC). As for comedy, a blind character is of course Plutus in *Wealth*, but, even earlier, the pitiable peasant Dercetes of Phyle at *Ach.* 1018ff. could have worn a blind mask. Blind masks, as well as ragged costumes, seem to have had essentially tragic associations.⁵⁹ If Cratinus’ Homer was wearing a blind mask, he would have a tragic (or paratragic) appearance/colouring, which would be consistent with the general idea of a tragic mediation of the echoes of Homeric poetry in comedy.⁶⁰

Besides this sole visual clue, the *Archilochoi* provides other remarkable elements: the association of Homer with Hesiod, as representative of the epic genre, and the confrontation of Homer with Archilochus. Both poets deserved «to be

⁵⁷ On Homer’s blindness see Graziosi 2002, 126–163. On the sculptural types cf. Zanker 1995, 15ff. and 166–171; Schefold 1997, 92; Wallis 2014, with further references.

⁵⁸ Webster 1970, 46–50, assumes that a special mask for blind old men, such as that mentioned by Pollux, was worn also by Oedipus at the end of *Oedipus Rex* (date uncertain, perhaps in 430s; cf. Finglass 2018, 565, with further bibliography) and in *Oedipus Coloneus*, and by Polymnestor at the end of *Hecuba* (about 424 BC?). On the tragic blind mask see also Calame 1996 and Coe 2016. In *Ach.* 421 Aristophanes makes reference to the blind Phoenix, cf. Eur. fr. 815–816.

⁵⁹ Compton-Engle 2015, 83–85. A blind mask and a ragged costume are usually associated, yet in Cratinus’ comedy there is no hint that Homer is beggarly (a common element in the biographical sources, but not in the iconography of Homer).

⁶⁰ See above note 6.

thrown out of the contests and thrashed» according to Heraclitus.⁶¹ We know that Archilochus' hymns were performed at Olympia (Pind. *Ol.* 9.1–4) and rhapsodic performance of Archilochus seems to be the underlying assumption for Heraclitus' condemnation. That Archilochus was in the repertoire of the rhapsodes, along with Homer, and Hesiod, is later attested also in Plato, *Ion* 531a (and the same three poets are compared also at 532a) and in Clearchus fr. 92 Wehrli.⁶² Plutarch reports a decree by Pericles providing new rules for the Panathenaic agones (Plut. *Per.* 13.11 — a chapter in which Cratinus is cited twice),⁶³ which probably expanded to other genres the traditional epic repertoire performed at the festival, thus challenging the exclusive primacy of Homeric performances in this important context.⁶⁴ Cratinus may well be Plutarch's source here.⁶⁵ Assuming that the decree did exist historically, and is not a mere deduction from a comic invention, one may wonder if the agon of the *Archilochoi* had this law in the background and may reflect a potentially real opposition between the two genres in the context of the Panathenaic competitions. At any rate, the agonistic model opposes two archetypes for comedy (and specifically for Cratinus' comedy), which would go on to have a long tradition in the schematization of the origin of the comic genre. In the *Poetics* 1448b–1449a, when dealing with the origin of comedy, Aristotle presents an opposition between, precisely, the *psogos* of iambographic tradition and the *geloios* of the Homeric *Margites*, a work that Cratinus too ascribed to Homer, probably in the *Archilochoi* itself.⁶⁶ One may wonder if

61 τόν τε Ὅμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγῶνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ραπίζεσθαι καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὁμοίως (fr. 30 Marcovich = 22 B 42 DK).

62 Cf. Ford 1988, 302 and Collins 2004.

63 *Per.* 13.8 = fr. 326 K.-A. *incertae sedis*; 13.10 = fr. 73 K.-A. from *Thracian Women*.

64 The law that Homer should be recited at the festival of the Great Panathenaea is assigned to the time of the Pisistratids ([Plat.] *Hipparchus* 228b–c). According to Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 102 in the time of their fathers a law prescribed that Homer alone of all the poets should have his works recited (οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ραψωδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη, ἐπίδειξιν). Cf. Nagy 1996, 69–71.

65 Cratinus is cited five times in Plutarch's biography of Pericles (cf. Totaro 2004, 199–205). On Cratinus as a source for this biography see also Stadler 1989, lxvi–lxvii. The comedy *Archilochoi* is cited by Plutarch at *Cim.* 10.4 (fr. 1 K.-A.).

66 The testimony is Eustratius in his commentary on Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1141a14 (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* 20.320.36): μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ποιητικῆς (1448b28–1449a2) ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος καὶ Κρατῖνος (Ἀρχιλόχοις Κρατῖνος Bergk 1853, 570; Cratin. fr. 368) καὶ Καλλιμάχος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι (fr. 397 Pf.) καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν εἶναι Ὀμήρου τὸ ποίημα. For the probable connection with that specific play, conjectured by Bergk, see Graziosi 2002, 69, Bakola 2010, 78.

Cratinus' play could have somehow influenced this theoretical reflection on comedy.⁶⁷ Well before Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Cratinus dramatized an *agon sophias* — an inter-generic one in this case — as a means of poetic self-definition.⁶⁸ Homer was the loser in the *krisis* staged by Cratinus, as in the *Certamen*.

Apart from his blindness, we cannot say what features made his character distinguishable, but plausibly he spoke in hexameters.⁶⁹

2.2 General Homer in Metagenes

Homer gives his name to a comedy by Metagenes, a playwright active in the last twenty years of the fifth century. His play Ὅμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί [P2] should date to the turn of the fifth century, possibly shortly after 400.⁷⁰ This double title is attested in the title list in the *Suda* entry (test. 1; perhaps also in the *Didascaliae* IG II² 2321.85).⁷¹ Other sources have it in different forms: simply Ὅμηρος (fr. 10 and 12) or Ὅμηρος ἢ Σοφισταί (Phot. ε 662 = fr. 11). It cannot be ruled out that Ὅμηρος may here be the common noun, meaning 'Hostage',⁷² and the three brief fragments do not allow any fair hypothesis about its plot and characters. However, both alternative titles seem to suggest that Ὅμηρος stands indeed for the poet. Ἀσκηταί means 'men-in-training' and could be compared with Aristomenes' comedy Διόνυσος ἀσκητής *Dionysus in training*, supposed to contain a typical parody of the effeminate god's failings in masculine tasks as a soldier, rower, or athlete.⁷³

⁶⁷ Cf. Conti Bizzarro 1999, 17–18; Ornaghi 2004, 227–228. An opposition Homer/Archilochus is also found in Hor. *ars* 73ff. On Old Comedy and the iambographic tradition, it may suffice to mention Rosen 1988, Degani 1993.

⁶⁸ Bakola 2010, 77 «*Archilochoi*, then, might have represented Cratinus' own positioning within the ancient polarity of praise and blame, suggesting that poetry of blame was of more value to the polis than poetry of praise».

⁶⁹ Bianchi 2016, 16–17. Yet hexameters are quite often present in Cratinus' comedy (in 24 fr., three of them from the *Archilochoi*: fr. 6–8). Other Homeric elements in the *Archilochoi* fragments are possible lexical echoes (fr. 1.4 λιπαρὸν γῆρας; perhaps fr. 8) and the extensive use of similes (fr. 5, 8).

⁷⁰ His first Lenaeon victory dates to about 415/405 BC, and internal references in his fragments suggest the last two decades of the fifth century. Fr. 10 from *Homēros ē Askētai* refers to the fall of Naupaktos (after 405 BC, possibly 400). Pellegrino 1998 argues for 400–398. Cf. Orth 2014, 375f. The *komodoumenos* Meidias (fr. 12) is an object of derision in other comedies dating to 420–414 BC.

⁷¹ So Snell, cf. Kassel/Austin PCG 7.9 iii. A different reconstruction in Millis/Olson 2012, 113–114, who read [- -]ηταις[- -].

⁷² Cf. Edmonds 1957, 842 n. a, Storey 2011, 2.361. *Contra* Orth 2014, 437, n. 735.

⁷³ Wilson 1977, 280 and n 3. The play could be plausibly dated to 394 BC. Cf. Orth 2014, 71.

What Homer could have to do with ‘men-in training’ is clear enough from his traditional role as educator of all the Greeks. By virtue of his authority he may well have trained men to heroic values. Such a training could in practice have aimed for prowess, athleticism, and military valour. War seems to be the topic of two out of the three fragments (fr. 10 and 11),⁷⁴ and the passage in *Frogs* [N5] and the other literary parallels examined above show how in the fifth/fourth century Homer, as the author of the *Iliad*, could be wryly represented as a master of warfare.⁷⁵ We could even imagine a comic contrast between the ideal of vigorous youth and the usual characterization of Homer as an elderly man.⁷⁶ The other alternative title, *Sophists*,⁷⁷ too may be understood in relation to Homer, recalling the abovementioned fr. 2 of Cratinus’ *Archilochoi*, where the σοφισταί were the poets Homer, Hesiod, and their followers. Σοφιστής may be an intellectual, a poet, or generically an expert in a *technē*.⁷⁸ The relationship between the two alternative titles, and whether they indicate two different groups within the chorus (learners and teacher?) is not at all clear. Yet the *dramatis persona* Homer probably took the role of an educational authority on practical skills. We have no hints about visual aspects.

3 Conclusions

Albeit through the deforming lens of comic distortion, the theatrical evidence provides insights into the perception of Homer’s persona in the classical period and the reception history of his putative works. In the extant comic texts we may find traces of at least some of the contemporary and earlier issues concerning Homer, such as the range and authenticity of his work besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, his authority in specific subject fields, and his blindness.

Homer is mentioned at times with exclusive reference to the *Iliad* [N1, 5, 9], — as synonymous with the heroic tradition [N1, 9; P2] —, at times as the poet of both

⁷⁴ Schweighauser 1802, III 597, followed by others, assigned to this comedy also fr. 19 *incertae sedis*, a hexameter parodying *Il.* 12.243 with an invitation to fight fiercely for one’s... dinner. It is a proverbial expression (Tosi 2017, nr. 556). Cf. Orth 2014, 482ff.

⁷⁵ Wilson 1977, 280 n. 3 «For the implications of Metagenes’ title Ὅμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί cf. Ar. *Frogs* 1034 ff. (Homer’s value as an instructor in military virtue being in point)». Cf. Orth 2014, 436–437.

⁷⁶ Zanker 1995, 21.

⁷⁷ A similar title is known for a comedy by Plato: Pirrotta 2009, 284.

⁷⁸ Imperio 1998, 46–48.

the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* [N 2, 8], at times with reference to a wider corpus including the hymns and perhaps the *Margites* [N 3, 4; P1], or even generically for any Homer-like or high poetry [P1, 4, 7, 11]. Homer means serious poetry, and as such comedians on the one hand affirm Homer's stylistic mastery as a way of displaying extensive knowledge and their own mastery of the literature [N10, 12], while on the other hand they challenge this authority as a means of self-representation, establishing their own authorial persona in opposition to other genres or poetic traditions. Of course, Homer is at stake in the debate about the civic function of poetry, a theme repeatedly stressed by comedians. In fifth- and fourth-century Athens, Homer was the cornerstone of education and the shared value system, above all the military and civic values on which the polis was founded [N5; P2], and comedy confirms the perceived antiquity and authority of Homeric poetry and its role in traditional education [N5, 6, 11]. This common heritage may be used and abused by comic characters, being misleadingly taken over and manipulated even by negative characters [N2, 4]. Homer is an authority to be challenged not only on a formal or poetological level, but also on the level of content and values, as synonymous with the heroic model of the Iliadic warriors longing for glory. Comedy reflects or, better, refracts contemporary discourses about the Homeric world, the diet and lifestyle of the heroes [N 9, 10; P2], and the perceived primitivism of that world [N10], attesting an early stage of Homeric *zetemata* — which would go on to have extensive treatments in Hellenistic and Roman philology, something that granted the survival of these comic fragments —, and ultimately the development of Homeric scholarship. Furthermore, comic fragments may provide important hints about the ways in which intellectual and popular reception of the Homeric text took place, reflecting the experience of listening to poetry in performance [N4?; rhapsodic context N7 and P1?], or the reading of a written text [N 11, 12], and also on the question of how wide and deep contemporary knowledge of the poems was: it could extend over the whole text [N 9], and focus in detail on single rare words [N 6, 7].

The two fragmentary plays in which Homer was in all likelihood an actual character on stage should hopefully allow us to get a glimpse of the visual dimension of the construction of Homer's persona, and his «recreative» representation⁷⁹ in comedy, but the actual information we can glean is very limited. We may assume that his characterization played both on verbal elements (hexameters, citations, epic style, albeit with probable discontinuity of stylistic register and 'out of character' jokes)⁸⁰ and on visual elements (mask, costume, gesture). Written

⁷⁹ Silk 2002, 207–255.

⁸⁰ Silk 2002, 215.

sources often describe Homer as a poor wandering beggar, blind or turning blind as he saw what he was going to depict in his poems (*Vitae*; Pind. fr. 265 SM; Pl. *Resp.* 600d5–e2), and Roman copies of classical portraits allow us to know how Homer was depicted: as an old blind man with the aspect of a dignified seer.⁸¹ While the venerable, sacral aspect of Homer may be confirmed by the epithet ‘divine’ [N 5], the only concrete element of his appearance we may infer from comedy is his blindness [P1]. The use of a mask for a blind man seems to have tragic colouring and may have reinforced the possible association with mythological figures also perceived as old blind characters, as known from contemporary tragic representations. We cannot say more. Nevertheless, theatre, with its broad audience, may plausibly have had a role in the development and consolidation of the idea of Homer’s persona.

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81 Zanker 1995; Schefold 1997, 92; Graziosi 2002, 152; Wallis 2014; Graziosi 2016, 11.

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Evina Sistakou

Homer in the Library: Callimachus' Literary Response to Homeric Philology

The greatest part of Franco Montanari's philological work is dedicated to the study of Hellenistic scholarship on Homer. He has shed light on the editorial practices and the making of *lexica* and commentaries and has reconstructed the contributions of the *virī docti* of the Alexandrian Mouseion to the study of the Homeric epics. By building up obscure and fragmentary sources into credible testimonies Montanari has put forward plausible theories on the Hellenistic *ekdōseis* and the exegesis of the Homeric epics. One of these focuses on Callimachus: it is likely, Montanari claims, that Aristarchus repeatedly quoted Callimachus not only as a reliable Homeric scholar but also as an established erudite poet appealing to ancient philologists for his own sake; in Montanari's words, Callimachus was a '*grande poeta filologo*' and became '*ben presto grande poeta oggetto di filologia*'.¹ Regardless of whether the philological dissection of Callimachus' poetry began with Aristarchus or not,² Montanari's statement highlights the fact that Callimachus' poetry, because of the lexicographical and cultural knowledge it incorporated, was considered to be philologically interesting *per se* already in antiquity. The present discussion specifically addresses the role of Homeric interpretation in Callimachus' poetic oeuvre as a means of rendering his poetic discourse 'philologically interesting' and not just a useful tool for the ends of Homer's ancient editors and commentators. Building on this assumption, it moreover suggests that Callimachus was not simply a poet directly engaged in an intertextual dialogue with the Homeric epics, like his archaic and classical predecessors; it was primarily his philological views about, and responses to, the exegesis of Homer that explain the dense Homeric texture of his poetry. By re-reading ancient testimonies and scholia as well as discussing selected test cases from the *Aetia*, the *Hymns* and the *Hecale* (without, of course, depreciating the

1 Montanari 2002a, 88. This thesis was first expressed in Montanari 1995, then debated by Rengakos 2000 and again defended with new arguments by Montanari 2002a. On the same topic, see the recent overview by Montana 2015, 97–98.

2 In opposing Montanari's views, Rengakos 2000, 333–334 infers from the scholiastic tradition that the works of Callimachus and the other *poetae docti* were studied only as a means of resolving Homeric problems until the first century BC and the grammarian Theon.

importance of other ‘philologies’, like the ones about Hesiod or Pindar, in his poetic work), I will argue that Homeric philology was the decisive factor that formed Callimachus’ ‘scholarly aesthetics’.

1 The Callimachean paradox

The first question I will address is whether Callimachus was *sensu stricto* a Homeric scholar, equalling in his achievement his near contemporaries, Philitas (author of the *Ἀτακτοὶ γλῶσσαι*, including Homeric ones), Simias (a collector of Homeric *glossai*), Zenodotus (editor of the text for both Homeric epics and the author of the alphabetical dictionary of Homeric *glossai*), Apollonius (author of the monograph on Homer *Πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον*) or even Aratus and Rhianus (both editors of the Homeric text), and paving the way for Neoptolemus of Parium (author of *Περὶ γλωσσῶν Ὀμήρου*), Aristophanes (editor of Homer and author of the lexicographical work *Λέξεις*) and Aristarchus (the most celebrated Homeric scholar, who provided critical recensions of and commentaries on the Homeric epics).³ In all probability the question has to be replied in the negative. According to the ancient tradition none of Callimachus’ treatises was dedicated to the Homeric epics or their interpretation; likewise, the Cyrenaean was neither an editor of the Homeric text — the meticulous analysis of his poems reveals that he sometimes followed the Zenodotean διόρθωσις⁴ — nor a compiler of a Homeric glossary. On the other hand, his obscure *Hypomnemata* (fr. 461–464 Pf.) may have been a large-scale commentary on an unknown author (or authors), and Homeric exegesis cannot be excluded from this work; yet there are no grounds to support such a hypothesis. On the whole, it appears that Callimachus as a scholar excelled in bibliographical surveys, such as the monumental *Pinakes*. Apart from this, his research revolved around the minutiae of language with a preference for outlandish onomatology and the collection of paradoxa and other arcane knowledge. If we were to judge only from the titles, we might assume that Callimachus was first and foremost a bibliographer and a collector of antiquities, probably even a compiler of encyclopedical collections.⁵ Only his treatise *Against Praxiphanes* falls

³ For a brief guide to ancient scholarship on Homer, see Dickey 2007, 18–28.

⁴ See Pfeiffer 1968, 139–140, who, however, notes that Callimachus may have probably consulted other editions of the Homeric epics apart from the Zenodotean. For a thorough analysis of how Callimachus used the Zenodotean edition, see Rengakos 1993, 79–87.

⁵ Krevans 2011 divides Callimachus’ scholarly works into four categories: bibliography, paradoxography, aitiology and onomastics.

within the confines of literary criticism and the obscure monograph on Democritus' *glossai* and *syntagmata* was his closest work to glossography.⁶

But only circumstantial evidence supports the assumption that Callimachus was not a Homeric scholar; it is possible that the list of his scholarly treatises, largely based on the *Suda* article, is owed to an unfortunate coincidence of tradition. This very same article identifies Callimachus as a γραμματικός, a title conferred to the philologists of the Hellenistic and Imperial era, including the legendary Homerists Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus.⁷ Strabo explicitly characterizes Callimachus as 'a poet and a zealous pursuer of γραμματική *at the same time*' (*Geogr.* 17.3.22 ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς ἅμα καὶ περὶ γραμματικὴν ἐσπουδακώς), a description that may be read as a variation of the much-quoted ποιητὴς ἅμα καὶ κριτικός about Philitas (*Geogr.* 14.2.19).⁸ The view of Callimachus as a veteran of Homeric scholarship appears in the context of one of his 'errors' regarding the geography of the *Odyssey*. Strabo juxtaposes Callimachus with two other experts in Homeric geography, Eratosthenes and Apollodorus of Athens (*Geogr.* 7.3.6 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συγγνώμην εἶναι, Καλλιμάχῳ δὲ μὴ πάννυ μεταποιουμένῳ γε γραμματικῇ). Two epigrams *in grammaticos* attributed to Philip of Thessalonica (1st century AD) place Callimachus alongside the masters of Homeric scholarship in bitterly attacking them for pedantry. In the first (*AP.* 11.321) Philip subsumes both the pupils of Zenodotus and those of Callimachus under the category of γραμματικοί (1–3 γραμματικοὶ Μώμου στυγίου τέκνα, σῆτες ἀκανθῶν, / τελχῖνες βίβλων, Ζηνοδότου σκύλακες, / Καλλιμάχου στρατιῶται...) who are utterly dedicated to the study of Homeric diction and exegesis. The second epigram (*AP.* 11.347) begins as a denunciation of Aristarchus and his exegetical practices (2 οἱ τ' ἀπ' Ἀριστάρχου σῆτες ἀκανθολόγοι) and closes with a punchline, in the form of a curse, against the followers of the 'Callimachean' philological method (5–6 ἡ δὲ μέλαινα ἱστορίη / τήκοι τοὺς Περικαλλιμάχους).⁹

⁶ On Callimachus' scholarly work, see Pfeiffer 1968, 123–140, Blum 1991, *passim* and the recent survey by Krevans 2011.

⁷ On the definitions of γραμματικός in the Hellenistic era, especially in regard to Eratosthenes and beyond, see Matthaios 2011 and Wouters/Swiggers 2015.

⁸ Clement (*Strom.* 1.16.79) seems to think that the title κριτικός was an older designation of the scholar which was later (in the age of Eratosthenes?) replaced by that of the γραμματικός. However, the *Suda* (s.v. Φιλῆτας) calls Philitas a γραμματικός κριτικός, thus making a distinction between the two terms; cf. a similar use in the *Suda* s.v. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀβδηρίτης.

⁹ Gow/Page 1968, 2.363 note that the compound with περι- may denote excessiveness (as in περικαλλής) and hence reject the interpretation τοὺς περὶ Καλλιμάχον. However, I believe that οἱ Περικαλλιμάχοι implies οἱ περὶ Καλλιμάχον 'the circle of his pupils and followers' as in Sch. *Il.*

A preliminary conclusion we can draw from these testimonies is the following: although Callimachus was not a Homeric scholar in accordance with the customary practice employed by his fellow γραμματικοί at the Mouseion,¹⁰ i.e. as far as we know, he was not an editor of the epics, nor did he write a prose treatise on Homeric *glossai* or questions, he was nevertheless considered a γραμματικός most worthy of this title, an eminent specialist on Homer, respected by his contemporaries and pupils, whose impact on Homeric interpretation was felt throughout antiquity until the Byzantine era. The corpus of the Homeric scholia, the post-Hellenistic epigrams on scholars, Strabo's chapter on Homeric geography and Eustathius of Thessalonica in his *Commentaries on Homer* amply and unequivocally testify to this fact.¹¹ Callimachus' leading authority was such that any Homeric problem of language or pragmatics had to be resolved through reference to his poetic work, which thus became the bible for Homeric commentators. Phrases such as παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ, ὥς φησι Καλλίμαχος, καὶ Καλλίμαχος were the benchmark of accurate scholarship by being placed at the end of a Homeric scholion as a conclusive proof of the commentator's opinion on a usage or interpretation.¹²

In the exceptional cases in which Callimachus was considered to be mistaken in his philological judgment, he was severely criticized.¹³ Apollodorus appears to be accusing Callimachus of his misconception about Homeric geography (Str. *Geogr.* 1.2.37 Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐπιτιμᾷ Καλλιμάχῳ, συνηγορῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑρατοσθένη...). In the above-mentioned passage by Strabo, the slightly ironic expression μεταποιοιμένῳ γε γραμματικῆς attributed to Apollodorus suggests that Callimachus was not an actual scholar but only claimed to be one (Str. *Geogr.*

14.499–500a1. This is a common usage (*LSJ* s.v. *περὶ* C.2.), cf. e.g. Pl. *Crat.* 440c οἱ περὶ Ἡράκλειτον. See also below 367–368.

10 Additionally, as Krevans 2011, 118–119 subtly remarks, Callimachus does not even fit the range of activities transhistorically connected with philology (by reference to the definition of philology given by Samuel Johnson in his *Dictionary of the English Language*).

11 For a critical discussion of Callimachus' citation throughout antiquity and the Byzantine era, see Pontani 2011a. In Pontani's view a) Callimachus was far more popular among ancient commentators and lexicographers and b) he did not attract their attention primarily for his own poetic endeavour but as a source of learning for the interpretation of other poets.

12 Montanari 1995, 52–61 has demonstrated, on the basis of specific paradigms, that the Alexandrian Homerists, especially Aristarchus, used Callimachus to support their own reading of a Homeric passage.

13 Errors were actually recorded in Callimachus, though very rarely. Like when the Homeric scholia note οὐκ ἐνόησεν οὗν Καλλίμαχος τὸν στίχον εἰπών... (Sch. *Il.* 6.484); Καλλίμαχος δὲ κακῶς (Sch. *Il.* 9.219d); κακῶς οὗν Καλλίμαχος (Sch. *Il.* 19.382).

7.3.6).¹⁴ Porphyry, the 4th c. AD philosopher, comments on an incorrect spelling of a Homeric word by Callimachus as follows (*Homeric Questions* 23.422):

Οὐ δὲ δυσχεραίνειν, εἰ τῶν νῦν παιδευτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνει τινὰ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν, ὅπου καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἀκριβέστατον καὶ πολυγράμματον Καλλίμαχον ἔλαθεν ἡ διαφορά τῆς ἀρματοροχίας, ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν χωρὶς τοῦ ρ λεγομένην ἀματροχίαν.

One should not get annoyed if some of the Homeric [subtleties] escape the notice of the majority of students nowadays, seeing that the difference that *harmatrochia* has with *hamatrochia* even escaped the notice of Callimachus who's reputed to be very precise and learned. [Transl. J.A. MacPhail]

The key word here is δοκοῦντα, that may also be translated as 'he is *seemingly* a precise and learned scholar'. Both Strabo and Porphyry hint that Callimachus was not engaged with 'orthodox' scholarship, probably because he had not written a systematic philological treatise, but acquired a longstanding reputation for being the best γραμματικός in dealing with Homeric matters.¹⁵

In effect, the ancient reception credits Callimachus with the essential qualities of a scholar specializing in Homer: he was surrounded by a circle of loyal followers and pupils, just like Zenodotus and Aristarchus (AP. 11.321.3 Καλλιμάχου στρατιῶται, AP. 11.347.6 τοὺς Περικαλλιμάχους, AP. 11.322.4 Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες, Sch. Il. 14.499–500a οἱ περὶ Καλλίμαχον); he was celebrated for his systematic method of approaching the (Homeric) text (AP. 11.347.5–6 ἡ δὲ μέλαινα ἱστορίη/ τήκοι τοὺς Περικαλλιμάχους, 11.321.6 and 11.347.3 ζητεῖν);¹⁶ his inquiry was focused on linguistics (AP. 11.321.5–6 συνδέσμων λυγρῶν θηρήτορες, οἷς τὸ 'μὴν' ἢ 'σφὴν'/ εὖαδε) and realia (AP. 11.321.6 καὶ ζητεῖν, εἰ κύνας εἶχε Κύκλωψ..., 347.3–4 ποῖ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ζητεῖν, τίνας ἔδραμεν Ἥλιος οἴμους/ καὶ τίνος ἦν Πρωτεὺς καὶ τίς ὁ Πυγμαλίων); both these areas formed the basis for the textual edition

¹⁴ What is notable here is the use of μεταποιῶμαι with genitive which according to *LSJ* s.v. should be understood as 'lay claim to, pretend to'; hence the passage is translated 'Callimachus... makes a pretence of being a scholar' (transl. H.L. Jones).

¹⁵ Being a γραμματικός in Hellenistic Alexandria *qua* being a Homeric scholar is brilliantly demonstrated by Pontani 2011b in a paper tellingly entitled *Ex Homero grammatica*; Pontani argues that Alexandrian grammar had as its foundational texts the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

¹⁶ On ἱστορίη meaning 'inquiry', hence 'systematic or scientific observation', 'knowledge' and also 'the written account of one's inquiries', see *LSJ* s.v.

and emendation of the Homeric text as practiced by Zenodotus and the later editors of Homer.¹⁷ It is beyond doubt that for centuries Callimachus was acknowledged as a Homeric scholar *par excellence*, comparable only to Zenodotus and Aristarchus, despite the fact that he never wrote any reference books on Homeric scholarship. We can explain this paradox by recourse to his poetic work: it was in there that his views and interpretations on Homer and the epics were reflected and it was on there that Homeric philologists from the Hellenistic era until today drew to solve challenging Homeric *zetemata*. The present paper aims at illuminating this paradox by focusing on the idiosyncratic interaction between Homeric scholarship and poetic discourse in Callimachus and its impact on his aesthetics.

2 Written in *glossai*

Searching for answers to Homeric problems in Callimachus' poetry is not a method developed by classical philologists during the last decades.¹⁸ On the contrary, it has been a heuristic tool almost since the generation of Callimachus' pupils and lasted until the end of the scholiastic Homeric tradition in Byzantium. Taking this fact into account, a second question arises: did Callimachus become the archetype for Homeric scholarship through poetry because of how the next centuries read and appreciated his poetry on the basis of its learnedness or was it he who deliberately weaved Homeric scholarship into poetic discourse by eschewing the writing of prose treatises on the issue? In the first case 'Callimachus as a Homeric scholar' would be a philological construct, a mode of interpretation projected on Callimachus' poetry, which was from then on seen as a mine of information on Homer. However, in the latter and more plausible case, Homeric scholarship would be part and parcel of Callimachus' literary apparatus and hence a hallmark of his novel aesthetics. Before elaborating further on this point,

¹⁷ Montanari 2002b, in analyzing the editorial methods applied to the Homeric text starting with Zenodotus, concludes that Alexandrian Homeric philology early on established an organic unity between interpretation and textual criticism.

¹⁸ However, the first philologist of the modern era to have systematically seen Homeric imitation in Callimachus as a form of interpretation was Fridericus de lan in his 1893 dissertation *De Callimaco Homeri interprete*. This method was associated with the *arte allusiva* in an article by Giangrande 1970 and then developed into a meticulous research on the reception of Homeric vocabulary and textual tradition in Callimachus by Rengakos 1992 and 1993. The same method applies to Homeric geographical names, see Sistakou 2002.

I will reconstruct the cultural background in which the conception of 'scholarly aesthetics' originated and explain why Homeric scholarship provided the most appropriate test case for such a literary experiment.

The 'scholar (as/and) poet' was the rule in Hellenistic Alexandria, since most of the literati active at the Mouseion had both identities.¹⁹ Within this larger category, however, philology and poetry could blend together to a different degree and in a highly personalized manner. A smaller group was probably formed by Philitas, Simias, Callimachus and Euphorion, and the most Homeric of all, Apollonius of Rhodes.²⁰ Some of them are considered collectively in the ancient tradition for being the most obscure of all poets, a quality owed to the extreme 'scholarliness' of their poetry.²¹ Callimachus was proverbial for being enigmatic, as the *scholia vetera* to Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* that go back to the Hellenistic age attest (v. 80.10): τοῦτο δὲ αἰνιγματῶδες κατὰ Καλλιμάχου ἄν τις φαίη. More revealing is the judgment of Clement of Alexandria (2nd c. AD) who remarks (*Stromata* 5.8.50):

Εὐφορίων γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὰ Καλλιμάχου Αἴτια καὶ ἡ Λυκόφρονος Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια γυμνάσιον εἰς ἐξήγησιν γραμματικῶν ἔκκεται παισίν.

Euphorion the poet and the *Aetia* of Callimachus and the *Alexandra* of Lycophron and similar works constitute a veritable playground for grammatical exegesis. [Transl. J.L. Lightfoot]

What is of significance here is that, in terms of readership, Callimachus and the other enigmatic scholar-poets appealed mostly to the intellectual circle of the γραμματικοί.²² The obvious explanation would be that their poetry was read as a sophisticated form of philological discourse, which was codified into the medium of poetry. Alexandrian philology obviously had many target authors; among the most celebrated were Hesiod, Pindar, and the lyric and dramatic poets. But the

¹⁹ Krevans/Sens 2006, 189–190 acknowledge that only a few poets were not active in philology (Hermesianax, Herodas, Theocritus); on the other hand, figures that primarily stood out for their scholarly and scientific work, like Zenodotus, Eratosthenes and Simias, also wrote poetry.

²⁰ On Apollonius of Rhodes as a Homeric scholar through poetry see the comprehensive monograph by Rengakos 1994.

²¹ See especially *AP.* 11.218 and Lucian *How to Write History* 57.1–13. For a depiction of the scholar-poet from the viewpoint of Alexandrian philology, see Pfeiffer 1968, 87–98.

²² Two terms in Clement's passage, γυμνάσιον and παισίν, may imply school practice as well: Callimachus may have been a poet read in advanced educational levels, as the considerable number of his poems in papyri suggests, see Criboire 2001, 201–202. As pointed out by Criboire, Callimachus, alongside Pindar, was connected to school practice, cf. *AP.* 9.175.1–2 Καλλιμάχον πωλῶ καὶ Πίνδαρον ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτὰς/ πτώσεις γραμματικῆς πτώσιν ἔχων πενήτης.

exegesis of Homer and his epics was the *raison d'être* of Alexandrian philology, and hence the 'scholarly aesthetics' was first and foremost established as a response to Homeric philology.

An alleged predecessor of the 'Homeric scholarship in poetry' movement was Antimachus of Colophon, who flourished around 400 BC, but whose literary achievement received ambiguous comments.²³ However, Antimachus was perhaps the first to set an example of how to integrate Homeric *glossai* into verse.²⁴ Simias, also a glossographer and a poet, infused *glossai* into epigrams and riddles thus creating his peculiarly 'eccentric' style.²⁵ But Philitas must be credited with providing *the* model for 'scholarly poetics'. Apart from being a collector of *glossai*, he may also have introduced the practice of highlighting variant readings of Homeric lines depending on the interpretation of lexical rarities, in a work with the title *Ἑρμηνεία* whose existence and content are highly speculative.²⁶ An obscure epigram by Crates, devised as a double entendre, gives an idea of the intended effect of this amalgam of *glossai* and poetic style in Euphorion and possibly Philitas (*AP*. 11.218):

Χοιρίλος Ἀντιμάχου πολὺν λείπεται· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
 Χοιρίλον Εὐφορίων εἶχε διὰ στόματος
 καὶ κατάλωσσε· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὰ φίλητρα [Φιλιτᾶ Dobree]
 ἀτρεκέως ᾔδει· καὶ γὰρ Ὀμηρικὸς ἦν.

Choerilus falls far short of Antimachus. Yet, above all else, Euphorion had Choerilus upon his lips and he made poems full of glosses; as for Philitas' works, he knew them all; a true Homerist was he. [Transl. J.L. Lightfoot]

In the second couplet it is claimed that Euphorion, and, by extension, any poet inserting *glossai* into poetic verse and – if the correction is right – thus demonstrating a deep knowledge of Philitas' work would be acknowledged as Ὀμηρικός.²⁷ The Ὀμηρικόν style would accordingly be quite distinct from the ὁμηρίζων

²³ On Antimachus' reputation in antiquity, see the chapter in Matthews 1996, 64–76.

²⁴ Cf. Matthews 1996, 51–57.

²⁵ Apart from the meticulous study of Simias by Hermann Fränkel in his 1915 dissertation, the recent research by Kwapisz has shed light on Simias 'eccentric' poetics, see Kwapisz 2019.

²⁶ Based on an uncertain reading of Strabo *Geogr.* 3.5.1. On this work, whose title might have been something like *Homeric Studies* and was perhaps attacked by Aristarchus in his treatise *Πρὸς Φιλίταν*, modern scholars have put forward numerous hypotheses, on which see a detailed analysis in Spanoudakis 2002, 392–395. For Philitas as a glossographer, see Spanoudakis 2002, 384–392 and Bing 2003.

²⁷ The adjective Ὀμηρικός denotes 'in the manner of Homer' (*LSJ* s.v.). In the Homeric scholia it occurs abundantly to emphasize the distinctively Homeric as opposed to the common usage of

and the κύκλιον: in the former case, the writing of poetry presupposes a poet who is an expertise not only in the Homeric vocabulary but more importantly in its filtering through glossographical research, whereas in the latter he would be dully reproducing a Homeric-like style. Although we lack a similar reference to Callimachus' employment of Homeric *glossai* from an ancient source, scholars of the post-Hellenistic and the modern era have demonstrated that lexical rarities, predominantly Homeric, form the core of Callimachus' poetic vocabulary.²⁸

The poetic *koine* of the early Alexandrian era must have drawn heavily on Homeric language, for which the grammarians provided glossaries, collections of obscure and archaic words, to serve philological but also educational purposes.²⁹ Thus equipped, the learned readers would be challenged to decipher a poetic code constituted by Homeric 'riddles', which depending on their specific explanation would result in divergent interpretations within a literary context. Such a challenge would have been even more complex and fascinating, if the intended audience was the group of Homerists active in the Alexandrian Mouseion.³⁰ The ability of the *glossa* to become an ambiguous *sema* is what rendered it such a popular material for scholarly poetry. Yet, the exact strategies employed by the poets in blending *glossai* with poetic discourse reflect their individual artistic style, which may also vary depending on genre, tone and subject matter.³¹ Aristotle had early on acknowledged that the *glossai* depart from ordinary speech and therefore are only appropriate to the elevated *lexis* of poetry (*Poet.* 1459a, *Rhet.*

a word (e.g. in the phrases 'Ὀμηρικῶ τρόπῳ, 'Ὀμηρικῶ ἔθει, ἡ χρῆσις 'Ὀμηρικῇ τῆς λέξεως, ὃ καὶ 'Ὀμηρικώτερον, or, conversely, οὐχ 'Ὀμηρικόν). The Alexandrian philologists used 'Ὀμηρικόν as a criterion for the authenticity of a passage (e.g. in Sch. *Il.* 8.470a ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει 'ἄας δὴ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑσαύριον. ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις οὐχ 'Ὀμηρικῇ; Sch. *Il.* 3.18a ἔχει δὲ τὸν 'Ὀμηρικὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἡ σὺν τῷ ἄρθρῳ γραφή, καίπερ οὐκ οὔσα Ἀριστάρχειος).

28 Especially Rengakos 1992. It should be noted that *glossai* did not exclusively derive from Homer but from a variety of literary genres, authors and geographical regions: on the formation of Callimachus' poetic language, see Parsons 2011.

29 Fundamental is the survey on the glossographers of the pre-Aristarchan era by Dyck 1987. Cf. also Parsons 2011, 145–149 for the poetic *koine* in the age of Callimachus.

30 The idea is not far-fetched, if we consider the dramatization of the 'scholarly' audience in Callimachus *Iamb* 1, which is set at the Serapeum of Alexandria (*Dieg.* in *Iamb.* fr. 191 Pf. ὑποτίθεται φητὸν Ἰππώνακτα συγκαλοῦντα τοὺς φιλολόγους εἰς τὸ Παρμενίωνος καλούμενον Σαραπίδειον).

31 A striking example are Homeric *glossai* contributing to the *pointe* of an epigram, see Sistakou 2007. A recent thesis by Moss 2004 discusses the programmatic use of Homeric *hapax legomena* in the epigrams of Callimachus.

1404b).³² When ‘extraordinary’ expressions (ξένην τήν διάλεκτον) are exploited by an author or a speaker, the effect on the reader or the audience is amazement (τὸ θαυμαστόν; *Rhet.* 1404b). They are in particular an indispensable tool for the composition of heroic poetry (*Rhet.* 1406b): αἱ δὲ γλῶτται τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς (σεμνὸν γὰρ καὶ αὐθαδές) (‘dialect words are most useful to hexameter poets, as the epic is grand and domineering’ transl. D.A. Russell/M. Winterbottom). Elsewhere, however, Aristotle warns against the misuse of *glottai* which may result in stylistic barbarism (*Poet.* 1458a):

σεμνή δὲ καὶ ἐξαλλάττουσα τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν ἢ τοῖς ξενικοῖς κεχρημένη· ξενικὸν δὲ λέγω γλῶτταν καὶ μεταφορὰν καὶ ἐπέκτασιν καὶ πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τὸ κύριον. ἀλλ’ ἂν τις ἅπαντα τοιαῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἢ αἰνιγμα ἔσται ἢ βαρβαρισμός· ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐκ μεταφορῶν, αἰνιγμα, ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ γλωττῶν, βαρβαρισμός.

The style that uses strange expressions is solemn and out of the ordinary; by ‘strange expressions’ I mean dialect terms, metaphor, lengthening, and everything over and above standard words. But if anyone made an entire poem like this, it would be either a riddle or gibberish, a riddle if it were entirely metaphorical, gibberish if all composed of dialect terms. [Transl. D.A. Russell/M. Winterbottom]

Seen against the backdrop of Aristotle’s treatment of *glossai*, who focuses on their generic context (the epic) and their impact on the reader (ranging from amazement to bewilderment), the Alexandrians’ penchant for the stylistic dynamics of the *glossai* in poetry is readily explained. However, whereas Aristotle opted for a balanced use of the strange expressions for the sake of clarity, the scholar-poets experimented with all the potential ways of mixing *glossai* in their verses.

The Homeric epics provided an inexhaustible database for *glossai* and also figured largely in the glossographical collections or were the object of debate between editors;³³ at the same time, they offered the stylistic matrix for the grand heroic epic style as described by Aristotle in the *Poetics*. Thus, Callimachus, in exploiting rare and obsolete Homeric words for poetic ends, did not only or primarily respond to other Homeric editors and glossographers on matters of Homeric exegesis.³⁴ More importantly, this stylistic device was an opportunity for

³² For Aristotle’s conception of the poetic *lexis*, see the concise overview by Halliwell 1998, 344–349.

³³ But, as already stressed, not exclusively; there existed various lexicographical tools on different authors and genres, on which see Naoumides 1969; for an updated review of the lexicography on papyri, see Esposito 2009.

³⁴ Rengakos 1992, 29–31 has demonstrated that Callimachus was eclectic and critical in his use of the glossographers; Tosi 1997 also argues that this eclecticism is owed to his poetic sensitivity

Callimachus to engage in the debate about the grand vs. the slender style of poetry, to distinguish between the genuine Homeric diction and its pale imitations, to demarcate his scholarly poetic style from that of Antimachus, Philitas or Simias and to explore, through his aesthetics, modes of incorporating *glossai* into poetic discourse. To the question whether his readers were intrigued by this sophisticated game with Homeric lexicography R. Hunter has offered a straightforward answer:³⁵

Many Alexandrian poets, most notably Callimachus and Apollonius, were also professionally engaged with the study and interpretation of Homer's text and their poetry reacts to that of Homer at every turn; the scholastic mode fashions allusion to Homer as a shared code which binds the poet to his audience: if the comic and tragic poets spoke to 'fellow Athenians', Callimachus speaks to 'fellow readers of Homer', for whom intellectual identity is crucial to the sense of the self.

3 Scholarship as poetry

We know next to nothing about Callimachus' assessment of the Homeric problem nor can we reconstruct his views on critical issues such as the Homeric biographical tradition or the authorship of the epics and other post-Homeric poems.³⁶ In addition, since Callimachus did not produce a specialized treatise on Homeric *zetemata*, it is almost impossible to assume to which interpretative 'school' he belonged, when dealing with Homer — the Platonic or the Aristotelian, the allegorical or the Stoic, the Zenodotean or that of Apollonius or Eratosthenes?³⁷ As in the case of glossography, we are at best able to guess his interpretative tendencies by recourse to his poetic work — though, needless to say, it is easier to incorporate Homeric vocabulary into poetic discourse than complex explanations on questions under philological scrutiny. More importantly, one should be wary of extracting philological views from poetry, for the additional reason that the reliability and objectivity of the information provided there are highly questionable.

and refinement. On the points of contact between Callimachus and the glossographical work of Philitas, Simias and Neoptolemus, see Rengakos 1992, 27–29.

35 Hunter 2004, 249–250.

36 The only surviving testimony is that by the second-century writer and theologian Tatianus, who mentions Callimachus among the Alexandrian grammarians who treated the works, the *ὑπόμνημα* and the dating of Homer, probably in the *Pinakes*: see fr. 472 Pf. with Pfeiffer's comments.

37 On the various schools of Homeric interpretation and their links to Alexandrian scholarship, see especially Pfeiffer 1968 and Lamberton/Keaney 1992.

That said, Callimachus subscribed to the circle of Philitas and other contemporary poets whose artistic identity was shaped by scholarship. As I will argue, it was the active scholarship at the Mouseion that formed Callimachus' aesthetics in providing both the method and the data for a creative rewriting of scholarship as poetry. In what follows, I will apply this argument to the paradigm of Homeric scholarship by reviewing Homeric problems as reflected in the verses of Callimachus.

Certain literary genres are more apt to host scholarly views than others, and the epigram is undoubtedly one of them. The *Greek Anthology* abounds with epigrams paying homage to poets, commenting on poetic styles or echoing philological debates; a great number of them revolves around the legacy of Homer.³⁸ Judging from his surviving epigrams Callimachus did not reproduce the common *topoi* relating to the θεῖος ἀοιδός. Instead, he engaged in the philological discussion about the Homeric pseudepigrapha in *Epigram* 6 Pf.:

Τοῦ Σαμίου πόνος εἰμὶ δόμῳ ποτὲ θεῖον ἀοιδόν
 δεξαμένου, κλείω δ' Εὐρυτον ὅσος' ἔπαθεν,
 καὶ ξανθὴν Ἰόλειαν, Ὀμήρειον δὲ καλεῖμαι
 γράμμα· Κρεωφύλῳ, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα.

I am the work of the Samian, who once received the divine singer in his house; and I celebrate the sufferings of Eurytus and of fair-haired Ioleia; but I am called the writing of Homer. Dear Zeus, for Creophylus this is a great thing. [Transl. A.W. Mair]

Callimachus maintains that the cyclic epic *The Sack of Oechalia* was falsely ascribed to the Homerica, since it was actually written by Creophylus, thus diverging from the prevalent opinion in ancient scholarship. Strabo contrasts the general consensus on the matter with Callimachus' view (*Geogr.* 14.1.18): Σάμιος δ' ἦν καὶ Κρεώφυλος, ὃν φασὶ δεξάμενον ξενίᾳ ποτὲ Ὀμηρον λαβεῖν δῶρον τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ ποιήματος ὃ καλοῦσιν Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν. Καλλίμαχος δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐμφαίνει δι' ἐπιγράμματός τινος.³⁹ Yet, apart from the philological dissent underlying the Creophylus epigram, its originality lies elsewhere. Callimachus has re-

³⁸ Skiadas 1965 has collected and commented on the epigrams on Homer spanning almost 1200 years of literary tradition; however, these epigrams were used as tools of literary polemic especially by the Alexandrian poets.

³⁹ The tradition is also found in the *Vita Homeri* attributed to Proclus (*Chrest.* 109–111): λέγουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν [sc. Ὀμηρον] εἰς Ἴον πλεύσαντα διατρίψαι μὲν παρὰ Κρεωφύλῳ, γράψαντα δὲ Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν τούτῳ χαρίσασθαι, ἥτις νῦν ὡς Κρεωφύλου περιφέρεται. On Creophylus and the Creophylids (by analogy with the Homerids), see Burkert 1972.

shaped a philological — to be more precise, a bibliographical — entry into a literary epigram. The epigram evokes the *Pinakes*, in the sense that the name of the poet and his native city are given, then the title and the content of the poem and at the end the debate about its authorship.⁴⁰ The epigram purports to be a bibliographical report (perhaps written at the beginning of an *ekdosis* of *The Sack of Oechalia*?) as the technical terms *πόνος* and *γράμμα* suggest. However, the overall rhetoric of the poem, based on the device of the speaking object and the ambiguous *pointe* of τοῦτο μέγα, creates a witty and ironic tone thus underlining its literariness. This way Callimachus advertises his ability, and his authorial intent, to render a dry scholarly fact as an entertaining *jeu d'esprit*.

This is not his sole epigram dealing with the 'corpus Homericum'. According to Eustratius, a commentator of Aristotle, and the lexicographer Harpocration, Callimachus was among those who attributed the *Margites* to Homer, a view he expressed in a now lost epigram (fr. 397 Pf.). Callimachus not only sided with Aristoteles on the issue of the poem's authenticity (*Poet.* 1448b ἀπὸ δὲ Ὅμηρου ἀρξάμενοις ἔστιν, οἷον ἐκείνου ὁ Μαργίτης) but also on its high literary quality. In effect, Harpocration notes that Callimachus 'seems' to have admired the *Margites* (Harpocr. s.v. Μαργίτης: ...Μαργίτην, ὅπερ ποίημα Καλλίμαχος θαυμάζειν ἔοικεν), an expression that perhaps captures the ambiguity of Callimachus' laudatory statement.⁴¹ As in the case of the Creophylus epigram, such an ambiguity might be the result of contextualizing a bibliographical note in a literary epigram. Regardless of whether ironic or not, both epigrams attest to the fact that Callimachus used the epigrammatic genre as a vehicle for engaging in the Homeric debate of his era, and this explains why later scholars and commentators were so serious about using his poetic work as a source for Homeric scholarship.

Obviously the epigram invites such straightforward responses to philological problems and Callimachus was neither the first nor the last poet to use this genre for the ends of philology. But the Cyrenaean was subtle in his dialogue with scholarship which, like science and the other disciplines practiced at the Mouseion, opened new possibilities for reconceptualizing poetry. Knowledge became the raw material of the anti-mimetic poetic genres, as the flourishing of didactic poetry in Alexandria attests. The *Aetia* is epistemological in its essence; it even dramatizes the process of acquiring, classifying and recycling encyclopedic

⁴⁰ Nisetich 2001, xxiii–xxiv has put forward this stimulating idea.

⁴¹ Pfeiffer 1949, ad fr. 397 remains cautious: 'num ambigua fuerit haec laus, ex Harpocratonis vocabulo ἔοικε vix concludi potest'.

knowledge by recourse to authoritative sources.⁴² The question that merits special attention is whether scholarship, as practiced primarily but not exclusively by those studying and editing the Homeric text, played an essential role in the shaping of the *Aetia*.

The point of departure for dealing with this question is the new type of textuality introduced by the early Alexandrian scholars. It has been persuasively argued that the *ekdosis* of the Homeric epics at the age of Callimachus, comprised, apart from the base-text, a plethora of 'supplementary material' written in the margins: editorial *semeia*, variant readings, explanatory and exegetical comments. This highly personalized copy of the Homeric epics reflected the philological opinions of its editor; it was only later that Aristarchus separated the *ekdosis* from its notes and incorporated them in independent *hypomnemata*.⁴³ It is likely that the same editorial strategy, implemented paradigmatically in the case of the Homeric epics, was applied also to other authors of the canon. It is not known whether Callimachus devised such a personalized *ekdosis* in the manner of Zenodotus and other contemporary scholars; yet, being a librarian, he was definitely familiar with this technique and consulted the individualized copies of the canonical texts.⁴⁴

Original text and paratextual material established a distinct generic class of literature, a new text that functioned as a locus for scholarly discussion. Thus, intertextuality did not only involve the dialogue of the author with a 'classical' original work but also with its later commentators. Incorporating knowledge in this novel textual space is, in my view, the dominant idea behind the literary experiment of the *Aetia*, and the practice of Homeric philology during the early third century was the critical factor in this innovative conception of literature.⁴⁵ Glossing and etymologizing ambiguous words, supplementing missing information and providing explanations for disputable verses and passages are methods of Homeric philology relocated in the *Aetia*. When Callimachus writes in fr. 26.5 Harder τὸν ἐπὶ ῥάβδῳ μῦθον ὑφαίνόμενον he sides with those scholars who etymologize ῥαψῳδία from ῥαβδῳδία, i.e. from the habit of the rhapsodes to sing holding a staff. According to Eustathius this passage, although part of a poetic

⁴² The finest reading of the *Aetia* as a poem of knowledge is owed to Hutchinson 2003.

⁴³ For a detailed description of the form of the pre-Aristarchean *ekdosis*, see Montanari 1998 and 2002b.

⁴⁴ Montanari 2002b, 122–123 argues that the comments contained in this 'enriched' text were widely disseminated in the Mouseion through lessons given by the grammarians themselves, a posteriori reconstructions and notes incorporated in other philological treatises.

⁴⁵ For an in-depth analysis of how knowledge was first decontextualized, combined and accumulated in new texts against the background of Alexandrian encyclopedism, see Jacob 1997.

work, established a standard for subsequent scholarship (*Comm. Hom. Il.* 1.10.4): ὅτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ῥάβδον ἡ ῥαψωδία εἴρηται, οἶονεὶ ῥαβδωδία τις οὔσα, φασὶ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ παλαιοί, ἀκολουθοῦντες Καλλιμάχῳ.⁴⁶ Another striking example concerns the debate about the marriage between Zeus and Hera. Homer alludes to this prohibited subject twice in the *Iliad* (1.609–611 and 14.294–296) and the Homeric scholia provide the necessary mythological background for both passages.⁴⁷ In the comment on the latter the scholiast attributes a prenuptial ritual of Naxos to the ἱερὸς γάμος, an aition treated by Callimachus in the story of Acontius and Cydippe (fr. 75.1–5 Harder):

ἦδη καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσατο,
τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνύμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι
ἄρσενι τὴν τάλιν παιδί σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ.
"Ἡρην γάρ κοτέ φασι—κύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρέ
θυμέ, σύ γ' αἰέσι καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὁσίη...

...And already the girl had slept with a boy, as there was a rule that ordered the bride to sleep the night before the wedding with a male child with both parents living. For they say that Hera once—dog, dog, contain yourself, impudent soul, you will sing even what is against divine law... [Transl. A. Harder]

Though it is not expressly stated, Callimachus must have been the source of the Homeric scholiast (*Sch. Il.* 14.296a): τεκοῦσαν γοῦν Ἥφαιστον [sc. τὴν Ἥραν] προσποιεῖσθαι δῖχα μίξεως κυεῖν...διὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπόμνημα φυλάσσεσθαι παρὰ Ναξίοις καὶ τὸν ἀμφιθαλῇ τῇ τάλι συγκατατίθεσθαι. Not only is Callimachus alluding to the Homeric text (probably through φασι) and the philological exegesis accompanying it (by reference to the aition), but with his recusation he also hints at the debate about the appropriateness of this Homeric narrative.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ More on this passage as part of a philological debate in Harder 2012, 2.266–267.

⁴⁷ It is no coincidence that the scholiast employs a verse from the *Aetia* to substantiate his story (*Sch. Il.* 1.609 τούτων φασὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Κρόνου δυναστείας ἡράσθησαν. τὸν δὲ Δία καὶ Ἥραν ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς τριακοσίους, ὡς φησι Καλλιμάχος ἐν β αἰτίων· ὥστε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτούς = fr. 48 Harder).

⁴⁸ Already Plato (*Rep.* 390b) considered the subject 'immoral' and hence unsuited to Homeric poetry. For the rich background of the 'immorality' debate in scholarship and literature, see Harder 2012, 2.584–588.

Alexandrian Homeric philology is one thread running through the *Aetia*, a literary experiment combining philological acumen with poetic creativity. Another thread evokes an earlier stage of Homeric research initiated by Aristotle.⁴⁹ The key concept defining his *Homeric Questions* (*Ἀπορημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν* in Diogenes Laertius, *Προβλημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν* in Hesychius or *Ὀμηρικά ζητήματα* in the *Vita Marciana*) is the quest for scholarly solutions to exegetical problems in the Homeric epics. The inquiry (ζήτησις) is a guiding principle and a recurrent term in ancient scholarship, used with remarkable frequency for the interpretation of disputable passages or scenes of the Homeric epics.⁵⁰ The question ‘why’ (διὰ τί) introducing each time a new puzzle of the Homeric text forms the core of Callimachus’ epistemological aporias articulated in the *Aetia*.⁵¹ Callimachus did not only recontextualize Aristotle’s scientific principle of investigation in the realm of poetry; he must have systematically drawn on the *Homeric Questions* to form his own aitiological questions and the method of addressing them as also to derive philological material from it. The former is evident in the antiquarian and ‘scientific’ methods applied to the explanation of the aitia.⁵² The latter is the case in a much-disputed Iliadic passage about the maltreatment of Hector’s dead body by Achilles (*Il.* 22.395–404). Plato had explicitly accused Homer for attributing impious behaviour to Achilles (*Rep.* 391a–c). To defend the Homeric passage Aristotle provided a ‘solution’ by recourse to a similar Thessalian custom in the *Homeric Questions*. According to the Homeric scholia (Sch. D *Il.* 22.398), Callimachus treated the same aitiological story, thus hinting at the solution previously given by Aristotle (fr. 588 Pf.).⁵³

⁴⁹ According to Dio Chrysostomus, Aristotle was not only the first grammarian and literary critic but the first Homerist as well (*Or.* 53.1 Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀφ’ οὗ φασὶ τὴν κριτικὴν τε καὶ γραμματικὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν, ἐν πολλοῖς διαλόγοις περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ [sc. Ὀμήρου] διέξεισι).

⁵⁰ Suffice it to say that the Homeric scholia echo the term (e.g. ἐτι ζητεῖται, πάλιν ζητεῖται, ἄξιον ζητήσεως) and Porphyry also uses it in his *Homeric Questions on the Iliad* each one of which begins with ζητεῖται διὰ τί.

⁵¹ On the Aristotelian origin of the term αἴτιον in Callimachus and its scientific connotations, see Sistakou 2009, 177–182.

⁵² When Homer is charged for an unseemly invention in poetry, Aristotle employs a historical fact to defend his poetic choice: on this method in Aristotle’s *Homeric Questions*, see Huxley 1979, who coins the term ‘historical criticism’; for a similar application of biology to Homeric exegesis in Aristotle, see Mayhew 2015.

⁵³ It is not known whether Callimachus treated this Thessalian custom in the *Aetia* or the lost *Ibis*, yet Pfeiffer 1949, ad loc. is inclined to accept the former hypothesis. On this passage, see also Sistakou 2008, 77–78 and Harder 2012, 2.743–744.

There are numerous other examples from the Homeric scholia that propose an exegesis to an ambiguous passage by recourse to Callimachus' poetry; the formula ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ is a seal of approval by the Homeric scholars to validate an exegetical comment.⁵⁴ In essence the direction was exactly reverse. It was first Callimachus who consciously introduced scholarly discourse into poetry and his digressive style was the medium through which it was channelled into his verses.⁵⁵ The logic of Homeric scholarship was the critical factor in this process. If Aristotle wondered why things occurred in Homer as they did and Zenodotus created a new textual space where the Homeric text and its philological exegesis could coexist, Callimachus eventually made poetry out of both. Later scholars were aware that it was the Cyrenaean that had supplied the ultimate reference work for their research.

4 Homeric criticism and Callimachus' 'scholarly poetics'

We may safely assume that Homeric scholarship was a distinct textual corpus in the Library and the Alexandrian literati considered it a significant intertext for poetry. Thus, a great part of the 'scholarly poetics' represented by Philitas, Callimachus, Lycophron and others was inevitably directed towards an esoteric audience, familiar with the philological problems involving glossographers, editors and commentators. Since philology was, initially at least, the research on the Homeric epics, it is worth asking at the end of this survey whether Callimachus drew on major issues of Homeric criticism for artistic inspiration. By answering in the affirmative, I will illustrate my last point by briefly discussing three examples from his poetic work.

Homeric geography was an issue hotly debated in early third-century Alexandria. Insofar as we can rely on later sources, primarily Strabo, it was the younger contemporary of Callimachus, the librarian and scientist Eratosthenes,

⁵⁴ For the formula, see Sch. *Il.* 2.629b = fr. 77d Harder, Sch. *Il.* 11.700b = fr. 77c Harder, Sch. *Il.* 18.487 = fr. 632 Pf., Sch. *D Il.* 13.66 = fr. 35 Harder, Sch. *D Il.* 17.53 = fr. 194, 66–68 Pf. Cf. the poetic fragments 624–640 Pf. which are all attested in the Homeric scholia.

⁵⁵ This 'scholarly' digressive style is parodied by Lucian (*How to Write History* 57.10–13): εἰ δὲ Παρθένιος ἢ Εὐφορίων ἢ Καλλιμάχος ἔλεγεν, πόσοις ἂν οἶε ἔπεισι τὸ ὕδωρ ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Ταντάλου ἦγαγεν; Callimachean digressions had a function similar to that of modern footnotes; on Callimachus' aitiological footnotes to the Trojan War myth, and indirectly to the Homeric epics, see Sistakou 2008, 76–81.

who first took the view that the geography of the Homeric epics was fictional on the basis that literature aims at entertainment and not teaching (Strabo *Geogr.* 1.1.10, 1.2.2). By adopting exactly the opposite approach, his immediate predecessors in the Library, Callimachus and Apollonius, were keen to historicize Homeric geography. To do so they explored not the travels of Odysseus but those of the Argonauts. By drawing the route of the Argo on the historical map, Callimachus introduced, at the same time, his views on the real locations of Odysseus' wanderings (*Aet.* fr. 7c Harder).⁵⁶ More than two centuries later Strabo's account echoes the intensity of this philological and scientific debate (on Eratoshenes see *Geogr.* 1.2.2–1.2.19).⁵⁷ Like his predecessors, who traced their exegesis back to the *Aetia*, he too read the Argonautic aition as a scholarly treatise on Homeric geography. In viewing Homer as the 'founder of geography', Strabo drew on Callimachus to substantiate his case against Eratosthenes who regarded the epics as pure fiction (*Geogr.* 1.2.37, 7.3.6). Although Callimachus seems to have supported the historical interpretation of the epics, it is not likely that he shared Strabo's view that Homer aimed at instruction.⁵⁸ From the viewpoint of poetry, however, the importance of Callimachus' treatment lies elsewhere: in that he transposed Homeric geography from the Odyssean to the Argonautic myth and thus conversed with a contemporary epic, Apollonius' *Argonautica*. In effect, both poets indirectly accepted the genetic relationship between the two oldest mythological cycles, the Argonautic and the Trojan, and engaged in an intertextual dialogue with their epic renditions, the cyclic and the Homeric. Callimachus, by arguing against the ἐξωκεανισμός and for the location of Odysseus' wanderings in the West, followed a third path in the epic tradition, namely that of Hesiod (cf. Str. *Geogr.* 1.2.14 Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ Ἡσίοδον μὲν εἰκάζει πεπυσμένον περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσέως πλάνης ὅτι κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν γεγέννηται).⁵⁹

Much more than geography, which is a Homeric *zetema* with historical, scientific and philological connotations, the theology and the portrayal of the gods

⁵⁶ For a detailed approach to Callimachus' view on Homeric geography, see Sistakou 2002, 149–160.

⁵⁷ For Strabo's account of Homeric geography, see Schenkenveld 1976 and recently Kim 2007.

⁵⁸ It was Strabo who claimed that Homer was a source of knowledge and his poetry should not be reduced to mere fiction as Eratosthenes claimed (*Geogr.* 1.2.3 ἀφαιρούμενος αὐτὸν τὴν τοσαύτην πολυμάθειαν καὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν γραῶδὴ μυθολογίαν ἀποφαίνων). On fiction as a 'monstrosity' unworthy of Homer cf. Strabo's aphorism μηδενὸς δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἀνάπτειν κενὴν τερατολογίαν οὐχ Ὀμηρικόν (*Geogr.* 1.2.9).

⁵⁹ The idea of the common background of these myths is as old as Karl Meuli's treatise entitled *Odyssee and Argonautika* (1921). For a meticulous comparison of the geography of the two myths against the background of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, see Knight 1995, 122–266.

were early on considered highly controversial issues of the Homeric epics. Throughout the archaic and classical period, as also in the heyday of Homeric criticism from Aristotle onwards, Homer became the object of severe criticism among philosophers and scholars; theology, in particular, was constantly revised by the poets as a response to the representation of the Homeric gods.⁶⁰ Gods are omnipresent in Callimachus' poetry — they play the principal role in the *Hymns*, they appear in several stories of the *Aetia*, they form part of the Attic archaeology of the *Hecale*, they are dramatized in the *Iambi*. The representation of the gods in Callimachus is complex, multilayered and playful, and it is impossible to speak of a unified theological system in his poetic universe. Yet, it is beyond doubt, that Callimachus' intertextual dialogue with the Homeric pantheon reaches far beyond the actual epics and the rest of poetry, chiefly Hesiod, Pindar and drama. The philosophical and scholarly tradition behind his poetic theology is perhaps an even more significant intertext than the Homeric epics *per se*. Since the primary concern of ancient thinkers — and the main basis for Homer's defence — was the 'appropriateness' (τὸ πρέπον) and the morality of the Homeric gods, the opinions that have been expressed from Xenophanes through Plato to the Homeric scholiasts and the allegorists reverberate through Callimachus' poetry. The ironic *recusatio* of the incestuous marriage between Zeus and Hera in the *Aetia* discussed above is just one example out of many.⁶¹

Yet, the most representative case of the criticism made against the Homeric gods is the interpretation of 'The Battle of the Gods'.⁶² Callimachus has dedicated a great part of the *Hymn to Delos* to this thorny Homeric problem by reworking Books 20 and 21 of the *Iliad*. At the core section of the hymn, with its epic and tragic resonances, the river-god Peneius gives shelter to Leto who is pursued by

⁶⁰ For a comprehensive account of the ancient critical tradition about the Homeric gods, ranging from rationalization to allegorization, see Feeney 1991, 5–56. On the Homeric scholia in particular, see Nünlist 2009, 267–281.

⁶¹ The anthropomorphism of the Olympian gods was a Homeric trait criticized by Xenophanes and Plato and reflected in the recurrent expression of the scholia that Homer represents the gods as humans (ἄνθρωποπαθεῖς εἰσάγει τοὺς θεούς): cf. Feeney 1991, 6–7 and 48–50 and Nünlist 2009, 278–279. This appears to be another Callimachean favourite. The Cyrenaean develops a Homeric verse depicting Artemis as a little girl crying on Zeus' knees (*Il.* 21.506) into an amusing scene in the *Hymn to Artemis* (4–29); for the Homeric background of the hymn, see Stephens 2015, 104–105; on divine children in Callimachus, see Henrichs 1993, 140–142. In the *Hymn to Apollo* (107) Apollo kicking Pthonos is another instance of explicit anthropomorphism; see Henrichs 1993, 142–145.

⁶² For a survey of the theomachies in Homer and Greek tragedy, see Chaudhuri 2014, 15–55.

Hera, whereupon the goddess summons Ares and Iris and positions them at strategic points of the Greek territory to start a battle against her (*Hymn. Del.* 106–159). Soon the theomachy acquires the dimensions of a cosmological clash extending from Thrace to Thessaly and thence to the islands (133–147, 154–159); two epic-styled similes liken the clamour of the battle to the sound produced by the giant Briareos who is buried under Aetna (141–147). Callimachus alludes to a plethora of epic theomachies here: besides the one included in the *Iliad* (20.1–74, 21.342–520), he evokes Hesiod's *Theogony* and the cyclic *Titanomachy*. Apart from the epic subtext, however, Callimachus' rendition of 'The Battle of the Gods' provides a poetic response to the long-standing debate of philosophers and literary critics. The fact that Homer represented gods fighting against each other was one of the many human passions attributed to them, the ones that Plato found inappropriate for the education of the citizens in his ideal state (*Rep.* 378d):

Ἡρας δὲ δεσμούς ὑπὸ υἱοῦ καὶ Ἡφαίστου ῥίψεις ὑπὸ πατρός, μέλλοντος τῇ μητρὶ τυπόμενῃ ἀμυνεῖν, καὶ θεομαχίας ὅσας Ὅμηρος πεποίηκεν οὐ παραδεκτέον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὗτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας οὔτε ἄνευ ὑπονοιών.

Hera tied up by her son, Hephaestus thrown out by his father because he was proposing to defend his mother against a beating, Homer's battles of gods — all this is inadmissible, whether it was composed allegorically or not. [Transl. D.A. Russell-M. Winterbottom]

The key in the Platonic passage is the reference to the ὑπόνοια, the possibility of an allegorical interpretation of the Homeric epics. Indeed, for centuries, the solution to the moral failings of the gods was the allegorical identification of the epic gods with the forces of nature, a tendency first associated with Theagenes of Rhegium (Sch. B *Il.* 20.67) and then further developed by the Stoics, especially Crates of Mallus, and the Neoplatonists. Aristotle, from the viewpoint of literary criticism, was the first to reject the moralising outlook of the philosophers and instead attributed many of the irrationalities presented in the epics to poetic licence (*Poet.* 1460a).⁶³ Epic can accommodate the fantastic and the supernatural according to Aristotle's theory (*Poet.* 1460a.12–13 μᾶλλον δ' ἐνδέχεται ἐν τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ τὸ ἄλογον), and Callimachus was definitely aware, if not actively involved, in the dialectic between Homeric allegoresis on the one hand and the concept of

⁶³ On 'poetic licence' in the Homeric scholia and Aristarchus, see Nünlist 2009, 174–184. On how Aristotle responded to previous Homeric criticism, especially the allegorical, see Richardson 1992.

poetic fiction on the other.⁶⁴ The theomachy passage from the *Hymn to Delos* reflects the ambivalence of Callimachus' stance. He sets the theomachy within a scene of cosmological chaos, thus alluding to the identification of the gods with natural elements. At the same time, the personification of the geographical locations, the movement and turbulence of the islands, the evolution of the cosmos from chaos to order make the poem a fine example of poetic fantasy.⁶⁵ The tradition of epic is not the only context indispensable for interpreting the hymn; furthermore, it is the philosophical and philological debate lurking in the background that gives depth and meaning to Callimachus' fantastic universe.

The third example where I will retrace the impact of Homeric criticism in Callimachus' poetry deals with a celebrated distinction between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Aristotle in the *Poetics* distinguishes the two epics in terms of their plot structure and thematic categorization (1459b13–15):

Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐκάτερον συνέστηκεν ἢ μὲν Ἰλιάς ἀπλοῦν καὶ παθητικόν, ἢ δὲ Ὀδύσσεια πεπλεγμένον (ἀναγνώρισις γὰρ διόλου) καὶ ἡθικῇ.

The *Iliad* is simple and full of suffering, the *Odyssey* is complex (for it is recognition right through) and full of character. [Transl. R. Janko]

Aristotle views the *Iliad* as an epic that focuses on emotion (πάθος) and the *Odyssey* as an epic based on character (ἥθος); probably the former is associated with the representation of extreme suffering⁶⁶ and the latter with a complicated plot where the reversal of fortune is owed to recognition. From the viewpoint of later criticism, this aphorism suggests that in representing intense emotions the *Iliad* is more akin to tragedy, whereas the *Odyssey*, in depicting characters, has a certain affinity to comedy, especially as regards the happy ending for the ethically 'better' people (e.g. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 6.2.20). Longinus even translates the distinction into biographical terms when he claims that the *Iliad* is dramatic because it was written when Homer was still young and vigorous, whereas the *Odyssey*, where the fairytale elements predominate, is the work of old age (*On the Sublime* 9.11–15).⁶⁷ The scholia abound with references to both terms, πάθος and ἥθος, to

⁶⁴ This debate reached its climax in the 2nd century BC with Aristarchus and Crates, see Porter 1992. Longinus (*On the sublime* 9.6–9.8) argues both for the allegoresis and for the awe-inspiring representation (τὸ φοβερόν) of the theomachy *qua* cosmology in the Homeric passage.

⁶⁵ Williams 1993 aptly speaks of the hymn's 'surrealism'.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Poet.* 1452b πάθος δέ ἐστι πρᾶξις φθαρτικὴ ἢ ὀδυνηρά, οἷον οἱ τε ἐν τῷ φανερώ θάνατοι καὶ αἱ περιωδυνίαι καὶ τρώσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

⁶⁷ Gill 1984 has given a detailed survey of the terms ἥθος/πάθος in ancient rhetorical and literary criticism from Aristotle to Longinus.

emphasize the prevailing quality, emotional or moral, of a specific Homeric passage.⁶⁸ Callimachus was undoubtedly aware of this complex issue of Homeric philology which was introduced by Aristotle and further developed by his fellow grammarians at the Mouseion. Moreover, the dichotomy between the plot and style of the *Iliad* and those of the *Odyssey* promoted the idea, at least in certain philological circles later associated with the *chorizontes*, that the two epics could not have been composed by the same author.

Although we do not know whether Callimachus subscribed to these distinctions as a scholar, we may surmise that he was concerned with their thematic and stylistic possibilities for poetry. According to the ancient scholia, Callimachus wrote the *Hecale* as a response to those who claimed that he was not able to compose grand poetry.⁶⁹ Moreover, the *Hecale* provided the appropriate space for the experimentation with *πάθος* and/vs. *ἥθος* as qualifications of the epic. It thus offered Callimachus the opportunity to engage in a dialogue with both Homeric epics and to merge them creatively into a modern-styled hexametric poem. On the whole, the *Hecale* is considered to be a homage to the *Odyssey*, the Eumaeus/Odysseus episode in particular, on which the hospitality offered by Hecale to Theseus is modelled. The epyllion shifts the focus from a serious mythical character (σπουδαῖος), i.e. Theseus, to an ordinary woman (α φαύλη), the elderly Hecale, thus lowering the heroic status of the characters. Moreover, the realism of specific scenes, like the preparation of the dinner at Hecale's hut, and the everyday vocabulary evoke comedy, a genre often associated with the *Odyssey* in ancient criticism.⁷⁰ In turning the spotlight on the hospitality episode and away from the heroic *aristeia* of Theseus, Callimachus appears to be closer to the atmosphere of the *Odyssey* with his neoteric epyllion.⁷¹

However, if we apply Aristoteles' plot patterning to the *Hecale*, we can see that its *muthos* is simple and its central *peripeteia* is based on suffering with a strong emotional impact. The narrative of the *Hecale* starts with a scene of *anagnorisis* (fr. 3–7 H. when Medea's plot to poison Theseus is thwarted due to the recognition between father and son) and must have been inspired by tragedies

68 Cf. Nünlist 2009, 139–149 and 254–256 on emotions and character in the scholia respectively.

69 The ancient scholion on *Hymn. Ap.* 106 (ἐγκαλεῖ διὰ τούτων τοὺς σκώπτοντας αὐτὸν μὴ δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι μέγα ποίημα, ὅθεν ἠναγκάσθη ποιῆσαι τὴν Ἑκάλην) suggests that the philological circles of Alexandria (τοὺς σκώπτοντας) could 'force' (ἠναγκάσθη) Callimachus to compose a poem like *Hecale* as a response to a scholarly debate.

70 Especially after Aristotle, when the *ἥθος* is an element closely related to Menander and New Comedy, cf. Post 1938.

71 For an intertextual reading of the *Hecale*, and its twin work, the *Victoria Berenices*, with the *Odyssey*, see Ambühl 2005, 72–87.

such as Euripides' *Aegeus*. Had Callimachus focused on this episode, he would have written an *Odyssey*-styled poem, where at the end the 'better' characters are rewarded and the 'bad' get to be punished.⁷² Yet, the key to the main *peripeteia*, which occurs when the sudden death of Hecale coincides with the triumph of Theseus against the Marathonian bull (fr. 67–69, 79–83 H.), is a violent reversal of fortune.⁷³ The undeserved death of the noble Hecale is more akin to that of Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad*; in addition, Hecale, as an epic heroine of Iliadic status, acquires *kleos* and receives posthumous heroic honours (fr. 79–83 H.).⁷⁴ The dignity of the characters in this epyllion is reflected in their epicizing language: the dinner scene where Theseus and Hecale exchange long emotional speeches has a pity-and-fear effect on the reader (40–62 H.).⁷⁵ Allusions to Iliadic passages articulating *pathos* play a key role in this scene.⁷⁶ Moreover, throughout the entire poem the use of *recherché* words, the plethora of Homeric *glossai*⁷⁷ and their meticulous arrangement echo the grand style of the μέγα ποίημα Callimachus aspired to compose.⁷⁸ In essence, what Callimachus demonstrates by writing the *Hecale* is that both Homeric epics can be combined to produce a small-scale epyllion. But in order to appreciate the subtle balancing between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the handling of plot, character and style, one needs to have the sharp eye of a Homeric scholar. Like the *Aetia* and the *Hymns*, the *Hecale* too was intended for readership in the library. And the birdcage of the Muses at Alexandria provided the most suitable venue for such a sophisticated activity.

⁷² See Hollis 1990, 139–140.

⁷³ On *Hecale* as a mundane tragedy highlighting the central role of chance in the reversal of human fortune, see Sistakou 2016, 105–114.

⁷⁴ For the heroic *kleos* of Hecale, see McNelis 2003.

⁷⁵ Gutzwiller 2012, 238 notes that the emotions of pity and fear derive from the narration of Hecale's personal losses and the compassionate response of Theseus to her misfortunes.

⁷⁶ E.g. fr. 49.2–3 H. ἡρνεόμην θανάτοιο πάλοι καλέοντος ἀκοῦσαι alludes to Hector's cry (*Il.* 22.297 ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ με θεοὶ θάνατον δὲ κάλεσσον) or to Patroclus' imminent death (*Il.* 16.693 ὅτε δὴ σε θεοὶ θάνατον δὲ κάλεσσον). Or: fr. 49.14–15 H. τοῦ μὲν ἐγὼ ζῶοντος ἀναιδέσιν ἐμπήξαμι/ σκώλους ὀφθαλμοῖσι καί, εἰ θέμις, ὡμὰ πασαίμην evokes several Iliadic threats, e.g. of Achilles to Hector (*Il.* 22.346–347 αἶ γάρ πως αὐτόν με μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀνήη/ ὦμ' ἀποταμνόμενον κρέα ἔδμεναι, οἷα ἔοργας), cf. *Il.* 4.35, 24.212.

⁷⁷ For the rare Homeric words in the *Hecale*, see Hollis 1990, 11–13 and *passim*.

⁷⁸ Gutzwiller 2012 has argued that in Hellenistic criticism the concept of the μέγα ποίημα suggested the combination of high-styled language with an elevated subject matter not exclusively in epic form.

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Michael Erler

Hilfe für den Gott: Zum Verhältnis von Muse, Dichter und Philosoph

1 Pindar und Platon

Das Verhältnis von Muse und Dichter und die Frage, welchen Anteil sich Dichter am Entstehen ihrer Werke zuschreiben, wird in der frühgriechischen Dichtung reflektiert und ist Gegenstand der Diskussion.¹ Das Gedicht wird als Gabe der Musen angesehen, doch wird auch deutlich, dass die Sänger sich keineswegs nur als passiv Nehmende der Gaben der Musen verstehen, sondern überzeugt sind, bei dem Werke der Göttinnen mitgestalten und einen Eigenanteil beim Entstehen der Gedichte beanspruchen zu können.² Ein Widerspruch wurde hier offenbar nicht gesehen. Vielmehr deuten die Dichter selbst an, wie man sich dieses spannungsreiche Verhältnis von Musengabe und Eigenleistung vorzustellen habe. Eine Stelle bei Pindar ist von besonderem Interesse und soll im Folgenden interpretiert werden. Dabei soll auf religiöse Konnotation und die Tradition der Vorstellung Pindars hingewiesen werden. Denn zu dieser Tradition gehört offenbar, was Sokrates in Platons *Apologie* mit Blick auf seine philosophische Tätigkeit über das spannungsreiche Verhältnis von Götterauftrag, Göttergabe und Eigenleistung zu sagen hat. Dabei wird deutlich, dass die Selbsteinschätzung von Platons Protophilosoph zu seinem Werk an diejenige erinnert, die Pindar zu erkennen gibt. Der Platonische Protophilosoph soll offenbar in die Tradition der großen Dichter und ihrer Selbsteinschätzung gestellt werden. Die Analyse, die Sokrates im *Euthyphron* vom Verhältnis von göttlicher Tätigkeit und menschlicher Beteiligung in Hinblick auf die Philosophie bietet, erklärt nämlich nicht nur, was Sokrates in der *Apologie* dazu von sich selbst zu sagen weiß, sondern liest sich wie eine Erklärung dessen, was frühgriechische Dichter wie Pindar zu dem Problem offenbar andeuten wollen.

1 Vgl. Maehler 1963; Nagy 1989; Finkelberg 1998; zur Frage der Konstruktion der Dichterfigur und seiner oder ihrer Autorität im Text vgl. Stehle 2017.

2 Vgl. Murray 1981, 96–99.

2 Selbsteinschätzung früher Dichter

Auch wenn Dichtung generell als Gabe der Musen angesehen wird, so lässt sich an einigen Stellen in *Ilias* und *Odyssee*,³ aber auch bei Lyrikern wie insbesondere Pindar erkennen, dass die Dichter bei aller Würdigung der göttlichen Herkunft ihrer Werke durchaus auch von einem Eigenanteil an ihrer Dichtung ausgehen und dass dies ihnen seitens des Publikums auch zugebilligt wird.⁴ Bezeichnend sind Alkinoos' Worte in der *Odyssee*, mit denen er den Sänger Demodokos rühmt:

Der Gott hat ihn vor allen begnadet mit Liedern. Demodokos kann uns
Herzlich erfreuen; er singe von allem, wonach ihm zumut ist.⁵

Denn sie legen nahe, dass Dichtung zwar als Gottesgabe anzusehen ist, dass aber auch der Dichter selbst Anteil am Entstehen seines Werkes hat.⁶ Das gilt auch für die Anrufungen in der *Ilias*. Auch sie zeigen, dass der Dichter sich zwar als ein Empfänger von Musengaben versteht, der aber aktiv mit diesen Gaben umzugehen weiß.⁷ Wenn er in seiner Verteidigung gegenüber Odysseus betont, er sei ‚selbstgelehrt‘ (αὐτοδίδακτος) meint er nur, dass er nicht von anderen Menschen belehrt wurde.⁸ Eine Belehrung durch die Musen schließt dies keineswegs aus. Es ist bezeichnend, dass sich Dichter traditionellerweise als Diener und Boten der Muse betrachten.⁹ Dabei machen sie deutlich, dass sie ihre Rolle in einem aktiven Sinn verstehen.¹⁰ Sie beanspruchen zudem eine rationale Kompetenz für ihren Beitrag und sehen sich nicht als von Ekstase erfüllt.¹¹ In diesem Zusammenhang ist nicht ganz klar, ob die bisweilen reklamierte Eigenständigkeit nur die Form der Darbietung betrifft, wohingegen der Inhalt den Musen zugesprochen würde.¹² Für die inhaltliche Komponente spricht, dass die Musen anders als die Dichter

³ Vgl. Hom. *Il.* 1,8.

⁴ Vgl. Erler 2019.

⁵ Weiher 2013, 107; vgl. Hom. *Od.* 8,44f.

⁶ Vgl. Hom. *Od.* 22,347f. 1,346ff.

⁷ Vgl. Murray 1981, 96.

⁸ Vgl. Hom. *Od.* 22,347f.; West 1978, 322 (zu V. 662); Nünlist 1998, 326–328; Erler 2011.

⁹ Vgl. Hes. *Theog.* 573. 769; zur Metapher des Musenboten vgl. Silk 1974, 89.

¹⁰ Vgl. Pind. *Pyth.* 4,186f.; Hes. *Theog.* 100; der Dichter als aktiver Part vgl. Pind. *Ol.* 3,4–6 und Maehler 1963, 96.

¹¹ Pindar sieht gleichzeitig das Gedicht als Geschenk der Musen vgl. Pind. *Ol.* 7,7–8.

¹² Vgl. Halliwell 2012, 57 Anm. 39.

als Zeugen auch über Wissen von Dingen aus der Vergangenheit verfügen können.¹³ Festzuhalten ist jedenfalls, dass aus Sicht der Dichter ihr Werk als Gabe der Musen und zugleich als Eigenleistung angesehen werden kann, wobei freilich dieser Eigenanteil ebenfalls letztlich in Bezug zu den Musen gesetzt wird.

3 Das Musen-Dichter-Verhältnis bei Pindar

Dies wird besonders bei Pindar deutlich. Pindar bietet an zahlreichen Stellen Bilder, die Aufschluss über seine Vorstellung von sich als Dichter, von seinem Werk und seiner Selbsteinschätzung geben.¹⁴ Bisweilen wird dabei angedeutet, wie man sich dieses spannungsreiche Verhältnis von Musengabe und Eigenleistung vorzustellen hat. Eine Bemerkung Pindars ist von besonderem Interesse. Sie drückt ein Verhältnis von Gott und Mensch aus, bei dem nicht der Gott dem Menschen, sondern der Mensch dem Gott hilft. Es ist dieses Verhältnis, das sich auch sonst in verschiedenen Kontexten findet und u.a. beschreibt, wie Platons Sokrates in der *Apologie* seine Rolle als Philosoph versteht.

In der 7. *Olympischen Ode* hebt Pindar die Bedeutung des göttlichen Einflusses, der Inspiration durch die Musen, hervor, spricht aber auch von der eigenen Kompetenz als Quelle für sein Gedicht. Pindar beginnt wie folgt:

Wie wenn eine Schale einer nimmt,
die drinnen schäumt vom Tau des Weinstocks,
und von reicher Hand sie schenken will
dem jungen Schwiegersohn, ihm zutrinkend
von Haus zu Haus, eine ganz goldene [...]
zur Freude des Gastmahls [...]
so sende auch ich ergossenen Nektar, die Musengabe (Μοισᾶν δόσιν),
preistragenden Männern, beglückende Geistesfrucht (γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός),
und huldige ihnen,
die in Olympia und Pytho siegten.¹⁵

¹³ Vgl. Finkelberg 1998, 68–73.

¹⁴ Vgl. Nünlist 1998, 346–349.

¹⁵ Bremer 2003, 53. Vgl. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 1–10:
φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλῶν
ἐνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζουσιν δρόσῳ
δωρήσεται
νεανία γαμβρῷ προπίνων
οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, πάγχρυσον, κορυφὰν κτεάνων,

Diese Verse stellen einen Bezug des Dichters zu sich und seinem Werk her. Pindar evoziert wohl einen symposiastischen Kontext, wenn er seinen Gesang mit Wein und exquisitem Gerät – einem Becher – in Zusammenhang bringt. Wenn er ihn gleichzeitig mit Nektar, dem Göttergetränk gleichsetzt, verbindet er sein Gedicht mit der göttlichen Sphäre. Ausdrücklich bezeichnet er seinen Gesang als Musengeschenk, das – wie es anderswo bei Pindar heißt – als solches Unsterblichkeit verleiht.¹⁶ Der Dichter sieht sich also als Vermittler von Göttergaben. Das entspricht traditionellem Selbstverständnis – seit Homer berufen Dichter sich für ihre Kompetenz und ihre Produkte auf die Eingabe aus göttlicher Sphäre. Gleichzeitig aber fügt er hinzu, dass es sich bei dem Nektar, also der Musengabe seiner Dichtung, um eine süß-beglückende Geistesfrucht handle (γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός), womit er ohne Zweifel seinen eigenen Geist meint. Auch wenn diese Bezeichnung der Musengabe eher traditionell ist,¹⁷ so nutzt Pindar diese zur Selbstprofilierung. Pindar kann jedenfalls sagen, es handle sich bei dem Gedicht um ein Geschenk der Musen, gleichzeitig aber auch um das Produkt des eigenen Geistes.¹⁸ Diese Verbindung von Fremdeinwirkung und Anspruch auf Eigenleistung bei einem Werk mag paradox klingen. Denn – so sollte man meinen – entweder werden die eigenen Gedichte als Nektar und Gabe und Werk der Musen betrachtet¹⁹ oder als Frucht des eigenen Geistes und das heißt als Eigenleistung reklamiert.²⁰ Doch weder Pindar noch andere Dichter sehen in der Hilfe durch die Musen und dem Anspruch auf Eigenleistung des Sängers einen Widerspruch.²¹ Pindar deutet an, wie er sich diese Relation vorstellt. In der 10. *Olympischen Ode* spricht er nämlich von einer Kooperation:

und wenn ein Mann, der Schönes gewirkt hat, ohne Gesang,

συμποσίου τε χάριν κἄ-
 δός τε τιμάσαις νέον, ἐν δὲ φίλων
 παρεόντων θῆκε νιν ζαλωτὸν ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς·
 καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτὸν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ἀεθλοφόροις
 ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός,
 ἰλάσκομαι
 Ὀλυμπία Πυθοῖ τε νικῶν-
 τεσσιν.

16 Vgl. Pind. *Nem.* 4,7–8.

17 Vgl. Pind. *Ol.* 7,7–8; Pind. *Nem.* 4,6–8.

18 Vgl. Pind. *Ol.* 10,10.

19 Vgl. Murray 1981, 96ff.

20 Vgl. Verdenius 1983, 39; Verdenius 1987; Verdenius 1988.

21 Vgl. Dodds 1951, 1–18; Lesky 1961; A. Schmitt akzentuiert anders und betont die menschliche Eigenständigkeit vgl. Schmitt 1990, 10–110.

Hagesidamos, in die Hadesstation
 gelangt, so hat er, Nichtiges atmend, zuwege gebracht mit Mühe
 nur kurze Freude. Dir aber streut
 wohl lautend die Lyra und süß die Flöte Anmut;
 es nähren weithin Ruhm
 die Pieriden, die Töchter des Zeus.
 Ich aber habe mit Eifer mitangefasst (συνεφαπτόμενος) und bin
 um das rühmliche Volk der Lokrer hingesunken, mit Honig
 die männertüchtige Stadt benetzend.²²

An dieser selbstreferentiellen Stelle beschreibt Pindar nicht nur, dass seine Lieder wie das Epos für Ruhm sorgen sollen. Pindar betont zudem, dass zwar die Musen mit schönem Gesang die Sieger nähren, dass er selbst aber mit hilfreicher Hand bei diesem Gesang ‚mit angefasst hat‘, so wie ihm die Muse zu Seite steht,²³ wenn er ein neues Lied singt, wie es in der 3. *Olympischen Ode* heißt.

Der Dichter hilft also nach eigenem Verständnis den Musen bei ihrem Werk. Der Ausdruck ‚Mitanfassen‘ beschreibt das Verhältnis von Dichter und Muse, dem Eigenleistung und Museninspiration zugrunde liegen, und signalisiert, warum Pindar – und vermutlich auch Phemios bei Homer – keinen Widerspruch zwischen Musen- und Eigenanteil bei der Dichtung sieht. Offenbar geht es um ein Mitwirken des Dichters beim Werk des Göttlichen. Der Dichter empfindet sich also als Diener der Musen,²⁴ dies jedoch nicht in einem passiven, sondern in einem eher aktiven Sinne, wie die Stelle bei Pindar zeigt, also als freier Diener und nicht als Sklave.²⁵ Wenn sich Pindar selbst als Prophet der Musen bezeichnet²⁶, meint er dies nicht im Sinne eines alttestamentlichen Propheten, der einfach das

²² Bremer 2003, 87–89;

Vgl. Pind. *Ol.* 10,91–98:

καὶ ὅταν καλὰ ἔρξαις ἀοιδᾶς ἄτερ,
 Ἀγησίδαμ', εἰς Αἴδα σταθμόν
 ἀνὴρ ἵκηται, κενεὰ πνεύσαις ἔπορε μόχθῳ
 βραχὺ τι τερπνόν. τὴν δ' ἄδυεπὴς τε λύρα
 γλυκὺς τ' αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν·
 τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὺ κλέος
 κόραι Πιερίδες Διός.
 ἐγὼ δὲ συνεφαπτόμενος σπουδᾷ, κλυτὸν ἔθνος
 Λοκρῶν ἀμφέπεσον μέλιτι
 εὐάνορα πόλιν καταβρέχων.

²³ Vgl. Pind. *Ol.* 3,4 παρέστα; dazu vgl. Verdenius 1987, 10f. und 48.

²⁴ Vgl. Pind. *Pyth.* 4,280–287 (287 θεράπων).

²⁵ Vgl. Murray 1981, 97; vgl. Hes. *Theog.* 100; Ar. *Av.* 909; Pind. *Ol.* 7,7–8.

²⁶ Vgl. Frg. 150 Maehler.

Wort Gottes weiterberichtet, sondern er nimmt als Bote der Musen Anteil.²⁷ Der Gott, die Musen oder eine andere göttliche Instanz sprechen bei Pindar und anderen Griechen eben nicht einfach ‚durch den Mund‘ des Dichters, wie der alttestamentliche Gott durch die Propheten. Es gibt eine Eigenleistung des Dichters. Wenn Alkinoos den Sänger Demodokos rühmt, weil der von den Göttern die Fähigkeit habe zu singen, ‚wonach ihm zumute ist‘ — deutet er an, dass es sich bei dem zu rühmenden Eigenanteil des Sängers offenbar um die Art und Weise handelt, wie er eine Stoffauswahl trifft und den Stoff gestaltet. Dies mag auch für Pindar gelten, jedenfalls scheint das Mitanfassen eben dieses Miteinander von Götteranteil und Eigenanteil des Dichters bei einem Gedicht zu reflektieren.²⁸

4 Das Verhältnis Mensch – Gott und das Bild vom ‚Mitanfassen‘

Der Ausdruck ‚Mitanfassen‘, den Pindar in diesem Zusammenhang verwendet, ist interessant. Denn er erinnert zum einen an eine Vorstellung von Interaktion zwischen göttlichem und menschlichem Bereich, die uns z.B. auch in der Tragödie begegnet und dort mit ähnlichen Begriffen beschrieben wird, wobei dieses Verhältnis jedoch gerade umgekehrt zu dem bei Pindar akzentuiert wird.

Pindars poetische Beschreibung seiner dichterischen Tätigkeit als ein ‚Mitangreifen‘ beim Werk der Götter gewinnt in der Tat an Profil, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Vorstellung vom Mitanfassen beim Zusammenwirken von Gott und Mensch auch sonst eine Rolle spielt, freilich mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen. Bei Aischylos z.B. wird das Verhältnis von göttlichem und menschlichem Handeln ebenfalls als ‚Mitanfassen‘ — συλλαμβάνειν — und als ein Mitwirken beschrieben. Freilich erfolgt dieses Mitanfassen dort von Seiten der Götter. In den *Persern* stellt König Dareios die Maxime auf, dass „sobald einer sich selbst bemüht, der Gott mit zugreift“²⁹ (ἀλλ’, ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, χὼ θεὸς συνάπτεται). In Aischylos’ *Agamemnon*³⁰ bedankt sich Agamemnon bei den Göttern für deren Hilfe bei seiner Heimkehr; das hindert ihn freilich nicht, sich dabei selbst einen Anteil zuzuschreiben. Denn er sieht sich als Mitursache des Geschehens (μεταίτιος), deutet also immerhin einen Anteil am Gelingen der Heimkehr im Sinne einer Mithilfe

²⁷ Vgl. Silk 1974, 89.

²⁸ Vgl. Verdenius 1987, 10; Murray 1981, 97.

²⁹ Übersetzung Erler; vgl. Aesch. *Pers.* 742; Frg. 395 Radt.

³⁰ Vgl. Aesch. *Ag.* 811; dazu Fraenkel 1950, 371f.

an, womit freilich das Mitanfassen von Seiten der Götter erfolgt.³¹ Ein ‚Mitanfassen‘ als Hilfe der Götter für die Menschen findet sich auch sonst nicht selten in anderen literarischen Kontexten.³² Noch Lukian spricht davon, dass Dichter die Musen herbeirufen, damit diese bei ihrem Werk mit Hand anlegen.³³ Weitere Stellen ließen sich auflisten. Schließlich wird dieses Mitanfassen bildlich greifbar in der Metope des Zeustempels in Olympia, worauf abgebildet ist, wie Athene ‚Hand anlegt‘, wenn Herakles die Welt trägt. Bei diesem Verständnis von ‚Hand anlegen‘ geht es also immer um eine Hilfe, die von göttlicher Seite bei Menschenwerk erfolgt.

5 Die Tradition Pindars

Vor diesem Hintergrund gewinnt die Stelle bei Pindar an Profil. Während bei Aischylos und in der Tradition der Gott bei einer Tätigkeit des Menschen ‚mit anfasst‘, spricht Pindar umgekehrt davon, dass er – der Dichter – beim Wirken der Muse, also des Göttlichen, ‚mit angefasst habe‘, d.h. der Dichter Pindar hilft den Musen oder Göttern bei deren Werk – eine sehr selbstbewusste Haltung. Nun gibt es auch für diese Sichtweise Parallelen, die davon sprechen, dass Menschen einem Gott bei dessen Werk Hilfestellung leisten. Im Eid der delphischen Amphiktyonen aus dem Jahr 590 v.Chr., der bei Aischines überliefert ist³⁴, findet sich der Ausdruck ‚einem Gott helfen‘ (βοηθεῖν τῷ θεῷ). Weitere Stellen zeigen, dass auch die Vorstellung von einer Hilfe der Menschen für einen Gott und sein Werk Tradition hat: Aristophanes spricht von einer Hilfe der Frauen für die Göttin,³⁵ für den politischen Kontext findet sich ein Beispiel bei Philipp II. – er will dem Gott

31 Zu μετάτιος vgl. Fraenkel 1950, 371–374.

32 Vgl. Fraenkel 1950, 373.

33 Vgl. Luc. *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 14,7ff. εἷς μὲν τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Μουσῶν εὐθὺς ἤρξατο παρακαλῶν τὰς θεὰς συνεφάσασθαι τοῦ συγγράμματος; vgl. Ps.-Luc. *Amores* 6 göttliches Mitwirken gegenüber dem sonst von Lukian verwendeten συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι; vgl. Luc. *Prom.* 13; *Dom.* 4.

34 Vgl. Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 3,109.

35 Vgl. Ar. *Lys.* 303 σπεῦδε πρόσθεν εἰς πόλιν καὶ βοήθει τῇ θεῷ.

bei der Abwehr von Gesetzesübertretung helfen;³⁶ Demosthenes³⁷ spricht ebenfalls von solcher Hilfe und später auch Diodorus Siculus³⁸ oder Plutarch.³⁹

6 Die Tradition des Sokrates und das Konzept der Hilfe für die Götter

Eine dieser Parallelen ist von besonderem Interesse. Sie führt uns zu Platons Sokrates und der Beschreibung, die er in der *Apologie* von seiner philosophischen Tätigkeit und deren Beziehung zum göttlichen Bereich bietet. Darüber hinaus diskutiert Sokrates im Dialog *Euthyphron* eben dieses Verhältnis auf eine Weise, welche nicht nur die Beschreibung in der *Apologie* philosophisch erläutert, sondern auch hilfreich ist, einem Verständnis wie dem Pindars und vielleicht auch Homers Profil zu geben. Jedenfalls kommt dort jenes Paradox zur Sprache, das Pindar mit seinem Anspruch aufwirft, nämlich seine Dichtung als Werk der Muses zu bezeichnen und zugleich einen Eigenanspruch zu reklamieren.⁴⁰

In der *Apologie* hebt Sokrates vor den Richtern zu seiner Verteidigung gegen die Anklage wegen Gottlosigkeit seine Beziehung zu den Göttern hervor. Er betont, dass er in göttlichem Auftrag handelt und dass er dem Gott bei dessen Werk hilft, und bezeichnet sein philosophisches Pragma, das Bemühen, die Seelen seiner Mitmenschen besser zu machen, geradezu als einen Gottesdienst.⁴¹ Mit die-

³⁶ Vgl. Philippus II Rex Macedonum *Epistulae* 6,1,7f. βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν.

³⁷ Vgl. Dem. *De cor.* 157,6ff. Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν; ebenso wie Aischines (vgl. βοηθεῖν τῷ θεῷ) vgl. Antiph. 1,21 (*In novercam*); 5,80 (*De caede Herodis*); Isoc. 19,49 (*Aegineticus*); Aristoph. *Plut.* 914; Pl. *Phdr.* 276c. 277a. 278e.

³⁸ Vgl. Diod. Sic. *Bibliotheca historica* 16,28,3ff. ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀξιούντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν; Diod. Sic. *Bibliotheca historica* 16,28,4,8. 20,16,6,3f; vgl. Hyp. *Epitaphius* 14,20.

³⁹ Vgl. Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 8,7,2; *Vit. Phil.* 2,4,1.

⁴⁰ Vgl. Pl. *Ap.* 23b7ff.: ξένων ἄν τινα οἶμαι σοφὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἐπειδάν μοι μὴ δοκῇ, τῷ θεῷ βοηθῶν ἐνδείκνυμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σοφός. καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀσχολίας οὔτε τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πράξεις; dazu Heitsch 2002, 91; bei Platon abweichend auch umgekehrt Hilfe durch den Gott vgl. Pl. *Resp.* 492a4ff.: καὶ φυτευθεῖσα τρέφεται, εἰς πάντα τάναντία αὖ, ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτῇ βοηθήσας θεῶν τύχη. ἢ καὶ σὺ ἡ γῆ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, διαφθειρομένους τινὰς εἶναι ὑπὸ σοφιστῶν νέους.

⁴¹ Vgl. Erler 1987.

sem Anspruch und mit dem damit verbundenen Verhalten, das die Dialoge immer wieder illustrieren, erfüllt er, was er selbst im Dialog *Euthyphron* als Bestimmung der Frömmigkeit diskutiert hat, ohne freilich zu einer völligen Klärung zu kommen. Denn im Gespräch mit Euthyphron wird Frömmigkeit als Hilfe und Unterstützung für die Götter bei deren Plänen bestimmt.⁴² Freilich kann Euthyphron nicht sagen, wie diese Hilfe aussieht und um was für eine Art von Tätigkeit der Götter, bei der geholfen werden soll, es sich handelt. Die Diskussion macht jedoch klar: Es kann bei diesem Helfen nicht darum gehen, die Götter in irgendeiner Hinsicht besser zu machen, sondern nur, ihnen bei einem Werk zur Seite zu stehen, das sie schon vollbringen. Es handelt sich also um eine Dienstleistung,⁴³ wobei unklar ist, bei welchem Dienst genau geholfen werden soll.

Was im *Euthyphron* argumentativ offen bleibt, wird in der *Apologie* durch Sokrates und die Charakteristik seines philosophischen Pragmas gleichsam performativ beantwortet. Denn Sokrates bezeichnet sein Bemühen um die Seelen der Mitbürger insofern als Dienst und Hilfe für die Götter, als damit deren Bestreben unterstützt wird, die Welt selbst besser zu machen. Sokrates betont an anderer Stelle, dass er, indem der Philosoph eine Menschenseele gut mache, dazu beitrage, die Welt gut zu machen.⁴⁴ Insofern ist Sokrates' Philosophie in der Tat ein Dienst für die Götter und Sokrates ein Diener Gottes, der im Auftrag Gottes handelt, und sich an anderer Stelle als Knecht Gottes bezeichnet.⁴⁵ Was die *Apologie* behauptet, bestätigt der *Theaitet*: Sokrates verdankt demnach seine Kunst, Impulse für Selbsterkenntnis zu geben und das hierfür notwendige intellektuelle Potential seiner Partner zu erkennen, aber auch seine Maieutik den Göttern.⁴⁶

Platon diskutiert also genau das Anteilsverhältnis von Gott und Menschen bei einem Werk Gottes, das schon Pindar und frühe Dichter mit Blick auf ihre Werke implizit thematisieren. Man muss nur ‚Philosoph‘ durch ‚Dichter‘ ersetzen, um die Analyse auf Pindars Verhältnis zu den Musen umzuschreiben. Wenn Sokrates sich für einen Gesandten hält, den Gott geschickt habe,⁴⁷ um die Bürger zu retten und aus ihrem Schlaf ‚aufzuwecken‘, und dem Gott bei dem Werk, die Menschen und die Welt gut zu machen, hilft, greift er offenbar Vorstellungen auf, die in der frühgriechischen Dichtung gängig waren. Wenn er sich bei seinem philo-

⁴² Vgl. Pl. *Euthphr.* 12d–13b; Erler 1987, 160ff.

⁴³ Vgl. Pl. *Euthphr.* 13e.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Pl. *Resp.* 500.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Pl. *Ap.* 20d, 23bc; *Phd.* 85b.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Pl. *Thet.* 149b–150d.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Pl. *Ap.* 31a–e.

sophischen Dienst für die Götter mit Dialektik und generell philosophischer Hilfsmittel bedient, die er als Gabe der Götter bezeichnet, finden wir bei ihm somit dieselbe Betrachtungsweise, die uns bei den Dichtern begegneten.⁴⁸ Sogar das Paradox, dass er selbst sein Werk als Gottesdienst und Auftrag der Götter ansieht und seine Kompetenz ebenfalls mit den Göttern verbindet, gleichzeitig aber doch Eigenständigkeit für sein Handeln andeutet, lässt sich in der *Apologie* erkennen. Denn die *Apologie* beantwortet auf performativer Ebene jene Frage, die im *Euthyphron* offen blieb: ob nämlich menschliches Handeln fromm und von den Göttern geschätzt wird, weil es schon als fromm vorgegeben wird oder weil es sich am göttlichen Wesen des verehrten Gottes orientiert.⁴⁹ In der *Apologie* wird deutlich, dass Sokrates' philosophisches Verhalten nicht durch den Gott Apollon initiiert ist, sondern nur von ihm legitimiert wird. Sokrates ist nicht fromm, weil er mit Blick auf das Gesetz der *Theoprepeia*⁵⁰ einen Gott wie Apollon nachahmt, sondern er wird von Apollon gepriesen, weil er von sich aus so handelt, dass der Gott dies fromm findet. Sokrates' Handeln ist nicht Gottes Verdienst oder seinem Einfluss geschuldet, sondern geschieht aus eigenem Antrieb. Zwar richtet sich Sokrates nach eigenen Worten nach einem Gott, der sich immer um das Gute für die Menschen und die Welt kümmert, der aber gerade deshalb nicht ein homerischer Gott sein kann und der in der *Apologie* nicht zufällig namenlos bleibt.⁵¹ Sokrates verbindet damit eine gewisse Freiwilligkeit – er folgt nicht dem homerischen Gott, mit Anbindung an Gott als moralische Instanz. Frühgriechischen Dichtern wie Pindar oder auch Homer und Sokrates geht es offenbar nicht darum, diesen Eigenanteil gleichsam zu verselbständigen.

Jedenfalls wird auch in der *Apologie* jenes Spannungsverhältnis von göttlicher Beeinflussung und Eigenständigkeit im Rahmen göttlicher Vorgaben erkennbar, die auch für Dichter wie Pindar eine Rolle spielen. In beiden Fällen geht es offenbar um ein Mitwirken des Menschen am Werk der Musen oder Götter, das einen Eigenanteil in Anspruch nimmt, diesen aber nicht losgelöst vom Göttlichen betrachtet. Paradox wäre die Verbindung von Eigenleistung und Musendienst nur, wenn man beanspruchen würde, selbst die Musentätigkeit in Gang zu setzen oder gar zu ersetzen. Das jedoch ist weder bei Sokrates noch bei Pindar oder anderen frühgriechischen Dichtern der Fall. Platon greift mit seiner Diskussion von Frömmigkeit als Hilfe für das Werk der Götter, die Welt gut zu machen, auf eine

48 Vgl. Pl. *Ti.* 47b; *Phlb.* 16c.

49 Vgl. Erler 2018.

50 Zu *Theoprepeia* und Sokrates vgl. Erler 2011.

51 Vgl. Burnyeat 2012, 224–237, besonders 233.

religiöse Vorstellung zurück, wie sie offenbar auch Pindar vertritt. Die selbstbezügliche Aussage Pindars darüber, wie sein Gedicht zustande gekommen ist, deutet eine Art dialektisches Verhältnis zwischen Museninspiration und Eigenleistung des Dichters an, erklärt Pindars selbstbewusstes Auftreten – er hat mitgeholfen – und lässt erkennen, in welchem Sinne Pindar, aber auch vor ihm schon Homer von Eigenleistungen bei seiner Dichtung sprechen kann und weshalb Dichter für ihre Dichtungen auch Eigenleistung reklamieren und sogar von Innovation sprechen können, wie dies in der Tat nicht nur bei Pindar in frühgriechischer Lyrik immer wieder geschieht. Dies wird von Platon in den philosophischen Bereich übernommen, transformiert und begründet. Auch Sokrates sieht kein Problem darin, dass seine Hilfe nur dank Gottesgaben der Dialektik und Philosophie erfolgen kann, dass er seine Selbständigkeit also im Rahmen der von Göttern verliehenen Rahmenbedingungen versteht. Platons Darstellung seines Protophilosophen setzt für diesen genau den Rahmen, in dem sich auch Dichter wie Pindar sehen. Insofern scheint es erlaubt, seine Analyse des Verhältnisses von Dichter und Werk bei der Diskussion über das Selbstverständnis früherer Dichter heranzuziehen. Es ergeben sich dabei interessante und hilfreiche Perspektiven.

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Christiane Reitz

„Homer hat gelebt – Homer hat nie gelebt“

Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte

Im Berlin der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert war Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff die überragende Figur,¹ von gewaltiger Deutungsmacht, wenn es um die griechische Antike ging. Seine Übersetzungen griechischer Dramen wurden im Theater gespielt,² seine Vorträge zu offiziellen Anlässen, etwa Kaisers Geburtstag, oder wichtigen akademischen Ereignissen wie der Einweihung des neuen Gebäudes der Akademie der Wissenschaften, waren städtische Ereignisse (Wilamowitz 1901), sein Platonbuch (Wilamowitz 1915) war von einer Popularität, dass ein Kritiker³ es als „Platon für Dienstmädchen“ apostrophierte, und seine Homerdeutung blieb lange nahezu unwidersprochen.⁴

Für unseren Jubilar möchte ich die analytische Homerphilologie, wie sie vor allem Wilamowitz, aber auch Kirchhoff und andere dort in diesen Zeiten prominent vertraten,⁵ einmal von einer bisher weniger beachteten Seite beleuchten.⁶

Es war im Jahre 1906, als ein junger ungarischer Student sich an der damaligen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin einschrieb. Er hieß Ludwig (Lajos) Hatvany. Die Verbindung zu Wilamowitz und zum akademischen und intellektuellen Leben in Berlin zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts vermögen wir auch durch seine Brille anzusehen, nicht nur über seine journalistischen Publikationen, sondern vor allem durch eine Schrift, die Hatvany im Jahre 1908 veröffentlichte. Es ist der schmale Band *Die Wissenschaft des nicht Wissenswerten*, dessen Untertitel „Ein Kollegienheft“ bereits anzeigt, welche literarische Form der Autor gewählt

Ich danke den Herausgebern dafür, dass ich an diesem Band mitwirken durfte. Andreas Fuchs (Rostock) danke ich für den ersten Hinweis auf Ludwig Hatvany. Einige der hier vorgestellten Überlegungen konnte ich bei einer Tagung des SFB 980 (Episteme in Bewegung) im Oktober 2018 an der Freien Universität Berlin diskutieren, wofür ich ebenfalls dankbar bin.

1 Vgl. Abel 1989, Calder 1985, Flashar 2000. Kurze Biographien und Bibliographien in Briggs/Calder 1990 und Kuhlmann/Schneider 2012.

2 Vgl. Flashar 2009, vor allem Kap. VII.

3 Kurt Hildebrandt. Zu dieser Kontroverse vgl. unten S. 407f.

4 Auf die *Homerischen Untersuchungen* von 1884 folgte dann 1916 *Die Ilias und Homer*.

5 Zu Kirchhoff vgl. unten S. 412.

6 Einige Informationen allgemeinerer Art habe ich zusammengetragen in Reitz 2020.

hat.⁷ Die Fiktion ist, dass der Ich-Erzähler sein Studium als fortgeschrittener Student mit dem Ziel, eine Dissertation anzufertigen, antritt und bereits in der ersten Vorlesungstunde eines gewissen Wöpke so gelangweilt ist, dass er, anstelle seinem Kollegheft die Mitschrift des Gehörten anzuvertrauen, ins Räsonnieren kommt, wie falsch und uninspiriert der akademische Unterricht doch sei.

Der Ich-Erzähler, im Folgenden der Einfachheit halber, und wohl auch nicht ganz verfälschend, als Hatvany bezeichnet, stilisiert sich als jungen Menschen mit großem Idealismus, einer breiten Lektüreerfahrung und klaren Erwartungen an seine akademischen Lehrer. Im Laufe der Mitschriften und kleinen Essays erlebt der Leser mit, wie diese Erwartungen auf der ganzen Linie enttäuscht werden. Mit einer geradezu wertherschen Attitüde ist Hatvany froh, den Hörsaal möglichst hinter sich zu lassen und sein jugendliches Gemüt von den Eindrücken der Natur anstelle denen staubiger Gelehrsamkeit beeindrucken zu lassen.⁸

Dass es sich bei diesem Buch keineswegs nur um einen Jux, eine Universitätssatire zu den Saturnalien handelt, erkennt man daran, dass es in kurzer Zeit von namhaften Personen und in wichtigen Organen rezensiert worden ist.⁹ Der Tenor der Rezensionen spiegelt auch die Antagonismen wider, die das intellektuelle Klima Berlins in dieser Zeit prägen.

Dazu und zu Hatvanys anspielungs- und voraussetzungsreicher Schrift möchte ich im Folgenden einige Informationen und Beobachtungen zusammenstellen.

Wenn wir auf die Berliner Universität und auf Wilamowitz' Rolle dort schauen, so ist um 1906 die Klassische Altertumswissenschaft dort in seinem Sinne gestaltet und organisiert. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts hat sich das Konzept einer umfassend informierten und organisierten Altertumswissenschaft zumindest in Preußen etabliert. Vom Vorbild der Naturwissenschaften angetrieben und in Konkurrenz mit ihnen haben sich große Projekte, zumal an den Akademien, angesiedelt, mit denen Wilamowitz, teilweise auch in der Nachfolge Mommsens, eng verbunden war. Große Corpora zu erstellen und den Zeugnissen der antiken Kulturen in allen Bereichen, also materiell wie textuell, nachzuspüren, gehörte zu den unbestrittenen Aufgaben der Altertumswissenschaften. Dass dabei die griechische Kultur als der römischen geistig und moralisch überlegen angesehen wurde, hat vielfältige Ursachen. Zu nennen wären die Begeisterung, die vor allem in Deutsch-

7 Hatvany 1908 und Hatvany 1986.

8 Z.B. Hatvany 1908, 10.

9 Eine Liste der Rezensionen bei Schmidt 1995, 117, Anm. 7.

land über den griechischen Freiheitskampf (1821–1829) ausbrach, und der sogenannte Deutsche Idealismus, der sich bis zur Jahrhundertmitte, in Berlin aber auch weit darüber hinaus, als intellektuelle Orientierung ausgebildet hatte.

Der andere Pfad war derjenige der textwissenschaftlich orientierten Gelehrsamkeit. Die, ebenfalls in Anlehnung an die naturwissenschaftliche Forschung, als streng herleitbar beschriebene historisch-kritische, methodisch fundierte Editionspraxis ist vor allem mit dem Namen Karl Lachmanns¹⁰ verbunden.

An der Berliner Universität hatte sich mit der Bestallung Mommsens, dessen Kooperation mit der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und den dort angesiedelten Großprojekten und dann in einer nicht zuletzt vom Kultusministerium, insbesondere dem einflussreichen Ministerialrat Althoff¹¹ sorgfältig betriebenen Berufungspolitik die Altertumswissenschaft im umfassenden Sinne zwar etablieren können, aber es waren in der fraglichen Zeit, also um das Jahr 1906, auch durchaus noch Gelehrte mit einer überwiegend textkritisch orientierten Ausrichtung präsent.¹² Der Gelehrte und der Ministeriale kannten und trauten einander. Althoff betrieb Wilamowitz' Berufung nach Berlin mit Nachdruck. In Johannes Vahlen (1830–1911) und Adolf Kirchhoff (1826–1908) fand er zwei ältere Kollegen vor, die anders arbeiteten und dachten als er, und er machte sich anheischig, das Berliner Institut auch gegen ihre Opposition und eingefahrenen Gewohnheiten zu reformieren. Vahlen war ein Spezialist des Altlateinischen; Kirchhoff ein Homerphilologe, der zu dieser Zeit die Ausbildung der fortgeschrittenen Studenten dominierte. Nachdem Mommsen zuvor schon ein Seminar für Alte Geschichte begründet hatte, organisierte Wilamowitz seit 1897 auch im akademischen Unterricht eine „umfassend orientierte Altertumswissenschaft“.¹³ Um das

10 Für die mittelhochdeutsche Literatur und ihre Überlieferung wäre noch Georg Friedrich Benecke (1762–1844) zu nennen. Die Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie im Allgemeinen und der Textkritik im Besonderen ist dem Jubilar sehr viel vertrauter als der Autorin und braucht deshalb hier nicht aufgerollt zu werden.

11 Zu Althoff und seiner Beziehung zu Wilamowitz vgl. Calder/Kosenina 1989.

12 Die Identifikation der teilweise verschlüsselt benannten Professoren, bei denen Hatvany hörte, ist vor allem Schmidt (1995) zu verdanken. Er geht in seinem Überblick über die Latinistik im 20. Jahrhundert auch auf Hatvanys Kollegienheft ein und hat die Themen der Vorlesungen mit den Vorlesungsverzeichnissen des Wintersemesters 1906/7 und Sommersemesters 1907 abgeglichen. Manche Irrtümer in Graftons Anmerkungen der annotierten Ausgabe von 1986 werden dort berichtigt.

13 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1928, 239 und Unte 1985 [2013], 283.

durchzusetzen, gelang es ihm, seinen alten Freund Hermann Diels ins Boot zu holen¹⁴ und einen Assistenten anzustellen.¹⁵

Wilamowitz und seine Gleichgesinnten installierten ein sogenanntes Proseminar. Sie gaben vor, dieses diene der Ausbildung der jüngeren und noch nicht so fortgeschrittenen Studenten, *de facto* aber handelte es sich um ein attraktives und vom restlichen Angebot unabhängiges Lehrportfolio, das bald sehr viel Anklang fand. Verbindungen mit den Nachbarfächern, der Alten Geschichte und später, seit 1912, auch der Archäologie herzustellen, und daraus eine umfassende Ausbildung des rundum informierten Altertumswissenschaftlers zu gestalten, gehörte zur Strategie. Diels war sein Kommilitone in Bonn gewesen und seit den 1860er-Jahren ein enger Freund, obwohl die beiden Männer sehr unterschiedlich in Bezug auf ihren Hintergrund und ihr Temperament waren. War es in Göttingen eher eine beharrliche inoffizielle Taktik gewesen, Freundschaften und gemeinsame Interessen mit den anderen Fächern herzustellen, wurde die Kooperation aller an der Erforschung der klassischen Antike beteiligten Fächer in Berlin zur Institution. Das Institut für Altertumskunde erhielt neue und größere Räume im Hauptgebäude der erweiterten Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, allerdings erst 1913. Wilamowitz reorganisierte das Unterrichtssystem mit dauerhafter Wirkung – ein Programm, das in vielen Teilen der westlichen Welt nachgeahmt wurde.¹⁶

Er engagierte sich auch sogleich in etlichen Akademievorhaben, die ihm wichtig erschienen. Als Latinistin nenne ich zuerst den *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* seit 1892/4. Wilamowitz sorgte dafür, dass im Komitee verlässliche Kollegen saßen. Wölfflin und Bücheler ließen sich problemlos durchsetzen, aber er kämpfte für Friedrich Leo und Hermann Diels. Er trat der Kirchenväterkommission bei, wo er verantwortlich war für die kritischen Editionen riesiger Mengen Textes. Wilamowitz war sehr früh schon bewusst, welche Bedeutung die spätantiken Quellen hatten, und er sorgte dafür, dass es zuverlässige Ausgaben gab, so in der Reihe der Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, die bis heute fortlebt. Eine Folge dieses Erkenntnis ist auch das von ihm herausgegebene *Griechische Lesebuch* (s. unten S. 413). Er regte die Arbeit des *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* an und leitete

¹⁴ Zu Diels vgl. Calder/Mansfeld 1999.

¹⁵ Übrigens gibt es hier eine Verbindung zu Rostock, denn dieser Assistent war Rudolf Helm (1872–1966). Helm, auch das ist interessant, war einer der ganz wenigen, die in dieser Zeit, und auf viele Jahre hin, zu Statius arbeiteten. Er war später Professor in Rostock, einer meiner Vorgänger. Seine jüngste Enkelin habe ich kennengelernt, und sein Nachlass befindet sich jetzt im Rostocker Archiv.

¹⁶ Wilamowitz 1928, 266: „Da habt ihr für die Altertumswissenschaft in der ganzen Welt gesorgt“, von ihm gekennzeichnet als Ausspruch eines schwedischen Kollegen.

die Arbeitsgruppe der *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Hier initiierte er wichtige Reformen, was die Auswahl der Inschriften anging. Um das Projekt handhabbar zu halten, schränkte er das Corpus ein, veränderte das Format der Editionen und legte dabei den Schwerpunkt auf die Kontextualisierung der Inschriften. Die Struktur orientierte er an dem problemloser arbeitenden *CIL*. Die noch heute existierende Kooperation mit dem De Gruyter Verlag geht auf seine Vermittlung zurück.¹⁷

Wie wirkt nun dieser Unterrichts- und Wissenschaftsbetrieb auf den jungen Mann, Ludwig Hatvany, der seine erste Vorlesung besucht?

Die launige Introduktion zu seinen Erlebnissen bildet eine Vorlesung über Catulls c. 2. Der karikierte Dozent¹⁸ verdirbt dem jungen Mann die Freude an dem romantischen Gedicht, indem er sich über den sozialen und linguistischen Status des Spatzes¹⁹ und über einen auffälligen sprachlichen Befund, nämlich den „relativische[n] Gebrauch des Pronomens in der zweiten Zeile“ (Hatvany 1908, 4) verbreitet, anstatt die verliebte und humorvolle Stimmung des Textes zu erläutern. Als dramatischen Effekt erfahren wir dann im Folgenden, dass das Heft im Hörsaal liegen blieb und ihm von einem Kommilitonen nach Hause nachgetragen wird. Diesen Kommilitonen, einen der als „ernst, nüchtern und rotwangig“ (Hatvany 1908, 6 u.ö.) apostrophierten Jünglinge, die mit ihm die Hörsaalbank teilen, nennt Hatvany Meier; er dient fortan als Gegenüber in Auseinandersetzungen über die Philologie. Zunächst freilich macht sich Meier an dem kreativen Chaos in Hatvanys Bibliothek zu schaffen und räumt dessen Bücher auf. So sind die Pflöcke gesetzt und die Gegenüberstellung nachempfindender und begeisterter Lektüre und engherziger, engstirniger Auslegung kann beginnen.

Ein wenig Vertrautheit mit dem intellektuellen Klima der Zeit vorausgesetzt, wird bald klar, was denn der Zenit tief empfundener Literatur und Deutung für Hatvany bedeutet. Friedrich Nietzsche wird als Gegenbild hingestellt, allenfalls Jacob Burckhardt kann den jungen Philologiestudenten noch begeistern. Im Homerregal der Institutsbibliothek stehen gerade die Autoren eben nicht, die ihre eigenen Ideen zu Homer ohne „Methodisieren“ äußern: Nietzsche, Burckhardt, Grimm über die *Ilias*, Emerson und Walter Pater, Sainte-Beuve, Michelet, Taine und Renan.²⁰ Nicht in der Seminarbibliothek vertreten zu sein, heißt, sich aus

¹⁷ Zu Wilamowitz als Wissenschaftsorganisator vgl. Unte 1985 [2013].

¹⁸ Vermutlich ist das Vorbild für den als Woepke bezeichneten Pedanten nicht, wie Grafton anmerkt, Wilamowitz, sondern Vahlen (Schmidt 117, Anm. 6). So auch Lloyd-Jones im Vorwort zu Hatvany 1986, ix: „Woepke, who is certainly not a portrait of Wilamowitz“.

¹⁹ Anhand einer Parallelstelle aus Plautus, aber vielleicht nicht, wie Grafton (1986, 115, Anm. 2) anmerkt, aus den *Captivi*, sondern aus Plaut. *Cas.* 1,50.

²⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche *Homer und die klassische Philologie* von 1869. Jacob Burckhardt als Vertreter der Alten wird öfters genannt, hier bezieht sich Hatvany vielleicht auf den Vortrag von

fruchtlosen Auseinandersetzungen, wie in der folgenden Liste karikiert, herauszuhalten und das Eigentliche des Textes zu spüren.

Denn was liest Hatvany am Morgen vor dem Kolleg?²¹

Homer hat gelebt!

Homer hat nie gelebt!

Homer war blind!

Homer war sehend!

Die Homerischen Epen sind nur verschmolzene Rhapsodengesänge!

Diese Verschmelzung hat ein Mann namens Homer vorgenommen.

Homer ist kein Eigenname ...

Der Gesamtplan und Grundstock stammt wohl von einem Genie namens Homer — die Einlagen aber gehen auf spätere Rhapsoden zurück ...

Homer war in Troja!

Homer war nie in Troja!

Der trojanische Krieg ist historisch!

Der trojanische Krieg ist ein Symbol!

Der trojanische Krieg ist ein Volksmärchen!

Der trojanische Krieg wurde von Homer erfunden!

Der Homerische Text, so wie er uns vorliegt, ist eine Übereinkunftssache der Alexandrinischen Bibliothekare.

Ferner mokiert sich Hatvany über die Realienkunde (Fischergeräte), sowie über Arbeiten zur Sprachanalyse (Aoriste), Farbenempfindlichkeit Homers, Appetit, Bad etc. Realienkunde ist ihm generell unerwünscht, stört sie doch den direkten ästhetischen Genuss.²²

Bevor ich nun ein Beispiel für Hatvanys Kritik und Missbehagen angesichts der Textauslegung von Wilamowitz etwas genauer ausführe, sei der oben schon angekündigte Exkurs zu dessen Stellung im Berlin seiner Zeit eingefügt. Wilamowitz

1876: *Das Phäakenland Homers*. Hermann Grimm: Gemeint ist Grimm, Hermann (1890/5), *Homers Ilias*, 2 Bde., Berlin. Ralph Waldo Emerson: Entweder ist die Sammlung *Parnassus: An Anthology of Poetry* von 1880 gemeint, in der z.B. Chapmans *The Praise of Homer* wieder abgedruckt ist, oder der frühe Essay *The Poet* von 1844. Walter Pater: Möglicher Weise sind die *Greek Studies* (1895 veröffentlicht von Charles Lancelot Shadwell) gemeint. Sainte-Beuve: vielleicht ein Essay aus den *Causeries du lundi*? Saint-Beuves Essays wurden auf Betreiben Nietzsches 1890 von Ida Overbeck ins Deutsche übersetzt. Oder es ist einer der Texte zu Vergil gemeint? Die Historiker und Kulturphilosophen Jules Michelet, Hippolyte Taine und Ernest Renan sind für Nietzsche sehr bedeutende Einflussgeber gewesen.

²¹ Hatvany 1908, 26f.: „Sind das aber schöne Bücher — was da alles drin stehen muß?“

²² So z.B. die Verhuzung des platonischen *Protagoras*. Anstelle die Pointe zu erläutern, dass die Philosophen vom Pförtner des Protagoras von der Türe verwiesen werden (Plat. *Prot.* 314 c–e), ergeht sich der Dozent in einem Monolog über die Archäologie der attischen Tür.

hatte schon vor seiner Universitätskarriere und seinen wissenschaftlichen Leistungen eine gewisse Berühmtheit erlangt durch die heftige Polemik gegen Nietzsche, vor allem dessen Buch *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*.²³

Das Misstrauen gegenüber weltanschaulicher Deutung drückt sich auch in seinem Verhältnis zu dem in diesen Jahren aufblühenden George-Kreis aus.²⁴ Es gilt, zwei Persönlichkeiten der Zeit, nämlich Stefan George selbst und Kurt Hildebrandt, zu nennen. George und Mitglieder seines Kreises verkehrten zeitweise in denselben Zirkeln wie Wilamowitz. Ein solcher Begegnungsort war der Salon der Sabine Lepsius (1864–1942). Sabine Lepsius, geb. Graef, war die Tochter und die Frau erfolgreicher Maler und selbst Malerin (und die Schwiegertochter des Ägyptologen Karl Richard Lepsius). Sie führte in ihrer Wohnung in der Kantstraße und später dann in dem zum Hauptwohnsitz der Familie aufgerückten Sommerhaus im Berliner Westend einen Salon. Im Westend lebte auch Wilamowitz mit seiner Familie. Sabine Lepsius, die auch ein Porträt von George gemalt hat und einige Jahre lang eine glühende Verehrerin des charismatischen Dichters war, beschreibt die Begegnung der beiden nur knapp.²⁵ Man kann nicht einmal ganz sicher entnehmen, ob sie sich wirklich persönlich getroffen haben. Sie ist immerhin stolz darauf, dass auch Antagonismen zwischen den Gästen die gute Stimmung nicht verderben konnte; Spannungen löste sie durch Klavierspielen auf. George veranstaltete in Lepsius' Haus Lesungen in kleinem Kreis, später dann auch auf eigene Einladung vor besonders ausgewählten Gästen. Das Rar machen, dass also seine Werke nur wenigen zugänglich waren, sowohl als gesprochene Texte, wie auch als gedruckte, gehörte zu Georges Arbeitsweise und Aura wesentlich dazu.

Er war in Berlin durch die Fürsprache des Germanisten Richard Meyer (1860–1914), der einen Vortrag über seine Dichtung vom März 1897 noch im selben Jahr veröffentlicht hatte (Meyer 1897), bereits recht bekannt geworden. Den Höhepunkt der Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Mitgliedern des George-Kreises und Wilamowitz stellt vermutlich Friedrich Gundolfs Urteil über Wilamowitz' Platonbuch dar.²⁶ Öffentlich wurde der Antagonismus schon früher, nicht zuletzt auch durch eine Veröffentlichung von Hildebrandt im ersten Band des *Jahrbuches für die geistige Bewegung* (1910). Hildebrandt schreibt grundsätzlich, und über Wilamowitz im Besonderen: „fragen des stiles und der lebensführung

²³ Vgl. unten S. 411.

²⁴ Vgl. dazu z. B. die Studie von Groppe 1997.

²⁵ Vgl. die Aufzeichnungen dazu in den Erinnerungen von Sabine Lepsius, Lepsius 1972.

²⁶ Überliefert bei Wolters 1930, 487.

[müssten in den] mittelpunkt der philologie“ (Hildebrandt 1920, 46) gestellt werden, um ihr so ihre lebensweltliche Relevanz zu erhalten. Andernfalls müsse die Wissenschaft zum sinnentleerten Selbstzweck verfallen. Man kann sich kaum einen krasserer Gegensatz zu Wilamowitz' Wissenschaftsverständnis vorstellen. In der Folge (1910) stellte sich Wilamowitz dem Vorschlag, George das Ehrendoktorat der Berliner Universität zu verleihen, entgegen. Später verhinderte er auch die Habilitation von Hildebrandt im Fach Philosophie. Man kannte einander, aber Sympathie gab es nicht. Die Ironie in der Beziehung der beiden 'Lager' liegt darin, dass der sich etablierende George-Kreis sich als eine Art platonische Akademie betrachtete. Das Leitprinzip stellt hier freilich die enge und geschlossene Verbindung von Meister und Schülern dar und das Bewusstsein, zu einer intellektuellen, schöpferischen und moralischen Elite zu gehören. Jürgen Schwindt schreibt dazu zusammenfassend:

Die Professionalisierung, das Metiermäßige der philologischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Altertum, das 'Literaturbonzentum' [der Begriff Literaturbonze fällt tatsächlich, ist aber auf den Germanisten E. Schmidt gemünzt] befremdet den Ästheteten [sc. George] zutiefst. George stört an Wilamowitz die Selbst- und Gegenstands-Gewißheit, der mangelnde Wille zur Hierarchisierung der Objekte. Folgerichtig verhöhnt er den historischen Wissenschaftsbegriff: ‚Ja nun, man kann nicht alles wissen. Was nützt es auch, alles zu wissen, wenn niemand da ist, dem man's sagen kann ... Da sitzen sie nun zu Füßen von Wilamowitz und werden immer dümmter.‘

Dies ist ein George-Zitat, mit dem Schwindt seine Analyse belegt.²⁷ Es gibt drei uns bekannte Parodien aus Wilamowitz' Feder auf die Lyrik Stefan Georges. Aus welchem Anlass Wilamowitz diese Parodien schrieb, ist unbekannt. Sie sind sorgfältig neu ediert und interpretiert worden von Ulrich Goldsmith (Goldsmith 1985a und 1985b). Eine von ihnen ist auch Gegenstand der schon erwähnten Analyse von Jürgen Schwindt (Schwindt 2001). Ich zitiere hier zunächst die expliziteste der Parodien, zu der dann noch zwei Sonette treten.

Stefan
 In eines junineumondabends dämmern
 Tret ich auf den balkon. Die kalten schranken
 Erfasst die matte hand. Die kniee wanken,
 Und in den blutlos bleichen schläfen hämmern
 Wie von des dichterrausches katzenjämmern
 Die blauen neurasthenischen gedanken.
 Da kühlt ein frischer friedenstau den kranken,
 Die milde milch von weißen wolkenlämmern.

27 Aus einem Brief an Julius Landmann, Sommer 1918. Vgl. Schwindt 2001.

Ein fernes rauschen. Horch. Najaden schaukeln
 Auftauchen ihrer glieder glau^e pracht.
 Vom weiher weht es her so lind, so lau,
 Auf der glycinie blütentrauben gaukeln
 Die sammetpfauenaugen. Alles lacht
 So blau. Ja, Stefan, alles lacht. So blau.

Man merkt, dass Wilamowitz die Regeln von Versbau und Metrik genau befolgt, die Texte sind sehr sorgfältig gearbeitet. Mit *Stefan* bezieht sich Wilamowitz wohl am ehesten auf Georges Gedicht *Strand*, das 1890 in den Hymnen erschienen war. Die Parodie ist in petrarkischen Strophen metrisch komplex gearbeitet: eine achtzeilige und eine sechszeilige Strophe fünfhebiger Jamben bilden das Ganze. Die *personae* der beiden Gedichte werden im Zustand einer Umnebelung gezeigt. Bei George geht es um die Sehnsucht nach Liebe und südlichem Klima. Wilamowitz' Parodie zeigt ein deutliches Bewusstsein von Wohlklang; Wortwahl und Alliterationen wie im Original sind erkennbar. Auch die Verwendung ungewöhnlicher Wörter, z.B. „glau“ und der Umgang mit Komposita sind charakteristisch. Obwohl George eher zurückhaltend ist, was Komposita angeht, trifft doch das präzise „Sammetpfauenauge“ oder „Junineumondabend“ den Ton recht gut. Groß- und Kleinschreibung, die übrigens auch Wilamowitz in den Jahren 1872/3 ähnlich verwandte, beruht auf der modifizierten Praxis, wie sie vor dem 18. Jahrhundert üblich war. Auch andere Eigenarten, wie die Stellung des Genetivs vor dem Bezugswort, lassen sich nicht nur als Besonderheiten Georges beschreiben, sondern sind z.B. auch bei Schiller zu finden. Das Gedicht unterliegt einem dreifachen Perspektivwechsel. Die Verse 1–6 fokussieren auf den Namensgeber Stefan. In 7 und 8 meldet sich der allwissende Dichter, der dann in 9–14 mit dem Protagonisten Stefan gewissermaßen in Dialog tritt. Die Pointe mit dem Wort „blau“ ist natürlich auf der Handlungsebene eher platt, gewinnt aber an Subtilität, wenn man aus zählt, dass in Georges Gedichten zwischen 1889 und 1898 das Adjektiv „blau“ 28-mal benutzt ist, während andere Farben nicht oder nur spärlich vorkommen.

Das erste der Sonette reagiert auf ein Gedicht, welches in der Erstausgabe von *Das Jahr der Seele* publiziert ist.

O, stilvoll Mausegrau der Deckelhülle,
 Stilvolle Stumpfheit des Papiers der Bütte,
 Würdig Gefäß, in das der Dichter schütte,
 Stilvollen Stumpfsinns mausegraue Fülle.
 Der Sprache freien Faltenwurf zerknülle
 Kein Komma, kein brutaler Punkt zerrütte
 Der Träume Knäuel, der Gefühle Schütte,
 Sonst weg damit zu Goethes goldnem Mülle.

Mag Schiller stolz in Diamanten schimmern,
 In Perlen Dante, und im bunten Kranze
 Homer, von allem was da blüht im Lenz
 Wen soll das W. Berlins entzückt umwimmern,
 Den kleidet nur die glanzlose Nuance
 Stilvoll, das Mausegrau der Impotenz.

Der George-Band wurde in 206 Exemplaren im Quartformat gedruckt, erhielt einen grauen Büttenumschlag und enthielt 50 unnummerierte Seiten. Der Text wurde auf holländisches Büttenpapier gedruckt, in Schwarz, mit roten und blauen Initialen. Auffällig ist der Bezug auf die Zeichensetzung, der sogenannte George-Punkt (Kolon und Semikolon werden durch den hochgestellten Punkt ersetzt, ähnlich auch bei Hoffmannsthal). George – und damit sein Parodist – nehmen hier Bezug auf die europäischen Vorbilder, die es zu übertreffen gilt. George und Wolfskehl stellten ab 1900 eine Anthologie *Deutsche Dichtung* zusammen, zu deren Auswahlprinzip erklärt wurde „was uns die tiefsten lebensgluten in der schönsten bändigung zu enthalten schien“. Wenn Wilamowitz „Goethes Müll“ erwähnt, meint er damit vermutlich, dass in dieser Sammlung Goethes Heidenröslein nicht enthalten war. Das Vorkommen von „Lenz“ wäre ebenfalls eher als ein Vorstechen in ein Vakuum zu verstehen: Der Frühling kommt bei George gar nicht vor. Und das Beharren auf der „Nuance“ verweist vermutlich auf den stiltheoretischen Begriff, wie ihn Paul Verlaine (*Art poétique*, 1884) definiert. (Wilamowitz äußert sich in seinen Erinnerungen zu seinen literarischen Vorlieben, die sehr konservativ sind. Die zeitgenössische französische Poesie überzeugt ihn gar nicht.)

Das zweite Sonett lautet wie folgt:

Bleigraue Nebel in gedrängten Schwaden
 Verdächtig brüten über trüber Feuchte,
 Ein schmales Blech, des Mondes kurze Leuchte,
 Spinnt kümmerlich der Strahlen Schwefelfaden.
 Wildenten, rauchbraun, müde Köpfe baden,
 Die blanke Schwalbe floh, die fortgescheuchte,
 Mein Herz die Herbstgefühle wiederkeuchte,
 Die Lenzesschwund dem Anger aufgeladen.
 Nun aber fühl ich purpurn Tod umwittern
 Die Schläfe, da verwelkte Rosen staken.
 Es ebbt die Seele. – Schafft ihn auf die Morgue
 Mir aber schleunigst einen derben Bittern,
 Denn bei der Poesie der Kakerlaken
 Da schwimmelts mir – Dank für Stefan George.

Es enthüllt wiederum eine *persona*, wie sie etwa in Georges Zyklus *Algabal* von 1892 auftritt. Sprachlich sind Bezüge auf die Jahreszeitverse im Zyklus *Jahr der Seele* (1897) festzustellen: der Park als Handlungsort, das Motiv des Verwelkens. Freilich wird es bei dem Parodisten mit der Morgue (Leichenschauhaus) und dem Magenbitter ins Groteske übersteigert — die Pointe 'um des Reimes willen'.

Wilamowitz weist in seinen Parodien sicherlich nicht nur stilistische Eigenheiten, sondern mit den Gedichten zugleich auch sehr deutlich den Dichter selbst zurück. Vor Polemik hatte er sich noch nie gefürchtet. Wie gesagt, hatte Wilamowitz schon als junger Mann eine heftige Kritik an Nietzsches *Geburt der Tragödie* von 1872 veröffentlicht. Später bereute Wilamowitz, dass er die schneidende Rezension publiziert hatte, die er dann als unreif und überzogen im Ton beurteilte. Aber in Bezug auf das griechische Drama, den Gegenstand, der seinem Geiste und Herzen am nächsten stand, machte er keine Kompromisse. Nietzsches intuitive Deutung und dessen grundsätzlich kritische Einstellung gegen das etablierte System der Gelehrsamkeit waren ihm unangenehm, ja widerlich. Später wurde Wilamowitz im Ton zwar moderater, aber das tiefe Misstrauen in jede Art philologischer Arbeit, die Zeichen von des jeweiligen Gelehrten Weltanschauung verriet, blieb bestehen.²⁸

In diesem Antagonismus haben wir den Grund dafür zu suchen, dass die folgende Generation, die eben häufig unter starkem Einfluss von Nietzsches Denken und auch seiner Ausdrucksweise stand, sich relativ rasch von den von Wilamowitz verfochtenen Prinzipien entfernte. Dass man den Begriff „Klassische Philologie“ einfuhrte und Altertum durch „Antike“ ersetzte, zeigt ja bereits, welche Richtung das Feld spätestens seit den 1920er-Jahren einschlagen würde. Das gilt besonders für Werner Jaeger, Wilamowitz' Nachfolger auf dem Berliner Lehrstuhl, und für dessen Schüler Wolfgang Schadewaldt.²⁹ Eine Zwischenstellung nimmt indessen Paul Friedländer ein, von dem es heißt, er habe Porträts von Nietzsche und Wilamowitz in seinem Arbeitszimmer aufbewahrt.³⁰

Eben diese Vorstellung von Literatur und ihrer Interpretation ist es, die Hatvanys Kollegienheft prägt. Besonders deutlich wird das an der Lektüre von einer

28 Die Quellen zu dieser Kontroverse sind gesammelt bei Gründer 1969. Vgl. auch Latacz 1998 und generell zum Verhältnis von Wilamowitz und Nietzsche Henrichs 1995.

29 Zur Gräzistik in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert vgl. Hölischer 1995. Zu den Schülern Wilamowitz' vgl. Reinhardt 1957 und Vogt 1985.

30 Zu Friedländer vgl. die Untersuchung von Obermayer 2014, 595–668, und den von Calder/Huss 1999 herausgegebenen Briefwechsel.

Passage aus dem 1. Buch der *Odyssee*, wobei hier Wilamowitz im Fokus des Missfallens steht. Das erste Buch der *Odyssee* ist Gegenstand des Unterrichts und Hatvany zeichnet nach (Hatvany 1908, 30):

Herren wie Kirchhoff und Wilamowitz [gemeint ist Adolf Kirchhoff, seit 1865 Professor für griechische Philologie an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, hier vor allem die zweite Auflage seines Odysseebuchs 1879] [bekritteln die] *Odyssee* als Kunstwerk [...]. Sie bleiben aber nicht beim Angriff stehen — sie begreifen und erklären — sie können dem Interpolator in seiner Stümperarbeit bis ins Letzte folgen.

Und Hatvany fährt fort (1908, 31):

Der erste Gesang endet mit einer stimmungsvollen, reizend manierten Episode — ein großer Stilunterschied fällt jedem geschmackvollen Laien ins Auge. Die wissenschaftliche Vorbereitung des Herrn von Wilamowitz ist dazu nicht von Nöten. Aber dessen ganze Wissenschaftlichkeit braucht man, um sich völlig um den Genuß zu bringen. Mir war es immer, als ob die Göttin des Traums mohnstreuend durch die müden Hexameter schwebte, in denen das nächtlich-stiller werdende Königshaus geschildert wird. Mit welcher Liebe folgt Homer dem Telemach, der schwerer Sorgen voll zum Schlafe geht; nach ihm schreitet, die Fackel in der Hand, die alte Amme Eurykleia [...] Als nun der Jüngling in ihrer Begleitung das Schlafgemach erreicht, setzt er sich auf sein Bett, zieht sein weiches Hemd aus, reicht es der geschickten Alten, die es zusammenfaltet und glättet, um es über das wohlgedrechselte Brett an einen Nagel zu hängen.³¹ Mit welcher Vandalenwut werden nun diese bezaubernenden, kindlich-reizenden Zeilen zerfetzt! Wozu denn dieser Jüngling überhaupt noch zum Ausziehen eine Dienerin braucht? Und gar die Amme seines Vaters, die auch seine Amme gewesen sein soll? Wie ist das möglich? Dieses Motiv ist eine Erfindung des Interpolators, dieses Wirkkopfs, darum auch widersinnig. Als ob *τροφός* nicht ebenso gut wie das englische Wort 'nurse' Amme wie auch Kinderfrau bedeuteten könnte, wenn man schon von den Herren Philologen gezwungen wird, sich in diese Busen-, Muttermilch- und Kinderzimmerdetails einzulassen. Kirchhoff kann sich übrigens auch darüber nicht recht trösten, daß hier von Eurykleia so viel gesprochen wird, er findet zwar die Erzählung wohl gemeint, aber schlecht erfunden und kaum notwendig.³² Wilamowitz wiederum stellt die Frage, weshalb dieser Jüngling so müde sei, daß er sich sofort auf das Bett setzt und gar um das Hemd auszuziehen. Ist es nicht wahrscheinlicher, daß er zuerst das Hemd auszieht, um sich dann niederzulassen? Nach Wilamowitz schwebte dem unglückseligen Flickpoeten jene Stelle der Iliade vor, in der Agamemnon sich vom Bette erhebt und sein Hemd anzieht [*Il.* 2.42]. Mit Änderung einiger Silben war die neue Verszeile fertig. Natürlich hat der Schwachkopf übersehen, daß mit den vertauschten Silben auch der Sinn verschwunden ist. 'Wer kann ein bis auf die Füße reichendes Hemd im Sitzen ausziehen?' fragt Wilamowitz und eröffnet damit eine lange Debatte, ob nun Telemach wirklich so ein *χιτών ποδήρης* getragen hat.

³¹ Gemeint sind die Verse Hom. *Od.* 1.425–444. Vgl. Wilamowitz 1884, 8.

³² Kirchhoffs Vorwurf (Kirchhoff 1879, 177) bezieht sich auf die Verse *Od.* 1.428–35.

Was Hatvany bemängelt, ist die Detailgenauigkeit, das Beharren auf Tatsachen – Inschriften finden generell als Texte nicht seine Billigung –, das fehlende Einfühlen in die Seele des Kunstwerks und seines Schöpfers. „Ist es ein Sakrileg“, soll Wilamowitz gesagt haben, „wie ich von dem Gedichte, vom heiligen Homer geredet habe, oder ist es Sakrileg, wie dieser Homer gedichtet hat?“ Hatvany sieht sich im Bunde mit Goethe, mit Nietzsche, allenfalls mit Burckhardt. Zu viel zu wissen ist von Übel. Von Übel ist es auch, einen zu breiten literarischen Kontext aufzumachen. So kritisiert er auch die Textauswahl für das griechische Lesebuch, denn es geht ihm darum, die Großen, die Klassiker zu lesen und sich anzuverwandeln. „Das Griechentum muss [mich] in etwas fördern, es muss etwas geben“ (Hatvany 1908, 53).

Warum lohnt es sich, sich mit diesem Antagonismus zwischen einem jungen, idealistischen Ästheten und der etablierten Altertumswissenschaft zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts zu beschäftigen? Ich bin überzeugt, dass aus diesem vergnüglich zu lesenden Heft mit seinen 114 Seiten ebenso wie aus den witzigen Gedichtparodien auf Stefan George die Positionen der Altertumswissenschaft und darüber hinaus deren Stand und Rolle im damaligen intellektuellen Milieu, mitunter in anekdotenhafter Form, sehr deutlich werden. Hier der Vertreter einer umfassend informierten und recherchierten Altertumswissenschaft, Text- und Sachphilologe in einer Person, mit höchst selbstbewusstem Auftreten und hohem öffentlichen Ansehen. Dort der romantische Nietzsche-Leser und angehende Literat, der sich 'seinen' Homer und seine Antike nicht verderben lassen will von „trockenen, zerknitterten alten Männern“ und „zänkische[n] und kleinliche[n] Pedanten“ (Hatvany 1908, 87).

Freilich – wie würde das enden? Wie oben gesagt, würde spätestens ab den 1920er-Jahren die Altertumswissenschaft zugunsten einer Klassischen Philologie in den Hintergrund treten. Der dritte Humanismus, aber auch die Arbeiten eines Kurt Hildebrandt, dieses treuen Adepten des Meisters George und Polemikers gegen den als autoritär und unsensibel gescholtenen Wilamowitz, fußen auf einer solchen romantischen Vorstellung der Antike. Das „blaue Kodexblatt des Himmels“ (Hatvany 1908, 10) hat sich freilich auch für Hatvany nicht lebenslang gewölbt, und Wilamowitz' kaisertreue Gesinnung erlitt durch die Leiden und Verluste des Ersten Weltkriegs einen erheblichen Dämpfer. Übrigens ist auch der nach George benannte Sohn Stefan der Sabine Lepsius im Ersten Weltkrieg gefallen.

Möge der Jubilar diesen kurzen Einblick in einen Moment der Geschichte unserer Wissenschaft entgegennehmen in der Gewissheit, dass textnahe Forschung, sprachliche Brillanz und Enthusiasmus für die Sache sich in ihm in besonderer Weise paaren, und dass wir als seine Leser und Kollegen ihm dankbar

sind für die Früchte seines unermüdlichen Einsatzes, für die Texte und für die Präsenz unserer Wissenschaft in der Öffentlichkeit.

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Alberto Bernabé

The Primordial Water: Between Myth and Philosophy

ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ
Pind. *Ol.* 1.1

1 Introduction

“Best is water”. With such categorical sentence, which can mean almost everything, Pindar begins one of his most beautiful odes: the *Olympian* I. Water, a fundamental element for life, has also been repeatedly considered primordial matter, the element that is found in the origin of everything and even the matter from which everything is constituted. My purpose in this article is to review, albeit briefly, the most ancient Greek tales pertaining to the origin of the world wherein water is attributed a primordial role in order to point out the different ways in which the process where water intervenes is described, and the great diversity of details that differentiate one from another. Nonetheless, I think it is worth advancing the variables in which I will pay special attention to articulate my exposition before moving on to discuss each narrative.

The first variable is whether the tale where the reference of the primordial water is inserted is a literary and mythical, or philosophical and scientific. In this case there are, however, some interesting clarifications to be made. The mythical and philosophical proposals have not followed separate lines, but there have been interrelationships between them. In fact, whereas in other topics myths have influenced philosophical texts but not the other way around, in regards to references to primordial water the influence has happened both ways and in varying forms. It is clear that the first philosophical formulations were based on mythical narratives, but it is also evident that in late mythical texts there is a strong philosophical influence, and there is even a very peculiar aspect: there are cases in which certain philosophers have interpreted *more philosophico* ancient mythical propositions.

Secondly, it is relevant to see whether water is considered a divine entity or simply material, although in many cases this is also very difficult to determine.

The third variable that must be analysed is whether the water is the only primordial matter in the narrative, or if there are more than one, understanding that said matter is equal to water and not derived from it.

The fourth variable is whether in the proposed model water is considered only the origin of living things or, in a higher stance, the entirety of the things that are. The problem is that it is often difficult to determine the precise role that is attributed to water in a de-contextualised affirmation, such as a fragment.

The fifth variable is whether it is proposed that water is capable of generating changes *per se* or if it is affected by an external agent when it generates the multiplicity of the world.

My research, in regards to the myth, will be limited to the period of time that extends from the archaic epic (8th – 7th c. BC) to the most recent Orphic theogonies, around the 2nd c. BC.¹ In the case of philosophy, my review will be confined to pre-Socratic philosophers, a framework that I will only extend in regards to the philosophical interpretations of the mythical theogonies. It is not my intention to be exhaustive. It should be noted that Rudhardt wrote an excellent monograph with over a hundred pages dedicated to the topic of mythical proposals about primordial waters.²

2 The first mythical proposals and their possible oriental origins

2.1 Oceanus and Tethys in Homer

Despite the fact that Homer's poems deal with issues that are far from cosmogonic questions, we find in the *Iliad* a few references in passing of a primordial couple, which seem to be the reflection of an ancient origin myth. In the first one Hera announces Zeus:³

εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,
Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

For I am going to visit the limits of the all-nurturing earth,
and Oceanus, from whom the gods are sprung, and mother Tethys.

¹ For the reconstructed fragments of Orpheus (henceforth quoted *OF* followed by fragment number) I will follow the text edited by Bernabé 2004.

² Rudhardt 1971.

³ *Il.* 14.200–201 ≈ 14.302. Transl. T. Murray–W.F. Wyatt.

As it is known, Oceanus is considered by the Greeks as a river that surrounds the earth⁴ (for that reason, Hera must visit him in the confines of the world, cf. *Il.* 18.607, 21.194). On the other hand, since he is considered a river, it is understood that his waters are sweet.

On the other hand, Tethys is a character with a minimum role in the histories of the gods.⁵ To understand her nature we must advance in time to the 4th century BC, when Lycophron uses her name as a metonymy of the sea:⁶

ἔνθα Λαμπέτης
Ἴππωνίου πρῶνος εἰς Τηθὺν κέρας.

where the hard horn of the Hipponian hill inclines to the sea (Tethys) of Lampeta.

As indicated by the scholium *ad loc.*,

<εἰς Τηθὺν> δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν <κέρας> δὲ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον.

“Toward Tethys” is said instead of “toward the sea” and “horn” is “hill”.⁷

Lycophron’s mention seems to indicate that the wise author knew an older tradition that linked this divinity with the salty waters.

Going back to the Homeric text, γένεσις is a word that in ancient texts is reserved to the birth of cosmogonic beings and gods.⁸ Such description, together with the one that characterised Tethys as “mother”, shows that Oceanus and Tethys were described as the primordial parents of all the gods.

Oceanus is once again presented in this primordial role in another passage from the *Iliad*, where it is best to understand πάντεσσι as “of all things” and not only “of all (the gods)”:⁹

Ὠκεανοῦ, ὃς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

Oceanus from whom all things are sprung.

Finally, few verses after the first cited passage Hera adds:¹⁰

⁴ Herter 1937; Cahn 1994; Janko 1994, 180–182; D’Alessio 2004.

⁵ Gantz 1993, 28.

⁶ Lycophron *Alexandra* 1068–1070. Transl. A.W. Mair–G.R. Mair.

⁷ Cf. also *AP* 7.214.6 (Archias), Nonn. *D.* 31.187, Orph. *Arg.* 335.

⁸ Cf. *Diccionario griego español en línea* (<http://dge.cchs.csic.es/xdge/>), s.v. γένεσις.

⁹ *Il.* 14.246. Transl. T. Murray–W.F. Wyatt.

¹⁰ *Il.* 14.205–207 = 14.304–306. Transl. T. Murray–W.F. Wyatt.

τοὺς εἴμι' ὀφομένη, καὶ σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω·
ἤδη γὰρ δηρὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχονται
εὐνῆς καὶ φιλότητος.

Them I am going to visit, and will loose for them their endless strife,
for now for a long time they have been holding aloof from one another,
from the marriage bed and from love.

Following some older propositions, Burkert¹¹ made plausible that the Greek myth of Oceanus and Tethys were an adaptation of a Babylonian myth that we know from the beginning of *Enuma Elish*, a Babylonian poem preserved in tablets from the Library of Assurbanipal, that is, from the 7th c. BC for the text that we have. In this myth it is narrated that Apsu, the sweet water, and Tiamat, the salt water, are the primordial couple whose separation will give way to a diversified world.¹² The name of Tethys could even be a Greek adaptation of one of the names of Tiamat in the *Enuma Elish*: *taw(a)tu*. Likewise, Burkert points out that the *Enuma Elish* was known in Greece. In fact, in the 4th c. BC a disciple of Aristotle mentions the poem:¹³

τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων εἰκόσι Βαβυλώνιοι ... δύο δὲ (sc. ἀρχὰς) ποιεῖν Ταυθὲ καὶ Ἀπασών, τὸν μὲν Ἀπασών ἄνδρα τῆς Ταυθὲ ποιοῦντες, ταύτην δὲ μητέρα θεῶν ὀνομάζοντες.

Of the Barbarians, it seems that the Babylonians ... considered two (principles), Taute (*i.e.* Tiamat) and Apason (*i.e.* Apsu), considering Apason husband of Taute and calling the latter mother of the gods.

2.2 The indignation of Menelaus

On the other hand, we find a curious affirmation in the *Iliad* from the mouth of a disappointed Menelaus:¹⁴

ἀλλ' ὅμεις μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε.

But may you one and all turn to earth and water.

¹¹ Burkert 1992, 91–96; as precedent, he cites Gladstone 1890, appendix and adds more bibliography in 202 n. 14.

¹² King 1902; Lambert and Parker 1966; Cunchillos 1990.

¹³ Eudem. fr. 150 Wehrli.

¹⁴ *Il.* 7.99. Transl. T. Murray–W.F. Wyatt.

The idea that Menelaus wanted to say “I wish you would die and in that may you turn to earth and water, the matter of which you are composed of” has been reiterated¹⁵, but although it is true that the idea that human beings are made of clay is present in various authors, as we will see further on, that does not mean that we should consider that the idea is to be found in this sentence by Homer. Since there is no adverb like *πάλιν* or another synonym meaning “again” that would unequivocally indicate that would become “again” water and earth, Menelaus may be just saying that combatants that lack courage deserve to become lifeless things.

2.3 An alternative model: Hesiod

Hesiod presents a cosmogony wherein he favours a different model than Homer’s:¹⁶

ἦτοι μὲν πρώτηιστα Χάος γένετ’· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Γαῖ’ εὐρύστερνος, ...
 Τάρταρά τ’ ἠερόεντα μυχῶι χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης ...
 Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένεατο ἴσον ἑωυτῇ
 Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ’, ...
 γείνατο δ’ οὖρεα μακρά, ...
 ἥδὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν οἴδματι θυῖον,
 Πόντον, ἄτερ φιλότῆτος ἐφίμερου· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Οὐρανῶι εὐνηθεῖσα τέκ’ Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην.

In truth, first of all Chasm came to be, and then
 broad-breasted Earth, ...
 and murky Tartarus in the depths of the broad-pathed earth, ...
 Earth first of all bore starry Sky, equal to herself, ...
 and she bore the high mountains, ...
 and she also bore the barren sea seething with its swell,
 Pontus—all of them without delightful love; and then,
 having bedded with Sky,
 she bore deep-eddyding Ocean.

For Hesiod, the primal thing is Chaos, which by etymology and for other reasons we know it was an aperture¹⁷ that gave way to the Earth, with an abyss

¹⁵ Kirk 1990, 247.

¹⁶ Hes. *Th.* 116–133 Transl. G.W. Most.

¹⁷ West 1966, 192–193. A good state of the question can be found in Martínez Nieto 2000, 40–52.

underneath it, the Tartar, and the Sky above, although the narrative needs of Hesiod makes him present this second thing as a successive phase.¹⁸ The waters have a minor role in his proposal. Pontus appears first as an “excrecence” of Earth, at the same level as the mountains and, while the couple Sky and Earth assume later the main role of the myth, Oceanus and Tethys play a very marginal role; for Hesiod, Oceanus is one of the six Titans born from Ouranos and Gaea, and Tethys one of the six Titanides sisters of him. Further on (Hes. *Th.* 337–370), their descendants are reduced to the large rivers and the innumerable Oceanides. They are thus relegated to the aquatic spaces and in a far less relevant role.

2.4 Pandora and the creation of human beings from clay

The presence in Hesiod of a remnant of the myth that suggests men were figures modeled out of clay is worth a brief allusion. The poet tells how Pandora was modeled by Hephaestus because Zeus, irritated with Prometheus,¹⁹

Ἡφαιστον δ' ἐκέλευσε περικλυτὸν ὅττι τάχιστα
γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν.

he commanded renowned Hephaestus to mix earth with water as quickly as possible.

Hesiod reduces this myth of origin from figures modeled out of clay to the first woman (he does not say anything about the origin of men), but there are many echoes in Greek literature of the belief that men in general originated from clay. Apart from the case of Xenophanes, which I will discuss later on, there are many others: Aristophanes in *The Birds* parodies a divine epiphany, one of those in which the gods insult the mortals, although in this case it is the birds who do so. The insult consists in calling human beings πλάσματα πηλοῦ “clay figurines” (Ar. *Av.* 686). An anonymous epigram (*GVI* 1702. 2) puts in the words of a deceased what seems to be a relatively common belief: ἐκ γαίης βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα “born from soil, I became soil again”. Similarly, a well-known text of *Genesis* (2.7) is a translation of a Hebrew text, more or less adapted to the Greek imaginary: καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. “Then God (*Yahveh Elohim*) modeled the man (*adam*) from the dust on the ground (*adamah*) and

¹⁸ Bernabé 2008, 28–30.

¹⁹ Hes. *OD* 60–61. Transl. G.W. Most.

breathing into his noses the breath of life, the man was constituted as a living soul”.

2.5 Oceanus and Tethys in the Eudemian Orphic theogony

In the course of his etymological dissertations in *Cratylus*, using the disrespectful form “Orpheus says somewhere”, Plato cites two verses that refer again to the couple Oceanus–Tethys, this time as “the first to marry”:²⁰

Ὠκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλιρροὸς ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὅς ῥα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθὺν ὄπνιεν.

Fair-flowing Ocean was the first to marry,
and he wedded his sister Tethys, daughter of his mother.

In another passage, and probably referencing the same source, Plato tells us a genealogy of the gods that he attributes, with similar rudeness, to “descendants of the gods, as they affirmed”. The obvious candidate is Orpheus, who was supposedly son of the Muse Calliope:²¹

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μείζον ἢ καθ’ ἡμᾶς, πειστέον δὲ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὖσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δὲ που τοὺς γε αὐτῶν προγόνους εἰδῶσιν ... Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὠκεανὸς τε καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ Φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Ῥέα καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας Ζεὺς Ἥρα τε καὶ πάντες ὅσους ἴσμεν ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν.

Concerning the other divinities, to discover and declare their origin is too great a task for us, and we must trust to those who have declared it aforetime, they being, as they affirmed, descendants of gods and knowing well, no doubt, their own forefathers ... Of Gê and Uranus were born the children Oceanus and Tethys; and of these, Phorkys, Cronos, Rhea, and all that go with them; and of Cronos and Rhea were born Zeus and Hera and all those who are, as we know, called their brethren.

Today it seems certain that both passages come from the Orphic theogony that Damascius calls “Eudemian”, because the information that the Neoplatonic philosopher knows about it come from Eudemus, the disciple of Aristotle. We must place this version of the Orphic theogony around the last years of the 6th c.

²⁰ Pl. *Crat.* 402b (*OF* 22 I). Transl. H.N. Fowler. Cf. Nagy 2011.

²¹ Pl. *Ti.* 40d (*OF* 21). Transl. by R.G. Bury.

BC.²² We also know that in this theogony the role of primordial deity is taken up by Nyx. The first thing we can observe is that, unlike in Hesiod's narrative, Oceanus and Tethys do not belong to the same generation as the other Titans and Titanides, but to a preceding generation placed between them and the couple formed by Earth and Sky. The poet says that Oceanus and Tethys "were the first to marry", probably because he does not consider Sky and Earth to have had a sexual intercourse, in a similar way as we have seen that Hesiod describes the first descendants as "without the desirable love", perhaps as a sort of "excision".

This privileged position, although not original of the couple Oceanus–Tethys, probably responds to the Orphic poet's desire to fit the ancient theogony known from Homer into the theogonic frame defined by Hesiod. Although Oceanus and Tethys do not maintain absolute primacy, the poet gives them certain preeminence as fathers of the gods and of the different realities of the world, after a first period of quasi-automatic reproduction, division or dissociation.

3 Philosophical proposals

3.1 Thales of Miletus

The philosophical proposals start with the one attributed to Thales of Miletus, of which we barely know anything. Our data depends almost exclusively on the famous state of the question presented by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* 983b 6ff. And the reference to Thales is very problematic even for Aristotle himself, as can be seen in the way he presented the information.

He starts with a general statement where he systematizes the ideas of several Presocratic philosophers introducing them with a common outline:²³

τῶν δὴ πρῶτων φιλοσοφησάντων οἱ πλεῖστοι τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἶδει μόνας ὡμήθησαν ἀρχὰς εἶναι πάντων· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐξ οὗ γίνεταί πρῶτου καὶ εἰς ὃ φθείρεται τελευταῖον, τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ὑπομενούσης τοῖς δὲ πάθει μεταβαλλούσης, τοῦτο στοιχείον καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν φασιν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε γίγνεσθαι οὐθὲν οἴονται οὔτε ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὥς τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως αἰεὶ σωζομένης.

Most of the earliest philosophers conceived only of material principles as underlying all things. That of which all things consist, from which they first come and into which on their

²² West 1983, 116–175; Bernabé 2003, 49–61.

²³ Arist. *Metaph.* 983b 6–13. Transl. H. Tredennik.

destruction they are ultimately resolved, of which the essence persists although modified by its affections — this, they say, is an element and principle of existing things. Hence they believe that nothing is either generated or destroyed, since this kind of primary entity always persists.

The presentation is completely anachronistic in as much as it is plagued with Aristotelian concepts: “material principles” (τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἶδει ... ἀρχάς), “essence” (οὐσία), “affections” (πάθεισι), “element” (στοιχεῖον), even “entity” (φύσεως). It is clear that Aristotle adapted archaic formulations to his own philosophical language.

Furthermore, he presents the things as if Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes — of whom he is speaking next — had an identical ideological framework that will be “filled” with a different ἀρχή. Aristotle continues a few lines below:²⁴

τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὕδωρ φησὶν εἶναι (διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ’ ὕδατος ἀπεφρήνατο εἶναι).

All are not agreed, however, as to the number and character of these principles. Thales, the founder of this school of philosophy, says the permanent entity is water (which is why he also propounded that the earth floats on water).

Aristotle takes for granted that Thales is the founder of this school of philosophy, something of which we are not entirely certain.

The two basic affirmations that the Stagirite attributes to him follow: “the permanent entity is water” and “the earth floats on water”. This second affirmation is reiterated in another passage, where he strongly criticizes it: “this is to forget that the same thing may be said of the water supporting the earth as was said of the earth itself”.²⁵

There has been a lengthy discussion as well about whether Thales really postulated what Aristotle says or he just made a more simple affirmation, such as “all the things originate from water”. If that were the case, Aristotle would have interpreted this simple affirmation as something far more complex: “all things consist of water” to make it fit within the framework I discussed above. We have reasons to doubt that Thales ever postulates that in a determined moment all things become water again.

²⁴ Arist. *Metaph.* 983b 18–22. Transl. H. Tredennik.

²⁵ Arist. *Cael.* 294a 28. ὥσπερ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὄντα περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ὁχοῦντος τὴν γῆν. Transl. W.K.C. Guthrie.

Nevertheless, it seems that the main point of interest of the Stagirite was not the details on how water related to the separate things of the world, not whether said return happened or not, but the motives that lead Thales to think that water was the origin of everything:²⁶

λαβὼν ἴσως τὴν ὑπόληψιν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦ πάντων ὁρᾶν τὴν τροφὴν ὑγρὰν οὔσαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον καὶ τούτῳ ζῶν (τὸ δ' ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πάντων) — διὰ τε δὴ τοῦτο τὴν ὑπόληψιν λαβὼν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντων τὰ σπέρματα τὴν φύσιν ὑγρὰν ἔχειν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἀρχὴν τῆς φύσεως εἶναι τοῖς ὑγροῖς.

Presumably he derived this assumption from seeing that the nutriment of everything is moist, and that heat itself is generated from moisture and depends upon it for its existence (and that from which a thing is generated is always its first principle). He derived his assumption, then, from this; and also from the fact that the seeds of everything have a moist nature, whereas water is the first principle of the nature of moist things.

It should be pointed out that Aristotle says: “presumably he derived this assumption from...”, thus he is not referring to something that he has read or heard Thales say, but the motives that he supposes that led the Milesian to make such affirmation. And he provides two, both referred to the value of water in relation to the seed, which has a humid nature.

Simplicius²⁷ continues on the footsteps of Aristotle to add another possible reason why Thales may have made such affirmation: that τὰ νεκρούμενα ξηραίνεται “the things that die dry out”.

In the continuation of the cited passage, Aristotle adds a peculiar information that Snell²⁸ believes originates from the *Parallels* of Hippias:²⁹

εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἳ καὶ τοὺς παμπάλαιους καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως οἶονται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν· Ὀκεανὸν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθύν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τῶν θεῶν ὕδωρ, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν Στύγα.

There are some who think that the men of very ancient times, long before the present era, who first speculated about the gods, also held this same opinion about the primary entity. For they represented Oceanus and Tethys to be the parents of creation, and the oath of the gods to be by water — Styx, as they call it.

²⁶ Arist. *Metaph.* 983b 22–27. Transl. H. Tredennik.

²⁷ Simpl. in *Phys.* 23.21 Diels.

²⁸ Snell 1944, 177.

²⁹ Arist. *Metaph.* 983b 27–32. Transl. H. Tredennik.

It is probably that he is referring to Homer and Orpheus with the sentence “who first speculated about the gods”. Lastly, it seems that he presents doubts regarding some part of this affirmation:³⁰

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖα τις αὕτη καὶ παλαιὰ τετύχηκεν οὕσα περὶ τῆς φύσεως ἢ δόξα, τάχ' ἂν ἄδηλον εἴη.

Whether this view of the primary entity is really ancient and time-honoured may perhaps be considered uncertain.

We could discuss on what Aristotle meant to say,³¹ but it seems he questions whether the interpretation of water as ἀρχή could be traced to Homer or an Orpheus whose authorship he sees as problematic.

The fact is that we can also wonder about the reasons that led Thales to postulate that water was the origin of all things. To Aristotle's proposals we could add the condition of water as material mass without internal limits, its apparent ability to generate life, and its profound versatility in terms of change (to move, evaporate, become a cloud, freeze). Regarding its mythical origins, they are highly likely, and, additionally, we can search for them in another direction, outside of Greece.

Indeed, Plutarch³² and Simplicius³³ suggest a possible Egyptian origin for these theories, not only for those of Thales, but also for Homer's. In fact, the existence of an Egyptian myth, that of Nu, has been known for some time.³⁴ Nu is the primordial liquid mass in whose infinite depths stirred, confused, the germs of all things, and similar images can be found in other literatures.³⁵ In the Egyptian world this vision of water emerged very likely from the spectacular experience of the Nile's floods, which transforms the dry lands in fertile soil that is later populated by trees and plants.

³⁰ Arist. *Metaph.* 983b 33–984a 2. Transl. H. Tredennik.

³¹ I refer to Mansfeld 1985, 116 for possible meanings of the sentence.

³² Plu. *Is. et Os.* 364C: οἰόνται δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον ὥσπερ Θαλῆν μαθόντα παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ὕδωρ ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων καὶ γένεσιν τίθεσθαι “they think also that Homer like Thales, has gained his knowledge from the Egyptians, when he postulated water as the source and origin of all things”.

³³ Simpl. in *Cael.* 522.15: πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀντιλέγει μᾶλλον ἴσως ἐπικρατοῦσαν διὰ τὸ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οὕτως ἐν μύθου σχήματι λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν ἴσως ἐκέϊθεν τὸν λόγον κεκομικέναι “Aristotle is opposed to this opinion perhaps more prevalent because amongst the Egyptians it is also explained this way in the form of a myth and Thales perhaps brought this idea from them”.

³⁴ For example, Hölscher 1953.

³⁵ To cite the most widely known cases, various passages in the Psalms where the earth floats on water 24.2, 104.3, 136.6, etc.

But in order to get a clear vision of the reach of Thales' proposals we need to review one last text, another testimony from Aristotle:³⁶

καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳι δὴ τινες αὐτὴν μεμῖχθαί φασιν, ὅθεν ἴσως καὶ Θαλῆς ὠιήθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι.

Some think that the soul pervades the whole universe, whence perhaps came Thales' view that everything is full of gods.

Aristotle's statement seems to indicate that Thales conceived the animated matter by an active principle of movement, which he identifies here with the goods, whilst in another passage it is referred to as "soul".³⁷

ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς ἐξ ὧν ἀπομνημονεύουσι κινητικόν τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπολαβεῖν, εἴπερ τὴν λίθον ἔφη ψυχὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι τὸν σίδηρον κινεῖ.

Thales, too, to judge from what is recorded of his views, seems to suppose that the soul is in a sense the cause of movement, since he says that a stone³⁸ has a soul because it causes movement to iron.

We do not have to decide whether Thales spoke of the gods or the souls. In his conception it seems he understood that there was a divine soul that permeated the world as active principle, responsible of life, of movement and the changes in the primordial waters.

3.2 Xenophanes

The "physic" postulates of Xenophanes of Colophon present problems, which is unsurprising given that Sextus Empiricus (*M.* 10. 313–314) indicates that not even the Greeks from his time fully understood them. In fact, he indicates how some attribute to Xenophanes the creation from the earth, based on fr. B 27 DK by this author:³⁹

ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ.

³⁶ Arist. *De An.* 411a 7. Transl. W.S. Hett.

³⁷ Arist. *De An.* 405a 19. Transl. W.S. Hett.

³⁸ *I.e.* Magnesian stone.

³⁹ All fragments by Xenophanes are quoted in the transl. by A. Laks–G. Most.

For from earth come all these [or: all] things, and into earth all end up.

While others suggest that Xenophanes postulates two elements based on fr. B 33 DK:

πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα.

For all of us came about from earth and water.

Philoponus (*in Ph.* 125. 27 Vitelli) also informs us that Porphyry supports those who attribute to Xenophon the proposal based in two elements, on the basis of fragment B 29 DK:

γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ πάντ' ἐσθ' ὅσα γίνονται ἢ δὲ φύονται.

Earth and water are everything that comes into being and grows.

It seems clear that Xenophanes elevated the old idea of men moulded from clay that we could still admit in B 33 DK to the category of explanation on the origin of all beings from two original elements of life.⁴⁰

Fragment B 30 DK offers a longer explanation:

πηγὴ δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσαν(α) ὕδατος, πηγὴ δ' ἀνέμοιο·
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν νέφεσιν <γίνοιτό κε ἵς ἀνέμοιο
ἐκπνείοντος> ἔσωθεν ἄνευ πόντου μέγαλοιο
οὔτε ῥοαὶ ποταμῶν οὔτ' αἰ<θέρος> ὄμβριον ὕδωρ,
ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε
καὶ ποταμῶν.

The sea is the source of water and the source of the wind.
For neither would in the clouds <the force of the wind come about,
that blows out> from within, without the great sea,
nor the streams of rivers, nor the rainy water of the air:
but the great sea is the begetter of clouds, winds,
and rivers . . .

This texts leads us to conclude that Xenophanes imagined a world composed of soil, firm, that provides stability to the world, and water, the changing element by nature. It is water the one that goes through changes that can be perceived, it evaporates, condensates into clouds that, in a larger condensation can produce fire, the rainbow, or St. Elmo's fire. This vision coincides with the story that relates how Xenophanes (A 33 DK) concluded that the earth was once covered by

40 Leshner 2001, 132.

water for some time based on the presence of marine animal fossils far inland. On the other hand, plants and human beings, made from water and soil, were born from the earth and return to the earth.

3.3 Empedocles and Anaxagoras

At this point I must be very brief; forced by Parmenidean criticism, Empedocles was forced to abandon the single origin and placed water as principle, but not on its own but as part of four (the other three being air, fire, and earth) that shares with them the attribute of eternity.

Anaxagoras makes his matter more technical. He does not postulate the existence of four elements but multiple. Water loses its protagonism upon becoming one of hundreds of components that make up its mixed matter, but this matter shares its fluctuating, mixed character with water. Instead of the gods that populate Thales' water, Anaxagoras speaks of a single intelligent principle, which he calls *Nous*, the Intellect, that governs the transformation of matter.

4 Mythical reformulations

4.1 The Orphic theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus

In the 2nd c. BC the mythical reformulations reappear in the so-called *Orphic theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus*.⁴¹ We have two indirect testimonies wherein the principle of the cosmogonic principle of this theogony is explained:

Dam. *Pr.* 123 bis (Orph. fr. 75 I Bernabé)

ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον (sc. Ὀρφικὴ θεολογία) ... οὕτως ἔχει· ὕδωρ ἦν, φησίν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕλη, ἐξ ἧς ἐπάγη ἡ γῆ, δύο ταύτας ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμενος πρῶτας.

The Orphic Theogony transmitted by Hieronymus and Hellanicus ... says: from the beginning there was water and the matter from which the earth coagulated, these two being the principles that are supposed to be the firsts.

Athenag. *Leg.* 18. 3 (Orph. fr. 75 I Bernabé).

⁴¹ Cf. West 1983, 176–226; Bernabé 1994; 2003, 87–106.

καὶ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ὀρφέως) τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἐξ ὕδατος συνιστάντος ... ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχή ... τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς κατέστη.

Orpheus also affirms a first origin from water. ...It was indeed water the principle of all things and from water mud was formed.

This poem postulates a unity in the principle, water, from which, as a first transformation it coagulates or coagulates mud. It has been suggested that the sources that have transmitted the fragment indirectly, Damascius and Athenagoras, may have translated the mythical names that appeared in the poem into “modern” terms, thus water and mud would be Oceanus and Gea,⁴² or Oceanus and Tethys in the poem.⁴³ This idea, however, should be rejected.⁴⁴ Damascius, in his long report on ancient cosmogonies, never substitutes mythical names for common names, therefore, if the original text would have spoken of Oceanus and Tethys or Oceanus and Gea, he would have mentioned them by name, whereas if he says that the proposition spoke initially of water, it means that the original text spoke of water and not something else. In this respect, his testimony coincides with that of Athenagoras — both being clearly independent from each other —, and it would be highly unlikely that both would have chosen separately the same name transposition. It is also clear that, against Xenophanes, the author of this cosmogony does not speak of two primordial beings — Athenagoras is very clear in this respect — but of a single one, qualified water, muddy water. Rudhardt⁴⁵ sees in the expression “water and matter” an hendiadys for “qualified water, loaded of what will sediment and later will form the earth”.

From water and earth, which are asexual and do not form a couple, the first being, Time, is formed in the shape of a dragon, and next to him appears the second being, Necessity, also called Adrastea, whose arms extend throughout the world, touching its confines.⁴⁶ The presence of Necessity next to Time seems to mean that the order of the world supposes two premises: the appearance of Time and that the passing of time happens in an orderly way, which has to happen in a determined way, and not any other. The idea is also manifested in Anaximander (B 1 DK) “according to necessity, according to the disposition of Time”.

⁴² Jaeger 1952, 253 n. 57.

⁴³ West 1983, 184–190.

⁴⁴ Cf. the criticism by Bernabé 1994.

⁴⁵ Rudhardt 1971, 15.

⁴⁶ *OF* 74–77.

5 Philosophical interpretations of mythical propositions

5.1 Stoic interpretation of Chaos

Lastly, as an example of philosophical interpretation of an ancient poem (like the one we know well from the Derveni papyrus), on the issue of primordial waters we have a testimony concerning Zeno the Stoic. The Stoics, specially Chrysippus, showed a constant interest in demonstrating that their postulates came from the most remote antiquity, which encouraged them to seek for coincidences with their own doctrines in Homer, Hesiod or the Orphic tradition.⁴⁷ Let's see Zeno's testimony:⁴⁸

καὶ Ζήνων δὲ τὸ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ χάος ὕδωρ εἶναι φησιν, οὗ συνιζάνοντος ἰλὸν γίνεσθαι, ἧς πηγνυμένης ἡ γῆ στερεμνιούται.

And Zeno affirms that Hesiod's Chaos is water, that once shrunk becomes mud, which tightened solidifies into earth.

It is obvious that Zeno applies to Hesiod the evolutive procedure of Anaximenes, but why does he think Chaos is water? The answer is given in a text by Philoponus:⁴⁹

χάος δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης τόπον οἶεται εἶναι, ... τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν ἔνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ παρὰ τὴν χύσιν τοῦνομα πεποιῆσθαι νομίζοντες.

Aristotle thinks that Chaos is the space ... but some Stoics think that it is the water, believing that the name has been configured in relation to "liquid".

The Stoics based their proposal on an etymological relation between Χάος and χέω "pour", so according to the little accuracy with which the ancient used etymologies, Chaos must have referred to water.

⁴⁷ Cf. Casadesús 2005, 2008.

⁴⁸ Sch. A.R. 1.498 (*SVF* 1.29.17).

⁴⁹ Philp. *Aet.* 225.5.

6 Conclusions

6.1 Reasons for a model

Naturally, we can only speculate on this point, but we will do it based on the motives that plausibly propitiated these propositions. There are several aspects of water that excite the imagination when identifying it as the origin of things:

- a) If we need to identify an original element, it would not seem very adequate that said element had a very defined and solid form, because it would thus be more difficult to imagine its transformation into other matters and in the very diverse beings that make up the world. In that way, a matter that, like water, does not have a defined form seems to be a better choice, since what is formless can shape all things. In Greek mythology, the marine beings (Tethys, Nereus, and the Old Man from the Sea) always present changing forms.
- b) Apart from its formlessness, its capacity of adopting diverse configurations, water seems to be in perpetual motion, and the movement seems to originate from itself; water in large masses — especially in its most characteristic form, the sea — is the matter that most looks like a living being, and gives the impression that it moves by itself.
- c) In the third place, water is seen as a fundamental substance for subsistence. Water guarantees growth and life. In fact, corrupted water seems to produce new beings on its own. On the contrary, aridity prevents growth and is associated with death.
- d) As a result of the Greek vision of the relation between the macrocosm and the microcosm, the universe is imagined as a living being whose life-giving principle would be water (this is particularly clear also in the case of the Egyptian myth).
- e) Since the beginning this model enters in fierce competition with another in which the principle is air (the author of the cyclical *Titanomachy* considers the first principle to be Aether, air is postulated by Anaximenes, Diogenes of Apollonia and by the commentator of Derveni)⁵⁰ in as much as air is also life-giving and can be linked to breathing, to the soul and intelligence.
- f) Along with the vision I have just brought forth, and which may suggest why cosmogonies are constructed around the primordial water, there is a different underlying model that refers to the myths wherein men are thought to have

⁵⁰ *Titan.* fr. 1 Bernabé; Anaximenes. B 2 D.-K.; Diog. Apoll. fr. 8–9 Laks; P.Derv. col 17.

been made from clay. Water is never the sole matter from which men are made of. Only soil or soil mixed with water. Thus it is not so much about seeing in water its role as life-giver; that role is played by air; it is often the case that the god breathes air-soul into the living being, whose most evident sign of life is breathing. The mental process that underlies in this explanation seems to be based on the projection onto deities of the human sculptor that creates beings with the appearance of men or animals moulded from clay. But fire is needed to fix this modelling process, hence the appearance of this element as a candidate to be the primordial element.

- g) Furthermore, the custom of interment connects the soil with the place of decomposition where the man made of clay returns.
- h) All these speculations will slowly give way to a theory containing the four elements.

6.2 Evolutive lines

It is time to summarily present the evolution of the propositions that have been presented following the criteria that I formulated at the beginning. Homer's version is a mythical tale led by a couple of primordial aquatic gods: a god of the sweetwater, Oceanus, and a goddess of saltwater, Tethys. They are the origin of all things, not only of life. A quarrel (νεῖκος), whose motives are unknown to us, results in their separation that seems to later give way to a multiplicity of beings (in some way it is the precedent of the role that Νεῖκος plays in Empedocles) and they are supposed to have the ability of motion in as much as they are gods. In this myth, the water's conception as being generator, alive, active, predominates. It seems unlikely that we will find in Homer an echo of the configuration of human beings from clay.

Hesiod restricts the role of primordial aquatic gods to a secondary one after Sky and Earth, which are conceived as 'solid' spaces; they are neither the origin of the world nor of life; the separation that gives way to the origin of things is that of Earth and Sky by intervention of Chaos. On the other hand, he reports — albeit partially — the myth that claims men were made from clay.

The *Eudemian Orphic theogony* is another mythical tale whose protagonists are divine beings, Oceanus and Tethys, the same aquatic couple mentioned by Homer. Nevertheless, in the Orphic version they are not original even though they occupy a very high position in the divine hierarchy, above the Titans but not above Sky and Earth, who assume the role of primordial couple. The latter separate and they secrete primordial waters, almost original inasmuch as they are the fathers of the rest of the divine generation. As if the poet thought that the

primordial waters needed a solid space in where to fix themselves. We are still talking about gods, and therefore, they have the ability to transform themselves.

It has been attributed to Thales an explanation that we do not know well, but which we can suppose with a degree of plausibility that it postulated a primordial water as origin of things; the proposition dispenses with the mythical couple and speaks only of water, without name, which is already a more philosophical attitude. If it is called water, we could suppose that it is lifeless matter. However, Thales seems to be attached to a religious thought, inasmuch as he thinks it is animated by a sort of divine souls that are all over it. We cannot determine if he understands that these active principles belonged to water itself or acted as they were inserted in it. What seems to be clear is that they are the active principles to whom we must attribute the ability of motion, and thus, the responsibility for change. Water is not only principle of life, but of all reality.

Xenophanes makes a philosophical proposal that establishes that there are two fundamental elements from which everything originates: earth and water. Earth is the most stable element, while water is the changing element, the one that transforms and produces all sorts of meteorological phenomena. Everything seems to suggest that he considers them to be pure matters, so we must think that the element that acts upon them is that non-anthropomorphic god, pure active thought, capable of shaping movement into things only with the power of his mind of which he speaks in fr. B 25 DK:⁵¹

ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νόου φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει.

But without any toil, by the organ of his mind he makes all things tremble.

Empedocles accepts a multiplicity of original elements, four, that are of the same antiquity and relevance and that mix or do not mix following the action of active principles of opposing sign, Love and Hate. In Anaxagoras water loses all relevance as it becomes one of the multiple ingredients of the single matter, while the active principle is Nous.

On the other hand, although the *Theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus* is a mythical proposal, the philosophical influence is clearly visible. The primordial deities appear already as pure matter and the personifications that derive from them (Time/Necessity) are transparent.

Lastly, as a good Stoic Zeno tries to find footprints of this theories in the most ancient authors in order to grant them prestige. To do so he resorts to characteristic

51 Transl A. Laks–G. Most.

procedures: etymology and symbolic character. He thus transforms the Hesiodic Chaos in primordial water.

Upon finalising this review we see how the mythical propositions of primordial waters give way to philosophical proposals that in turn influence mythical proposals, and even make philosophical interpretations of old formulations of the myth.⁵²

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Part III: **Beyond Homer**

Anna A. Lamari

Sharp Objects: Metalepsis and the Madness of Ajax

The hit HBO series *Sharp Objects* (2018)¹ features Camille Preaker, a reporter who returns to her hometown to investigate a case of two missing girls, one of whom was found dead. Camille's return to the town is also a return to her troubled past and a reunion with her estranged dysfunctional family, tormented by the death of her half-sister, Amma, and the overbearing character of her mother, Adora. Struggling herself with traumatic childhood experiences, Camille is forced to confront challenges of the present, but also of her past, through which she navigates by blurring the boundaries between past and present.

To a big extent, the series' plot lies upon the distorted frontier between two otherwise infrangible narrative levels: that of Camille's present and that of Camille's past. Camille's present unfolds in the main narrative level, that of the diegesis,² which hosts the main events of the plot. Camille's past unfolds at a separate narrative level, that of the hypodiegesis,³ which hosts the events forming her life before the start of the narrative. *Sharp Objects* is structured upon the merging of narrative levels, which traditionally, ought to be separated. The result is a layered narrative in which diegesis and hypodiegesis do not run in parallel, but they

I am grateful to Andreas Markantonatos, Thaleia Papadopoulou and Evina Sistakou for their insight and helpful comments on this paper. It is with the greatest joy that I am dedicating this chapter to Franco Montanari, a remarkable scholar, who has promoted the study of ancient Greek literature like very few and has honoured me with his friendship.

1 Based on the novel of the same name by writer Gillian Flynn.

2 Diegesis corresponds to the main story level of the narrative. The term was first used in this way by G. Genette in his classification of the narrative levels and has since gained significant popularity among narratologists (see Genette 1980, 227–231). Diegesis can also refer to the manner of narration in the Platonic sense (*Rep.* 392d–394d), namely as opposed to mimesis. See Herman/Jahn/Ryan 2008, s.v. diegesis; Fludernik 2009, 151.

3 A term coined by M. Bal to denote a narrative level that is subordinate to that of the diegesis (Bal 1997, 43–52). Hypodiegesis corresponds to what Genette termed as 'metadiegetic narrative', but has been vastly preferred by narratologists, due to the obvious connotations of the prefix meta- with the world outside the narrative universe, reflecting a superordinate level of discourse. See Genette 1980, 227–231; Herman/Jahn/Ryan 2008, s.v. hypodiegetic narrative, Fludernik 2009, 26–28, 157; Herman 2009, 65–68.

meet in a deeply abstruse fashion that effaces the boundaries between two distinct narrative levels thus creating an intensely profound, complex narrative outcome.

G rard Genette has named this narrative phenomenon *metalepsis*, arguing that when the transition from one narrative level to another does not happen by narrating, then it is transgressive.⁴ Genette's observation has been further developed by many narratologists,⁵ mostly commenting on one of the most characteristic narrative results of *metalepsis*, that of the destruction of the fictional illusion. As explained by Fludernik,

metalepsis is a narrative technique in which ontological axioms, e.g. that authorial narrators live in a different world from that of their characters, are undermined with the result of destroying one's impression that the narrated world is real.⁶

The framework drawn by Fludernik projects mostly *metalepsis*' metanarrative characteristics.⁷ *Metalepsis* however, can function not only by producing the effect of strangeness that underscores the fictitiousness of the diegetic world, but also as 'one or more illicit movements up or down the hierarchy of diegetic levels structuring narrative discourse'.⁸ In this respect, apart from disrupting the narrative illusion, it can also affect the way the characters of the story see their own fictional world, in the sense that *metalepsis* disrupts the borders 'between the actual and the non-actual — or rather between the two different systems of actuality subtending'⁹ the various fictional worlds of the several narrative levels. This

⁴ 'The transition from one narrative level to another can in principle be achieved only by the narrating, the act that consists precisely of introducing into one situation, by means of discourse, the knowledge of another situation. Any other form of transit is, if not always impossible, at any rate always transgressive', Genette 1980, 234. See also the discussion of the different forms of *metalepseis* in Genette 2004.

⁵ Prince 1987, 50; Herman 1997; Malina 2002; Fludernik 2003; Pier 2005; Herman/Jahn/Ryan 2008, s.v. *Metalepsis*; Fludernik 2009, 100–101; Pier 2009; Pier 2011.

⁶ Fludernik 2009, 100.

⁷ This type of *metalepsis*, occurring between the extradiegetic and the diegetic level has been called 'exterior' (Cohn 2012, 106), as opposed to 'interior' *metalepsis*, occurring between different levels of the same story (*ibid.* 106), a narrative function that will be our focus in this paper.

⁸ Herman 1997, 133 (as in 'interior' *metalepsis*, see n. 7). See also Hanebeck (2017, 120) who discusses multiple narrative functions of *metalepses*, such as '*humorous effects, hermeneutic effects, effects of unmediatedness, metaleptic realism and metaleptic madness* [all of which] are, as ascriptions of meaning, all embedded in a myriad of narrative contexts and the unimaginably complex process of interpretation'.

⁹ Herman 1997, 134–135.

means that metalepsis leads to the interplay of narrative levels that are *prima facie* distinct, and this exact effect that is sonorously present in the series *Sharp Objects*, is also observed in the narrative of Sophocles' *Ajax*, which is going to be our focus in this paper. As expected, metalepsis is frequently located in modernist and postmodernist writing,¹⁰ and film,¹¹ but as has been pointed out by I.J.F. de Jong¹² and T. Whitmarsh,¹³ metalepsis is also to be found in ancient Greek literature, Greek drama included.

de Jong was the first who thoroughly investigated the concept of metalepsis in ancient Greek literature.¹⁴ de Jong convincingly showed that, although metalepsis first appeared as a distinct term in ancient rhetoric, it functioned as early as the Homeric epics, choral poetry and the Homeric hymns. In fact, some of the most characteristic examples of metalepsis in epic poetry involve the so called 'apostrophe', 'when a narrator *turns away* from his normal addressee, the narratee, to address one of his characters, thereby entering the narrated world',¹⁵ or when the narrative characters allude to the narrative itself.¹⁶ According to de Jong, metalepsis also occurs in passages where the characters 'announce the text in the text',¹⁷ as in cases where a character intrudes in the world of narration,¹⁸ or when different narrative voices are blended together, as in Demodocus' second song (*Od.* 8.266–270), where 'due to the change from a dependent construction to an independent one, we can no longer determine whether we are hearing the

10 See e.g. L. Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author* (1927), where the characters are on a quest of their maker, or J. Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969), where the narrator comments on the author's narrative restrictions as well as narrative freedom. For metalepsis in modernist and postmodernist fiction, see Herman 1997; Levin 2016.

11 A good example is Woody Allen's (dir.), *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (perf. Mia Farrow and Jeff Daniels, MGM 1985), on the metaleptic effects of which see Feyersinger 2012, 192–194. See characteristically Pethö 2010, 72, 'although research articles analyzing specific metaleptic instances that we see in films are not as numerous as the ones referring to literature, we can say that in the last decade the term "metalepsis" has been widely used by film criticism, albeit mainly with a somewhat simplified meaning referring to a structure of "world within a world" and any kind of jump between diegetic and non-diegetic worlds', and the analysis of metalepsis in Christopher Nolan's film *Inception* (2010) by Kiss 2012.

12 de Jong 2009.

13 Whitmarsh 2013.

14 de Jong 2009.

15 As in *Il.* 6. 357–8, 15.365–6, 16.692–3, *Od.* 24.191–3 (de Jong 2009, 93–97).

16 As in *Il.* 6.357–8, where Helen alludes to the very narrative she belongs to (de Jong 2009, 98–99).

17 de Jong 2009, 98.

18 de Jong (2009, 98) here gives the example of *Il.* 6.357–8, where Helen alludes to her being the subject of the songs of the generations to come, thus alluding to the *Iliad* itself.

primary narrator, “Homer”, or the reported narrator, Demodocus: their voices merge’.¹⁹ Other examples of metalepsis in ancient Greek literature include the gradual merging of the narrated world with the world of the narrator at the closure of narrated sections or units,²⁰ as in Bacchylides 17.128–132 and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 146–176. In all those instances, Irene de Jong insists on the blurring effect that metalepsis can have in the narrative hierarchy, mostly by disrupting the boundaries between the world of the narrator and the world of the narrated events.

Tim Whitmarsh has taken a step further, by studying metalepsis in classical Greek drama. For Whitmarsh, metalepsis lies in the heart of the dramatic genre, with its performance being ‘*always implicitly* metaleptic, in that it depends for its effect on the interpenetration of the “fictional” world of the drama and the “real” world of the author and the spectator’.²¹ Drama almost always operates on at least two levels,²² as for example in the metaleptic moments found in dramatic prologues. Descriptive prologues are there to inform the spectators, but at the same time they reproduce facts that are supposedly already known to the dramatic characters, exploring the semantic value of words that have different meanings for the spectators and the dramatic characters.²³ Whitmarsh focuses on the disruption of the dramatic illusion, mostly as developed around the figure of the actor, who always bears a double identity (that of the on stage character and that of the real-life player of a role),²⁴ or rarely identifies himself with the poet (in comedy).²⁵ In other metaleptic instances, the chorus’ identity also seems to partially coincide with that of the poet, especially in the ‘frame-braking’ context of the parabasis, where the chorus cross the line of illusion and enter the world outside the narrative, that of the spectators or the poet.²⁶ All those examples are enough to show, according to Tim Whitmarsh, that in drama metalepsis is understood as ‘radical cognition’, an ‘awareness’ that the narrative and the real worlds are chaotically different.

¹⁹ de Jong 2009, 100.

²⁰ de Jong (2009, 106) calls them ‘fade-out’.

²¹ Whitmarsh 2013, 6.

²² E.g. actors on stage are also characters in the narrated world, the physical space of the theater doubles as the imaginary world of the narration, what the spectators experience as present in the world of the narration might represent past and so on (Whitmarsh 2013, 7).

²³ Whitmarsh 2013, 8.

²⁴ Whitmarsh 2013, 9.

²⁵ Whitmarsh 2013, 11.

²⁶ Whitmarsh 2013, 12–13. Whitmarsh also offers an interesting discussion of the physical dimension of the *parabasis* in terms of the use of the theatrical space (2013, 13–14).

Both de Jong and Whitmarsh provide excellent discussions of metaleptic instances in ancient Greek literature, both of them focusing mostly on the clash between the narrative and the non-narrative world as that is put forth by metaleptic innuendos. In this paper, I will concentrate more on the internal function of metalepsis, by highlighting the effect produced by sweeping off narrative hierarchy and discuss the interpretative dimensions of such a narrative function. By taking a closer look at the internal narrative role of metalepsis we can first trace its impact on the development of the story and then to its recipients, internal (stage characters) or external (the spectators). David Herman describes metalepsis ‘as one or more illicit movements up or down the hierarchy of diegetic levels structuring narrative discourse’.²⁷ In addition to its connection to the narrative levels, Feyersinger has convincingly explained that metalepsis is also based on ‘narrative embedding, *mise en abyme*, fictionality, fictional identities and fictional characters, diegetization, the process of reception, possible worlds theory, and others’.²⁸ From this vantage point, metalepsis is also connected to narrative expectations as those are formed by the norms that are created by the narrative itself. In the case of Sophocles’ *Ajax*, metalepsis and distortion of narrative levels are not only connected to the expectations of the spectators, but also to Ajax’s very own understanding of the narrative world, as this is connected to his delirium.

In what follows, I will address metalepsis as a narrative sign of the mental distortion of fictional characters that subsequently affects their own perception of the narrative world. In *Ajax*, madness creates an additional narrative level, that of delusion, which is in conflict with the diegetic narrative level of the story the characters participate in. In this light, metalepsis in the *Ajax* is triggered by the clash of the diegetic narrative level to which the characters belong and the hypodiegetic narrative level of madness, in which Ajax enters when he is delusional.²⁹

²⁷ Herman 1997, 133.

²⁸ Feyersinger 2012, 194.

²⁹ A very special example of metalepsis that also affects the hyperdiegetic level of a play’s performance is reported by Lucian in a passage of *On the Dance* (83–84). A dancer playing Ajax is there said to have been hallucinating himself, literally attacking another performer and the musicians having lost his sanity. Metalepsis in this case happens by the blurring of boundaries between the diegesis and the hypodiegesis, but also by the blurring of the boundaries between the world of the play and the real world. As rightly explained by Webb (2017, 272), ‘the artistic error (in other circumstances, we might call it an example of *metalepsis*) consisted in actually carrying out the attack rather than representing it through the stylized and measured action of the dance, in losing sight of the distinction between the use of the body to perform the equivalent of an action and its use to carry out the action itself’.

Each time, the dynamic between reason and madness is featured as a basic characteristic of the plot, especially since it is connected to other quintessential driving forces that reside in dramatic poetry, like that of *hybris* and divine intervention. Strikingly similarly to the narrative unraveling in *Sharp Objects*, dramatic narrative in *Ajax* oscillates between diegesis and hypodiegesis, between what characters really perform on stage and what they have the impression they are performing in delusion. Building on the basic characteristic of metalepsis, according to which ‘two separate worlds or levels are perceived as being mutually exclusive but nevertheless share a unique entity that can be present in both worlds’,³⁰ I am going to explore how the integration of two narrative levels in the *Ajax* works as a narrative reflection of the character’s hallucination.

Metalepsis

Sophocles’ *Ajax*

The *Little Iliad* begins with the Judgement of Achilles’ arms. Odysseus wins by the will of Athena and Ajax goes mad, slaughters the herd of the Greeks and kills himself:

Ἡ τῶν ὅπλων κρίσις γίνεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν Ἀθηνᾶς λαμβάνει, Αἴας δ’ ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος τήν τε λείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖ.

(Arg. *Il. parva* ll. 208–210 Severyns)

The judgement of arms occurs, and Odysseus wins by the will of Athena. Ajax, driven mad, slaughters the herd of the Achaeans and kills himself.³¹

Apollodorus gives a fuller account of the story, highlighting Ajax’s sorrow, but also his frenzy at the moment of the slaughter:

Αἴας δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης ταραχθεὶς ἐπιβουλεύεται νύκτωρ τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ αὐτῷ μανίαν ἐμβαλοῦσα Ἀθηνᾶ³² εἰς τὰ βοσκήματα ἐκτρέπει ξιφῆρη· ὁ δὲ ἐκμανεῖς σὺν τοῖς νέμουσι τὰ βοσκήματα ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς φονεύει. <δύο δὲ μεγίστους κριοὺς κατασχών ὡς Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ

³⁰ Feyersinger 2012, 194.

³¹ Translation by Burgess 2001, 179.

³² I read Ἀθηνᾶ, as in Wagner *ad loc.* and not Ἀθήνη, as in West 2013, 177.

Μενέλαον δεσμεύσας ἐμάστιξε, καὶ κατεγέλα τούτων μαινόμενος.> καὶ σωφρονήσας ὕστερον ἑαυτὸν κτείνει.

(Apoll. *Epit.* 5. 6–7 [fragmenta Sabbaitica])³³

Distraught with grief, Aias plotted against the army at night. Athena afflicted him with madness and turned him aside, sword in hand, toward the sheep. Out of his mind, he killed the sheep along with the herdsmen, thinking they were Achaeans. <And after grabbing two big rams and having tied them up as if they were Agamemnon and Menelaus, he whipped them, and he laughed as he raged against them.> When he came back to his senses later, he killed himself too.³⁴

Potential metaleptic transgressions are smoothed out in Apollodorus, naturally due to the generic characteristics of a mythological compendium. Apollodorus' diegesis smoothly engulfs the hypodiegesis of Ajax's delirium and there is no metaleptic clash, with the two different narrative levels, that of the sane voice of the narrator and that of the delusive Ajax staying clearly separated. The use of ὥς intensifies the concept of Ajax's maddened perception according to which the sheep appeared as Achaeans and the rams as Agamemnon and Menelaus. The two narrative levels are kept separate, each used by the narrator and the narratees, while we are given the perspective of the person who performs the story (Ajax) only through third-person narrative. The way the narrative develops creates the impression that the two separate narrative levels work independently for the narratees, whereas they are confused by Ajax himself. The big difference for Ajax's madness in Sophocles' play comes from differences in focalization; in Sophoclean *Ajax* we do not witness madness solely as external narratees but also through the eyes of the beholder. The clash of diegetic and hypodiegetic levels is thus mirrored on the confusion of the character who experiences it and is received as such by the spectators.

At the beginning of the *Ajax*, there are two different narrative levels, one corresponding to the basic plotline and the other one pertaining to Ajax's hallucination. Although admitting that his knowledge is uncertain (ἴσμεν γὰρ οὐδὲν τράνές, 23), Odysseus sets the two basic narrative strata, that of the diegesis in which he participates and that of the hypodiegesis of the slaughtering of the cattle (25–27). Some lines later, Athena reveals the culprit as well as the reason that led Ajax

³³ The bracketed passage is from Zenob. 1. 43 (cf. *Epit. Vat.* p. 214); see West 2013, 177. See also Wagner *ad loc.* According to Grossmann (1968, 71, 83), Ajax's frantic laugh during the slaughtering of the animals is to be connected to the proverbial expression Αἰάντειος γέλως (Zenob. 1. 43). On the hysterical laughter of Ajax, see Finglass 2011, 228–229.

³⁴ Translation by Trzaskoma, in Smith/Trzaskoma 2007, 83. The translation of the bracketed passage is mine.

to perform likewise: *χόλωι βαρυνθεὶς τῶν Ἀχιλλείων ὄπλων* ('stung by anger, because of the arms of Achilles', 41).³⁵ From the very beginning, dramatic narrative hereby distinguishes between two different stories, but also – as we are soon to find out –, between reality and delusion. Taking into account that madness is by definition experienced as a violent displacement that metaphorically signifies a displacement out of one's senses,³⁶ the abrupt transposition of narrative levels alluded to by a metaleptic arrangement makes an ideal stage representation of a state of mind.

Defining hallucination: the construction of the hypodiegesis

Ajax's diegetic narrative level is provided by the basic plotline: Ajax is so mad at the leaders of the Greeks who have failed to give him the armor of dead Achilles, that he decides to put them to death. By the manipulation of Athena, he slaughters instead cattle and sheep, thinking they are his enemies.³⁷ This very act lies at a subordinate narrative level, that of the hypodiegesis,³⁸ dominated by Ajax's madness and in constant clash with the main diegetic level. This hypodiegesis aside, Ajax is brought to his senses by his wife Tecmessa and the chorus and although he appears to accept his wife's pleas to live in grief and shame, he soon embarks on another hypodiegesis, that of his suicide.³⁹ After his body is found by

³⁵ Although Athena herself is elsewhere held responsible (656, 757, 777). Given the sequence of the events of the story (according to lines 762–777, Athena's madness resulted from Ajax's arrogance and then led to Ajax's frenzy), Ajax's madness, which is caused by Athena, is really a consequence of his own human fault that offended Athena in first place. See Harris 2001, 174 and 357–358, Harris 2013, 293.

³⁶ *ἔκστασις* derives from *ἐξίστημι*, whose first meaning is to 'displace', hence 'alter utterly' and metaphorically 'drive one out of his senses' (*LSJ*⁹ s.v. *ἐξίστημι*). For the connection between madness and violent displacement as isolated wandering, see the discussion in Kazantzidis 2018.

³⁷ There are many examples of visual hallucinations being parts of a tragic plot. Apart from the *Ajax*, other cases include the *Choephoroi*, the *Persae*, the *Orestes*, the *Hercules*, and the *Bacchae*, but also, albeit with hallucination scenes less central to the plot, the *Agamemnon*, the *Prometheus*, as well as the *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

³⁸ See above, n. 3.

³⁹ During the hypodiegesis of the suicide (815–865), Ajax is not hallucinating. Before leaving the orchestra, he makes clear that he is in full conscience of his identity as well as of his plan to take his life (τοῦθ' ὑμιν Αἴας τοῦπος ὕστατον θροεῖ, / τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐν Αἴδου τοῖς κάτω μυθήσομαι, 864–865). This very hypodiegesis is strikingly segregated, with no clashes with the rest of the narrative levels, underscoring even more the connection between metalepsis and madness. By allowing the hypodiegesis of hallucination to be the only narrative level leading to a metaleptic collision, Sophocles brings out the descriptions of madness as a powerful narrative device.

Tecmessa and the chorus, the rest of the diegesis treats the problem of Ajax's burial mainly in debates between Ajax's brother Teucer and Menelaus. Moreover, Teucer also triggers a third hypodiegesis about Ajax's deeds that profited the Greeks.⁴⁰ Both the hypodiegesis of Ajax's suicide and that of his offerings to the Greeks are subordinate to the diegetic narrative level thus constructing a new narrative thread, a novel microcosm in which they take place. None of those however is in conflict with the diegetic level or blends the boundaries between the basic plotline and its subordinate threads. The clash instigated by metalepsis only happens by means of the hypodiegesis of Ajax's madness. The reason for this effect is the absence of a clear line separating reality from delusion, the former being expressed on the diegetic, the latter on the hypodiegetic level. Ajax's delusional explosion is so intense and abrupt that its result is as sonorous as madness itself. In what follows, we will dwell on the specific characteristics of metalepsis when it springs from a character's delusional frenzy.

The metaleptic hypodiegesis of Ajax's madness develops as a dystopia⁴¹ that is narratively framed by Athena and Tecmessa who correspond to the hero's entrance in and exit from a world of grimness and unfamiliarity. Connected to Ajax's madness as it is, metalepsis is something more than a narrative symptom: it is the vehicle representing the separation between the world of reason and the world of insanity, the lack of communication between the mentally healthy and the mentally ill. In his *Madness and Civilisation*, Michel Foucault calls attention to the fact that madness and reason, especially in modern communities, use no common language as a channel of communication:

As for a common language, there is no such thing; or rather, there is no such thing any longer; the constitution of madness as a mental illness, at the end of the eighteenth century, affords the evidence of a broken dialogue, posits the separation as already effected, and thrusts into oblivion all those stammered, imperfect words without fixed syntax in which the exchange between madness and reason was made. The language of psychiatry, which is a monologue of reason about madness, has been established only on the basis of such a silence.⁴²

Even in ancient times however, madness was connected with remoteness, exile and lack of communication with the rest of the community. In *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, the Erinyes induce madness and isolation for Orestes, who wanders through

⁴⁰ Ajax's great deeds are presented by Teucer in a hypodiegesis that does not lead to a metalepsis (1266–1315). The information runs in parallel to the main diegesis causing no conflict or integration of narrative levels.

⁴¹ See below, 456–458.

⁴² Foucault 1965, x.

Greece in frenzy,⁴³ and in the *Laws*, Plato maintains that a person who commits an offense or a murder in a state of madness must be punished, even with exile.⁴⁴ Similarly, in the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Disease*, the author maintains that epilepsy (the so-called ‘sacred’ disease), with its madness-like symptoms, should not be treated through ritual practices like ‘purifications’ (καθαρμοί) or ‘magic’ (μαγία), but instead should be addressed as all other diseases and should be connected to the internal functioning of the body.⁴⁵ In the Hippocratic corpus,⁴⁶ but also in the ps.-Aristotelian *Problemata Physica*, insanity is also connected to melancholy,⁴⁷ a disease that leads to isolation, making people ‘feel alien towards their own people’ (ἀπανθρωπέονται τε ξύμφυλον ὅψιν ἀλλοτρίην νομίζοντες).⁴⁸ Against the backdrop of remoteness and isolation that characterize the mentally ill, Sophocles uses metalepsis as an effective narrative representation of collision of two worlds that remain completely separated for any human being who is not part of both of them.⁴⁹

Narrative anchoring of the metalepsis

At the very beginning of the narrative Athena explains to Odysseus that she imbued madness to Ajax, making him attack the cattle with the impression he was attacking the Achaeans (51–54). Athena constructed a metalepsis and subtly led Ajax to the hypodiegetic narrative level, ‘casting upon his eyes mistaken notions’ (51–52, ... δυσφόρους ἐπ’ ὄμμασι / γνώμας βαλοῦσα), literally ‘driving’ him into the ‘trap’ of the hypodiegesis (59–60, ἐγὼ δὲ φοιτῶντ’ ἄνδρα μανιάσιν νόσοις / ὥτρυνον, εἰσέβαλλον εἰς ἔρκη κακά). The level of the hypodiegesis is thus generated by the instructions of Athena, who later also preserves Ajax’s hypodiegetic

⁴³ Eur. *IT* 81–86.

⁴⁴ Leg. 864d–e.

⁴⁵ Ch. 18 paras. 1ff. (Grensemann) (=Littré vi 394.9–396.9).

⁴⁶ [Ep.] 10.9.322–324 L. (=56.22–58.6 Smith).

⁴⁷ [Arist.] *Pr.* 954a21–26 (284–86 Mayhew), καὶ ἡ χολὴ δὲ ἢ μέλαινα φύσει ψυχρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως οὔσα, ὅταν μὲν οὕτως ἔχη ὡς εἴρηται, ἐὰν υπερβάλλῃ ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἀποπληξίας ἢ νάρκας ἢ ἀθυμίας ποιεῖ ἢ φόβους, ἐὰν δὲ υπερθερμανθῇ, τὰς μετ’ ὠιδῆς εὐθυμίας καὶ ἐκστάσεις καὶ ἐκζέσεις ἐλκῶν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.

⁴⁸ [Hippoc.] *Ep.* 12.9.330 L. (=62.9–10 Smith).

⁴⁹ A survey of the narrative choices of the poets’ chosen modes of representation of insanity is furthermore interesting, given the fact that tragic poets seem to be aware of madness as a disease, with specific symptoms and treatment. See Collinge 1962; Padel 1995, 159; Papadopoulou 2005, 59; Harris 2013, 292.

hallucination urging him to continue torturing one of his ‘prisoners’, thus preserving Ajax’s maddened impression that he is actually torturing Odysseus (101–117).

Throughout this scene, Athena shifts narrative levels, not allowing for the intrusion of the one into the other. As she explains to Odysseus, she can exhibit Ajax’s madness (66, δείξω δὲ καὶ σοὶ τήνδε περιφανῇ νόσον), also making sure that Ajax cannot see anyone but her (69–70, ... ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁμμάτων ἀποστρόφους / αὐγὰς ἀπείρξω σὴν πρόσσοψιν εἰσιδεῖν and 85, ἐγὼ σκοτώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα). Glenn Most has called the scene ‘a play within a play, assigning to Odysseus the role of first spectator’⁵⁰ and there is no doubt that the scene exhibits a strong *mise en abyme*, a metatheatrical nudge to the play as a stage-event that stands outside the limits of the story.⁵¹ Given the fact that scenes of similar ‘self-reflection’ are frequent in many texts *of* or *about* tragic madness,⁵² one comes to notice that the hypodiegesis of madness has the tendency of staying apart from the basic diegesis. Its dramatic effect is thus intensified and its ‘otherness’ is even more enhanced. In the *Ajax*, such a *mise en abyme* is further downplayed by the fact that Athena displays extraordinary narrative authority: she starts a hypodiegesis, invites its protagonist in it and keeps it distanced for everyone but him. Even in cases where another stage character (like Odysseus) should be involved, Athena makes sure he is invisible (69–70). With Ajax being its only protagonist, the hypodiegesis of madness is excluded from the rest narrative levels, standing out as something as terrible and unfamiliar as Ajax’s delirium.

Metaleptic climax

Having established the hypodiegesis, Athena pushes the narrative to the edges, intensifying its metaleptic characteristics. In her dialogue between Athena and Ajax (esp. 94–100), both interlocutors function as two characters on the diegetic level, while Ajax is simultaneously acting in hypodiegetic terms, claiming that he has killed Achaeans with his own hands:

⁵⁰ Most 2013, 406–407.

⁵¹ ‘*Mise en abyme* has become the accepted shorthand for referring to any part of a work that resembles the larger work in which it occurs’, Herman/Jahn/Ryan 2008, s.v. *mise en abyme*, with further discussion and bibliography.

⁵² Most 2013, 407, drawing examples from Euripides (in the *Hercules* and the *Bacchae*), but also from Gorgias, Plato, and Aristotle.

ΑΘΗΝΑ

καλῶς ἔλεξας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι φράσον,
ἔβαψας ἔγχος εὖ πρὸς Ἀργείων στρατῶι;

ΑΙΑΣ

κόμπος πάρεστι κούκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μή.

ΑΘΗΝΑ

ἦ καὶ πρὸς Ἀτρεΐδαισιν ἥιχμασας χέρα;

ΑΙΑΣ

ὥστ' οὐποτ' Αἴανθ' οἶδ' ἀτιμάσουσ' ἔτι.

ΑΘΗΝΑ

τεθνᾶσιν ἄνδρες, ὥς τὸ σὸν ξυνῆκ' ἐγώ.

(94–99)

ATHENA

I thank you; but tell me this, have you well stained your sword in the blood of the Argive army?

AJAX

I have a right to boast, and I shall not deny it!

ATHENA

Did you arm your hand against the sons of Atreus too?

AJAX

So that never again shall they refuse honour to Ajax.

ATHENA

The men are dead, if I understand your words.

The clash of the narrative levels is deafening. While acting on the diegesis, Ajax experiences the hallucination of the hypodiegesis, making Athena wonder if she understands his claims correctly (99, τεθνᾶσιν ἄνδρες, ὥς τὸ σὸν ξυνῆκ' ἐγώ). Metalepsis is created by the delusion of a diegetic character and metaleptic clash affects that very character's perception of reality. Just as 'madness causes one to be ignorant of the particulars, and hence excuses the immediate action but has no bearing on the larger intention',⁵³ metalepsis provides a narrative counterpart of that confusion as a confined disruption of the narrative norm, with a specific end point, that has no bearing on the larger narrative flow.

An analogous narrative result is in effect shortly after, when Athena exhorts Ajax to continue to do what he has in mind (115, χρῶ χειρί, φείδου μηδὲν ὥνπερ ἐννοεῖς). Again, Ajax is participating in both the diegesis and the hypodiegesis and his hallucinations lead to a deathly clash from which he is the only stage character directly affected. Such a narrative representation of the confusion of the narrative levels also happens elsewhere in tragedy. Just as madness makes

⁵³ Konstan 2013, 434.

Aeschylean Ajax confuse hypodiegesis with diegesis, hence the cattle with the Achaean leaders, madness makes Euripidean Agave identify her son as a lion and Euripidean Orestes perceive the cattle as Erinyes. Similarly to the narrative of the *Ajax*, in the *Choephoroi*, the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, and in the *Orestes*, a character's frenzy is accompanied by hallucinations that reflect the character's inability to separate the diegetic from the hypodiegetic world.⁵⁴

Metaleptic 'bubble'

The fact that Ajax is the only stage character that experiences the hypodiegesis metaleptically highlights the sense of disassociation that describes this very hypodiegesis. Ajax is the only stage character affected by Athena-imbued madness. His painful experience, which is narratively expressed by the coexistence of two opposing narrative levels, underscores the dystopic characteristics of this hypodiegesis of delirium.

Even when Ajax acts as one of the diegetic characters, he seems to belong to a special narrative context. His own narrative world is dominated by the effect of hallucination, which deprives him of any ability to see beyond that. Metalepsis is triggered by Ajax's confusion, who constantly experiences a different narrative context than the rest of the protagonists. Narrative levels are here strongly and clearly recognized. Ajax steadily acts in the level of the hypodiegesis, while the rest of the characters act in that of the diegesis. Such a clear-cut allocation⁵⁵ increases the power of collision that is to happen when, despite having entered the diegetic level, Ajax will still be operating in the hypodiegesis (i.e. in madness), as if he is kept in a metaleptic bubble. In lines 105–106, while Odysseus is still on-stage, Ajax brags about him having captivated Odysseus and keeping him in the hut (ἥδιστος, ὦ δέσποινα, δεσμώτης ἔσω / θακεῖ. θανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ τί πω θέλω). This very strong tragic irony is provided by a powerful metalepsis that is

⁵⁴ In the *Orestes*, when Orestes is visualizing the Erinyes and Clytemnestra (*Or.* 255–257), Electra attempts to make him leave the hypodiegesis and return to the diegetic level where nor she or any other narratees do see what Orestes is imagining (ὁρᾷς γὰρ οὐδὲν ὧν δοκεῖς σάφ' εἰδέναι, 259). In the *Hercules*, regardless his father's efforts to bring him back to the diegetic level and his senses, Hercules kills his children with the impression that they are the children of Eurystheus (ὁ δὲ νιν Εὐρυσθέως δοκῶν / πατέρα προταρβοῦνθ' ἰκέσιον ψαύειν χερὸς / ὠθεῖ, φαρέτρην δ' εὐτρεπὴ σκευάζεται / καὶ τόξ' ἑαυτοῦ παισί, τοὺς Εὐρυσθέως / δοκῶν φονεύειν, 967–971).

⁵⁵ 'Metalepsis in only "possible" against a background of stable meanings, recognizable diegetic levels, and hierarchical relations. The moment diegetic levels are done away with, metaleptic narration becomes impossible' (Hanebeck 2017, 229).

in effect for Ajax alone: Athena and the spectators can see Odysseus onstage, but at the same time they are listening to Ajax suggesting that he keeps Odysseus as prisoner in the hut.

It is from this metaleptic bubble that Ajax cannot escape. His inability to perceive reality resides in his inability to escape from the constraints of delusion and hallucination. In lines 594–595, when Tecmessa begs Ajax to consider the possibility of living his life regardless the circumstances, Ajax replies in reprimand that she is not able to educate him (μῶρά μοι δοκεῖς φρονεῖν, / εἰ τοῦμόν ἦθος ἄρτι παιδεύειν νοεῖς). His reply can be also read figuratively, as if he is unable to function at the diegetic level. Both his main acts, the slaughtering of the cattle, as well as the suicide, take place in two different hypodiegeses, the first of which also generates a metalepsis. His narrative ‘dedication’ to the hypodiegeses enhances furthermore the remoteness of both, especially that of the hallucination.

The stage characters’ unfamiliarity with the event is dramatically displayed also towards the end of the play, in the dialogue between Menelaus and Teucer. Menelaus boldly demands that Ajax shall not be buried, because it is unacceptable for his own killer to be offered this honor (1126). This being said by someone who is obviously alive provides a sharp metaleptic oxymoron that rightly makes Teucer question its validity (1127):

MENEAAOS
 δίκαια γὰρ τόνδ’ εὐτυχεῖν κτείναντά με;
 ΤΕΥΚΡΟΣ
 κτείναντα; δεινόν γ’ εἶπας, εἰ καὶ ζῆις θανών.
 ΜΕΝΕΑΑΟΣ
 θεὸς γὰρ ἐκσώζει με, τῷδε δ’ οἴχομαι.
 (1126–1128)

MENELAUS
 Is it just that this man should be honoured when he was my murderer?
 TEUCER
 Your murderer? You have said a strange thing, if you have died but are alive.
 MENELAUS
 Yes, a god has kept me safe, but for Ajax I am dead.

This very last line by Menelaus reflects the different perceptions of reality imbued in the different narrative levels. In the diegesis Menelaus is alive, but he is dead in the hypodiegesis for Ajax. The metaleptic clash of these two levels arises when madness deprives Ajax of the ability of understanding the layering of the narrative and of distinguishing between hypodiegetic hallucination and diegetic reality. What is mirrored here is a type of complex metalepsis that usually involves the disarrangement of the diegetic to the extradiegetic narrative level, that is the

world that stands outside the universe of the play, the world of the creation of the narrative.⁵⁶ When the borders between the diegetic and the extradiegetic narrative levels are trespassed, metalepsis can indeed lead to signs of derangement of the narratees' reality:

The 'cognitive shift' induced by the transgression of diegetic levels (as that which was thought to belong to the world of the told is suddenly part of the world of the telling or vice versa) is not disturbing because it belongs to a realm of play, clearly disengaged from the world in which the metalepsis is understood. The moment metalepsis not only implies but literally and physically 'contaminates' the world in which we understand, we may argue that madness has replaced the comic. Should this 'effect' exist, and the condition called 'clinical vampirism'⁵⁷ possibly suggest it does, this may be termed *metaleptic madness*.⁵⁸

This is certainly not the exact case in the *Ajax* but is strikingly similar in many ways. Although Menelaus is not acting in the extradiegetic level, he is transferring the level of the hypodiegesis higher in the play's narrative stratigraphy, bringing it to the diegesis. This would mean that this scene is reproducing what Hanebeck calls 'metaleptic madness', but with internal, character-bound narratees (and not the external non-fictional narratees described above), hence conveying the transgression of narrative levels at a lower point, not between the extradiegesis and the diegesis, but between the diegesis and the hypodiegesis. What Menelaus is experiencing is the transfer of the hypodiegetic level in the level of the diegesis. Although it is clear that he is not part of the hypodiegesis, nor that he has been killed by Ajax, in line 1127 (δίκαια γὰρ τόνδ' εὐτυχεῖν κτείναντά μὲ) Menelaus speaks as if he is submerged in the hypodiegetic narrative universe, as if he has been indeed put to death by Ajax.

⁵⁶ Genette calls extradiegetic the narratorial level, i.e. the level which is superordinate to the level of the basic storyline, the diegesis (Genette 1980, 227–231). See also Fludernik 2009, 26–28, 157; Herman 2009, 65–68; and above, nn. 2–3.

⁵⁷ Also known as Renfield syndrome, 'clinical vampirism' is the clinical psychiatric condition in which patients are obsessed with drinking blood, 'metaleptically' following the example of the fictional character R.M. Renfield, Dracula's human zoophagous follower, in Bram Stoker's 1897 novel *Dracula* (see Noll 1992). Another contemporary example of the metaleptic transfer of a fictional diegetic framework in the real life world of the extradiegetic level could also include the very recent and much debated so called 'Bird Box challenge', consisting of reenacting in real life the *Bird Box* movie's fictional characters' ordeal of living completely blindfolded in order to survive (<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/jan/08/bird-box-challenge-why-blindfolding-yourself-and-walking-into-walls-is-even-more-stupid-than-it-sounds>).

⁵⁸ Hanebeck 2017, 115.

Metaleptic dystopia

As argued above, the narrative construction of a metaleptic ‘bubble’ intensifies any feelings of fear, disgust, or grimness that lie in the hallucinating clash of the narrative levels. In the *Ajax*, the connection between madness and illness takes place in the hypodiegesis, which thus acquires an especially appalling, almost dystopic outlook. Dystopia is usually defined as antithetical to utopia:

‘Dystopia’ is often used ... to describe a fictional portrayal of a society in which evil, or negative social and political developments, have the upper hand, or as a satire of utopian aspirations which attempts to show [its] fallacies.⁵⁹

The hypodiegesis of Ajax’s hallucination is of course not intended to portray a society of ‘evil, or negative social and political developments’.⁶⁰ Given the fact however that dystopic narratives tend to provide a grim estimate of socio-political developments of the contemporary world into the future,⁶¹ the hypodiegesis of Ajax’s delirium is indeed an unwanted development of anger from which the rest of the stage characters want to keep in distance. The hypodiegesis is part of the world of the narrative but with the exception of Ajax, not part of the world of the fictional characters. By having no one but Ajax participate in the hypodiegesis, as well as by attaching to it the characteristics of a terrible νόσος, Sophocles intensifies its perilous characteristics, to which the rest of the characters will be exposed only if the two narrative levels meet, that is only if another metalepsis occur.

When Tecmessa describes Ajax’s delusion, she does so by highlighting the fact that his behavior, as well as the hypodiegesis hosting his delusion, are a sort of νόσος from which Ajax suffers:

νῦν γὰρ ὁ δεινὸς μέγας ὠμοκρατῆς
Αἴας θολερῶι
κεῖται χειμῶνι νοσήσας
(205–207)

For now the dread, the mighty Ajax, harsh in his might, lies low, stricken by a turbid storm of sickness.

⁵⁹ Claeys 2010, 107. A paradigm of the genre of dystopia is George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

⁶⁰ Especially since the terms ‘evil’ and ‘negative’ are problematic by definition as highly subjective. See Lehnen 2017, 16–17.

⁶¹ Zeissler 2008, 9.

Her words capture more than a tragic character's generic fall. They present Athena-driven madness as illness, making the hypodiegesis even more appalling. Tecmessa acts as another internal narrator who communicates the hypodiegesis to the internal and external narratees, underscoring the hypodiegesis' dystopic, dysfunctional characteristics. Because of his starring in the hypodiegesis, Ajax makes the stage characters uncomfortable: Teucer orders that Ajax shall be kept within his hut (ἐκεῖνον εἶργειν Τεῦκρος ἐξεφίεται / σκηνῆς ὕπαυλον μηδ' ἀφίεναι μόνον, 795–796) and the Messenger is afraid when Ajax is not there (Αἴαντος δ' ὅτι, / θυραῖος εἴπερ ἐστίν, οὐ θαρσῶ πέρι, 792–793).⁶²

The very same characteristics were earlier endorsed by the chorus, who acknowledged Ajax's actions as part of a sickness that 'devours the mind' (νοσοῦντα φρενοβόρως, 625), as the consequence of frenzy (note παραπλήκτωι χερσί, 'frenzied hand' of 230) and are afraid of coexisting with someone who has so severely wronged the community and might even be stoned (πεφόβημαι λιθόλευστον Ἄρη / ξυναλγεῖν μετὰ τοῦδε τυπεῖς, / τὸν αἰς' ἄπλατος ἴσχει, 254–256).⁶³ Ajax's actions and the narrative world in which he performed them (hypodiegesis) are dangerous not only for the participants of the hypodiegesis, but also for the characters of the main narrative. The chorus' desire to leave can reflect their intention to stay away from the hypodiegesis in a metanarrative way, underscoring the hypodiegesis as a remote, dangerous, problematic narrative world that should be avoided. The chorus finally stays on stage after Tecmessa's reassuring that Ajax is brought back to his senses (257–258, οὐκέτι. λαμπρᾶς γὰρ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς / αἶξας ὀξὺς νότος ὥς λήγει. / καὶ νῦν φρόνιμος νέον ἄλγος ἔχει) hence they are not endangered by his νόσος.

Some lines later however, Tecmessa says that although Ajax is sane, the chorus and herself are still suffering (269, ἡμεῖς ἄρ' οὐ νοσοῦντος ἀτώμεσθα νῦν). She then draws a line between the Ajax's 'pleasure' during his madness and the grief of all those who were not mentally ill:

⁶² The narrative use of the hut is that of an offstage space of indoor *oikos* which yet conveys outdoor massacre. By having some of the slaughtered animals be brought inside the hut, the tragic narrator blurs the distinction between the inside and the outside, turning Ajax's *oikos* into an interior battlefield. On this and the importance of the location of Ajax's suicide, see Martin 2018.

⁶³ 'Stoning is ... a form of spontaneous collective punishment of an individual perceived to have wronged the community as a whole' (Olson 2002 *ad Ar. Ach.* 234–236). The chorus' fear almost works as an *advance mention* (a proleptic 'narrative seed' that is usually 'planted' early in the narrative and remains unnoticed until it becomes significant retrospectively, Genette 1980, 73–77; see also Lamari 2010, 48 n. 221), but for Ajax's brother, Teucer (727–728). For a discussion of the passage see Finglass 2011, *ad loc.*

ΤΕΚΜΗΣΣΑ

ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος, ἡνίκ' ἦν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ,
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἡδεθ' οἷσιν εἶχετ' ἐν κακοῖς,
 ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς φρονοῦντας ἡνία ξυνών.
 (271–273)

That man, when he was afflicted by his sickness, himself took pleasure in the troubles which gripped him, but caused grief through his presence to us who were sane.⁶⁴

Tecmessa's explanation brings out the reason why the involvement in the hypodiegesis did not cause a metalepsis for the rest of the stage characters, as it did for Ajax. Although the hypodiegesis was colored with repulsive, dystopic characteristics, grief was really caused because the rest of the characters were sane to witness Ajax's bewildering. Ajax suffered the most because he was involved in the hypodiegesis without realizing that this was in conflict with the diegesis, as the rest of the characters could realize. Throughout the narrative, the hypodiegesis is presented as a virtual place of dread and horror, almost acquiring spatial dimensions. On stage characters express their unease when Ajax wanders freely in the diegetic universe and they are portrayed as loathing for Ajax's spatial seclusion within the hut (795–796), a seclusion also registering as Ajax's narrative isolation within the hypodiegesis.

Exiting metalepsis

Quite early in the narrative, Tecmessa marks the difference between diegesis and hypodiegesis, as well as the procedure of Ajax's exit from the hypodiegesis after the clash of the metalepsis. Her main description (lines 284–310) highlights the difference between the two narrative levels and marks the exit from that of the hypodiegesis. Ajax exits the hypodiegesis when he is not anymore ill (269, οὐ νοσοῦντος; 274, νῦν δ' ὡς ἔληξε κἀνέπνευσε τῆς νόσου). According to Tecmessa's description this happened after Ajax attacked the cattle and returned to his hut:

κάπειτ' ἐπαίξας αὐθις ἐς δόμους πάλιν
 ἔμφρων μόλις πως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθίσταται.
 καὶ πλῆρες ἄτης ὡς διοπτρεύει στέγος,
 παίσας κάρα θώυξεν. ἐν δ' ἐρείπιοις

⁶⁴ Translation by Finglass 2011, *ad loc.*

νεκρῶν ἐρειφθεῖς ἔζετ' ἀρνείου φόνου,
 κόμην ἀπρίξ ὄνουσι συλλαβῶν χερί.
 (305–310)

Then he rushed back into the hut and at last with difficulty came to his senses; and when he gazed at the room filled with ruin he struck his head and uttered a loud cry, he fell among the fallen corpses of the slaughtered sheep and sat there, grasping his hair and tearing it with his nails.

Ajax's return to his senses comes when he can perceive the reality of the diegetic level. He understands the atrocities he has committed when he can see clearly and gaze at the slaughtered cattle in the hut as any other of the narratees would do (307). His reaction is then devastating: he laments with dreadful cries, as he has never done before (ὁ δ' εὐθύς ἐξώμωξεν οἰωγὰς λυγράς, / ἃς οὔποτ' αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν εἰσήκουσ' ἐγώ, 317–318). Metalepsis was at work for him, as he was torn between two separate narrative levels that he should not have crossed. The two parallel levels of diegesis and hypodiegesis were interwoven only for Ajax, who was the only character to experience metalepsis actively and not passively like the rest of the narratees. Ajax was the only stage character to perceive two different narrative levels as one and because of that be torn in a metaleptic clash. For the rest of the characters, sanity and madness were clearly separated, having between them a substantial narrative distance. Ajax's toils were caused by letting the hypodiegesis intrude into the diegesis. When he returned to his senses and exited the hypodiegesis, he was able to see the consequences of metalepsis as the grim reality on the diegetic level (πλήρες ἄτης ὡς διοπτρεύει στέγος, 307). His utter devastation upon this realization comes as no surprise (310, 317).⁶⁵

In this paper I examined metalepsis as a clash of the narrative levels of the story and I explored the multiple ways in which, metalepsis, when experienced by an onstage dramatic character, can work as a narrative representation of the stage character's hallucinating self. The *Ajax* develops around such a metalepsis, since the play's climax, Ajax's suicide, happens as a conscious repercussion of the havoc following his metaleptic delusion in which the protagonist could not esti-

⁶⁵ Ajax's reaction after the metalepsis resembles to a big extent that of Agave in the *Bacchae*; Agave is participating in the hypodiegesis in hallucination for the biggest part of the play. She is regaining her senses and starts exiting the hypodiegesis towards the end (1269–1270), reaching the climax of 1284, when she finally realizes she is carrying the head of Pentheus in her hands. Utterly devastated, she abandons the diegetic world, just as Ajax, although she finally becomes an exile and does not commit suicide.

mate the difference between the two narrative levels, that of the diegesis (equaling mental stability), and that of the hypodiegesis (equaling delirium). In narrative terms, the increased narrative authority of a stage character (Athena) leads to a hypodiegesis with the participation of a single stage character (Ajax). Athena's intervention results in Ajax's inability to perceive the narrative world in the way it is perceived by the rest of the characters and narratees, and hence in a metaleptic collision of narrative levels. The ultimate narrative outcome, Ajax's suicide is considered imperative because of the horrendous consequences of a tantalizing metalepsis that was calamitous for himself as it was for his victims. For the audience, ancient and modern alike, it is a vain effort to escape from a powerful internal clash that left the hero in ruins.

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Euripides' Reception of the Aeschylean *Lycurgeia* in the *Bacchae*: Themes and Concepts

Aeschylus treated the myth of Dionysus, his persecution in Thrace and Thebes, and the triumphant establishment of his cult at the end in two tetralogies: a) In the *Lycurgeia* that consisted of the *Edonoi*, *Bassarai* or *Bassarides*, *Neaniskoi* and the satyr-play *Lycurgus*, according to the Scholia on Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 135.¹ The title *Lycurgeia* occurs for the first time in Mnesilochus' ironical address to Agathon in this Aristophanic play. b) In the so-called Theban tetralogy,² which on the basis of the Medicean catalogue included the *Bacchae*, *Xantriae*, *Pentheus*, *Semele* or *Hydrophoroi* and *Trophoi* or *Dionysou Trophoi*, according to the Hypothesis to Euripides' *Medea*. *Trophoi* or *Dionysou Trophoi* concerns the nurses of Dionysus and seems to be the satyr-play.³ The difficulty involved in a tetralogy attested to consist of five plays can be tackled, if *Pentheus* is an alternative title for *Bacchae* or, less likely, for *Xantriae*.⁴ The *Pentheus* was probably included in the tetralogy. On the other hand, the *Bacchae* seems to be erroneously added, possibly because of the later influence of E. *Bacchae* that aroused a renewal of interest in Dionysiac plays. The fact that the fragment preserved from A. *Pentheus* has been reworked in E. *Bacchae*⁵ tells in favour of the possibility that the *Pentheus* was included in Aeschylus' tetralogy.

An earlier treatment of the Dionysus-myth is provided by the tetralogy of Polyphrasmon, Phrynichus' son, entitled *Lycurgeia* (only its title is preserved),

1 Τὴν τετραλογίαν λέγει Λυκούργειαν Ἡδωνούς, Βασσαρίδας, Νεανίσκους, Λυκοῦργον τὸν σατυρικόν. The name *Lycurgeia*, added by the scholiast, assures a general adherence to the story of Lycurgus: Gantz 2007, 47. Aélion 1983, 1.254–258, mentions (but not extensively) some parallel motifs in A. *Lycurgeia* and E. *Bacchae*.

2 Dodds 1960, xxix, Radt 1985, 137.

3 Radt 1985, 349–350 with references, Gantz 2007, 61.

4 For various suggestions on this issue, see Dodds 1960, xxix and n.3, Radt 1985, 137 (note on A. *Bacchae*), Gantz 1980, 154–156, 2007, 61–64, Sommerstein 2016, 30.

5 The unique verse from A. *Pentheus* fr. 183 R. μηδ' αἵματος πέμφιγα πρὸς πέδῳ βάλης, 'do not throw to the ground a drop of blood', seems to point to Dionysus' peaceful dominance of the Maenads, explicitly expressed by the god in *Ba.* 804: (Dion.) ἐγὼ γυναῖκας δεῦρ' ὅπλων ἄξω δίχλα, 'I will bring the women here without using weapons' and in *Ba.* 837: (Dion.) ἀλλ' αἶμα θήσεις συμβαλὼν βάκχαις μάχην, 'but you will create bloodshed if you join battle with the Bacchantes'. The translation of the lines from the *Bacchae* in this paper mainly follows Seaford 1997.

presented and placed third in 467 B.C.,⁶ the date of Aeschylus' *Septem*. Aeschylus' *Lycurgeia* is likely to be dated later, at the time approximately of the *Oresteia* (458 B.C.).⁷ More specifically, the epiphany-scene in fr. 58 R. involving a reference to the palace-building may give a clue to the date of the *Lycurgeia*, for in A. *Agamemnon* a palace is also represented on the façade of the stage-building.⁸

Other treatments, after Aeschylus: Sophocles' son Iophon produced plays entitled *Bacchae* and *Pentheus*.⁹ The story of Dionysus was neglected for many decades. Xenocles in 415 B.C., the date of E. *Troades*, also wrote *Bacchae*, included in the tetralogy *Oedipus*, *Lycaon*, *Bacchae* and the satyr-play *Athamas*. He won the first prize defeating Euripides' trilogy including the *Troades*. Xenocles' success probably induced Euripides to deal with Dionysus in the last period of his life in Macedonia. A *Semele Keraunomene* was a play by Spantharus.¹⁰

In the fourth century, and after the successful performance and the influence of E. *Bacchae*, Dionysiac plays seem to win a remarkable popularity. We know of Diogenes' *Semele* (*TrGF* 1, 45 F 1), Astydamos inc. fr. 6 (*TrGF* 1, 60 F 6),¹¹ Carcinus' *Semele* (*TrGF* 1, 70 F 2–3), Chaeremon's *Dionysus* (*TrGF* 1, 71 F 4–7),¹² and Cleophon's *Bacchae* (*TrGF* 1, 77 T 1 ap. *Sud.* κ 1730). However, the earlier and the later Dionysiac plays are mainly known from often uninformative fragmentary evidence or merely by title.

On the basis of a well-established view that the origin of tragedy was rooted in the ritual of Dionysus, Dionysiac tragedies were more frequently attested in the earlier dramatic production than in the second half of the fifth century. Such a remark is confirmed by the Aeschylean treatment of the Dionysus-myth.

The *Bacchae*, the last play of Euripides, provides a unique instance of a purely Dionysiac treatment at the end of fifth-century dramatic production. "The most tragic of the poets" handled a play on Dionysus presenting a kind of tragedy that had been neglected for decades. A spur was probably given by Aeschylus' tetralogies on Dionysus and his cult.

6 Argument to the *Seven Against Thebes*, POxy 2256 fr. 2. Di. 467 = DID C 4, *TrGF* 1, Snell-Kannicht 1986, 5, Hutchinson 2001, xvii–xviii; earlier Séchan 1926, 63 and n.10, Sutton 1971, 388.

7 Jouan 1992, 73 dates it between 466 (just after Polyphrasmon's play) and 459 B.C., obviously following earlier suggestions: see Séchan 1926, 64 and n.1 referring to Croiset, Haupt, and Wilamowitz.

8 Taplin 1977, 452–459.

9 *Suda* v. Βάκχαι ἢ Πενθεύς: *TrGF* 1 22 T 1a and F 2.

10 DID C14, *TrGF* I 33 F1 and 40 T 1 (= *Sud.* σ 945), *TrGF* 1 Snell-Kannicht 1986, 152–153, 168.

11 Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 95–96.

12 Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 90–92.

1 The Dramatic Action of the *Lycurgeia*

The text of [Apollodorus] (3.5.1–2) provides a basic source for the action of the *Lycurgeia*.

Apollodorus' text can be summed up as follows: Dionysus, driven mad by jealous Hera, after many wanderings and his purification by Rhea, arrived in Thrace. Lycurgus, the King of Edonians, resisted Dionysus' cult, imprisoned his Bacchantes and Satyrs and threatened the god, who was finally saved by Thetis. The Bacchantes were released in a miraculous way (the imprisonment and the liberation of the Theban maenads in *E. Ba.* 226–27, 443–48 seem to be modelled on *A. Lycurgeia*; cf. Naevius *Lycurgus* fr. 6 R., frs. 46–47 Warmington).¹³ Madness descended on Lycurgus who slaughtered his son Dryas with an axe imagining that he was lopping a branch of vine. And when he had cut his son's extremities, he recovered his senses. Since, however, the land of Edonians suffered for a long time of sterility, people, following oracular advice, imprisoned Lycurgus in the heights of Mt. Pangaeum, where by the will of Dionysus he was dilacerated by horses.

The rest of Apollodorus' narrative refers to the myth dealt by Euripides in his *Bacchae* and probably by Aeschylus in his Theban tetralogy. The motifs of captivity, miraculous release, and madness, originating in Homer (*Il.* 6.130–140),¹⁴ seem to be common in Aeschylus, Euripides, and Apollodorus.¹⁵ Lycurgus' slaughter of his son is also a tragic theme *par excellence*, with a later parallel in *E. Heracles* 990–1015. In view of a middle fourth-century red-figure calyx-krater, the first play of the *Lycurgeia*, the *Edonoi*, seems also to have dealt with Lycurgus' madness and the slaughter of his son Dryas,¹⁶ most probably reported in a messenger-speech. Moreover, in an Apulian column-krater of approx. 350 B.C. Lycurgus is depicted killing his own son.¹⁷ The parallel of the infanticide in *E. Heracles*

¹³ Dodds 1960, xxxii, Seaford 1997, 186.

¹⁴ Aeschylus' divergencies from the Homeric narrative are discussed in my forthcoming book.

¹⁵ For Apollodorus' account, depending on both Aeschylus and Eumelus, see Carpenter 1997, 37.

¹⁶ London, British Museum F271. Discussion: Séchan 1926, 71 fig. 21, Sutton 1975, 357, Taplin 2007, 13, 70f.; bibliography in Green & Handley 1995, fig. 19, 133: In the centre, Lycurgus driven mad by Dionysus, with a double-axe in his right hand, grabs his fallen and wounded wife by the hair, ready to kill her. On the right, two attendants, in a state of desolation, carry off the body of Dryas. On the left, a young person tugs his hair while the old pedagogue, unable to intervene, watches the tragic events in despair. There is above, as often in vase-paintings, a composition of gods as well as the personification of madness.

¹⁷ Ruvo, Museo Jatta 36955, Taplin 2007, 12, 69f. For Lycurgus' myth in vase paintings, see also Carpenter 1993, 198 and n.26, *LIMC* s.v. Lycourgos. Sutton 1975 discussed nine instances of vases

and particularly the action of E. *Bacchae*, with Agave slaughtering her son Pentheus in Dionysiac fury, further support the view that the madness of Lycurgus and his son's murder were included in the action of the *Edonoi*.¹⁸ By all means, Apollodorus' text provides an outline of the complex plot¹⁹ of the *Lycurgeia*.²⁰ The thematic association of the *Lycurgeia* and its strong connection with the action of E. *Bacchae* is also indicated by the fact that [Apollod.] 3.5.1–2 immediately after the myth of Lycurgus summarizes that of Pentheus.

The action of the *Lycurgeia*, as narrated by Apollodorus, is likely to be echoed in the fourth stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone* (vv. 955–965) with reference to Lycurgus' insolence towards Dionysus, his madness and his imprisonment. This passage in the *Antigone* involves remarkable resemblances with the action of Aeschylus' *Lycurgeia*, especially of the *Edonoi*: Lycurgus' words of mockery (κερτομίαις γλώσσαίς) and his insolence towards the god, the interrogation-scene, the madness-motif, the powerful opposition to Dionysiac ritual (εὖιον πῦρ), the persecution of both Dionysus and the Bacchantes and Lycurgus' punishment and imprisonment.

The fragments of Naevius' *Lycurgus* point to some significant affinities, mainly with the *Edonoi*. Attempts were made to reconstruct this first play of the Aeschylean trilogy on the basis of Naevius' tragedy,²¹ which seems to have been modelled on Aeschylus. In general lines, the reconstruction of Naevius' play includes: a prologue with a messenger informing Lycurgus of Dionysus' arrival with his followers; their arrest reported by a guard to Lycurgus, the description of the effeminate god, his confrontation with the king, the imprisonment of the god and his *thiasos*, the theophany, and the destruction of Lycurgus' palace.²² The resemblances with certain key themes of the *Edonoi* (interrogation-scene, the effeminate Dionysus, and god's epiphany) are obvious.

depicting the insane Lycurgus killing his own wife and son; earlier, see Séchan 1926, 70–74, Brommer 1960, 355; Webster 1967, 139–140 attributes all the paintings to the *Edonoi*. A different opinion is expressed by Séchan 1926, 66–79, who attributes the main vase paintings to the *Bassarids*, assuming that Lycurgus' madness and Dryas' murder were included in the action of the *Bassarids*. For earlier discussions on this issue, see Séchan 1926, 66 n.5.

¹⁸ Cf. West 1983, 64, 1990, 31.

¹⁹ According to Arist. *Poet.* 10, 1452a 16–17, 13, 1452b 31–33 with *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis*.

²⁰ A reconstruction of the *Lycurgeia* has been attempted by many scholars: see, among others, Deichgräber 1938–1939, Mette 1963, 136–141, Sutton 1971, West 1983, 1990, 26–50, Sommerstein 2008, 2016.

²¹ Ribbeck 1875, 10–15, Deichgräber 1938–1939, Séchan 1926, 66 and n.3, Sutton 1971, 390–395.

²² See, indicatively, Sutton 1971, 390–395.

2 Similarities with the *Bacchae*

Significant similarities, both general and specific, in themes, style, and concepts,²³ emerge from a cross-exploration of Aeschylus' *Lycurgeia* and the *Bacchae*. The *Lycurgeia* dealt with a myth similar to Euripides' play and focused on a central theme: a theomachos, Lycurgus and Pentheus, fights the god and his followers and is finally punished for his impiety. The opposition to Dionysus and his cult, the theomachy, entails thus the powerful destruction of god's persecutor and the disruption of his own *oikos*, his family:²⁴ Dryas, Lycurgus' son, and his mother, as well as Agave and Cadmus, respectively.

2.1 General resemblances

The hostility of Lycurgus and Pentheus to the Dionysiac cult was probably derived from its supposedly foreign origin,²⁵ from their moral objections to some elements of his ritual, such as drunkenness and sexual indulgence²⁶ and from their fear that the new cult will threaten the social cohesion of the city and in particular their autocratic governing.²⁷ For this reason, Teiresias and Cadmus tried to appease Pentheus and persuade him to accept the new cult (*Ba.* 272–327, 330–342). A similar intervention lacks from what is known from the *Edonoi*, though it occurs in other versions of the Lycurgus story.²⁸

Dionysus' power is justified because, as a god, he is expressed forcefully upon mortals who deny him. In his anthropomorphic epiphanies, in particular in the *Edonoi* and *E. Bacchae*, he hides his destructive power appearing in a position of weakness and inferiority compared to his opponents, Lycurgus and Pentheus. Thus, his vindictive punishment on them is not direct but deceptive, in order to conceal his presence, and his reaction to men's denial of his divinity is based on

²³ A more extensive discussion in my forthcoming treatment.

²⁴ For Dionysus as destroyer of *oikos* by inspiring frenzy and in particular maenadism, Seaford 1993.

²⁵ In *E. Ba.* 13–17 Dionysus himself in his opening monologue refers to the establishment of his cult throughout Asia.

²⁶ See Winnington-Ingram 1969, 99.

²⁷ In *E. Ba.* 36–40 Dionysus characteristically proclaims that he brings his cult to the *polis*, even if the city does not want to. For Dionysus as subversive of autocracy and a symbolic reversal of the structure of the *polis*, see Seaford 2006, 26–38.

²⁸ In the seventh *Homeric Hymn*, Diodorus Siculus 3.64–66, and in an anonymous papyrus-text of the third century A.D.: Page 1950, v.1, no 129, 520–525.

self-destructive incentives that cause madness or transformation²⁹ in Lycurgus and Pentheus, respectively. Dionysiac initiation changes the nature of the recipient and creates a powerful bond between the god and his followers, as it emerges from the main fragment (57 R.) of the *Edonoi* and extensively from E. *Bacchae*.

2.2 Specific resemblances

The reception of the Aeschylean treatment in the *Bacchae* is also clearly displayed in the handling of themes distinctly involving features of Dionysus' mythological and literary tradition.

2.2.1 God's captivity

In both plays, the *Edonoi* and the *Bacchae*, Dionysus, transformed into a mortal, is captured with the Bacchantes, bound by his opponents, Lycurgus and Pentheus, and miraculously liberated. The motif of god's captivity was for the first time treated in *Il.* 6.130–140 and the *Seventh Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, echoed in [Apollod.] 3.5.1.

2.2.2 Dionysiac thiasos: Aspects of his ritual (*Edonoi* fr. 57 R.)

The longest fr. 57 R., written in anapaests, and aptly allocated in the *parodos*,³⁰ comprises remarkable aspects of Dionysiac ritual and is typical of Aeschylus' inventiveness in language and imagery.³¹ The *Persae* and the *Supplices* provide parallel treatments of the beginning of Aeschylean plays with a *parodos* and not a prologue. The play, as suggested from the description of the whole scene (ὁ μὲν ... ὁ δέ), included a male chorus which consisted of the Edonian worshippers of Cotys.³² The male chorus of the *Edonoi*, as the female of the Maenads in E. *Bacchae*, seems

²⁹ Cf. Henrichs 1993, 18–19 and n.11 with references.

³⁰ Wecklein & Ζωμαρίδης 1896, 613 were, as far it is known, the first to suggest a *parodos* as the beginning of the play. They were followed by Deichgräber 1938–39, 249.

³¹ On this issue, see extensively Xanthakis-Karamanos 2005, 556–557, 2012, 328–329.

³² Thus, aptly Deichtgräber 1938–39, 248, who presented a good reconstruction of the *Edonoi* based on the preserved fragments and the evidence provided from Naevius' *Lycurgus*. His reconstruction was followed by later scholars (see n. 20 above).

to signify that Dionysus' worship concerns the whole community.³³ This text of fr. 57 R. has been preserved by Strabo (10.3.16 p. 470c), who noted similarities in the worship of the Thracian goddess Cotys and in that of Dionysus:

σεμνάς Κοτυτοῦς ὄργι' ἔχοντες

ὁ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν

βόμβυκας ἔχων, τὸρνον κάματον,

δακτυλόδικτον³⁴ πίμπλησι μέλος,

μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὁμοκλάν,

5

ὁ δὲ χαλκοδέτοις κοτύλαις ὀτοβεῖ

ψαλμός δ' ἀλαλάζει.

ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται

ποθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῆμοι,

ἡχώ τυπάνου δ'³⁵, ὥσθ' ὑπογαίου

10

βροντῆς, φέρεται βαρυταρβῆς

1 σεμνάς Κοτυτοῦς Aly: σεμνά κόπτους C: σεμνά κόπτους' D h: σεμνά Κότυς cett.: σεμνά Κοτυτοῦς Nauck: σεμνάς Κότυος Hartung | ὄργι' Nauck: ὄρια/εἰα δ' ὄργαν' codd. *alii alia* | ἔχοντες cett., Strab.: ἔχοντας D^hinopB^{pc}k^{pc}: ἔχοντα k^{ac}x: ἄγοντες Blaydes || 2 χερσὶν Pauw: -οὶ codd. || 4 δακτυλόδικτον Pauw, prob. Hermann (*Opusc.* 5,7): δακτυλόδεικτον codd.: δακτυλόθικτον Jacobs, prob. Sommerstein: δακτυλότευκτον Lobeck (*Phryn.* 623) || 5 ὁμοκλάν codd.: ὁμοκλήν Dindorf^a || 6 χαλκοδέτοις Athen. Σ Hom. Eust.: χαλκοθέ(τ)οις Strab. | ὀττόβει Strab. D, ὀτόβει Strab. Ch, *alii alia* || 7 finem versus catalectici esse censuerunt Scaliger, Pauw; vid. Radt || 9 φοβεροὶ E: φομέριοι B^{pc}Ck: φοβέριοι cett. || 10 τυπάνου Scaliger, Pauw: τυμπανοῦ codd. | ἡχώ τυπάνου δ' F.W. Schmidt: τυμπάνου ἡχώ δ' Bothe¹: τυμπανοῦ δ' ἡχώ kno ed. pr.: εἰχών B^{pc}Ix: εἰκῶν cett., prob. Radt: τυμπάνων ἡχώ δ' Herwerden || 11 βαρυταρβῆς codd.: βρέμεται F.W. Schmidt: βαρυαχῆς Blaydes

And practising the holy ecstatic rites of Cotyto

One man holds in his hands

a pair of pipes, fashioned on the lathe,

and plays out a fingered melody,

a loud cry that brings on frenzy,

while another crashes the bronze cymbals

³³ On this issue, cf. Seaford 2006, 32 without including a special reference to the *Edonoi*.

³⁴ Δακτυλόθικτον corrected Jacobs followed by Sommerstein 2008, 62; δακτυλόδεικτον: codd., meaning 'pointing at with the finger' (A. Ag. 1332); δακτυλόδικτον Musurus; δακτυλόδικτον μέλος, 'thrown from the fingers' (*LSJ*), regarding A. fr. 57 R.

³⁵ Radt 1985, 180 prints τυπάνου δ' εἰκῶν, which does not give a clear meaning.

and the twang of strings resounds;
 and terrifying imitators of the voice of bulls
 bellow in response from somewhere out of sight,
 and the fearful deep sound of the drum
 carries to the ear like thunder beneath the earth.³⁶

The chorus of Edonians refers to the cult of the Thracian goddess Cotys or Cotyto, pointing to its affinities in Thrace with that of Dionysus, and describes the newcomers' wild music and strange ritual. The first verse refers to the cult of Cotys, resembling significantly that of Rhea, while what follows clearly describes a Dionysiac *thiasos*: some of them hold flutes bringing on frenzy, some others clang the bronze-bound cymbals, triumphant shouts raise aloud and unseen bull-voiced mimes in answer bellow fearfully, while the terrifying sound of drums is likened to the deep rumble of thunder.³⁷ The chorus describes its appearance, rites, and cult instruments with their sound effects. The language with the rich vocabulary and the concept of the Aeschylean text most probably provided the model for the *parodos* of E. *Bacchae*, which both in form and content are very close to "an actual cult hymn".³⁸ In particular, vv. 120–129 are similar in imagery to that of the *Edonoi* with the bacchic dance mixed with music of pipes (αὐλοί) and the Bacchants' cries of joy.³⁹

The orgies, 'rites', of the Bacchants provide the kernel of Dionysiac cult.⁴⁰ Orgies point to mystic initiation, since they are revealed only to the initiated and denote acts in the framework of a religious ritual. In Aeschylus the reference is to the cult of Cotys, akin to that of Cybele / Rhea and Dionysus. In the *Bacchae* Euripides adopts a distinctly syncretistic approach similarly associating Dionysiac orgies with those of the Asiatic Cybele (vv. 78–82), whose cult was introduced to

³⁶ The translation follows Sommerstein 2008, 63. The English translation of the discussed fragments of the *Lycurgeia* mainly follows Sommerstein 2008, and the apparatus criticus is based on Radt 1985.

³⁷ "Terrifying imitators with the voices of bulls give a subdued roar from some invisible place, and the terrifying image of a drum is carried as of underground thunder" translates Seaford 1997, 195, citing parallel images of Dionysiac rite. The bull-noise may be produced by the ρόμβος or ρύμβος, an instrument whirled round on the end of a string (*LSJ*⁹ s.v.). Ρόμβος was used in the mysteries; cf. E. *Hel.* 1362 with Kannicht ad loc. 1969 and Seaford 1984, 42 n.125, 1981, 266, remarking that ρόμβος was associated with initiation ritual.

³⁸ Thus Dodds 1960, 71, referring to Deichgräber 1935, 323ff.

³⁹ Sutton 1971, 399 also compares fr. 472 K. from Euripides' *Cretans*.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Etym. Magn.* ὄργια: τὰ μυστήρια, κυρίως δὲ τὰ Διονυσιακά.

Greece in the fifth century:⁴¹ mountain cult, pipes, drums, and mystic initiation are basic common elements of Cybele and Dionysus.

After the reference to Cotys' rites the narrative focuses on the appearance of the *thiasos*, god's worshippers.⁴² The account obviously points to a group of initiates to Dionysiac mystic ritual, who seem to have followed Dionysus in Thrace. It comprises some Dionysiac key-words while the imagery seems to have inspired Euripides when referring to Dionysus' cult throughout his play: βόμβυξ, a kind of flute used in orgiastic ceremonies,⁴³ and the "bronze-bound cymbals" (χαλκοδέτοις κοτύλαις) are the musical instruments producing melody "thrown from the fingers" (δακτυλόδικτον μέλος) that "brings on shouts of madness and ecstasy" (μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὁμοκλάν). The image of ecstasy, achieved with the music of the Phrygian flutes in Dionysiac rituals, is masterfully described in the *parodos* of the *Bacchae* (vv. 126–129). The syncretism of cult is obvious here: the τύμπανον of the Coryvantes is mingled with the melody of Rhea's Phrygian flute and with the Bacchants' worship of Dionysus.⁴⁴ Βόμβυξ is replaced by the much commoner αὐλός in *Ba.* 128, but its effect on the *thiasos* remains equally powerful.

Fundamental features of the god's male and female *thiasos* are shared in this main fragment of the *Edonoi* (fr. 57 R.) and the *Bacchae*: the *thiasos*' cohesion with natural environment, the strong communication of the participants, all possessed by Dionysus, and their psychic union with him. It is a process of an identification of one participant into another and a powerful mystic communion with the god.

The mystic cohesion of the initiated is contrasted with the individualism and the isolation of both Lycurgus and Pentheus expressed in their rejection of Dionysiac cult. Instruments such as βόμβυξ, a kind of flute like the Phrygian flutes in the *parodos* of the *Bacchae* (126–129), the bronze-cymbals and the drum with its fearful sound as in the prologue and the *parodos* of the *Bacchae*, the ritual cry of

⁴¹ For the syncretism of the cult of the Phrygian Dionysus (Sabazius), the Theban Dionysus, the Asiatic Cybele and the Cretan Rhea in the fifth-century B.C., see, indicatively, Dodds 1960, 76ff., 84, Seaford 1997, 158f. The association of Cybele with Dionysus in Euripides: *Hel.* 1355–1365; and Cybele inspiring fury: *Hipp.* 141–144.

⁴² Strabo *loc. cit.* τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον εὐθέως ἐπιφέρει. The initiate attains prosperity by participating in the *thiasos*; cf. the *makarismos* in *E. Ba.* 72–75 and Seaford 1997, 157.

⁴³ Arist. *Metaph.* 13.6.8; in Arist. *Pol.* 5, 1341a21 the flute is called ὀργιαστικόν, an instrument suitable for orgiastic rites and not for education, because it is not ἠθικόν, 'of ethical character'; Pollux 4.82: τῶν δὲ βομβύκων ἔνθεον καὶ μανικὸν τὸ αὐλήμα, πρέπον ὀργίοις, cf. *ibid.* 470. The Edonians may have been familiar, to some extent, with the Dionysiac music in view of their worship of Cotys: West 1990, 27.

⁴⁴ Winnington-Ingram 1969, 32–39 for an interpretation of the *parodos*.

triumph (ἀλαλαγμός), a functional element of orgiastic cults (*Ba.* 593, 1133), expressing the *thiasos*' delusion and its communion with Dionysus, the assimilation of the initiated with animals, especially bulls (ταυρόφθογοι μῖμοι), which represent a terrifying imitation of god's transformation to a bull⁴⁵ and point to the disruption of *thiasos*' *personae*, are elements of Dionysiac mystic cult, common in both the *Edonoi* and the *Bacchae*.

2.2.3 Light and thunder in Dionysiac ritual (*Bassarai* fr. 23a R.)

The *Catasterisms*, wrongly attributed to Eratosthenes, provide the most decisive information on the plot of the *Bassarai* (*Catast.* 24 p. 140 Robert), the second play of the *Lycurgeia*: Orpheus' *sparagmos* at the hands of the Thracian female *thiasos* of Dionysus, called Bassarids.

The text of fr. 23a R. as printed by Radt 1985, 140:

Παγγαίου γὰρ ἀργυρήλατον
πρῶν'τες τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς† πευκᾶεν σέλας

According to Sommerstein 2008, 22:

Παγγαίου γὰρ ἀργυρήλατοι
πρῶνες τότε ἀστράψουσι πευκᾶεν σέλας

1–2 ἀργυρήλατοι πρῶνες Rabe: ἀργυρήλατον πρῶν'ες cod.: ἀργυρήλατον πρῶν' ἀστραπῆς <πίμπλησι> Smyth || 2 τότε ἀστράψουσι vel ἀστράπτουσι West: τότε ἤστραπτον Palumbo: τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς cod.

'for the silver peaks of Pangaeum
will flash like lightning with the gleam of pine-torches'

In fr. 23a R. the phrase ἀργυρήλατοι / πρῶν'τες τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς† πευκᾶεν σέλας, plausibly emended to πρῶνες τότε ἀστράψουσι πευκᾶεν σέλας, seems to refer to Dionysus' female devotees, the Bassarids, in their Dionysiac revel on Mount Pangaeum. They hold their blazing pine torches, as suggested by πευκᾶεν σέλας.

⁴⁵ For Dionysus as a bull, see below fr. 23 R.

Flaming torches on the mountain provide one of the prominent features of Dionysiac worship.⁴⁶ The scene recalls similar description of light, such as thunderbolt and lightning, associated with mystic initiation in various literary texts (Hdt. 4.79.1–2, E. *Ph.* 226–228, Pl. *Rep.* 10,621b).

The image in Aeschylus may have served as model in some important scenes of E. *Bacchae*: in the masterful reference to Dionysus 'holding up the blazing flame of the pine torch rushes with the fennel rod' (...πυρσώδη φλόγα πεύκας / ἐκ νάρθηκος αἴσσει) in the *parodos* of the *Bacchae* (145–147); during Dionysus' epiphany in his divine presence (594–595); and in the last messenger speech with god's voice commanding the daughters of Cadmus, the Bacchantes, to kill Pentheus, while a light of holy fire towered between heaven and earth (1082–1083).

God's identification with the greatest light is confirmed by his initiates after Bacchus' epiphany and the palace-miracle (v. 608): 'o light supreme for us in the joyful Bacchic worship'. It is worth noting that Lycurgus in S. *Ant.* 963–964 tried to restrain, like Pentheus in *Ba.* 630–631, the god-inspired Bacchantes and the Bacchanalian fire (εὖιον πῦρ) which symbolizes god's cult and his divine power.

2.2.4 The madness-motif (*Edonoi* fr. 57.5 R.)

Madness is a prominent characteristic of the Dionysus-myth. It is the result of orgiastic cult (μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὁμοκλάν, *Edonoi* fr. 57.5 R.; ...ἐκ δόμων ὥστρησ' ἐγὼ / μανίαις ..., E. *Ba.* 32–33)⁴⁷ and a way of god's vindictive punishment of the unbelievers. The frenzied spirit is thus both a part of Dionysiac ritual ('I stung them with frenzy' and 'I drove them mad from their homes', Dionysus says of the Theban Bacchantes in *Ba.* 32 and 36) and a way of expressing god's revenge on the *theomachoi*. In the latter case, it is identified with Lyssa.⁴⁸ Madness sent by Dionysus led Lycurgus to murder his son and the ἐλαφρὰν λύσσαν, 'the light-headed frenzy', sent into Pentheus (*Ba.* 850–851), put him out of his mind (ἐκστησον φρενῶν), transformed him into a maenad and ended with his *sparagmos* by his own mother.

This kind of madness, associated with Dionysus' cult, distinctly differs from the μανία, the frenzy imposed by jealous Hera on Heracles and that of the vindictive Aphrodite on Phaedra, which led to their impious (μιαρόν) acts.

⁴⁶ For this issue, cf. e.g. Segal 1982, 10.

⁴⁷ For further instances of madness infused by Dionysus, see also *Ba.* 36, 117–119, 305, 999, 1093–1094.

⁴⁸ The personified madness as Lyssa was staged in Aeschylus' *Xantriae* fr. 169 R.

2.2.5 Dionysus bestial incarnation: *Bassarai* or *Bassarides* (fr. 23 R.) (ap. Hephaest. *Enchir.* 13,8 (p. 43.1 Consbruch))

The fragment seems to consist of two separate, independent verses of similar content.⁴⁹ R. Kannicht⁵⁰ combined this fragment with *Trag. Adesp.* 144 N.² and restored as follows:

ὁ ταῦρος δ' ἔοικεν κυρίζειν⁵¹ τίν' ἄκτάν,
τίν' ὕλαν δράμω; ποῖ πορευθῶ;

1 κυρίζειν Turnebus: κηρύζειν Hephaest. A: κυρίζειν Hephaest. I: κυρίζει Choerob. U: κηρίζειν Choerob. K | τίν' I: τιν' A || 1–2 τίν' ἄκραν Kannicht: τίν' ἀρχάν codd.: τίν' ἄκραν, τίν' ἄκτάν, < τίν' ὕλαν δράμω; ποῖ πορευθῶ;> Kannicht coniungens adesp. Fr. 144 N.² cum hoc fr.

'the bull seems about to attack me ! What shore,
what wood can I flee to ? Where can I go?'

Sommerstein⁵² restores the metrical form of the corrupt verses adding in the first verse Kannicht's τίν' ἄκραν and, printing in the second verse τίν' ἄκτάν, ... ποῖ πορευθῶ, translates 'the bull seems about to charge me! What peak, / what shore, what wood can I flee to? Where can I go?'. This seems to be the most acceptable restoration of the fragment.

Dionysus' bestial form as a bull, first in A. *Bassarai* fr. 23 R., was widely received in E. *Ba.* 100, 920–922, 1017, 1159 and provides a prominent feature of god's ritual and of Dionysus as a divinity of transformation and hallucination, a god of tremendous power beyond human control. He connects the three aspects of existence, the divine, the human, and the bestial as he is a ταυρόκερως θεός. The bull functions as the vehicle of god's dominance communicating his natural power to his *thiasos*. The tripartite nature of Dionysus as a god, a mortal in his anthropomorphic appearances and an animal shows that Dionysiac religion was centred in this peculiar god, at once superhuman, human, and subman symbolizing a unity of opposites and polarities.

⁴⁹ Cf. Radt 1985, 139.

⁵⁰ 1957, 286–287; cf. Radt 1985, 139, West 1990, 43–44 assuming that Orpheus on stage is in danger from Dionysus as a bull and turns to flight. Palumbo 1966a, 409–413 was against Kannicht's suggestion.

⁵¹ Hsch. κυρίζειν: κέρασι μάχεσθαι. Κυρίσσω –ττω of bulls, 'butt with the horns' (*LSJ*⁹); cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 516a, *Rep.* 586b.

⁵² 2008, 20. The tradition of this text will be extensively investigated in my forthcoming book.

2.2.6 Dionysus' transformation into a mortal. His effeminacy in the "interrogation"-scene (*Edonoi* fr. 59, 61–62 R.)

Fr. 59 (*ap. Phot. Lex.* β 85 Theodoridis = *Et. Gen.* AB β 54 Berger s.v. βασσάραι)

ὅστις χιτῶνας βασσάρας τε Λυδίας
ἔχει ποδήρεις

1 Λυδίας *Et. Gen.*: Λυδείας Phot.

'One who wears Lydian tunics and fox skin mantles
down to his feet'

Fr. 61 (*ap. Ar. Th.* 134)

ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννης; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή;

'whence comes this womanish man? What is his country, what his garb?'

Fr. 61a (Proverb. L² V b16 Cohn)⁵³

τί δ' ἀσπίδι ξύνθημα καὶ καρχησίῳ;
καρχησίῳ Cohn: -ων cod.

'what the sign of a shield and of a drinking cup?'

Fr. 62 (Σ *B Hom. I 539)⁵⁴

μακροσκελὴς μέν ᾗρα μὴ χλούνης τις ἦν;

'He's certainly got long legs; he wasn't once a castrated one, was he?'

In both plays, the *Edonoi* and the *Bacchae*, Dionysus is present on stage in his anthropomorphic appearance as a young person, a Stranger, concealing his divinity. The *Edonoi* involved thus the first transformation in Greek tragedy of a god into a mortal without been recognized. Fr. 168 R., attributed either to A. *Xantriae*

⁵³ Zu den *Paroemiographen* ... (Breslauer philol. Abhandl. II 2), Breslau 1887 (=CPG Suppl. I), 41: Radt 1985, 183.

⁵⁴ 2,515 app. Erbse: Radt 1985, 183.

⁵⁵ My translation. Sommerstein 2008, 67 translates "... He wasn't once a clothes-snatcher, was he?", but his explanation in 2008, 66 n.1 is not convincing in view of the context of this group of fragments.

or, more likely, to his *Semele*,⁵⁶ involving Hera transformed into a mortal, provides a second instance in Aeschylus. The *Edonoi* offers thus a model for the anthropomorphic presence of Dionysus in Euripides' last play.

Frr. 59, 61–62 R. of the *Edonoi* correspond to Pentheus' exhaustive "interrogation" of the anthropomorphic Dionysus in the part of the second episode of the *Bacchae*,⁵⁷ which is performed in strict stichomythia (vv. 460–508). In fr. 61 R., included in Ar. *Thesm.* 134–145 and coloured with cynicism, Lycurgus puts his question in a short and sarcastic way: 'This woman-man! Where is he from? What's his country? What's his attire?' Euripides also adopts short questions, but without the Aristophanic cynicism: *Ba.* 460 'Now, first tell me who you are, from what family?', and v. 828 'in what dress? Female? But I feel shame'.

The Stranger's womanish appearance provides the prominent target of both Lycurgus and Pentheus. Specific features suggest the resemblances in the treatment of the effeminacy-motif in the *Edonoi* and the *Bacchae*, in particular referring to the female appearance of Dionysus and Pentheus' transvestism: the garb, especially the long garment (fr. 59 R.), characteristic adjectives, such as γύννις (fr. 61 R.), θήλυς (*Ba.* 836, 852), θηλύμορφος (*Ba.* 353), γυναικόμορφος (*Ba.* 855, 1156), γυναικόμιμος (*Ba.* 980), χλούνης (fr. 62 R.), and the drinking cup (καρχήσιον) as contrasted with the shield (fr. 61a R.).

The womanish appearance of the Young Stranger explicitly conveyed by γύννις in fr. 61 R. also occurs in Aeschylus' satyr-play *Theoroi* or *Isthmiastae*, 'The Sacred Delegations' or 'At the Isthmian Games' fr. 78a R. vv. 67–68: Dionysus opposes the Satyrs' allegation that he is a cowardly effeminate being (γύννις δ' ἄναλκις).⁵⁸ Similarly, Dionysus' effeminate characteristics on stage are underlined by Euripides in the *Bacchae* using a) the characteristic adjectives mentioned above, and b) impressive imagery to describe Dionysus' girlish beauty (vv. 150, 235–236, 453–459, 493). Euripides presents on stage Dionysus' appearance in a conjunction of elements of both genders.

The womanish appearance of Dionysus provides a common theme in art and literature from the late fifth century onwards. His effeminate features are particularly ridiculed in comedy (Ar. *Ra.* 46, Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* fr. 40 K.-A.). Similarly, in fifth-century art, both painting and sculpture, the bearded god of the archaic and early classical period is replaced by a handsome beardless youth, not

⁵⁶ See for instance Hadjikosti 2006, Sommerstein 2008, 227, 2016, 31–32.

⁵⁷ The second episode (vv. 434–518) involves the servant announcing the Stranger's arrest (434–450) and the conflict between Pentheus and Dionysus shaped in the "interrogation" scene (451–518).

⁵⁸ See below n.64.

necessarily effeminate,⁵⁹ as shown in his depiction in the Pronomos vase and the east pediment of Parthenon.⁶⁰ His beardlessness and his young age are suggestive of fifth-century theatre performances, such as that of A. *Lycurgeia*. Dionysus' feminine features are clearly depicted in Hellenistic representations.⁶¹

The reversal of the main roles and the intrusion of otherness are prominent features of the interrogation scene: the strong plays the weak and the weak regards himself as the strong.⁶² This is an aspect of the crossing of boundaries and the fusion of opposites, which characterize Dionysus.⁶³ The polarities of this god find a vivid expression in his appearance in both the *Edonoi* and the *Bacchae*. In a reversal of genders, the female, the effeminate Stranger, replaces the masculine god. However, in the masterful development of the action, especially in the epiphany scene and in the impressive end, the supremacy of the powerful god over his weak opponent is predominant.

When men suffer or die in Greek tragedy, the cause is usually provided by the female. In the framework of such a dramatic action, the punishment of Lycurgus and Pentheus is caused by the effeminate Dionysus. Ἰὺννις,⁶⁴ denoting the androgyny in the *Edonoi* (fr. 61 R.), provides the model for Euripides' treatment of this motif. Such a mixture of male and female features as well as the "otherness", the Dionysiac dimension of the gender, indicate Dionysus' disrupting the established norms of morality and society⁶⁵ and provide one of the main reasons for the resistance of his opponents, Lycurgus and Pentheus, to his cult.

59 On the beardless Dionysus in art from 580 B.C. to the end of the fifth century, see Carpenter 1993.

60 British Museum, London. See Carpenter 1993, 204–206 who aptly attributed the figure of young, beardless Dionysus to theatrical influences, esp. "from a production of a play or plays about Lycurgus" (p. 205).

61 Marble statue from Priene, late second century B.C. Antikensammlung SMB Sk. 1532; see Schlesier & Schwarzmaier 2008, 106. For a survey of Dionysus' both sexual ambivalence and his detachment from the erotic and passionate aspects of sex as depicted in literature, myth, cult, and iconography, see Jameson 1993.

62 Cf. Dodds 1960, 130.

63 On this nature of Dionysus as a god of polarities and opposites, see, indicatively, Henrichs 1993, 13–22.

64 Cf. A. *Theoroi* fr. 78a R. v.68. Dionysus himself may complain about been called womanish, "not to be counted as male" (transl. Lloyd-Jones): see Radt 1985, 199. Cf. also Jaccottet 2003, I, 65–100 with the eloquent title "Dionysisme au féminin, dionysisme au masculin". Ἰὺννις also points to Dionysus' beardlessness and his youth. On these features, see Carpenter 1993, 1997, 36.

65 Cf. Zeitlin 1990, 66 (= Zeitlin 1996, 343). Agave and the maenads, in particular, deviate from the normal sphere. Seaford 1993, esp. 137–138 remarked that Dionysus threatens the *polis* by driving women out of the household and destroying their families.

Pentheus, like Lycurgus, though a representative of political order, is not a merely rationalistic character; both are “men of thymos”, “of temper”,⁶⁶ with clear tyrannical features, as is shown by their behaviour towards the Stranger during their scornful “interrogation”.

2.2.7 Dionysus’ epiphany. The palace-miracle (*Edonoi* fr. *58 R.)

At the end of this “interrogation” scene, dramatic economy demands that Dionysus should be taken indoors, imprisoned in Lycurgus’ palace. After a *stasimon* a wonderful scene occurs: Dionysus reappears on stage,⁶⁷ free and in his divine form. His triumphant epiphany is attested by the author of the *On the sublime*⁶⁸ (15.6) = fr.*58 R. παρὰ μὲν Αἰσχύλῳ παραδόξως τὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Διονύσου θεοφορεῖται, ‘the palace of Lycurgus during the epiphany of Dionysus is possessed by the god’, without reference to the play the fragment comes from.

ἐνθουσιᾷ δὴ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη,

‘truly the house is frenzied (with the god), the roof revels Bacchant – like’

The two personifications ἐνθουσιᾷ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη, probably uttered by the chorus leader⁶⁹ or, more likely (in view of the metrical form of the verse), by a messenger, vividly indicate that Lycurgus’ palace was entirely possessed by the god (θεοφορεῖται). Βάκχος, βάκχη, βακχεύειν: Dionysus, his worshippers and his ritual bear the same name, which clearly indicates the ritual affinity and the close relation of the god, the divine recipient, and his *thiasos*, the active participants in Dionysiac revel.⁷⁰ The “palace miracles”⁷¹ in *E. Ba.* 576–641 seem to be modelled on that typically Aeschylean scene of ὄψις,⁷² ‘spectacle’, and Aeschylus is

⁶⁶ See Diller 1983, 360.

⁶⁷ See also West 1983, 63, following Deichgräber 1938–39.

⁶⁸ Παρὰ μὲν Αἰσχύλῳ παραδόξως τὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Διονύσου θεοφορεῖται «ἐνθουσιᾷ - στέγη», ὁ δ’ Εὐριπίδης τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦθ’ ἐτέρως ἐφηδύνας ἐξεφώνησε (*Ba.* 726) «πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευεν ὄρος». For the attribution of this Aeschylean verse to the *Edonoi*, see Radt 1985, 180.

⁶⁹ Thus Haupt 1897, 142; West 1990, 30.

⁷⁰ Cf. Henrichs 1993, 20.

⁷¹ Aptly divided by Dodds 1960, 147 into: a) the earthquake scene (576–603, a lyrical dialogue) and b) the Stranger’s narrative (604–41).

⁷² Arist. *Poet.* 6, 1449b33, 14, 1453b1–10 with Lucas 1968, 149.

regarded as the exploiter of ἔκπληξις through ὄψις. In *E. Ba.* 576–577 the voice of god is heard from indoors. In 585 Dionysus calls the destructive power in nature,⁷³ for earthquake, and in 594–595 for fire. Shortly afterwards he appears in person (604–641) addressing the chorus. More specifically, the image depicted in this Aeschylean fragment is similar in *E. Ba.* 585–593, uttered either by the chorus or by Dionysus himself: 587–589 (τάχα τὰ Πενθέως μέλαθρα διατι-/νάξεται πεσήμασιν./ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνὰ μέλαθρα.), ‘Soon the halls of Pentheus will be shaken apart and fall. Dionysus is throughout the halls’; 604–605 (... Βακχίου / διατινάξαντος τῶμα Πενθέως), ‘Bacchus shaking apart the house of Pentheus’; 623 (... ἀντινάξ’ ἐλθὼν ὁ Βάκχος δῶμα ...), ‘... Bacchus came and shook up the house ...’; and 633 (δῶματ’ ἔρρηξεν χαμᾶζε), ‘he broke the house to the ground’. τινάσσειν counterbalances βακχεύει in Aeschylus, both conveying Dionysiac connotations. τινάσσειν refers to Dionysus and his *thiasos* shaking their *thyrsus* up and down (*E. Ba.* 80, 553–554). Similarly, in Aeschylus the building is possessed by the god and the house is in bacchic frenzy (βακχεύει στέγη), an image clearly received in *Ba.* 587 and 592–593 (Βρόμιος <ὄδ’> ἀλα-/λάζεται στέγας ἔσω, ‘it is Bromios <here> raising the cry within the house’).⁷⁴ The whole Aeschylean image may have been reproduced by Naevius in his *Lycurgus* fr. XX = 52–53 Warmington (“ut videam Volcani opera haec flammis flora fieri”) and fr. XXIII Ribbeck = 54 Warmington (“Late longae transtros nostros fervere”):⁷⁵ *Lycurgus*’ palace is covered by fire. The verse provides an interesting instance of Bacchic ecstasy possessing not only Dionysus’ retinue but also inanimate objects. βακχεύειν, ‘celebrate in the mysteries of Bacchus’, occurs twice in Euripides in similar contexts and points to inanimate nature, esp. mountains, sharing in Dionysiac ecstasy and in Bacchic revels:⁷⁶ *I.T.* 1243–1244⁷⁷ βακχεύουσιν Διονύ - / σφ Παρνάσιον κορυφάν and esp. *Ba.* 726–727 πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευ’ ὄρος / καὶ θῆρες, οὐδὲν δ’ ἦν ἀκίνητον δρόμῳ ‘and the whole mountain and the wild animals joined the bacchanal and nothing remained unmoved in running’, in the first messenger speech. The author of the *On the Sublime* citing *Ba.* 726 remarks that the same verse was presented by Euripides less harshly: ὁ δ’ Εὐριπίδης τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦθ’ ἐτέρως ἐφηδύνας ἐξεφώνησε, ‘Euripides expressed the same thought less harshly: the whole

⁷³ Cf. Dodds 1960, 147; West 1990, 30 cites parallels from Naevius.

⁷⁴ Seaford 1997, 196 compares *E. H.F.* 905, 1006–1007, where the roof of the house collapses with Heracles.

⁷⁵ Thus, Dodds 1960, xxxiii and n.1. Sutton 1971, 394 adds to the theophany scene also fr. 28 R. “proinde huc Dryante regem prognatus patre / Lycurgum cettē”.

⁷⁶ Dodds 1960, 166 also quotes *E. Ion* 1078ff. (see Owen 1939, 140) and *S. Ant.* 1146.

⁷⁷ <συμ>βακχεύουσιν Diggle based on *Ba.* 726.

mountain went bacchanal with them'.⁷⁸ Euripides' verse was less harsh than that of Aeschylus, probably because of the addition of συν-εβάκχευε, 'joined in Dionysiac rivalry',⁷⁹ which clearly points to the participation of the nature in the Bacchic revel. The preposition συν- either in compound verbs, as here in E. *Bacchae*, or in compound epithets (σύγκωμον), as in Aeschylus inc. fab. fr. 355.3 R.,⁸⁰ underlines god's direct communion with his followers and his environment. In Plato (Lg. 653d) Dionysus is called a συνεορταστής, 'a sharer in a festival'.

In Greek and Roman thought, Dionysus was regarded as an epiphanic god *par excellence*. "Bacchum vidi", says Horace (*Od.* 2.19.1–4), inducing his audience to share his faith, and there is no god *praesentior*, 'more present', than him, says Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 3.658–659).⁸¹ Dionysus' divine revelation provides a prominent aspect of his cult.⁸² His capacity for self-revelation is related with his anthropomorphism.⁸³

Dionysus and his followers, the maenads Bassarids, should thus be miraculously released causing such an earthquake in Lycurgus' palace. Earthquakes follow a god's epiphany elsewhere in tragedy⁸⁴. Nevertheless, it seems to be a most obvious case of reception of Aeschylean imagery pointing to the steady persistence of Dionysiac beliefs. The earthquake that shook the palace of Lycurgus and Pentheus confirming Dionysus' tremendous power⁸⁵ is a real as well as symbolic dramatic event for the audience: it masterly prefigures, in my view, the violent fall of the impious opponents of the god and acts as a warning for their end. In vain, however, since infatuation (ἄτη), guided by the god, blinded their mind.

⁷⁸ Transl. by Russell & Winterbottom 1972.

⁷⁹ Cf. Philostr. *Im.* 1.14 ἡ γῆ σ. τῷ Διονύσῳ, E. *Tr.* 500 ὦ σύμβακχε Κασσάνδρα θεοῖς. On σύμβακχε and parallels in the *Troades*, see Barlow 1986, 182.

⁸⁰ μειζοβόαν πρέπει / διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν / σύγκωμον Διονύσῳ. For συν- in Euripides' *Bacchae*, see Segal 1982, 57.

⁸¹ For Otto 1965, 90 Dionysus is *deus presentissimus*, 'the god of the most immediate presence'.

⁸² Cf. Henrichs 1993, 17 and n.6 with bibliographical references to Dionysus' epiphanic quality. More extensively, Seaford 2006, 39–43 on the epiphanies in E. *Bacchae*.

⁸³ See above on the interrogation scene in the *Edonoi*.

⁸⁴ In E. *H.F.* 905–908, 1006–1008 an earthquake, which Lyssa foretold at 864, is associated with Athena at moments of dramatic tension and causes the palace roof to collapse.

⁸⁵ Dionysus is called Θήβας δ' ἐλελίχθων (ἐλίσσω + χθών), 'earth-shaker of Thebes', in S. *Ant.* 153–154. Cf. E. *Ba.* 585. For the palace miracle, see extensively Winnington-Ingram 1969, 82–87, characterizing it as a "prelude of ... the ultimate catastrophe" (p. 84). Fischer 1992 discusses the various interpretations of the "palace miracles" in the *Bacchae* and concludes (187) that the audience recognized them as reality and not as illusion.

Concluding:

The parallel treatment of the *Lycurgeia* and the *Bacchae* showcases obvious intertextual similarities in theme, concepts, plot, dramatic technique, and scope.⁸⁶

It is worth noting that in Aeschylus' treatment Aristotle's concept of the reversal of fortune (*Poet.* 11, 1452a22ff.) is clearly traced: the persecutor, Lycurgus, changes into the persecuted person, a model Euripides follows in the case of Pentheus, who chased Dionysus and finally became the chased prey torn into pieces by Agave and her sisters.

It may be suggested that the *Lycurgeia* was to some extent familiar to the Athenian audience,⁸⁷ thanks to Aristophanes' parody in the *Thesmophoriazusae*. Therefore, the spectators would have been able to recognize the metatheatrical references to the Aeschylean treatment in the *Bacchae*.

The "moral" of the *Bacchae* in the late fifth century accords with that of Aeschylus' treatment of the Lycurgus-myth: the demand of the human spirit for Dionysiac experience — joy, gaiety,⁸⁸ divine enthusiasm alongside ecstatic frenzy and violent cruelty — cannot be ignored or repressed. This experience can provide mental power and lead to prosperity, as in all mystic cults. Dionysus is the embodiment of universal vitality. On the contrary, those refusing to share these "human" experiences are faced with the destruction ordered by Dionysus' supernatural power. Θεομαχεῖν denotes a vain fight against the inevitable,⁸⁹ and provides a concept that persisted in Greek morality. Dionysus possessed both Lycurgus and Pentheus and by fighting the god they fought against themselves. To resist and fight a god is not *sophia*. Pentheus' and Lycurgus' lack of *sophia* τὸ σοφὸν δ' οὐ σοφία / τό τε μὴ θνητὰ φρονεῖν / βραχύς αἰὼν, 'cleverness is not wisdom and to think non-mortal thoughts means a short life', says the chorus (*Ba.* 395–96). They both went beyond human limits and commit a *hubris*. Wisdom is the good sense to revere and respect the gods. This Aeschylean concept, clearly echoed throughout his tragedies from the *Persae* to the *Oresteia*,⁹⁰ "is the wisest

⁸⁶ Discussed extensively in my forthcoming book.

⁸⁷ It corresponded to the spectators' literary and theatrical perspectives; cf. Jauss 1982, 141–148.

⁸⁸ Similarly, Aphrodite's gift is love and its power is tremendous: *E. Hipp.* 447ff. with commentators' note.

⁸⁹ Diller 1983, 361, 366 on the *Bacchae* and *Hippolytus*. Similarly, Winnington-Ingram 1969, 166 remarked that Pentheus is ἀμαθής, with a lack of insight regarding the power of Dionysiac religion.

⁹⁰ Indicatively, *Pers.* 820–830, *Agam.* 167–183, 218–223.

possession for mortals to use”, as the messenger proclaims in *E. Ba.* 1150–52.⁹¹ The *Bacchae* reaffirms in late fifth century traditional Aeschylean beliefs on the reverence of the gods that contributes to the cohesion of the *polis*.⁹² Dionysiac cult was powerfully associated with *polis* and community. As early as Aeschylus’ *Theoroi*⁹³ Dionysus proclaims that “neither young nor old is willingly absent from my choruses”.⁹⁴ At an age preoccupied with the idea of *sophia* Euripides follows Aeschylus and demonstrates what he considers to be *sophon*.

Euripides in his last play injected new life into the myth treated in Aeschylus’ *Lycurgeia*. As Dodds aptly remarked,⁹⁵ Euripides’ “renewed contact with nature in the wild country of Macedonia” helped him to re-establish “a contact with hidden sources of power which he had lost in the self-conscious, over-intellectualized environment of late — fifth — century Athens” and enabled him to express feelings “which for years had been pressing on his consciousness ...”. Aeschylus’ treatment of Dionysiac cult in his *Lycurgeia* seems to have spurred Euripides to deal with traditional religious norms in late fifth century B.C. In his *Bacchae* he received and revisited pivotal dramatic themes of the Aeschylean treatment, re-figuring them to meet his own dramatic and ideological goals.

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⁹¹ τὸ σωφρονεῖν δὲ καὶ σέβειν τὰ τῶν θεῶν / κάλλιστον οἶμαι δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ σοφώτατον / θνητοῖσιν εἶναι κτῆμα τοῖσι χρωμένοις.

⁹² Green 1994, 47 remarked that, since the later fifth century was a period of looking back to earlier days, *E. Bacchae* remodels an early theme.

⁹³ Fr. 78c col. II.1–2 Radt 1985, 201.

⁹⁴ Thus, in Seaford’s translation 2006, 28.

⁹⁵ 1960, xlvii.

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B. Acosta-Hughes

In the Glassy Stream

Some further thoughts on Callimachus and Pindar

Perhaps no line quite so directly captures the complex intertextual nature of Callimachus' poetry as the singer's address to Athena's image in his *Hymn to Athena* lines 55–56: πότνι' Ἀθαναία, σὺ μὲν ἔξιθι· μέσφα δ' ἐγώ τι | ταῖσδ' ἐρέω· μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἐμός, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων, 'Lady Athena, come out. And meanwhile I will tell something to these women. The story is not mine, but of others'. So the poet at once defines himself as at the same time independent, 'not mine', and part of a larger heritage, 'but of others'. Callimachus has always to be read as at once reflective of earlier literature (poetry *and* prose) and at the same time as creative and forward-looking, and very individual; it is this polyvalent character of the poet and his poetry that renders him such a fascinating study, again and again.

In an acutely intelligent article published a few years ago on Callimachus' re-reading of one of Pindar's dithyrambs,¹ the Hellenist D.T. Steiner began with the rhetorical question 'is there space for yet one more intertext in Callimachus' already overfilled *Aetia* prologue, lines that famously endorse the slim and narrow?'.² I recall my friend and colleague's question now as I posit a new intertext for the *sphragis* of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (lines 105–113): is it conceivably possible that in the sea of scholarship concerning these much-discussed lines of Callimachus a Pindar intertext has been over-looked?³ The answer, I believe, is 'yes'.

Here, again, is the *sphragis* of the *Hymn to Apollo*.

ὁ Φθόνοσ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν 105
'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν αἰοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἰεῖδει.'
τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ' ἔειπεν

With acknowledgement to Horace *Ode* 4.2.3–4: *vitreo daturus | nomina ponto* and to William Shakespeare *Hamlet* Act 4 Scene 7 lines 187–188: There is a willow grows aslant a brook, | that shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream.

1 Pindar fr. 10B S.-M.

2 Steiner 1995, 99.

3 Study of the scholarship on these lines should begin with Lehnus 2000, 246–47. Cheshire 2008 considers the *sphragis* in its relationship to the entire poem; cf. also Cheshire 2005. See now Stephens 2015, 72–73, 75, and in her commentary *ad loc.* Classic treatments include Bundy 1972, on the imagery in Pindar and Callimachus esp. Poliakoff 1980, and Fuhrer 1992, 252–61.

Ἄσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
 λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
 Δημοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι, 110
 ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράντος ἀνέρπει
 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.
 χαῖρε, ἄναξ, ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο.

Envy spoke secretly into Phoebus' ear: "I do not admire the singer who does not sing even as much as the sea." Phoebus pushed Envy off with his foot and spoke the following: "The flow of the Assyrian river is vast, but it draws along much refuse from the land and much garbage on its waters. (110) Not from any sources do bees carry water to Demeter, but from what comes up pure and undefiled from a holy fountain, a small drop, the choicest of waters." Hail, Lord. But Blame, let him go where Envy is.

The *Hymn to Apollo* can be termed a *paean* in hexameters;⁴ the poem includes in its narrative the vivid scene of Apollo slaying the Pytho and the ritual cry ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῶν at line 103. Classical *paean*s often concluded, it seems, with a *sphragis* that referred to the *paean*s' actual performance, and it is possible to read the final lines of Callimachus' poem not simply as a seal on his *paean*, i.e. his own authorial assertion, but one particularly and self-consciously marked as Pindaric. Unfortunately, none of our extant fragments of Pindar's *Paean*s have preserved the poems' conclusions, but Momos (as a literary critic) and the envious are surely borrowed from Pindar's poetics, e.g. *Ol.* 6.74–75.⁵ By recasting his concluding sentiments on the writing of the best poetry in this way, Callimachus not only marks his *Hymn to Apollo* as a *paean*, but he quite specifically harnesses the verdict of Pindar on poetic excellence.

The conclusion of this signal piece is, I will now argue, more closely Pindaric than has been widely recognized, although the Pindaric character of Callimachus' *sphragis* at the conclusion of his *Hymn to Apollo* is itself the subject of a long and distinguished scholarship.⁶ The final stanza of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* (lines 81–86) includes the striking verbal nexus of *momos*, *phthonos*, *akoa* ('hearing') and *kryphion* (≈ λάθριος):

καιρὸν εἰ φθέγξαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις
 ἐν βραχεῖ, μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώ-
 πων· ἀπὸ γὰρ κόρος ἀμβλύνει
 αἰανῆς ταχείας ἐλπίδας,

⁴ See Stephens 2015, 97 to lines 97–104.

⁵ *Ol.* 6.74–75 μῶμος ἐξ ἄλλων κρέματα φθονεόντων, 'blame hangs over from others who envy'.

⁶ The *locus classicus* of this passage in the Pindar tradition is now Bundy 1972. See also Poliakoff 1980; Fuhrer 1992, 252–61.

ἀστῶν δ' ἄκοᾶ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύ-
 νει μάλιστ' ἐσλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως, κρέσσον γάρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνος, 85
 μὴ παρίει καλὰ. νῶμα δικαίῳ
 πηδάλῳ στρατόν· ἄψευ-
 δεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν.

If you should speak opportunely, drawing together the strands of many things in a short span, less criticism of men follows. For dismal satiety blunts eager hopes, and in their secret hearts the hearing of the townsmen is grieved especially at the success of others. But nevertheless, for envy is better than pity, do not pass over good things. Guide the people with a just rudder; sharpen your tongue on an anvil of truth.

Not only is the verbal nexus of the two passages strikingly similar, so is the thematic content: a conceptualization of an ideal poetic composition. Here the poet's injunction to himself, the preference for brevity of composition, the bid not to omit what is fair, the avoidance of that which is ψευδής, 'false' or 'dishonest', is compellingly similar to Callimachean poetics in general, and to the *sphragis* of the Apollo hymn in particular.

Now as is widely noted in the scholarship, *Pythian* 1, which, like Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, is set in the *mis-en-scène* of choral celebration, begins with a series of striking images of quiet wrought by the celebration of song (cf. *Hy.* 2.17–24). Indeed the reference to the lyre's sound in the second line of *Pythian* 1, attended by the dancing step, τᾷς ἀκούει | μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά, 'whom resplendent attends the leading step', evokes the performance of the ode in a way almost mimetic; this is a characteristic that parallels the mimetic opening of the ceremonial in the opening of the *Hymn to Apollo*. The poem thus opens: lyre, sound, dance step, an ordering that we also find in the opening of the *Hymn to Apollo* line 8.⁷ Singers obey the lyre's notes (lines 3–4): πείθονται δ' ᾠδοὶ σάμασιν | ἀγησιχόρων ὁπτόταν προοιμίων | ἀμβολὰς τεύχης ἐλελιζόμενα, 'and singers obey your signs whenever on being made to throb you furnish the chorus-leading preludes'), paralleling Callimachus' emphasis on song at the beginning of the *Hymn to Apollo*.⁸ The lyre in *Pythian* 1 sets the warring thunderbolt to sleep, and also the eagle of Zeus (lines 5–6): Pindar's poem begins with the address to Apollo's golden lyre — might Callimachus' short catalogue of the god's golden

7 Cf. Cheshire 2008, 357, who helpfully compares the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* line 514–16: ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων | φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων | καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάζ, 'and to the lord, son of Zeus, Apollo led them, taking the lyre in his hand, playing beautifully and stepping high'.

8 Cf. Cheshire 2008, 358 and n. 19.

attributes (lines 32–35) in his own hymn not be an admiring enhancement of Pindar’s opening image — indeed, might not Callimachus’ πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων | καὶ πουλυκτέανος (lines 34–35) not be his own emulation of Pindar’s opening χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον? In that case Apollo’s being “of much gold” and “of many possessions” serves as the *mise en abyme* that draws us into the Pindaric model. Kampakoglou (2019, 261–70) has now made an illustrative study of the varied resonances of Pindar’s *Pythian Odes* in Callimachus’ second *Hymn*: the artistic presence of this collection is an even more pronounced and remarkable one, I believe I can demonstrate, when one makes a close comparative reading of the hymn and the opening poem of Pindar’s collection.

Callimachus’ *Hymn* begins with the heralding of the god Apollo’s approach: the conjunction of the images of the Delphic laurel and the Delian palm sharing in anticipation of the god’s imminent arrival (lines 1–5):

Οἶον ὁ τῷπόλλωνος ἐσεΐσατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ,
οἷα δ’ ὅλον τὸ μέλαθρον· ἐκὰς ἐκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός.
καὶ δὴ που τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει·
οὐχ ὀράας; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἡδὺ τι φοῖνιξ
ἐξαπίνης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἡέρι καλὸν αἶδει.

5

How the laurel bough of Apollo has shaken, and how the whole chamber. Be far, far away, whoever is a sinner. Indeed I think Phoebus strikes the door with his fair foot. Don’t you see? The Delian palm has suddenly sweetly nodded, and the swan in the air sings beautifully.

There is a similar sense of immediacy in the heralding of Hieron’s victory in the Pythian Games of 470 in *Pythian* 1 (lines 33–35); as the arrival of the god himself in Callimachus’ hymn, the announcement of the victory in the *Pythian* games is the catalyst for the song and dance performance that immediately takes place. Note that Apollo’s is the divine presence in both cases: his laurel tree, his Pythian Games.⁹

9 Πυθιάδος δ’ ἐν δρόμῳ κά-
ρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλ-
λων Ἰέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου
ἄρμασι.

And in the course of the Pythian festival the herald proclaimed it, announcing Hieron’s splendid victory with the chariot.

Typically of Pindar, *Pythian* 1 is richly adorned with striking metaphor, not least of which is Pindar's imagery in the second stanza of the streams of fire that gush from the Aetna-impressed Typhon.¹⁰ This nexus of images at lines 21–24 of Pindar's ode is well worth considering again in light of the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, and I would like to focus upon this passage rather closely.

τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ἀγνόταται
ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ δ' ἀμέραισιν
μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
αἴθων· ἀλλ' ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας
φροίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλόξ ἐς βαθεῖ-
αν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.

From which (sc. Aetna) belch the most holy streams of unapproachable fire from its recesses. In the days rivers pour forth a shining stream of smoke. But in the nights a red light circling bears rocks into the deep expanse of the sea with a crash.

In his note to this passage in his new Loeb edition of the *Olympian and Pythian Odes*, W.H. Race rightly observes that 'the alliteration of π's and φ's in the Greek is striking'. Let us look again at the sphragis from the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*:

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν· 105
'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν αἰδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἰδεῖ.'
τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὥδέ τ' ἔειπεν·
'Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
Δηοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι, 110
ἀλλ' ἦτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.'
χαῖρε, ἄναξ, ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο.

And we observe the same plosive effect. And this is surely the point. The recollection of the Pindaric text is a very precise one. Noteworthy too is the repetition of the *rho* in both passages.

Now a vast, and every-growing scholarship has been devoted to trying to identify the bodies of water in the *sphragis* of the *Hymn to Apollo*, and scholars have observed for centuries that the *sphragis* is Pindaric in character (ἄκρον ἄωτον of line 112 all but heralding the debt to the Theban poet). But I would posit here that the precise Pindar model has somehow escaped the poem's scholars:

¹⁰ On the passage see Steiner 1986, 95, 141; Liberman 2004, 43 and n. 8.

the bodies of water are not alluding, or not only alluding, I would suggest, to earlier or contemporary individual poets, but also implicate Pindar's bodies of fire, Pindar's metaphor of fire spewed by Mt. Aetna as bodies of water in lines 21–24 of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*. Callimachus' ἱερὴ πίδαξ is, on this reading, in fact the Boeotian poet himself, and the poem referenced here is *Pythian* 1.

Now other poets are compared to bees,¹¹ as is poetic activity to honey-making (famously Pindar himself in *Pythian* 10), but here in a Pindarically tempered passage of Callimachus' hymn there is perhaps a special case of comparison. There is of course a famous anecdote about the infant Pindar being fed by bees, which may well be relevant in this context as well:¹² this is preserved in the *Vita Ambrosiana* 6–11:

παῖς δὲ ὢν ὁ Πίνδαρος, ὡς Χαμαιλέων καὶ Ἴστρος φασί, περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα θηρώντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολλοῦ καμάτου εἰς ὕπνον κατενεχθῆναι, κοιμωμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μέλισσαν τῷ στόματι προσκαθίσασαν κηρία ποιῆσαι. Οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι ὄναρ εἶδεν ὡς μέλιτος καὶ κηροῦ πλήρες εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, καὶ ἐπὶ ποιητικὴν ἐτρέπη.

As a boy Pindar, so Chamaleon and Istros say, when hunting around Helicon was brought to sleep by great fatigue. And as he slept a bee sat on his mouth and made wax. Others say that he saw a dream of a bee and that his mouth was filled with wax, and he turned to poetry.

The sophist Philostratos in his *Imagines* (12) tells of a painting of the baby Pindar fed by bees.

I would suggest that the image of the bees that carry only the (Pindarically) finest water from a holy source is a carefully coded allusion to the tale of Pindar's inspiration as a poet, just as the passage deliberately recalls the language and imagery of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*. Callimachus' allusion to the motif of Pindar's poetic initiation at the conclusion of the *Hymn to Apollo* finds a significant parallel, of course, in Callimachus' allusion to the poetic initiation of the poet Hesiod in the opening of the first book of his *Aetia*: earlier poetic initiation is recast in both cases as a Callimachean experience. In the *Hymn to Zeus* the infant Zeus is fed on honeycomb (lines 49–51).¹³ While the symbolism of the bee at this

¹¹ See esp. Crane 1987 and Williams 1978 *ad loc.*

¹² On the sources of the anecdote see Barbantani 1993, 22–3. Pindar compares himself with a bee at *Pyth.* 10.53–4: ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων | ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον, 'for the choicest of hymns of praise like a bee hastens from one thing to another'.

¹³ ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὺ κηρίον ἔβρωσ. | γέντο γὰρ ἐξαπιναῖα Πανακρίδος ἔργα μελίσσης | Ἰδαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσι, τὰ τε κλείουσι Πάνακρα, 'and further you fed on sweet honeycomb, for suddenly on the Idaean mountains, which they call Panacraean, were the work of the Panacraean bee'.

point in the *Hymn to Zeus* may have its own contextual relevance in terms of Zeus as child-king,¹⁴ the shared image of being fed on honeycomb can be understood as a further Pindaric link binding the two *Hymns*, the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Apollo*.

There may of course be far more of Pindar than we will ever know in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* — but I think I have shown here thus far that Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* plays a central role in the jointure of the two poets. Yet Callimachus' is, typically, a 'reading', an interpretation, of Pindar's poem, not merely an imitation. As a rule Pindar seeks to avoid the *phthonos* or *mosimos* of his audience, but the point of the first *Pythian Ode* may be rather different.¹⁵ Here the poet appears to reject the concern of rousing the *phthonos* of his listeners and judges that the *kala* simply *must* be praised, line 86 μή παρίει καλά, whatever the cost. The honorand's interest in the exchange is deferred until line 90 ('if indeed you love always hearing [*akoa*] pleasant things said about you'). Now at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* Callimachus calls our attention to this dynamic, but takes up a different part of the interaction. Callimachus starts from a point where the audience's *Phthonos* is trying to convince the honorand Apollo that the poet's praise is insufficient. Whereas Pindar praises brevity in composition, Callimachus has *Phthonos* reject the singer whose song is not 'as large as the sea'. The rebuke, of course, comes from the honorand, Apollo, who defends the poet and rejects the audience (or maybe just an obnoxious subset thereof) as a stakeholder in the negotiation of praise. So, Callimachus fundamentally changes the calculation presented by Pindar. It may be that he reaches the same conclusion as his predecessor — since both ultimately disregard the audience and its *phthonos* as an important consideration, thereby collapsing the dynamics of praise to a bilateral relationship, one between singer and honorand.

There is a small additional piece of evidence that casts light on this Callimachean feat of intertextual tessilation — this is the poet's own evocation of the figure of Typhon or Enceladus, in another signal self-declarative moment, in the opening of the *Aetia* Prologue (fr. 1 Harder). The opening of the *Aetia* of course featured the poet dreaming of his own initiation on Helicon as a youth — the two initiations, Pindar's and Callimachus', bear close comparison — in each case Helicon is the setting, and in each a dream, an *ὄναρ*, almost a 'waking vision', plays a central role.¹⁶ And to this *ὄναρ*, or 'waking vision', one might well compare the

14 Stephens 2015, 65.

15 I am indebted to Michael Brumbaugh for this observation.

16 On the comparative dating of these two passages, see now Stephens 2015, 19.

epiphanic opening of the *Hymn to Apollo* and the emphasis on sight in lines 10–12.

The opening stanza of the first *Pythian Ode* may also find more than a casual resemblance in the early part of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
 σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τὰς ἀκούει
 μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
 πείθονται δ' αἰοῖδοι σάμασιν
 ἀγησιχόρων ὅποταν προοιμίων
 ἀμβολὰς τεύχης ἐλελιζόμενα.
 καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις 5
 αἰενάου πυρός. εὖδαι δ' ἀνὰ σκά-
 πτω Διὸς αἰετός, ὥκεϊ-
 αν πτέρυγ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις,
 ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν, κελαινῶπιν δ' ἐπὶ οἱ νεφέλαν
 ἀγκύλῳ κρατὶ, γλεφάρων ἀδὺν κλαῖ-
 θρον, κατέχευας· ὁ δὲ κνώσσων
 ὕγρὸν νῶτον αἰώρει, τεαῖς
 ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος. καὶ γὰρ βια- 10
 τὰς Ἄρης, τραχεῖαν ἀνευθε λιπῶν
 ἐγγέων ἀκμάν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν
 κώματι, κῆλα δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων θέλ-
 γει φρένας ἀμφὶ τε Λατοί-
 दा σοφία βαθυκόλπων τε Μοισᾶν.
 ὅσσα δὲ μὴ πεφίληκε Ζεὺς, ἀτύζονται βοᾶν
 Πιερίδων αἶοντα, γὰν τε καὶ πόν-
 τον κατ' ἀμαιμάκετον,
 ὅς τ' ἐν αἰνᾷ Ταρτάρῳ κεῖται, θεῶν πολέμιος, 15
 Τυφῶς ἑκατοντακάρανος· τὸν ποτε
 Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον· νῦν γε μάν
 ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἀλιερκέες ὄχθαι
 Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει
 στέρνα λαχνάεντα· κίων δ' οὐρανία συνέχει,
 νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα, πάνετες χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα· 20

Golden lyre, rightful possession of Apollo and the violet-haired Muses. Whom resplendent attends the leading step, and singers obey your signs whenever on being made to throb you furnish the chorus-leading preludes. And you quench the warring thunderbolt of eternal fire. The bird of Zeus up along his scepter sleeps, folding his dark wings on both sides, the leader of birds, for over his head you have poured a dark-faced cloud, a sweet seal of his eyelids. And slumbering he raises his shimmering back, held by your notes. For also violent Ares, leaving aside the harsh point of weapons, delights his heart with sleep, and your shafts charm the minds of the gods through the poetry of Leto's son and of the deep-breasted Muses. Whatever things Zeus does not love, these are astonished at the cry heard

of the Pierides, throughout the land and the inhospitable sea, and he who lies in dread Tartarus, enemy of the gods, Typhon of a hundred heads. Him once the famous Cilician cave raised. Now however the sea-fencing cliffs beyond Cumae and Sicily weigh down his shaggy breast. And a heavenly column restrains him, snowy Aetna, the year-long nurse of biting snow.

Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* opens with a bid to begin song, just as Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* begins with an invocation to a chorus of young men to dance. The eagle of Zeus, which figures in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* (lines 68–9), has pride of place in the opening of the images of sweet sleep brought on by the sounds of the lyre in Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*. One might think of the slippage from the *Hymn to Zeus* to the *Hymn to Apollo* as in fact filtered through the recollection of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*. Just as Zeus is the principle deity of the Olympic Games, and of the *Olympian Odes*, so Apollo and the institution of the Pythian Games is the enduring image of the *Hymn to Apollo* — and Apollo is the central divine figure of the *Pythian Odes*.

The *Hymn to Apollo* opens with a complex allusion to the opening stanza of *Pythian 1*; it closes with a complex allusion, as shown above, to the second stanza. In other words, Callimachus' hymn evolves *through* the first *Pythian Ode* — that poem serves as the hymn's frame at the beginning and at the end.¹⁷ A further note on Callimachus' 'reading' of Pindar's poem: Pindar's lyre puts to sleep the gigantic, the monstrous, the very features that Callimachus, poet of the refined, the well-wrought miniature, eschews in his own artistic creation.¹⁸ To put it another way, Callimachus adapts Pindar's 'austere harmony' (so Dionysius of Halicarnassus) to his own poetics.

We might want to consider a further compositional feature in the relationship of Callimachus' first two *Hymns* and Pindar's *Olympian* and *Pythian Odes*. The

17 There are a few other parallels in the two poems that I would call attention to here. The poet's prayer in *Pythian 1* (lines 56–57): οὕτω δ' Ἱέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι | τὸν προσέρποντα χρόνον, ὦν ἔραται καὶ ῥὸν διδούς, 'thus may god be a preserver for Hieron in time to come, giving him opportunity for the things he desires', may be paralleled by Callimachus' close association of Ptolemy and Apollo at lines 25–27 of the *Hymn to Apollo*: κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν. | ὅς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῇ μάχοιτο· | ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῇ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο, 'It is a bad thing to contend with the blessed ones. He who does battle with the blessed ones, he would do battle with my king. And whoever would do battle with my king, he would do battle with Apollo'. *Pythian 1*'s general sequence of athletic prowess and city foundation seems to find a reflection in Callimachus' *Hymn 2*, where the Dorian foundations at lines 85–89 parallel the Dorian tribe foundations at *Pyth.* 1.60–65. And of course both the *Hymn to Apollo* and *Pythian 1* are foundation poems: the former of Apollo's Carneian festival, the latter of Hieron's foundation of Aetna.

18 *De compositione verborum* 22–23. I owe particular thanks to my colleague É. Prioux for discussion on this point.

mirror relationship of Callimachus' *Hymns to Zeus* and *to Apollo* has long been noted in the scholarship on the two poems: the poems are of similar length, and in many ways of similar structure: S. Stephens observes "Apollo (*hyAp*29) sits at the right hand of Zeus. These two (sc. hymns), more than the others, focus on one specific area of concern for the divinity: kings for Zeus and song for Apollo."¹⁹ As was once observed by M. Fantuzzi, line 29 δύναται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἦσται, 'for he is able, since he sits to the right of Zeus' could also be read as a metaphor for the place of the two poems on the papyrus roll — the *Hymn to Apollo* would indeed be 'to the right' of the *Hymn to Zeus*.²⁰ I would like to press this image a little further. The order of *Olympian Odes* by initial date of the founding of the games, while often ascribed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, may in fact have originated with, or even been earlier than, Callimachus.²¹ In his study of Callimachus and the Alexandrian Library R. Blum points to the *Olympionikai* (Victors at the Olympic Games) and *Pythionikai* (Victors at the Pythian Games) among the *pinakes* attributed to Aristotle.²² The Alexandrians were thus able to date the victories at the Olympian and Pythian Games, and Callimachus was already aware of the transition from the Olympic Games (founded in 776 BC) and the Pythian Games (reformed in 582 BC). Pfeiffer thought that Callimachus himself subdivided the *Epinician Odes* by kinds of contests and by festivals;²³ Blum's suggestion, however, is that the ordering may well be earlier, and have already been available to Callimachus. As M. Negri well observes,²⁴ the sequence *Olympian/Pythian* is one that Callimachus himself has the laurel tree sententiously expound in his fourth *Iambus* at line 32–33: κ[λ]ήγῳ μὲν ἢ 'πὶ δαΐτας ἢ 'ς χορὸν φοιτῶν | τὸν Πυθαϊστήν· γίνομαι δὲ κἄεθλον, 'and I go to feasts and to the dance of the Pytho, and I am the prize'. To this the olive tree, some lines later (56–59), responds:

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐμνήσθης
καὶ τοῦτο· κῶς ἄεθλον οὐκ ἐγὼ κρέσσων
σεῦ; καὶ γὰρ ὠγών οἶν Ὀλυμπίῃ μέζων
ἢ 'ν τοῖσι Δελφοῖς· ἀλλ' ἄριστον ἡ σιωπή.

But since you mentioned this as well — how am I not a prize of greater worth than you? For the contest in Olympia is greater than that in Delphi. But silence is best.

¹⁹ Stephens 2015, 12–13.

²⁰ Fantuzzi 2011, 450–51.

²¹ On Callimachus' organization of Pindar's epincians, see Brumbaugh 2019, 12–13.

²² See further Negri 2004, 47.

²³ Pfeiffer 1968, 130.

²⁴ Negri 2004, 70, 73.

The olive tree's seemingly simple rejoinder, expressed in the context of Callimachean fable, is, however, a 'philologically' sound observation: the Olympian Games precede the Pythian ones, and the chronology, or perhaps better the status ordering, of the pan-Hellenic games was of concern to Callimachus as a scholar.²⁵

A concluding thought on the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Hymn to Zeus* and Pindar's epinicia. I would like to posit the suggestion here that not only is the *Hymn to Apollo* bracketed by Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*, but that the ordering of the two hymns, the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Apollo*, is meant as a compositional gesture to reflect the ordering of Pindar's *Olympian* and *Pythian Odes*. The *Pythian Odes* thus serve doubly as a model for the *Hymn to Apollo*: the first poem of the collection is itself entwined in the compositional strategy of the *Hymn to Apollo*, but so too is the *Pythian Odes* as a collection: *Pythian Odes* 4, 5 and 9 celebrate the foundation of Cyrene, the very foundation that Callimachus celebrates in the *Hymn to Apollo* at lines 65–96. The correlation is not a precise one-on-one rapport, both Callimachus hymns draw richly on Pindar, and *Pythian* 1 has ties to both; especially in the praise of father and son (Hiero and Deinomenes) in *Pythian* 1 and the praise of father and son, Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II, in the *Hymn to Zeus*. However the movement from Olympia to Pythia is certainly there in the movement from the *Hymn to Zeus* to the *Hymn to Apollo*, and *Pythian* 1 as the first of the *Pythian Odes* plays a signal role here.

Now the parallels between the first *Olympian Ode* and Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* are many, so I would just like to highlight a few of the more striking ones here. The poem's opening, ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ finds an obvious analogy in the opening motif of the *Hymn to Zeus*, Rhea's creation of the spring Neda in which she washes the new-born Zeus. The thematic emphasis on truth and lying in the *Hymn to Zeus* finds an easy parallel in the emphasis on lies in Pindar's first *Olympian Ode* (line 29), the prominent place of kings features in both, the poet's own self-determination is similarly framed in the two poems.²⁶

²⁵ Only one citation survives of Callimachus' *περί ἀγώνων* (fr. 403 Pf.), but the poet's interests in the pan-Hellenic games is attested i.a. by *Aetia* fr. 84–85 Pf. (Euthycles the Locrian).

²⁶ Compare e.g. the sense of lines 8–9 of Callimachus *Hymn to Zeus*: 'Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ, 'Cretans are always liars. For indeed, oh lord, the Cretans possessed your tomb, but you did not die, for you are forever' with *Olympian* 1 line 36 *υἱὲ Ταντάλου, σὲ δ' ἀντία προτέρων φθέγγομαι*, 'son of Tantalus, I will say of you things contrary to my predecessors'). Then too Pindar's observation on speaking appropriately of the gods at *Olympian* 1 lines 35–36: *ἔστι δ' ἀνδρὶ φάμεν εἰκόδς ἀμφὶ δαι· | μόνων καλὰ· μείων γὰρ αἰτία*, 'it is fitting for a man to say fair things of the gods, for less is the blame', finds a marked and self-conscious imitation in lines 60–65 of the *Hymn to Zeus*, where Callimachus faults earlier singers for telling unsuitable narratives of the gods.

In her astute and thought-provoking study of the associations of the concluding section of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* and local Cyrenean inscriptions, oracular sacred regulations, and the *programmata* from the great Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, I. Petrovic observes that "a reading that considers these texts as well contributes to our understanding of the closing of this hymn without silencing other voices that resound in it".²⁷

In the conclusion to her 2011 study, Petrovic draws attention to the family association of the poet Callimachus and the cult of Apollo at Cyrene: the setting of the *Hymn to Apollo* is the festival of Apollo at Cyrene.²⁸ Cyrene was originally founded by Callimachus' ancestor Battus, who led a group of Dorians, originally from the Peloponnese, from the island of Thera (modern Santorini). The occasion of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* coincides with Hieron's proclamation as a citizen of Aetna, a city he founded with settlers from Syracuse and from the Peloponnese. In a sense both the *Hymn to Apollo* and *Pythian 1* are foundation poems, both poems celebrate calming and good governance, both poems feature the god Apollo in an array of cults and cult names.²⁹ Callimachus uses many intertexts to create the mosaic that is his *Hymn to Apollo*, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* among them. One such text is Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*, with which Callimachus frames the opening and the closing of his hymn to the Carneian god — his own act, as it were, of compositional enfolding within the σελίδες, the papyrus columns, of an earlier song that is thus recalled and lives on.

Typhoeus, the fire-breathing behemoth of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*, appears in a signal moment in the first fragment of Callimachus' elegiac *Aetia*, when the poet refers to the weight of his years as the three pointed island that crushes Typhoeus (lines 35–36): τό μοι βάρος ὅσον ἔπεστι | τριγ[λῶ]χι[ι]ν ὀλ[οῶ] νῆσος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῳ, 'such a weight upon me as the three-cornered island upon destructive Enceladus'. The close relationship of the opening of the *Aetia* and the conclusion of the *Hymn to Apollo*, two of the signal passages of Callimachus' poetic self-definition, is the subject of a substantial scholarship on the Alexandrian poet. The

²⁷ Petrovic 2011, 272.

²⁸ See further Petrovic 2011, 282–85.

²⁹ Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.39 Λύκιε καὶ Δάλιοι' ἀνάσσων | Φοῖβε Παρνασσού τε κράναν Κασταλίαν φιλέων, 'Lycian and Delian, and Phoebus ruling Parnassus and loving the Castalian spring' and Callim. *Hy.* 2.69–73: ὦ πολλόν, πολλοὶ σε Βοηδρόμιον καλέουσι, | πολλοὶ δὲ Κλάριον, πάντα δέ τοι οὔνομα πολὺ· | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Καρνεῖον· ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὔτω. | Σπάρτη τοι, Καρνεῖε, τότε πρώτιστον ἔδεθλον, | δεύτερον αὖ Θήρη, τρίτατόν γε μὲν ἄστυ Κυρήνης, 'Apollo, many call you Boedromion, many call you Clarion, everywhere have you many names. But I call you Carneian, for this is my fathers' custom. For Sparta, Carneian, was your first seat, second was Thera, and third the city of Cyrene'.

role, however, of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* in this relationship is, I hope, clearer as a result of this discussion.

As it happens, Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* has long been appreciated as a poetic model for another Alexandrian poem: this is Theocritus *Idyll* 16, his *Charites*.³⁰ Leaving aside for the moment the fraught issue of priority, we might ask whether the two poems, Theocritus' *Charites* and Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* share features in common. The answer is revealing. Early in *Idyll* 16 Theocritus has a potential patron decline to sponsor his *Charites*, his poems, with the following nod to Homer:

τίς δέ κεν ἄλλου ἀκούσαι; ἄλις πάντεσσιν Ὅμηρος,
οὔτος ἀοιδῶν λῶστος, ὃς ἐξ ἐμεῦ οἴσεται οὐδέν.'

Who would hear from another? Homer is sufficient for all. He is the best of singers, who will get nothing from me.

This is a close verbal equivalent to Callimachus' *Phthonos* οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀεῖδει, 'I do not admire the singer who does not sing even as much as the sea' (line 106), where πόντος is widely understood as a metaphor for Homer.³¹ Theocritus' equivalence of his poems to Pindaric *Charites* may find a partial parallel in the textual metaphor (as M. Fantuzzi has suggested) of *Hy.* 2.29 δύναται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἦσται, 'he (sc. Apollo) can, since he sits to the right of Zeus', which might refer to the position of the two hymns on a papyrus roll. And it certainly finds a parallel in Callim. *Ep.* 51 Pf. (15 GP):

Τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες· ποτὶ γὰρ μία ταῖς τρισὶ τήναις
ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη κῆτι μύροισι νοτεῖ.
εὐαίων ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα,
ἧς ἄτερ οὐδ' αὐταὶ ταὶ Χάριτες Χάριτες.

Four are the Graces. For to the three one just now has been fashioned, and is yet wet with perfumes. Berenice, splendid, blessed among all, without whom the very Graces are not Graces.

In Callimachus' epigram, the *Charites* as the four books of the *Aetia* gains an enhanced effect with the reflection that the poem that begins *Aetia* 3, the *Victory of Berenice*, is indeed an epinician richly evocative of Pindar, and the conclusion of the fourth book, the *Lock of Berenice*, involves a Pindarically-tinged flight of

³⁰ See Clapp 1913, Perrotta 1925 and esp. Hunter 1996, 82–90.

³¹ Williams 1978, 85–89 is the standard interpretation, but see Cameron 1995, 105–12; cf. Stephens 2015, 73 for a more nuanced interpretation. See further Asper 1997, 120–25.

song.³² There may be a further play on the metaphor of *Charites*/book-rolls in Callim. *Aetia* fr. 7.12–14, where the poet's request to the *Charites* that they wipe their oiled hands on his 'elegies' that they be lasting for 'many a year' can be read as an amalgamation of Pindaric images of *charis* and the enduring power of song; here effectively the *Charites* the poet addresses are the personification, as it were, of his elegies.

And both poems, Theocritus *Idyll* 16 and Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* are, albeit differently articulated, appeals for patronage; both are detailed statements of poetic self-definition; both look to (intriguingly) North Africa with their highlighting of Carthage (*Id.* 16) and Cyrene (*Hy.* 2), and both are complex readings of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode*. The *Hymn to Apollo* is generally believed to be a later work of Callimachus;³³ Theocritus' *Charites* is thought to be an earlier work of this poet. Given the possibility of re-performance, and even of re-composition, it may on balance be fruitless to attempt to ascertain a sure priority between the two works; what we clearly can define is the role of Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* as a model for poetry of the Alexandrian court in the first part of the third century CE.³⁴

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³² On this epigram as a concluding *sphragis* on the completion of *Aetia* 4, see Acosta-Hughes/Stephens 2012, 222–24, and the detailed analysis of Petrovic and Petrovic 2003.

³³ See Stephens 2015.

³⁴ This study has benefitted from discussion with several friends and colleagues, among them Markus Asper, Michael Brumbaugh, Christophe Cusset, Massimo Giuseppetti, Annette Harder, Keyne Cheshire, Évelyne Prioux and Ivana Petrovic. Audiences at the University of Seattle and Trinity College Dublin provided helpful input, and wonderful occasions on which to present this material. This work could never have begun, really, without the stellar contributions on Pindar and Callimachus of Giovan Battista D'Alessio, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge this debt here.

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