

The Homeric *ἄφαρ* in the Oedipus Myth and the identity of the Lille mother

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The mythological novelties of the Lille poem, especially the conciliatory intervention of the mother, when the *eris* of the Oedipus' sons is yet in embryo, and the proposal of distributing the movable and immovable patrimony through lot, have been duly recognized. However, the identity of this mother is still a riddle, the only clue being her characterization "*δῖα γυνά*" (232). Almost unanimously, nonetheless, she has been identified with Iocaste, and only exceptionally with Euryganeia. In the belief that the latter identification revives and perpetuates a dispute that has haunted classical scholarship ever since the time of the Scholiast (*Od.* 11.274) and Pausanias (9.5.11), I intend to re-examine the issue of the identity of the Lille mother by reviewing and evaluating our ancient sources, *Odyssey* 11.274 in particular, for which I will propose a different interpretation.

In our oldest extant source of information, *Odyssey* 11.271–280, the mother-wife of Oedipus is called Epicaste, the epic equivalent of Iocaste.¹⁾ The notorious details – parricide and incest with the mother – *ἄφαρ δ'ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν* (274). Upon the recognition of these abominable deeds, Epicaste hangs herself, whereas Oedipus continues to rule at Thebes ridden by woes as many as the maternal Erinyes bring to pass.

Pherecydes (3F95 = Sch. Eur. *Phoen.* 53)²⁾ narrates that Creon gives Oedipus both the kingship and Iocaste by whom Phrastor and Laonytus³⁾ are born. These boys are killed by the Minyans and Ergi-

¹⁾ Schol. *Od.* 11.271: *παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς Ἰοκάστη*. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 12: ... *οἱ παλαιότεροι Ἐπικάστην καλοῦσι*. Hesychius: *καλήν τ' Ἐπικάστην, ἣν οἱ μεθ' Ὀμηρον Ἰοκάστην καλοῦσιν*.

²⁾ For comments see Jacoby, *FGrH*, 1: 416f.

³⁾ F.G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus oder die Homerischen Dichter* 2 vols. (Bonn: E. Weber, 1865–1882; rer. ed. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1981), 2: 315 n. 5, disposes of them by associating the *αὐτῶ* with Laius (cf. Paus. 9.26.2, Lysim. fr. 5 *FHG*, 3: 336). This is approved of by E. Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1891), p. 24 n. 25, but criticized by F. W. Schneidewin, "Die Sage vom Oedipus," *Abh. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.* 5 (1852): 165; O. Höfer, "Oidipus," *Roscher Lex-*

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nus. When a year passes,⁴⁾ Oedipus marries Euryganeia, the daughter of Periphas, by whom the four known children are born. After her death, Oedipus marries Astymedousa. The scholiast (Eur. *Phoen.* 53) adds that Euryganeia is Iocaste's sister.

In the Theban tragedies, Iocaste is the unchallenged mother-wife of Oedipus and has given birth to incestuous progeny. It should be noted, however, that Aeschylus (*Septem*) does not name her at all, although he is acquainted with the parricide, as well as the incestuous marriage and progeny.

In a narrative in which Iocaste play a prominent role, Apollodorus (3.5.8) adds, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ γεννηθῆναι τὰ τέκνα φασὶν ἐξ Εὐρυγανείας αὐτῷ τῆς Τεύθραντος, and he rightaway returns to the fate of Iocaste. The highly controversial Peisandros scholium (16F10 = schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1760) has a similar entry, φασὶ δὲ διὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἰοκάστης καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύφλωσιν ἐγγίμην Εὐρυγάνην παρθένον, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γεγόνασιν οἱ τέσσαρες παῖδες.⁵⁾ Epimenides (3B15 DK = Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 13) makes Eurycleia, the daughter of Ekphas, the mother of Oedipus without mentioning an incestuous liaison.

icon der griech. und röm. Mythologie 3 (1897–1902): 727.31; C. Robert, *Oidipus. Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffes im griechischen Altertum*, 2 vols (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1915), 1: 496–498; C. Kirchhoff, *Der Kampf der Sieben vor Theben und König Oidipus*, Diss. Wilhelms University (Muenster: R. Noske, 1917), p.63 n.2; L. Deubner, *Oedipusprobleme*, Abh. der Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften, No.4 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter und Co., 1942), p.29 n.2 and H. Lamer, "Laios," *RE* 12 (1942): 489.24. The idea that these sons may have been twins originates with Bethe, and is resumed with due caution by Jacoby, *FGrH*, 1: 416 and Deubner.

⁴⁾ An enigmatic phrase, see Schneidewin, p.165: "Bussjahr," Oedipus remarries one year after Iocaste's death; Bethe, p.23: one year between Oedipus' becoming a king and the end of his marriage with Iocaste; Jacoby, *FGrH*, 1: 416: "Reinigungsjahr"; Kirchhoff, p.66: Iocaste dies one year after the wedding; Deubner, p.29: one year after the death of Phrastor and Laonytus, when the second marriage takes place.

⁵⁾ For the identity of Peisandros see Bethe, p.4 n.10: a "Gelehrter"; so also Höfer, p.713.25; Robert, 1: 167; 2: 63–65 n.22: a logographer. Lamer, p.508.41: a 6th c. B. C. epic poet from Rhodes; L. Legras, *Les Légendes Thébaines dans l'Épopée et la Tragédie Grecque* (Paris: G. Bellais, 1905), pp.38 f. n.2: a poet of the pagan, pre-Christian era, who wrote under the name of Peisandros of Cameiros; Jacoby, *FGrH*. 1: 493 f.: a mythographer from Hellenistic times; this is approved of by R. Keydell, "Peisandros," *RE* 19 (1937): 147.22; idem, "Die Dichter mit Namen Peisandros," *Hermes* 70 (1935): 301–311 (meant as an answer to U. von Wilamowitz, "Lesefrüchte," *Hermes* 60 (1925): 280–284); Deubner, p.7; E. L. de Kock, "The Peisandros Scholium – Its sources, Unity and Relation to Euripides' Chrysippos," *Acta Class.* 5 (1962): 15–37, pass. but esp. p.37.

The scholium (*Phoen.* 13) continues with another version (*οἱ δὲ...*) according to which Laius marries Eurycleia and Epicaste, but Oedipus marries Epicaste, his mother, and Eurygane (the shorter form of Euryganeia). There is an obvious contradiction in this piece of information due to the fusion of two traditions. Iocaste together with Asytmedousa figure elsewhere (Schol. A *Il.* 4.376 = Eudocia 728 p. 517 Flach).

This issue of Oedipus' marriages becomes inextricably connected with the existence or not of incestuous progeny when the Scholiast (*Od.* 11.274) and Pausanias 9.5.11 decide to exploit the Homeric adverb *ἄφαρ* and propose two antithetical *λύσεις* each, opening thus Pandora's box in classical scholarship.

The adverb *ἄφαρ* has a rich gamut of meanings: "straightway, forthwith, thereupon, after that, suddenly, quickly;" it can even function as an intensive "very."⁶ Of these translations, the Scholiast (*Od.* 11.274) chooses "suddenly" and says, "*οὐκ εὐθέως ἐπεὶ πῶς ἔσχε παιδᾶς· ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης* (B)" (cf. also Schol. V Hom. *Od.* 11.271 = Androtion, *FGrH*, 324F62. 17–18). Pausanias (9.5.11) prefers the "immediately, forthwith" apparently, and categorically excludes the

⁶ So Liddell and Scott, s.v.; cf. *Etymologicon Magnum*, ed. by T. Gaisford (Oxford: 1848, repr. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1967), 175.12–22: *ἄφαρ ἐπίρρημα μεσότητος ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθέως παρὰ τὸ ἄπτω ῥήμα, τὸ εὐθέως [οὐτω ταχέως καὶ] ἅμα τῷ ἄψασθαι καὶ ἔσθαι γινόμενον. Ἐξ οὗ καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ Ἑφέσιοι ἀφαρρεὶ λέγουσι τὸ ταχέως καὶ ἀσκόπως ποιεῖν τι ἢ φθέγγεσθαι. Σημαίνει δὲ τέσσαρα· τὸ ταχέως (*Il.* 22. 270), σημαίνει καὶ τὸ πρόχειρον καὶ τὸ παραχρημα (*Il.* 13.814) καὶ τὸ αἰφνίδιον (*Il.* 10.537) σημαίνει καὶ τὸ ῥαδίως (*Od.* 8.270). Similarly Apollonii Sophistae *Lexicon Homericum*, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1833), p. 48.18–22 with the addition of "*καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔπειτα*" (22). Cf. H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963), 1: 208, in which all four meanings figure; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1968), 1–2: 146: "tout d'un coup, aussitôt"; H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1960), 1: 194 "Sofort, sogleich"; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1916), p. 105: "aussitôt après"; R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963): (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith, (2) without hesitation, (3) of a surety, truly, (4) in vague intensifying sense; C. Capelle, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), pp. 105 f.: "sogleich, sofort, alsbald, schnell, flugs" etc. to be mentioned below. R. Führer in the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, ed. by B. Snell (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), pp. 1695–98, gives the fullest account distinguishing three categories; (1) temporal, "schnell, plötzlich, sogleich, gar bald, schnell > von Anfang an, im selben Augenblick, dabei," (2) modal, "in der Tat, wirklich, schon," and (3) local, "weit, weg."*

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incestuous progeny from Homer, “*πῶς οὖν ἐποίησαν ἀνάπυστα ἄφαρ, εἰ δὴ τέσσαρες ἐκ τῆς Ἐπικάστης ἐγένοντο παῖδες τῷ Οἰδίποδι*”; he wonders, and concludes, “*ἐξ Εὐρυγανείας δὲ τῆς Υπέρφαντος ἐγεγόνεσαν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας ἃ Οἰδιπόδια ὀνομάζουσιν, καὶ Ὀνασίας Πλαταιᾶσιν ἔγραψε κατηφῆ τὴν Εὐρυγάνειαν ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν παίδων*” (cf. Paus. 9.4.2). Pausanias is our sole informant to testify for Euryganeia’s role in the *Oedipodia*.

To sum up, on the basis of the above-cited ancient evidence, Oedipus seems to have had three wives, Iocaste, Euryganeia and Astymedousa.⁷⁾ The crucial question is, which one of these wives figures in the Lille poem?

To start with the stepmother Astymedousa, she has no place in the Lille poem, because the speaker calls Eteocles and Polyneices *παῖδας* (192, 211, 216, 218, 231) and *φίλα τέκνα* (218). C. Meillier, one of the first editors of the papyrus, identifies her with Iocaste, under the Homeric name Epicaste, who speaks and behaves with the dignity of a Queen (cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 10.1.62). Stesichorus’ interest in heroines as well as in heroes is doubtless: his Helen, Eriphyle, Europa, Rhadine and Clytemnestra testify to this.⁸⁾ This identification is accepted either unreservedly,⁹⁾ or with some slight scepticism.¹⁰⁾ In one

⁷⁾ The series of marriages is rejected by Robert, 1: 111, as unthinkable for a Greek epic; these names reflect one figure, the mother-wife of Oedipus who bore incestuous children. This figure was originally the Mother-Earth. This view is approved of by Jacoby, *FGrH*, 1: 416: 25 and 417, and by A. Rzach, „Kyklos,” *RE* 11 (1922): 2359.30 ff., 2360.64–2361.1–23. Cf., however, the objections of Kirchhoff, pp.65, 67 n.3 and of Lamer, p.481. 56 ff., esp.482. 40 ff.

⁸⁾ C. Meillier, “Un nouveau poème de Stésichore?” *CRIPEL* 4 (1976): 324–334, esp. 327–332. This identification is taken for granted, idem, “Quelques conjectures à Stésichore,” *ZPE* 27 (1977): 65–67; “Stésichore, P.L. 76 (+ P.L. 73), Quelques conjectures possibles,” *SCO* 28 (1978): 35–45; “La succession d’Oedipe d’après le P. Lille, 76 a + 73, poème lyrique probablement de Stésichore,” *REG* 91 (1978): 12–43.

⁹⁾ T. Gargiulo, “Sul nuovo Stesicoro (Pap. Lille 76 A, B, C),” *Boll Class.* 24 (1976): 55–59; F. Sisti, “Sul nuovo Stesicoro,” *Boll Class.* 24 (1976): 50–54; A. Carlini, “Osservazioni critiche al Papiro di Lille attribuito a Stesicoro,” *QUCC* 25 (1977): 61–67; C. Gallavotti, “Un poemetto citarodico di Stesichoro nel quadro della cultura Siceliota,” *Boll Class.* 25 (1977): 1–30; id., “Da Stesicoro ad Empedocle,” *Kokalos* 26–27 (1980–81); F. Lasserre, “P. Lille 76 a–c, 29–33,” *M. Cr.* 13–14 (1978–79): 119–124; F. R. Adrados, “Propuestas para una nueva edicion e interpretacion de Estesicoro,” *Emerita* 46 (1978): 253, 274; W. Luppe, “Liller Stesichoros/Vers 218 – Ein Deutungsversuch”, *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (1980): 147–148; L. Carmignani, “Stile e Tecnica narrativa in Stesicoro,” *Ricerche di Filologia Classica* I (Pisa: Giardini giardini e stampatori,

case this has become an additional argument *pro* the Stesichorean authorship of the Lille poem.¹¹⁾ Elsewhere is the difficulty of reaching a definite conclusion adequately pointed out, although the balance slightly leans toward Iocaste on the ground that Stesichorus is renowned for his innovativeness in myth (*PMG* 193.16), and so maybe "it was he himself who had Jocasta live on up to the time of the division of the Oedipus' estate, thus anticipating Euripides."¹²⁾ With due caution the Lille mother is referred to simply as the "Queen" and "the mother of Eteocles and Polyneices,"¹³⁾ or "Queen" and „Oedipus' wife."¹⁴⁾

However, twice is the Lille mother identified with Euryganeia.¹⁵⁾ Čist'Akova argues that in view of the fact that in the epic (*Il.* 23.679 ff., *Od.* 11.271 ff., Hes. frg. 192 M.-W.) and the tragedy

1981): 25–60; G. Vagnone, "Aspetti formulari in Stesicoro Pap. Lille 87 abc: il desiderio di morte," *QUCC* 39 (1982): 35–42.

¹⁰⁾ Probably Iocaste; J. Bollack, P. Judet de la Combe and H. Wisman, *La Réplique de Jocaste* (Cahiers de Philologie de Lille No. 2, PUL III, 1977), pp. 36–41; R. Tosi, "Note al nuovo Stesicoro," *M. Cr.* 13–14 (1978–79): 125–142.

¹¹⁾ So Q. Cataudella, "Nuovissimo Stesicoro (Pap. Lille 76 a II)," *Sileno* 3 (1977): 279–280, who believes that Stesichorus attempts a "rivalutazione dei miti" by presenting Iocaste as an affectionate mother, who arouses the sympathy for not rejecting or cursing her incestuous children. The reason for this reevaluation would be aesthetico-poetic, an artistic sympathy. Stes. is the poet of the "eterno femminile" of Helen, Iocaste, Callirhoe, etc. His attitude vis-à-vis the tragic figures of myth bears the mark of the genuine Stesichorean "animus." However, the assumed rehabilitation is question-begging, since Iocaste's motherly feelings have never been challenged or questioned, at least in our extant ancient evidence. Unless Cataudella makes an implicit extrapolation from her inculpatory stance towards Oedipus (cf. Soph. *OT.* 1173–76 and Hygin, fab. 66). Maybe Iocaste is a foil for impulsive and irritable Oedipus (cf. *Theb.* fr. II. 6, III. schol. Laur. in Soph. *OC.* 1375 Papp, Plato *Alc.* 2.138 c, 141 a, Aesch. *Sept.* 724, 785–791, Soph. *OT.* 588, 338, 344, 524, 807, 1258, 1300, *Ant.* 471 f., Eur. *Phoen.* 66 f., 874–77).

¹²⁾ A. Gostoli, "Some Aspects of the Theban Myth in the Lille Stesichorus," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 25. She also advances the idea of rehabilitation (cf. Helen), but with no further clarification. It remains unclear what Iocaste is rehabilitated from, what her *culpa* was (cf. *Od.* 11.272 ἀἰδομένην νόοιο).

¹³⁾ P. J. Parsons, "The Lille 'Stesichorus'," *ZPE* 26 (1977): 20; id., "Recent Papyrus Finds: Greek Poetry," 5. Stesichorus (Thebaid?) (The Lille Stesichorus), 7th *FIEC* 2 (1984): 521–524.

¹⁴⁾ M. Haslam, "The Versification of the New Stesichorus (P. Lille 76 abc)," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 32.

¹⁵⁾ N. A. Čist'Akova, "Early Poetry of the Greek West," (in russ.) *VDI* 154 (1980): 44–45, and Z. A. Ryžkina, "New Variant of the Theban Myth, the Thebaid of Stesichorus," (in russ.) *VDI* 170 (1984): 115–118.

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Oedipus survives his mother, the *δῖα γυνὰ* of the Lille poem cannot be Epicaste-Iocaste, especially since in *Homer* she has had no children. The Lille mother must, consequently, be Euryganeia. Ryžkina fully endorses this view, which adopts the Pausanian interpretation (ἄφαρ = forthwith, immediately), and he assumes that the motif of the incestuous children first entered the saga with Aeschylus (ca. 470–460 B.C.).¹⁶⁾

The above survey has shown that the *Odyssey* 11.271–280 together with Pausanias 9.5.11 are absolutely indispensable in our identification project. The ancient debate over the meaning and implications of the adverb ἄφαρ has insinuated into the Lille poem, and has naturally affected our understanding of it since it has always been the cornerstone of all theories regarding the evolution of the Oedipus myth. The scholars who adhere to Pausanias (ἄφαρ = immediately) postulate that the *Nekyia*, Pherecydes 3F95, the Peisandros scholium, Scholia A *Il.* 4.376 and Pausanias 9.5.11 reflect the Old Saga and derive more or less from a common source, the epic *Oedipodia*.¹⁷⁾ In this mythological framework the ἄφαρ signposts the time of recognition in relation to the time of the marriage – immediately or very soon after it¹⁸⁾ – and suggests a marital life of too

¹⁶⁾ So also Höfer, p.727.3 f.; Welcker, 2: 314, attributes the motif to the renovations of either a “derberer Volksage,” or the dithyrambic tragedy of Icaria, whence it passed to the Attic tragedians.

¹⁷⁾ So Welcker, 2: 313–15; Schneidewin, pp.162–67; Bethe, pp.24 f., who adds also Sch. *Od.* 11.272; Deubner, pp.27–38; Kirchhoff, pp.57 f., 67, dissociates the *Oedipodia* from the *Nekyia* on the ground that in the latter there existed no incestuous children in contrast to the former (Phrastor and Laonytus). This process of arbitrary association required an unwarranted “tailoring” even deletion of incompatible elements from our ancient sources, examples of which are to be found in Bethe’s and Deubner’s postulates.

¹⁸⁾ So Welcker, 2: 314 n.4; Schneidewin, pp.163–66 “flugs nach Hochzeit”; Robert, 1: 108 “alsbald,” although for him the marriage is always crowned with children, since under the various names of the mother, there is one single figure, the Mother-Earth (1: 111); Höfer, pp.701.8–42, 726 f., 728.56; Legras, p.56, “peu après le mariage”; H. C. Baldry, “The Dramatization of the Theban Legend,” *G. and R.* ser. 2, 3 (1956): 25, 29; E. L. de Kock, “The Sophoklean Oedipus and its Antecedents,” *Acta Class.* 4 (1961): 12; Murray (Loeb) et alii. Cf. Deubner, pp.36 f., “alsbald einmal in Zukunft” an elastic indication of time stretching to about a year in order to include the incestuous progeny of both the *Oedipodia* and the *Nekyia*. Kirchhoff, pp.57–58, 67, “sofort.” Führer, p.1696. 56 ff., 1 b “schnell > gar bald (d.h. es sollte bzw. wird nicht lange dauern, und ...) e.g. *Od.* 8.270 and *Od.* 11.274 ... (ältere Sagenversion ohne Kinder aus dem Inzest, s. Paus. IX.5.10 f. ...)”

short a duration as to allow the procreation of incestuous offspring. In both the *Nekyia* and the *Oedipodia* Epicaste dies without incestuous progeny, consequently, and the four children are born by Euryganeia, the innocent wife; whence the refusal of Čist'Akova and Ryžkina to identify the Lille mother with Epicaste-Iocaste. They do not notice, however, that in tragedy the picture is confusing: Oedipus survives not only his mother but his children as well (Eur. *Phoen.*), whereas the *Septem* of Aeschylus is so obscure to the effect that we cannot tell whether Oedipus was alive during the war of the Seven. By contrast in Sophocles' OC Oedipus anticipated his sons in dying, whereas in his *Antigone* (49–54) Oedipus' death seems to precede that of Iocaste.

By contrast, another, though much smaller, group of scholars adopt the alternative "suddenly."¹⁹⁾ Hence incestuous procreation is not only allowed in the Old Saga but is, moreover, used as an explanation for the curse motif and the eventual uproot of the house of the Labdacidae. The lurking danger of a circular argument based on the version of tragedy is too obvious.

The accretion of new and always more elaborate scholarly assumptions has transformed the basic core of the Oedipus myth into a mosaic of quite often arbitrarily chosen and interwoven motifs, the examination of which is beyond the scope of this present study. However, it suffices to say that the association of Pherecydes 3F95 and Pausanias 9.5.11 exemplifies an *ad libitum* procedure, as I have argued elsewhere.²⁰⁾ Their sole common point is the Euryganeia detail, which is linked with the *Oedipodia* strictly on the testimony of Pausanias. Our other informants record it without a closer specification of their own sources or the epic in which Euryganeia has allegedly figured.

Moreover, it is worth noting that all of them enter her name using variations of a stereotyped, almost formulaic, expression which usually accompanies a report when considered a mere hearsay, or an unverifiable rumor.²¹⁾ Besides, she is Eury-gane (or -ganeia), the

¹⁹⁾ V. Bérard (Budé) "soudain"; Cf. Baldry, p.25: Jebb (presently), Sheppard (suddenly), Stanford (after that). See Höfer, p.701.16–23: Hüttemann also "suddenly."

²⁰⁾ In my Ph.D. dissertation, „Stesichorus and his Poetry,” University of Chicago, 1985, pp.307–312.

²¹⁾ *εἰσι δὲ οἱ... φασὶν* (Apollod.), *τινὲς δὲ... λέγουσιν* (Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 53), *καὶ τὸν Οἰδίποδα δὲ φασιν... καὶ Εὐρυγάνην* (Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 13), *φασὶ δὲ ὅτι* (Peis. sch. 16F10).

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daughter of Hyper-phas, Peri-phas, or Teuthras. These variants show the tendency of creating compounds which are etymologically akin (cf. Eury-cleia of Ek-phas).

Apollodorus, curiously enough and somehow with the interest of an antiquarian, breaks his narrative momentarily, as if to insert a piece of rare mythological value. Although Euryganeia is linked with the *Oedipodia* only through Pausanias – whose credibility has often been challenged²²) – the recurrent presence of Euryganeia in our ancient tradition suggests that we may trust him on this point. However, there is a huge gulf separating this concession and the assumption that Euryganeia's role can be established for the *Nekyia* and the old saga in general, the Lille poem included. This supposition, recently revived by Čist'Ákova and Ryžkina, is an argument *ex silentio* resting on the biased use of the ancient tradition and due to the polarization around the Homeric ἄφαρ (*Od.* 11.274). The manifest significance of this adverb for our project of identifying the Lille mother makes the need of investigating its meaning imperative.

I should start my review of the ἄφαρ uses with a preliminary remark: it is sometimes impossible to define the meaning of it with infallible precision. Occasionally the available interpretative alternatives seem to blend with each other, and the choice of the most appropriate option depends on the consideration of other factors such as the social and cultural demands and the hypothetical motives of the poet. The contextual ambiguity aside, the interpretative boundaries can be further blurred by the very nature of ἄφαρ: being an adverb, it can modify or qualify another adverb, and epithet or even a verb. Finally the metrical accommodation often requires the dislocation of the word far from its natural order and thus our interpretative depository gets substantially enriched, as the following survey will hopefully show.

We are first acquainted with the ἄφαρ in *Iliad* 1.349: Briseis is taken to Agamemnon, whereas Achilles *δακρύσας ἐτάρων ἄφαρ ἔζητο νόσφι λιασθείς*. Three options are possible here, (a) to associate the adverb with the participle *δακρύσας* and render “forth-

²²) Legras, pp.26 f., considers him a Homerist who has drawn on the logographers and has fused his material at will. Bethe, pp.2 f. n.5, Wilamowitz, “Die Sieben Tore Thebens,” *Hermes* 26 (1891): 228 n.2, and Robert, 1: 110 f. believe that he had not read the old epics *in toto*, but knew them through citations. Robert is especially critical of Pausanias. Cf., however, Baldry, p.27 and de Kock, “The Sophoklean Oidipus,” pp. 15, 17 n.50.

with" or "suddenly,"²³) (b) to consider it a local, "far from, far away,"²⁴) and (c) to take it as a temporal link of the *δακρύσας* and *ἔξετο*, i.e., as indicative of the temporal order of these two actions: Achilles burst into tears and immediately, without delay he removed himself far away. The *παραχρήμα* (Ap. lex. 48.19 = E.M. 175.18) meaning, or another equivalent *ἀνθωρεί* would be suitable in this context as capable of conveying vividly the image of the stout and formidable warrior who seeks privacy at the moment of his emotional outburst. Such an interpretation would acknowledge once more the ethnographical aptitude of Homer. A similar interpretation fits *Iliad* 1.594: *ἔνθα με Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πεσόντα*, says Hephaestus adding that there was very little life left in him. The ideas of "just in time," of immediacy and rushness are properly hinted at by Murray (Loeb): "There did the Sintian folk make haste to tend me for my fall."²⁵)

In *Iliad* 2.453f. Athena rouses the Achaeans for war, *τοῖσι δ'ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ'ἤε νέεσθαι/έν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῆσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν*. This distich serves as a demarcation line between two contrasting realities in which the mob psychology is masterfully portrayed against a background strongly tinted by the divine (1–40) and human (72–75) deceit. Upon hearing of the faked *nostos* (110–141), the Achaeans, in their wild enthusiasm, are likened to sea waves and a cornfield stirred by the wind (144–149). Following their disillusionment (182–207), both their submissive backward movement tow-

²³) So Ebeling, (2). continuo, statim, in promptu, cum ptc. aor. *Il.* 1.349, sch. br. *εὐθέως ταχέως* sch. BLV. *δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα*, cf. Ap. 48.22. A.T. Murray (Loeb): "forthwith burst into tears."; P. Mazon (Budé): "brusquement se met à pleurer." It is omitted by R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix ed., 21st impr., 1971); Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith.

²⁴) So Führer, p.1697. 73, 3. local, "weit weg, ... dichtersprachliche Umdeutung nach ἀπό." In the presence of *νόσφι*, however, such an interpretation would be rather pleonastic. In the *scholia minora* (*Il.* 1.338–349) ed. by A. Henrichs, "Scholia Minora zu Homer II," *ZPE* 7 (1971): 254f., we find l.11f.: "ἄ]φαρ χωρὶς σημα[ίνει τα-/χέ]ως οἷον τὸ ![. Henrichs admits the difficulty of interpreting these lines and suggests that either the *χωρὶς* is wrongly attributed to the *ἄφαρ*, or the *χωρὶς* should be associated with the verb *σημαίνει*, i.e., "für sich bedeutet es (d.h. ἄφαρ) ταχέως, wie ..."

²⁵) Similarly Mazon (Budé): "La, les Sintiens me recueillirent, à peine arrivé au sol"; Lattimore omits it; Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith. Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, in promptu. Führer, p.1697. 1, 1d "sogleich," cf. Eust. 158.37f.: *μετὰ τὸ πεσεῖν ... εὐθύς*.

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ards the *agora* and their sound²⁶) is again visualized through an admirably precise sea simile (208 f.). After Thersites is punished for his *παρὰ μοῖραν* lecture, the subservience of the host is reinstated (270–78, 333–35) and again conveyed with a sea simile (394–97). Since movement and sound correspond to certain feelings, I am inclined to broaden the compass of the sea simile so as to include them as well: the emotions of the Achaeans resemble tidal waves that swell and subside. Against this physical and emotional eddying, there is something certain: the resentment of the host for being away from home (289–97) and the realization of the danger, whence the sacrifices for life (400 f.). Such being the situation with a huge host oscillating back and forth, Athena does come to the fore, allmighty with the symbol of power in hand – not accidentally described herein (444–50), I believe – and like another Circe transforms the abused *παῖδες νεαροὶ χῆραὶ τε γυναικες* who wail for the *nostos* (289 f.) into fierceless warriors. The change of feelings corresponds to a change of similes: the water, element of blind force and instability, gives place to the all-devouring, dazzling fire (might and fervor), to the countless birds that fly rejoicing at their wings, to the flies that buzz furiously through the farmstead, and to the flocks of goats (appearance and number). The number and fervent youth is, moreover, alluded to with the comparison with flowers and leaves in their prime season (455–75). The undifferentiated body of soldiers – sea simile – is now individualized with similes adapted to their altered physical and psychic state. Agamemnon undergoes a similar transformation (477–81), and the description of the entire situation exceeds human capacity (484–93).

This miraculous *metamorphosis* is the deed of Athena. Guided by the leisurely and detailed portrayal of the characters and their feelings before and after the reversal, I tend to bypass the ἄφαρ as “forthwith,”²⁷) and as well as an epitatic “very” of *γλυκίων*, because the issue is not about a degree but about a radical and inexplicable

²⁶) See M. Coffey, “The Function of the Homeric Simile,” *AJP* 78 (1957): 124 f., the roar and the mass movement of the Achaean mob evokes two similes taken from the noise of the sea (*Il.* 2.209, 394). In *Il.* 2, their number is compared to myriads of flies (469), bees (87) and birds (459) or flocks (474).

²⁷) So Murray; Mazon: “aussitôt”; Lattimore: “now”; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p. 1697, 1, 1 d: “sogleich.” (*Il.* 2. 453 = *Il.* 11. 13).

reversal, and adopt "all of a sudden,"²⁸⁾ but with the dimension of "ὡς ἐκ θαύματος."

The same holds for *Iliad* 11. 13, in which Eris, the *πολέμοιο τέρας* in hand, rouses the Achaeans for war. Here also the *ἄφαρ* characterizes a divine interference and its miraculous effects.

The association of *ἄφαρ* with surprising and inexplicable events is unmistakable in *Iliad* 10. 537. Nestor can hardly believe that Odysseus and Diomedes are back to the camp (534). In his surprise, he judges by his heart, the situation obeying no logic, and wishes, *αἶ γὰρ δὴ Ὀδυσσεύς τε καὶ ὁ κρατερὸς Διομήδης ὧδ' ἄφαρ ἐκ Τρώων ἐλασαίατο μώνυχας ἵππους* (536 f.). In this context our adverb means "speedily"²⁹⁾ intensified by the *ὧδε*, so speedily, revealing the wondrous character of such a quick return, given that the adventure of the two heroes was considered extremely dangerous and difficult (204–10). It is of importance that Athena is instrumental in this miraculous rescue and return (cf. 274–95, 509–11, 552 f.).

In *Iliad* 11, Odysseus' life is in danger. Surrounded by the Trojans he resembles a boar who attacks the hounds and hunters that press him. But, *οἱ δὲ μένουσιν ἄφαρ δεινὸν περ ἔόντα* (418). The interpretation of this passage requires the exploration of the motives of the poet. If he wants to extoll the aptitude of the hunters, the temporal "forthwith" or the modal "without wavering, without hesitation"³⁰⁾ would be satisfactory. But if the poet wants to add a dramatic touch to his narrative, two other options call for attention: (a) *ἄφαρ* as *ῥα-*

²⁸⁾ So Ebeling, (3) subito, Ap. 48. 20 *ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου* [cf. also E. M. 175. 20]. sch. BLV. *αἰφνιδίος μεταβολή*. Führer, p. 1696. 14 f. recognizes the use of *ἄφαρ* in miracles but only in *Il.* 24. 466, *Od.* 1. 410, Hes. fr. 43 a, 32 M.-W., and h. Cer. 454.

²⁹⁾ So Murray; Lattimore: "rapidly"; cf., however, Mazon: "soudain"; Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Capelle, p. 106, "alsbald so, gleichso"; Führer, p. 1696. 12, 26, 1 a "(erstaunlich) schnell, ... so schnell (schon wieder)," Ap. 48. 20 and E. M. 175. 20 give this passage as an example of "*ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου*," but cf. Ebeling, (3) subito, but Sch. V. *ἔσπευσμένως*.

³⁰⁾ Murray: "forthwith"; Mazon: "aussitôt"; Lattimore; "without wavering"; Cunliffe: "without hesitation"; Capelle, p. 105 n. 4: the word has always more or less the notion of swiftness, quickness. The passages where it loses this and must be translated as: "sodann, alsdann darauf," *Il.* 11. 418 and *Od.* 2. 95, have been misunderstood. Cf. Ap. 48. 19 = E. M. 175. 18, *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρήμα*; So also Ebeling (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, (b) Ap. 48. 19; Führer, p. 1697. 74, 3. local, "weit, weg"; ib., p. 1698. 3 f. he considers the modal interpretation highly possible, whereas ib., 18–20 he proposes "vielleicht 'in gehörigem Abstand'."

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δίῳ,³¹) and (b) as an intensive of *δεινός* – awfully terrible – both emphasizing the superiority of the Trojans and ultimately alluding to the despair in which Odysseus is reduced; no matter how brave and horrible, the boar–Odysseus is doomed before his outnumbering foes. A climate of dramatic suspense is thus created and the eventual death of the hero is foreshadowed. The linearity of downfall is broken the very last minute when Athena intervenes, as an “*ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεός*,” and sends auxiliaries (433 f., 463 ff.).

Although certainty is hard to attain and our imagination may soar, one thing emerges clearly: the *ἄφαρ* is an elusive adverb with a wide range of nuances.

In *Iliad* 12 our adverb recurs in the report of a divine omen: an eagle holds in his talons a blood-red *πέλωρον* snake which, in his effort to get free, smites the eagle, who, stung with pain, drops the snake to the ground. The Trojans shudder at the *Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο* (200–209). Poullydamas summarizes the incident to Hector, but omits the detail of struggle (203–07) and, paraphrasing the second half of v.205, he says, *ἄφαρ δ’ ἀφέηκε πάρος φίλα οἰκί’ ἰκέσθαι* (221).

The omission of vv.203–07 is important, because the sequence of cause – biting – and effect – dropping – is broken. The spectator of the scene (200–07) would have probably regarded the reaction of the eagle as immediate, whereas the auditor of the scene (218–22) as sudden, unexpected and inexplicable. On these conditions it is preferable to translate our adverb (221) as “suddenly,”³²) but tinted with the idea of “*ὡς ἐκ θαύματος*.” It should be noted that the entire passage deals with the distinctively malignant forewarning of a divine portent.

In *Iliad* 13 Ajax chides Hector for trying to frighten the Achaeans who are not unskilled in fighting, but only beaten by *Διὸς κακῆ μάστιγι* (812). Anticipating Hector’s desire to despoil the Greek ships he declares, “*ἄφαρ δέ τε χεῖρες ἀμύνειν εἰσὶ καὶ ἡμῖν*” (814). In this

³¹) E. M. 175.21 = Apol. lex. 48.21: *ῥαδίως*. Cf. Gaisford’s comments (E. M. 175.16): “*τὸ ταχέως καὶ ἀσκόπως*] Phavorinus habet: *τὸ ἀσκέπτως καὶ ἀκόπως*. Non male ut opinor. Certe *ἀκόπως* non differt a *ῥαδίως*, quod p.175.21 ad explicandum *ἄφαρ* allatum est.”

³²) So Lattimore and Mazon; cf. Murray “straightway”; Ebeling: *celeriter, mox, facile*, paraphr. *ταχέως*; Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Capelle, pp.105 f. n.4 quotes Nitzsch (zu *Od.* III. S.238): [*ἄφαρ* has] “so doch eine sich anschließende, [Folge], ein ‘alsbald’”; Führer, p.1698.12 ff., “(erstaunlich) schnell, z. T. ...”

context in which human determination is about to defy the divine dispensation, one should expect not a temporal ἄφαρ but a βεβαιωτικόν, equivalent to “of a surety, truly,”³³⁾ and the like.

In *Iliad* 16.319 ff. Maris' assault upon Antilochus is checked by Thrasymedes, τοῦ δ'ἀντίθεος Θρασυμήδης/ἔφθη ὀρεξάμενος πρὶν οὐτάσαι, οὐδ'ἀφάμαρτεν/ᾧμον ἄφαρ (321–23). Since the οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτεν is parenthetic as contained within commas,³⁴⁾ the ᾧμον ἄφαρ (323) should be syntactically associated with the ἔφθη ὀρεξάμενος πρὶν οὐτάσαι. The translation of our adverb, which is uniquely postponed here, is not easy. Should we move it higher up before the πρὶν οὐτάσαι and translate with Murray “Thrasymedes was too quick for him and forthwith ere his foe could thrust, smote upon his shoulder and missed not,” or adopt Cunliffe's “in vague intensifying sense, right into the ...”? In the presence of φθάνω and the temporal clause introduced with πρὶν the emphasis is certainly put on the priority of Thrasymedes who “got his blow in first and struck.”³⁵⁾ In such a context, in which the temporal order of events is already strongly stressed, one should expect a modal adverb such as ταχέως,³⁶⁾ to convey the thought that Thrasymedes quickly anticipated his enemy in striking. Cunliffe's proposal is imaginative and deserves consideration first because our adverb is located at the end of the phrase, as if detached from the main events, and second because immediately after ἄφαρ follows a detailed description of the wound. The proximity of these two may suggest perhaps a closer thematic relation. However, there is an obstacle: such an interpretation is unprecedented, although not less valuable because of that.

³³⁾ So Cunliffe; Murray: “to be sure”; Führer, p.1697.51 ff., 2. modal (only in assoc. with εἶναι and/or compar. expressions) in der Tat, wirklich, schon ..., *Il.* 13.814: aber wir haben schon auch Arme, uns zu wehren.” Lattimore, “we too have prompt hands among us strong to defend them,” turns the adverb into an epithet (or two?); So does Mazon: “... des bras tout prêts à ...”; cf. Ebeling (2) continuo, statim, in promptu. *Il.* 13.814 after E.M. 175.18 = Ap. 48.19 ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρήμα, sch. B. ὀραδίως; Capelle, p.105 n.4, “flugs haben auch wir dann (...) Hände zur Abwehr.”

³⁴⁾ This is recognized by Murray and Mazon: “sans faute”; cf. Lattimore, “... nor missed his quick stroke/into the shoulder.”

³⁵⁾ The quotation comes from Cunliffe who sees herein a construction *ad sensum*. For the peculiar interpretation of φθάνω c. supplementary pple see H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 8th print. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp.466 f. § 2096 b, d, e.

³⁶⁾ Ebeling: celeriter, mox, facile; Führer, p.1696.12 ff., 1a “(erstaunlich) schnell, z. T. ..., ib., 17 f. mit deutlicher Abschwächung in Richtung auf ‘sogleich,’ *Il.* 16.323 (cf. *Il.* 5.533 ... θοῶς); cf. Mazon: “du premier coup.”

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Our adverb recurs in *Iliad* 17. 392 in a simile that likens the dragging of Patroclus' corpse to the stretching of a hide (389–95). As the hide of a great bull is covered with fat and then stretched by people *ἄφαρ δέ τε ἰκμάς ἔβη* (392) and the fat enters in under the tugging of many people, so do the opponents drag the corpse here and there. The entire description, especially the mention of numerous people (390, 393), suggest that the moisture goes out only after a strenuous effort; this is exactly the point of contact of the simile with the real situation at hand. In such a struggle "forthwith" would be rather optimistic. *Ταχέως*³⁷⁾ in the sense of *ἐντὸς ὀλίγου* would be more suitable.

The fight around Patroclus' corpse continues and the Greeks face a dilemma: either to return to the ships without the body or fight to the end. They categorically reject the former because it is not *ἐύκλεές* and wish that the earth may gape for them all *αὐτοῦ* – right on the spot; *τό κεν ἡμῖν ἄφαρ πολὺ κέρδιον εἶη* (*Il.* 17.417), they say, if they abandon Patroclus and thus let the Trojans *κῦδος ἀρέσθαι* (419).

Herein we witness a dilemma typical of the heroic shame-culture, in which the well-known obsession with *κλέος*, *κῦδος* and with "what the people will say" is unmistakable.³⁸⁾ The violation of the behavioral norms of the Homeric *aidos* and *kleos* oriented society dictates a death *αὐτοῦ* – right there – and *ἄφαρ* – straightway.³⁹⁾

The same fight is still raging when the two Aiantes are compared to a wooded ridge that happens to be in the plain and *ἰφθίμων ποταμῶν ἀλεγεινὰ ῥέεθρα / ἴσχει, ἄφαρ δέ τε πᾶσι ῥόον πεδιόνδε τίθησι*

³⁷⁾ Ebeling: celeriter, mox, facile; Murray: "forthwith"; Mazon: "aussitôt"; Lattimore: "presently"; Cunliffe; (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p. 1697.73 ff. 3. local, "weit, weg," ib. p. 1698, 8 ff.

³⁸⁾ See E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 8th pr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 17 f.; A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 48 f.

³⁹⁾ So Murray; also Mazon: "sur l'heure"; cf., however, Lattimore: "soon"; Liddell and Scott propose an intensive "very," which is redundant in the presence of *πολύ*. Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, b). Ap. 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρήμα Il.* 17. 417 Bekk. expunxit. Cunliffe: "of a surety, truly"; similarly Führer, p. 1697.51 ff. 2. modal, "in der Tat, wirklich, schon," ib., 66 f.; cf. Capelle, p. 106: "In gewissen Redensarten, wie: 'es ist besser,' heißt es so viel als unbedingt, von dem was sich ohne weiteres ergibt" (*Od.* 2. 169, *Il.* 17. 417). Despite the plausibility of the modal interpretation I still prefer the nuance of immediacy because of the specific cultural factors; cf. the Modern Greek, *καλύτερα ἢ μακάρι νὰ ἀνοίξη ἢ γῆ νὰ μὲ καταπιῇ αὐτὴ τῆ στιγμῇ, τώρα δά, παρὰ νὰ ...*

πλάζων οὐδέ τί μιν σθένει ῥηγνῦσι ῥέοντες/ ὥς αἰεὶ ... (*Il.* 17.746–52). The ridge stands out steadfast and magnificent and defies the rivers no matter how ἴφθιμοι they are and how ἀλεγεινὰ their streams are. It ἄφαρ (750) turns the current of “all of them” towards the plain.

The entire *paromoiosis* radiates an air of supremacy; note the casual tone and the unrivalled force of τετυχηκῶς (728): the ridge just happens to be there. It is invested with natural unchallenged power over the elements of nature, its victory is easy. In this context ἄφαρ = ῥαδίως or ἀκόπως⁴⁰) would be especially suitable. The succeeding scene of the flight of the Achaeans before Hector and Aeneas (753–61) serves as a foil to the gigantic Aiantes (cf. *Il.* 3.229, πελώριος) and, in fact, it seems to corroborate the proposed translation.

In *Iliad* 19.400–403 Achilles exhorts his horses to carry him safe back to the Greek camp and not to abandon him like Patroclus. Xanthus, his horse, answers him, ἄφαρ δ’ ἤμυσε καρῆατι (405), his mane streaming down and touching the ground. An ἄφαρ = suddenly⁴¹) here is unsuccessful, because sudden and unexpected is not the bowing of the head, but the speech of the horse, for which an explanation is owed and given (407). The ἄφαρ = forthwith, on the other hand, would be preposterous since it is only natural that upon hearing the reproach Xanthus bends his head in shame and then delivers his apology. Two almost synchronous events but in reversed order are related herein in the familiar Homeric paratactic style. In attic Greek a temporal participle, e.g., ἡμύσας προσέφη, would be normal. Under these circumstances a sensible translation for our adverb would be “thereby, therewith, with that,” to the direction of “συγχρόνως,” at the same time bending his head.

⁴⁰) Ap. lex. 48.21 = E.M. 176.16, 21; see Gaisford’s comments on Phavorinus’ τὸ ἀσκέπτως καὶ ἀκόπως ...” Certe ἀκόπως non differt a ῥαδίως.” Cf. Murray: “forthwith”; Mazon: “brusquement.” Ebeling, celeriter, mox, facile; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p.1697.73, 3. local “weit, weg,” ib., p.1698.13 ff., “und weg lenkt er allen den Lauf ins Tal (vgl. 11.492) indem er sie abdrängt.” Capelle, pp.105 f. n.4 quotes Nitzsch, [... ἄφαρ has] “so doch eine sich anschließende [Folge], ein ‘alsbald’ (*Il.* 12.221, 17.392, 750, *Od.* 17.305).”

⁴¹) Murray: “on a sudden”; Mazon: “brusquement”; Ebeling, (3) subito, Ap. 48,20 ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith”; Führer, p.1697.40, le “im selben Augenblick,” ib., 47 ff. “dabei (= Redeeinführung, gefolgt von parenth. Einschub.” Capelle: “sogleich, sofort, alsbald, schnell, flugs.”

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Our adverb is again employed in *Iliad* 21.528 in a description of the baneful and massive havoc wreaked by Achilles upon the Trojans (520 ff.). He is compared to the god-sent smoke of a burning city that destroys and causes woes; he is like a blazing fire that consumes people and goods alike in its passing. Old Priam sees *πελώριον* Achilles *αὐτὰρ ὑπ'αὐτοῦ/Τρῶες ἄφαρ κλονέοντο πεφυζότες, οὐδέ τις ἀλλή/γίγνεθ'* (527–29). Gigantic Achilles instils horror and fright in the heart of his foes, thus annihilating their *ἀλλή*.⁴²⁾ *Ἄλκιμοι ἄνδρες* are turned to cowards before Achilles, become puppets in his avenging hands. The adjective *πελώριος*⁴³⁾ seems to be the key to the passage: Achilles possesses a superhuman strength, and, as the Aiantes before (*Il.* 17.750), so now he can easily, *ῥαδίως, ἀκόπως* or *ἐκ προχείρου* (= easily, lightly)⁴⁴⁾ turn his enemies to a headlong rout. The adverb *ἄφαρ* seems to characterize the specific action of a *πελώριος* whether this is a monstrous snake (*Il.* 12.202), desperately clinging to life, or heroes with unparalleled resistance or destructful aggressiveness. The *ἄφαρ* escorts the awe-inspiring and superhuman qualities in *praxis*.

The meaning of our adverb is quite clear in *Iliad* 22.270, in which Achilles addresses Hector saying, "*οὐ τοι ἔτ' ἔσθ' ὑπάλυξις, ἄφαρ δέ σε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη/ἔγχει ἐμῶ δαμάα*": there is no escape for Hector; Athena will kill him this very moment, right now.⁴⁵⁾ The emphasis on the imminence and the immediacy of death continues with "*νῦν δ'ἀθρόα πάντ'ἀποτίσεις*" (271). Athena plays such an important role in the *ἄφαρ* fulfillment of Hector's *moira*, indeed!

⁴²⁾ *ἀλλή* is the prowess, courage, bravery as well as assistance, help. In this context Murray's "and help there was none" is misleading. Better: "there was no avail of bravery."

⁴³⁾ *πελώριος*: of uncommon size or strength, great, huge, prodigious, wondrous, of gods or of heroes (Ajax, Hector, Achilles, *Il.* 3.229, 11.820, 21.527), of Polyphemus (*Od.* 9.187), etc. It derives from *πέλωρ*: portent, prodigy, monster, mostly in bad sense, of Cyclops (*Od.* 9.428), of Scylla (*Od.* 12.87) of serpent Python (h.Ap. 374), of a dolphin (ib., 401) even of Hephaestus (*Il.* 18.418).

⁴⁴⁾ Ebeling, celeriter, mox, facile; cf. Cunliffe: "in vague intensifying sense: in wild confusion"; Lattimore: "when before him the Trojans fled in the speed of their confusion"; Murray: "the Trojans were being driven in headlong rout"; Mazon's: "tout à coup" implies a reversal of outcome not supported by the context; Führer, p.1697.40, le "im selben Augenblick," ib., 44 "da gerade."

⁴⁵⁾ Murray: "forthwith"; Mazon: "c'est à l'instant même que ..."; Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, (b) Ap. 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρημα*; Cunliffe; (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Lattimore: "soon"; Führer, p.1696.56, 1 b "(schnell) > gar bald," ib., 64 ff. "gar bald vgl. *αἴψα* (...) und *τάχα* (...) gegenüber *αὐτίκα* (...) auf der Stelle."

In *Iliad* 23 the Achaean leaders run in the last stretch of the course and then the virtue of each was made manifest, *ἄφαρ δ'ἵπποισι τάθη δρόμος* (375). A "suddenly" (so Mazon) is not appropriate here in the light of the practical advice given by Nestor to Antilochus (304–48, esp. 344 f.): the technique will win him victory, so he must drive past the others right at the turning-post. The speeding up of the horses at that specific point is not accidental or sudden: it is an indispensable rule of the racing technique. A "forthwith"⁴⁶) is quite plausible herein; it may continue the thought that began at v. 274 (*τότε ...*) furnishing a proof of the virtue of men: they immediately force the speed of their horses. With this translation we inevitably muffle the spirit of the high suspense conveyed through an intensifying *ἄφαρ*.⁴⁷)

In the sequel of the chariot race, Antilochus is hardly pressed by Menelaus to confirm by oath that his victory is fair. Antilochus tries to avoid such a public disgrace by offering Menelaus not only his prize but anything else he might choose; "*ἄφαρ κέ τοι αὐτίκα δοῦναι βουλοίμην, ἢ σοί γε... ἐκ θυμοῦ πεσέειν*," he says (23.593–95).

The translation of our adverb is again strictly dependent on our understanding of the situation. Antilochus is appropriately called *πεπνυμένος* on this occasion because he knows very well what he must do: he must compensate Menelaus and reconcile with him before his cheating is revealed (cf. 570–85), before he is labelled *κακός*. The emphasis on the immediate and without delay (cf. *αὐτίκα, ἄφαρ*) settlement of the issue betrays his latent motives and his urgent need to conform with the social standards of the Homeric shame-culture. Under these circumstances, although a modal *ἄφαρ*⁴⁸) sounds reasonable, I prefer to consider it an intensive of *αὐτίκα* on the pattern of *νῦν αὐτίκα* or *μάλ' αὐτίκα* (*Od.* 10.111 etc.) and translate with emphasis "this very minute, right on the spot."⁴⁹)

⁴⁶) Ebeling (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, (b) Ap. 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρήμα*; Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith (i. e. directly they had turned); Führer, p.1697.1, 1 d "sogleich," ib., 5 ff. "und sogleich streckte sich den Pferden das Laufen, sc. nach der durch die Wendemarke bedingten Verlangsamung."

⁴⁷) So Murray: "and the pace of the horses was forced to the uttermost." Lattimore: "and the field of horses strung out."

⁴⁸) So Cunliffe: "of a surety, truly"; Führer, p.1697.51, 2. modal, "in der Tat, wirklich, schon," ib., 62 ff. "dann wollte ich es dir gewiß lieber auf der Stelle ..."

⁴⁹) So also Capelle, p.106, "*ἄφαρ αὐτίκα*, gleich auf der Stelle"; cf. Murray: "forthwith"; Mazon: *sur l'heure* [for *ἄφαρ* or *αὐτίκα*?]; Lattimore: "I should

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Our last example from *Iliad* (24.446) shows a nice and inextricable blend of at least two meanings: Hermes opened the gates “forthwith” or “quickly.”⁵⁰) The preceding καρπαλίμως (441) suggests a swift mode of action with which either translation of our adverb is compatible. However, the fact that the ἄφαρ characterizes the work of a god may add another dimension to our interpretation, that of miraculously ῥαδίως and ἀκόπως.

Passing over to the *Odyssey*, we first find our adverb ἄφαρ used by Eurymachus to express his surprise at the way Athena, in the disguise of a stranger, has departed; “οἶον ἀναίξας ἄφαρ οἴχεται, οὐδ’ ὑπέμεινε γνώμεναι,” he says (1.410). In this context it is preferable to associate οἶον with ἄφαρ = how quickly,⁵¹) thus denoting Eurymachus’ astonishment at the swiftness of the stranger’s departure, thus unwittingly corroborating Telemachus’ marvel (320, 323: θάμβησεν κατὰ θυμόν). This interpretation, which is essentially equivalent to an emphatic “immediately” reflects the manner in which miracles or apparitions do occur. It qualifies a divine action temporally and modally at the same time.

In *Odyssey* 2.93 ff. Antinous accuses Penelope of her guile: she set up a great web and started to weave a fine robe, “ἄφαρ δ’ ἡμῖν μετέειπε,” he says (95). In the presence of the imperfect ὕφαινε, which suggests a continued and repeated action the “straightway”⁵²) sounds strong. Bérard translates “au passage,” which, in addition to its local associations, can also mean “dans le cours, dans le déroulement des choses” as well as “à l’occasion.” The latter, being the

still be willing at once to give it to you.” Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, (b) Ap. 48.19 ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρῆμα.

⁵⁰) Murray: “forthwith”; Mazon: “sans tarder”; Lattimore: “quickly”; Ebeling: celeriter, mox, facile; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p.1696.12, 1a “(erstaunlich) schnell, ... auch plötzlich mögl., mehrfach (*Il.* 24.446, *Od.* 1.410, Hes. fr. 43 a, 32 M.-W., h. Cer. 454) von Wundern ...”

⁵¹) So also Führer, p.1696.12, 1a “(erstaunlich) schnell ...,” ib., 1.32: “wie schnell” (see note on *Il.* 24.446). Cf. Murray: “how he started up and was straightway gone,” thus missing the peculiar translation of οἴχομαι + suppl. [or complementary] pple; V. Bérard (Budé ed.): “Comme il s’est envolé, comme il a disparu”; Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, cum ptc. aor. *Il.* 1.349 ..., sch. br. εὐθέως ταχέως sch. BLV. δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα, cf. Ap. 48.22, *Il.* 1.594 ... cf. *Od.* 1.410.

⁵²) *Od.* 2.95 ≅ 19.140 ≅ 24.130, Murray: “straightway”; Bérard, *Od.* 2.95 ≅ 24.130: “au passage,” but 19.140: “parfois”; Ebeling, (2) b) ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρῆμα; Liddell and Scott, “straightway, forthwith”; Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, at once, forthwith; Führer, p.1697.1, 1 d “sogleich.”

equivalent of the Greek *ἐν παρόδῳ* (= by the way, cursorily), sounds too casual, especially in view of the importance of this guile in the entire plot of the poem. However, the former is very plausible, and this should be the meaning of our adverb in this context: "ἔπειτα (Ap. 48.22),⁵³) and after that, and then, as the situation evolved," thus promoting the uncoiling of the events and the progress of the narrative.

The same translation *ἔπειτα*, fits *Odyssey* 19.140 and 24.130, in which this story is repeated almost *verbatim*, with one significant contextual difference: whereas in books 2 and 24 the responsibility for the guile falls solely upon Penelope, in book 17 Penelope explains the situation as due to her own "δόλους" which are, nonetheless, inspired by a daemon.

We encounter our adverb again in the admonition given by Halithersis to the suitors thus crowning his prophecy of the return and revenge of Odysseus (*Od.* 2.161-176). He urges, "but long before that let us think how we can make an end of this; and let them themselves make an end, *καὶ γὰρ σφιν ἄφαρ τόδε λώϊόν ἐστιν* (169). An *ἄφαρ* = straightway⁵⁴) is rather pleonastic here given that the time meant by the seer is clearly specified (*πολὺ πρὶν*, 167). A modal *ἄφαρ*⁵⁵) – it is really better for them – fits the sense, although it is kind of static because it gives an air of finality to the discourse by encapsulating the message of the seer, but is also somewhat redundant in the neighborhood of another emphatic *καὶ γὰρ*.⁵⁶) In view of the prophesied massive and limitless destruction (161-66) we should expect Halithersis to point out unconditionally how much better it would be for them – the suitors – to listen to him, as if offering himself an open threat contained in an imaginary *aposiopesis*.

⁵³) Cf., however, Capelle's, p. 105 n. 4, objection to the interpretation "sodann, alsdann, darauf."

⁵⁴) So Murray; Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, im promptu, b) Ap. 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρήμα*, *Od.* 2.169 sch. BQS. *λώϊον αὐτοῖς ἔστι τὸ ἄφαρ παύσασθαι*.

⁵⁵) So Cunliffe: "of a surety, truly"; Führer, p.1697. 51-73, 2. modal, "in der Tat, wirklich, schon, *Od.* 2.169, denn das ist auch wirklich besser für sie."

⁵⁶) See J.D.Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, repr. 1975), p.108, "*καὶ γὰρ*: normally *γὰρ* is the connective and *καὶ* means either (1) 'also' or 'even': or (2) 'in fact': or (3) 'both,' being answered by another *καὶ*"; see also R.Kühner-B.Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, 3 vols. (Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1966), 3: 337-39 545. Anm. 1-3.

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The strengthening “very” of Liddell and Scott serves this purpose and complements the sense: “for this is in fact much better for them.”⁵⁷⁾

In *Odyssey* 3.456 the ἄφαρ is used in a sacrifice scene to describe the manner of action, αἶψα ἄρα μιν διέχευαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἔκ μηρία τάμνον. The coexistence of two synonymous temporal adverbs αἶψα and ἄφαρ suggests that in all probability we are dealing with an ἄφαρ equivalent to ἔπειτα δὲ (Ap. 48.22), after that, which helps the uncoiling of the narrated events in succession.⁵⁸⁾ This would conform with the well-known Homeric economy of diction.

The connexion of ἄφαρ with wondrous or supernatural events is especially conspicuous in *Odyssey* 4.81 ff., in which Menelaus enumerates the lands he has visited during his nostos. Speaking of Libya as another land of Promise, he says, “ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι” (85). Interpretations oscillate between “the lambs are horned from their birth”⁵⁹⁾ and “begin at once to become horned,” that is, εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι.⁶⁰⁾ The above uncertainty of interpretation suggests that the ancients have considered this a *contra naturam* phenomenon. This notion is corroborated by v.86 in which it is stated that the ewes give birth thrice a year. Once more the obscurity of the passage frustrates our word-attack efforts. It becomes apparent, nonetheless, that the adverb is again employed in a narrative about marvellous and inexplicable events.

In *Odyssey* 5.482 the ἄφαρ describes the manner in which Odysseus starts to make himself a bed out of dry leaves. A “straightway” or/and “quickly”⁶¹⁾ would fit his context as suggesting the haste with

⁵⁷⁾ Cf. Capelle, p. 106, “In gewissen Redensarten wie: ‘es ist besser,’ heißt so viel als unbedingt, von dem was sich ohne weiteres ergibt, *Od.* 2. 169.”

⁵⁸⁾ Murray renders αἶψα = at once and ἄφαρ = straightway; Bérard simplifies into: on dépêche à la hâte; Ebeling: celeriter, mox, facile. Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p. 1696. 12 ff. 1 a “(erstaunlich) schnell, ... aber auch von alltäglichen Verrichtungen (*Od.* 3.456, 5.482, 9.328) mit deutlicher Abschwächung in Richtung auf *sogleich*.”

⁵⁹⁾ So Aristotle (*H.A.* 8.28) and Murray and Bérard after him.

⁶⁰⁾ So sch. R.; Hdt. 4.29: ταχύ; Alii: brevi fiunt; Ebeling (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, b) ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρήμα; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p. 1696. 72–76, 1 c “(Schnell >) von Anfang an (mit Bezug auf den Beginn der Handlung, *Od.* 4.85: *sogleich*.” Liddell and Scott: suddenly, quickly.

⁶¹⁾ Murray: straightway; Ebeling: celeriter, mox, facile; Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p. 1696. 12 ff. 1 a “(erstaunlich) schnell

which Odysseus tries to hide and protect himself in this strange land.

In *Odyssey* 6.15–40 Athena in disguise visits Nausicaa in her dream and after she delivers her message she departs back to Olympus. But *αὐτίκα* Dawn comes and awakens Nausicaa, *ἄφαρ δ'ἀπεθαύμασ' ὄνειρον* (49). As with the pair *αἶψα-ἄφαρ* before, so now with *αὐτίκα-ἄφαρ* the juxtaposition of two synonymous temporal adverbs poses the problem of whether we deal with an *ἄφαρ* = straightway,⁶²⁾ or an *ἄφαρ δὲ* = *ἔπειτα δέ*, or *τότε δέ*, after that or thereupon. Herein I tend to see the latter, that is, a weakened, degenerate adverb which promotes the smooth transition between the various incidents. It should not go without notice that this adverb is again included in a tale about the divine craft and interference in human affairs so as to produce *θάμβος* (cf. *ἀπεθαύμασ'*). Athena's miraculous deeds have often been escorted by this adverb (*Il.* 2.453, *Od.* 1.410, and now 6.49).

The inextricable bond between "straightway" and "quickly" is observed in *Odyssey* 8.270 and 409. In v.270 Helios brings Hephaestus tidings about the adultery of his wife with Ares, *ἄφαρ δ'οἱ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν/ Ἥλιος*. The meaning is that Helios informs him without delay, immediately; he loses no time.⁶³⁾ The relation of *ἄφαρ* with a divine interference is again apparent.

In v.409 Euryalus is willing to reconcile with Odysseus and retract his bitter words wishing, "*ἄφαρ τὸ φέροιεν ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι*." In everyday language similar wishes are permeated by the idea of immediacy as if to confirm the sincere and good will of the opponents to make up (cf. let us forget our differences now and ...). In this context "straightway" is the best alternative with "quickly" as the second best.⁶⁴⁾

..., aber auch von alltäglichen Verrichtungen (*Od.* 3.456, 5.482, 9.328) mit deutlicher Abschwächung in Richtung auf sogleich."

⁶²⁾ So Murray; Ebeling (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, (b) Ap. 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρῆμα*; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Capelle, pp.105 f. n.4 quotes Nitzsch's (*Od.* III, S.238) observation that our adverb does not always imply a quick sequence (e.g. *Od.* 6.49), ... but something that follows, "ein 'alsbald'" (e.g. *Il.* 12.221, 17.392, 750, *Od.* 17.305); Führer, p.1697.28–32 "sogleich."

⁶³⁾ Murray: straightway; Ebeling, celeriter, mox, facile; Führer, p.1696.56 ff. 1b (Schnell >) gar bald (d.h. es sollte bzw. wird nicht lange dauern, und ...)."

⁶⁴⁾ Murray: "straightway"; Bérard: "aussitôt"; Ebeling (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, b) Ap. 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρῆμα*; Cunliffe, *Od.* 8.270, 409: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p.1696.28 "schnell."

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In *Odyssey* 9 Odysseus materializes his plan of blinding the Cyclops: he sharpens the staff and "*ἄφαρ δὲ λαβὼν ἐπυράκτεον*", he says (328). In such a extremely crucial point the celerity and immediacy of action is of vital importance. These two dimensions blend with each other in this case.⁶⁵)

In *Odyssey* 10.122 we witness a scene that is the immediate result of the forceful attack of the Laestrygonians, *ἄφαρ δὲ κακὸς κόναβος κατὰ νῆας ὀρώρει*. The unexpected and violent attack of this crowd of giants finds the Greeks unprepared: immediately⁶⁶) there follows a chaotic situation with the ships crashed and the men speared like fishes.

In *Odyssey* 17 our hero sees his faithful old dog lie in the dung in a pitiful condition. Odysseus looks aside, secretly wipes a tear and *ἄφαρ δ' ἔρεεῖνέτο μύθῳ* (305). The use of *ἄφαρ* here subtly reveals the keen observation and poetic sensitivity of our poet: Odysseus tries to muffle his emotions, to cover up the lump in his throat by sliding "quickly"⁶⁷) over to the question about Argus' state. For psychological reasons here, as in *Iliad* 1.349 before, the idea of swiftness is preferable.

Odysseus' boldness and *παρὰ μοῖραν* stance towards the suitors (*Od.* 21.288 ff.) is met with the threat of being deported to Echetus, notorious for his cruelty; "*ἄφαρ δέ σε νηὶ μελαίνῃ εἰς Ἔχետον ... πέμψομεν*," says Antinous (307). In similar contexts the immediacy and instantaneous character of the threatened evil is an indispensable element, I think, since it has a stronger impact by vividly portraying the impending bane (cf. *Il.* 22.270). For contextual reasons, consequently, we should translate our adverb as "straightway, right

⁶⁵) I agree with Führer, p.1696.12 ff. 1 a "(erstaunlich) schnell, ... mit deutlicher Abschwächung in Richtung auf sogleich," although we are not dealing with "everyday business" (ib., 16 f.), cf. ib., 49 f.: beginning of a longlasting process of work. Murray: "straightway"; Ebeling: celeriter, mox, facile; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith.

⁶⁶) Murray: "straightway"; Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, b) *Ap.* 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρῆμα*; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p.1697.1, 1 d "sogleich," ib., 17 ff. ... "von neu eintretendem Zustand" (= Auslöser für Flucht des Od.).

⁶⁷) Murray: "straightway"; Bérard: "il se hâta de dire ..."; Ebeling, (2) continuo, statim, in promptu, b) *Ap.* 48.19 *ἐπὶ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ παραχρῆμα*; Cunliffe, (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Nitzsch (*Od.* III, S.238) quoted by Capelle believes that here we have "eine sich anschließende [i.e., Folge], ein 'alsbald'"; Führer, p.1697.1, 1 d "sogleich," ib. 32.

now,"⁶⁸) to the effect of "behave yourself or else you will regret it immediately."

From the foregoing survey of the *ἄφαρ* uses it has become apparent that our adverb is of rather elusive, proteic nature; it often frustrates our lexicographical attempts and cannot be boxed in well-defined semasiological categories. Its nuances are sensed with more or less subjective criteria and with the help of cultural and contextual factors, or of a feeling of what is likely to be said on similar occasions. Despite this fluidity, the meanings offered by Apollonius the Sophist and the *Etymologicon Magnum* have been confirmed, whereas new ones have been added such as a modal "really, truly," or a strengthening "very." In the presence of another temporal adverb (*αὐτίκα, αἴψα*) it simply continues the mode of action being rather degenerate and weak (cf. *ἔπειτα*). The meaning "suddenly," despite the proposed etymological association with the *ἄφνω*,⁶⁹) is rarely used, but when it is, then it has the connotation of "by a miracle" and accompanies the work of a divinity.

In the light of the above-delineated nature of our adverb, it has, hopefully, become obvious, how monolithic and dogmatic are the arguments that polarize around the translations "immediately" versus "suddenly" proposed for the *ἄφαρ* of *Odyssey* 11.274, to which I now turn as being a passage of cardinal importance for our project of identifying the Lille mother.

In *Odyssey* 11.271–280 Epicaste is said to have perpetrated a *μέγα ἔργον αἰδρεῖησι νόοιο* (272): she has had an incestuous liaison with her son, who is a parricide. But these criminal deeds *ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν* (274). Oedipus, although ridden by woes as many as the maternal Erinyes bring, continues to rule at Thebes *θεῶν ὀλοᾶς διὰ βουλάς* (276), whereas Epicaste hangs herself.

In this passage the action is clearly placed on two levels: the human and the divine. The divine dispensation is unmistakably neg-

⁶⁸) So Murray; Ebeling: celeriter, mox, facile; Cunliffe: (1) Quickly, speedily, soon, at once, forthwith; Führer, p. 1696. 56, 1 b (schnell >) gar bald, ib., 67–71.

⁶⁹) Liddell and Scott, *ἄφνω* = unawares, of a sudden; E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 3 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953), 1: 519.5, the *ἄφαρ* is an old neuter of an r/n stem (*ἄφνω*; zu *ἄπτω*; "Berührung?"), ib., p. 620, 630.6; similarly Chantraine and Frisk. By contrast Nitzsch, quoted by Capelle, pp. 105 f. n. 4, believes that Apollonius and the *παλαιοὶ* of Eustathius on *Il* 11.419 and 17.282 give false nuances, "Namentlich bedeutet *ἄφαρ* nie 'plötzlich, mit einem Male'."

ative: *θεοὶ θέσαν* (274), a formula with ill-ominous connotations,⁷⁰⁾ *θεῶν ὀλοᾶς διὰ βουλᾶς* (276) and finally the Erinyes are called on stage (280) to crown the end of an *agon* that starts when the mortals brutally violate the human social code. The divine interference is further subtly insinuated with the *ἄιδρεῖησι νόοιο* (272). In Homer the verb *οἶδα*, a derivative noun in our case, signifies an “intellectualist approach to the explanation of behavior” and this “must have encouraged the belief in psychic intervention.”⁷¹⁾ The monstrous deeds, which are contrary to the system of conscious dispositions, must have been dictated to her. It is as if an *ἄτη* has befallen her, the gods being thus the ultimate cause of her woes. The same gods do reveal these criminal deeds, do settle the deadly *agon* by rendering the abominable domestic secrets obvious to all mankind.

In such a context, deeply marked and permeated by the divine ill-disposed presence, a “when” (straightway), especially if it is invested with vague allusions about the chronological order of the major events, seems to reflect a scholastic and pedantic rather than poetic mind. The rather colorless “after that” proposed by Stanford on the ground that Iocaste’s sons by Oedipus are mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 4.377, 386),⁷²⁾ is also unsatisfactory not only because it perpetuates the tantalizing and unsettled yet issue of whether or not there existed an incestuous progeny, but also because it fails to notice that the passage is a tragedy in embryo and serves as a mirror not only of the heroes’ feelings but of their social demands as well. A “how” (suddenly), on the other hand, with the inherent notion of “ὡς ἐκ θαύματος” nicely fits this passage, but its equally “guilty” past as well as the brooding of the poet on the *ἄχος* and *ἄλγεα* of his heroes urge us to look for other alternatives. Homer is a poet, not a chronographer, and as such he is likely to have passed a more sensitive and perceptive message: the gods put an end to the crimes by

⁷⁰⁾ I have argued on this in the “Two Homeric Formulae in the P. Lille Poem: *θεοὶ θέσαν* and *ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων*” *Glotta* 64 (1986): 165–184.

⁷¹⁾ So Dodds, pp. 16–18; cf. Kirchhoff, pp. 56–58, not “in ignorance of the identity of her partner,” but “in folly, in imprudence,” because of her “Sinnlichkeit”; this is an absolutely unfounded postulate especially since this marriage is known to be a dynastic and not a romantic marriage. The Schol. V Hom. *Od.* 11.271 (= Androtion, *FGrH.* 324F62) also confirms: *οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν μητέρα* (for Oedipus), and for Iocaste: *ὑστερον δὲ ἐπιγνοῦσα διὰ τῷ παιδί παρεμίγη ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησεν...*

⁷²⁾ W. B. Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., repr. 1961), p. 391.

making them "very manifest," all too obvious and notorious. The protective shield of private is crashed to disclose a dreadful reality to the public. A female, unable to bridge the gulf between private and public, a true child of the Homeric shame-culture, resorts to death.

In such a framework an *ἄφαρ* as intensive of the *ἀνάπυστα*⁷³⁾ would be very appropriate since it would also furnish an explanation for our heroine's *ἄχος* and the reasons of her being in Hades, i. e., a "why", and would once more credit our poet with keen sensitivity and ethnographical aptitude.⁷⁴⁾

The motif of private versus public is, moreover, everpresent in the classical treatment of the Oedipus myth. In Sophocles' *OT* our hero is engaged in a desperate struggle to disclose the truth, in contrast to Iocaste who begs him to stop investigating further (1060–68). He consciously heads towards the ruin,⁷⁵⁾ while she hides, keeps silence and dies. In Euripides' *Phoenissae* with a surviving and active

⁷³⁾ For the meaning of *ἀνάπυστος* see Apol. lex. 35.17: *ἀνάπυστα ἔκδηλα, ἐξ-ἀκουστα, ὁ δὲ Ἡλιόδωρος ἀνάγγελτα*; Hesychius *Lexicon*, 2 vols. ed. by K. Latte (Hauniae: 1953–66), 1: 4533: *ἀνάπυστα φανερά, ἀνήκοα AP ἀναφανδὰ* (11.273); Eustathius *Comm. ad Homeri Odysseam*, 1684.37: *ἀνάπυστα δὲ τὰ ἀκουστὰ ἢ φανερά, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς εἰπεῖν, ἀνὰ στόμα πᾶσι κείμενα πυνθάνεσθαι*; id., *Comm. ad Homeri Iliadem*, 985.19ff. ... *οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄπυστος μὲν ὁ στερηθεὶς τοῦ ἀκουσθῆναι, ἀνάπυστος δὲ ὁ ἀκουσθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐστερηθῆναι τῆς τοῦ ἀπύστου στερήσεως*, considering the *ἀ-ν-α* as a double negation with the euphonic *ν* equivalent to an emphatic affirmative. See also Liddell and Scott: "well-known, notorious"; Ebeling: "compertus"; Capelle: "ausgeforscht, d. h. bekannt"; Cunliffe: "discovered, revealed, i. e., [the gods] caused discovery to be made"; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax, zweite Reihe*, 2 vols (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1957), 2: 299: "ruchbar"; *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, p.792: "bekannt, ruchbar" proposing that "*ἀνὰ* also weder *genau* noch *weithin*, sondern am ehesten mit dem *ἀνὰ*- von *ἀναφανδόν*, -*δά*, *ἀμφαδόν* zu vergleichen."; cf. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2:440: "*ἀνὰ* 'von unten bis oben' für 'deutlich, genau'." Lobeck, among others, as quoted by Ebeling and Wackernagel, regards the *ἀνὰ* as a preposition used in an intensifying sense as in *ἀνάμεστος, ἀνάπλεως*.

⁷⁴⁾ The question "why" or "how come and you are in Hades" is repeatedly asked in the *Nekyia*; cf. the question of Odysseus' mother (*Od.* 11.155f.) and his explanation (163–65, cf. 477–80), whereas in his turn he interrogates her about the cause of her death (170–73, cf. answer 197–203). The information regarding the cause of one's death is a commonplace in the *Nekyia* (318–20, 324f., 397–403, cf. answer in 405–35).

⁷⁵⁾ Although it is not settled whether the final *sententia* of *OT* 1524–30 belongs to the chorus (so the *codices*), or to Oedipus (only *Σ*), the latter alternative is quite attractive, because it is compatible with the attitude displayed by the hero, i. e., with his openness to the world outside him.

mother, the Homeric and Sophoclean secretiveness has no place: the horrible background is disclosed by her. The tendency to conceal the past is now taken over by her sons, who sequester their father *ἰν' ἀμνήμων τύχη γένοιτο πολλῶν δεομένη σοφισμάτων* (64 f.), in vain, because the gods want to publicize Oedipus' fate throughout Greece and make it an inadvisable example for men (870–74, cf. 1758–63). This picture is comparable with that of the *Nekyia*, if the proposed interpretation of *ἄφαρ* as “very,” qualifying the *ἀνάπυστα* is accepted. In Sophocles' OC the efforts to hide the truth are resumed by Creon who urges, “*ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τὰμφανῆ κρύπτειν, σύ νυν/ πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶων Οἰδίπους πεισθεῖς ἐμοῖ/κρύψων* (755–57). Creon again ordains that Oedipus be confined at home (OT 1424–31) on the ground that it is *ἀσέβεια* to show such an *ἄχος* to people outside the *genos*. In sum, although Oedipus remains true to himself, that is, always open to the truth and the public, Iocaste – with the exception of Euripides and his imitators – her sons and her brother, all descendants of the self-destroyed military race of the *Spartoi*, are extremely sensitive and vulnerable to the public disgrace. The shame culture of the heroic age is distinctively reflected in the Theban military class.⁷⁶⁾

The public outcry (*ἡ κατάρρησις τῶν εἰδότηων*) is included, among others, in the *ἄλγεα* of Oedipus by Eustathius (1684. 3), whereas the omission of the object of *γῆμεν* (273) is explained as due to: *διὰ τὸ μὴ καλὸν εἶναι διασαφεῖσθαι τὰ αἰσχροῦ* (1684. 19). Herein *αἰσχροὺν* no longer means “what looks ugly” in the eyes of public,⁷⁷⁾ but we witness an “infiltration of ‘morality’.”⁷⁸⁾

To recapitulate, with the above-proposed *ἄφαρ* = very as a qualification of *ἀνάπυστα* there is a shift of focus from the chronological succession of the various known incidents of the Oedipus story to the deadly cause of Epicaste's *ἄχος*, namely, the wide publicity of the crimes. With this interpretation the existence of incestuous offspring enters a secondary plane, as it does in the Lille poem as well, in which the *ἰσομοιρία* by lot purports to show the importance of human character rather than of the incestuous origin. An additional advantage of this approach is that it recognizes the right of Homer

⁷⁶⁾ See Eur. *Phoen.* 991–1018, *αἰσχροὺν* 999, 1014; *δειλὸς* 1004, *κακὸς* 1005, etc.

⁷⁷⁾ Dodds, p. 26; Adkins, p. 42, “it is *aischron* to receive insults, not to deliver them.”

⁷⁸⁾ Adkins, pp. 179–89.

to use his mythological stock in a selective manner, bringing some details to the fore while passing over others in silence. If we allow him to apply this purely aesthetico-poetic "censoring," we may acknowledge the futility of searching for a second wife, Euryganeia, in his story. Since the only unequivocal thing is that the Homeric Epicaste dies immediately after the recognition, unknown if before or long after the delivery of incestuous children, as the Sophoclean Iocaste does, we have no right to import a non-incestuous wife and mother from another epic into Homer and by extension to our Lille poem, as proposed by Čist' Akova and Ryžkina.

At this point our investigation about the identity of the Lille mother can profit from a critical evaluation of other factors, such as the motives of Stesichorus, for instance, at the crossroads of a complex and diversified mythological tradition, or even the influence of his social and cultural milieu on his choice.

As mentioned above, with the exception of Pausanias (9.5.11) Euryganeia is referred to in a fleeting, matter-of-fact manner. Her name and that of her father as well as the place of their origin are not fixed. This suggests that the mythological variant associated with her has not been firmly embedded in an epic poem so influential as to resist effacement and oblivion. If the *Oedipodia* were the local Boeotian poem intended to glorify the local chiefs, as has so often been claimed, the partiality and Theban partisanship of it may have prohibited its expansion and acceptance outside the Boeotian borders. With the exception of mythographers, we should expect that poets who were not Boeotian would not have been anxious to commemorate and rehandle such a prejudiced local story. It is not only that they did not have a personal interest in this mythical twist, but mainly that the material itself was rather dull, lacking the potential to arouse the *pathos* and pity, which are such indispensable elements in tragic poetry! The *Oedipodia* version therefore, is unlikely to have enjoyed a universal attention, as the classical Theban tragedies prove, indeed!

By the same token we can be almost certain that Stesichorus accorded no place to Euryganeia in his poem for three reasons. First, because as a colonist he was naturally acquainted with the best of the crop, that is, Homer and Hesiod; what did a poet of Locrian-Himaerean affiliations have to do with a Boeotian poem of such a narrow scope composed by a Lacedaemonian poet (Cinaethus, *OCT Homeri Op. vol 5, C. I. G. Ital. et Sicil. 1929 ii. II*)? We are not entitled to repeat, with the Labdacidae this time, the unsuccessful argu-

ment about the rehabilitation of Helen out of a political propaganda.⁷⁹⁾

Second, because our Lille poem not only reads like tragedy, but through Iocaste's struggle to find a solution through the *ἰσομοιρία*, it actually conveys a message that is frequent in tragedy: one's own desperate efforts to escape Destiny are thwarted by human motives, in this case lust for more and for unchallenged power. Although this poetic goal can be served independently of the incestuous origin of the brothers, I think that this kind of descent is a highly dramatic element of tragic potential, which the sensitivity of the man who has presented the subtle psychological dream of Clytaemnestra can hardly have missed. His poems seem to have been tragedies in embryo, judging from the well-documented indebtedness of the tragedians to him (cf. *PMG* 193).

Third, because Stesichorus is reputed for being "ingenio validus," for singing of "maxima bella and clarissimos duces," and for attributing "personis in agendo simul loquendoque debitam dignitatem" (Quint. *Inst. Or.* 10.I.62). This description applies to our Lille mother: she is not merely called *διὰ γυνά* (232), but she definitely conducts herself as such. She is the assertive, dynamic and resourceful Queen, versed in a religious-philosophical viewing of the world (204–210), and whose plan is accepted without resistance either from her sons or the seer (234). This proves that she enjoys the exalted status not only of a typical Homeric queen, like Arete (*Od.* 7.73 f.), and settles the differences of men, but that of a Boeotian-Theban woman as well.⁸⁰⁾ She is the royal mother and evidently the disposer of the throne, invested with the power of authorizing how the royal inheritance should be divided between the claimants. The Lille

⁷⁹⁾ C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides*, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 111–12; id., "Stesichorus in Peloponnese," *CQ* (1934): 115–19; M. L. West, "Stesichorus redivivus," *ZPE* 4 (1969): 148; cf., however, A. J. Podlecki, "Stesichoreia," *Athenaeum* 49 (1971): 313–327.

⁸⁰⁾ For the status of the Homeric women in general see M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, rev. ed. (N. York: The Viking Press, 1965), pp. 90–94; cf., however, G. Vlachos, *Les Sociétés Politiques homériques* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1974), pp. 63, 80 f. (n. 81–85); for Iocaste in particular see F. Vian, *Les Origines de Thebes. Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963), p. 190: the prerogatives of Ioc. are normal in a matrilineal system, in which the queen maintains the sovereignty without exercising it. Similarly Meillier, "La Succession d'Oedipe d'après le P. Lille 76 a + 73," pp. 16–18, 30–32; cf. the watery feminine genealogy in Pi. *Ol.* 6.85 ff., and the Hesiodic matrilineal genealogies.

mother obviously occupies a central position both at home and in society.

Traces of this social reality are discernible in Euripides (*Phoen.* 45–52, cf. Pherec. 3F95): Iocaste's *λέχη* and *σκήπτρα* were the prize to whomever would conquer the Sphinx; Antigone is *κόρη μητρὸς* (1323) and the throne is transferred through the females (1586–88). Iocaste is one of the three-membered council (Soph. *OT.* 579–81), called upon as an umpire in the conflict between Oedipus and Creon (632–48).

The close correspondence of the image of the Lille mother with that of Iocaste of tragedy suggests that Stesichorus of Locri has not only passed social practices familiar to him⁸¹⁾ into the portrait of his heroine, but has consolidated into it her permanent features. Taking this detail in conjunction with the obscure but pregnant *ἐπ' ἄλγεσι μὴ ποίει μερίμνας* (201), with the prediction of *ἐλπίδας βαρείας* for the future (202–03), the wish that the *κακότητα ... πέπρωται* be postponed (230–31),⁸²⁾ the absence of Oedipus from a crucial moment in the plot, the dilemma *genos* versus *polis* and, finally, with the role of Apollo and Teiresias, we may safely conclude that the Lille poem represents an intermediate stage in the evolution of the Oedipus myth, in which not only is the classical treatment of this myth foreshadowed, but the *διὰ γυνὰ* is to be identified with Epicaste-Iocaste, who has dominated literature ever since Homer. In this case Stesichorus' own innovation would be not the introduction of incestuous progeny necessarily, but the prolongation of Iocaste's life past the discovery of the guilty past and her intervention when the conflict of her sons is still at its nascent phase.⁸³⁾

⁸¹⁾ For the social prerogatives of the women at Epizephyrian Locri see Polybius 12.5.1–11.8, Nossis (*Anth. Pal.* vol. 1, 6.265), which suggest that we are dealing with matrilinearity rather than matriarchy. Archaeological evidence also confirms the privileged position of women at Locri as well as the pre-eminence of female deities (Persephone and Aphrodite). The ancient sources have been presented and appraised in my Ph. D. diss. pp.60–71.

⁸²⁾ I have discussed the readings of this mutilated passage in "The Textual Problems of the P.Lille Poem, vv.228–231," *QUCC* n. s.28, N.1 (1988): 137–148.

⁸³⁾ I would like to thank Professor A.W.H.Adkins for his encouragement and valuable advice on this present account.