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I. Peisistratus and Homer

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A belief that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in substantially the form in which we now read them, were created out of older materials in sixth-century Athens by order of Peisistratus was inherited by Classical scholars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries from late antiquity, by way of references in Cicero (*De orat.* 3.137) and many later authors. It was expressed, for example, by Bentley in 1713: "Homer . . . wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment. . . . These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem, till Pisistratus's time, above 500 years after"; and it seems to have remained an unchallenged article of faith until 1846, when Grote first cast serious doubts upon its historical accuracy. Since then, in spite of further attacks by Lehrs, Wilamowitz, and others (*quos nunc perscribere longum est*), it has always had its defenders (notably Leaf, Paul Cauer, and G. M. Bolling). The doctrine has recently been stated again in its most extreme form by Professor P. von der Mühll of Basel, Dr. R. Merkelbach of Cologne, and Professor D. L. Page of Cambridge; and the importance of the question whether our texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have any better basis than an original version put together at Athens in the sixth century seems to justify a fresh consideration of the evidence which has led to the formulation of the doctrine of the 'Peisistratean recension.'[1]

[1] R. Bentley, *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking* VII; the text is taken from Dyce's edition of the *Works*, 3 (London 1838) 304, where the 1713 edition is said

It is most convenient to begin with Professor Page's statement of the position, since it is the latest to appear in English; and it is desirable that his views should be stated in his own words. In the index to *The Homeric Odyssey* (186) the lemma "Peisistratean text of the *Odyssey*" refers the reader to the following five passages:

(A 1) "There is little room for doubt that our *Odyssey* is ultimately derived from a standard edition, a deliberate fixation of the text, made in Athens in the sixth century B.C." (73);

(A 2) "It has already been proved . . . that the present form of the *Odyssey* owes something to what may fairly be described as rather perfunctory and mechanical editorial activity. . . . I do not enquire precisely how or why the first editor did what he did, for we know nothing whatever about the conditions under which he worked. We do know that the story of Odysseus circulated in divergent versions; we do know that our manuscripts presuppose a standard Athenian text made in the sixth century B.C." (97);

(A 3)(*a*) "The question *when* [sc. the *Odyssey* was composed] depends partly (perhaps entirely) on our opinion about the manner in which a standard text of the *Odyssey*, in writing, was first created and circulated in Greece. The weight of evidence indicates that this most important step was taken at Athens in the earlier or middle part of the sixth century B.C.[32]" (129); (*b*) "[32] See Merkelbach, *Rhein. Mus.* 95 (1952) 23 ff., a most valuable and timely reaction against the fashionable practice of neglecting or despising some very awkward facts" (135);

(A 4) "The evidence of our own manuscripts proves the existence of a standard text of Homer; and history assures us that there is only one era in which this could have been made — the sixth century B.C., whether early, in the time of Solon, or later, in the time of Peisistratus or his sons. Now it happens that it was common knowledge, recorded for us from the fourth century onwards, that the recitation of the whole of Homer, 'exclusively and consecutively', was instituted at Athens for the festival

to have read "about 500 years after." Though Bentley's "wrote" should not be taken too literally, it was Robert Wood (*Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*[2] [London 1775] 248–78), as Wolf (*Prolegomena ad Homerum* 1 [Halle 1795] 41, note 8) shows, who made the illiteracy of Homer a part of the doctrine. The other references are: G. Grote, *History of Greece* (London 1846) Part 1, Ch. 21 (Everyman edition 2.261–70); K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*[2] (Leipzig 1865) 442–50; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884) 235–66; W. Leaf, *The Iliad* 1[2] (London and New York 1900) xix–xx; P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[3] (Leipzig 1921–23) 111–16; G. M. Bolling, *Ilias Atheniensium* (Lancaster, Pa. 1950) 5; P. von der Mühll, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (Basel 1952) ix, 9; R. Merkelbach, *RhM* 95 (1952) 23–47; D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955) 73, 97, 129, 135, 144.

I am indebted to Dr. M. van der Valk for reading this paper in draft and for his helpful comments on matters of form and detail; he must not be thought to agree with all that I have written.

of the Panathenaea in the sixth century; it was common knowledge too that the Athenians in that century had been able in some way to affect the text of Homer, inserting additional lines to which appeal might later be made, as if their text, and no other, was generally acknowledged to be the standard. We are pleased to welcome this external evidence, though we did not really need it: the history of our own manuscripts had already proved essentially the same conclusion. As Professor Rhys Carpenter says, 'If antiquity had neglected to record for us the Peisistratean recension of Homer, we should have had to invent it for ourselves as a hypothesis essential to the facts' " (144).

I do not think that it would be unjust to say that these passages are likely to give a reader who comes to Page's book without much previous acquaintance with the matters in dispute an impression that most Homeric scholars accept the historical reality of a sixth-century Athenian recension of Homer, and that those who do not are the careless, or even dishonest, devotees of a passing fashion. It must therefore be pointed out that although Dr. Merkelbach, in the article to which Page refers (A 3 *b* above), finds the ancient testimonies about the Peisistratean recension both numerous and wholly unambiguous, he has to admit that for ninety years[2] very few scholars have given them any credence (23), and that, apart from Leaf, the few who have attempted to resist the *communis opinio* and to defend the historical reality of the Peisistratean recension "haben keine sehr glückliche Hand gehabt und Falsches mit dem Richtigen verbunden" (27, note 10). Thus there can be little doubt that the case is not as straightforward as the supporters of Peisistratus would have us believe, and a rigorous examination of the evidence may still be profitable.

The central pillar of Page's argument is the claim that "we . . . know that our manuscripts presuppose a standard Athenian text made in the sixth century B.C." (A 2); but when we enquire into the foundations of this claim, the whole edifice dissolves before our eyes. We are told first that "the weight of evidence" indicates that the first creation of a standard text of the *Odyssey* was undertaken at Athens in the sixth century B.C. (A 3 *a*); and for this evidence we are referred (A 3 *b*) to Merkelbach's article, the validity of which has already been publicly challenged (e.g. by me in *GGA* 208 [1954] 42–43), and which will have to be considered in more

[2] He finds the earliest attack on "die antike Ueberlieferung" in an article by Lehrs in *RhM* for 1862; he does not seem to be aware that Grote (above, note 1) had anticipated Lehrs by sixteen years.

detail later in this paper. Later (A 4) Page divides his argument into two parts: (1) "the evidence of our own manuscripts proves the existence of a standard text of Homer", and (2) "history assures us that there is only one era in which this could have been made — the sixth century B.C." If we then ask, "What history?", we find that the two parts of the argument have now reunited, and that Page is talking of "the history of our own manuscripts." The conclusions drawn from this are then distinguished from the "external evidence" derived from "common knowledge, recorded for us from the fourth century onwards"; this "common knowledge" is said to confirm the evidence derived from the history of the manuscripts, but it must be noted with regret that Page's summary of what was common knowledge in the fourth century is, as will be shown later, an inaccurate representation of the facts, and that he is forcing the history of the manuscripts to support conclusions for which it does not in fact provide any evidence.

The history of our manuscripts of Homer, if we use the word 'history' in a proper sense, must be said to begin with the appearance of the earliest texts on papyrus in the third century B.C.; but it is possible to make some inferences about what we may call the 'proto-history' (and even perhaps about the pre-history) of the text by studying the manuscripts themselves, especially the early papyri, and also the quotations from 'Homer' in the works of fourth-century and earlier authors. The quotations are of course most numerous in the fourth century; but quotations from, and allusions to, hexameter poems dealing with the Trojan war and the adventures of Odysseus can be traced back into the seventh century, and representations in art of scenes from these and from related cycles of stories have survived from the eighth and even ninth centuries. The early papyri (those written before the middle of the second century B.C.), the quotations, and the scattered references to the activities of rhapsodes, schoolmasters, sophists, and other students of Homer from the sixth century onwards, all suggest that down to the middle of the second century B.C. there was not any generally recognized 'standard' text of Homer;[3] but from about 150 B.C.

[3] The 'pre-Alexandrian vulgate' (on which see, for example, A. Ludwich, *Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen* [Leipzig 1898]) seems in the last analysis to be really the 'Highest Common Factor' of the texts of Homer current in the Greek world in the fourth and early third centuries B.C. The belief that there was a single vulgate seems to be due to a misapprehension about the way in which poems circulate in an age when publication is not fully organized; for good examples from more modern

onwards the great bulk of the surviving manuscripts on papyrus, parchment and paper, and of the quotations in Greek authors of the late Ptolemaic and the Roman periods testify to the existence of a single version of the poems which was generally accepted as authoritative. It is only an inference, but a legitimate one, that an important part in establishing this authoritative version of the text was played by Aristarchus; but though certain linguistic peculiarities of this text suggest that it was based on one which had undergone some degree of Atticization, nothing in our traditions tells us explicitly that any such 'Atticized' text existed at all, much less where it came from, how it reached Alexandria, why it became known only in the second century B.C., or what its pedigree was.

In trying to discover the previous history of this remarkably influential text we are helped by certain peculiarities of orthography which are common to our manuscripts. In the first place it is certain that the 'Atticized' text which was accepted as the standard from about 150 B.C. onwards was written in the full 'Ionic' alphabet of twenty-four letters, which became the standard Athenian alphabet in 403/2; although it was in use at Athens for some purposes (mostly unofficial) before 403, it is at best very unlikely that a text written in the full 'Ionic' alphabet could itself be the direct result of the activities of a sixth-century Athenian editor, as Page's argument would require us to assume. In the second place there are indications (the first of these were noticed by R. Payne Knight early in the nineteenth century) that the 'Attic' text had itself been transcribed from a text written in a convention which did not always distinguish between long and short *e* or between long and short *o*, which did not always use *ει* and *ου* where those combinations did not represent true diphthongs, and which sometimes used a single letter (consonant or vowel) to represent two consecutive occurrences of the same letter.[4] In its treatment of *e* and *o* sounds, and of repeated consonants, this script was identical with old Attic (and with old Laconian as well, so far as *e* and *o* sounds are concerned); but it differs from what we know of old Attic in two respects: (1) the text of Homer preserves traces of the non-Attic practice of repre-

times, see J. W. Saunders, "From Manuscript to Print," *Proc. Leeds Philos. and Lit. Soc.* Lit.-Hist. Sec. 6 (1951) 507–28.

[4] For example, the traditional form *σπέσσι* (which should be *σπέεσι*) may derive from a spelling ΣΠΕΣΣΙ; and the impossible *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* (which should be *κλέε' ἀνδρῶν*) may be due to a wrong expansion of ΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΝ. See further P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* 1[2] (Paris 1948) 5–16.

senting intervocalic digamma by v; and (2) so far as we know, old Attic did not telescope repeated vowels. It would be wrong to claim that these facts prove that the oldest recoverable state of the Homeric text was not Attic; but they do entitle us to look beyond Attica, if any evidence turns up in other directions which suggests that we ought to do so. For the present it may perhaps suffice to point out that some at least of the peculiarities which can be presumed to have marked the earliest recoverable state of the Homeric text are to be found in the seventh- or early sixth-century inscription dedicated at Delos by the Naxian Nicandrê, the author of which had some acquaintance with epic diction.[5] It is thus at least possible that the Atticized text which was accepted in the second century as having special (and indeed conclusive) authority owed its acceptance to the fact that it could show a pedigree reaching back beyond Athens to Ionia.

The history of the text of Homer, then, so far as we can reconstruct it from the internal evidence of the manuscripts and quotations, confirms Page's statement about the existence of a standard text of Homer, but only from the middle of the second century onwards, and also supports his inference that this standard text had close connexions with Athens; but it has nothing at all to say about his bold assertion that "history assures us that there is only one era in which this could have been made — the sixth century B.C." (A 4). Page must derive his assurance on this point from some other branch of history, and we must now enquire how he comes by it.

Though Page, as has been said, expressly distinguishes between "the history of our own manuscripts" and the "external evidence" derived from "common knowledge," the only possible source which I can find for Page's assertion about the sixth-century Athenian origin of the standard text of Homer is just this alleged "common knowledge," the sources of which we shall now have to examine. In summarizing the characteristics of this common knowledge Page separates the origin of what for convenience we may call 'the Panathenaic rule' from the allegations of Athenian editorial activity; and the nature of the evidence is sufficient justification for accepting this dichotomy as the basis for our enquiry.

[5] See C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955) 189–90. Nicandrê's use of HO where the metre requires a single long syllable (ΑΔΗΟΝ for ἄλλεϙν, ΔΕΙΝΟΔΙΚΗΟ for Δεινοδίκεϙ) is especially noteworthy.

I. The Panathenaic Rule

Page's summary of what was common knowledge on this matter from the fourth century onwards runs: "The recitation of the whole of Homer, 'exclusively and consecutively,' was instituted at Athens for the festival of the Panathenaea in the sixth century" (A 4). Unless Merkelbach and I have missed something, the only references to the recitation of Homer at Athens, apart from the passing mention of the competition for rhapsodes at the Panathenaea in Plato's *Ion* (530B), are:

(B 1) [Plato], *Hipparchus* 228B: . . . Ἱππάρχῳ, ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὃς . . . τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οἵδε ποιοῦσιν . . . ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει βουλόμενος παιδεύειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἵν' ὡς βελτίστων ὄντων αὐτῶν ἄρχοι.

(B 2) Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 159: οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουληθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ἔν τε τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἄθλοις καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων.

(B 3) Lycurgus, *In Leocratem* 102: οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες [τὸν Ὅμηρον] σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη, ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων προῃροῦντο.

(B 4) Plutarch, *Pericles* 13.6: φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἄγεσθαι, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἱρεθεὶς καθότι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ᾄδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν.

(B 5) Diogenes Laertius 1.57 (Solon): τά τε Ὁμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον.

It would, I think, be a misuse of language to claim that these five passages show anything which has the right to be called "common knowledge," except in so far as they agree that Homer's poems were recited at musical competitions in Athens. The most easily reconcilable statements are those from Isocrates (B 2) and Lycurgus (B 3), but even when reconciled they do not help us much; there may not be much difference between τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες as chronological indications, but neither of them is of the slightest absolute value, and (given the shortness of Athenian historical memory[6]) it would be impossible to use even Isocrates'

[6] See F. Jacoby, *JHS* 64 (1944) 37–46.

words to refute an argument, based upon Plutarch's statement (B 4), that the Panathenaic recitations of Homer were instituted by Pericles in 442 B.C.[7]. Plutarch's report is by far the most serious obstacle which those who wish to believe in the sixth-century introduction of the Panathenaic rule have to surmount; and it is noteworthy that neither Page nor Merkelbach seems to have realized this. In Plutarch we have a perfectly explicit statement, apparently based upon the text of a decree (which, it may be presumed, Plutarch could have found in Craterus), that Pericles "then" (i.e., as the context shows, at the inauguration of the Odeum in 442) "for the first time had a decree passed that there should be a contest for *mousikê*[8] at the Panathenaea." The use of πρῶτον in this sentence is certainly ambiguous; it might conceivably refer to the first of a series of decrees moved by Pericles and concerned with the Panathenaic contests, but it is more natural to suppose that Plutarch meant to convey the impression that this was the first decree of its kind on record. Nor is this all; Wade-Gery has shown that the earliest Panathenaic *amphora* with the inscription "From the games at Athens" and a scene from a musical contest dates from the period 430–25. It is therefore hard to escape from the conclusion that the Panathenaic contests for rhapsodes, citharodes and *aulêtai* were instituted by Pericles in 442, and that Pericles was the author of the Panathenaic rule; and if the sole purpose of this paper were the destructive one of refuting the views of Page and Merkelbach, it would hardly be necessary to go any farther.

But it has to be confessed that Wade-Gery's suggestion, though cogently argued, is as unsatisfactory to those who do not believe in the Peisistratean recension as it can be to those who do; and an answer to it must be found if possible. Not much, I fear, can be made of the argument, which seems at first sight worth putting forward, that a Periclean decree is unlikely to have been so completely forgotten in the fourth century as the passages quoted above from the *Hipparchus*, Isocrates and Lycurgus (B 1–3) would imply. Thucydides has told us (6.54.1) that many false stories were current

[7] Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 77, note 77. In reviewing this book (*CR* N.S. 4 [1954] 211) I described Wade-Gery's interpretation of Plutarch as "worse than doubtful"; I now realize that this was an exaggeration. Wade-Gery's view is certainly tenable, but its consequences are such that I doubt if it can be correct.

[8] Isocrates' use of τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἄθλοις (B 2) confirms Wade-Gery's remark (*loc. cit.* above, note 7) that " 'Music' in the Greek sense would include rhapsodes."

in his time about the Peisistratidae, and the tale about Hipparchus might well be one of them; nor is the difference between a *nomos* and a *psêphisma* anything to go on — Pericles' *psêphisma*, or one like it, might have been converted into a *nomos* at some time between 442 and 332 (the date of Lycurgus' speech),[9] and once it became a *nomos* any later writer might be excused for ascribing it to Solon, and so justify Diogenes in including it in his biography of Solon (B 5). A more promising line of argument is to consider Plutarch's own words. If there really was a decree, it is unlikely that it contained any reference to Pericles' election as *athlothetês*, or to the rules which he laid down when acting in that capacity; and it is morally certain that both φιλοτιμούμενος and πρῶτον are unofficial embellishments. It is therefore unlikely that the decree came to Plutarch straight from the chaste pages of Craterus;[10] and we may fairly argue that the words of the decree, if there ever was one, have been distorted by the source which Plutarch was using at this point (like Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, it seems to have depended pretty heavily on comedy, which was apt to be unfavourable to Pericles). On internal evidence, then, Plutarch's report may not be above suspicion; and though we must bear it in mind, we may go on to weigh up the rival claims of Solon and Hipparchus to have fathered the rule.

I have already insinuated a doubt about Solon's part in the matter; Lycurgus testifies to the existence of a *nomos* confining the rhapsodes at the quadrennial Panathenaea to the works of Homer, and though he does not ascribe it to Solon, or even (as we have seen) give us any real clue to its antiquity, any *nomos* may conventionally be ascribed to Solon.[11] So even if Diogenes Laertius were a witness of credit in these matters, he would not have to be understood as meaning more than that the rules governing the recitation of Homer at Athens were laid down in a *nomos*. If the *nomos* really was Solon's, it is very unlikely that it was originally designed to govern

[9] See now A. R. W. Harrison, *JHS* 75 (1955) 26–35.

[10] There is a marked difference between the manner in which Plutarch refers to this decree and his report of the decree of Diopeithes (*Per.* 32.1), for example.

[11] Isocrates' προγόνους might point to Solon, cf. [Dem.] 24.142 τοὺς . . . τοῦ Σόλωνος νόμους . . . οὓς οἱ πρόγονοι ἔθεντο; but if either Isocrates or Lycurgus believed the law to be actually Solon's, it is hard to see why they should refrain from saying so. The principle *utrum in utrum abiturum* may perhaps apply here as in textual criticism; it is easier to understand that Solon or Pericles might have supplanted Hipparchus in the tradition than to see how Hipparchus could have ousted Solon or Pericles.

recitations at the Panathenaea; this festival was instituted, so far as our information goes, in 566,[12] and there is no reason to think that it was then, or for at least a generation afterwards, anything but the γυμνικὸς ἀγών which Syncellus calls it. The Panathenaic rule, then, may have been based upon a more general rule about recitations of Homer, which was perhaps originally laid down by Solon; but there is no reason to think that Solon himself originated the practice of reciting Homer at the Panathenaea.

Finally we come to Hipparchus,[13] the only claimant besides Pericles for whom a claim based upon evidence can be made out. There are two initial difficulties. In the first place, the author of the dialogue describes Hipparchus as "the eldest . . . of Peisistratus' sons" (B 1), whereas Thucydides states emphatically that Hippias was the eldest (6.54.2), and goes on (55.1) to give his reasons, appealing to his own knowledge, which he claims to be more accurate than that of others but at the same time admits to be derived from *akoê*, and to the argument from *eikos*: the *stêlê* and *bômos* upon the Acropolis name Hippias' wife and five children, but do not record that Hipparchus or Thessalus had any children (Thucydides does not mention wives), and "it was *eikos* that the eldest should marry first." We need not waste time upon refuting the argument from *eikos*, since Thucydides' explanation of the records clearly does not exhaust the possibilities; as for his claim to have more accurate information than other people, it need only be pointed out that even if *akoê* is to be understood as "family tradition," it remains "hearsay," and that we have only Thucydides' word for it that Hippias was the senior partner in the tyranny before Hipparchus' death. We should therefore, it seems, have the right to argue that here, as in the case of the Pitanate *lochos* (1.20.3, cf. Hdt. 9.53.2), Thucydides may be cooking the facts in order to score off Herodotus, who clearly implies that Hippias was not in sole power during Hipparchus' lifetime (5.62.2). Secondly, the authorship and date of the *Hipparchus* are disputed:[14] P. Friedländer, who is almost alone in believing the dialogue to be a genuine work of Plato's,

[12] See the references in Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 1 (Oxford 1834) 238–39.

[13] Strictly speaking, perhaps, there should also be an 'X'. Isocrates' statement (B 2) seems to connect the Homeric recitations with the great age of the Persian wars, and might be thought to imply that 'X' introduced the practice at some time in the first half of the fifth century; but Isocrates' views about barbarians hardly make him a trustworthy witness.

[14] The dispute is summarized by H. Leisegang, *RE* s.v. "Platon" 2367.

regards it as one of Plato's earliest works (*Platon* 2 [Berlin and Leipzig 1930] 117–27); but even those who refuse to ascribe the dialogue to Plato do not date it later than about 320. Here then we may claim to have a genuine fourth-century witness; and though its intrinsic authority is not great, its claims to a hearing are strengthened by the context in which the passage quoted above (B 1) occurs: the statement about the admonitory *stêlai* set up in Attica by Hipparchus is at least partially confirmed by archaeology (cf. Friedländer and Hoffleit, *Epigrammata* [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1948] 139), and the statements about his bringing Anacreon to Athens[15] and his patronage of Simonides are at worst not impossible. We must therefore reckon seriously with the possibilities that it was Hipparchus who first instituted contests for rhapsodes at the Panathenaea and laid down the Panathenaic rule, that Pericles in 442 added other musical contests with rules based on the already traditional Hipparchean rule, that his *psêphisma* was converted into a *nomos* at some time between 442 and 332 (the most likely time is the revision of the *nomoi* after 403), and that Isocrates' προγόνους and Lycurgus' πατέρες are to be explained as the result either of genuine ignorance about the originator of the recitations or of hesitation to mention in a public speech so suspect a character as Hipparchus in a praiseworthy light.

We have now to consider the nature of the rule and its significance. There seems no reason to doubt that [Plato]'s phrase ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς and Diogenes' ἐξ ὑποβολῆς mean the same thing; ὑπολαμβάνειν and ὑποβάλλειν can both mean "to take up (something which someone else has just said)," and Diogenes' definition, "viz. that the succeeding (reciter) should begin where the first left off," is sufficiently explanatory. This arrangement, as everyone who has discussed it notices, implies the existence of what we may call a 'prescribed text' of the poems to be recited, in the possession of the *athlothetês* and available for consultation before the competition by the rhapsodes who are taking part. It is likely that this was a new departure, and that no such arrangement had held good at earlier competitions for rhapsodes, such as those at Sicyon which are said to have been suppressed by the tyrant Cleisthenes (Hdt. 5.67.1). It may therefore be pointed out, since it often passes unnoticed,

[15] The occasion is not stated, but the employment of a warship suggests a military operation, and a natural time would be when the Persians were threatening Samos about 522.

that the institution of the rule inescapably implies that the poem (or poems) to be recited were recognized by all concerned as works of the highest literary quality (Lycurgus saw this plainly), which would suffer intolerable depreciation if they were not recited as their author intended; and further, that the acceptance of the rule by the competing rhapsodes, each of whom may reasonably be supposed to have had a version of the various stories which he regarded as better than those of his competitors, suggests that the 'prescribed text' must have enjoyed unusual authority. Hipparchus, [Plato] tells us, "compelled" the rhapsodes to accept the new regulation; and it is at this point that, in my opinion, it becomes flatly impossible to believe that the version of the poems which the rhapsodes accepted under this duress was one which had lately been concocted in Athens. It must, I think, be obvious that the new competition would be a failure if it did not attract the leading rhapsodes of the day; and leading rhapsodes, who (if we may judge by Plato's Ion) were real *virtuosi*, would not be likely to feel that they were doing any harm to their professional reputations by refusing to compete, even at a Panhellenic festival, if they could show that the conditions of the competition were unreasonable. But, in the first place, the Panathenaea, as its title shows, was not intended by its founders to be a Panhellenic festival (at most it was designed to appeal to citizens of those Ionian cities which were believed to have been founded by emigrants from Attica), and did not in fact become one, even in Athens' greatest days; and, in the second place, it is hard to imagine anything much more unreasonable than that the great rhapsodes should be expected to recite a text which they must have known (or at least strongly suspected) to be a recent Athenian concoction, in preference to their own cherished and familiar versions.[16] The answer must, I think, be that no sixth-century Athenian could have imposed a newly concocted Attic text of the Homeric poems upon any rhapsode worthy of the name; and we must therefore conclude that the text which the rhapsodes were compelled to recite at the Panathenaea was one which even they could not plausibly

[16] We may note in passing (1) that some of the competitors might be Homeridae, who recited the poems "by right of succession" (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1 c, 3.29.11 Drachmann), and would therefore be in a position to point out on the spot, and with overwhelming authority, any unauthorized changes in the Panathenaic text, and (2) that Onomacritus, whose name is often mentioned in connection with the Attic text of Homer, failed to conceal his interpolations into the oracles of Musaeus from the practised senses of Lasus of Hermione (Hdt. 7.6.3).

refuse to accept as authoritative. Thus we are entitled to emphasize [Plato]'s use of the word ἐκόμισεν to describe Hipparchus' action, and to argue that the text used at the Panathenaea had been *brought* to Attica; that is to say, that Hipparchus (or whoever else it may have been) brought home from abroad an actual written text, which the best rhapsodes of the day were willing to accept as an authoritative version of the poems to be recited — and if anyone asks where Hipparchus acquired it, we may answer either "From the Homeridae in Chios" or "From the descendants of Creophylus in Samos."

We have now to consider what our fourth-century authorities (B 1–3) may have meant by "Homer." Disregarding, as I have elsewhere argued that we are entitled to do,[17] the vague and perhaps corrupt statements of very late authorities that Archilochus ascribed the *Margites*, and Callinus a poem about Thebes (perhaps the *Thebais*), to Homer, we have conclusive evidence from Simonides (fr. 32 Diehl), Pindar (*Isth.* 4.41–43; fr. 265 Snell is less conclusive), and Herodotus (2.117, 4.32, 5.67.2) that in the sixth and fifth centuries the works of 'Homer' included many narrative poems in hexameters which the Homeric criticism of the late fifth and fourth centuries expelled from the canon; and even in the fourth century references to 'Homer' can be found in which the name is being used in the old sense.[18] It is thus impossible to prove, but may be legitimate to believe, that [Plato], Isocrates and Lycurgus are speaking in fourth-century terms when they speak of 'Homer,' and that by his ἔπη or ποίησις they mean, as we normally should, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which (so far at least as our knowledge goes) were the only ancient hexameter poems for which the provisions of the Panathenaic rule were at all likely to be appropriate.

But here again a difficulty arises. Vase paintings show clearly that a poem about Odysseus which included the Polyphemus adventure was current in Athens in the seventh century, and the fragments of Alcman are clear evidence that an *Odyssey*, including Circe and at least an *Urnausikaa*, and also a poem or poems about

[17] In an article entitled "Quotations and Allusions in Early Greek Literature," which is to appear in *Eranos*.

[18] e.g. [Dem.] 60.29, ascribing to Homer the story of Acamas which Pausanias found in a poem by "Lesches," i.e. the *Iliu Persis* (10.25.8, cf. 10.25.5); Pausanias' references to Lesches are wrongly included by Kinkel and Allen among the fragments of the *Little Iliad* (Pausanias does not know who composed the *Little Iliad*, cf. 3.26.9, 10.26.1).

Troy, including Paris, Ajax and Memnon, were known at Sparta about the same time.[19] On the other hand, no instructed person nowadays would claim that either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* as we have them was the first poem to be composed upon their subjects (the author of the *Odyssey* in particular has gone out of his way in the prologue to show that his audience are expected to know who the 'man' is, and his use of εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν shows that he had predecessors); what can safely be claimed is that there is no conclusive evidence that any poem resembling at all closely what we know as the *Iliad* was current in Athens before about 530,[20] and it may be that it was the coming of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in substantially their present form ("substantially" is meant to allow for the usual accidents of manuscript transmission since that time), which made the sixth-century Athenians realize that in the newly acquired versions of the old stories they were dealing with works of literature of such a quality that they deserved better treatment than to be chopped up into gobbets and recited in 'haymaking order' with interpolated cadenzas, in the manner which seems to have been normal among the rhapsodes of the period.[21]

We must therefore bear in mind the possibility that the pedigree of our texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which is reasonably clear to us from the time of Aristarchus to the present day, may go back behind Aristarchus not only to the official Panathenaic text of Homer in its fourth-century form, but even to texts imported into Athens from

[19] Perhaps from the *Little Iliad*, which Hellanicus ascribed to the Lacedaemonian Cinaetho (Schol. Eur. *Tro.* 822 — the context shows that the historian is meant). Some idea of the currency of mythological scenes on works of art in the early archaic period may be gained from J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 35 (1938) 187, 189, 191, 206–8 (Attica); E. A. Lane, *ABSA* 34 (1936) 162–68 (Laconia); H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) 124–43 (Corinth; note especially his comment on the absence of scenes from the *Odyssey*); E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder* (Berlin 1950) 93–179, especially 139–74 (Olympia); R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder* (Athens 1938) (Boeotia); R. Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit* (Tübingen 1952) 30 (more summary and general). Not all the identifications, I suspect, would stand up to really rigorous criticism (for one example, see *CR* N.S. 4 [1954] 289), but enough would remain to establish the point.

[20] See the references under the lemmata "Homer," "Iliad," "Odyssey" in the index to J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951); it will be noted that he has many more references to the *Iliad* than to the *Odyssey*.

[21] Cf. what we are told about οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1 c, e). The more temperately expressed report in 1 c distinguishes them from the Homeridae; this is more likely to be right, if one may judge by Plato's references to the Homeridae, than the statement in 1 e that Cynaethus was himself a Homerid of a later type.

Ionia in the sixth century, and that these imported texts may have carried the authority of the Homeridae themselves.[22]

II. Athenian Editing of Homer

We are now in a position to examine the evidence for Page's assertion that "it was common knowledge . . . that the Athenians in that (sc. the sixth) century had been able in some way to affect the text of Homer, inserting additional lines to which appeal might thereafter be made, as if their text, and no other, was generally acknowledged to be the standard" (A 4, above, page 3). It will be seen that in one respect we have come close to Page's view, though by a very different route from that which he has followed and with a very different purpose. We may agree with him that the Panathenaic text of Homer must have been acknowledged as authoritative in its own sphere; but the evidence of the fifth- and fourth-century quotations and of the earlier papyri (down to about 150 B.C.) is clearly to the effect that this recognition had practically no effect upon the many divergent versions of the Homeric poems which were in circulation in the pre-Aristarchean world,[23] and which in the primitive conditions of pre-Alexandrian publishing (though that is almost too formal and modern a word for it) could not possi-

[22] Merkelbach (above, note 1) 32 describes the story of how Lycurgus brought the text of Homer to Sparta as a "Doppelgänger" and a "jüngere Konkurrenzerfindung" of the Peisistratus story. The earliest version of this story is in Ephorus (70 F 149 Jacoby); Lycurgus met Homer in Chios and got the texts direct from him. Timaeus (566 F 127 Jacoby) points out that in that case there must have been two Lycurgi, one contemporary with Homer and one later. Hence the later version, derived by Heracleides Ponticus from Aristotle's *Constitutions* (Arist. fr. 611.10 Rose): Lycurgus got the texts from the descendants of Creophylus in Samos. Dio of Prusa (2.44) suggests that Lycurgus brought the poems from Crete; Aelian (*V.H.* 13.14 — quoted below, page 19) characteristically tries to combine Lycurgus and Peisistratus (L. brought the poems to Greece, P. put them in order). If Ephorus was trying to overtrump an Athenian story (and there is no reason why he should have been, since the Spartans had clearly had 'Homeric' poems in the seventh century, and may have claimed to owe them to Lycurgus), it must have been one like that about Hipparchus, concerned with the *bringing* of the texts to mainland Greece, and not with what happened to them after arrival. In any case, Merkelbach's authorities (to those mentioned earlier in this note he adds Apollodorus [244 F 63b Jacoby]) are far from proving his assertion (33) that "die Nachrichten über die pisistratische Redaktion müssen . . . beträchtlich älter sein" (sc. than the Lycurgus story).

[23] Rhapsodes like Cynaethus (above, note 21) were no doubt the chief sinners, but schoolmasters, both those who had no book and those who had texts revised by themselves (Plut. *Alcib.* 7.1 for both types), must have played a part. But something must be allowed for the Greek propensity to quote from memory, and something more for the corruptions of our manuscripts (both of Homer and the authors who quote him).

bly have been collated before issue with any one 'standard' text, however authoritative that text might in fact be.

The evidence which is relevant to the question whether the sixth-century Athenians were commonly known to have made insertions into the text of Homer, is as follows:

(C 1) Dieuchidas of Megara (485 F 6 Jacoby) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1.57 (the words follow immediately upon those of B 5 — above, page 7): *μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν· ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταυτί· οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς* (*Il.* 2.546 etc.).

(C 2) Hereas of Megara (486 F 1 Jacoby) *ap.* Plut. *Thes.* 20.1–2: *περὶ τῆς Ἀριάδνης . . . οἱ μὲν . . . ἀπάγξασθαί φασιν αὐτὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως, οἱ δὲ εἰς Νάξον ὑπὸ ναυτῶν κομισθεῖσαν Οἰνάρῳ . . . συνοικεῖν, ἀπολειφθῆναι δὲ τοῦ Θησέως ἐρῶντος ἑτέρας· δεινὸς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηίδος Αἴγλης* (Hes. fr. 105 Rzach, cf. Athen. 13.557A). (2) *τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔπος ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου Πεισίστρατον ἐξελεῖν φησὶν Ἡρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου νέκυιαν τὸ Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε, θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα* (*Od.* 11.631), *χαριζόμενον Ἀθηναίοις.*

(C 3) Strabo 9.394 (on Salamis): *καὶ νῦν μὲν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν νῆσον, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν πρὸς Μεγαρέας ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἔρις περὶ αὐτῆς· καί φασιν οἱ μὲν Πεισίστρατον, οἱ δὲ Σόλωνα παρεγγράψαντα ἐν τῷ νεῶν καταλόγῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο· Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας, ἑξῆς τοῦτο· στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες* (*Il.* 2.557–58), *μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι τῷ ποιητῇ τοῦ τὴν νῆσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπάρξαι. . . . οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιαύτην τινὰ σκήψασθαι μαρτυρίαν παρ' Ὁμήρου δοκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἀντιπαρῳδῆσαι οὕτως· Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας ἔκ τε Πολίχνας ἔκ τ' Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε, ἃ ἐστι χωρία Μεγαρικά.*

(C 4) Plutarch, *Solon* 10.1 (on Solon and the war with Megara): *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιμενόντων . . . ἐποιήσαντο Λακεδαιμονίους διαλλακτὰς καὶ δικαστάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλωνι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὁμήρου δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι· Αἴας . . . φάλαγγες.*[24]

Here again it will be seen that the testimonies are far from proving anything which could properly be called "common knowledge" in the fourth century. All of them are connected with Megara in one way or another, and it would be difficult to refute a claim that Dieuchidas and Hereas were the 'onlie begetters' of the whole story. Their motive for so doing is obvious: Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1. 1375B.30, referred to by Merkelbach) tells us that upon

[24] The Athenians' own version, which treats the tale about Homer as nonsense, and which Plutarch shows to have been confirmed in at least one material respect by Hereas, follows this passage, and should be read. Merkelbach adds Diog. Laert. 1.48 and Schol. B to *Il.* 2.557, which have nothing new to tell us.

some unspecified occasion[25] the Athenians used Homer as their witness about Salamis, and it would be quite natural for Megarian irredentists, such as Dieuchidas and Hereas seem to have been, to try to discredit the Athenian text of Homer which so unmistakably associated Ajax with the Athenians. As the passage which I have omitted from C 3 will show, there were (and are) arguments which might be urged against the logic of *Il.* 2.558 in its traditional form, and Dieuchidas and Hereas may have used them, or some of them;[26] but it will not have escaped the attentive reader that our sources do not credit either of them explicitly with any mention of *Il.* 2.558. Dieuchidas seems to have accused Peisistratus of some hanky-panky with the Athenian entry in the Catalogue of Ships (though the state of Diogenes' text does not let us gather what Peisistratus is alleged to have done, nor how far his interference extended); and Hereas mentions a line which he says Peisistratus excised from Hesiod (and which certainly does not seem to have been in Athenaeus' copy of Hesiod, since he names Cercops as his authority for Theseus' treachery to Ariadne — Athen. 13.557A), and an alleged addition to the *Odyssey*, which is still in our texts. It is curious that they do not seem to have cast doubts upon the mention of Theseus in *Il.* 1.265 or upon the mention of Marathon, Athens and Erechtheus in *Od.* 7.79–80.[27]

Even if we allow that Solon or Peisistratus may have quoted *Il.* 2.557–58 in their present form to the Spartan arbitrators over Salamis, only a Megarian could think that we are thereby compelled to suppose that 558 was an Athenian interpolation; if the text quoted by the Athenians was not admitted by all concerned to be the correct version, the Megarians could have produced their

[25] Perhaps the sixth-century arbitration mentioned by Plutarch (C 4) and implied by Strabo (C 3), but if so it is perhaps curious that Herodotus, who is interested in Athenian text-slinging (7.161.3), does not mention it. Antipater is said to have taken Salamis from the Athenians in 324; and this may have given rise to some lively pamphleteering between Athens and Megara.

[26] There are at least equally strong arguments against the Megarian "parody" quoted by Strabo; it does not give the number of Ajax' ships, and the Megarians are even less noticeable in the rest of the *Iliad* than the Athenians.

[27] Merkelbach points out that Chaeris is said to have marked this last passage as "suspected" (Schol. *ad loc.*), but that need not mean that Chaeris knew about a Peisistratean recension, as Merkelbach claims; the references to the Athenians in the *Iliad* are so contradictory that suspicion of a passing reference to Athens in the *Odyssey* is natural. Chaeris may have known the books of Dieuchidas and Hereas, and may have thought them reliable; but that would not prove that they were so in fact. Zenodotus athetized *Il.* 2.553–55 (Schol. A to *Il.* 2.553); Aristarchus had doubts about 557–58 (Schol. A to *Il.* 3.230, 4.273) — but neither of them is recorded as having mentioned Peisistratus.

alternative (what it might have been we may see from Strabo — C 3, at end), with the result that the Athenian text would certainly have been cancelled out, and might even have been proved to be a forgery. If there is any question of fabrication in this matter, the Megarians have at least an equal claim to join the Athenians under the three classic headings, Motive, Means, and Opportunity; and it is certainly worth noting that we do not hear anything of Solonian or Peisistratean interference with the text of Homer before Dieuchidas. In any case, the Homeric passages singled out by the Megarians occur in catalogues — which almost certainly had an existence separate from that of the poems of which they now form part, and which are by their very nature less protected against accidental or deliberate alteration than the more organic parts of the poems. Even if some sixth-century Athenian inserted a line, or a group of lines, into a catalogue, whether of ships or sinners, this would not prove that there was an Athenian 'recension' of the poems, much less that (as Page asserts — A 3 *a*, above, page 2) the "most important step" of first creating and circulating a text of the *Odyssey* (and, by legitimate extension, the *Iliad*) in writing "was taken at Athens in the sixth century B.C." It is to this final point that we must now turn.

III. The Role of Peisistratus

So far we have considered only stories which can be proved to have been told as early as the fourth century B.C., and I believe that it has been shown that none of these justifies us in holding that anyone in the fourth century or earlier ascribed anything like a recension of the Homeric texts to Solon or Peisistratus or any other sixth-century Athenian. Unfortunately, however, the matter cannot be left there, since there is a group of texts of the first century B.C. or later which tell a different story. They are:

(D 1) Cicero, *De oratore* 3.34.137 (on the time of the Seven Wise Men): quis doctior eisdem temporibus illis aut cuius eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus.

(D 2) *Anthologia Palatina* 11.442.3–4 (Ἀδέσποτον): *τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλῇ Πεισίστρατον, ὃς τὸν Ὅμηρον ἤθροισα σποράδην τὸ πρὶν ἀειδόμενον.*[28]

[28] Cf. *Vit. Hom.* (ed. Allen, Oxford 1912) 4.9–16, 5.24–34. Merkelbach (26) compares *A.P.* 9.205 (Artemidorus): *Βωκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι, σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἐντὶ μιᾶς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾶς ἀγέλας.* He thinks that this epigram shows that Artemidorus (1st century B.C.) wished to be thought "der Peisistratos der Bukoliker." But

(D 3) Aelian, *V.H.* 13.14: ὅτι τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρότερον διῃρημένα ᾖδον οἱ παλαιοί. (Here follows a list of titles for parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.) ὀψὲ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀθρόαν πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκόμισε τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν. τὸ δὲ ἀγώγιμον τοῦτο ἐξ Ἰωνίας, ἡνίκα ἀπεδήμησεν, ἤγαγεν. ὕστερον δὲ Πεισίστρατος συναγαγὼν ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδυσσείαν.

(D 4) Pausanias 7.26.13 (Donussa in Achaea): ἐγένετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἀνάστατος, μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονί φασιν αὐτῆς ποιήσαντα ἔπος· οἵ θ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Δονόεσσαν (Γονόεσσαν *Il.* 2.573), Πεισίστρατον δέ, ἡνίκα ἔπη τὰ Ὁμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ <ἄλλα> ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονευόμενα ἤθροιζε, τότε αὐτὸν Πεισίστρατον ἢ τῶν τινὰ ἑταίρων μεταποιῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας.

(D 5) Schol. T on *Iliad* 10.1: φασὶ τὴν ῥαψῳδίαν ὑφ' Ὁμήρου ἰδίᾳ τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέρος τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποίησιν.[29]

(D 6) J. Tzetzes, *in Aristophanem bis bina prooemia* περὶ Κωμῳδίας, P b I 22 (Kaibel, *Com. Graec. Frag.* 1.20): καίτοι τὰς Ὁμηρικὰς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο γραμματικοὶ ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τυράννου διέθηκαν οὐτωσὶ σποράδην οὔσας τὸ πρίν· ἐπεκρίθησαν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Ζηνοδότου, ἄλλων ὄντων τούτων τῶν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου διορθωσάντων. οἱ δὲ τέσσαρσί τισι τὴν ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου διόρθωσιν ἀναφέρουσιν, Ὀρφεῖ Κροτωνιάτῃ, Ζωπύρῳ Ἡρακλεώτῃ, Ὀνομακρίτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ καὶ Ἐπικογκύλῳ.[30]

It is, I think, reasonably clear that D 3–6 are all embroideries upon an original story preserved in all its simplicity by Cicero (D 1) and the author of the Peisistratus epigram (D 2); and what we have now to discover, if we can, is the source of that story. Cicero says "dicitur", and may be presumed to mean what he says; the story was current therefore in 55 B.C., when Cicero was writing the *De oratore*. It used to be believed that Cicero had found the story in Dicaearchus, but in 1896 Kaibel published his study, *Die Prolegomena* Περὶ Κωμῳδίας (*AbhGött.* Phil.-hist. Kl. N.F. 2.4), in which he

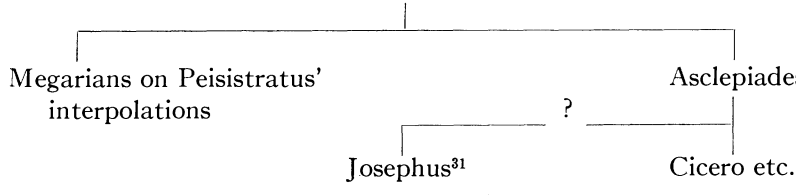
even if he is right (and the author of the Peisistratus epigram might just as well be imitating Artemidorus as *vice versa*), this does not prove that the Peisistratus story was ancient in the first century B.C., but only that Artemidorus knew it.

[29] Of the other passages adduced by Merkelbach I omit as either unimportant or irrelevant for my purpose (*a*) those which mention Peisistratus' editorship, but do not add anything to the passages printed above: *Vit. Hom.* Suid. 41–43 Allen, cf. 4.9–16, 5.24–34; Liban. *Or.* 12.56, *Apol. Socr.* 73; (*b*) those which mention or imply a recension, but do not say by whom or where it was made: Joseph. *Ap.* 1.2.12, Auson. 18.13.29, Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1 d, e; (*c*) those which do not mention or necessarily imply a recension at all: Schol. A to *Il.* 6.119, Schol. BT to *Il.* 15.668.

[30] Kaibel's note runs: "και καγ επι κογκυλω P; quartum nomen a Byzantinis inepte fictum ansam coniecturae ὁ ἐπικὸς κύκλος dedit; in P docta sed infelix coniectura adnotata αθηνοδωρω επικλην κορδυλιωνι." The text of the scholium to Dionysius Thrax in which Kaibel believed himself to have found Tzetzes' source is printed in full by T. W. Allen, *Homer, The Origins and the Transmission* (Oxford 1924) 230–32.

suggested (26) that Tzetzes' mention of Orpheus of Croton might mean that here at least he was dependent on Asclepiades of Myrlea, a Pergamene scholar, who according to Suidas (s.v. *Ὀρφεὺς Κροτωνιάτης*) had mentioned Orpheus as an associate of Peisistratus. Kaibel went on: "Ist es Zufall, dass nur wenig später Cicero zuerst von der Peisistrateischen Homerausgabe zu berichten weiss?" The hint was quickly taken up, and seems now to be universally accepted. We may therefore be justified in taking it that Cicero, and presumably all the other witnesses mentioned above (D 2–6), depends upon Asclepiades, who was active about 100 B.C.; and this is as far back as we can trace the story of the Peisistratean recension in its traditional form at all.

Where did it come from? The suggestion of the believers in the Peisistratean Homer, of course, is that it is historical, and that its genealogy runs somewhat like this:

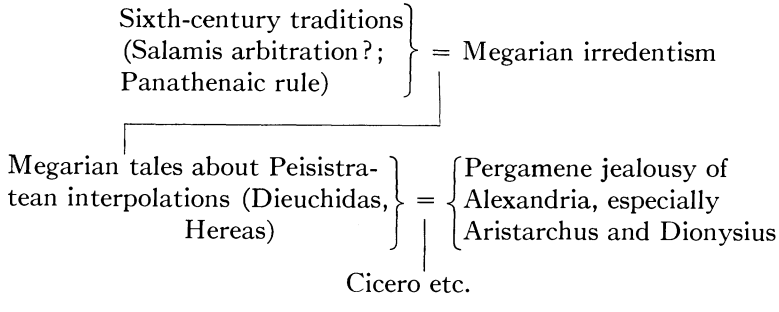


I suggest that there may be a less tidy, but more human, solution. Asclepiades, we know, engaged in polemic against Dionysius Thrax (and also against views which are elsewhere attributed to Aristarchus),[32] so that Kaibel's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that Tzetzes' knowledge of Asclepiades' views may have been derived from scholia to Dionysius is eminently reasonable. The *Lives* of Homer tell us that Aristarchus and Dionysius both believed that Homer was an Athenian (2.13, 5.8 Allen), and Proclus adds (fr. *a* 58–62 Severyns) that Aristarchus put Homer 140 years after the Trojan war. One would, I think, have to suppose that Asclepiades was something

[31] Josephus (above, note 29) was not interested in the question who edited Homer; he was concerned only to argue that Greek literature, even the oldest, was recent and unauthoritative by comparison with Hebrew. He may have got his idea of Homer's illiteracy, *for which he is our only witness*, from Asclepiades, but his polemical purpose makes the evidential value of his statement very slight. Merkelbach (43) changes Josephus' perfectly intelligible *ὁμολογούμενον* to *ὁμολογουμένως*, adding the note "correxi"; three pages later (46) he asserts that Josephus mentions Peisistratus in connection with Homer, although the text which he has already printed proves the contrary.

[32] See Wentzel s.v. "Asklepiades (28)" in *RE*.

more (or less) than human not to expect that he would seek for some way of discrediting, if possible, the 'authentic' text which his Alexandrian rivals were so successfully imposing upon the reading public. The story of the Peisistratean recension appears admirably calculated for this purpose; without challenging the Athenian origin of the new text, it effectively deprives it of its authority by lowering the date of its creation from about 1050 to about 550. Asclepiades may have invented the story entirely unaided;[33] but it seems to me more likely that he had heard the Megarian stories about Peisistratus' interpolations, and was led by these to conclude that Peisistratus and his associates had actually put the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* together. To cut a long argument short, I suggest that the following genealogy is more likely to approximate to the truth than that given above (page 20);



This paper has been concerned entirely with the allegation that the text of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was first put together and reduced to writing in sixth-century Athens; and I believe that it has shown that the evidence available to us does not support this allegation, but is consistent rather with the view that the version of the Homeric poems which was adopted as the standard text for the Panathenaea (perhaps between 530 and 520 B.C.) was already in writing when it first reached Athens. The earlier history of this text cannot be written; and even if it could the problems which it would involve lie far beyond the scope of this paper.[34]

[33] Cf. the remark attributed by Page (A 4, above, page 3) to Professor Rhys Carpenter.

[34] Some indication of the manner in which I should approach these problems may be found in *Gymnasium* 61 (1954) 28–36, but I have since seen reason to modify the views there expressed in two respects: (1) A. B. Lord (*TAPA* 84 [1953] 124–34) has convinced me that the Homeric poems are oral dictated texts; (2) Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* 149–57, has convinced me that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* cannot be by the same author.