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Genealogy and catalogue: Thematic relevance and narrative
elaboration in Homer and Hesiod

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GENEALOGY AND CATALOGUE:
THEMATIC RELEVANCE AND NARRATIVE ELABORATION IN HOMER AND HESIOD

by

Deborah Rae Davies

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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INTRODUCTION

Catalogues are clearly an important narrative form in archaic Greek poetry. They appear within larger narratives, such as the Homeric Hymns and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But Greek poets also use the catalogue format to create separate and self-contained poems, such as the Hesdiodic *Catalogue of Women*. In all cases, the narrator adapts the catalogue form and its contents to fit his poetic aims.

Scholars have considered the catalogue form before.[1] These studies tend to fall into three categories. First, scholars such as Beye, Edwards, Minton, and Powell[2] have identified many of the formal characteristics of catalogues. Second, scholars such as Simpson and Lazenby have tried to show how a particular passage reflects some external reality, an approach especially popular when considering the Catalogue of Ships.[3] Third, scholars such as Fenik and Heubeck try to show how a particular catalogue is structured,

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[1]For a general discussion of catalogues, see: McLeod, G. Virtue and Venom: Catalogues of Women from Antiquity to the Renaissance. (Ann Arbor, 1991), which, despite its grand title, covers all of the ancient Greek and Latin catalogues in the first chapter. This leads to a less than satisfactory consideration of the passages involved.

[2]Beye, C.R. "Homeric Battle Narrative and Catalogues," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 345-373; Edwards 1980, 81-105; Minton, W.W. "Invocation and Catalogue in Hesiod and Homer," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 188-212; Powell, B.B. "Word Patterns in the Catalogue of Ships (B 494-709 (sic)): A Structural Analysis of Homeric Language," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 255-264.

[3]Simpson, R.H. and J.F. Lazenby The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's *Iliad*. (Oxford, 1970).

usually using such 'facts' as geography or genealogical relationships.[1] These structures are usually geometric, consisting of a series of nested ring compositions or spirals.

Although this list of studies would seem fairly comprehensive, appearances are deceiving. Most of these approaches consider closely only one or two catalogues. In addition, none of these scholars has analyzed the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Last, little attention has been paid to the poetic implications of the catalogue form in general. Is every catalogue the same? If not, how and why has the narrator adapted his received material?

This dissertation will first consider whether all catalogues are indeed the same, in form and poetic implications. The Teichoscopia in the *Iliad* is considered as a test case of the theories put forth in this chapter. Once this question has been answered, close readings of the Catalogue of Heroines in the *Odyssey* and the Hesdiodic *Catalogue of Women* follow. In all cases, thematic adaptation, rather than mechanistic structures based on 'fact,' will be considered.

First, however, we must review the terminology used in prior scholarship and establish the parameters of this poetic type.

Definition of Terms

The terminology and a working definition of archaic Greek catalogue poetry must first be established. At its most basic level, the catalogue has only one requirement, which allows the narrator great flexibility.[2] There must be repetition in a regular pattern within the passage. The simplest form of catalogue is a list, usually of names, all in the same case,

[1]Fenik, B. Studies in the *Odyssey*. (Wiesbaden, 1974); Heubeck, A. Der Odyssee-Dichter und die *Ilias*. (Erlangen, 1954); West, M.L. The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. (Oxford, 1985).

[2]Vansina, J. Oral Tradition as History. (Madison, 1985) 24-25.

without any verb.[1] In these cases, each name forms a separate 'entry' and each entry contains one 'element,' the name. Since, however, repetition is a regular feature of oral composition,[2] the term 'catalogue' will be restricted to mean 'a series of people or places in a regular pattern.' That is, a catalogue is a list of concrete things, animate or inanimate, not a series of events.

Many archaic Greek catalogues, however, have a more complicated structure than does a simple list. In these catalogues, each entry contains more than one element in a standard order, and the catalogue repeats most, if not all, of the elements in each entry. These repetitions occur in all levels of language, syntax, and usually organization, but the term 'element' usually refers to a unit of one or two words and their syntax. Thus, in the Catalogue of Ships, there are a number of different elements, such as "nations in the genitive," "generals in nominative," "verb of ruling," as well as three different types of repetitive patterns into which the elements fit.[3]

These expanded entries often also have a more complicated form. The entry always begins with the series of elements which define the catalogue. To put this another way, the entry begins with the 'facts' of the catalogue. If the catalogue consists of a series of people, usually these facts are some combination of their name, birthplace, the name(s) of their parent(s) and grandparent(s), and a verb which is repeated in most entries. Some of this information may be contained in a relative clause. But the types of information are

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[1]Edwards 1980, 99 contains most of the following: *Il.* 3.146-148; 5.677-678; 5.705-505; 7.161-169; 8.261-267, 274-276; 9.150-152 = 292-294; 11.57-60, 301-308; 12.193; 13.790-792; 14.508-522; 15.328-342; 16.415-417, 694-696; 17.26-218; 18.39-49; 21.209-210; 24.249-251; *Od.* 8.110-120; 22.241-243, 266-268, 283-285.

[2]Note for example, Chryseis' return to her father (*Il.* 1.432-487); verbal repetition: ἐκ δέ, *Il.* 1.436, 437, 438, 439; forms of βαίνω, *Il.* 1.437, 438, 439; forms of ἱστίον and ἱστόν, *Il.* 1.433, 434, 480, 481.

[3]Powell 1978, 255-264.

often the same in every entry, and often expressed in repetitive language and format. For this reason, this part of the catalogue has been identified as the "basic information" portion of each entry.[1]

In addition to the basic information which begins each entry, however, expanded catalogues may also contain an "elaboration."[2] These elaborations may appear in any and all entries. The length of the elaboration changes from entry to entry, although the overall length of the entry tends to decrease as the catalogue progresses.[3] The elaboration itself usually begins with a pronoun, either relative or demonstrative, which can refer back to any element in the basic information portion of the entry. Thus, the purported focus of the first part of the entry may or may not be the central figure of the elaboration. Occasionally, a second elaboration will occur, which may refer to an element either in the informational section or in the first elaboration.

The elaboration offers information which is particular to each entry, rather than the repetitive information which is expected in every entry. Thus, the elaboration in the first entry may be about the wealth of the individual, while that in the second entry may concern his marriage. These elaborations tend to fall into several types, particularly in battle narratives: social position and wealth of the hero; genealogy; birthplace; marriage; migration to avoid blood vengeance; seer's prophecy.[4]

The elaboration, since it is by definition a less restricted portion of the catalogue, allows the narrator to adapt and expand each entry to fit his needs. Thus, when attempting to analyze the narrative purposes and organization of any given catalogue, we must

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[1]Beye 1964, 346.

[2]This is the term used by Edwards 1980. It has also been called an "anecdote" by Beye 1964, and an "augment" by Minton 1962 and Powell 1978.

[3]Edwards 1980, 98.

[4]Based on Beye 1964, 358.

consider the themes expressed in the elaborations as well as the facts contained in the basic information portion of the entry. This point, while obvious, has generally been overlooked in the past. Scholars usually attempt to construct an internal organization for each catalogue, based on such facts as geography or personal relationships, while ignoring the thematic material contained in the elaborations.

Some catalogues contain a third section, called the "contextual information," which may be expressed through an elaboration.[1] This seems limited generally to battle narratives, in which each entry is linked back to the main narrative, although most entries in the Catalogue of Ships end with the number of ships in the contingent. Other catalogues achieve linkage only at the end of the catalogue, when the narrator returns to the main narrative.

Catalogues are often prefaced with some type of introduction, which may contain one or more elements.[2] This preface generally contains a question, direct or indirect, addressed to the Muses or anonymous goddess(es). The question usually asks for quantitative information, which leads into the enumeration of the catalogue. This enumeration is often hierarchical, and is introduced by a superlative such as πρῶτος, ὕστατος, or ἄριστος. The catalogue may end with a short passage repeating one or more of these elements.[3]

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[1]Beye 1964, 346.

[2]Minton 1962, 188-212.

[3]Minton 1962, 192 identifies a longer and more developed Homeric invocation. Its form is: imperative addressed to Muses, relative clause leading to "more circumstantial but still general outline of subject," return to Muses with specific questions, which leads immediately to the true catalogue. He then argues that the Homeric form is more sophisticated and developed than the Hesiodic form, a conclusion with which, as will appear, I disagree.

At this point, it may be helpful to illustrate these general rules with a specific entry from the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.484-779).[1]

Κρητῶν δ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,   645
οἳ Κνωσόν τ' εἶχον Γόρτυνά τε τειχιόεσσαν
Λύκτον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Λύκαστον
Φαιστόν τε 'Ρύτιόν τε, πόλεις εὖ ναιετοώσας,
ἄλλοι θ' οἳ Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο.
τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευε   650
Μηριόνης τ' ἀτάλαντος 'Ενυαλίωι ἀνδρειφόντηι.
τοῖσι δ' ἅμ' ὀγδώκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο.

The first five lines of this passage (645-649) is the basic information section, which contains a declarative sentence (645), followed by a relative clause (646-649). The elements contained in this first line are the ethnic name of this group (Cretans), the leader's name (Idomeneus) and his epithet (δουρικλυτός), and the repetitive verb[2] (ἡγεμόνευε(ν)). The second line begins with a relative pronoun and the formulaic phrase οἳ εἶχον,[3] followed by the city names and modifiers, both epithets and participial phrases. Again, the city names are a frequent element within this section.

The elaboration (650-651) refers back to the Cretans in the first line, as well as repeating language and information from that line. The next line then adds the name of Idomeneus' second-in-command, Meriones. The contextual information is expressed in a relative clause (652). The relative pronoun which introduces this portion refers back to Idomeneus and Meriones. That is, it refers back to the elaboration, not the original basic

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[1]There are 28 entries in the Catalogue of Ships. Powell 1978 analyzes the elements and organizational patterns of the Catalogue. Each entry has a basic information section, which includes the name(s) of the general(s), his homeland, genealogy, and often has an epithet. Every entry contains at least one elaboration, and the contextual information is the number of ships. This is usually placed at the end of the entry, but may be at the beginning.

[2]Also seen in this position in the Catalogue of Ships at: *Il.* 2.527, 647.

[3]Also used in the Catalogue of Ships at: *Il.* 2.500, 505, 546, 559, 569, 573-574, 581, 584, 605-607, 632, 646, 676, 683, 695, 729.

information section. This last section gives the number of ships, and uses repetitive

language (μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο).[1]

Having established both the terminology and typical format of an archaic Greek

catalogue, we must now consider the relationship between the catalogue, as we have

narrowly defined it, and epic narrative in general.

As mentioned above, repetition is a familiar feature of oral composition, expressed

through vocabulary and syntax. Thus, much of archaic Greek epic exhibits this feature in

varying degrees. This is seen in lists, the passages usually called 'catalogues,' in the

repetitive battle narratives called 'androktasia,'[2] and in type scenes.[3]

The separation of lists and catalogues from the continuum of epic narrative is, in

some ways, deceptive. The differences between the latter and the former are ones of

proportion, not absence or presence of features. Lists contain only basic information;

catalogues contain both basic information and elaborations. The latter is particular to each

entry, and may be expressed through a story. But at what point does an elaboration

become so long that it overwhelms the catalogue format? As the story grows in length and

involvement, the emphasis changes from each entry as a part of the whole catalogue to each

entry as a self-contained unit. While there can be no set boundaries for this transition, the

longest catalogue entry in the Homeric poems is that of Tyro in the Catalogue of Heroines

(*Od.* 11.235-259). It is quite likely, however, that the potential length of an elaboration is

also proportional to the length of the catalogue as a whole. The Hesdiodic *Catalogue of

Women*, which is itself a very long catalogue, contains passages which must have been

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[1]Also used in the Catalogue of Ships at: *Il.* 2.534, 545, 556, 568, 630, 644,
710, 737, 747, 759.

[2]Powell 1978.

[3]Edwards, M.W. "The Structure of Homeric Catalogues," *TAPA* 110
(1980) 81-105, 101 discusses the relationship between catalogues and type-scenes.

much longer than the Tyro passage in the *Odyssey* (frr. 73-76, concerning Atalanta; fr. 195, the birth of Heracles; frr. 196-204, the Catalogue of Suitors).

This shift in emphasis is not the only factor to be considered, however. Lists and catalogues are also characterized by a lack of temporal sequence. Instead, these passages consist of a series of roughly equivalent people. places, or things. Even on those occasions when the Homeric narrator[1] enumerates a series of events, such as the Catalogue of Wounded Gods (*Il.* 5.382-415), the Catalogue of Zeus' Loves (*Il.* 14.315-328), and the Catalogue of Goddesses and Immortals (*Od.* 5.118-129), he emphasizes the people involved, rather than the events. This feature is most extreme in Zeus' Catalogue of Loves, which reduces this series of sexual adventures to a list of women, mortal and immortal, and their resulting progeny. All sense of temporality has been removed, although these unions must have been understood to have occurred in some chronological order. Thus, as the 'story' portion of each entry becomes longer, so does the emphasis on chronological sequence. Odysseus' narrative of his visit to the Underworld (*Od.* 11) can be seen as a catalogue of those people he saw and spoke to while there. Indeed, his entire Apologia (Od. 9-12) can be interpreted as a catalogue of his adventures. At its most basic, this extended passage enumerates Odysseus' travels in chronological order. Indeed, his summary of these events to Penelope (*Od.* 23.310-341) even exhibits some of the

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[1]For recent discussions of narrative theory as it relates to Homeric studies, see: De Jong, I.J.F. Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the *Iliad*. (Amsterdam, 1987) and Richardson, S. The Homeric Narrator. (Nashville, 1990). The term 'internal narrative' will be used to designate those passages which are direct speeches spoken by a character in the narrative. The term 'Homeric narrative' will be used to designate the primary narrative, which De Jong calls the "simple narrator text." The term 'Homeric narrator' will be used to designate the primary narrator, usually named "Homer."

characteristics of a catalogue.[1] But as the emphasis shifts from thematic to chronological sequence, our narrowly defined catalogue shades into epic narrative.

Thus, catalogue features and techniques appear in epic narrative at a number of narrative levels. The most basic form is the list, but it can be expanded until it becomes a general organizational technique for such extended passages as the Apologia. As the length of each entry increases, so too does its sense of temporal sequence, a sense which is completely absent from lists and the narrowly defined catalogue. Indeed, temporal sequence is so imperative in epic narrative that each event must occur sequentially, not contemporaneously.[2]

There is one other narrative type which exhibits both lack of chronological sequence and catalogue characteristics: the priamel. Race[3] points out that many catalogues contain all five formal elements of a priamel: general context; a list; a slightly adversative expression; a heightening of interest; a subject of ultimate interest.[4] He points out, however, that the priamel culminates in a specific point by singling out the precise object of interest. Further, the main difference between a catalogue and a priamel is the degree to which the last entry eclipses the preceding entries. As is the case with epic narrative, the differences between these two narrative forms is one of proportion and emphasis, rather than absolute definitions.

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[1]Catalogue features contained in this passage: πρῶτον, *Od.* 23.310; verbal repetition: ἠδ' ὡς, *Od.* 23.314, 318, 322, 326, 329, 330, 338; forms of ἵκετο, *Od.* 23.314, 315, 318, 327, 338).

[2]Zielinski, T. "Die Behandlung gleichzeitiger Erignisse in antiken Epos," *Phil* 8 (1901) 405-449.

[3]For a discussion of the relationship between the priamel and the catalogue see Race, W.H. The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boetheius. (Leiden, 1982) 24-27.

[4]His example on p. 25, taken from the Catalogue of Heroines, is somewhat misleading, since it concentrates on only three lines (*Od.* 11.285-287), rather than the Catalogue as a whole.

Thus, while this dissertation defines catalogues narrowly, many features of the catalogue are present throughout epic narrative in general. Having considered the larger context of the catalogue and its features, we should now look at the functions of the narrowly defined catalogue in Homeric narrative.

CHAPTER I

CATALOGUES IN HOMER

The previous discussion has established both the terminology and the typical format of an archaic Greek catalogue, whether a list of names or a complex collection of 'facts' and stories. But all previous scholarly considerations contain the unstated assumption that all catalogues are essentially the same and that any variations are both of minor consequence and due to the particular narratological needs of the moment. While the latter is certainly true, as the next two chapters will show, the former is not. In fact, there are two separate types of catalogues, both of which occur in internal and Homeric narrative alike. The first type of catalogue is the 'Marked Catalogue.' The second type is the 'Unmarked Catalogue.'[1] The differences between these two types in poetic form and implication must now be considered.

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[1]The approach generally excludes lists, since it is often hard to determine the thematic functions, if any, of these passages. They are generally short, have little or no introduction or conclusion, and contain no elaborations by definition. In addition, they are more likely to be made up on the spot. See Vansina, J. Oral Tradition as History. (Madison, 1985) 24: "lists do not fare well in memory unless they are backed up with mnemonic devices." Beye, C.R. "Homeric Battle Narratives and Catalogues," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 364-365, points out the prevalence of the letter delta in two name lists (*Il.* 5.705-707 and 8.274-276). Whether made up on the spot or not, there is generally too little thematic information to allow us to draw any conclusion as to the intentions of the narrator.

Marked Catalogues

The Marked Catalogue is the only narrative type in archaic Greek epic poetry which attempts to present 'facts,' if not actually 'truth.' [1] It also appears to be the only type of Homeric narrative which self-consciously attempts to describe an entire 'world' as defined by the preface to each catalogue. As such, it is the only category of Homeric narrative which, by its very nature, contains the possibility of failure. No catalogue could possibly contain every item that can be included under any given topic. This built-in potential for failure in turn affects the form of the catalogue. Since this catalogue type occurs in both Homeric and internal narrative, however, we should examine both sub-categories for identifying characteristics, as well as any changes caused by differences in the narrative level.

Homeric Narrative   The Marked Catalogue in Homeric narrative is the form which first comes to mind when considering the Homeric catalogue. The most notable example is the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.484-762), which has long been the focus of scholarly consideration.[2] The most prominent characteristics of this type of catalogue are all contained in the proem to the catalogue.

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[1]See Pratt, L.R. Lying and Poetry from Homer to Pindar. (PhD Diss., Ann Arbor, 1988) for a general discussion of truth in archaic poetry, as well as a complete bibliography.

[2]For a partial bibliography for the Catalogue of Ships, see Kirk, G.S. The *Iliad*: A Commentary. Volume I: Books 1-4. (Cambridge, 1985) 168-263. In addition, see: Beye, C.R. "A New Meaning for ΝΑΥΣ in the Catalogue," *AJP* 82 (1961) 370-378; Huxley, G. "Numbers in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 313-318; Cook, J.M. "Two Notes on the Homeric Catalogue," *SMEA* 2 (1967) 103-109; Simpson, R.H. "The Homeric Catalogue of Ships and its Dramatic Context in the *Iliad*," *SMEA* 6 (1968) 39-44; Crossett, J. "The Art of Homer's Catalogue of Ships," *CJ* 64 (1969) 242-245; Frazer, R.M. Jr. "Some Notes on the Athenian Entry, *Iliad* B 546-56," *Hermes* 97 (1969) 262-266; Sarkady, J. "An Unreliable Guide," *ACD* 12 (1976) 3-7; Powell, B.B. "Word Patterns in the Catalogue of Ships (B 484-709): A Structural Analysis of Homeric Language," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 255-264.

The first characteristic is the appearance of self-referential pronouns or verbs (μοι: *Il.* 2.484, 289, 290, 761; 11.218; 16.112; first person verbs, singular or plural: *Il.* 2.486, 488, 493). This language, however, also occurs in the addresses to the Muses (*Od.* 1.1; *Th.* 1, 24-35, 114; *WD* 10; implicit at *Il* 12.176). In all of these cases, this feature reminds the audience of the narrator's existence apart from the narrative, his external reality. This, in turn, emphasizes the narrator's role as shaper and creator of the subsequent narrative.

The second is an appeal to the Muses, who appear at the beginning of a number of catalogues (*Il.* 2.484-493, 761-762; 11.218-220; 14.508-510).[1] But addresses to the Muses also occur elsewhere, often at the beginnings of poems: the *Iliad* (*Il.* 1.1-7), the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1.1-12), the *Theogony* (*Th.* 1-116),[2] the *Works and Days* (*WD* 1-4), the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 1.1-2 M.-W.). In addition, addresses to the Muses can occur within a poem (*Th.* 963-968;[3] *Il.* 16.112-113). While the exact roles of the Muses in these passages are much debated, their presence clearly marks the subsequent narrative as

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[1]For a recent bibliography and review of articles and opinions, see De Jong, I.J.F. Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the *Iliad*. (Amsterdam, 1987) 45-53. There are several viewpoints: that the poet receives the poem in an ecstatic vision from the Muses; that the poet receives information from the Muses, which he then shapes into a poem; that the poet claims the authority of the Muses in an attempt to increase his standing. De Jong proposes a new view, breaking down references to the Muses into two poetic types. She argues that in two of the passages (*Il.* 1.1-7 and 2.484-293), the narrator "adds a divine motivation to both focalization (the reality of the narrative) and his narrations (the aesthetic perfection of his narrative)," thus resulting in *Doppelte Motivation* on the part of the Homeric narrator (52). She then interprets the other four appeals as a technique to enhance the superlatives which occur in these passages (50-51). Richardson, S. The Homeric Narrator. (Nashville, 1990) 178-82, updates the bibliography but does not add anything particularly new to the debate. Pratt 1987, 79-86 argues that the Muses endow only verisimilitude, not information.

[2]Nagy, G. Greek Mythology and Poetics. (Ithaca, 1990) 47-61 argues, among other things, that the whole *Theogony* is structured as a complex Hymn to the Olympian Muses.

[3]This passage is contained in the problematic end of the *Theogony*. See West, M.L. Hesiod. *Theogony*. (Oxford, 1966) ad loc. 881-1020.

special.[1] Janko points out that the Muses are invoked at times of crisis.[2] But this is only a partial explanation. The address to the Muses elevates the audience's awareness of the narrator, which is relevant in all of the passages listed above.[3] Thus, at the beginning of each poem, the narrator's address to the Muses implies a special relationship between himself and the goddesses. Although the exact nature of this relationship is not specified in the narrative itself, it nonetheless marks the narrator and his narrative as separate from his audience. That this perception of the narrator as special should be reinforced before he recounts such passages as the Catalogue of Ships or the burning of the Achaean ships is not very surprising.

The addresses to the Muses often contain requests, direct (*Il.* 2.761-762) or indirect (*Il.* 2.484-487; 11.218-220; 14.508-510), for factual information.[4] This request defines the category to be covered by the catalogue: the leaders of the Achaeans (*Il.* 2.487), the best of the Achaeans (*Il.* 2.762), the Trojans whom Agamemnon kills in battle (*Il.* 11.219), and the Trojans who die after Poseidon inspires the Achaeans (*Il.* 14.509). In addition, the request is usually hierarchical, a feature expressed by the use of superlatives (πρῶτος, *Il.* 11.218; 14.508; ἄριστος, *Il.* 2.761). The catalogue may also end with the transformation of the indirect or direct question at the beginning of the catalogue into a declarative statement, creating closure through ring composition (*Il.* 2.760).

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[1]De Jong 1987, 46. Pratt 1988, 83-86 points out that there is no reason to assume that references to the Muses note the passage as particularly truthful.

[2]Janko, R. The *Iliad*: A Commentary. Volume IV: Books 13-16. (Cambridge, 1992) ad loc 16.112, citing 11.218, 14.508, and 16.112 as examples.

[3]De Jong 1987, 45-53.

[4]τίς (*Il.* 2.761); οἵ τινες (*Il.* 2.484); ὅσοι (*Il.* 2.492); ὅς τις (*Il.* 11.218; 14.409). The only exception to this, *Il.* 16.112-113, asks how (ὅππως), rather than for facts. Minton, W.W. "Invocation and Catalogue in Hesiod and Homer," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 210-211, sees this as part of the development of the invocation form.

The narrator uses these two features, the question and hierarchical language, to establish the dimensions of his catalogue. But since no one can possibly include the infinite number of entries possible in any catalogue, the narrator must limit his audience's expectations, which he can accomplish in two ways. First, he can narrate completely a small subset of the entire possible catalogue. Thus, the Homeric narrator includes only the leaders of the Greeks (*Il.* 2.487), not the mass (πληθύν, *Il.* 2.488) in his question to the Muses. After a brief aside (*Il.* 2.489-492, on which see below), he amends this subset to include the number of ships each leader commands (*Il.* 2.493). This limited category allows the Homeric narrator to fulfill his stated purpose by completely narrating the smaller category of leaders' names and numbers of ships.

The second type of limitation arises from the use of hierarchical language. Rather than creating a smaller category, the narrator chooses to include some parts of a larger category. In these cases, he usually narrates only the first (*Il.* 11.218; 14.508), the best (*Il.* 2.761), or the first and last (*Il.* 5.703; 11.299; 16.692). But he never tries to list all the possible entries.

Thus, the narrator restrains the infinite possibilities of any catalogue either by defining smaller finite catalogues or by choosing smaller subcategories of the catalogue. The question to the Muses accomplishes the former, while hierarchical language brings about the second.

Once the narrator has defined the (sub)category to be covered by a given catalogue, the audience has some expectation as to who or what will be included. But the narrator may not fulfill every expectation of every auditor. The narrator therefore acknowledges the limits of the information presented in the catalogue in one of two ways. First, he 'includes by exclusion.' That is, he explains why a particular and expected entry is not included in the catalogue. Of course, the very act of providing this explanation within the catalogue results in the inclusion of said entry. The Homeric narrator uses this technique when discussing Philoctetes in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.716-728). The entry is in the most

common format[1] and appears within the body of the catalogue, albeit near the end. But after the basic information portion (*Il.* 2.716-720), the first elaboration explains why Philoctetes himself is not present (*Il.* 2.721-725) and thus why Medon is leading this contingent. Strictly speaking, Philoctetes should not appear in this catalogue, since he is not present at Troy. But the audience knows that he, not Medon, is the true leader of the archers, and the narrator honors that knowledge with the explanation for his absence. This technique is also used to remind the audience that Achilles is not among the leaders, as is his right and obligation, but off by his ships (*Il.* 2.686-694).

The narrator may also acknowledge his limitations through an apology. This feature is most developed in the proem to the Catalogue of Ships. His self-deprecating statements address two issues. First he contrasts the knowledge of the Muses with his own mortal limitations (*Il.* 2.485-486).[2] That is, he himself has no direct access to the information he needs, since he was not present at Troy. Second, the Homeric narrator states his inability to remember or name the Achaean masses (*Il.* 2.488). This limitation is twofold. Even if he could know the name of every participant in the Trojan War, which he cannot, he does not have the physical stamina to include them all in his catalogue (*Il.* 2.488-490). His final statement (*Il.* 2.491-492) again states his dependence upon the Muses, who help him to remember how many men and ships came to Troy (*Il.* 2.491-492). Only after this elaborate protestation does he state his purpose: to list the leaders and their ships (*Il.* 493).[3]

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[1]Kirk 1985, 170: "Those who dwelt in/possessed (etc.) D, E, F . . . of them Y (and Z) was/were leader(s)." There are seventeen entries, "with Myrmidons as a variant in addition."

[2]Note the contrast of ὑμεῖς . . . ἴστέ τε πάντα with ἡμεῖς . . . οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν (*Il.* 2.485-486).

[3]A similar motif appears at *Il.* 12.176, when the narrator both mentions the difficulty of his task and distinguishes between himself and a god. An androktasia (*Il.* 12.177-194) follows. See below, p. 27.

The narrator thus acknowledges the potential for failure inherent in any catalogue. But he tries to reduce this potential either by limiting the category itself in some way, or by creating a smaller subcategory. He also includes by exclusion, and apologizes for his own limitations. These four techniques, often used in combination, reduce or eliminate the poet's possible failure to fulfill both his stated purpose and his audience's expectations.

A related form of the Marked Catalogue, a less emphatic form, is prefaced with rhetorical questions. Like the addresses to the Muses, the narrator asks for factual information[1] in a hierarchical format.[2] But only one of these questions uses a second person verb (ἐξενάριξας, *Il.* 16.692); the other five passages all contain third person verbs (ἐξενάριξαν, *Il.* 5.703; 11.299; ἕλε, *Il.* 8.273; εἴποι, *Il.* 17.260; οἴοιτο, *Od.* 22.12). Thus, the address to Patroclus is an intermediary form between second person addresses to Muses and third person rhetorical questions. All of these passages emphasize the voice of the narrator, usually before a climatic battle narrative. But the emphasis occurs in varying degrees.

The combination of all these characteristics reminds the auditor of the narrator's role in shaping the narrative, even when the narrator appears to be conveying 'facts.' Further, the Marked Catalogue gives the appearance of superior knowledge on the part of the narrator, which he shares at his own discretion with an audience that has an unknown level of shared knowledge.

Internal Narrative   The second subcategory of the Marked Catalogue occurs in internal narrative. Several features are common to both types of Catalogue, although the different narrative levels affects the exact form of these features. In internal narrative, the

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[1]τίνα (*Il.* 5.703; 8.273; 11.299; 16.292); τίς (*Od.* 22.12); ὅσσοι (*Il.* 17.261).

[2]πρῶτος (*Il.* 5.703; 8.273; 11.299; 16.692); ὕστατος (*Il.* 5.703; 11.299; 16.692).

catalogue narrator no longer asks the Muses for information. Instead, the internal auditor, being less knowledgeable, defines the area of his ignorance, and asks the internal narrator to share his/her superior knowledge. Priam asks Helen to sit by his side, so she can see her former husband, kinsmen, and friends (*Il.* 3.163). He then proceeds to pick out various Greek heroes and ask her who they are[1](*Il.* 3.161-170). Their interchange forms the Teichoscopia.[2] Alcinous, having heard Odysseus' recitation of the Catalogue of Heroines, specifically asks him to list (κατάλεξον, *Od.* 11.370)[3] anyone he met in the Underworld that fought at Troy. Odysseus responds by narrating first his exchanges with Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ajax, and then the Catalogue of Sinners. Later, Laertes asks Odysseus for proof (σῆμά τι, *Od.* 24.329) of his identity. His son answers with a catalogue of trees in their orchard (*Od.* 24.340-344). Thus, Marked Catalogues in internal narrative are usually a response to the questions of an internal auditor.

The Marked Catalogue in internal narrative contains no appeal to the Muses. This is because the internal narrator is revealing information of which s/he usually has personal knowledge. Helen and Odysseus saw, and usually spoke to, the people listed in their various catalogues. Further, since there is no address to the Muses, all second person language refers to the auditor(s).

The Marked Catalogue in internal narrative yields another characteristic. The internal narrator continually reminds his auditor(s) that his/her catalogue involves vision. Helen and Priam see the heroes from the wall, as the language of the passage repeatedly

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[1]ὅς τις ὅδ᾽ ἐστί(ν), *Il.* 3.167 = 3.192; τίς τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὅδ᾽ ἄλλος ᾽Αχαιὸς ἀνήρ, *Il.* 3.226.

[2]See below, p. 21ff, for a detailed discussion of this passage.

[3]Kühlmann, W. Katalog und Erzählung. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1973) 23-28 discusses the use of καταλέγειν in epic, and reaches the conclusion that it denotes a methodologically ordered account.

makes clear.[1] Odysseus' recitation of the Catalogue of Heroines contains the same

vocabulary,[2] although the preface to this catalogue also reveals that he spoke to each

heroine (*Od.* 11.228-234). Thus, the internal narrator bases his/her catalogue on personal

experience and interaction, not memory, hearsay, or information from the Muses.

Both sub-categories of Marked Catalogue share certain characteristics, unchanged

in form and language. In internal narrative, self-referential language still appears, although

it elicits no particular response from the external auditor, since it is contained in an internal

narrative. More importantly, factual and hierarchical language still appears at the beginning

of most of these catalogues.[3]

The internal catalogues also contain 'inclusion by exclusion.' Helen wonders why

her brothers Castor and Polydeuces are not visible (*Il.* 3.236-242). In addition, these

catalogues have apologies. Odysseus apologizes for not naming every heroine, using

language which closely follows the apology which precedes the Catalogue of Ships.[4]

Odysseus twice explains why his catalogues end where they do (*Od.* 11.330-332, 630-

635). While these are not true apologies, they both address any potential expectations his

auditors might have, as well as providing a transition out of the catalogue.

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[1]ὀρῶ (*Il.* 3.234); forms of εἶδον (*Il.* 3.163, 191, 224, 225, 234, 236); demonstrative pronouns (*Il.* 3.167, 188, 192, 200, 226, 229).

[2]Forms of εἶδον (*Od.* 11.235, 260, 266, 271, 281, 298, 306, 321, 326); demonstrative pronouns (*Od.* 11.260, 265, 305).

[3]ὅς τις (*Il.* 3.167, 192); τίς (*Il.* 3.226); ὅσσος (*Od.* 11.227); numbers (*Od.* 24.340-342); πρῶτος (*Od.* 11.235; 24.331); δεύτερον (*Il.* 3.191); τρίτον (*Il.* 3.227); ἄριστος (*Od.* 11.227).

[4]πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μηθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω (*Il.* 2.488) = πάσας δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μηθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω (*Od.* 11.328). This language appears twice elsewhere in the Homeric poems, both times in internal narrative. In the first instance (*Od.* 4.240), Helen is speaking to Menelaus and has just promised ἐοικότα γὰρ καταλέξω (*Od.* 4.239). In the second, Odysseus is recounting to Achilles the exploits of Neoptolemus, and explains that he will reveal only some of Neoptolemus' many exploits. This statement then allows Odysseus to omit any mention of Neoptolemus' less attractive deeds during the fall of Troy.

As is the case with the Marked Catalogue in Homeric narrative, the less emphatic rhetorical question also appears. The rhetorical question contains the usual first-last contrast, as well as the use of καταλέγειν (*Od.* 9.14). But it appears in Odysseus' preface to his entire Apologia, which is a catalogue only in the vaguest possible sense. Here, it emphasizes the number of his adventures; there have been many (κήδε' ... πολλά, *Od.* 9.15), not just one or two.

The most significant difference between the Marked Catalogue in Homeric narrative, and that in internal narrative, is the existence of an internal auditor and his response to the catalogue. The internal auditor always responds in a positive way to the recitation. Priam and Antenor both react eagerly (*Il.* 3.182-190, 204-224) to Helen's rather curt identifications (*Il.* 3.178-180, 200-202, 229-233).[1] Priam accepts Helen's identification of Agamemnon (*Il.* 3.182-183) and then uses his own past experiences as a guide by which to judge him (*Il.* 3.184-190). Antenor's response to the identification of Odysseus is much the same. First, he accepts Helen's statement (*Il.* 3.204), and then he relates a past experience of his own with Odysseus and Menelaus (*Il.* 3.205-224). Thus, Helen's catalogue is affirmed and enlarged upon within the narrative itself.

The various responses to Odysseus' catalogues are equally positive. After the Catalogue of Heroines, Arete finally and completely accepts Odysseus (*Od.* 11.336-341).[2] Alcinous then praises Odysseus' narrative (*Od.* 11.363-366), and asks him to continue it (*Od.* 11.367-376). Laertes also affirms Odysseus' narrative, by accepting the catalogue of trees as the proof he demands from his son (*Od.* 24.345-347). Thus, in internal speech, the Marked Catalogue appears to be a particularly effective presentation.

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[1]Kirk 1985, 287-288 analyzes the narrative divisions more fully.

[2]See Chapter II for a full discussion of this passage, and of Arete's role in the *Odyssey.*

The response of the internal auditor shows that the Marked Catalogue is 'proof' that the internal narrator is telling the 'truth,' an affirmation which is then extended to the rest of his/her narrative. But this affirmation does not imply that the narrator is revealing each and every 'fact' in either the catalogue or the larger narrative. Instead, the emphasis is on the role of the narrator as one who shapes knowledge, even as he shares it.

The internal Marked Catalogue points the way to the expected reactions and interpretations of the external auditor(s) to the Marked Catalogue in Homeric narrative. Just as the internal narrator has separate and special knowledge which s/he imparts to the auditors, so the Homeric narrator has the same, or even more, knowledge and control of the narrative. In fact, the narrator's openness about the limits of his ability to relate every 'fact' accomplishes at least two aims. First, by admitting that the catalogue may be incomplete, the narrator implicitly asks his auditor(s) to accept that the elements which are present are 'true.' Second, his apology establishes and emphasizes his ability to control the narrative. Since he cannot describe every possible entry in a catalogue, he controls what will be revealed and how it will be presented. Therefore, the Marked Catalogue is the narrative type by which the narrator affirms his role in shaping the text, even as he purports to reveal all pertinent information.

The Teichoscopia   The Teichoscopia (*Il*. 3.161-244) is a special case, in that it reflects a dialogue between internal and Homeric narrators. This internal catalogue closely follows the paradigm for the Marked Catalogue in Homeric narrative, the Catalogue of Ships (*Il*. 2.484-779). The latter contains every aspect of this catalogue type[1] except the

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[1]First person verbs (*Il*. 2.486,488, 493); address to Muses (*Il*. 2.484-493 and 761-762); indirect request (*Il*. 2.484-487); direct request (*Il*. 2.761-762); apology by narrator (*Il*. 2.488-490); inclusion by exclusion (*Il*. 2.716-725).

superlative, which is given its own subcatalogue. The former contains most aspects of an internal catalogue.[1] But these elements are spread through both levels of narrative.

The speeches of Helen, the internal narrator, and Priam and Antenor, the internal audience, include most of the expected characteristics of an internal Marked Catalogue. Priam asks the questions (*Il.* 3.163, 167, 192, 226) and Priam and Antenor affirm each of Helen's entries (*Il.* 3. 182-183 and 3. 204 respectively). Helen, Priam, and Antenor all use verbs of seeing (*Il.* 3.163, 224, 234, 236) and demonstrative pronouns (*Il.* 3.167, 178, 192, 200, 226, 229). Priam uses factual language (*Il.* 3.167, 192, 226), and Helen 'includes by exclusion' when mentioning her missing brothers (*Il.* 3.236-242). She even begins with an apology (*Il.* 3.172-176), albeit for herself, rather than her narrative. Thus, most of the characteristics occur in the appropriate narrative level.

Some of the expected characteristics appear in the Homeric narrative, however, such as the hierarchical language (δεύτερον αὖτ' (*Il.* 3.191); τὸ τρίτον αὖτ' (*Il.* 3.225)) and some verbs of seeing (*Il.* 3.191, 225).

Yet the distribution of characteristics between the two narrative levels is more complicated than it first appears. The Homeric narrator repeatedly intrudes into the Teichoscopia. Twice he names the Greek hero before Priam even points him out to Helen for identification (Odysseus (*Il.* 3.191); Ajax (*Il.* 3.226)). The Homeric narrator also provides information that Helen herself implicitly seeks, namely, what has happened to her brothers (*Il.* 3.242-244).

These narrative intrusions can be read in a number of ways. First, the Homeric narrator constantly appears to be undercutting Helen's poetic authority. He anticipates the

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[1]Auditor asks questions (*Il.* 3.163, 167, 192, 226); emphasis on sight (verbs of seeing (*Il.* 3.163, 191, 224, 225, 234, 236); demonstrative pronouns (*Il.* 3.167, 178, 192, 200, 226, 229)); factual (*Il.* 3,167, 192, 226) and hierarchical language (*Il.* 3.191, 227); inclusion by exclusion (*Il.* 3.236-242); affirmation by auditors (Priam (*Il.* 3. 182-183); Antenor (*Il.* 3. 204)).

information she will reveal, thus negating any sense of suspense on the part of the external audience; they no longer must guess whom Priam is pointing out. But the Homeric narrator reduces her effectiveness in other ways. Priam is the internal character who truly controls the catalogue, for it is he who both defines the catalogue type (*Il.* 3.163) and then picks out each entry (*Il.* 3.167, 192, 226). Lastly, Helen ends on a note of ignorance; she expects to see her brothers and is puzzled by their absence (*Il.* 3.236-242). While her ignorance certainly increases the pathetic quality of her narrative,[1] it also reduces her status as a source of knowledge.

Helen's role as narrator of a Marked Catalogue is weakened by the manipulations of the Homeric narrator. While it would be easy to interpret this purely as a negative comment on her poetic ability, her passivity can be seen another way. The Homeric narrator continually portrays Helen as an unwilling victim (*Il.* 3.383). She has little or no control over her situation. In this passage, she does not even control her narrative. Every speech is a response to Priam's questioning. Thus, her passive status in the poem extends even into her role as catalogue narrator.

There is at least one other way of interpreting this catalogue, however. The entire Teichoscopia can be read as a comment by the Homeric narrator on the control he has over the entire narrative. When viewed from this perspective, several other oddities become apparent. The catalogue fails to fulfill its stated objective (*Il.* 3.163). Helen identifies πηούς (Agamemnon) and φίλους (Odysseus, Ajax, Idomeneus), but never her πρότερον πόσιν. In fact, she does not even mention Menelaus by name in her apology, referring to him only in the context of her bed (θάλαμον, *Il.* 3.174). He appears only incidentally in the passage as a whole. Antenor first names Menelaus (*Il.* 3.206, 210, 213), although Helen finally does so when she explains how she knows Idomeneus (*Il.* 3.230-233).

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[1]Edwards, M.W. "The Structure of Homeric Catalogues," *TAPA* 110 (1980) 102-103.

Second, Achilles is not mentioned at all.[1] While Priam certainly cannot point him out to Helen, since he has left the field of battle, neither party remarks on his absence. This is especially striking after the emphasis placed on Achilles in the recently narrated Catalogue of Ships. In that passage, the Homeric narrator first remarks on his absence from the battlefield (*Il.* 2.681-694). Then he ends the Catalogue by pointing out Achilles' preeminence in both his personal qualities and his horses, both of which are useless to the Achaeans, however, since he has retired to his ships (*Il.* 2.769-779).

Despite this emphasis by the Homeric narrator in the Catalogue of Ships, Priam and Helen never mention Achilles. They rely on sight and personal experience to describe their world. Achilles' absence from the battlefield of Troy negates the power of the first, and his absence from the courtship of Helen (fr. 204.87-92 M.-W.) negates the second. Thus, as the participants in the narrative, their description of reality is flawed.

The Homeric narrator, on the other hand, is not limited by his dependence on any physical sense or personal experience. Unlike Helen and Priam, he knows what has happened to Castor and Polydeuces (*Il.* 3.243-244). Thus, the poet creates a reality that is 'more truthful' than the internal reality described by the internal narrators, who are present at the scene of the action.

This is a motif which appears elsewhere in the Homeric poems. Odysseus praises Demodocus' songs,[2] saying that he sang as if he himself had been an eyewitness, or got the story from someone who was (*Od.* 8.487-498). This is ironic, for the poet is blind (*Od.* 8.64). Yet Odysseus pays Demodocus the ultimate compliment in another way: the poet's songs of Troy move Odysseus to tears (*Od.* 8.83-95, 521-534). The 'reality' of

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[1]It is, of course, likely that Achilles was included in the lost oral version, and was dropped when the Homeric narrator recast the narrative in terms of the motif of μῆνις.

[2]Concerning the disagreement between Odysseus and Achilles (*Od.* 8.72-82); concerning Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266-366).

Demodocus' songs move him more than any actual occurrence among the Phaeacians. Thus, in some way, the poetic narrative is presented as more 'emotionally true' than the physical surroundings of the narrator or his auditor(s). Thus, the narrator, internal or Homeric, creates 'reality' through poetic choices.[1]

Summary   The Marked Catalogue in Homeric narrative appears to derive its information from some source external to the narrative. This appearance results from the elevation of the narrator from impersonal to personal and from the addresses to a third, external party - the Muses. It is this appearance of external reality which has led scholars to postulate the degree to which the Catalogue of Ships reflects the historical background of Mycenaean or archaic Greece.[2]

But this appearance of external reality is deceiving. The characteristics discussed above (self-deprecating and self-referential language, address to the Muses) result in reminding the auditor that the narrator is shaping the narrative. This occurs in the very passages which appear to convey a reality external to the narrative. Since the narrator is clearly unable to include every possible entry, he must make choices which depend on his long and short term narrative aims. Thus, the narrator appears to repeat language given to him by some outside source, even as he shapes it to suit his needs.

The appearance of external reality has another consequence. The Homeric narrator appears to have superior knowledge, which he shares at his own discretion with an audience that has an unknown level of shared knowledge. In a poetic sense, the narrator does have superior knowledge; he has been highly trained in the art of oral composition. It is this skill which allows him to narrate the poem itself, as well as any smaller passages,

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[1]This same motif is seen in the Phaeacian's response to Odysseus' narrative (*Od.* 11.333-334 = 13.1-2).

[2]Kirk 1985, 169-170 for a review of bibliography and viewpoints.

such as catalogues. Thus, the Marked Catalogue and the role of the Homeric narrator in composing it, can be read as a metaphor for the entire narrative.

Unmarked Catalogues

In contrast to the Marked Catalogue, the Unmarked Catalogue is not an attempt to describe an entire 'world.' Rather, it is either an expanded list or a multiplicity of examples. The auditor has no expectations of, nor any particular response to, the catalogue. In addition, the narrator makes no pretense of including each and every example in the category. Like the Marked Catalogue, however, the Unmarked Catalogue occurs in both internal and Homeric narrative.

Homeric Narrative   In many ways, this type of catalogue is marked by the absence of those features which define the Marked Catalogue. There is no self-referential language, address to the Muses, request for information, hierarchical or otherwise, and no apology or explanations. As a result, the Unmarked Catalogue is infinitely expandable, with no sense of required inclusion. The best example of this type is the Catalogue of Trojans (*Il.* 2.816-877), which immediately follows the Catalogue of Ships.[1]

The Catalogue of Trojans has a general introduction (*Il.* 2.780-815) and a statement of the category to be covered by the catalogue (*Il.* 2.815). But it ends very abruptly (*Il.* 2.877) and returns to the general narrative without any transition (*Il.* 3.1ff). It uses the same narrative patterns as the Catalogue of Ships, but in different proportions.[2] The Catalogue of Trojans is much shorter (29 lines vs. 226 lines), and eight of the 29 leaders are never mentioned again. In fact, once leaders such as Hector (*Il.* 2.816-818) and Aeneas (*Il.* 2.819-823) are considered, there are few other leaders that the auditor expects

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[1]See Kirk 1985, 248-250 and 262-263 for a recent analysis of the catalogue and its bibliography. As he makes clear, most of the discussion about this passage considers either its status as a pre-historic document or as a foil to the Catalogue of Ships.

[2]Powell 1978, 255-256 and Kirk 1985, 248-250.

to hear listed. Thus, there is no particular emphasis on the narrator as having privileged knowledge or being the manipulator of the catalogue.

Other Unmarked Catalogues in Homeric narrative are catalogues of warriors: Trojans (*Il.* 11.56-60; 12.87-117);[1] Achaeans (*Il.* 13.685-722); Myrmidons (*Il.* 16.168-197). Generally all of these catalogues have a short introduction consisting of the statement of the subject matter (*Il.* 11.56; 12.87-90; 16.172); only one includes any superlatives (οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι, *Il.* 12.89). Lastly, they usually end with little or no transition back to the main narrative (*Il.* 11.60-61; 12.117-118; 13.721-722; 16.197-198). Thus, there is little or no emphasis on the narrator of the catalogue as special in any way. It has been proposed that this type of catalogue, rather than emphasizing the role of the narrator, "stress[es] the importance of an impending attack,..."[2]

The last possible type of Unmarked Catalogue is the androktasia, which bridge the gap between type-scenes and catalogues. In fact, androktasia can contain catalogues within them (*Il.* 8.253-349; 11.91-596; 12.175-194; 14.440-522; 16.569-696). Visser has shown that this type of repetitive narrative may be due to oral compositional techniques, rather than a desire to create a catalogue.[3] In any case, Powell has identified the following passages as androktasiai: *Il.* 4.457-538; 5.37-83, 144-165, 333-710; 6.5-65; 7.8-16;

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[1]The other Trojan catalogues are lists of names: *Il.* 13.790-792 and 17.216-218.

[2]Janko 1992, ad loc. 16.168-197.

[3]Visser, E. Homerische Versificationtechnik. (Frankfurt am Main, 1987) and "Formulae or Single Words? Towards a New Theory on Homeric Verse-Making," *WurzJbb* 14 (1988) 21-37. Indeed, androktasia narrates a series of events, albeit all of the same type, which seems to point towards exclusion from our narrowly defined catalogues. The extreme similarity of language, however, makes these passages a true bridge between type-scenes and catalogues. For this reason, these passages cannot be entirely ignored

12.378-407; 13.156-205, 361-672; 15.328-342, 414-470, 514-591; 16.306-418;

17.288-365; 17.597-625; 20.381-389; *Od.* 22.8-389.[1]

Thus, the Unmarked Catalogue in Homeric Narrative has different poetic

overtones. It conveys information in a straightforward way, with no claims as to its

completeness or special validity. It is, to a much greater degree than the Marked Catalogue,

a seamless part of the Homeric narrative.

Internal Narrative   The Unmarked Catalogue has the same characteristics in the

internal narrative as it does in the Homeric narrative. In addition, it lacks the characteristics

of the Marked Catalogue in internal narrative. The auditor neither requests any

information, nor has any particular response to the catalogue. Nor is there any emphasis

on the personal and privileged knowledge of the narrator. Lastly, these catalogues are all

rhetorical devices, resulting from the expansion of one example into a series. All of these

characteristics result in little sense of the narrator as having, sharing, or manipulating

superior knowledge.

There are three Unmarked Catalogues in internal narrative in the Homeric poems

(*Il.* 5.382-415; 14.315-328; *Od.* 5.118-129), all of which are priamels.[2] These passages

are not required by the circumstances of the situation. Zeus' Catalogue of Loves (*Il.*

14.315-328) ends with the same statement as does Paris' speech to Helen (*Il.* 14.328 =

3.446). But the latter does not end a catalogue of any sort; instead, it contrasts then (ὅτε

(*Il.* 3.443)) and now (νῦν (*Il.* 3.446)), a rhetorical device. Not only does Zeus not 'need'

to list this catalogue, but it could even be interpreted as an insult to Hera, as he recounts his

relationships with other women and their progeny. In the same way, Dione's Catalogue of

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[1]Powell 1978, 255-264. Excluded from this discussion are *Il.* 8.253-349;
11.91-596; 12.175-194; 14.440-522; 16.569-696. All of these passages contain Self-
Conscious Catalogues, although some of these are the less emphatic type.

[2]Race, W.H. The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius. (Leiden,
1982) 31-42 includes discussions of each passage.

Victims (*Il.* 5.382-384) is contained in a parainesis, which usually only requires one example to make its point. Nestor's speeches (*Il.* 1.254ff; 7.123ff; 11.656ff; 23.626ff) and Phoenix' speech (*Il.* 9.434ff) all contain only one example, although they tend to be very long and involved.

In addition, the auditors do not respond enthusiastically to the Unmarked Catalogue. Hera says "αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες." (*Il.* 14.330). Aphrodite does not respond verbally to Dione's speech at all (*Il.* 5.416-417), while Hermes repeats Zeus' command, along with a threat (*Od.* 5.146-147). The Unmarked Catalogue has had no perceptible effect on its auditors.

Thus, the Unmarked Catalogue has different poetic overtones, than does the Marked Catalogue. It makes no special claims as to its validity, nor does its narrator apologize for failing to live up to the expectations of its audience. The Unmarked Catalogue is clearly an integral part of Homeric narrative, but the Marked Catalogue creates a dialogue between the narrator and his audience.

Conclusion

There are two types of Catalogues in Homeric narrative, Marked and Unmarked, which occur in Homeric and internal narrative alike. The former places emphasis on the role of the narrator as the controller of 'facts,' even as s/he presents the catalogue as a description of an entire category. This narrator in fact undercuts the catalogue, for even as s/he appears to be the most dependent on some external reality, the narrator is emphasizing his narrative choices. In addition, the use of the Marked Catalogue in internal narrative even allows the Homeric narrator to comment on the limits of poetic 'truth,' even as he appears to present it.[1]

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[1]In some ways, this emphasis on the narrator leads to an internal debate about the nature of poetry, rather than a dialogue with the auditor about the story.

The Unmarked Catalogue occurs and then ends with no commentary by the Homeric narrator. These catalogues list either warriors or exempla. There is no sense or expectation as to the completeness of the catalogue. Nor is there any sense of the narrator as privileged in any way.

Thus, the Marked Catalogue, the very narrative type which purports to report "just the facts, ma'am," instead emphasizes the choices each poet makes.

CHAPTER II

THE CATALOGUE OF HEROINES AND
EXTENDED GENEALOGIES IN THE *ODYSSEY*

The Catalogue of Heroines in Book 11 of the *Odyssey* has long been a problematic

passage.[1] The juxtaposition of this catalogue and Arete's long-delayed but enthusiastic

acceptance of Odysseus is clearly intentional. But how and why Odysseus' recitation of

this passage convinces Arete that her guest is fully assimilated into human society is less

clear.

Odysseus' narration of the Catalogue of Heroines finally convinces Arete because

catalogues are a narratological "Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval." The Marked

Catalogue has specific rules which must be followed. Since the rules of any poetic form

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[1]A great deal of the scholarship surrounding this passage concerns itself with
whether or not the passage is "original" to the *Odyssey*, and is usually part of a larger
discussion of the relationship between Book 11 as a whole and the *Odyssey*. Since my
concern is the use of the traditional genre of genealogies, combined in this case with the
genre of catalogues, I will not review all of these arguments. See Heubeck, A. and A.
Hoekstra, A Commentary on Homer's *Odyssey*: Volume II: Books IX - XVI. (Oxford,
1989) 75-77 and 90-91 for the most recent and complete bibliography and review of the
various viewpoints. As with the character of Arete, the analysts see no purpose to this
passage and propose that it was a later insertion into the text. Indeed, Merkelbach, R.
Untersuchungen zur Odyssee. (Munich, 1951) argues that the heroines partly are lifted
from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, and partly are grouped together because of their
untimely and violent deaths, often brought about by unhappy love. This analysis is based
on Zutt, G. Über den Katalog der Heroinen in der Nekyia. *Gymn.-Progr.* (Baden-
Baden, 1894). But the overall structural unity of Book 11 shows that it is an integral part
of the text. See Crane, G. Calypso: Background and Conventions of the *Odyssey*.
(Frankfurt am Main, 1988) 87-125, for an excellent defense of the inclusion of Book 11,
and the Nekyia in total, in the *Odyssey*.

are established by societal norms,[1] the narrator must be fully assimilated in order to know these rules and follow them correctly. By choosing to narrate a Marked Catalogue, Odysseus announces his poetic skill. He can not only relate factual information, but he can make poetic choices to fit his current needs. A close reading of the Catalogue of Heroines reveals that Odysseus has been reintegrated into human society, since his presentation of this passage is demonstrably artistic.

Arete herself has long puzzled commentators. Her acceptance of Odysseus in Book 11, comes long after that of her husband, Alcinous. This delay reinforces the commentators' general ambivalence towards her. Before her first appearance in the poem, the Homeric narrator emphasizes her importance: both her daughter and Athena warn Odysseus about her power. But why is her acceptance delayed so long? What finally convinces her to accept Odysseus as her guest, a decision enthusiastically seconded by Alcinous?

Theoclymenos' role in the *Odyssey* is equally debated. Like Arete, he is introduced with an extended genealogy, but his subsequent appearances are few. While the similarities between the two characters have already been noted by various commentators, few have looked closely at their genealogies to determine their function in the poem. Therefore, it would seem advantageous to look at the extended genealogies of Arete and Theoclymenos, and the genealogies that make up the Catalogue of Heroines, in order to see what function extended genealogies play in the *Odyssey*.

Before these genealogies can be considered, however, the typical form of a Homeric genealogy must be established. In Homeric narrative, there are several different

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[1]Finnegan, R.H. Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context. (Cambridge, 1977) 8-16; Vansina, J. Oral Tradition as History. (Madison, 1985) 79-83; Zumthor, P. Oral Poetry: An Introduction. (Minneapolis, 1990) 34-36, 59-96.

ways that genealogical information can be presented.[1] The first two are by far the most common. The author can either use a simple patronymic, or use υἱός / θυγάτηρ plus the genitive. The narrator can even compound these (*Od.* 8.114). Most genealogies in the *Odyssey* are less than five lines in length and cover three or less generations, as is the case for Circe (*Od.* 10.136-139). In these four lines, we learn her epithets (136), and the names of her sibling (137), her father (138), her mother (139) and her maternal grandfather (139).

For the purposes of this argument, the working definition of an extended genealogy will be any genealogy which is five lines or longer.[2] Often an extended genealogy will discuss more than three generations. An extended genealogy usually begins with the name of the person concerned, which often appears at the beginning of the first line of the genealogy. This person is then placed within a larger context, usually achieved by naming an ancestor, or parent (usually the father), or spouse. This element is then usually followed by either a relative pronoun or a definite article relating back to any one of the previously mentioned people, which leads into the elaboration. The elaboration can either describe one of the parties in the genealogy, or it can relate an event in one's life. The last item listed in a woman's genealogy is usually her spouse, if he has not already been named, and her progeny.[3] In the case of males, the genealogy usually ends with the character in question, and does not mention either spouse or progeny.

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[1]Hofmeister, T.P. Generations of Men: The Import of Homeric Genealogy. (PhD. Diss., Baltimore, 1984).

[2]There are six instances of extended genealogies in the Homeric texts: Glaucus' (*Il.* 6.150-211; Diomedes' (*Il.* 14.110-127); Aeneas' (*Il.* 20.213-241); Arete's (*Od.* 7.54-77); Catalogue of Heroines (*Od.* 11.235-327); Theoclymenos' (*Od.* 15.225-257). The Iliadic examples are all contained in the characters' speeches, which causes some deformation of the genre. Despite this, it generally appears that male genealogies concentrate on male ancestors, while female genealogies may include the name of female ancestors. In addition, female genealogies usually contain the names of their descendants, while the male genealogies do not.

[3]In a certain sense, Zeus' catalogues of his loves (*Il.* 14.313-328) is the most extreme example of this phenomenon. In this passage, the elaborations exclusively list the

The clearest example of this type of genealogy is that of Antiope (*Od.* 11.260-265):

Τὴν δὲ μέτ’ Ἀντιόπην ἴδον, Ἀσωποῖο θύγατρα,   260
ἣ δὴ καὶ Διὸς εὔχετ’ ἐν ἀγκοίνησιν ἰαῦσαι,
καὶ ῥ‘ ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδ’, Ἀμφίονά τε Ζῆθόν τε,
οἳ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο,
πύργωσάν τ’, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ’ ἐδύναντο
ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερώ περ ἐόντε.   265

It begins with a catalogue element (τὴν δὲ μέτ’), the only unusual part of this genealogy. The first element in the genealogy proper is her name (Ἀντιόπην), followed immediately by her context (Ἀσωποῖο θύγατρα). Both of these items are contained within the first line of the genealogy. The second line begins the elaboration with the relative pronoun, which describes her affair with Zeus (ἣ δὴ καὶ Διὸς εὔχετ’ ἐν ἀγκοίνησιν ἰαῦσαι). The third line, which ends this elaboration, names her two sons, Amphion and Zethus. The fourth line begins a second elaboration describing her sons with a relative pronoun (οἳ), which then takes up the last three lines of her genealogy. Thus this genealogy contains, in regular order, all of the usual elements of a Homeric extended genealogy.

As this discussion shows, the characteristics of a genealogy resemble those of a catalogue entry. Both begin by presenting facts, each of which can be considered an element. Both also often contain one or more elaborations, which usually relate back to an element in the basic information section. Lastly, both contain information which is subject to poetic choice.[1] For instance, which stories are told and on what do they focus? What are the relationships between the named parties? In a catalogue, how are themes presented? A close inspection of these elaborations will enable us to interpret how the narrator uses these passages to develop his themes.

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children which result from his unions with the women concerned. The only exceptions are the two goddess he mentions, Demeter and Leto.

[1]Bohannon, L. "A Genealogical Charter," *Africa* 22 (1952) 301-315.

Arete and Nausithous

The Homeric genealogy of Arete (*Od.* 7.54-74) has long been considered a problematic one. The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* reports that Arete and Alcinous are brother and sister (fr. 222 M.-W.), a relationship which clearly contradicts the Homeric genealogy. Hipponax also clearly assumes that Arete and Alcinous are siblings, when he abuses Bupalos by using the patronymic Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεω (fr. 77.1 D).[1] In addition, Alcinous has an alternate and completely separate genealogy,[2] in which he is the son of Phaeax and the grandson of Corcyra and Poseidon.[3]

The Homeric genealogy, however, seems to address several issues. First, it assigns a clear, and positive, role to Nausithous, a name associated with several different genealogies.[4] The name applies either to the son of Odysseus and Calypso (Hesiod, *Th.* 1017), or to the son of Odysseus and Circe (Hyg. *Fab.* 125). Thus, the mythological tradition clearly ties the name of Nausithous to Odysseus' sexual adventures during his journey home. By assigning the name to Alcinous' father, however, the Homeric narrator has removed one of the less appealing aspects of Odysseus' travels, while keeping the name in the poem.

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[1]Koenen, L. "ΘΕΟΣΙΝ ΕΧΘΡΟΣ: Ein einheimischer Gegenkönig in Ägypten (132/1a)" *CE* 34 (1959) 112-114. It is unclear whether these different genealogies were present in the original oral stage or whether they arose in the written stage.

[2]Hellanicus 4 F 77; Diodorus 4.77.3; Conon 26 F 1.3.

[3]See West 1985, 103 for a discussion of the issue.

[4]Roscher, W.H. Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie. (Leipzig, 1897-1902), Vol. III.1, pg. 42 lists three characters named Nausithous, including the Homeric genealogy.

The presence of Nausithous also allows the creation of another fictitious character, Alcinous' brother, Rhexenor.[1] This in turn changes the relationship between Alcinous and Arete to uncle and niece.[2] Thus, Nausithous' appearance in Arete's genealogy allows the Homeric narrator to separate slightly the blood relationship between Arete and Alcinous.[3] This avoids the incestuous relationship between the two, while giving Nausithous a positive role in the poem.

Germain[4] has pointed out that Nausithous' entry can easily be excised from Arete's genealogy. All one need do is change τήν to τ' ἥν. This further strengthens the possibility that this genealogy is not as straight-forward as it seems, and that the poet adapted it considerably for his own needs.

The transformation of Arete's relationship with her husband is not the only odd feature in this genealogy, however. It is also unusual from a structural point of view. The genealogy begins with Arete's name (*Od.* 7.54) as is normal, but the focus shifts immediately to her ancestor, Nausithous, as is signified by the placement of his name at the beginning of lines 53, 63, and 64. The genealogy returns to Arete only after ten lines, again signalled by placement of her name at the beginning of line 66. This is followed

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[1]Heubeck, A., S. West, J.B. Hainsworth, A Commentary on Homer's *Odyssey*. Volume I: Introduction and Books I-VIII. (Oxford, 1988) ad loc. 5.124 points out that this is a formulaic line which occurs five times in the *Odyssey*, with death occurring at the hands of either Apollo or Artemis. Thus, it appears to be a formula for any untimely but not remarkable death.

[2]While Rhexenor himself is not particularly significant, the transformation of the genealogy is, for his death leaves his only child Arete an ἐπίκληρος, an heiress. In later Greek law, her uncle could be entitled, if not actually required to marry her. See Sealey, R. Women and Law in Classical Greece. (Chapel Hill, 1990) 29-30.

[3]For a discussion of the derivation of Alcinous' name, see Mühlestein, H. Homerische Namenstudien. (Frankfurt am Main, 1987) 4 = "Namen van Neleiden auf den Pylostäfelchen," *MH* 22 (1965) 155-165; 139ff = "Odysseus und Dionysos," *A&A* 25 (1979) 140-173.

[4]Germain, G. Genèse de *L'Odyssée*: Le Fantastique et le Sacré. (Paris, 1954) 292, n. 6.

immediately by a demonstrative pronoun leading to an elaboration about her, which is what we expected to see at line 56.

Nausithous' genealogy begins with his name (56), then that of his father Poseidon (56), his mother Periboea (57), and his maternal grandfather Eurymedon (58). The expected relative pronoun ὅς (59), which refers back to Eurymedon, follows, leading into the first elaboration (59-60). A second elaboration is introduced with a definite article τῆι (61), referring back to Periboea, and repeating the information of the first two lines of the Nausithous' genealogy. Once his family history is clear, the genealogy then considers Nausithous' own life: where he ruled (62), and who his sons were, including Alcinous (63). Thus, his genealogy ends as a woman's would, by looking at his descendants. In this case, however, it is necessary link to the original focus of the passage, Arete. A second definite article, τόν (64), introduces the transition to the genealogy of Arete, for it refers to her father 'Ρηξήνωρ. A description of Rhexenor's death and his only child, Arete, follow (64-66).

The return to the genealogy of Arete is signalled by the position of her name; it is the first word, albeit in the accusative case, in line 66. Immediately following her name is the definite article, τήν, leading to her elaboration. The elaboration begins with the naming of her husband, Alcinous (*Od.* 7.66), who has already been named twice (*Od.* 7.55, 63), but then immediately concentrates on her role in the city at large. As the elaboration unfolds, we are immediately struck by the absence of any naming or discussion of her children. We do not expect or need the name of Nausicaa, who has been and will be called the daughter of Alcinous (*Od.* 6.17, 196, 213, 299; 8.464). In addition, later we will learn the name of her son Laodamas (*Od.* 8.130, 132, 143). But there are clearly more children than just these two (*Od.* 8.419), children who are never named in the *Odyssey*. Instead, we see her children relegated to nameless admiring entities. There are no progeny and further descendents given in Arete's genealogy.

There are two types of abnormalities in the genealogy of Arete. The first is the unusual emphasis on the character Nausithous at the beginning of the genealogy. The second is the content of Arete's elaboration. We must begin by considering the thematic implications of the former issue. Since this involves a digression about Nausithous, however, it will be advantageous to consider his role in the poem as a whole.

Nausithous   Nausithous is first mentioned in the beginning of Book 6 (*Od.* 6.2-11). The passage begins with Athena's travels, a device which moves the scene from Odysseus on the seashore to the island where he has washed up. The inhabitants are immediately named (*Od.* 6.3), followed by background information about the kingship (*Od.* 6.4-12). The first half of the description consists primarily of a contrast with the Cyclopes, described as ὑπερηνορεόντων (*Od.* 6.5), a word reserved elsewhere exclusively for the suitors.[1]

There is a direct contrast between Nausithous and the Cyclopes, as described by Odysseus later (*Od.* 9.116-115; 125-130).[2] Nausithous establishes his new city by doing four things: τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει (9),[3] ἐδείματο οἴκους (9), νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν (10) and ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας (10). In other words, he is a leader who takes care of his subjects, leading them away from harm, and establishing them in a city with the necessary safeguards for safety and livelihood. When Odysseus describes the Cyclopes, however, he makes it clear that they neither have, nor desire any of these items. They have no city, in either a physical or political sense (*Od.* 9.112). The Cyclopes have no homes, but instead live in caves (*Od.* 9.113-114). They trust in the gods (*Od.* 9.107), but have no

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[1]*Od.* 2.266, 324, 331; 4.766, 769; 17.482; 20.375; 21.361, 401; 23.21.

[2]Thalmann, W.G. Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Poetry. (Baltimore, 1984) 1-2 points out that "genealogy brings opposites into relation to one another. It thus serves as one way of drawing special attention to polar oppositions,…"

[3]Building a city wall is crucial for the safety of a city, as is made clear later (*Od.* 11.263-265).

temples. They do not cultivate crops, but live off the land (*Od.* 9.108-111). Lastly, they have no ships, an attribute for which the Phaeacians are justly famous (*Od.* 8.556-563).

Nausithous' life also shows that the only correct way to avoid trouble with a Cyclopes is by leaving the immediate vicinity, a lesson Odysseus learns too late. The passage then ends with the death of Nausithous and the passing of the kingship to Alcinous, although their exact genealogical relationship is not yet made clear.[1]

This passage has several purposes. First, it introduces the Phaeacians as a civilized people, as is shown by the past actions of their king. Second, it establishes Nausithous as an important figure in this history. This, in turn, implies a character who could be important in the narrative and is perhaps already known to the audience. But it seems clear that Nausithous is adapted, or even created, by the author. His name follows the pattern of many other Phaeacians, as it is based on a word associated with ships and the sea.[2] But a clear genealogy of Alcinous would also make narrative sense at this point. In this case, Nausithous need only be mentioned in passing. So what is the particular function of his character?

Nausithous appears for the second time in Arete's genealogy (*Od.* 7.54-74), in which we learn his genealogy and the history of his extended family. This passage, unlike that in Book 6, is addressed directly to Odysseus, and only by implication to the audience. In order to interpret Nausithous' role, therefore, we must consider the reactions of both parties to his prominent presence in Arete's genealogy.[3]

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[1]See Clay, J.S. "Goat Island: OD. 9.116-141," *CQ* 30 n.s. (1980) 261-264 for a bibliography and a discussion of the relationship between the Phaeacians and the Cyclopes.

[2]Kamptz, H. von Homerische Personennamen: Sprachwissenschaftliche und historische Klassifikation. (Göttingen, 1982) 28, 73-74, 105, 198-199.

[3]I am indebted to De Jong, I.J.F. Narrators and Focalizers. (Amsterdam, 1987) for this particular methodology. While her approach is schematic, it does remind us of the need to remember the particular internal audience to which each passage is directed.

The immediate digression at the beginning of Arete's genealogy is a fairly standard delay tactic,[1] which heightens interest in Arete. The digression also recalls our introduction to the Phaeacians, in which Nausithous prominently figures, and their migration due to persecution by the Cyclopes. This aspect of their history implies that the Phaeacians will probably be sympathetic to the plight of Odysseus. Third, Nausithous is presented as the generational link between Arete and Alcinous.[2]

Odysseus' reaction to this genealogy, however, is bound to be quite different . He has already expressed anxiety about the inhabitants of the island (*Od.* 6.119-126), which is not surprising, given his past experiences with strangers.[3] The Phaeacians' ancestry, which reveals that they are descended from Poseidon, his personal enemy (*Od.* 1.19-20), surely does not reassure him.[4] Secondly, the Phaeacians are related to giants (*Od.* 7.59), who in turn are related to the Cyclopes, although the exact relationship between the two races is not clear.

The reactions of Odysseus and the audience to Nausithous are thus not the same. The latter, which knows that Nausithous is a civilized and careful leader, is reassured by the continued emphasis on his character. Odysseus, on the other hand, may feel unease when he hears the ancestry of Arete. The narrative function of Nausithous' character in the poem as a whole, however, is still unclear.

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[1]This technique is called a pause, an interruption, or a digression. For further analysis of this technique, see: Richardson, S. The Homeric Narrator. (Nashville, 1990) 63; Fenik, B. Studies in the *Odyssey*. (Wiesbaden, 1974) 61-104; Gaisser, J.H. "A Structural Analysis of the Digressions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*," *HSCP* 73 (1969) 1-43; Austin, N. "The Function of Digressions in the *Iliad*," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 295-312.

[2]See above, pg. 36.

[3]Hofmeister 1984, 85ff; Büchner, W. "Probleme der homerischen Nekyia," *Hermes* 72 (1937) 104-122.

[4]Poseidon himself confirms this relationship (*Od.* 13.130).

Nausithous' last two appearances (*Od.* 8.564-70; 13.159-187) are closely linked. In the first, Alcinous relates the prophecy of his father, as part of his effort to convince Odysseus that he can and should reveal his whole history (*Od.* 8.536-586). Odysseus is persuaded and finally reveals his true name (*Od.* 9.19-20) and the complete story of his travels. A closer inspection of this passage may reveal why Odysseus finally lets down his guard.

Alcinous' speech is structured around a loose ring composition,[1] at the center of which is the description of the Phaeacian ships (*Od.* 8.557-563) and the prophecy of Nausithous (*Od.* 8.564-571). Aristarchus, like many later commentators, was uncertain about the purpose of this passage and therefore athetized it.[2] As with the speech of Athena to Odysseus, however, it may be advantageous to look at this passage from the point of view of Odysseus, the recipient of the information.

Alcinous asks for the same information that Arete does when she first meets Odysseus (*Od.* 7.236-239).[3] But he does so in a more oblique fashion than his wife. Alcinous first reveals his sensitivity to his guest's emotions when he stops the song of Demodocus without directly questioning Odysseus about the reasons for his weeping (*Od.* 8.536-543). Next, he reminds his unnamed guest that the Phaeacians have been excellent hosts, giving him presents and promising to take him home (*Od.* 8.544-547). Alcinous then asks Odysseus for his name and his lineage (*Od.* 8.548-556). But he does not end his speech there, as we might expect. Making a loose connection between Odysseus' journey home and the ships that will take him there, he enters into an apparent digression about

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[1]The structure is theme based:

Trojan War, song, and Odysseus' grief:	536-541	matches	577-586
Guest-friendship:	542-549	matches	575-576
Requests for information:	550-556	matches	572-574.

[2] See app. crit. Also Heubeck 1988, ad loc.

[3] See pg. 48-49 below for a discussion of this passage.

Phaeacian ships (*Od.* 8.557-563), followed by the threat that they face at the hands of Poseidon (*Od.* 8.564-571). Finally, Alcinous returns to the real purpose of his speech, asking about Odysseus' travels and the sorts of people he encountered (*Od.* 8.572-576). The speech ends with the subject that Alcinous refrained from addressing directly at the beginning: the reasons for Odysseus' grief (*Od.* 8.577-586). Alcinous has demonstrated the φιλοξεινίη of the Phaeacians. Odysseus must now respond in kind.

Odysseus' concerns, expressed when he first washes ashore at Scheria (*Od.* 6.119-126), are finally allayed. Alcinous has proved to be a sensitive, caring and generous host, as his actions and speeches make clear. Further, Odysseus now knows that the Phaeacians are "φιλόξεινοι, καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής" (*Od.* 6.121). Odysseus' last worries are assuaged by the centerpiece of his host's speech. He learns that the Phaeacians' particular gift, the ships without sailors, are threatened by Poseidon, his own personal enemy. Since Athena originally revealed to Odysseus that the Phaeacians, through Nausithous, are descendants of Poseidon, hearing the prophecy given by a son of Poseidon reassures him that they will sympathize with his plight. Further, since the prophecy does not say why the god will destroy the Phaeacians, Odysseus need not hide his identity any longer. Moreover, the repetition of Odysseus' own words (*Od.* 6.120-121 = 8.575-576) emphasizes Alcinous' sensitivity to his guest's fears.[1] Alcinous, although himself φιλόξεινος, recognizes that others are χαλεποί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι.[2] This recognition is the final assurance for Odysseus, who now chooses to reveal his name and tell the story of his travels.

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[1]These two lines are used twice elsewhere by Odysseus: when he arrives at the land of the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.175-176), and when he arrives at Ithaca (*Od.* 13.201-202).

[2]There is one change. Odysseus worries that strangers may be ὑβρισταί (*Od.* 6.120), while Alcinous merely that they are χαλεποί (*Od.* 8.575).

So Nausithous, who was a symbol of Odysseus' concerns when he appeared in Athena's speech, has become a symbol of reassurance in Alcinous' speech. A change in roles of Nausithous, from leader to prophet, leads to a change in Odysseus' behavior, as he finally reveals his name and true history.

The last mention of Nausithous (*Od.* 13.159-187) is at the end of the Phaeacian episode. The prophecy has come true, and the Phaeacians are sacrificing in an attempt to avert the further anger of Poseidon. This passage, like the first one in which Nausithous appears, is at the level of the Homeric narrator. The appearance of the Phaeacians' ancestor, although unnamed in the second passage, gives a sense of completion.[1]

Thus Nausithous seems to have two narrative functions. First, he marks the beginning and end of the Phaeacian episode. Second, when he appears in the speeches of characters in the text, he is a touchstone by which Odysseus can judge the Phaeacians. At first, he is concerned about their relationship to Poseidon. Then he realizes that they also are threatened by the god. So Odysseus will not answer Arete's short formulaic questions, but only responds to Alcinous after a long delay and further reassurance.

Arete (again) Arete, unlike Nausithous, is a very problematic character.[2] It has long been pointed out that her role seems very small, given the emphasis placed upon her by both Nausicaa and Athena. I believe that her role is crucial, however, for she correctly

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[1]Of course, the audience is left uncertain as to the complete fulfillment of the prophecy. This deliberate ambiguity allows later authors to postulate an alliance between Nausicaa and Telemachus. See Roscher, III.1, pg. 31-32 for a discussion of this relationship.

[2]For a general overview of viewpoints and bibliography, see Heubeck 1988, 316-319. In short, there are two questions: why does Arete receive such attention from the narrator, and why does she not respond to Odysseus' supplication, once her role has been emphasized? For a detailed rebuttal of those who assign various parts of her role to a later author, see Fenik 1974, 5-130. Fenik himself argues that her initial lack of response to Odysseus is a deliberate narrative retardation, which leads to a heightened climax when she does finally speak. I agree with him thus far, but as the following section will show, I do not agree that her importance ends with her first questioning of her guest.

judges Odysseus' reassimilation back into human society, as he passes from the world of nymphs and monsters to that of civilized humans.[1] Further, her fitness for this role is made clear from the start by her genealogy and her descent from Nausithous.

Mühlestein has pointed out that Arete's name is probably derived from ἀράομαι, which is in turn derived from ἀρϝάομαι, meaning "to pray to."[2] The Homeric poet thus prepares the audience in at least two separate ways for her role in the poem. First, by her name, and second, by manipulating her genealogy in several ways.

The abnormalities in Arete's genealogy point to the nature and function of Arete in the text. The first, the digression on Nausithous discussed above, has already been shown to have several functions in the text. The second, the unusual contents of Arete's genealogy, pointed out above, reinforces her role as judge of Odysseus' reintegration back into human society.

The most obvious abnormality is the absence of her children, who are designated only by the words φίλων παίδων (*Od.* 7.70). As the Catalogue of Heroines and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* reveal, a woman achieves her status through her male relatives, especially if she is the founder of a heroic line. In this sense, one would expect her to follow in the footsteps of Nausithous, at least metaphorically: he as the founder of a city, she as the founder of a heroic line.[3]

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[1]Richardson 1990, 84. Although his belief that "the songs have the purposes of entertaining Odysseus and of fostering his reintegration into the real world from which he has been divorced for many years" is valid, songs are not the only vehicle for this transformation.

[2]Mühlestein 1987, 4, note 16 = "Namen van Neleiden auf den Pylostäfelchen," *MH* 22 (1965) 155-165; 138-143 = "Odysseus und Dionysos," *A&A* 25 (1979) 140-173.

[3]Of course, we have already met Nausicaa, but she has little general mythological importance outside of the *Odyssey*. While some later authors claim a relationship between Nausicaa and Telemachus, the two are not the founders of a heroic lineage.

Although Arete is not praised for her roles as a mother or wife, the poet could still praise her skill as a household manager, a task which requires training and intelligence. In fact, this is exactly the praise that Antinous gives another positively portrayed mortal queen, Penelope. He praises her skill in handiwork (ἔργα τ' ἐπίστασθαι περικαλλέα, *Od.* 2.117) and her intelligence (φρένας ἐσθλὰς / κέρδεά τε, *Od.* 2.117-118).[1] Like Penelope, Arete does perform some of the usual wifely tasks. She takes care of Odysseus (*Od.* 7.335-347; 8.433-457). The weavings of her household (*Od.* 7.95-97) are included in the poet's description of a complicated and efficient household under her direction (*Od.* 7.81-130). Indeed, Odysseus is wearing clothes she and her women wove (*Od.* 7.234-235). Thus the poet does make evident her skills in household management. The poet could even have praised Arete by comparing her to legendary women, as Penelope is (*Od.* 2.118-120).[2]

But Arete and her family have very little impact in Greek mythology as a whole. The only members of the family who appear elsewhere in Greek mythology in any notable way are Arete and Alcinous, who figure prominently in the adventures of Jason and Medea.[3] There are no adventures involving any subsequent Phaeacian generations.[4] Since Arete is not the founder of a heroic line, her role is contained within this poem, and her genealogy need not name her progeny.

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[1]By attributing these skills to the slave women in the household (*Od.* 2.117 = 7.111), the poet reinforces the oddity of Arete's role in the kingdom.

[2]Of course, the whole point of Antinous' speech is to raise Penelope's standing above that of the usual mortal woman.

[3]Meuli, K. Odyssee und Argonautica. (Berlin, 1921) discusses the priority of the Argonauts myth to the wanderings of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*.

[4]Of course, this can be explained mythologically by the isolation of the Phaeacians by Poseidon after the departure of Odysseus (Apollodorus *Bib.* 7.25).

The abnormality in her elaboration reveals her true role: judging Odysseus. The audience is told repeatedly that she is honored (*Od.* 7.67-70):

> καί μιν ἔτισ' ὡς οὔ τις ἐπὶ χθονὶ τίεται ἄλλη,
> ὅσσαι νῦν γε γυναῖκες ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν οἶκον ἔχουσιν.
> ὣς κείνη περὶ κῆρι τετίμηταί τε καὶ ἔστιν
> ἔκ τε φίλων παίδων ἔκ τ' αὐτοῦ 'Αλκινόοιο
> καὶ λαῶν, . . .

We expect that she would be honored by her husband and family. We can even excuse the hyperbole of *Od.* 7.67-68 as a formula which is loosely associated with catalogues of women.[1]

But Arete is honored by the people (λαῶν, *Od.* 7.71) as well. She is like a goddess (μίν ῥα θεὸν ὣς, *Od.* 7.71) to them. We also learn that she goes out into the city (στείχῃισ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ, *Od.* 7.72), where the people greet her. This is an unusual detail. We never see Penelope walking the streets of Ithaca, nor hear that the people greet her when she does.[2]

We finally learn that Arete is honored not for her husband and children, nor even for her skills as the mistress of a large house, but rather for her wisdom and judgement (οὐ μὲν γάρ τι νόου γε καὶ αὐτὴ δεύεται ἐσθλοῦ, *Od.* 7.73), with which she settles quarrels (νείκεα λύει, *Od.* 7.74) among her people.[3] This is unusual.[4] Indeed, the word

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[1]The wording is similar to that of *Od.* 11.227 and 11.329, two lines which encircle and refer to the Catalogue of Heroines.

[2]The *Iliad*, of course, provides several examples of Trojan women going through the streets of Troy, either to the walls or temples (Helen, *Il.* 3.121-244, 383-420; Hecabe, 6.269-311, 22.405-459; Andromache, 6.376-384, 494-502, 22.460-515; Cassandra, 24.697-708; group of women and children, 6.237-241). There does not, however, appear to be the same sort of reaction to any of these women as there is to Arete in Scheria.

[3]This praise resembles the simile with which Odysseus greets Penelope (*Od.* 19.108-114). See Foley, H. " "Reverse Similes" and Sex Roles in the *Odyssey*," 59-78 in Peradotto, J. and J.P. Sullivan, eds. Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers. (Albany, 1984) 70 for a brief discussion of Arete.

νείκεα, despite its frequent usage in the *Iliad*,[1] appears elsewhere in the *Odyssey* only once, in a simile about a man who settles quarrels among young men (*Od.* 12.439-440). Thus Arete is established as the one who judges equitably.

The oddity of her role was obvious even to the Greeks, as the textual tradition shows. While most editors accept and print the reading οἶσί(ν),[2] an alternate tradition has the reading ἧισι(ν). As Hainsworth puts it, "the χαριέστεραι, recoiling from the thought of feminine arbitration, seek τὸ πρεπῶδες by reading ἧσιν, as if Arete's jurisdiction were confined to matrimonial disputes; to which schol. P and T make the just and amusing reply, ὡς γελοίως, ὦ βέλτιστε. οὐ γὰρ τῷ δικαίῳ, ἀλλα τοῖς φίλοις φησὶν αὐτὴν βοηθεῖν."[3] Clearly, the possibility of Arete playing a public social role was disconcerting to some of the ancient commentators. The alternate reading of ἧισι(ν) was obviously intended to reassure those made uncomfortable by the prospect of a queen rendering judgement on men.

In any case, Arete settles disputes only for those whom she favors (φίλα φρονέῃσ', *Od.* 7.75). As a result, Odysseus must be careful on two accounts. Her popularity with the public testifies to her ability to settle disputes to the satisfaction of both parties. Odysseus can expect fair but careful treatment at her hands. But since she resolves problems only for those she favors, Odysseus must approach her very carefully. He is

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[4]Although Penelope is also praised for her good sense (φρένας ἐσθλάς, 2.117; περίφρων used sixty times in the *Odyssey*) she is confined to interactions within the household. That is, she handles suitors, Telemachus, her slaves, and Odysseus. She does not, however, settle quarrels among the Ithacans.

[1]νείκεα - 5 occurrences; νεῖκος - 22; νείκεος - 1; νείκει - 1.

[2]Allen, T.W. ed. Homeri Opera. (Oxford, 1980); Muehll, P. von der Homeri Odyssea. (Stuttgard, 1984); Thiel, H. van, ed. Homeri Odyssea. (Hildesheim, 1991).

[3]Heubeck 1988, ad loc.

already in a precarious position. After his meeting with Nausicaa, he must exercise great care in what he says and how he says it.

Odysseus presents a problem to the Phaeacians: is he able to function correctly in human society? As he says himself, he has spent the last eight years alone on an island with the nymph Calypso, hardly a benchmark of human interaction. While he does deal very gently with Nausicaa and her sensibilities, he does not fulfill the required role of a guest and reveal his identity, a fault for which Alcinous chides him (*Od.* 8.550-556).

Once Arete's role as judge is established, she drops to the background of the poem, behind Alcinous. But she continues to assess Odysseus in all subsequent meetings. Mühlstein points out that Arete's original role in the *Argonautica* may have been to question Medea. If so, the poet clearly draws on this tradition in determining her function in the *Odyssey*.[1]

When Arete and Odysseus first meet, she asks short, very direct questions, such as "Who are you? Where are you from? Where did you get those clothes?" (*Od.* 7.237-239).[2] She recognizes the clothing which she wove (*Od.* 7.234-235), and is clearly concerned about the reputation and sexual well-being of her daughter. Odysseus' answer, which is twenty times the length of her questions (*Od.* 7.241-297 vs. 7.237-239), is not calculated to reassure any mother completely. He never answers her first two questions (τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; *Od.* 7.238) at all. He also claims that Nausicaa washed him,

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[1]Mühlestein 1987, 138ff = "Odysseus und Dionysos," *A&A* 25 (1979) 140-173.

[2]Of course, the line τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες is a standard phrase repeated six times in the *Odyssey* alone (*Od.* 1.170; 10.325; 14.187; 15.264; 19.105; 24.298). Arete repeats only the first half of the line, and adapts the second half to fit her particular concerns: τίς τοι τάδε εἵματ' ἔδωκεν, *Od.* 7.238). For a recent discussion of this formula, see Webber, A. "The Hero Tells His Name: Formula and Variation in the Phaeacian Episode of the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 1-13.

when in fact, he washed himself so as to preserve her sensibilities (*Od.* 6.216ff).[1] In

addition, he answers her last question (οὐ δὴ φὴις ἐπὶ πόντον ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ'

ἱκέσθαι; *Od.* 7.239) in a limited way. He only tells her that he has spent eight years on an

island (*Od.* 7.261) with a nymph he calls δολόεσσα (*Od.* 7.245), an attribute which he

himself exhibits in this speech.[2] He neglects to explain exactly where he was sailing from

and to when he was shipwrecked on Calypso's island. Worst of all, he ends his speech

with a claim to be speaking truthfully (ἀληθείην κατέλεξα. *Od.* 7.297).

The sexual ambiguity of Odysseus' encounter with Nausicaa, and the subsequent

reactions of her parents to this event, pervades Odysseus' relations with his hosts.[3]

Arete's first questions are clearly intended to discover whether her nameless guest has

seduced or raped her virginal daughter. On the one hand, Odysseus' response is

ambiguous at best. On the other hand, he begins his answer by stating that he has spent

eight years living with an immortal nymph. This in turn implies that any mortal man who

has had sexual relations with a goddess is not particularly interested in sleeping with a

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[1]This seems to be an odd lie, since the truth would be more reassuring to
Arete. This statement, however, is sandwiched between two acceptably hospitable actions:
ἥ μοι σῖτον δῶκεν ἅλις ἠδ'αἴθοπα οἶνον and καί μοι τάδε εἵματ' ἔδωκε. (*Od.*
7.295 and 296). Indeed, it is Nausicaa's age, sex and presence outside the palace which
make the bath potentially dangerous. See Pedrick, V. "The Hospitality of Noble Women in
the *Odyssey*," *Helios* 15 (1988) 85-101 for a discussion of the rules for female
hospitality, in which he points out that Nausicaa has usurped her mother's role by helping
Odysseus. Alcinous' reaction (*Od.* 7.299-301) shows that he, at least, is more concerned
with Nausicaa as a hostess than as a virgin. In the context of ξείνια, Odysseus' statement
is more, although not completely, understandable.

[2]This is, of course, an attribute for which he is famous, as he carefully points
out when he finally reveals his identity (*Od.* 9.19-20). In addition, when he does leave
Phaeacia, he tells lie after lie to everyone in Ithaca. For discussions of these lies, see:
Trahman, C.R. "Odysseus' Lies (*Odyssey*, Books 13-19)," *Phoenix* 6 (1952) 31-43;
Levine, D.N. "Odysseus' Truthful Untruths," *CB* 37 (1961) 76; Adkins, A.W.H.
"Truth, ΚΟΣΜΟΣ, and ΑΡΕΤΗ in the Homeric Poems," *CQ* 22 n.s. (1972) 5-18;
Elmyn-Jones, C. "True and Lying Tales in the *Odyssey*," *GR* 33 (1980) 1-10.

[3]For a discussion of Nausicaa and Odysseus as love-heroine and hero, see
Rissman, L. Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho. (Königstein,
1983) 66-118.

young mortal girl, no matter how beautiful she is. His response to Arete's original

questions could be seen as an oblique answer to her desire to know what happened at the

river's edge between her daughter and this stranger.

Arete's response to this speech is not reported by the narrator. Alcinous, however,

blames Nausicaa for acting inhospitably to a stranger. Odysseus' reply is short, to the

point, and untruthful. He claims that it was his idea to come to town separately, when in

fact she made this request (*Od.* 6.262ff). Although only Odysseus, Nausicaa, and the

external audience know that he has lied, he still fails to respond appropriately to Arete's

questions. For he has given neither his name nor his full history.

Arete next speaks directly to Odysseus when Alcinous instructs her to prepare their

guest for his return journey (*Od.* 8.424-432). Arete does so, readying the bath and gifts

ordered by Alcinous. When she gives the goods to Odysseus, her speech is again direct

and to the point. She instructs Odysseus to tie a cord around the chest containing his gifts,

lest they be stolen while he is asleep on board (*Od.* 8.443-445). Despite its clarity, this

statement is itself puzzling. Since the sailors are Phaeacians, she should know that they are

trustworthy. Arete must therefore have another rationale for making this suggestion.

Odysseus' response to Arete's suggestion is equally odd. First, he does not

answer his hostess' direct address. Given Odysseus' loquaciousness in the poem as a

whole, his reticence on this occasion is puzzling.[1] Of course, if her speech is interpreted as

a command, rather than a suggestion, he need not answer.[2] Instead, the poet shows that

Odysseus is following Arete's instructions by repeating a phrase from Arete's speech (*Od.*

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[1]Feeney, D. "The Taciturnity of Aeneas," *CQ* 33 (1983) 211-213, points
out that no one has yet considered the issue of dialogues in Homer, a subcategory of which
would be unanswered direct address.

[2]Thus Arete does not answer Alcinous' command (*Od.* 8.424ff), and the
messenger does not answer Odysseus' command (*Od.* 8.477ff).

8.443 = 447). Second, the poet's use of enjambment[1] in the next line pointedly reveals that the knot Odysseus uses is ποικίλον, ὅν ποτέ μιν δέδαε φρεσὶ πότνια Κίρκη (*Od.* 8.448).[2] Third, the poet immediately follows up his reference to Circe with one to Calypso (*Od.* 8.450-452). This all seems very far from the original point. Thus, the poet's rendition of Odysseus' response is as puzzling as Arete's original statement.

The context of this scene is, as always, important in interpreting its meaning. In the course of Book 8, Odysseus has been fully reintegrated into human society. A ship is waiting to bring him home (*Od.* 8.46-56). He takes part in a feast (*Od.* 8.57-103) which includes a minstrel's songs (*Od.* 8.72-92, 266-369). He even praises the singer, saying that Demodocus must have been an eyewitness to the events of the Trojan War or heard the story from someone who was (*Od.* 8.487-498).[3] He takes part in athletic games (*Od.* 8.104-255) and watches dances (*Od.* 8.256-265, 370-381). He receives gifts (*Od.* 8.387-422), and is about to be bathed and clothed (*Od.* 8.423ff). In other words, everything points to his imminent departure. Indeed, the closure of the chest which contains his gifts points to another sort of closure: namely, the end of his visit with the Phaeacians.

Thus, Arete's suggestion is in fact a question: does her nameless guest really intend to leave? Odysseus' non-verbal response implies that he does plan to leave shortly. As a result, he expects to receive no more gifts from his generous hosts. But this interpretation does not explain why the poet chooses to refer to both Circe and Calypso

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[1]This type of enjambment is called "adding," since the thought was complete in the first line, and the second line adds grammatically unnecessary information. See Higbie, C. Measure and Music: Enjambment and Sentence Structure in the *Iliad*. (Oxford, 1990) 4-27 for a review of the scholarly debate on types of enjambment.

[2]For a magical use of knots, see Luck, G. Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman World. (Baltimore,1985) 92, which discusses and translates PGM 1:83-87. Ποικίλος is used to describe a chariot (*Od.* 3.492; 15.145, 190), a couch (*Od.* 1.132), a peplos (*Od.* 18.293), and a fawn (*Od.* 19.228).

[3]The emphasis on the truthfulness of an eyewitness is interesting, given the narrative he will shortly begin.

here. These references may reflect the sexual tension surrounding his interactions with Nausicaa.

The implied contrast between his relationships with the immortal women Circe and Calypso and the mortal girl Nausicaa continues in this second interaction between Odysseus and Arete. First, Odysseus ties a knot he learned from Circe. Then his happiness at the prospect of a hot bath reminds him that his last one was in the dwelling of Calypso. His bath immediately precedes his farewell to Nausicaa (*Od.* 8.457-468). Again, an association between the two women is inevitable. While Odysseus could remain and marry her as was the case with Calypso. But he has already refused the latter, who treated him like a god (θεῶι ὥς, *Od.* 8.453) and does so with the former. When saying goodbye to her, however, he has the tact not to mention Penelope, only his home (*Od.* 8.466).

One question still remains, however. Why does Odysseus stay on Scheria for another day, when both he and the Phaeacians expect his imminent departure? A close reading of the Intermezzo (*Od.* 11.333-384) may answer this query.

Arete's third address to Odysseus comes as a surprise, expressing as it does her enthusiastic acceptance of him. It is unclear exactly what Odysseus has done or said that has changed her attitude so dramatically. Two passages in his speech seem particularly relevant. First, he begins his recitation by finally giving his name and lineage (εἴμ' Ὀδυσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, *Od.* 9.19), as well as his homeland (ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον, *Od.* 9.21). Thus he finally answers Arete's first questions: τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; (*Od.* 7.238). He then begins the story of his travels, ending abruptly after his recitation of the Catalogue of Heroines (*Od.* 11.332).[1] Second, the Homeric poet, by

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[1]Fraenkel, H. <u>Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy</u>. (New York, 1973) 10ff interprets this type of abrupt end as a technique for extending the poet's stay. The audience is left wanting more, and is willing to offer food, lodging, and gifts to get the rest of the narrative.

juxtaposing the Catalogue and the Intermezzo, implies an explanation of the dramatic change in Arete's behavior.[1] While an exact discussion of how Odysseus' poetic choices in the Catalogue convinces Arete follows below, it is nonetheless clear that the poet intends us to see her reaction as a direct response to Odysseus' genealogical catalogue.

The Intermezzo combines and resolves the themes of gifts and Odysseus' sexual behavior. Arete judges Odysseus' behavior in human society; her particular concern, which involves her daughter, focuses on his sexual behavior. Odysseus' recitation of the Catalogue of Heroines finally puts her fears to rest. As a result, Arete accepts him fully and completely (*Od.* 11.336-341). Again, we find that her speech is short and to the point. She praises, by implication, his heroic beauty, stature and sense (εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἐΐσας, *Od.* 11.337). She even claims him as her own guest (ξεῖνος δ' αὖτ' ἐμός ἐστιν, *Od.* 11.338) and claims honor from him (ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς, *Od.* 11.338). Arete's acceptance then expresses itself in concrete terms: she suggests that he be given more gifts *(Od.* 11.339-341). Alcinous seconds her proposal (*Od.* 11.348-353), and Odysseus politely offers to stay for another year, if it would gain him more gifts (*Od.* 11.355-359).

As Odysseus makes clear, however, his desire for more gifts springs neither from greed nor from "courteous exaggeration."[2] Rather, he needs gifts so that he might be αἰδοιότερος καὶ φίλτερος ἀνδράσιν (*Od.* 360-361). As the *Iliad* clearly shows, the quantity and quality of a hero's gifts reflect his status in society.[3] Odysseus is particularly needy, since he has lost not only his booty from Troy, but also the men and ships with

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[1]Doherty, L.E. "Internal and Implied Audiences of *Odyssey* 11," *Arethusa* 24 (1991) 15-30.

[2]Heubeck 1989, ad loc 11.356-361.

[3]This is explicitly stated in the Catalogue of Suitors, which states that Menelaus wins Helen as his bride solely due to his wealth (fr. 204.85-87 M.-W.).

which he started. In addition, his household wealth is being squandered by Penelope's suitors, as Teiresias has informed him (*Od.* 11.113-117). Thus, in order to restore both his own status and that of his household, he must return with as much wealth as he possibly can.

Arete and Penelope   Arete's special status as judge of Odysseus' reassimilation into human society is not her only role in the poem, however. Arete's actions prefigure Penelope's.[1] Both women consciously challenge Odysseus, and accept him only after he respond correctly. Penelope's initial speech to Odysseus (*Od.* 19.104-105), like Arete's (*Od.* 7.237-238), is short and to the point. In fact, both speeches begin with the same line (Ξεῖνε, τὸ μέν σε πρῶτον ἐγὼν εἰρήσομαι αὐτή, *Od.* 7.237 = 19.104), which appears only in these two passages in the *Odyssey*. This line is then followed by variations on the standard greeting to strangers, which appears elsewhere in the poem.[2] Arete adapts the line to fit her particular concerns. Penelope does not.

The overall structure of the women's assessments is, however, quite similar. In both cases, the women encounter Odysseus three times. In their first meeting, the women question Odysseus, and he responds with ambiguities and lies. This is followed by a night's rest. The second meeting is equally ambiguous, and is followed by a bath. Only on the third occasion does each woman accept him.[3]

While these sequences are similar, there is at least one difference between Penelope and Arete. The former has no husband to welcome a stranger to the house. Therefore, she

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[1]Pedrick 1988, 85-101 points out that some of the similarities are based on the standard behavior of women receiving guests, such as three encounters, leading to bed, bath, and a gift of clothing respectively.

[2]See above p. 48, n. 2 for a discussion of this formula.

[3]The recognition scene with Laertes (*Od.* 24.336-344) combines both of the methods used by Odysseus. As he does with Arete, he lists a catalogue. As with Penelope, he states information known only to themselves.

must do so herself. As a result, she and Odysseus have an extended dialogue, a role

undertaken by Alcinous in Scheria (*Od.* 7.298 ff). So Penelope immediately begins her

second speech by describing her personal troubles (*Od.* 19.124-163). In the dialogue that

follows, Odysseus mixes truth and lies, as he did in his initial speech to Arete. He lies

about his name (Aethon, *Od.* 19.183), place of origin (Crete, *Od.* 19.172), genealogy (son

of Deucalion, grandson of Minos, *Od.* 19.178-181) and business (wandering the seas, *Od.*

19.168-170). But he tells the truth about the clothing when describing Odysseus' clothing

(*Od.* 19.221-248). As with Arete, this first encounter ends inconclusively.

The second occasion, which takes place after the suitors have been killed, is a much

more explicit test (*Od.* 23.88-110). Penelope has been informed that the stranger is

Odysseus, but is unwilling to commit herself. Indeed, she says that she will know

Odysseus by the signs (σήμαθ', *Od.* 23.110) which are known to them alone. Odysseus

judiciously retreats, in order to clean the filth of battle from himself.

When Odysseus returns, he is both clean and physically enhanced. In fact, the

simile describing his cleansed physical self is the same as is used after his bath in the river

in Scheria (*Od.* 6.230-235 = 23.157-161). In both cases, he is about to be challenged,

although this is only made explicit in the latter case.

Odysseus responds to Arete and Penelope correctly the third time. As was shown

above, he convinces the former by the revelation of his name, lineage, and homeland, as

well as his recitation of the Catalogue of Heroines (*Od.* 11.235-327). He persuades the

latter by inadvertently revealing a secret shared by only the two of them (*Od.* 23.181-204).

Like the Catalogue of Heroines, the passage involved has sexual overtones. In the first

case, the Catalogue relates the stories of women who sleep with men, willingly or

otherwise. In the second case, the secret literally involves the marriage bed of Penelope

and Odysseus, a bed to which they retire almost immediately (*Od.* 23.289-299). Indeed,

the bed is the place where they privately relate all of their past troubles to each other (*Od.*

23.300-348). Thus the final test involves an awareness of proper sexual behavior.

Once Arete has approved of their guest, she earns the epithet βασίλεια περίφρων (*Od.* 11.345), the epithet particularly associated with Penelope.[1] Lastly, when Odysseus leaves the Phaeacians, he says goodbye to Arete last (*Od.* 13.56-62) rather than Alcinous. He ends his short speech to her by repeating the trilogy which appeared in her genealogy: children, husband, and people. He wishes her joy of all three, not just her family. Thus he acknowledges her larger role in Scheria.

Conclusion   Arete's role is multi-dimensional. First, she assesses Odysseus' reintegration into human society, paying special attention to his sexual behavior. Second, her personal reserve prefigures that of Penelope, who is equally unsure of Odysseus. Thus Arete's assessment of Odysseus prepare him for his eventual confrontation with his wife, as do his interactions with Nausicaa.

Arete's importance in the Phaeacian narrative should be calculated not by the number of lines which involve her, but by her role as it relates to Odysseus. Further, the exact nature of her role is made clear from the very beginning in her genealogy, in which we learn that she is both the descendant of a king with good judgement, whom we later learn was a good seer, and is an honored judge in her own right. Both of these traits are put to good use in her dealings with her slippery guest. She is the last Phaeacian to approve of Odysseus, and treats him with reserve until he finally convinces her that he is fully reassimilated into human society.

<u>The Catalogue of Heroines</u>

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[1]Hofmeister 1984, 102-110 argues that the epithets of Penelope show a progression in her role in the text. She is first called κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, reflecting her status as an object of the suitors' efforts. Then she is called γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος, when Odysseus returns. Lastly, and throughout the text, she is called περίφρων, an epithet which establishes her own separate identity. In this case, it would be especially significant that Arete is called περίφρων, which Hofmeister identifies with the last stage.

The genealogies discussed above and below are related to specific characters in the text. The Catalogue of Heroines in Book 11, however, is of a more general nature. We must now consider the role of the Catalogue of Heroines in Book 11, and in the Phaeacian episode as a whole.

Odysseus is an unknown quantity to the Phaeacians, and especially to Arete. As the discussion above shows, Arete's genealogy marks her as the best judge of his reintegration into human society. Since the format of any genre is determined by the particular society, Odysseus' narration must conform to whatever poetic format he chooses to relate. For this reason, it is significant that Odysseus chooses to end the first half of his Apologia with a Marked Catalogue. A simple list of genealogies will only prove that Odysseus knows his mythology. A complex adaptation of the items involved will show that he is both knowledgeable and sophisticated.

Thus, his choice of the Marked Catalogue leads his auditors to ask two questions. Does he fulfill the formal requirements of the genres involved? What are the themes of the Catalogue, and how does the narrative reveal them?

In general, the entries in the Catalogue of Heroines closely fit the genealogical paradigm presented above. The name of the woman is usually near the beginning of the first line of each entry.[1] She is then placed within the context of her male relatives, usually her father and/or her husband. This element is usually followed by a relative pronoun introducing the elaboration. Since this is a catalogue, however, demonstrative pronouns are also used to link the entries together (τὴν δὲ μετ', *Od.* 11.260, 265, 305).[2]

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[1]The only exception to this rule is Epicaste (*Od.* 11.271). In this case, the change is clearly made for emphasis, since the incestuous nature of their relationship is emphasized. The passage begins with μητέρα τ' Οἰδιπόδαο (*Od.* 11.271), which both informs the audience of the exact blood relationship between the parties involved and warns the audience of the horrors to come.

[2]The pronoun ἣ is used at: *Od.* 11.236, 238, 261, 267, 272, 281, 288, 299, 306, 322.

The elaborations usually include the children of the union under discussion, although there are several exceptions to this. Megara's children are not listed (*Od.* 11.269-270), since they are killed by Heracles and the line does not continue. Pero's children are not listed (*Od.* 11.287-297), since this genealogy is continued later in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 15.225 ff). None of the children of the women mentioned in the two triads are listed, which appears to be due to the brevity of the entries.

The Catalogue is an excellent example of the catalogue genre, containing repetition of language and syntax. This feature is immediately apparent in the placing of the woman's name at or near the beginning of the first line of the particular passage. In addition, every entry contains some form of the verb εἶδον: ἴδον (*Od.* 11.235, 260, 266, 271, 321, 326), εἶδον (*Od.* 11.281, 298), ἔσιδον (*Od.* 11.306). The phrase τὴν δὲ μέτ' (*Od.* 11.260, 265, 305) is also repeated as a connecter between entries, albeit not on every occasion. There is a progressive diminution in the length of the entries: the first is the longest, at 25 lines (Tyro, *Od.* 11.235-259); the last is only 1 1/3 lines long (Eriphyle, *Od.* 11.326c- . 327).

Superlatives are used in several ways. First, the framing line (*Od.* 11.227) informs us that the catalogue is about the wives and daughters of the best men (ἀριστήων). In the Catalogue itself three superlatives are used: κάλλιστος (*Od.* 11.239), ὁπλοτάτην (283),[1] and καλλίστους (310). Lastly, πρώτην (235) appears in the very first line of the Catalogue. In general the Catalogue of Heroines exhibits most of the aspects of the typical catalogue.[2]

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[1]This particular superlative is also used in the genealogies of Arete (*Od.* 7.58), where it identifies Periboea. It is also used twice elsewhere in the *Odyssey*. In each case it identifies a very minor female character (*Od.* 3.465, 15.364).

[2]Several of these features also appear in the Catalogue of Sinners (*Od.* 11.568-602). The name of the person under consideration appears at or near the beginning of the first line of each entry (*Od.* 11.568, 572, 576, 582, 593). Forms of εἶδον are used: ἴδον (*Od.* 11.568), εἶδον (*Od.* 11.576), ἐσεῖδον (*Od.* 11.582, 593). Also used,

The Catalogue of Heroines is established as a Marked Catalogue at its very inception. Of course, as is usual with these catalogues in internal narrative, the narrator does not address the Muses. In this case, since the Catalogue does not arise as a result of an auditor's specific request, Odysseus defines for himself the category to be covered. He establishes the factual category and its hierarchical nature by transforming the usual question into a relative clause: ὅσσαι ἀριστήων ἄλοχοι ἔσαν ἠδὲ θύγατρες (*Od.* 11.227). In addition, while Odysseus does not apologize for his inability to name every woman, he implies that he must impose some control over a chaotic situation. He does so by allowing only one woman at a time to drink form the pool of blood (*Od.* 11.230-236). At that point, he then speaks to each woman in turn.[1] Odysseus does apologize at the end of the Catalogue, even as he reiterates what category it covers: ὅσσας ἡρώων ἀλόχους ἴδον ἠδὲ θύγατρας (*Od.* 11.329).

Lastly, although the Catalogue of Heroines does not answer anyone's direct question, the enthusiastic response of Arete, Echeneos, and Alcinous affirms Odysseus' narrative. Thus the Catalogue exhibits most of the features of a Marked Catalogue in internal narrative.

There is one structural abnormality which is caused by the conceit that this is a catalogue of speeches, as reported by the addressee, Odysseus. There is an emphasis on speech at the beginning: φάτο (*Od.* 11.236), φῆ (237), the common speech formula ...ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε (247), the direct speech of Poseidon (248-252), and ὣς

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however, is the verb εἰσενόησα (*Od.* 11.572, 601). Some of the entries are connected by the phrase τὸν δὲ μέτ' (*Od.* 11.572, 601), as well as καὶ (*Od.* 11.576) and καὶ μὴν (*Od.* 11.582, 593).

[1]In a sense, he adapts the genre even more than usual, by presenting the Catalogue as the women's response to his questions.

εἰπών (253). After the first entry, however, there are only two references to direct speech: εὔχετ' (261), and φάσκε (306).

The structuring of the entries in the Catalogue of Heroines is a complicated question. The Catalogue clearly breaks into two sections. In the first, or main, section (*Od.* 11.235-320), all of the entries have elaborations, albeit of varying lengths. The second section (*Od.* 11.321-327) is made up of two triads, in which only the last member of the triad receives any elaboration beyond the mention of her name (Ariadne and Eriphyle, respectively).

The above separation of the Catalogue into two sections is obvious and unilluminating. Most of the other structures proposed for the Catalogue have depended upon "facts," such as length of entries, lovers, genealogical family trees, or the geography of the families involved. Fenik[1] bases his on the length of the entries and the lovers involved, chiefly Poseidon and Zeus, loosely following Heubeck.[2] As Fenik himself points out, however, this structure is very simple. Heubeck also considers other elements, such as the geographical locations of the entries. He singles out the Theban entries (Antiope, Megara, and Epicaste) which reflect back to the appearance of Teiresias earlier in Book 11, and the Athenian entries (Phaedra, Procne, and Ariadne).

There are also genealogical connections between entries.[3] Tyro and Poseidon in the first entry produce Pelias and Neleus. This same Neleus and his wife Chloris, in the sixth and seventh entries, produce Pero. She marries Bias through the efforts of his brother Melampus, whose great-grandson is Amphiaraus. The marriage of Eriphyle and Amphiaraus forms the fourteenth, and last, entry.

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[1]Fenik 1974, 145-146.

[2]Heubeck, A. Der Odyssee-Dichter und Die *Ilias*. (Erlangen, 1954) 33-35.

[3]Heubeck 1989, 97.

Thus there are many competing structures within the Catalogue, each valid on its own external terms. But it is clear that these analyses depend solely upon which 'fact' the commentator considers important. This approach does reveal some of the organizational choices made by the author. But it does not show why each 'fact' is so important. Since this methodology does not reveal why Odysseus' recitation of the Catalogue of Heroines finally convinces Arete of his status as a civilized human being, we must take a new approach. Therefore, following the methodology established in the prior section, we will look at the three longest elaborations in the Catalogue. Hopefully, these passages will reveal why Arete finally accepts Odysseus.

The first and longest elaboration (*Od.* 11.235-259) concerns the mortal Tyro and her relationship with her lover Poseidon. In this elaboration, the focus is on Tyro: her feelings (237-240), how she is tricked (241-247), Poseidon's speech to her (248-252), and the children she bears (253-256). There is a short discussion of the children's roles (253-256a), and the elaboration ends with the name of her mortal husband and the progeny she bears him (258-259).

The resemblance between this elaboration and Odysseus' encounter with Nausicaa is probably not accidental, especially when it is remembered that this is being narrated to Nausicaa's parents. Indeed, the relationship between Tyro and Poseidon reveals what could have happened between Nausicaa and Odysseus, had he acted differently, or actually been a god.

Most of the similarities between the two scenes are thematic rather than linguistic. This is a logical extension of the fact that the Catalogue of Heroines, like other catalogues, is probably an adaptation of a larger genealogical catalogue, with its own particular terminology and syntactic requirements. It is not unreasonable to postulate that

mythological genealogical catalogues also have a separate history.[1] Indeed, the existence of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* suggests that this is so.

There is still an extensive list of similarities, however. First, the setting for both scenes is a river (*Od.* 6.59, 85-87; 11.240). Second, clothing is an issue in both episodes.[2] Athena suggests that Nausicaa go to the river to wash clothes (*Od.* 6.36-38) and she does so (*Od.* 6.56-65). Nausicaa responds to Odysseus' nakedness by giving him clothing (*Od.* 6.214). Odysseus wears the clothing she gives him (*Od.* 6.228), which causes him further problems when Arete recognizes it (*Od.* 7.237-239). Lastly, Arete and Alcinous include clothing among the gifts they give Odysseus when he leaves (*Od.* 8.425, 441).

There are other similarities between the two scenes. In both cases, the women are thinking about sexual relationships with men, although in two different contexts. In the case of Nausicaa, Athena has specifically suggested the idea of suitors (σε μνῶνται ἀριστῆες, *Od.* 6.34). Nausicaa immediately picks this up and begins thinking about marriage (γάμον, *Od.* 6.66, 288) and her future husband (πόσις, *Od.* 6.244, 277, 282). Tyro is also thinking about a sexual relationship. But rather than considering marriage with an unknown male, she is in love with the river god Enipeus (ἣ ποταμοῦ ἠράσσατ᾽, Ἐνιπῆος θείοιο, *Od.* 11.238). In both cases, however, the women end up at the water's edge with sex on their minds.

In both scenes, the male surprises the women. In the case of Nausicaa and her attendants, all of the latter flee in fear (*Od.* 6.137-140). The potential threat of Odysseus is

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[1]Kakridis, J.T. "Probleme der griechischen Heldensage" *Poetica* 5 (1972) 156-163.

[2]For a discussion of clothing as a thematic motif, see Block, E. "Clothing Makes the Man: A Pattern in the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 115 (1985) 1-11.

enhanced by a simile (*Od.* 6.130-134) which compares Odysseus to a hungry lion hunting

for prey.[1] The implication is that the prey refers to Nausicaa and her companions.

Sexual tension is also hinted at in the Tyro elaboration. Odysseus explicitly states

that she loves Enipeus, not Poseidon (*Od.* 11.238-240). As a result, Poseidon surprises

her and takes her by force, disguising himself as Enipeus. Poseidon then puts her to sleep

while he impregnates her (*Od.* 11.245-246), and identifies himself (*Od.* 11.252).

Poseidon's seduction is successful, and progeny result. Clearly this is the path that

Odysseus could have taken, but didn't.

These parallels show that Odysseus knows that he could have been sexually

aggressive towards Nausicaa, but that he consciously chose not to do so. Indeed, the

Homeric poems as a whole, including the Catalogue of Heroines, show that sleeping with a

god before marriage does not dishonor the girl involved.[2] The gods involved are primarily

Zeus and Poseidon. The loves of Zeus appear both in his own catalogue (*Il.* 14.313-328)

and in the Catalogue of Heroines (Antiope and Alcmene; Leda by implication). Poseidon's

loves in the Catalogue are Tyro and Iphimedeia. In most cases, the women went on to

bear other children to mortal husbands.

The issue of heroes and goddesses is more complicated, however. Calypso's

catalogue of mortal males who loved goddesses (*Od.* 5.121-128) makes clear the risks to

the mortal men. Orion, who saw Artemis nude, appears in the Catalogue of Sinners (*Od.*

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[1]For further information on similes, see: Fraenkel, H.F. Die homerischen Gleichnisse. (Göttingen, 1921); Coffey, M. "The Function of the Homeric Simile," *AJP* 78 (1957) 113-132; Jachmann, G. Der Homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias. (Köln, 1958); Lee, D.J.N. The Similes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* Compared. (Melbourne, 1964); Porter, D.H. "Violent Juxtaposition in the Similes of the *Iliad*," *CJ* 68 (1972) 11-21; Scott, W.C. The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile. (Leiden, 1974); Moulton, C. Similes in the Homeric Poem. (Göttingen, 1977).

[2]See Sissa, G. Greek Virginity. (Cambridge (MA), 1990) 99-104 and 117-118 for a discussion of Creusa as the exempla of this mythological type. See also Polymele, *Il.* 16.180ff.

11.572ff), as does Tityos, who attempted to rape Leto (*Od.* 11.576ff). Odysseus himself is the only mortal male who sleeps with goddesses.[1] But because he sleeps only with lesser goddesses, he comes out whole.

Both Odysseus and Nausicaa must be very careful. Odysseus knows that if he sleeps with a goddess, he puts himself in great danger. In his first speech after washing ashore at Scheria, he is unsure whether the land is inhabited by mortals (*Od.* 6.119) or nymphs (*Od.* 6.122-123). Given his recent past, this is a valid concern. Thus he seeks to know Nausicaa's status: mortal or immortal (*Od.* 6.149)? After he directly asks her position, he compares her to Artemis (*Od.* 6.150-152). Whether or not she is a goddess, such a comparison can only help his cause, and persuade her to help him.[2] Odysseus' talent at persuasion will flatter a mortal or immortal, but may stave off punishment if the female in question is an immortal.

Nausicaa immediately establishes her mortal status (*Od.* 6.194-197). But she, like Odysseus, must be careful. After Athena enhances his physical appearance, Nausicaa likens him to a god (νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικε, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν. *Od.* 6.243). But even if he is a god, she would prefer to avoid rape. Thus, she continues to be concerned about her reputation (*Od.* 6.265ff). This worry is expressed later by Arete (*Od.* 7.234-239) and Alcinous (*Od.* 7.309ff).[3]

Thus there is cause for caution on both sides. Nausicaa should avoid all sexual contact with any male, although she may be forgiven if a god is involved. Indeed, as the

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[1]Calypso: *Od.* 5.149ff; 7.244ff; 8.451-453; 9.29-30; 23.333-337; Circe: *Od.* 8.448; 9.31-33; 10.135ff.

[2]The ambivalent status of Nausicaa has been established by the narrator, who has already compared her to Artemis (*Od.* 6.102-108).

[3]Sealey 1990, 116-117 discusses the two forms of marriage found in the Homeric texts. They are either marriage for a dowry or marriage "by prowess" to a hero. Odysseus clearly fits into the latter category.

story of Ariadne, Theseus, and Dionysos shows (*Od.* 11.321-325), mortal heroes can and do sleep with mortal princesses. But Theseus abandons Ariadne. Moreover, this version of the story ends with her death, brought about by Dionysos. Thus, Nausicaa must use caution, whether Odysseus is mortal or immortal.

Odysseus must also be wary. He has only slept with goddesses who were willing and not allied to any god. He must be sure that both of these criteria continue to be met, lest he be punished, as have other heroes such as Orion.[1]

The second elaboration of any length is concerned with the roles of the adult males Neleus and Melampus, and their courtship of Chloris and her daughter Pero (*Od.* 11.281-297). The entry begins with Chloris and Neleus, specifically with the beauty of the former and the resulting bridal presents of the latter (281-282). Then the ancestry of Chloris is revealed (283-284), since the ancestors of Neleus are already known from the first entry in the Catalogue, and then their children (285-286). Next, the focus shifts to their daughter Pero, and Neleus' supervision of her courtship. Again, the beauty of the woman involved is mentioned (287a-288a). But a description of the labors imposed by Neleus (288b-291a) follows, and then Melampus' fulfillment of those labors (291b-297). In this elaboration, the feelings and actions of the adult women Chloris and Pero are ignored. They are presented only as beautiful, and therefore desirable, brides. It is the men who act in this elaboration.

Oddly enough, neither Melampus nor Bias is named. Instead, Melampus is called only the μάντις ἀμύμων (*Od.* 11.291). Clearly the poet is assuming a certain level of knowledge on the part of his audience. As several modern commentators have pointed

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[1]Anchises also shows this same caution when Aphrodite approaches (*H.H. Aphr.* 91ff). Unfortunately, she lies and he suffers as a result.

out,[1] there are several discrepancies between the three extant versions (*Od.* 11.281-297, 15.223-281 and the *Catalogue of Women* fr. 33 M.-W.). While the poet does not specifically mention all pertinent facts, and even contradicts himself, the very lack of information points to the poet's assumption that his audience is aware of most of the necessary details.

There is a loose resemblance between Melampus, the unnamed prophet, and Odysseus in this elaboration. Again, the similarities are thematic and not linguistic. First, both men are persecuted by a being more powerful than they. Melampus is abused by the evil king Iphicles for stealing his cattle. Odysseus, however, is punished for his actions by the god Poseidon. Both suffer for an extended length of time before accomplishing their respective tasks.[2] In addition, both are striving for the sake of a woman. Melampus is trying to win a bride for his brother Bias (*Od.* 11.287-8; 15.223-238), while Odysseus is attempting to return home to his wife (*Od.* 1.13; 5.215-224).

In addition, this passage shares thematic similarities with the beginning of the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus' troubles are outlined. In both passages, the motifs of suffering (*Od.* 1.4; 11.292-3), cattle (*Od.* 1.8; 11.289), time passing (*Od.* 1.16; 11.294-295), and the role of the gods (*Od.* 1.17, 19-21; 11.297) all appear.

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[1]Heubeck 1989, ad loc. 11.281-297 and 15.223-281 for summary of problems and bibliography. See Frazer, J.G. "Melampus and the Kine of Phylacus," Appendix IV, 350-355 in Apollodoros. The Library, Volume II. (Loeb Classical Library, New York, 1921).

[2]Melampus - ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεῦντο / ἂψ περιτελλομένου ἔτεος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὧραι, (*Od.* 11.294-295); Odysseus - ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν (*Od.* 1.16); ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὄγδοόν μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ἦλθε (*Od.* 7.261).

Indeed, the elaboration ends with the sentence Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (*Od.* 11.297). This phrase is clearly a traditional one.[1] As such, the phrase clearly suggests that even heroes and prophets are subject to the will of the gods. This comment of the narrator does reflect one considerable difference between Melampus and Odysseus. The former, being a seer, knows he will ultimately be successful, but the latter does not.

The third elaboration concerns two sons who never reach adulthood, Otos and Ephialtes (*Od.* 11.305-320). Their appearance in the poem contrasts with two earlier sets of brothers.[2] The first set is Neleus and Pelias, who are also sons of Poseidon, but who are τὼ κρατερὼ θεράποντε (255), the exact opposite of Otos and Ephialtes. The second set is Castor and Polydeuces. They are also especially honored by the gods, including Zeus (302, 304). Otos and Ephialtes, however, are the exempla of infamous, rather than famous, children. They directly challenge the gods and are slain as a result. Thus the focus in this elaboration is on the two siblings, their actions and the resulting punishment.

The main section of the Catalogue therefore ends with a reflection of Homeric reality: those who offend or assault the gods are punished.[3] Otos and Ephialtes are killed.[4] They call to mind a whole series of beings who challenged the gods and were

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[1]*Il.* 1.5; *Cypria* fr. I.1 (Allen); see Redfield, J. "The Proem of the *Iliad*: Homer's Art," *CPh* 74 (1979) 95-110 for a discussion of the relationship between these two passages.

[2]The appearance of two siblings is fairly common. See Fenik, B. Typical Battle Scenes in the *Iliad*. (Wiesbaden, 1968) 11-12 and 88 ff. for the regular appearance of paired siblings, especially in battle scenes. See pg. 11, footnote 4 for a bibliography of this phenomenon.

[3]The Catalogue of Sinners which appears later gives further details about this reality. In addition, there is the example of Lycurgus (*Il.* 6.130-140).

[4]These siblings also appear in the catalogue of wounded gods in the *Iliad*, as the brothers who trapped Ares (*Il.* 5.385ff).

punished as a result, many of whom are listed in the Catalogue of Sinners near the end of Book 11 (*Od.* 11.568-600).[1]

The *Odyssey* presents sexual aggressiveness as the prerogative of either the male or an immortal woman. Thus we find that Circe and Calypso both make successful advances towards Odysseus (*Od.* 10.333-335, 347; 7.255-257). Nausicaa and Penelope, however, are sexually passive. Indeed, Penelope actively resists the sexual aggression of the suitors (*Od.* 2.87-110). Thus the inappropriate aggressiveness of the mother may have hinted at the aggressiveness of her sons.

Odysseus again reveals that he is aware of the Greek social norms. He knows that those who challenge the gods are punished. He therefore proves that he has the proper respect for their power and force.

The Catalogue of Heroines, Odysseus, and Arete   The Homeric narrator juxtaposes the Catalogue of Heroines and Arete's sudden about-face in order to show why she finally accepts Odysseus. Her change of heart clearly reflects Odysseus' poetic abilities.

Odysseus fulfills the stated and unstated assumptions of a Marked Catalogue. First, he presents 'factual' material, which is drawn from a source external to the current situation. In this case, he reports to the Phaeacians the speeches of women he saw and spoke to in the Underworld. Second, he presents this material so as to make a subtler point. Not only does Odysseus know his Greek mythology, but he also knows the rules of Greek society. Thus he proves that he is a skilled poet, as well as a famous warrior. The Catalogue of Heroines is a narrative *tour de force*, as Arete's response shows.

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[1]The hubristic attitude of the siblings may be hinted at by the actions of their mother, Iphimedeia. Mühlestein 1986, 109-111 = "I-PE-ME-DE-JA et IPHIMÈDÈIA," Colloquium Mycenaeum (Chaumont, Neuchatel, 1970) 235-237 suggests that Iphimedeia was a minor Mycenaean earth deity, based on the probable appearance of her name on Linear B tablets found at Pylos. If this was so and she was an oppressive diety, which I doubt, it could explain why her sons are hubristic.

Odysseus reveals his knowledge of, and sensitivity to, several different societal rules through his choice of elaborations. First, Tyro's story suggests to Arete that Odysseus made a conscious choice not to seduce Nausicaa, although he clearly could have done so. He understands, however, that this type of behavior carries a risk for both parties, especially if the unknown party is an immortal.

Second, his narration of the Catalogue of Heroines also shows Odysseus' awareness of the differing roles of gods and heroes. Usually, only gods such as Poseidon and Zeus are within their rights to seduce and impregnate a young girl. Mortal men, such as Cretheus, Heracles, and Neleus, usually marry or at least form long term relationships with young girls. Thus Odysseus, who is already married, acts correctly when he exercises self-control and caution.

Melampus' story shows Odysseus' awareness that mortals, even when they are prophets, often suffer at the hands of others. Thus two gods persecute Odysseus and his men for entirely separate reasons. First, Helios punishes Odysseus' men after they eat the god's cattle. Second, Odysseus himself is punished for harming the Cyclops, the child of Poseidon.

But this elaboration also reveals that trials can lead to a successful ending. Melampus succeeds in winning a bride for his brother Bias, and Odysseus will return home to his family. Even Heracles, whose suffering is alluded to obliquely in the Catalogue (*Od.* 11.269-270), appears in the second half of Book 6, when Odysseus discovers that he is living among the gods and is married to a goddess (*Od.* 11.601-629).

Otos and Ephialtes reveal that Odysseus knows that punishment awaits those who either transgress the basic laws of society or challenge the gods directly. As with the above elaborations, this theme is reinforced later in Book 11 by the Catalogue of Sinners (*Od.* 11.568-600). This elaboration, however, shows Arete that Odysseus will not knowingly challenge the gods, since he realizes that the likely result is death. Again, Odysseus has already had some personal experience with this. His men were punished with death after

eating the cattle of Helios, and he himself has suffered at the hands of Poseidon after blinding the latter's son.

Thus, the Catalogue of Heroines, and especially the long elaborations it contains, prove to Arete that Odysseus understands the societal norms which rule the behavior of men. Odysseus understands the acceptable parameters of male sexual behavior, the burdens a heroic man must bear, and the consequences of challenging a god.

For all of these reasons, Arete finally accepts Odysseus and praises him for his heroic attributes: εἶδος, μέγεθος, and φρένας (*Od.* 11.337). Heroes, male and female, are often praised in terms of six generic qualities, εἶδος,[1] δέμας,[2] μέγεθος,[3] φρένας,[4] φυήν,[5] and ἀγορητύν.[6] Arete clearly now considers him a heroic man, and worthy of her praise and presents.

Thus, Odysseus' rendition of the Catalogue of Heroines convinces Arete that he deserves the Phaeacian's support in his journey. She has finally fulfilled the role pointed out by her own elaborate genealogy: she has made a fair and fitting judgement about Odysseus and his role in society.

The Catalogue of Heroines and the Homeric Poet   There is another, subtler, reason for the juxtaposition of the Catalogue of Heroines and the Intermezzo. By the end of the Catalogue, the narrative boundaries between the heroines, Odysseus, and the poet

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[1]*Od.* 4.14, 264; 5.213, 217; 6.17, 152; 7.57; 8.116, 169, 174, 176; 11.337, 469; 14.177; 18.4, 249, 251; 19.124; 20.71; 24.17, 253, 374

[2]*Od.* 3.468; 5.212-213; 8.14, 116; 11.469; 14.177; 16.174; 18.251; 19.124, 381; 20.194; 23.163; 24.17

[3]*Od.* 5.217; 6.152; 11.337; 18.219, 249; 24.253, 374

[4]*Od.* 2.117; 4.264; 7.111; 8.168; 11.337; 14.178; 18.249

[5]*Od.* 5.212; 6.16, 152; 7.210; 8.168

[6]*Od.* 8.168; 14.177.

have almost completely collapsed. First, by the end, Odysseus is shortening his narrative. Thus he just lists the names of Phaedra, Procris (*Od.* 11.321), Maera, and Clumene (*Od.* 11.326). All sense of these women as independent narrators disappears. Second, there are editorial comments within the passage: Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (*Od.* 11.297), στυγερήν (*Od.* 11.326). The source of these comments, Odysseus or the Homeric poet, is unclear. The abrupt pause at the end of the Catalogue of Heroines allows the Homeric poet to separate the narrative levels again, however briefly.

On a thematic level, the collapsing of the narrative levels merely reinforces that particular attribute of Odysseus, craftiness, here revealed as poetic persuasiveness. The *Apologia* begins with a clear separation between the poet and Odysseus, as the latter states his name and reveals the story of his travels. But the boundary has almost completely disappeared by the Intermezzo. Yet when Odysseus resumes his narrative, his interactions with the Iliadic heroes confirm Odysseus' personal and separate identity. Thus, there is slippage in the narrative levels between Odysseus and the poet during the Catalogue of Heroines, but the Intermezzo prevents any long term confusion.

Arete's reaction is also multi-layered. To the Phaeacian audience, she is a judge of Odysseus as a person; indeed, she is clearly the most skeptical person in the audience. As such, it is she who must recognize and decide whether Odysseus' narrative is successful. Clearly then, she also must know and understand the correct form of genealogical catalogues.

To the external audience, the reactions of Arete, Echeneos, and Alcinous are all pointed reminders of the appropriate response of an audience to a poet.[1] The Homeric poet arranges praise of his own narrative prowess through a Marked Catalogue, a poetic form already known to his first external audiences from narratives like the Catalogue of

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[1]Most, G.W. "The Structure and Function of Odysseus' *Apologia*," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 15-30; Fraenkel 19,3, 10ff.

Ships or its oral equivalent. Indeed, Arete's genealogy sets up the expectations of the external audience when the second instance of extended genealogies occurs.

Arete's is not the last extended genealogy that occurs outside of the Catalogue of Heroines. The second genealogy delineates the family history of a character deemed peripheral to the main narrative. But as is the case with Arete's genealogy and the Catalogue of Heroines, the elaborations contained within the genealogy point to the true function of the character involved.

Theoclymenos

The last extended genealogy in the *Odyssey*, a set piece rather than a catalogue entry, is that of the seer, Theoclymenos (*Od.* 15.225-257).[1] Like Arete, he is introduced by a genealogy which points towards his role in the text. But his similarities to her do not end there. Like her, he is a problematic character, for he also appears to have an unexpectedly small role in the narrative, given the length of his introductory genealogy. Like Arete, he is closely tied to the Catalogue of Heroines, albeit in a completely different way. Again, we must look closely at his genealogy to see what it leads us to expect from this prophet. We must then see whether his role in the narrative matches the implications of the genealogy.

As pointed out earlier, genealogies start with the name of the person in question, and then proceed to delineate various family members, as is the case here. The person who

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[1]As with Arete, there are many detractors of the character Theoclymenos. See Heubeck 1989, ad loc. for a summary of viewpoints and bibliography. Many of the issues surrounding Arete arise here also. Generally, critics either interpret his presence as a late interpolation or see this extended genealogy as an introduction to his role as prophet. While the latter is certainly true, as we shall see, this is not the only purpose of the passage. See Fenik 1974, 233-244, who is primarily interested in establishing a formal link between the characters of Nausicaa, Arete, and Theoclymenos. For this reason, his analysis is helpful, but not as full as it could have been. For a more recent defense of Theoclymenos, see Levine, D.B. "Theoclymenos and the Apocalypse," *CJ* 79 (1983) 1-7.

is the end product of the genealogy appears at the beginning, immediately followed by his ancestor's name and their relationship (*Od.* 15.225). There are two odd features to this opening line, however. First, Theoclymenos' societal role, μάντις (*Od.* 15.225), rather than his name is given. Second, the exact relationship between the two men is not at all clear. Theoclymenos is only called the ἔκγονος of Melampus, a word usually translated as "descendant." The term here designates a great-grandson.[1] Thus, the first entry (*Od.* 15.226-242) does not establish a clear genealogical relationship and must serve some other function. The first elaboration then obliquely reviews Melampus' efforts to secure a wife for his brother, Bias. The poet then informs us that Melampus leaves his homeland of Pylos for Argos, where he settles, marries, and produces two sons, Antiphates and Mantias.

The second entry (*Od.* 15.243-249) is introduced by the repetition of Antiphates' name at the beginning of a line. The entry then proceeds swiftly to the focus of the second elaboration, his grandson Amphiaraus. The poet names neither Antiphates' wife, nor his daughter-in-law. The elaboration tells us three things: Amphiaraus is a prophet (*Od.* 14.245-246); he dies at Thebes (*Od.* 15.246-247); and a woman causes his death (*Od.* 15.247). The entry ends by naming his sons (*Od.* 15.248).

The third entry (*Od.* 15.249-255) begins with the placement of Mantias' name at the beginning of a line. As is the case in his brother's entry, his wife is not named and his progeny soon follow (*Od.* 15.249). The first elaboration, which concerns his son Cleitus, follows (*Od.* 15.250-251), albeit introduced by the phrase ἀλλ' ἦ τοι, rather than a pronoun or name. This elaboration relates how and why Cleitus becomes immortal and ends up in Olympos. The second elaboration, which concerns Mantias' other son, then

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[1] Gates, H.P. The Kinship Terminology of Homeric Greek. (Bloomington, 1971) 21, point outs that this term can also mean son (*Od.* 3.123), daughter (*Od.* 11.236). In the *Iliad*, the term used for great-grandson is γόνος (*Il.* 13.449).

follows (*Od.* 15.252-255). It also is not introduced by a pronoun, but by αὐτὰρ (*Od.* 15.252). This elaboration reveals that Polypheides is also a prophet (*Od.* 15.252-253), and that he, like his brother, leaves Argos and settles elsewhere (*Od.* 15.254-255).

There are several odd features to this genealogy. First, as mentioned above, Theoclymenos is not named until the end of the genealogy (*Od.* 15.256). Second, no woman is named within the genealogy,[1] although the need is less pressing than it first appears. Both Pero, the wife of Bias, and Eriphyle, the wife of Amphiaraus, have already been named in the Catalogue of Heroines (*Od.* 11.287 and 11.326, respectively). Women are important in this family, but they are referred to only obliquely, and are never actually named.

Melampus' entry in the Catalogue of Heroines (*Od.* 11.287-297) has already established the thematic parallels between him and Odysseus.[2] These parallels are expanded in this passage. Indeed, the one significant difference between the two men, Melampus' prophetic abilities, are not even mentioned here.

First, both Melampus and Odysseus leave their homelands: Odysseus leaves Ithaca, while Melampus leaves Pylos (*Od.* 15.228-229). Second, both suffer (ἄλγεα, *Od.* 1.4; 15.232) because of women. Odysseus leaves Ithaca in order to (re)gain the wife of another man, and Melampus endures bondage for a year in order to gain a wife for his brother (*Od.* 15.230-233). Third, they both suffer at the hands of the inscrutable gods. Poseidon punishes Odysseus, who blinded his son Polyphemos, while the Erinyes bring ἄτη upon Melampus (*Od.* 15.233-234). The motif of cattle reappears (*Od.* 1.8-9; 15.235-236). Once their tasks are completed, they travel again. Odysseus will leave Ithaca in

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[1]See above, p. 33, n. 2 for the apparent differences between male and female genealogies. The absence of women in this genealogy may just be a reflection of this difference.

[2]See above, pg. 65-67.

order to placate Poseidon (*Od.* 11.121-131), and Melampus flees Pylos and Neleus (*Od.* 15.238-240). Lastly, both reveal their name only after an extensive introduction. Odysseus reveals his to the Phaeacians only after extended coaxing and questioning. Melampus' name is revealed to the external audience only at the end of his genealogy.

There are several important differences between these two men, however. After Troy falls, Odysseus endures ten more years of travail in order to return to his home and his wife. Melampus, on the other hand, only finds a wife after leaving his homeland. Moreover, while Odysseus will die at home in Ithaca (*Od.* 11.134-137), Melampus will spend the rest of his life and presumably die in his new homeland of Argos (*Od.* 15.238-240).

The themes which are emphasized in the first elaboration continue to appear in the rest of the genealogy. Both of Melampus' sons, Antiphates and Mantius, remain in Argos, as does Antiphates' son. But Melampus' great-grandson Amphiaraus leaves Argos for the sake of a woman and dies in Thebes as a result (*Od.* 15.247). Two of Melampus' grandsons, Cleitus and Polypheides, also leave Argos. The former is borne away to Olympos by the female deity Dawn (*Od.* 15.250-251), while the latter removes to Hyperesia (*Od.* 15.254-255). Thus, the entire family shows a marked tendency to leave the land of their birth, for reasons which often involve women, mortal or immortal.

The second theme is the involvement of the gods, which can have two results. In the first type of encounter, the gods' inscrutable behavior somehow causes movement from one's homeland and/or suffering. Into this category fall Melampus and Cleitus. The second type of involvement results in the gift of prophecy.[1] Amphiaraus, beloved by Zeus and Apollo (*Od.* 15.245-246), and Polypheides, favored by Apollo (*Od.* 15.252-253), are clear examples of this category.

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[1]Oddly enough, this aspect of Melampus' career is not emphasized here, although it is clearly established in the Catalogue of Heroines.

There are thus many similarities between the families of Odysseus and Theoclymenos. But the differences between the two families reveal that Theoclymenos' genealogy is a negative exemplum for the external audience. After Troy, Odysseus and Telemachus wander in order to find their family and regain their homeland. In contrast, Theoclymenos' entire family flees their respective homelands. In fact, Theoclymenos himself is a fugitive, fleeing Argos (*Od.* 15.222-224, 271-276). To him, Ithaca is a place of exile and refuge; to Odysseus and Telemachus, it is home. The latter are firmly rooted rooted in Ithaca, a metaphor embodied in Odysseus' repeated use of trees to prove his identity to his wife and father (*Od.* 23.184-204; 24.331-344).

Theoclymenos' family also provides a strong contrast with Odysseus' in its troubled relationships with women. Melampus, Amphiaraus, and Cleitus all suffer dislocation or worse because of women. Odysseus, on the other hand, overcomes all the women with whom he has contact, although he needs help from Hermes and Athena in order to overpower the wiles of Circe and Calypso. Nausicaa, Arete, Eurycleia, and finally Penelope all yield to his persuasive abilities, although some are more resistant to his efforts than others. Thus, Odysseus' relations with women all end well, in direct contrast to Theoclymenos' ancestors. The latter are clearly a negative exemplum for the external audience.

The extended genealogy of Theoclymenos thus contains themes which are important to the *Odyssey* in general: movement to and from one's homeland; the inscrutable behavior of the gods, which may result in suffering and dislocation or in the gift of prophecy; and the role of women in causing dislocation and suffering. As the genealogy moves to a close, however, the emphasis on the family's prophetic abilities increases, paving the way for Theoclymenos' role in the rest of the poem.

Thus, the thematic material clearly points to a contrast between the family history of Theoclymenos and that of Odysseus and Telemachus. This genealogy also prepares the

audience for Theoclymenos' forthcoming role as a prophet.[1] First, only his societal role, not his name, is given at the beginning. Second, the genealogy itself emphasizes the family's talents as prophets.

Once Theoclymenos' role as a prophet has been established, his talents are seen at work with Telemachos (*Od.* 15.525-538), Penelope (*Od.* 17.150-165), and finally with the suitors (*Od.* 20.347-372). Since the main complaint about this character is that his role is disappointingly small, given the genealogical build-up, we should look at each of these passages in turn to see whether his role is as insignificant as it first appears.

When Theoclymenos and Telemachus first meet, the latter is preparing to return home after his journey to get information about his father. His interactions with Theoclymenos make it clear that he is very uncertain what his future holds for him. When he first identifies himself, he names his ancestral home and his father, followed immediately by the reason for his journey (*Od.* 15.267-270). Later, he is unsure about his ability to fulfill his duties as a host (*Od.* 15.509-511), since he does not know what the future holds for his mother and his patrimony. Theoclymenos' interpretation of an omen strengthens Telemachus' resolve. After the prophet's speech, he first answers the prophecy in an appropriate manner, using the same language that Penelope will use later to Theoclymenos (*Od.* 15.536-538 = 17.163-165). He then makes a decision as to where Theoclymenos should stay. In fact, he ends his journey making his own decisions, rather than following the instructions of Athena. Like the Catalogue of Heroines, Theoclymenos' prophecy marks a change in a character. To see why, we must look carefully at the prophecy itself.

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[1] Erbse, H. Beiträge zum Verständnis der Odyssee. (Berlin, 1972) 53-54 argues that Theoclymenos' genealogy affirms that his prophecies are accurate and trustworthy to the external audience.

The prophecy of Theoclymenos is not the only prophecy that Telemachus has received. Indeed, he has just received an interpretation of a similar omen from Helen (*Od.* 15.171-178).[1] Helen's prophecy, however, is concerned solely with Odysseus: his past sufferings (176), his return home (177), and his punishment of the suitors (178). Theoclymenos, however, with the same basic information as Helen, does not mention Odysseus at all. Instead, he concentrates on Telemachus' family as a whole. Thus the prophecy praises both Telemachus' ancestry (ὑμετέρου δ' οὐκ ἔστι γένεος βασιλεύτερον ἄλλο, *Od.* 15.533), and Telemachus as a part of his collective family (ὑμεῖς κρατεροὶ αἰεὶ, *Od.* 15.534). Telemachus is finally addressed as an adult in his own right, rather than as an extension of his father. He is now ready to help his father as a slightly subordinate adult male, rather than as a child.

Theoclymenos' prophecy to Penelope is similarly illuminating, coming as it does just before Odysseus' reentry into his home. Telemachus has just finished relating his travels and the information he has gathered to his mother. Theoclymenos then unexpectedly breaks in, telling Penelope that Odysseus' return is imminent (*Od.* 17.157-158). She responds in the same language that Telemachus did earlier (*Od.* 17.163-165 = 15.536-538). Again, we must look closely at the text to see exactly how it points us towards the return of Odysseus.

Theoclymenos' first words to Penelope are ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος (*Od.* 17.152). He is the first to use this phrase in the *Odyssey*, although Odysseus will address her thus four times in their forthcoming exchange (*Od.* 19.165, 262, 336, 583).[2] This change points to her return to her role as Odysseus' wife, rather

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[1]See Edwards, M.W. "Type-scenes and Homeric Hospitality," *TAPA* 105 (1975) 51-72 for a discussion of this scene as a type.

[2]Hofmeister 1984, 107.

than as a marriageable widow.[1] In addition, Theoclymenos names Odysseus three times in

his short speech (152, 156, 157), which brings the presence of the returning hero to the

fore. Lastly, this prophecy shares most of a line with the prophecy of Helen (*Od.* 15.178

= 17.159). Again, as in his prophecy to Telemachus, Theoclymenos is not concerned with

the suffering of Odysseus, as is Helen. Instead, the prophet concentrates on the imminent

return of Odysseus and the impending punishment of the suitors (157-159).

Thus, both the language and the content of Theoclymenos' prophecy to Penelope

prepare her for the forthcoming return of her husband. As with Telemachus,

Theoclymenos' prophecy comes at a crucial moment in the text, since it immediately

precedes Odysseus' reentry into his own home (*Od.* 17.336). We must now turn to the

last prophecy of Theoclymenos to determine whether this pattern is consistent.

Theoclymenos' last prophecy is given to the suitors (*Od.* 20.347-372). The suitors

are eating and Athena sends a vision to Theoclymenos. He bursts out with an ecstatic

vision directed at all of the suitors (351-357).[2] After the suitors laugh at him, and

Eurymachos scolds him (358-362), Theoclymenos speaks again, although this time directly

to Eurymachos (365-370), after which he leaves the house, and the narrative, for good.

This last appearance of Theoclymenos is a final warning to the suitors, and their rejection

of it confirms the justice of the price they will pay for their behavior. Again, a close look at

the text of the speeches will be helpful.

Both speeches resemble curses is several ways.[3] In both, we find lists of body

parts (κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα, *Od.* 20.352; ὀφθαλμοί τε καὶ οὔατα

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[1]See above p. 56, n. 1 for Hofmeister's analysis of the epithets of Penelope.

[2]De Jong 1988, 68, points out that the sudden shift in narrative point of view
from the narrator's to Theoclymenos' reinforces the shock of his vision.

[3]Luck 1985, 92-93 and 96-97 discuss PGM 1:83-87 and 1:121-124
respectively, both of which contain lists of body parts.

καὶ πόδες ἄμφω / καὶ νόος, *Od.* 20.365-366). In addition, in the first speech we find

repetitive grammatical structures (noun δὲ verb, verb δὲ noun, / noun δὲ verb, *Od.* 17.353-

354). Lastly, Theoclymenos only names Odysseus at the end of his second speech.

Since each of Theoclymenos' speeches marks important points in the poem, he is

not the inconsequential character he first appears to be. He supplies the final seal of

approval for Telemachus as an individual, rather than as the son of Odysseus. He prepares

Penelope for the imminent return of her husband. Lastly, he warns the suitors about the

forthcoming retribution of Odysseus. Having fulfilled his function in the text, he

disappears from the narrative.

Theoclymenos' genealogy, which marks him as a significant character in the

Odyssey, also points the audience to his particular area of expertise, as did Arete's

genealogy. In both cases, an extended genealogy is used by the author to prepare the

audience for the upcoming role of the character concerned. The exact nature of the role is

made clear by the particular manipulations of genealogy by the author; in the case of Arete,

it prepares us for her role as Odysseus' social judge; in the case of Theoclymenos, it

prepares us for his role as prophet. Further, both extended genealogies are connected,

albeit in different ways, to the Genealogy of Heroines. Thus, all of the extended

genealogies in the *Odyssey* are connected by more than just their formal structure.

Conclusion

The extended genealogies contained within the *Odyssey* are clearly markers,

intended to point the audience in a specific direction. Since the only difference between a

typical genealogy and an extended genealogy is usually the length of the elaboration(s), the

narrator clearly has added this feature in order to make one or more specific point(s). In

the case of Arete and Theoclymenos, the Homeric narrator uses these elaborations to

prepare the listener for the future role of the character involved. Arete's genealogy points

out her ability to be a judge Odysseus reassimilation into human society, while

Theoclymenos' testifies to his ability as a seer.

Furthermore, these characters are not as peripheral as they first appear. Both act as transition markers for other characters. Arete prepares Odysseus for the reception he will receive from Penelope. Theoclymenos certifies Telemachus' transition into adulthood, Penelope's return to her role as Odysseus' wife, and the impending punishment of the suitors.

The Homeric narrator is not the only poet in the *Odyssey* who chooses elaborations as the vehicle of his thematic and narrative purposes. The Homeric narrator transfers this device to internal narrative in the Catalogue of Heroines. Odysseus uses the elaborations in this catalogue to prove to Arete that he is fully reintegrated into human society and that he has not violated her daughter. Gaining her approval wins him the material reward of more gifts.

But the Homeric narrator shows Odysseus' skill as a narrator in another way. The Catalogue of Heroines is a Marked Catalogue, and exhibits most of the requisite features of this epic form. As such, it carries two overtones, both of which enhance Odysseus' status as a poet. First, he claims to be relating factual information gathered from his experiences in another time and place. Second, he implies his right to adapt those facts by relating them through a Marked Catalogue. Both of these features set him apart from the Phaeacians and even above their poet, Demodocus. For Odysseus has actually experienced both the Trojan War and his subsequent journeys, while Demodocus has only heard of the events about which he sings. Demodocus' songs move Odysseus to tears, because they bring back his own experiences to him. Odysseus' songs stun his audience to silence, an audience which has not experienced any of the events he narrates.

Thus, the Catalogue of Heroines, which combines the form of a Marked Catalogue with extended genealogies, marks an important moment in the *Odyssey*. The external audience now knows that Odysseus is fully reintegrated back into human society and is truly ready to return home to Ithaca and Penelope. Odysseus' poetic abilities, and by implication those of the Homeric narrator, have carried the day.

CHAPTER III

NARRATIVE AND THEME IN

THE HESIODIC *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*

The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, like the Catalogue of Heroines, is a vexed text. The publication in 1967 of Merkelbach and West's edition of the fragments led to a flurry of interest in the text.[1] But most of the scholarship is of a technical nature. In general, scholars have come forth with articles emending specific lines of text,[2] revealing new texts,[3] all of which are included in the 1990 revised edition of the Hesiod OCT,[4] or discussing specific mythological facts.[5] There has been little consideration of the entire text.

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[1]Merkelbach, R. and M.L. West, Fragmenta Hesiodea. (Oxford, 1967).

[2]For example: Beck, W. "Hesiod Fr. 229.8 M.-W. A Transient Epithet," *ZPE* 56 (1984) 29-30; Casanova, A. "Tre Note al *Catalogo* Esiodeo," *Studio Florentina A Ronconi oblata* (Rome, 1970) 61-67; Musso, O. "Due Note Papirologiche," *Aegyptus* 49 (1969) 72-74. Beck and Casanova have been particularly active in this area, as have the Italians.

[3]For example: Renehan, R. "A New Hesiodic Fragment," *CP* 81 (1986) 221-222; Renner, T. "A Papyrus Dictionary of Metamorphoses," *HSCP* 82 (1978) 277-293; West, M.L. "The Hesiodic Catalogue: Xouthids and Aiolids," *ZPE* 53 (1983) 27-30; West, M.L. "The Hesiodic Catalogue: New Light on Apollo's Love-Life," *ZPE* 61 (1985) 1-7.

[4]Hesiodi. Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum. (Solmsen, F., ed.) with Fragmenta Selecta. (Merkelbach, R. and M.L. West, ed.) (Oxford, 1990). This edition contains all of the fragments in the 1967 edition, plus all new fragments. It does not, however, contain the complete app. crit. It is therefore necessary to use both texts.

[5]For example: Finkelberg, M. "Ajax's Entry in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*," *CQ* 38 (1988) 31-41; Solmsen, F. "The Sacrifice of Agamemnon's Daughter in Hesiod's *Ehoeae*," *AJP* 102 (1981) 353-358.

There are two exceptions to this approach. The first is a dissertation by I. M. Cohen,[1] written expressly for the purpose of explicating the 1967 Merkelbach and West edition of the fragments. In many ways, the dissertation is a valuable work, for it is a thorough treatment of many of the issues surrounding this text. Cohen considers in detail all previous editions of the text, as well as the assumptions and organizing principles of each editor's work.[2] He also considers the various organizational theories,[3] the relationship between the *Catalogue*, the *Ehoia* and the *Megalai Ehoiai*,[4] and the relationship between the Hesiodic text and the early logographers.[5] Lastly, he analyzes the formulas in the text,[6] and attempts to date the text.[7]

Unfortunately for Cohen, even as he was defending his dissertation, West was completing a manuscript for his own book by the same name.[8] West's intent is similar, but not identical, to Cohen's. Like Cohen, he discusses and explicates the fragments and their order as published in 1967 in the second chapter of the book, titled "The Structure of

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[1]Cohen, I.M. The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. (PhD Diss., Toronto, 1983). Unfortunately, this useful dissertation is only available in microfiche format, which may explain why scholars have generally overlooked it.

[2]Cohen 1983, 1-16 for earlier editions and 17-57 for Merkelbach and West.

[3]Cohen 1983, 58-80; on the function of the phrase ἢ οἵη, 81-100.

[4]Cohen 1983, 111-139. This last chapter is the only one which has been published so far, "The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and the *Megala Ehoiai*," *Phoenix* 40 (1986) 127-142. In both his dissertation and article, he argues that these are one and the same texts, the only point at which he substantially disagrees with West.

[5]Cohen 1983, 140-206.

[6]Cohen 1983, 207-364; concentrates primarily on frr. 23(a), 25, 33(a), 43(a), 195 *Scut.*, 197, 198, 199, 200, 204. Also see Meier, W.D. Die Epische Formel im Pseudohesiodeischen Frauenkatalog: Eine Untersuchung zum nachhomerischen Formelgebrauch. (PhD Diss., Zürich, 1976).

[7]Cohen 1983, 365-425.

[8]West, M.L. The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. (Oxford, 1985).

the *Catalogue*."[1] But West also constructs an 'archaeology of genealogies,' in which he

proposes a series of genealogical manipulations, with an accompanying time frame, for

each family tree.[2] As in his second chapter, this is a geographically based series of

changes, which also reveals itself through alternative genealogies recovered from other

sources. To many,[3] this is the definitive text, and little needs to be added. The discussion

that follows will show that this is only partially correct.

Assumptions The first order of business is to establish the assumptions on which

this chapter is based. Although it is quite likely that the text as we have it contains

interpolations,[4] it is impossible to determine which fragments are or are not 'original.'

Although this chapter is not intended to be a line-by-line papyrological commentary on the

fragments, I will clearly note those readings with which I or others disagree.[5] Further, I

generally believe that the *Catalogue of Women* is a written text, but is based on and adapts

earlier oral material.[6] Thus I believe that the Tyro episodes in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 11.235-

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[1]West 1985, 31-124, in which he argues that the main organizational principle is geography, and that one can get a general idea of the shape of the text by looking at Apollodoros. The first chapter (pg. 1-30) consists mainly of a brief survey of genealogies in other cultures, although he also briefly considers the relationship of the *Catalogue of Women* first to the (*Megalai*) *Ehoiai* (p. 1), then to the *Theogony* (pg. 2-3), and lastly to other Greek genealogical works, poetry (pg. 4-5) and prose (pg. 6-7).

[2]West 1985, 125-171.

[3]For example: Davies, M. *CR* 36 (1986) 6-8; Edwards, G.P. *JHS* 106 (1986) 204-205; Shelmerdine, S.C. *CW* 82 (1988) 54-55.

[4]Janko, R. Homer and Hesiod and the Hymns. (Cambridge, 1982), 221-225 for the language of *Theogony* 901-1022 and *Catalogue of Women* in general, and 223-235 for miscellaneous dialectical forms.

[5]Giangrande, G. "Hesiod's Fragments," *CR* 20 (1970) 151-156 criticizes the extent of supplements in Merkelbach and West's edition. See West, M.L. "Hesiod, Fragmenta, Again," *CR* 20 (1970) 416 for his response to Giangrande.

[6]Cantilena, M. "Le *Eoeae* e la Tradizione Orale," *Athenaeum* 57 (1979) 139-145; Meier 1976; Cohen 1983, 207-364 are the few discussions of the relationship between this text and oral tradition.

289) and the *Catalogue* (frr. 30.24ff; 31) are based on one or more external oral sources, as is the Alcmene passage in the *Shield* (*Scut.* 1-56 = fr. 195 *Scut.* 1-56).

The extant text is impossible to date accurately. The Greeks considered Hesiod to be the author, as the testamonia make clear. West dates the final written version of the text to the sixth century.[1] In addition, he proposes that the final version was composed in Athens, based on Atticisms and the prominent role of Heracles.[2] Cohen attempts to date the final written version even more narrowly.[3] Combining references to the Scythians (fr. 150) and Cyrene (fr. 215) with established colonization dates of the Euxine and Cyrene in north Africa, he arrives at a post quem date of 630 to 625 BCE. He then assumes that the Shield, whose composition he dates to 620-590 BCE, borrowed from the *Catalogue of Women* for its opening lines. This results in a date of composition of 630-590 BCE. Janko,[4] using linguistic dating, shows that shifting lines 901 to 1022 of the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women* results in a slightly earlier date for the latter relative to the former. This is a somewhat unexpected result, given the usual assumption that the *Catalogue* was composed later than the *Theogony* by a lesser poet. Janko then postulates a roughly contemporaneous date for both of the mid seventh century BCE.

As this discussion shows, it is impossible to date this poem securely. The author, by which term I mean the person who either wrote the poem down himself or caused it to be written down, clearly adapted and shaped earlier oral material. Thus, this dissertation will assume that this poem grew out of a lost epic tradition, although I can make no definitive statement as to the date of its transformation into the final written form.

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[1]West 1985, 130ff.

[2]West 1985, 168-171.

[3]Cohen 1983, 365-425.

[4]Janko 1982, 85-87 and 221-225.

Text   Unlike the catalogues in the Homeric poems, the genealogical catalogues in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* are the main narrative structure, rather than a subsidiary narrative technique. In addition, the poem itself has been transmitted in a highly fragmented state. It therefore must first be established which texts can reasonably be used in this analysis.

There are three different types of texts. First, there are papyrus fragments. These in turn can be broken down into three categories. The first category contains enough complete text for extensive and relatively accurate analysis (frr. 10(a), 23(a), 25, 26, 30 M. -W., etc.).[1] In the second category are those fragments which contain enough text to discern the general subject matter, but not enough to do any detailed analysis (frr. 54(a), 59, 66, 88, etc.). The last type of fragment doesn't have enough text to discern anything, and is only associated with the *Catalogue of Women* because the fragment in question matches or is part of another identifiable fragment (frr. 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, etc.).

The second type of text is a quote, usually less than five lines, contained within another text (frr. 5, 10, 13, 34, 40, 49, etc.). Unfortunately, this type of text is of only limited use, due to the brevity of the entries. In addition, the author quotes the Hesiodic text in order to make a completely separate point within his own work. As a result, the quote is taken out of context. Unlike the papyrus fragments, however, these quotes are usually specifically named as being from Hesiod, which makes their attribution to the *Catalogue of Women* more secure.

The last type of text is a paraphrase, also contained within another text. As in the case of the quotes, the author paraphrases the Hesiodic text in order to explicate some other point or text. Indeed, there are several identifiable reasons that later writers paraphrase the *Catalogue of Women*. In some cases, the author wishes to state or compare either

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[1]Citations are from the 1990 OCT edition, which has the same numbering system as the 1967 Merkelbach and West edition.

genealogies (frr. 2, 4, 6, 17(b), 19, 24, etc.) or the mythological story attached to a

genealogy (frr. 12, 51, 54(b), (c), 63, 68, etc.). The author may wish to compare or

explain the name of a person or place (frr. 5, 12, 13, 19, 20, etc.). Or the writer may want

to explain a term or specific line of text (frr. 18, 28, 41, 42, 51, etc.). In each of these

cases, we are unable to determine which details the paraphraser may have omitted. So

while paraphrases are useful for determining whether a particular genealogy or event was in

the *Catalogue*, they are not very helpful for analyzing narrative style or theme. Therefore

quotes or fragments will primarily be used to determine the narrative patterns and themes in

the *Catalogue of Women*.

Since the main focus of my discussion is narrative techniques and thematic

development, I must primarily consider only long fragments, by which I mean those that

are longer than six lines. In addition, I will generally exclude paraphrases from my

discussion. Thus the primary fragments to be considered are: 1, 10(a), 17(a), 22*, 23, 25,

26, 30, 31, 33(a), 35, 37*, 43(a), 54(a)*, 58*, 59*, 64*, 66*, 70, 73*, 75, 76, 83*, 129,

135, 136*, 141, 143*, 145, 150, 165, 171*, 176, 177, 180, 185, 190, 193, 195, 196-

204, 205, 211, 212(b)*, 217, 229, 235, 239, 240, 244*, 251(a), 252, 259(b)*.[1]

Although this is not an inconsiderable list, it does not include every fragment.

While this list of fragments appears to be fairly long, a cursory glance at any of the

fragments will reveal that the term 'fragment' is all too appropriate. This, in turn, has two

consequences. The first is that connections to other texts, especially linguistic connections,

may not be as certain as we would like. Indeed, the editors may have supplemented based

on such connections, thereby creating a circular 'proof.' The second result is that any

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[1]Those fragments with a * signifies a fragment which has six or more lines,
but which contains few, if any, complete lines of text. In addition, I have included those
fragments which Merkelbach and West consider part of the *Megalai Hoiai* (frr. 246-262),
since the relationship between these two poems, if there are two separate poems, is still
unclear. Reference will be made on occasion to shorter papyri or paraphrases, but only to
add further weight to the evidence of longer papyri.

argument must continuously be stated using such terms as "appears to be," "is probably,"

"may be" and the like. I apologize for this stylistic annoyance, but the text is too

incomplete to allow many certainties.

Patterns Generally speaking, the pattern for an extended genealogy in the

Catalogue of Women is very similar to that established in the previous chapter. Although

there is more variety, due to the greater number of passages, it is possible to establish both

general patterns and common vocabulary.

A genealogy usually begins in some way with the woman. The passage may start

with her name (fr. 23(a).31), a relative pronoun, if it is a continuation of an earlier

genealogy (fr. 25.18), or just the word κουρή (fr. 5.1). Then her genealogy is given, if it

has not appeared in a previous entry. This usually consists of naming just her father (fr.

129.12), although her grandfather may also appear (frr. 33.6; 129.17-18, 22). Then, an

adjective describes the woman's physical appearance.[1] This adjective may on occasion be

replaced by a phrase which is usually formulaic, and also concerns her physical

appearance.[2] She may be placed in a hierarchy with other women, by means of a

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[1] ἑλικῶπις, frr. 43(a).19; 75.15; 180.13; καλλιπάρηος, frr. 17(a).3; 43(a).19; 85.6; *129.13; *180.13; καλλίσφυρος, frr. *23(a).15, 20; 25.28; 129.14; 136.10; *195.3; καλλιπλόκαμος, frr. 26.10; 129.18; *171.5; *180.7; ἐϋπλόκαμος, frr. 26.10; *30.25; 129.18; *171.5; *180.7; καλλίζωνος, fr. 26.27; ἐϋζωνος, frr. 33(a).7; 195 *Scut.* 31; 221.1; καλλίκομος (the Homeric texts have καλλίτριχος instead), fr. 141.10; ἠΰκομος, frr. 25.17; 37.8, 21; 185.8; 195.2; 199.2; *200.2, 11; 204.43, *55; ξανθός, fr. 26.31; ἐϋστέφανος, fr. 43(a).1; τανίσφυρος, frr. 43(a).37; 73.6; 75.6; 141.8; 195 *Scut.* 35; 198.4; βοῶπις, fr. 23(a).5; 129.20; κυανῶπις, fr. 23(a).14, *27; 25.14; 169.1; δῖα, frr. *25.34; 73.2; 76.20; 190.3. The term must be used at least once in unsupplemented text. Underlined words appear in the Homeric poems, by which I mean the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. An asterisk (*) marks those citations which are supplemented by Merkelbach and West. Language which they have marked as a supplement in the index of the 1967 edition, but which seems probable, will be noted as an asterisk in parentheses ((*)). Cohen 1983, 207-364, in his formular analysis cites all Homeric and Hesiodic parallels for fragments 23(a), 25, 33(a), 43(a), 195 *Scut.*, 197-200, and 204.

[2] ἣ εἶδος Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν ἔριζεν, frr. 129.5; 252.2; ἣ εἶδος ἐρήιστ' ἀθανάτησιν, frr. 23(a).*10, 16; *180.14; ἐπήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν, frr. 10(a).20, *32; 25.39; 136.2; θεῶν / Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσαν, frr. *171.4; 215.1;

comparison.[1] Occasionally, women are praised for housewifely skills.[2] Alcmene is also praised for honoring her husband beyond all other women.[3] Thus, the source of a woman's praise is her physical appearance or her excellence in fulfilling a woman's role within the household.

The woman then forms a sexual alliance with either a male god or a mortal male, an event which is usually expressed by a formulaic participial phrase.[4] Occasionally the participial phrase expresses only the result of the union.[5] Alternatively, the poet may drop the participial phrase and move directly to their marriage.[6] Then the progeny of this union are listed, again in a formulaic way. The verb is usually in the indicative, with the

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[1] πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν, fr. 10(a).45; 17(a).7; Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχουσα, frr. 43(a).4; 70.38; *73.3; *185.20; 196.6. The only exception to this emphasis on physical appearance is the possible use of ἐπίφρων: ἐπί]φ[ρ]ονα Δηϊάνειραν (fr. 25.17).

[1] εἴδει ἐκαίνυτο φῦλα γυναικῶν, frr. 96.2; 180.10; 195 *Scut*. 4.

[2] περικαλλέα ἔργ' εἰδυίαι, frr. *23(a).4; 26.6; 129.23.

[3] ἣ δὲ καὶ ὣς κατὰ θυμὸν ἑὸν τίεσκεν ἀκοίτην,
ὡς οὔ πώ τις ἔτισε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων   (fr. 195 *Scut*. 9-11).

[4] μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι, frr. 5.3; 10(a).24; (*)165.9; 253.3; μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῆι, fr. 17(a).5; in reverse order, fr. 195 *Scut*. 36; ἐν ἀγκοίνηισι μιγεῖσα, fr. 43(a).81; (ὁμὸν / θαλερὸν) λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσα, frr. (*)23(a).7; 25.35; 26.8; 129.21; (*)180.11; 193.12; μίχθη (ἐρατῆι) φιλότητι, fr. 10(a).35; 235.3; ὑποδμηθεῖσα, frr. 23(a).28, 35; 25.18; 195 *Scut*. 53. The only reversal of this pattern, in which the mortal man Eetion attempts to sleep with Demeter, results in the death of the former at the hands of Zeus (fr. 177.9-12).

[5] ὑποκυσαμένη, frr. 7.1; 10(a). 42(a), 47; 26.27; 145.15; 205.1.

[6] γῆμε, frr. *23(a).13; 43(a).88; 60.3; (θαλερὴν) ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν, frr. 10(a).22, 59; 17(a).12; 23(a).*7, 31; 33(a).7; *85.5; 190.6. This is occasionally reversed; the children can be named in the nominative and the father in the genitive (fr. 35.10-12).

child(ren) in the accusative case, and the father in the dative.[1] The passage may then name

the child(ren) immediately or it may use the terms τέκνα,[2] υἱόν,[3] or κούρην,[4] followed

by the name(s) of the child(ren). The process then usually begins again with the children

as the focus of the next extended genealogy.

These extended genealogies, unlike those in the Homeric poems, can be broken

down into three types. The first are those without any elaboration at all. This type is rare,

and usually involves a genealogy which names only one parent, typically the male. In this

case, the genealogy often skips the details of one or more generations in order to

concentrate on other, subsequent segments of the family. Thus in two lines, Abas

engenders Acrisios, whose grandson Perses is named in the next line (fr. 135.2-3):

> . . . .]"Αβας· ὃ δ' ἄρ' 'Ακρίσιον τέ[κεθ' υἱόν.
> . . . . Πε]ρσῆα, τὸν εἰς ἅλα λά[ρνακι

The wife of neither man is named, nor does any elaboration occur in the first two

generations.

The second type of genealogy contains short elaborations, or an elaboration of five

or less lines. These elaborations are often formulaic and often involve the same motifs and

themes. When the male courts his bride, we find short elaborations discussing his gifts

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[1]ἔτικτεν or τίκτε(ν), frr. *135.8; 161.2; 221.1; 252.3; ἔτεκε(ν), τέκε(ν) and τέκον, frr. 5.3; 25.18, 20; 43(a).58, *68; 65.15; 145.15; 150.11; 170; 175.2; 185.18; 190.3; 195 Scut. 6; 204.94; 205.1; 236; 251(a).1; 253.2; τέκοντο ... τέκνα, fr. 10(a).30; γείνατο τέκνα, fr. 70.32; ἐγένετο (υἱός), frr. *14.10; 150.16, 27; 185.6; (υἱεῖς . . .) ἐγένοντο, frr. 26.29; 43(a).60; 58.16; παῖδα(ς) ἐγείνατ', frr. 10(a).51, 65; ἐν μεγάροις, frr. 5.1; 10(a).51; 17(a).14; 23(a).15; 26.28; 33(a).8; 43(a).33; 70.32; 165.6; 204.94; 243.6; *251.6; 252.3; ἔτρεφε κούρην, frr. 165.6; 181.

[2]Frr. 10(a).30; 33(a).8; 70.32; τέκνω, fr. (*)17(a).14.

[3]Frr. 26.28; 40.1; 236; 252.3; 257; υἱεῖς, frr. 26.29; 43(a).60; υἱέας, fr. 136.3.

[4]Fr. 137.1; κούρας, fr. 190.3.

(frr. 129.25?; 14.7; 22.6), her leaving her father's home (fr. 195 *Scut.* 1),[1] and her beauty.[2] On the rare occasion that the wedding itself occasions a short elaboration, this is caused by the double parentage of the twins who result from this marriage (fr. 195 *Scut.* 9ff). Lastly, these short elaborations may briefly discuss the child(ren) who result from the union.

The third type of genealogy contains a long elaboration. Some of these may be broken down into shorter narrative units, such as the Catalogue of Suitors (frr. 196-204). Some of these episodes, however, completely escape from the boundary of a catalogue and become miniature vignettes in and of themselves. The wooing of Atalanta (frr. 73; 75; 76) and the rape of Tyro (frr. 30; 31) fall into this category. Both contain direct speech, and the motivations of more than one participant.

Narrative Devices   In addition to types of genealogies, there are various types of archaic narratological devices. The most prevalent is a smaller catalogue within the *Catalogue of Women*.[3] This may consist of just a list of names, especially if progeny are involved (children of Neleus and Chloris, fr. 33(a).9-12). Or the items in these smaller catalogues may be a series of names with elaborations, as in the Catalogue of Suitors.

A second narrative device is 'hysteron proteron.'[4] This structure, in which the elaborations occur in an order opposite to that of the children, was correctly identified as a

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[1]In an interesting reversal, one of the formulaic phrases repeats the information that the suitors are going to Helen's home: Τυνδαρέου ποτὶ δῶμα δαΐφρονος (Οἰβαλίδαο) frr. 199.8; 204.61.

[2]See above, p. 88.

[3]Thalmann, W.G. Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry. (Baltimore, 1984) 25ff.

[4]Thalmann 1984, 6ff.

common practice in the extant fragments by A. Casanova, who calls it the 'pivot point.'[1]

Cohen points outs, however, that while the technique is used in most instances (frr.

23(a).7-12; 129.8-25; 177.7-12),[2] it does not appear in every case (frr. 26.10-21;

25(a).5 + 23(a).7-35 + 25.1(?) - 33).[3] Indeed, Cohen shows that the author may add an

elaboration at the end about a child who never appeared in the original list of progeny

(Orestes, fr. 23(a).15-30).[4] Further, there is no evidence that the 'pivot point' is an overall

organizational technique, as Casanova claims.

Ring composition also appears in the text, at least on a small scale. Thus we find in

fr. 193:

<pre>
'Ηλεκτρύων ἵππ]οισι καὶ ἅρμασι κολλητ[οῖσιν   10
ἤγαγε Λυσιδίκην] Πέλοπος περικαλλέα [κούρην.
ἢ οἱ γείνατο παῖδ]ας ὁμόν λέχος εἰσαναβ[ᾶσα,
Γοργοφόνον θ'] ἥρωα καὶ αἰχμητὴν Περ[ι-
. . . .] Νομίον τε Κελαινέα τ' Αμ[φίμαχον τε
Δηΐμαχόν] τε καὶ Εὐρύβιον κλειτόν τ' Ε[πίλαον.   15
καὶ τοὺς μὲν] Τάφι[ο]ι ναυσικλυτοὶ ἐξενά[ριξαν
βουσὶν ἔπ' εἰλι]πόδεσσιν, Ἐχινάων ἀ[πὸ νήσων
πλεύσαντες ν]ήεσσιν ἐπ' ε[ὐ]ρέα νῶτα θαλ[άσσης·
'Αλκμήνη δ' ἄρα] μούνη ἐλ[είπ]ετο χάρμα γο[νεῦσι,
Λυσιδίκης κο]ύρ[η] καὶ ['Ηλ]εκτρύων[ος ἀγαυοῦ   20
</pre>

First the parents are named (Electryon and Lysidice, 10-11), followed by the catalogue of

sons resulting from their union (13-15). Then the manner of their collective death is related

(16-18), followed by the name of the sole remaining child (Alcmene, 19). Lastly, the

names of the parents are repeated again (20). Thus the information conveyed in lines 10-11

is repeated, albeit in a compressed form, in line 20, thereby creating a sense of

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[1]Casanova, A. "Sulla Tecnica Narrativa in Alcuni Passi delle *Eee*," *RFIC* 95 (1967) 31-38.

[2]Cohen 1983, 91-93.

[3]Cohen 1983, 93-95.

[4]Cohen 1983, 95-96.

(en)closure.[1] Unfortunately, it is unclear if this narrative technique is applied on a larger scale.

Organization   Several scholars have tried to articulate the organization of the *Catalogue of Women* by referring to the organization of the *Theogony*,[2] to which the former was appended.[3]   While an in-depth discussion of the organization of the poem is only incidental to this paper, the two main viewpoints on this matter should still be considered. The first viewpoint, argued most recently and fully by Schwartz,[4] states that the genealogies are arranged according to the gods who were the original founders of the family. This argument is based primarily upon the remains of fragment 1, which appears to contains a list of gods after the initial invocation of the Muses (fr. 1.15ff). The second and more widely accepted viewpoint bases its theory of organization on two pieces of evidence, which generally support each other. First, it is believed that Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* loosely follows the *Catalogue of Women* in its overall structure.[5]   Second, Merkelbach has proposed that the *Catalogue* is organized around a geographic base for

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[1]Thalmann 1984, 9.

[2]Cohen 1983, 81-110; West 1985, 2-3, 49. See Cohen 1983, 1-57 for a complete discussion of the textural tradition, and the organizational stratagems of each editor, including his assessment of Merkelbach and West.

[3]See West, M.L. Hesiod. *Theogony*. (Oxford, 1966), ad loc. 881-1020 and 900 for a discussion of where the *Theogony* originally ended and the *Catalogue of Women* began. He argues for an end at 900. Northrop, M.D. "Where did the *Theogony* End?". *SymbOs* 58 (1983) 7-13 argues for an end at line 955. This argument has been updated by Hamilton, R. The Architecture of Hesiodic Poetry. (Baltimore, 1989) 40, who argues for line 965 as the last line.

[4]Schwartz, J. Pseudo-Hesiodea: Recherches sur la composition, la diffusion et la disparition ancienne d'oeuvres attribuèes à Hésiode. (Leiden, 1960); first proposed by Treu, M. "Das Proömium der Hesiodischen Frauenkataloge," *RhMus* 100 (1957) 169-186.

[5]West, M.L. review of Lobel, E. ed., The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part 28. (London, 1962). *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 752-759; West 1985, 35, 43-46.

each family.[1]   These two independent points in fact reinforce each other, a strong

indication that this second organizational structure may be closer to reality than the first.

Thus, this chapter generally agrees with Merkelbach and West's organizational principles

and the resulting organization of the text, although there are clearly some problem

passages.[2]

Merkelbach and West break the *Catalogue of Women* down into six main families,

each of which covers a general geographical area, in the five books of the poem.[3]   The

families are arranged so as to move in a loose fashion from west to east across Greece.

The families and their geographies are as follows: Deucalionidai (west Peloponnese,

Aetolia, central Greece, Thessaly); Inachidai (Argos, Thebes); Arcadians (east Arcadia);

Atlantides (Laconia, east Argolid, east Boeotia, Euboea, Troad); Asopids (Aegina,

Salamis); Athenians (Attica).

The *Catalogue of Women* resembles the *Theogony* in its organizational treatment of

genealogies, as outlined by West.[4]   First, the order is basically chronological within each

family, in that all members of the same generation tend to be listed at the same time. The

exceptions to this rule occur when the end of a particular family branch is only a few

generations away. In these cases, the particular branch is followed to its end, rather than

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[1]Merkelbach, R. "Über zwei epische Papyri," and "Zur Einordnung der neuen Fragmente," *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 254-260 and 268; review of Traversa, A., ed. <u>Hesiodi Catalogi sive Ehoearum Fragmenta</u>. (Naples, 1951) *Gnomon* 27 (1955) 4-6; "Les Papyrus d'Hésiode et la Géographie Mythologique de la Gréce," *CE* 43 (1968) 133-155.

[2]Cohen 1983, 33-41 points out some of the problems.

[3]For an explanation of their organization, see West 1985, 137-167 generally and 166 specifically. That there were five books is fairly certain. Where the division points between books occurred is less so. See Casanova, A. "Un Frammento Trascurato e Il Problema Della Divisione in Libri del *Catalogo* Esiodeo," *SIFC* 45 (1973) 3-27; West 1985, 31-33; Cohen, 1983, 48-50.

[4]West 1966, 37-39.

delayed until the appropriate generation. Second, related sections are generally adjacent in the poem, which can cause chiasmus. That is, the poet may begin listing a third generation by beginning with the children of the last member listed of the second generation (A B C followed by children c b a). Or the narrator can list the progeny of a generation in the same order that the parents are listed (D E F followed by d e f). Lastly, the author uses ἢ' οἵη to get back to the original list of children when needed.

While an organizational scheme based on geography and a (probably) derivative text is certainly valid, this approach raises the same issues that the Catalogue of Heroines does. It is based on 'facts,' in this case either the gods involved or, more likely, the geographical base of each family. This type of structure, however, does not replace or remove the possibility of thematic development. In fact, the author announces his intentions by introducing the *Catalogue of Women* with an address to the Muses.

The Marked Catalogue and the *Catalogue of Women*

The first three lines of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* place this poem firmly within the Marked Catalogue type. The poem begins with an appeal to the Muses (fr. 1.1-2), including a second person verb (ἀείσατε, fr. 1.1). These lines also define the category (γυναικῶν φῦλον, fr. 1.1) in a hierarchical format (αἳ τότ' ἄρισται ἔσαγ[, fr. 1.3). By using this introduction to the poem, the author consciously chooses to place himself within the tradition of the Marked Catalogue, which emphasizes his role as poet in shaping the material to fit his requirements.

The poet of the *Catalogue of Women* does not limit his address to these three lines, however. Instead, he uses the form which Minton identifies as particularly Hesiodic.[1] The poet begins with a general address to the Muses, using the imperative voice (fr. 1.1-2).

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[1]Minton, W.W. "Invocation and Catalogue in Hesiod and Homer," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 192.

This is followed by a relative clause which usually leads into a general outline of the subject matter. In this case, the narrator uses these lines to establish the general mythological time frame for the beginning of the poem (fr. 1.3ff). The narrative takes place in that utopian period when mortals and immortals intermingle freely, at feasts and in sexual encounters.[1] This is clearly the utopian world of the past,[2] not the world of the Homeric poems. Once he has established a general mythological time frame, the narrator returns to the Muses (fr. 1.14) and restates his question so as to lead directly into the subject of his poem (fr. 1.15ff), the women who sleep with Zeus and other gods.

The author of the *Catalogue of Women* uses the proem in at least two ways. First, he uses the form of a Marked Catalogue to announce his poetic right to adapt his material. Second, he uses the proem to establish clearly his mythological, and thematic, starting point. By the end of the *Catalogue of Women*, this world view may change.

The proem of the *Catalogue of Women*, introducing as it does a Marked Catalogue, explicitly states the poet's choice of subject matter. But the proem also implies the poet's right to make that choice. This, in turn, has other consequences. The poet can, and does, create any world he wishes. He can either create a whole new world, or he can draw on any characteristics from other narratives. In the case of the *Catalogue of Women*, the narrator can draw on such epic tradition, which has come down to us as the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, the *Homeric Hymns*, and the Epic Cycle. This statement should not be taken to mean that the poet had before his eyes written copies of all of these poems, copies which match those we have. Depending on the date of composition, he could have had copies of some or even all of these poems. But he could

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[1]Thalmann 1984, 84-95, 99-100; West, M.L. "Hesiodea," *CQ* 11 (1961) 133.

[2]The only mortals who feast with gods are the utopian communities of Aethiopians (*Il.* 1.423) and Phaeacians (*Od.* 7.201-206).

just as easily have drawn on oral versions of these poems, or passages from these poems. In addition, since he uses epic diction, a pattern of particular vocabulary is generally more helpful than any one particular reference.

The possible variety of poetic influences leads to two questions. First, does the poet draw on the same source(s) throughout the entire *Catalogue of Women*? This particular question is somewhat difficult to answer in a strictly philological sense, given the fragmented nature of the poems. Second, is the world which the poet creates the same throughout the entire poem? This question is particularly relevant for this poem. Unlike the Homeric poems, the *Works and Days*, and the *Homeric Hymns*, the *Catalogue* covers a large, albeit unspecified, amount of mythological time.[1] Needless to say, this is a far cry from the time periods covered in most epic poetry. The *Catalogue of Women* clearly stretches the temporal limitation discussed in the Introduction. Although the series of chronologically occurring sexual relationships appears as a list of women, this poem still covers a great span of mythological time. This creates the real possibility for a particular type of thematic development. The poet could choose to change the world he portrays as the poem and mythological time progress. He is not limited to creating one static world.[2] Thus, we can justifiably consider whether the poetic reality remains unchanged, or whether it is transformed in the course of the *Catalogue*.

The proem provides yet another clue to the author's intentions. It differs from earlier Homeric and Hesdiodic catalogues in one significant way. There is no apology at

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[1]The longest family tree, that of the Inachids, covers seventeen generations. See West 1985, 177. The usual depth of any genealogy is between four and seven generations (Arcadians, seven generations, West 1985, 179; Atlantids, ten and seven generations, West 1985, 180; Asopids, six generations, West 1985, 181; Athenians, four and five generations, West 1985, 181). Using a generational span of fifteen years, since this is a catalogue of women and they married young, this yields a minimum of about sixty years and a maximum of 255 years which the *Catalogue* could potentially cover.

[2]This is not meant to imply that the other epic poems are entirely static or consistent.

the beginning of a text which is surely longer and more complicated that the Catalogue of Ships.[1] The author does not apologize for leaving anything out, because he does not intend to do so. The poet implies that this catalogue will fulfill its stated purpose: to reveal the families of mortals and demi-gods who are born to the race of mortal women.

The author of the *Catalogue of Women* has thus firmly placed his poem within the tradition of the Marked Catalogue. In doing so, he announces his right to arrange the text to fit his needs. We must therefore consider just what his needs are. In order to determine this, we will look primarily at the patterns which emerge from the long elaborations, and the characters who repeatedly appear within them.

Since the *Catalogue of Women* is a genealogical catalogue, most characters appear once, or at most twice. Every character is listed at his/her birth, and then again at his/her marriage and resulting parenthood. The only exceptions occur when the character dies before marriage, in which case his/her death constitutes the second appearance. Thus, the vast majority of mortals appear once, or more rarely, twice in the poem.

There are three flagrant exceptions to this rule: Heracles, Agamemnon, and Menelaus. All three appear repeatedly throughout the entire text, and in circumstances outside of birth, marriage, and death. The repeated appearances of these three characters is, I believe, a significant component in the thematic development of the *Catalogue of Women*. As such, it is necessary to consider these characters in detail.

In addition to these three mortals, Zeus also appears repeatedly in a variety of sexual and non-sexual roles. While other gods, male and female, also appear in sexual and non-sexual roles, Zeus' appearances are more numerous and more varied than those of any

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[1]The only statement that is even close to an apology occurs in fr. 33(a).18, when the narrator informs us that Poseidon's gift allows Periclymenos to change into so many different animals that they cannot be named (παντjοῖ' οὐκ ὀνομαστά).

other immortal.[1] In addition to considering the roles of Heracles and Agamemnon and Menelaus therefore, Zeus must also be discussed.

Lastly, how these four characters fit within the overall thematic development of the *Catalogue of Women* must also be considered. It is clear that the author of the *Catalogue* not only uses organizational devices borrowed from the *Theogony*, but also intends the former to be seen as a thematic continuation of the latter in language, and theme.

Organization

The narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* carefully establishes the mythological epoch at the beginning of the poem as that time when mortals and immortals have constant and personal contact with each other. This close interaction is reflected in many of the fragments from the first half of the poem.

In fragment 23, the Greeks have offended Artemis on their way to Troy and must pay the penalty (fr. 23(a).20, ποινὴ[ν τεισόμενοι) by sacrificing Iphimede. But Artemis herself easily (ῥεῖα, 22)[2] saves the mortal girl by substituting an εἴδω[λον (fr. 23(a).21-22), feeds her ambrosia (fr. 23(a).22-23), and makes her immortal (fr. 23(a).24). In this case, an immortal and mortal go one step beyond communal feasting. Iphimede actually eats the food of the immortals. Of course, since she actually becomes immortal,[3] this is entirely acceptable. In some ways, however, this event seems appropriate here, near the beginning of the *Catalogue*. The interactions between gods and humans are still close, and crossing from one world to the other seems less difficult.

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[1]See Appendix A for details.

[2]Schein, S. The Mortal Hero. (Berkeley, 1984) 53-54 discusses the significance of this word as one which separates immortals from mortals in the Homeric world.

[3]She thereby follows in the steps of her aunt Phylonoe (fr. 23(a).11-12).

This motif appears again, in fragment 25. Here, the death and immortalization of Heracles are narrated (fr. 25.23-33). Heracles, unlike Iphimede, actually lives on Olympos and takes an immortal wife (fr. 25.27-28). This is certainly the ultimate transformation: not only has he become immortal, like Iphimede, but he also lives and sleeps with an immortal on Olympos.

The immortalization of an epic Greek mortal is not unusual, as is shown by such poems as the *Works and Days* and the Epic Cycle. In the *Cypria*, Castor, Polydeuces,[1] and Iphigeneia[2] all become immortal. In addition, the *Aethiopis* relates how Memnon becomes an immortal.[3] But the author of the *Catalogue of Women* may have chosen to place more references to immortalization in the first half of his poem than in the second half. This choice, I believe, has thematic implications, especially when contrasted with the world view portrayed in the Catalogue of Suitors.[4]

Gods also bring about sexual liaisons with mortal women. In the first instance, the daughters of Porthaos flee to the hills (fr. 26.10-21). Apollo catches Stratonice, however, and gives her to his son Melaneus as his wife (fr. 26.22-26). In the second instance, Zeus kills Salmoneus for his hybristic behavior (fr. 30.24-30). But he does save Salmoneus' daughter, Tyro and transports her to the home of Crethus (fr. 30.24-30), whereupon Poseidon sees and rapes her (frr. 30.31ff; 31).

The author of the *Catalogue of Women* has thus organized his poem in such a way that he emphasizes the close relationships between immortals and mortals in the first half of

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[1]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 103, lines 16-17; Polydeuces alone immortal: *Cypria* fr. 6. All citations from the Epic Cycle are based on Allen, T.W. Homeri Opera. Tomus V. (Oxford, 1946).

[2]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 104, lines 18-20.

[3]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 106, lines 5-7.

[4]See below, pg. 124ff.

his narrative. But he has also arranged his material so as to establish a thematic connection between the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue*. This is especially apparent at the beginning of the narrative. The Deucalonids are the first family covered, a family which is characterized by both "marginal contact with the Troy saga . . . [and] monstrous and magical persons, about whom there was little to relate except perhaps some single short episode, and others who belong to the folktale rather than the heroic poem."[1] This family, with its Siamese twins (Kteatos and Eurytos, fr. 17(a)) and shape-changers (Periclymenos, fr. 33(a); Mestra, fr. 43(a)), is closer to the gods and monsters of the *Theogony* than the mortal world of the *Iliad*. But by the second half of the *Catalogue*, the monsters and folk heroes have disappeared from the narrative, and the characters of importance are the all too human heroes of the Trojan War.

Thus, it appears that the author of the *Catalogue of Women* may slowly transform his particular epic world from one similar to the *Theogony* to one more closely tied to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. To see exactly how he accomplishes this transformation, the repeated appearances of Heracles, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Zeus will be considered in detail.

Looking Back: Heracles

In the *Theogony*, Heracles' roles are those of son of Zeus and monster-slayer, although his birth and afterlife appear in the problematic end (*Th.* 943-944, 950-955). In these roles, he slays various children of Keto[2] as well as the bird which torments Prometheus (*Th.* 526-527).

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[1]West 1985, 138.

[2]Geryones (*Th.* 289-294, 981-983); Lernian Hydra (*Th.* 313-318); Nemean Lion (*Th.* 327-332).

In contrast, many, if not all, aspects of Heracles' life are covered in the *Catalogue of Women*.[1] He twice appears in a sexual role, once with Deianeira (fr. 25.18-19) and once with Auge (fr. 165.8ff). The author includes his birth (fr. 195 *Scut.* 1-56), death (fr. 25.20ff), and afterlife (frr. 25.25ff; 229), and narrates some of his heroic exploits: the sacking of Pylos, the slaying of Nestor's siblings, including Periclymenos (frr. 33(a).23ff; 35); the sacking of Cos (fr. 43(a).60-64); the killing of an unnamed giant (fr. 43(a).65); his competition for the hand of Ioleia (fr. 26.33).[2] The poet also probably includes Heracles' rivalry with Eurystheus (fr. 190.9ff),[3] and, if Casanova is correct, his enslavement to Omphale appears.[4] Thus, his entire life and many, if not all, of his exploits appear in the *Catalogue*.

While Heracles is present throughout the *Catalogue of Women*, and his various roles and exploits can be deduced, the tattered state of most fragments frustrates any attempt at a linguistic comparison between the *Catalogue* and the *Theogony*. The most complete fragment, fr. 33(a), reveals some resonance with the latter, however. In this passage, Heracles slays Nestor's brothers, one of whom is Periclymenos. While the latter is certainly human and mortal, the description of his shape-changing resembles several monsters of the *Theogony*. Periclymenos can change himself into a bird,[5] an ant, a swarm of bees, and lastly, a terrible snake. Although only the first and last metamorphoses

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[1]See Appendix A for a discussion of the roles of mortals in the *Catalogue of Women*. As usual, this discussion excludes the references contained in paraphrases (frr. 230, 250).

[2]See Apollo. *Bib.* II.6.1.

[3]See Apollo. *Bib.* II.4.5.

[4]Casanova, A. "Tre Note al *Catalogo* Esiodeo," *Studio Florentina A Ronconi oblata* (Rome, 1970) 64-67.

[5]The editors supplement αἰετός, which conveniently reminds one of the eagle which torments Prometheus.

resemble any Theogonic monster,[1] Heracles clearly retains overtones of his role as monster-slayer in the *Catalogue of Women*.

A second general resemblance also appears in this fragment. Heracles slays the Lernean Hydra with the help of Athena (βουλῆισιν ᾿Αθηναίης ἀγελείης, *Th.* 318). She is equally involved in his battle against Periclymenos and his brothers. She becomes angry with Periclymenos (fr. 33(a).22-23) and tricks him (fr. 33(a).18-19).[2] Athena then sends Heracles to battle him, armed with the bow and arrows Apollo has given him (fr. 33(a).29). These weapons are crucial in the battle which follows (fr. 33(a).33-36). She apparently actually hands the bow to Heracles and then points out Periclymenos to him (fr. 33(a).31-33). Thus Athena and Heracles still have a close relationship in the *Catalogue*.

The last area of comparison concerns Heracles' nomenclature, which changes slightly from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women*. In the former, he is referred to by the phrase ᾿Αλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἄλκιμος υἱός (*Th.* 526, 950).[3] In the latter, this phrase has become Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός (frr. 35.5; 43(a).61).[4] This shift seems deliberate. Despite the extravagant praise of Alcmene in the *Catalogue of Women*,[5] it is clear that the author is emphasizing Heracles' connection with his father(s), rather than his

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[1]ὄρνις: *Th.* 525; fr. 33(a).14; ὄφις: *Th.* 229 (Echidna), 322 (Chimera), 334 (youngest child of Keto), 825 (Typhoeus); fr. 33(a).17.

[2]The phrase βουλῆι ᾿Αθηναίης occurs elsewhere, and should not be regarded as a phrase particular to this passage. Further, even if this line is deleted, as West suggests in the app. crit., Athena's control of the scene is clearly established by the lines that follow.

[3]He is, of course, also called by his given name ῾Ηρακλέης (*Th.* 318, 527, 530, 951) and by the epithet Θηβαγενέος (*Th.* 530).

[4]He is also called by his given name (frr. 1.22; 25.3, 18, 23; 33(a).23, 25, 27, 30; 35.1; 165.9; 190.11; 193.23; 195 *Scut.* 52; 229.17) and by the patronymic ᾿Αμφιτρυωνιάδης (frr. 25.23; 26.33; 33(a).32).

[5]Fr. 195 *Scut.* 1-10.

mother. This bond appears important when considering that both are separated from the world of mortals by the end of the *Catalogue.*

Heracles also appears in the Homeric texts and the Epic Cycle. In the former, he usually appears in only two types of passages. First, he appears as an exemplum of various kinds in a speech,[1] and is the only mortal to whom Achilles is compared.[2] Second, he appears in catalogues, which may or may not be contained in a speech.[3] The only exceptions to these are three descriptions.[4] His role seems to be as small in the Epic Cycle. He appears in the *Titanomachy,*[5] which is not surprising, given his role in the *Theogony,* the other extant poem in which the Titanomachy is narrated. In the *Cypria,* he appears in a digression of Nestor's,[6] one of the techniques used in the Homeric poems. Last, his expedition against Themiscyra appears in the *Nostoi.*[7]

Heracles must have been, of course, one of the central figures in the *Oechaliae Halosis*[8] and the *Shield.* If the *Catalogue of Women* is composed in the sixth century, his

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[1]Dione to Aphrodite (*Il.* 5.392, 395); Tlepomenos to Sarpedon (*Il.* 5.638; Nestor to Patrocles (*Il.* 11.690); Sleep to Hera (*Il.* 14.266); Zeus to Hera (*Il.* 14.324; 15.25); Achilles to Thetis (*Il.* 18.117); Agamemnon to assembly (*Il.* 19.98); Odysseus to Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.224; 11.267; 11.601).

[2]Schein 1987, 87 n.30.

[3]Tlepomenos, descendent of Heracles, in Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.658,666); catalogue of wounded gods (*Il.* 5.392-395); Catalogue of Heroines (*Od.* 11.267); end of Catalogue of Sinners (*Od.* 11.601).

[4]The wall of Troy, which was built to help Heracles slay a sea monster (*Il.* 20.145); a description of Periphates as the son of the messenger between Eurystheus and Heracles (*Il* 15.640); the bow of Odysseus is a gift from Iphitos on the day that Heracles killed him (*Od.* 21.26).

[5]Fr. 7 (Allen).

[6]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 103, lines 22-23.

[7]Fr. 7 (Allen).

[8]Pg. 144-147 (Allen).

prominent presence in the *Catalogue* may reflect the seventh or sixth century BCE epic which related Heracles' entire life by Peisander of Rhodes. But even if this is so, it does not explain why the references to Heracles cluster in the first half of the poem. As is the case with examples of immortality and other close interactions between mortals and immortals, the repeated appearances of Heracles reflects a world view which is more heavily influenced by the *Theogony* than the Homeric poems.

Looking Forward: Agamemnon and Menelaus

The *Catalogue of Women* may be seen as an informal link between the world of the *Theogony* and the Homeric world. The repeated appearance of Heracles, especially at the beginning of the poem, points back to the *Theogony*. In contrast, the repeated appearances of Agamemnon and Menelaus, especially in the second half of the poem, look forward to the Homeric poems in language and theme, if not organization. One complication of this discussion is that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have related, but different, world views of these characters. A complete study of the differing characterizations of Agamemnon and Menelaus is outside the scope of this chapter. But there is enough commonality to suggest that the *Catalogue of Women* was composed with the Homeric poems in mind.

Agamemnon first appears alone in the *Catalogue*, as part of the genealogy of the daughters of Leda and Tyndareos (Timandra, Clytaemestra, and Philoneoe, fr. 23(a)). The passage narrating the relationship between Agamemnon and Clytaemestra begins in standard fashion: they are married (13-14) and the first two children are born (15-16), all of which is expressed in standard phraseology: γῆμ[ε, fr. 23(a).13; κού[ρην, 14; ἣ τ[έκεν . . . ἐν μεγάρο[ισιν, 15; ἣ εἶδος ἐρήριστ' ἀ[θανά]τῃσιν, 16. Then the first elaboration begins with their daughter's name, rather than a relative pronoun (17). The elaboration tells the story of Iphimede at Aulis. In this version, Artemis saves Iphimede by

substituting an εἴδω[λον (*21),[1] makes her immortal (ἀθάνατο[ν καὶ ἀγήρ]αον, 24),[2] and she becomes another 'aspect' of Artemis (25-26). Having completed the story of Iphimede, the author returns to the mother who is left behind, and relates the birth of the third child, Orestes (28). The last elaboration (29-30) relates the death of Clytaemestra at the hands of her son. The death of Agamemnon is only alluded to, not explicitly stated (π]ατροφο[ν]ῆα, 29).

This genealogy is odd in several other ways. First, the genealogy stops at Orestes, rather than narrating his marriage to Hermione and their resulting progeny. Hermione's birth is narrated at the end of the Catalogue of Suitors (fr. 204.94-95). This results in a very loose case of ring construction: Agamemnon's marriage and children appear towards the beginning of the *Catalogue*, while Menelaus' marriage and child appear towards the end. Since both marriages are necessary before the Trojan War can begin, the closure of one age and the beginning of the next commences with the marriage of Helen and Menelaus.[3]

Orestes provides another connection between the *Catalogue of Women* and the first passage in the *Odyssey*. The former emphasizes Iphimede and Clytaemestra, while the latter focuses on Aegisthos. Only Orestes appears in both passages. But there are linguistic connections:

ὅς ῥα καὶ <u>ἡβήσας ἀπε[τείσατο</u> π]ατροφο[ν]ῆα	fr. 23(a).29
ὁππότ' ἂν <u>ἡβήσηι</u> ...	*Od.* 1.41
... νῦν δ' ἀθρόα πάντ' <u>ἀπέτισε</u>	*Od.* 1.43

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[1]Solmsen, F. "The Sacrifice of Agamemnon's Daughter in Hesiod's *Ehoeae*," *AJP* 102 (1981) 353-358.

[2]Resembles language used about Heracles at frr. 25.28; 229.8.

[3]Olsen, S.D. "The Stories of Agamemnon in Homer's *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 120 (1990) 57-71 lists all references to Agamemnon in the poem and discusses each in detail.

This could be a coincidence, but the prominence of the Odyssean passage, which expresses the theology of the *Odyssey*, could very well have been in the mind of the author of the *Catalogue of Women*.

The result of these passages is that Agamemnon and his troubles appear in the first parts of the *Catalogue of Women*, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In all three, there is less emphasis on Menelaus. Generally, the poems focus on his role as either a leader of the Greeks or as husband of Helen.

Agamemnon and Menelaus probably appear as leaders of the Greeks, although their exact role is unclear due to the fragmentary nature of the text (fr. 136.9, 13). This passage appears to discuss Euchenor (*Il.* 13.663-672), who goes to Troy despite his father's prophecy that he will die. The next passage relates the birth of Menelaus' children, Hermione and Nicostratos (fr. 175). West reasonably argues that this fragment is the result of the scholiast's conflation of two passages: the end of the Catalogue of Suitors and the birth of a daughter after the fall of Troy, as is indicated by her name.[1]

The ambivalence that attends Agamemnon and Menelaus clearly appears in the next passage (fr. 176). Here they are part of a catalogue of Tyndareos' daughters, all of whom abandon their husbands: Timandra and Echemos, Clytaemestra and Agamemnon, and Helen and Menelaus. The usual language is adapted: the wives leave (<προ)λιποῦσ᾽, fr. 176.3, 5) their husbands rather than their fathers. In addition, the wife chooses her 'spouse' (. . . εἵλετο χείρον᾽ ἀκοίτην, fr. 176.6), rather than vice versa.

The fifth appearances of Agamemnon and Menelaus appear to be their actual genealogy (fr. 195.1-7).[2] Although the passage is, yet again, very fragmented, it appears

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[1]West 1985, 118-119.

[2]Kakridis, J. "Pleistheiniden oder Atriden? Zu Hesiods frg. 195 M.-W." *ZPE* 30 (1978) 1-4. West 1985, 110ff explains why he believes that their genealogy is correctly placed here.

to be fairly traditional in its length and language. It may be significant, however, that the births of Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Heracles all occur in one passage, although the lines relating the births of the first two are too fragmentary to allow any certain interpretation.[1]

Their last appearance is in the Catalogue of Suitors, in which the two men have a dominant role (frr. 197.4-5; 198.5; 204.86ff). Agamemnon appears as the surrogate suitor (fr. 197.4-5) for his brother, the eventual husband (fr. 204.86ff). While there is no overt ambivalence in their roles here, the repeated emphasis on them and the probable similarity to the Catalogue of Ships combine to give one a sense of the approaching Trojan War, and perhaps even the Homeric poems.[2]

As in the case of Heracles, the fragmentary nature of the papyri results in linguistic similarities which are weaker than one would like. But the author of the *Catalogue* does show an awareness of the appropriate use of epithets. Agamemnon is called δῖος (frr. 176.5; *195.6) and ἄναξ ἀνδρ]ῶν (fr. (*) 23(a).13).[3] While the first is not a particularized epithet, the second is closely allied with Agamemnon.[4] Menelaus is called δουρικλειτός (fr. 175.1) and ξανθός (frr. 176.7; 198.5; 204.41). Both of these are generally, but not exclusively, associated with Menelaus. The former appears seven times

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[1] It may also be significant that the deaths of Agamemnon and Heracles are referred to near the beginning of the *Catalogue*, especially when one considers the sort of chronological games that Hamilton has recently pointed out in *Theogony*. Hamilton 1989, *passim*.

[2] See below, pg. 124ff, for a full study of the Catalogue of Suitors.

[3] Parry, M. (A. Parry, ed.) The Making of Homeric Verse. (Oxford, 1987) 152ff. doesn't accept that the latter is a particularized epithet, since it is occasionally applied to others. Parry, A. "Language and Characteristics in Homer," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 1-22 and Whallon, W. "The Homeric Epithets," *YCS* 17 (1961) 97-142 argues against this view.

[4] Of 129 uses of the phrase, only five are for other characters: Anchises, *Il.* 5.268; Aeneas, *Il.* 5.311; Augeias, *Il.* 11.701; Eyphates *Il.* 15.532; Eumelaos, *Il.* 23.288.

in the Homeric poems, only once about someone else.[1] The latter is used 31 times of Menelaus, and only five times of others.[2]

The repeated appearances of Agamemnon and Menelaus contain motifs which are familiar from the Homeric poems. First, the early appearance of the death of Iphimede and Clytaemesta's adultery and subsequent death, brings the ambivalence attendant upon the Atreides into the forefront of the *Catalogue*. The *Catalogue* ends with an emphasis upon these two men as participants in the courtship of Helen, which will lead to the Trojan War. In general, the roles and language of these two men look forward to the Trojan War generally and perhaps even the Homeric poems specifically, just as the role of Heracles reflects a world view influenced by the *Theogony*.

Continuity and Transformation: Zeus

Zeus, like the three mortals considered above, appears repeatedly throughout the *Catalogue of Women* in a number of different roles.[3] The case of Zeus, however, is more complicated than that of Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Heracles. Zeus is a prominent figure in an overwhelming proportion of archaic Greek hexameter poetry. As a result, the source(s) upon which the poet can draw is correspondingly larger. Given the results of the prior three sections, however, we will first briefly consider the roles of Zeus in the *Theogony* and the Homeric poems, with an occasional side-trip into the Epic Cycle. We will then see if either, or both, of these characterizations are reflected in the *Catalogue of Women*.

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[1] Diomedes, *Il.* 11.333

[2] Meleager, *Il.* 2.642; Demeter, *Il.* 5.500; Agamede, *Il.* 11.740; Rhadymanthus, *Od.* 4.564, 7.323; this excludes its use to describe the hair of Achilles and horses.

[3] See Appendix A for a discussion of the roles of immortals in the *Catalogue of Women*.

The Theogonic Zeus   The *Theogony* has been perceived as a celebration of Zeus. He is clearly the dominant character in a narrative which charts his genealogy, birth, and rise to power. The poem also celebrates various episodes which prove his right to be the preeminent ruler of the Olympian gods.

Since the *Theogony* is concerned with relating Zeus' rise to power, many of his actions in the poem are calculated to bring about his victory in different situations. As a consequence, his actions often reflect careful forethought and planning. He bribes the other immortals in his battle against the Titans (*Th.* 390-396),[1] a motif which is repeated in his later speech requesting help (*Th.* 643-654). He also plans κλέος for his son Heracles (*Th.* 532-533),[2] and punishment for mortals after Prometheus gives them fire (*Th.* 550-552). Lastly, he carefully contrives the birth of Athena (*Th.* 888-891).

Zeus' power is not entirely secure, however. He must punish various older gods in order to establish his power as ruler. Thus, Zeus metes out punishment to those who have challenged him in some way: Menoetius, Atlas, and Prometheus (*Th.* 514-525) and Epimetheus and Prometheus (*Th.* 567-572).

Zeus' last battle both saves Olympos and establishes his right to rule by conquering Typhoeus (*Th.* 820ff). Unlike his earlier battle with the Titans, Zeus conquers Typhoeus alone. In doing so, he shows that he is superior to and independent of the other Olympians.

After Zeus has conquered Typhoeus, he has the right and power to distribute τιμή[3] to all of the immortals (*Th.* 885), as he has earlier to Styx (*Th.* 393, 396-401) and Hecate

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[1]West 1966, ad loc. 392 points out that this passage is unusual for its use of indirect speech.

[2]See West 1966 ad loc. 523-533 for a general discussion of this passage and its problems.

[3]West 1966, ad loc. 74 defines τιμή as "the 'provinces' or 'spheres of influence' of the gods, allotted at the beginning of Zeus' regime, though in some cases on

(*Th.* 412-415, 423-428).[1] He does not just bestow τιμή, however. He also gives gifts to

Styx (*Th.* 399) and Hecate (*Th.* 412), the only gifts he gives in the poem.[2]

The *Theogony* concludes with a list of Zeus' sexual unions:[3] Metis, Themis,

Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, Hera, etc. (*Th.* 886 ff). These relationships, and

the children they produce, both end the cycle of violence and prove the stability of his

regime. As has been repeatedly pointed out, this catalogue of mostly immortal loves leads

seamlessly into the *Catalogue of Women*, with its examples of mortal women who unite

with Zeus and other immortals.

The Homeric Zeus   The roles of the gods, in general, and Zeus in particular, in

the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have been much discussed, from antiquity to the present.[4] As

Lloyd-Jones puts it, "The action of the *Iliad* takes place on two planes, a human and a

divine, which are closely linked to one another by the various ways in which the gods

influence human behavior."[5] While Zeus is usually somewhat separate from the other

gods and from mortals, this separation is much more marked in the *Iliad*. This separation

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the basis of what had been obtained earlier." The vocabulary for honor (τιμή, τιμάω, τίω)
clusters in several areas: the proem (*Th.* 74, 81, 112), Styx (*Th.* 393, 399), Hecate (*Th.*
412, 415, 449), Heracles (*Th.* 532) and immortals in general (*Th.* 393, 885).

[1]See Hamilton 1989, 41-43, for a discussion of τιμή in the *Theogony*, and
how the poet manipulates its distribution so as to praise Zeus.

[2]The only other occurrence of δῶρον is in the proem (*Th.* 103).

[3]See above, p. 93 n. 3, for a discussion of the problem of the end of the
Theogony.

[4] See Friedrich, R. "The Hybris of Odysseus," *JHS* 111 (1991) 16-28 and
"Thrinakia and Zeus' Ways to Men in the *Odyssey*," *GRBS* 28 (1987) 375-400 for a
coherent and consistent role of Zeus in the *Odyssey*; Kullmann, W. "Gods and Men in the
Iliad and the *Odyssey*," *HSCP* 89 (1985) 1-23 for a comparison between the theology of
the two poems. For more general discussions, see Lloyd-Jones, H. The Justice of Zeus.
(Berkeley, 1983) and Kullmann, W. Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias. (Berlin, 1956).

[5]Lloyd-Jones 1983, 3.

continues in the *Odyssey*. In the latter text, only Athena interacts directly with mortals. Poseidon and Zeus, among others, certainly affect the lives of mortals. But they do so from afar, sending messengers such as Hermes (*Od.* 5.28ff) to do their bidding.

This is an unusually severe view of the relations between mortals and immortals. This is signalled by two aspects in particular. First, in the Homeric poems, mortals and immortals have had sexual relations in the recent past. Achilles, Sarpedon, and Aeneas are the progeny of these types of unions. Second, the worlds of mortals and immortals are not especially separated in the Epic Cycle. In the *Cypria*, there is constant personal interaction between the two parties. Alexander renders judgement upon three goddesses.[1] Aphrodite then aids him in stealing Helen.[2] Artemis saves Iphigeneia,[3] and Aphrodite and Thetis arrange a meeting between Helen and Achilles.[4] Thus, the poet has more than one model to follow, adapt, or combine. The nature of Zeus' actions in the *Catalogue of Women* will reveal what choices he has made.

The immortals in the *Iliad*, including Zeus, reveal their separation in a number of ways. First immortals still cavort, but now they sleep exclusively with other immortals: Hera promises Sleep one of the Graces, Pasithea (*Il.* 15.264ff); Ares and Aphrodite have an illicit affair (*Od.* 8.266ff). Indeed, Zeus' only sexual activity in either poem occurs as a result of Hera's desire to help the Achaeans (*Il.* 14). Zeus' catalogue of past mortal beloveds (*Il.* 14.313-328) is a catalogue of past loves, as is Calypso's list of goddesses and mortal men (*Od.* 5.117-129). The only immortals who now interact sexually with

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[1]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 102, lines 14-19.

[2]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 103, lines 1 and 8.

[3]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 104, lines 18-19.

[4]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 105, lines 7-9.

mortals are such relatively powerless nymphs or witches as Calypso or Circe. The Olympian gods and goddesses no longer disport themselves on earth with mortals.

There is some limited contact between mortals and immortals, however. Although these two groups clearly live separately, most gods can and do appear on earth in various guises.[1] This is especially true in the *Iliad*, in which the gods actually take part in battles and get wounded. The obvious exception to all of this is Zeus, who never travels to earth, but still controls the short and long term course of events. Zeus is thus separated both from mortals and immortals.

Many of Zeus' activities which appear in the *Theogony* also appear in the Homeric poems. But now his actions involve controlling and manipulating mortals as well as immortals. Zeus no longer has to bribe or convince the other Olympians to help him. Instead, the immortals beseech him for aid. Thus, his activities continue, but in an entirely different framework.

First, Zeus still plans, as the fifth line of the *Iliad* makes clear (*Il.* 1.5 = *Od.* 11.297 Διὸς δ' ἐτελείτο βουλή),[2] but he either plans evil (*Il.* 7.478 ... σφιν κακὰ μήδετο μητίετα Ζεύς) or is blamed by humans for events they cannot explain (*Od.* 3.132, 160; 14.243, 300). The quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon is presented at the beginning

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[1]Dietrich, B.C. "Divine Epiphanies in Homer," *Numen* 30 (1983) 53-79.

[2]Kullmann, W. "Ein vorhomerisches Motiv im Iliasproömium," *Philologus* 99 (1955) 173-192; "Zur ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΗ des Iliasproömiums," *Philologus* 100 (1956) 132-133, who argues that Zeus intends to slaughter heroes, based on the appearance of this phrase in the *Cypria* (fr. I.7 (Allen)); Redfield, J.M. "The Proem of the *Iliad*: Homer's Art," *CP* 74 (1979) 95-100, esp. 105-108, in which he outlines the five viewpoints, of which Kullman's is one, and the arguments for and against them. These other four viewpoints are: the poet simply means that these and all other events are the result of "god's will," rather than any particular plan of Zeus; Zeus contrives the quarrel for some other personal purpose; that the phrase refers to the temporary Trojan success which Zeus arranges; and that the phrase is associated with prophecy, foreknowledge, and poetry.

of the *Iliad* as the fulfillment of Zeus' plans (*Il.* 1.5), and Demodocus blames the entire
war on Zeus in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 8.81-82).[1]

Second, the gods save various mortals.[2] In the *Iliad*, however, the emphasis lies
on those that the gods cannot save: Achilles (*Il.* 24.80ff),[3] Sarpedon (*Il.* 16.440ff), and
Hector (*Il.* 22.178ff). Again, the separation between the immortal gods and the mortal
heroes is emphasized. Some gods may still appear on earth, but the two worlds, Olympian
and earth, are now and forever after, separate.

Third, it hardly needs to be said that Zeus and anger are recurrent motifs in the
Homeric poems, especially in the *Iliad*. Indeed, several of Zeus' epithets reinforce the
association with his attribute of anger: ἀργικέραυνος; τερπικέραυνος. Zeus does, on
occasion, hurl thunderbolts to earth (*Il.* 8.133) and threaten to throw gods into Tartaros.[4]
Thus, Zeus as punisher appears in the Homeric poems, albeit more so in the *Iliad* than the
Odyssey, in which Poseidon takes over that role. The Homeric narrator relates that Zeus
has punished in the past (*Il.* 1.586ff; 15.14ff). Yet, as Whitman points out, "In the *Iliad*,
Zeus maims nobody, and hurls no one out of heaven. He takes no part in the *Theomachia*,

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[1]The Διὸς βουλή also appears in the Homeric poems in other passages.
Hainsworth in Heubeck, et al. 1988, ad loc. 8.82 defines βουλή here as 'plan,' not 'will.'
This phrase occurs: *Il.* 1.5; 12.241; 13.524; 21.229; 20.15 = *Od.* 13.127; *Od.* 8.82;
11.297; 14.327 = 19.297; 16.402. The line *Od.* 8.82 contains the only occurrence of the
phrase Διὸς διὰ βουλάς in the Homeric poems. The phrase διὰ βουλάς occurs in only
three places: *Il.* 15.70 (of Athena); *Od.* 11.276 (of gods in general); *Od.* 11.437 (of the
women who married the Atreides).

[2]Athena and Odysseus, *Il.* 11.437-438, *Od.* 22.273ff; Aphrodite and Paris,
Il 3.380-382; Poseidon and Aeneas, *Il.* 20.318ff; Ino and Odysseus, *Od.* 5.333ff.

[3]Slatkin, L. The Power of Thetis. (Berkeley, 1992), especially "The
Helplessness of Thetis," 17-52 for a recent discussion of this theme.

[4]ἥ μιν ἑλὼν ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα, *Il.* 8.13; reiterated and
expanded at *Il.* 8.477-481. These are only two passages in which the term Tartaros is
used; the usual term is Erebos.

. . . Zeus is remarkably patient with the repeated attempts to disobey him," except when defending Achilles' cause, which he claims as his own (*Il.* 15.135ff).[1]

Zeus and the other Olympians also give gifts, as they did in the *Catalogue of Women*. These gifts fall into two types. The first is material gifts, which consist of two types, prosperity and misery, given by anonymous god(s) or Zeus and always subject to change, and concrete objects, usually given to members of a previous generation. The second group is the immaterial gift, which can be categorized as special abilities given or taught by a god, and heroic excellences, which are given only to nobles by anonymous god(s) or Zeus. A third category, pseudo-material gifts, are expressed in the poems as material gifts, but really represent a special ability.[2] In the *Theogony*, of course, Zeus gives only immaterial gifts to various immortals. The only possible gift to mortals is Pandora, who is both gift and punishment (*Th.* 512-514; *WD* 42-105).

This separation between Zeus and the other gods appears in the Homeric poems in another way. Only Zeus, or anonymous god(s), gives prosperity, misery, and heroic excellence. The gifts of Zeus operate at a higher level than the material gifts or special abilities given by other gods, as is also true of his plans. The gift of τιμή also falls into this category. The Homeric mortals perceive it as the province of Zeus (*Il.* 2.197; 9.606ff). But the heroic mortals of the *Iliad* are much more concerned with κλέος, public renown or fame, which results from τιμή.[3] Achilles, the extreme example, has a choice

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[1]Whitman 1958, 225-226.

[2]Mije, S.R. van der "Achilles' God-Given Strength: *Iliad* A 178 and Gifts from the Gods in Homer," *Mnemosyne* 40 (1987) 241-267. His article builds on the discussion of Willcock, M.M. "Some Aspects of the Gods in the *Iliad*," *BICS* 17 (1970) 1-10.

[3]For discussions of the relative functions of τιμή and κλέος in the Homeric poems see: Maehler, H. Die Auffasung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars. (Göttingen, 1963) 10ff; Nagy, G. The Best of the Achaeans. (Baltimore, 1979) 118-119.

between ἄφθιτον κλέος or a long life (*Il.* 9.410-416). He, as we all know, chooses the former, but regrets his decision in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 11.467ff).

Despite Zeus' current control of the Olympians, however, the *Iliad* occasionally reminds us of his past vulnerability. He was once nearly overcome by Athena, Hera, and Poseidon (*Il.* 1.396-406), was tricked by Sleep (*Il.* 14.249-256), and is tricked by Hera and Sleep again (*Il.* 14.292ff). Further, even Zeus must bow to Fate (*Il.* 16.440ff, concerning Sarpedon; 22.178ff, concerning Hector). At one point Zeus even acknowledges that Poseidon knows his thoughts (*Il.* 20.20-21).

Thus, many of the actions performed by Zeus in the *Theogony* still occur in the Homeric poems. But Zeus is now indisputably the ruler of the Olympian gods, and no longer needs any help to remain in power. He is above all the other immortals and far above the mortals in the poems.

Continuity and Transformation   These, then, are the two worlds which the narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* could choose to link. If he does, the all-powerful, actively involved Zeus of the *Theogony* should be transformed in to the powerful, but aloof Zeus of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We must therefore consider whether or not the varied interactions between mortals and immortals, including Zeus, remain unchanged throughout the *Catalogue*.

The *Catalogue of Women* is clearly designed as a deliberate continuation of the *Theogony*, in organization, language, and theme. The similarities between the two narratives are especially strong in the first half of the *Catalogue*, if one agrees with Merkelbach and West's organization of the text, at least in general terms. In some ways, this thematic development is another source of affirmation for this organization, although thematic continuity does not depend on it. The particular world view of the *Catalogue*, however, which is dominated by Zeus, appears to change as the poem progresses.

The first indication of change is the shift in types of participants. In the *Theogony*, the narrative is concerned exclusively with immortals of various types. Even Heracles, the

only identifiable mortal who appears before line 900, is eventually immortalized. In the *Catalogue of Women,* most relationships are now between immortals and mortals, or even entirely within the mortal world.

This change is reflected in all of Zeus' actions. While many of Zeus' Theogonic roles continue in the *Catalogue of Women,* the locus operandi is, not surprisingly, the world of mortals. Thus his plans, punishments, salvations, and gifts now involve humans. For most of the *Catalogue,* however, these actions revolve around the sexual exploits of himself and others. Zeus seduces mortal women, plans, punishes mortals and immortals, saves mortals, establishes kingdoms, and gives gifts.[1] Zeus' sexual role in the *Theogony* is relegated to the very end of the poem, for he cannot produce children until his own power is secure. But the final act which secures his power is his sexual union with Metis, and his successful plan to trick and conquer her and the daughter who results from their union. Once Athena has been born under his control, he can indulge his sexual prowess with impunity. Indeed, his ability to do so is a testament to his power, as it once was for Cronos.

The sexual activities of the *Theogony* continue in the *Catalogue of Women,* but now immortal gods sleep with mortal women. Zeus is by far the most prominent in this respect,[2] especially in the first half of the poem. But by the Catalogue of Suitors, only mortal men sleep with mortal women, and Zeus decides that this will be the rule for all

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[1]See Appendix A for a discussion of the roles of immortals in the *Catalogue of Women.*

[2]See Appendix A for a list of Zeus' various roles, and the fragments in which these roles appear.

future relationships (fr. 204.102ff).[1] The only exceptions are immortal nymphs and witches, such as Thetis,[2] Calypso, and Circe.

This type of continuity and transformation is reflected in the realm of gifts. Gifts in the *Catalogue* almost exclusively relate to courtship. Zeus still gives gifts,[3] but now he is enticing Europa (fr. 141.3, 6) and giving presents at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (fr. 211.8). Zeus and Poseidon bestow special honors, the former to the descendants of Amythaos (fr. 203) and the latter to his grandson Periclymenos (fr. 33(a).12-18). Despite this gift, Periclymenos is still mortal, however, and dies at the hands of Heracles.

The gifts in the *Catalogue* now reflect the types of gifts which appear in the Homeric poems. First the gods give material gifts (bow, fr. 33(a).29; necklace, fr. 141.3-6) and immaterial gifts (shape-changing, fr. 33(a).13-18; miscellaneous, fr. 203). True to van der Mije's interpretation of Homeric gifts,[4] the material gifts are given to persons of the pre-Trojan War era, Europa, Heracles, and Thetis.[5] In addition, although Poseidon gives the immaterial gift of shape-changing to his descendent, Periclymenos, near the beginning of the *Catalogue*, Zeus

ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακίδῃσι,
νοῦν δ' Ἀμυθαονίδαις, πλοῦτον δ' ἔπορ' Ἀτρείδῃσι. (fr. 203)

That is, Zeus, near the end of the *Catalogue*, is giving heroic excellences to three related families. This type of gift is especially tied to Zeus in the Homeric poems.

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[1]See below, pg. 124ff, for a detailed analysis of this passage.

[2]The exact placement of fr. 211, which relates the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, is uncertain, although it is probably situated before the Catalogue of Suitors.

[3]δῶρον: frr. 10(a).61; 22.6; 43(a).22, 77; 198.4; 204.41, 51; 240.11; δῶρα . . . Ἀφροδίτης: frr. 76.6, 10; 195 *Scut.* 47.

[4]van der Mije 1987, 241-267.

[5]Of course, it is the 'gift' of a golden apple at her wedding which began the Trojan War cycle. See Nagy, J.F. "The Deceptive Gift in Greek Mythology," *Arethusa* 14 (1981) 191-204.

Zeus' plans, and the language which describe them, also reflect this new emphasis on relationships with mortals, sexual of otherwise. The poets also use and adapt the traditional phrase Διὸς / Ζηνὸς νόος.[1] In the *Theogony*, the primary issue appears to be whether or not one can trick or deceive (the mind of) Zeus.[2] Prometheus tries to trick Zeus (Διὸς νόον ἐξαπαφίσκων, *Th.* 537), but is unable to, for no one can do so ("Ὣς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν. *Th.* 613). In the *Catalogue*, this thought usually appears in the context that no one (mortal) can know the mind of Zeus (frr. *10(a).97-98; 43(a).52, 76; probably 204.115-117).[3] This change is a direct result of the change in scene. Immortals may possibly challenge Zeus' plans. Mortals cannot challenge, or even know, his plans.

The phrase Διὸς νόος also appears in the Homeric poems. As happens in the *Theogony*, Zeus is challenged by another immortal. The results are strikingly different, however. Prometheus is unable to deceive Zeus (*Th.* 537); Hera, in contrast, succeeds in doing so (*Il.* 14.159-160). But Zeus is now so secure in his power that that Hera's successful deception in no way threatens his control of the Olympians.

Mortals in the *Iliad*, on the other hand, are separate, and cannot hope to understand, much less trick, the mind of Zeus.[4] This is the motif which the narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* picks up, thereby creating continuity between the two poems.

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[1]West 1966, ad loc. 613 defines Zeus' νόος as "his intelligent purpose or his purposeful intelligence." For a discussion of the meaning of νόος, see Snell, B. (T. Rosenmeyer, tr.) The Discovery of the Mind. (Cambridge (MA), 1953) 12-16. For a recent discussion of the semantic field covered by this word in Homeric texts, see Jahn, T. Zum Wortfeld 'Seele-Geist' in der Sprache Homers. (Munich, 1987) 19, 46-118.

[2]This excludes the use of the phrase at *Th.* 37=51, which frames a passage in the proem to the *Theogony*. This also excludes the use of the phrase in *Th.* 1002, since this is part of the problematic end of the poem.

[3]This latter tone is closer to that in *Th.* 1002.

[4]*Il.* 8.143; 14.252; 15.461; 16.688; 17.176; *Od.* 5.137; fr. *10(a).97-98; 43(a).52, 76; probably 204.115-117; same idea with different language, *Il.* 2.38.

This type of transformation also occurs in the phrase Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς.[1] In the *Theogony*, it appears thrice in the Prometheus episodes (*Th.* 545, 550, 561), when Zeus is confronting a blatant challenge to his power. This phrase also occurs twice in the *Catalogue*. In the first case (fr. (*)141.26), the exact connotation is unclear, but it clearly involves Sarpedon and the Trojan War in some way. In the second case (fr. 234.2), Zeus creates the "stone people" for Deucalion.[2] In the Homeric poems, Iris uses this phrase to rouse the mourning Thetis and summon her to Olympos (*Il.* 24.88). Her visit sets in motion the final resolution and the end of the *Iliad*.

Lastly, in the *Catalogue*, Zeus still carefully plans. He first plans a sexual liaison with Alcmene (μήδετο θέσκελα ἔργα, fr. 195 *Scut.* 34). But by the Catalogue of Suitors, Zeus' plans are very different.[3] He still plans θέσκελα ἔργα (fr. 204.96),[4] but now he is re-establishing a new world order, rather than planning a new sexual encounter. In the Homeric poems, the phrase θέσκελα ἔργα appears exclusively in a heroic setting. This phrase occurs only in internal narrative; twice characters use it to describe the deeds of heroes (Iris to Helen, *Il.* 3.130; Alcinous to Odysseus, *Od.* 11.374) and once to describe the decorations on Heracles' breastplate (Odysseus to Alcinous, *Od.* 11.610). In the Homeric narrative, this phrase is now associated with mortal heroes, not sexual liaisons.

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[1]See West 1966, 78-79, for a discussion of Hesiodic formulae, of which this is one. The word μήδεα is used elsewhere (*Th.* 398, of Oceanus; *Th.* 559 = *WD* 54, of Prometheus; fr. 43(a).9, in which the text is too fragmentary to tell us anything; fr. 136.12, in which Periclymenos knows it from the gods; fr. 198.3, of Odysseus).

[2]This fragment clearly belongs somewhere near the very beginning of the *Catalogue*, but its exact placement is unclear.

[3]See below, pg. 130ff, for a discussion of the relationship between the Catalogue of Suitors and the Epic Cycle.

[4]In fact, this vocabulary appears twice more in this passage: μήδεται, fr. 204.114; μηδομένοιο, fr. 204.123.

As is the case with Zeus' plans, and the language used to describe them, punishments also continue from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women*, although they are also transformed. In the former, Zeus punishes those older gods who challenge his power in some way. In the latter, Zeus punishes Salmoneus near the beginning of the poem, in order to make an example of him: ὡς μή τις] βροτὸς ἄλλος [ἐ]ρίζοι Ζηνὶ ἄνακτι. (fr. 30.23) Clearly, Zeus right to rule is still being challenged, on occasion, by mortals. By the end of the *Catalogue*, however, Zeus no longer needs to repress any challenge to his authority. He kills Eetion (fr. (*)177.8ff) because the latter seduces Demeter, which is an insult to her and a reversal of the accepted sexual rules.[1]

The language which the narrator uses in these episodes remains consistent from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue*. Zeus is angry[2] for various reasons.[3] Zeus then sends his victim to Tartaros,[4] or sends thunder and lightening raining upon them.[5] In both poems, Olympos is the home of the gods, is separate from earth, and is the place from which Zeus rains down thunderbolts.[6] Thus, Zeus extends his punishment of immortals in the *Theogony* to include the mortals in the *Catalogue*.

But by the end of the Catalogue of Suitors, Zeus acts only indirectly. His plans at the end of this passage (fr. 204.95-123) affect both mortals and immortals, yet he sends no

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[1]As Calypso points out to Hermes (*Od.* 5.118ff).

[2]χολόω: *Th.* 568; fr. (8)30.15; *54(a).4; χώομαι: fr. 51.2.

[3]*Th.* 516, 569; fr. 30.17; 204.137.

[4]πέμπω: *Th.* 515; ῥίπτω: fr. 30.22; 53(a).6.

[5]*Th.* 515; fr. 30.12-13, 18; 53(a).(*)3, (*)7; *177.10-11. Of course, since thunder and lightning are Zeus' attributes, they also appear elsewhere in many poems.

[6]*Th.* 62, 68, 633, 689, 855; see West 1966, ad loc 62, 689 for a discussion of Olympos as the home of the gods. In the *Catalogue*: ἐβρόντ[ησεν ἀπ'] οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος / ... / βῆ δὲ κατ' 'Ο]ὐλυμποῖο [χο]λούμενος, ... (fr. 30.13-15); ..., ἀπ' Οὐλυμποῦ δὲ βαλὼν ψολόεντι κεραυνῶι (fr. 51.2).

lightening or thunderbolts raining down upon anyone. Instead he merely arranges for the deaths of heroes in war (fr. 204.118-119). Thus, his powerful, but aloof, status as judge and jury over mortals and immortals is firmly in place at the end of the Catalogue of Suitors.

The moralistic tone of the last semi-complete lines in this passage (fr. 204.137-141) yields yet another similarity to the Homeric poems. The punishment by Zeus of ὑβριστήν καὶ ἄγριον snake, promised in the Catalogue of Suitors (fr. 204.137-138) seems to draw upon an Odyssean theme: the contrast of the ὑβρισταί and ἄγριοι with δίκαιοι and θεουδεῖς (*Od.* 6.120; 9.175; 13.201).[1] Further, the term ὑβρισταί is applied repeatedly to the suitors,[2] who are all killed. Thus, while Zeus himself does not punish in the Homeric poems, the moral attitudes expressed in the *Catalogue of Women* appear prominently in the *Odyssey*.

The motif of salvation also connects all four narratives. In the *Theogony*, Zeus saves Olympos from Typhoeus, thereby proving his battle prowess and right to reign. In the beginning of the *Catalogue of Women,* Zeus saves Tyro from the punishment he metes out to her father, Salmoneus (fr. 30.24-28). In both cases, salvation is only necessary as a result of potential destruction, and the linguistic similarities lie with the latter rather than the former. They also, not surprisingly, share vocabulary with punishment passages and with the Titanomachy (esp. *Th.* 687-712). Thus thunder,[3] lightning,[4] throwing into Tartaros,[5]

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[1]Hainsworth in Heubeck, etal. 1988, ad loc. 6.120; Kitto, H.D.F. Poiesis. (Berkeley, 1966) 116-152. Even if the supplemented ἄγριον is incorrect, the general idea of these lines remains the same; Zeus punishes the hybristic. Indeed, Salmoneus is called a ὑβ[ρ]ιστὴν βασιλῆα (fr. 30.17).

[2]*Od.* 1.227, 368; 3.207; 4.321, 627; 15.329; 16.86, 410, 418; 17.169, 245, 487, 565, 588; 18.381; 20.170, 370; 23.64; 24.282, 352. In the *Iliad*, the term is used by one character to abuse another: Achilles about Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.203, 214; 9.368); Nestor about the Epeans (*Il.* 11.695); Menelaus about the Trojans (*Il.* 13.633).

[3]βροντή / βροντέω: *Th.* 839, 845, 854; fr. 30.13, 18.

and fire[1] all appear. This also changes as the *Catalogue* progresses. By the end of the

narrative, Zeus no longer interacts directly with mortals. This trend continues in the

Homeric poems, in which other gods are sometimes able to save mortals from imminent

danger. But no one can save Sarpedon (*Il.* 16.440ff), Hector (*Il.* 22.178ff), or Achilles

(*Il.* 24.80ff).[2] Even Heracles dies in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 18.117-118).

The last area of continuity and transformation involve τιμή and κλέος. In the

Theogony, τιμή denotes the sphere of influence of each immortal and is bestowed by Zeus.

On the other hand, κλέος is the reward that Zeus plans for his son, Heracles (*Th.* 529-

530). In the *Catalogue of Women*, τιμή no longer refers to the sphere of influence. When

used in the mortal world, the term comes to mean 'honors,' often shown through gifts or

booty from battle. These honors in turn help to bring about κλέος for mortals, which is

the ultimate aim of every hero. In the Catalogue, the vocabulary surrounding τιμή centers

in only two areas: Heracles (frr. 25.32; 229.12; Alcmene honors her husband, 195 *Scut.*

9-10; Auge is honored by the gods, 165.7) and (probably) Sarpedon (fr. 141.18). Thus,

in the *Theogony*, Zeus establishes τιμή for the gods, but once that is accomplished, τιμή is

in the province of his non- or semi-divine sons.

But while τιμή appears to be reserved for these sons of Zeus in the *Catalogue*,

κλέος also appears and is applied to other mortals. The well-known phrase ἄφθιτον

κλέος appears only once in the Homeric poems, when Achilles relates the choice he faces

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[4]κεραυνός: *Th.* 844, 854, 859; fr. 30.18.

[5]ῥῖψε δέ μιν θυμῶι ἀκαχὼν ἐς τάρταρον εὐρύν (*Th.* 868); τὸν δὲ λα]βὼν ἔρριψ' ἐς Τ[ά]ρταρον ἠερόεντα (fr. 30.22).

[1]πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο (*Th.* 324 = fr. 30.10).

[2]This is a direct contrast to the *Aethiopis*, in which Dawn immortalizes Memnon (Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 106, lines 5-7).

(*Il.* 9.410-416). But the narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* chooses to use it in his poem. He probably relates that Zeus also intends ἄφθιτον κλέος for Athamas (fr. 70.4-8).[1] By doing so, he both connects this phrase with mortals and shows that the gods are somehow involved in establishing a hero's renown.

Summary   The narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* carefully contrives the character of Zeus and motifs associated with him to link the *Theogony* to the Homeric poems, even as he transforms them. Zeus, and the other immortals, are intimately involved with mortals at the beginning of the poem. Indeed, Zeus must still punish those who challenge him. But by the end of the *Catalogue*, the gods are separate from mortals, and Zeus is separate from the rest of the gods, a fact mentioned in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 13.631-632; 19.95-96). But Zeus the punisher is a feature of the mythological past; for all his threats in the *Iliad*, none are ever brought to pass. Thus, the figure of Zeus both connects and charts the changing world order of all four poems.

<u>A Transition Marker: The Catalogue of Suitors</u>

The previous four sections have shown how the narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* organizes his text in order to effect a slow transition from a world view influenced by the *Theogony* to one influenced by the Homeric poems. The former is dominated by Zeus, Heracles, and close personal contact between all parties. The latter is dominated by Zeus, Agamemnon and Menelaus, and the separation of both mortals from immortals and immortals from Zeus. As these discussions make clear, the Catalogue of Suitors and the passages which follow it (frr. 196-204) are pivotal to the *Catalogue* as a whole, since the

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[1]Note the extensive supplement of Merkelbach in the app. crit. for this fragment.

smaller catalogue points the way towards the new Homeric world order.[1] While several of the aspects covered by this passage have been mentioned above, the passage must still be considered as a whole.

Patterns   The Catalogue of Suitors is an unusual passage for a number of reasons. First, it appears that Book 5 begins with fragment 196,[2] based on the appearance of a stichometric B at fr. 204.94. This, in turn, raises two issues. First, if Book 5 begins with fragment 196, either there is no formal introduction to the Catalogue of Suitors, or the introduction must have appeared at the end of Book 4. The latter seems very unlikely, for even a long introduction would probably run no more than thirty lines. Given this fact, it is unlikely that anyone would have separated the introduction from its Catalogue, no matter when or where the book division occurred. It therefore seems more likely that there was no formal introduction at all. But this is also odd, for it means that there is little or no context given for this passage. Thus, the Catalogue of Suitors has a prominent place in the *Catalogue of Women*, a place emphasized by the probable lack of a formal introduction and placement within a context.

The Catalogue of Suitors is unusual in another way. It appears to be exceptionally long; West estimates its length as between 170 and 180 lines.[3] It also appears to maintain the same general narrative format for the entire duration. The average entry length is probably between six and seven lines, and the organization and language of the entries is fairly regular. Generally speaking, the first two lines of an entry, the basic information portion, contain the following elements: the name of the suitor; the name of his father and

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[1]I believe, as does West, that this fragment marks the beginning of the last book of the *Catalogue of Women*. As such, I believe it shows the beginning of a new world order.

[2]West 1985, 43.

[3]West 1985, 117.

occasionally his grandfather; the name of his homeland; some form of the verb μνάομαι or of the noun μνηστήρ. The next two lines usually contain either a general reference to the suitor's courting gifts, or an itemized list of them. Some form of the verb δίδωμι frequently appears within these two lines. The next two lines, the contextual information section, usually contain the story of how and why the suitor is courting Helen. There may be miscellaneous statements about how the suitor heard about Helen, or the ambassador he is sending on his behalf. On occasion, these two lines appear before the lines discussing his bridal gifts. One of the best examples of a catalogue entry concerns Podarces and Protesilaos (fr. 199.4-11):

> ἐκ Φυλάκης δ' ἐμνῶντο δύ' ἀνέρες ἔξοχ' ἄριστοι,
> υἱός τ' Ἰφίκλοιο Ποδάρκης Φυλακίδαο   5
> ἠΰς τ' Ἀκτορίδης ὑπερήνωρ Πρωτεσίλαος·
> ἄμφω δ' ἀγγελίην Λακεδαιμονάδε προΐαλλον
> Τυνδαρέου π[οτ]ὶ δῶμα δαΐφονος Οἰβαλίδαο,
> πολλὰ δ' ἔεδν[α δίδον,] μέγα γὰρ κλέος [ἔσκε γυ]ναικός,
> χαλκ[10
> χρυσ[

In this case, the entry is at least eight lines, rather than the usual six or seven, since it covers two suitors, rather than one. The first three lines, which present the basic information, contain the requisite elements: their homeland (Phylacos, fr. 199.4); a form of μνάομαι (ἐμνῶντο, fr. 199.4); their worthiness as suitors (fr. 199.4); their names and lineage (fr. 199.5 and 6). The next two lines inform us that they are behaving in the approved manner by sending an ambassador to represent them (fr. 199.7-8). The last three lines first introduce the gift motif (fr. 199.9), and then probably list what they are sending (fr. 199.10-11). This entry thus contains all the necessary elements, although the contextual information precedes the list of gifts. This entry is also typical in that it does not include a true elaboration, that is, a story begun with a relative or demonstrative pronoun.[1]

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[1]The only possible example of a true elaboration occurs at fr. 204.63, where Merkelbach and West supplement ὅς, and the app. crit. suggests ἥ and οἵ.

Entries may also contain personal information particular to each suitor, as in the cases of

Odysseus (fr. 198.4-6) and Idomeneus (fr. 204.58-61).

West has shown that, like the *Catalogue of Women* itself and the Catalogue of

Ships, the Catalogue of Suitors has an organizational scheme based partially on

geography.[1] But once again, the recurrent characters and motifs must be considered.

Agamemnon and Menelaus   Agamemnon and Menelaus dominate the

Catalogue of Suitors. Agamemnon courts Helen on his brother's behalf (fr. 197.4-5), and

Odysseus does not send any courtship gifts, since he knows that Menelaus, the richest of

the suitors, will marry Helen (fr. 198.4-6). Menelaus does indeed give the most gifts (fr.

204.41-43). As a result, he marries Helen (fr. 204.85-87, 93) and fathers Hermione (fr.

204.94-95). Thus, the two brothers are referred to repeatedly in this passage.

The marriage of Menelaus and Helen is thematically important in at least two ways.

First, it completes the loose ring composition which begins with the marriage of

Agamemnon and Clytaemestra and the birth of their son Orestes, who will someday marry

Hermione.[2] Second, it sets the stage for the Trojan War, by narrating both the Greek

participants and the pact which brings about their alliance against the Trojans. Thus, this

marriage signals the approaching end of the *Catalogue of Women*, and the beginning of the

Homeric poems.

The narrator uses the character of Menelaus to look forward to the Homeric poems

in another way. The epithet ἀρηΐφιλος (frr. (*)195.5; 204.86, 89, 93) is used 31 times

of Menelaus and is applied to others only four times in the Homeric poems.[3] But at the end

of the Catalogue of Suitors, the phrase ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος appears three times in rapid

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[1]West 1985, 117-118. The Catalogue of Suitors begins in the Peloponnese
and then proceeds in a spiral fashion to the west, north, and east.

[2]Eur. *Andromache* 967-981; Apollo. *Bib*. Ep. 6.13-14, 28.

[3]Achilles, *Il*. 2.778; Achaeans, *Il*. 16.303; 17.336; Lycomedes, *Il*. 17.346.

succession (fr. 204.86, 89, 93). This points to the Homeric poems in two ways. First, he chooses the Homeric epithet particular to Menelaus. Second, he uses an epithet which emphasizes the approaching war. Since the poet chooses to use other epithets elsewhere (ξανθός, fr. 198.5), his choice, and its repetition here, seem deliberate.

Thus, the emphasis on Agamemnon and Menelaus, Menelaus' marriage to Helen, and the author's choice of epithet all point towards the Homeric poems.

Achilles   Agamemnon and Menelaus are not the only Homeric ι. ˗˙˙es the narrator chooses to emphasize in the Catalogue of Suitors. The author literally 'saves the best for last.' Achilles is included by exclusion after the Catalogue has officially ended (fr. 204.87-92). Tyndareos decides that Menelaus will wed Helen, due to the superiority of his courtship gifts (fr. 204.85-87). But the narrator then reminds the audience that Menelaus has won only because Achilles is not participating in the courtship.

The problematic hierarchy of the *Iliad* is set up here. Achilles is still a boy, but would have won anyway, had he attended.[1] Achilles both appears at the end of the Catalogue of Suitors and in an emphatic position. This last minute potential rival comes as a complete surprise, within the dynamics of the Catalogue. Thus the pattern of the Trojan War is set: Agamemnon and Menelaus are the best, so long as Achilles is not considered.

This motif and the narrative technique which expresses it are borrowed directly from the Catalogue of Ships. This catalogue formally ends at line 760, which repeats the category covered, the leaders of the Danaans. But the next two lines introduce a revised and shortened catalogue, based on the hierarchical category, who is best (ἄριστος, *Il.* 2.761) among the horses and men. The auditor learns that Eumelus drives the best horses

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[1]Note the ring composition of this passage:

name	Χείρων, 87	Ἀχιλλεύς, 92
place	Πηλίωι, 87	Πηλίου, 92
childishness	παῖδ' ἔτ' ἐόν[τ'·], 89	παρθένον οὖσαν, 91
	suitors (89-91)	

(*Il.* 2.763-767) and that the best warrior is Telemonian Ajax (*Il.* 2.768). But these are the

best only because Achilles and his horses have withdrawn from battle (*Il.* 2.769-779).

Agamemnon and Menelaus are the leaders of the Greeks because their wealth allows them

to lead the most men, but Achilles is the best warrior. The Homeric narrator corrects the

impression left by the Catalogue of Ships, in which Achilles appears only as the leader of a

small group of men, by establishing a second criterion at the end. This new category

includes Achilles by exclusion and occurs after the end of the first catalogue. Both of these

features appear at the end of the Catalogue of Suitors. Thus, the author of the *Catalogue of*

Women looks towards the role of Achilles in the *Iliad* by drawing on narratives techniques

from the latter.

Heracles   Heracles, as is right, is completely absent from both the Catalogue

of Suitors and the Catalogue of Ships.[1] He is not included by exclusion in either passage,

which shows that neither the audience nor the narrator expects him in these passages.

Heracles is now completely a part of the past by this point in the *Catalogue of Women*, as

he is in the Homeric poems. The narrator has turned from the monstrous and magical

world of the *Theogony* and the early *Catalogue*, to the heroic world of the Homeric poems.

Zeus   Like Heracles, Zeus and the other gods are conspicuously absent

from the Catalogue of Suitors. The only possible reference to Zeus in the extant lines

occurs in the entry of Idomeneus.[2] Thus, Zeus appears to be less involved in a tangible

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[1]One could conveniently blame his absence on the fragmentary nature of the Catalogue of Suitors. But this seems unlikely, since he isn't even mentioned in passing in any of the elaborations, which is unusual, given his prominence in earlier elaborations.

[2] Fr. 204.64: ....].φασιη Ζηνὸς μεγε η α[The line is too fragmentary to determine what situation these lines describe (West 1985, 115). There is no reference to Zeus in Idomeneus' entry in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.645-652), despite the relationship between the two catalogues. Nor is there any reference to Zeus in Apollodorus' entries about Idomeneus (*Bib.* III.3.1; *Ep.* III.11; VI.8-10. Also see discussion of problem in Appendix XII "The Vow of Idomeneus," Vol. II, 394-404 in Frazer, J.G. Apollodorus, The Library. (Loeb Classical Library, New York, 1921). In

way. This generally reflects the Homeric world,[1] in which the gods live separately from mortals.[2]

Further, the statement that Zeus kills the hybristic snake also occurs later in this fragment (fr. 204.137-139).[3] While Zeus does not actually kill anyone in the Homeric poems, this motif surely looks forward to the *Odyssey*, if not the *Iliad*.

It has already been established that the poet limits the world depicted in the Epic Cycle, in which "folk-tale motifs . . . or magic objects . . . and romantic incidents . . . suggest a very different tone from the severe world of the *Iliad*" to the first half of the *Catalogue*.[4] The Catalogue of Suitors, however, reveals one small, but significant exception to this generality. In the lines which immediately follow the notification of Hermione's birth, we learn two surprising pieces of information. First, all of the gods are angry at Zeus (fr. 204.95-96).[5] This implies a distinct separation between Zeus and the other immortals, a separation which pervades the Homeric poems. Second, the poet

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addition, the only relationship that he has with any god is with Poseidon, which does not explain why Zeus would be mentioned here.

[1]The Homeric narrator is not so careful in this rendition of the Catalogue of Ships. The following immortals appear, usually in elaborations: Ares (*Il.* 2.512-515, 540, 663, 704, 745); Zeus (*Il.* 2.669, 741-744); Athena (*Il.* 2.547-556); Muses (*Il.* 2.594-600).

[2]Whitman, C. Homer and the Heroic Tradition. (Cambridge (MA), 1958) 227 points out that the phrase νόσφι λιασθείς (*Il.* 1.349; 11.78; *Il.* 1.498 contains the same idea) applies only to Zeus and Achilles.

[3]See above, p. 122.

[4]Barron, J.P. and P.E. Easterling, "The Cyclic Epics," 107 in Easterling, P.E. and B.M.W. Knox, edd. The Cambridge History of Classical Literature. Volume I: Greek Literature. (Cambridge, 1988). See also, Griffith, J. "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," *JHS* 97 (1977) 39-53.

[5]This interpretation depends on interpreting δίχα (fr. 204.95) to mean that all of the immortals are angry at Zeus. It could also mean that there are two warring factions among the immortals. Whichever reading is correct, however, Zeus is clearly planning a drastic action.

informs us that Zeus has a plan. He probably intends to slay the heroes, thereby separating mortals and immortals (fr. 204.99-104).[1] The poet clearly draws this motif from the Epic Cycle. The *Cypria* explicitly states that Zeus plans the Trojan War[2] because the earth is burdened with μυρία φῦλα (fr. I.1). The statement that Helen is the daughter of Nemesis and Zeus contains the same dark overtones (fr. VII.1-3).

The poet's decision to include this motif leads to several complimentary interpretations. First, this passage occurs near the end of a poem which lists the γυναικῶν φῦλον (fr. 1.1). By this point in the narrative, the audience may indeed feel, like Zeus, that a heroic house-cleaning is in order. This is a minor point, however. More importantly, the poet is making a definitive statement about the world he now envisions. Like the world view(s) embodied in the Homeric poems, mortals will henceforth be separated from immortals and Zeus will be separated from both. But the explicitly stated view of the *Catalogue of Women* is even stricter that that of the Homeric poems. For nowhere does the Homeric narrator ever clearly state that the purpose of the Trojan War is to kill mortals. This may be the result of the war in general, and Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon in particular (*Il.* 1.3-4), but it is not said to the be purpose of the war.

Thus, the narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* borrows the one detail from the *Cypria* which will strengthen his stringent world view, a view which depends on the separation between mortals, immortals, and Zeus.

There is, however, another way of interpreting this passage. I have considered the phrase οἳ μ[ὲ]ν μάκ[α]ρες to mean the gods, a not unusual reading.[3] If, however, one

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[1]These lines could also be interpreted to mean that the heroic race is being separated from the rest of mortals, as the following discussion makes clear.

[2]Proclus, *Chres.* fr. B, p. 102, lines 13-14.

[3]In both interpretations, ἡμιθέω[v (fr. 204.100) and τέκνα θεῶν (fr. 204.101) most probably refer to the heroes whom Zeus has decided must die.

considers this phrase to refer to the race of heroes, then the separation may be between the heroic race and common mortals. This interpretation is further strengthened by the strong resonance between this passage and *Works and Days* 156ff, beginning with the resemblance of line 103 to *WD* 167.[1] In the *Works and Days*, the race of heroes (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται / ἡμίθεοι, *WD* 159-160) are killed by Zeus (*WD* 168), only to be resurrected on the Island of the Blessed (*WD* 170-171). In the *Catalogue*, Zeus clearly intends to kill the generation of heroes just listed in the Catalogue of Suitors in war (fr. 204.118), the same method used by Zeus in the *Works and Days* (*WD* 165-166). Based on this evidence, it appears that οἳ μ[ὲ]ν μάκ[α]ρες could refer to the heroes.

The phrase ὡς τὸ πάρος περ (fr. 204.97), however, is somewhat problematic. If οἳ μ[ὲ]ν μάκ[α]ρες refers to the gods, as I believe, then the phrase ὡς τὸ πάρος περ has at least two possible interpretations. First, it could mean that the immortals themselves will suffer no change at all, but will remain blessed as they have always been.[2] In this case, the only relevant change would be the separation of the demi-mortals or heroes from the immortals, a change which would affect the latter slightly, if at all. Second, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ could refer more generally to the immortals' state of being. That is, it implies that they could be somehow contaminated or lessened by their interactions with mortals and, in order to remain in their blessed state, must separate themselves from humans. If, on the other hand, οἳ μ[ὲ]ν μάκ[α]ρες refers to a race of heroes, the phrase ὡς τὸ πάρος περ gives rise to two separate interpretations. First, the heroes may have been μάκαρες throughout the *Catalogue of Women*, although the extant remains do not make this clear.

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[1]χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀν[θ]ρώπων [βίοτον κα]ὶ ἤθε' ἔχωσιν   fr. 204.103
τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοτον καὶ ἤθε' ὀπάσσας   *WD* 167

[2]This particular interpretation is strengthened by the restoration suggested in the app. crit.

Second, the heroes may have been blessed at some unspecified time before the *Catalogue* begins. Both of these possibilities seem somewhat vague, however.

Thus, the argument for considering οἳ μ[ὲ]ν μάϰ[α]ρες to refer to the heroes rest primarily upon the resonance between Hesiod's description of the race of Heroes in the *Works and Days*. Unfortunately, this makes the phrase ὡς τὸ πάρος περ somewhat more difficult to interpret, however. The argument for considering οἳ μ[ὲ]ν μάϰ[α]ρες to refer to the gods rests primarily upon the common use of this phrase to describe the immortals, and interpretations of ὡς τὸ πάρος περ which seem somewhat more likely. Whether the separation is between the immortals and the mortals, or between the heroes and later mortals, however, the motif of separation and world change is clearly evident. Further, it is clear that death is intended for mortals (fr. 204.118-119) and that Zeus has planned it (fr. 204.96ff).

Narrative   The passages which follows the Catalogue of Suitors point towards the Homeric poems in another way. The Catalogue of Suitors ends with a very traditional genealogical entry, relating the birth of Hermione.[1] Then, instead of the expected elaboration about this new generation, the scene changes abruptly and completely to the world of the gods. That the author intended this passage to follow seamlessly the Catalogue of Suitors is indicated by the enjambment of ἄελπτον.[2] But the change is very

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[1]ἣ τέκεν Ἑρμιόνην καλλίσφυρ[ο]ν ἐν μεγάροισιν / ἄελπτον. fr. 204.94-95. See discussion above on fr. 175, p. 105.

[2]Cohen 1983, 345-350, discusses enjambment in the *Catalogue of Women*. He concludes that "there are, on average, significantly more instances of no enjambment and optional enjambment than there is of necessary enjambment." 350. He, in turns, builds on work done by Edwards, G.P. The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context. (Oxford, 1971) 96-99, who examines enjambment in the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, and the *Shield*. Janko 1982 discusses enjambment generally, but does not include a discussion of the phenomenon in the *Catalogue of Women*. The most recent discussions of enjambment in Homer are Bakker, E.J. "Homeric Discourse and Enjambment: a Cognitive Approach," *TAPA* 120 (1990) 1-21, and Higbie, C. Measure and Music. (Oxford, 1990). The latter begins with an extensive discussion of all prior scholarship on the subject. In her terminology, ἄελπτον is an example of 'adding

abrupt; this passage is not an elaboration, but a whole new scene. In some ways, this

transition is made even more startling by the unusual absence of elaborations in the

Catalogue of Suitors itself. Unlike earlier passages, in which the narrative elaboration

occasionally overwhelms the catalogue framework,[1] this vignette does not fit within a

larger format. Instead, it appears unexpectedly, runs its course, and ends, although the

narrator does use ring composition to give a small sense of completion.[2]

The author looks forward to the Homeric poems by using epic narrative which is

not contained within a catalogue format. Further, he emphasizes this change by

juxtaposing this narrative style with a very long and controlled catalogue, the Catalogue of

Suitors. Just as this passage is followed by epic narrative at its end, so the *Catalogue of

Women* will be followed by the Homeric poems at its end.

But this new narrative style is not limited to the passage which discusses Zeus'

plans. This style continues in the next passage which concerns a snake (fr. 204.124-?).[3]

Again, there is an unanticipated, and seemingly incoherent, change of scene. Although the

poet has used ring composition to signal the end of the previous scene, the only connection

between the two passages is the particle δ' (fr. 204.124).

Thus, the narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* uses narrative styles, as well as

repeated characters, motifs, and language in the Catalogue of Suitors and the passages

which follow it to look forward to the Homeric poems.

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enjambment with external expansion.' Cohen, using Parry's nomenclature, would call it
'unperiodic or optional enjambment.' In both cases, they mean that the sentence was
grammatically complete without ἄελπτον.

[1]The wooing of Atalanta, frr. 73, 75, 76; the rape of Tyro, frr. 30, 31.

[2]ἐξ ἔριδος· δὴ γὰρ τότε μήδετο θέσκελα ἔργα   (fr. 204.96) =
πα]τρὸς ἐρισθεν[έ]ος, μεγάλ' ἀνδράσι μηδομένοιο. (fr. 204.123).

[3]See Appendix B for a discussion of this puzzling passage.

Conclusion

The narrator of the *Catalogue of Women* fulfills the explicit demands of his opening address well. He covers the genealogical families of humans known to the archaic Greeks as completely as possible. In the process of doing so, he uses genealogical organization borrowed from the *Theogony* and geographical organization to structure his text.

But the narrator also fulfills the implicit demands of the Marked Catalogue. He adapts his material so as to provide a bridge between the *Theogony* and the Homeric poems. He does so in several ways.

First, he narrates episodes in which mortals and immortals interact freely in the first half of the *Catalogue of Women*. He also places the magical and monstrous family of the Deucalonids at the beginning of the *Catalogue*. These figures seem closer to the monsters of the *Theogony* than the heroes of the *Iliad*.

Second, he emphasizes three mortal figures: Heracles, Agamemnon, and Menelaus. We have seen how the narrator uses their repeated appearances to look back to the *Theogony* and forward to the Homeric poems.

Third, Zeus maintains a high profile throughout the whole *Catalogue*. But the narrator carefully constructs his text so as to show the transformation in his role, and the role of immortals in general.

Last, we have seen that the Catalogue of Suitors is an important step in the process of change. It looks forward to the Homeric poems in motif, characterization, and language.

The author of the *Catalogue of Women* has fulfilled the challenge of the Marked Catalogue. He has described his category in its entirety, while adapting his material to reveal his themes, continuity and transformation in the worlds of mortals and immortals.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ROLES OF MORTALS AND IMMORTALS IN THE *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*

In order to clarify the relationship between the *Theogony*, the *Catalogue of Women*, and the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, we must first consider the various roles that mortals and immortals have in the text.

Mortal Women The poem is called the *Catalogue of Women*, and women are used as an organizational device.[1] Not surprisingly, since this is a genealogical text, the roles of mortal women are exclusively sexual.[2] Women appear, as is usual in ancient Greek poetry, as the objects of men's desires. They are courted and married, and become mothers as a result of this desire.

Women who appears as individuals in extended elaborations of five or more lines, do so only within a sexual role, such as Atalanta, who wishes to avoid marriage (fr. 73.5), or Alcmene, who sleeps with both a god and her husband, and produces two sons as a result (fr. 195 *Scut.*). Mestra appears first in her role as daughter, then as the lover of Poseidon, and finally as the wife of a mortal (fr. 43(a)). Women travel only in their role as a sexual being. Gods may take them away from their family (Poseidon and Mestra, fr. 43(a).55ff; Zeus and Io, frr. 124, 125; Zeus and Europa, frr. 140, 141). Or women travel with their mortal husbands, as is revealed by the repeated motif of leaving the home of one's father (frr. 26.17; 43(a).31; 195 *Scut.* 1). In the only two extant cases of women traveling alone, Danae was driven out by her father as a result of her sexual union with Zeus (fr. 135.3), and the daughters of Porthaos flee to the hills, only to be caught and

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[1]See Cohen, I.M. The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. (PhD Diss., Toronto, 1983) 58-80, for the multiple uses of ἢ' οἵη. He argues that the phrase is used as a formula of transition and introduction to new branches of each family.

[2]I use the term "sexual" to include courtship, marriage, sexual unions of any kind, and the bearing of children which result from a sexual union.

married off (fr. 26.5ff). The daughters of Tyndareos pass from the hands of their father,

to their husbands, to their lovers (fr. 176).

Alcmene is, in many ways, the preeminent example of a woman in the *Catalogue of*

Women (fr. 195 *Scut.* 1-10). Her genealogy is unusually long and elaborate.

> ἠ᾽ οἵη προλιποῦσα δόμους καὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν
> ἤλυθεν ἐς Θήβας μετ᾽ ἀρήιον ᾽Αμφιτρύωνα
> ᾽Αλκμήνη, θυγάτηρ λαοσσόου ᾽Ηλεκτρύωνος·
> ἥ ῥα γυναικῶν φῦλον ἐκαίνυτο θηλυτεράων
> εἴδεί τε μεγέθει τε, νόον γε μὲν οὔ τις ἔριζε   5
> τάων ἃς θνηταὶ θνητοῖς τέκον εὐνηθεῖσαι.
> τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν βλεφάρων τ᾽ ἄπο κυανεάων
> τοῖον ἄηθ᾽ οἷόν τε πολυχρύσου ᾽Αφροδίτης.
> ἣ δὲ καὶ ὣς κατὰ θυμὸν ἑὸν τίεσκεν ἀκοίτην,
> ὡς οὔ πώ τις ἔτισε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων.   10

The passage begins with an ἠ᾽ οἵη phrase, proceeds to the familiar motif of leaving home

(1) and moving to the household of her husband (2). Only in the third line do we find her

name and the name of her father, although the naming of her husband in the second line

makes it very clear about whom the author is writing. She is favorably compared with all

other women in her stature and form (4-5) as well as her good sense (5). Then her beauty

is praised (8). This is followed by two lines in which Alcmene is praised because she

honors her husband beyond every other woman (9-10). This elaboration is unusual for its

length, as well as the repeated comparisons with all other women (4, 6, 10). Clearly, the

author has adapted the standard form of the genealogy so as to make Alcmene the

outstanding example of womanhood. The result of all this preeminent womanhood is the

production of Heracles. Extravagant praise of Alcmene makes it clear why Zeus would

chose her as the mother of the greatest Greek hero, Heracles.

Mortal Men   Unlike mortal women such as Alcmene in the *Catalogue of Women*,

mortal men have more than one role. Their primary role is sexual, concerning the wooing

of and marriage to women, which in turn leads to their roles as fathers. Unlike the women,

however, the vocabulary used to praise them is not limited to praise of their physical

beauty. Instead we find that terms relating to men's roles as political leaders[1] (ὄρχαμος (ἀνδρῶν), ποιμὴν λαῶν, ἄναξ (ἀνδρῶν), λαῶν ἀγός, πολέων ἡγήτωρ λαῶν, βασιλεύς, λαοσσόος,[2] κυδιόων λαοῖσι(ν)). Terms involving fame are used (ἀγακλυτός, κλυτός, ἀγακλειτός, κλειτός), as well as terms which emphasize men's roles as warriors (ὄζος Ἄρηος, πτολίπορθος, αἰχμητής, ἐϋμμελίης, δορυσσόος). Terms involving various aspects of one's personality also appear (αἰολομήτης,[3] ἄδικος,[4] ὑπέρθυμος, ὑπερήνωρ,[5] κρατερός, ἱππόδαμος, ἱππότα, δῖος, διόγνητος,[6] ἀντίθεος, θεοειδής, ἀμύμων, μεγάθυμος, μεγαλήτωρ, ἀγέρωχος, ὄλβιος, ταλασίφρων, ἴφθιμος, ἀτάλαντος, ἥρως, ἀγαυός, μήστωρ φόβοιο, ἔξοχος (ἀνδρῶν / ἀνθρώπων), δαΐφρων). Only a few epithets mention physical beauty (ξανθός, ἠΰκομος). There are, however, only a few particularized epithets: ἀεθλοφόρος (Polydeuces, frr. 23(a).39; 198.8; 199.1), πολυκηδής (Oedipus, fr. 193.4),[7] and ἀρηΐφιλος (Menelaus, frr. 195.5; 204.86, 89, 93). Thus the epithets contradict the primarily sexual role of the mortal men.

As these epithets imply, men do appear in roles other than sexual ones. For instance, mortal men punish, but only in relation to their family roles. Acrisios sends his daughter Danae and her illegitimate child Perses out to sea in a chest, in order to punish her

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[1] Words must appear at least once in unsupplemented text. Underlined words appear in the Homeric poems.

[2] In the Homeric poems, this epithet applies only to gods, with the exception of Amphiaraus at *Od.* 15.244.

[3] This word appears only here in archaic poetry.

[4] This word appears only in Hesiodic literature.

[5] This appears as ὑπερηνορέων in the Homeric poems.

[6] The Homeric equivalent is διογενής.

[7] In the Homeric texts, this word appears in the phrase πολυκηδὴς νόστος (*Od.* 9.37; 23.351).

supposed sexual transgression (fr. 129.15ff), and Amphitryon punishes the slayers of his wife's brothers (fr. 195 *Scut.* 11ff).

Mortal men plan as well as punish. In both cases, however, this happens primarily with reference to their families. Fathers plan the wooing of their daughters: Schoineus and Atalanta (fr. 75.12ff), and Tyndareos and Helen (fr. 204.81ff). Suitors plan the wooing of their intended brides: Hippomenes and Atalanta (fr. 76.7ff), the suitors and Helen (frr. 196-204), and Amphitryon and Alcmene (fr. 195 *Scut.* 14ff). But again, these other roles are all related to the primary sexual roles of suitor, husband, or father.

The mortal men, however, can be placed into two groups. The first group, which is by far the largest, contains men who appear in only one fragment, usually as part of a genealogy or a genealogical catalogue (Αἰακόνς, ᾿Αλάζυγος, Βῆλος, Γλῆνος, Δίκτυς, ῞Ερμος, etc.). On some occasions, a name may appear more than once, but refer to two or more different men. Thus, one Κλύμενος is the son of Οἰνεύς (fr. 25.16), while the second is the son of ᾿Ορχομενός (fr. 77).

The second group, while much smaller, is much more revealing. Three figures reoccur throughout the text: Heracles, Agamemnon and Menelaus. Of the three, Heracles appears most prominently in the *Catalogue*. Heracles' sexual role appears at least twice, through his unions with Deianeira (fr. 25.18-19) and Auge (fr. 165.8ff). In addition, his birth (fr. 195 *Scut.* 1-56), death (fr. 25.20ff), and afterlife (frr. 25.25ff; 229) appear. Various heroic exploits are narrated: he sacks Pylos, and kills Nestor's siblings, including Periclymenos (frr. 33(a).23ff; 35); sacks Cos (fr. 43(a).60-64); kills an unnamed giant (fr. 43(a).65); competes for the hand of Ioleia (fr. 26.33).[1] His rivalry with Eurystheus probably also appears (fr. 190.9ff).[2] Lastly, if Casanova is correct, Heracles' enslavement

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[1]See Apollo. *Bib.* II.6.1.

[2]See Apollo. *Bib.* II.4.5.

to Omphale is presented.[1] Thus, his entire life and many, if not all, of his exploits appear in the *Catalogue.*

Agamemnon and Menelaus appear together three times (frr. 136; 176.7; 197). The role of the latter is generally limited to his sexual role as suitor, (frr. 197; 198; 204.85ff) and then husband, of Helen (frr. 176.7; 204.85ff). In addition, his birth appears (fr. 195 *Scut.* 5). Lastly, he probably appears as a leader, with Agamemnon, of the Greeks to Troy (fr. 136.9, 12). Agamemnon's roles are more varied. We first hear about his marriage and children, the incident at Aulis, and, by implication, his death, all in the same fragment (fr. 23(a).13-29). The adultery of his wife appears both in this fragment, and again in the catalogue of the adulterous daughters of Tyndareos (fr. 176.5-6). With Menelaus, he probably appears as a leader of the Greeks (fr. 136.9, 12). Lastly, he appears unexpectedly in the Catalogue of Suitors, where we are told that he is courting Helen on behalf of his brother (fr. 197.4-5).

The repeated appearances of these mortals, in several very different roles, strikes an odd note in a seemingly straightforward text. There might have been other mortals who could have had recurring appearances, such as Jason or Perses. But I think this is unlikely, since the papyri fragments have been preserved in a completely random fashion, which offsets the biases, if any, of later authors who quoted or paraphrased the text.[2] And in the few cases where other mortal males appear more than once, the primary focus is still on family issues. That is, we might read of a person's birth, marriage, children, and death in several different passages. Thus the birth of Abas appears in fragment 129.3, but his

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[1]Casanova, A. "Tre Note al *Catalogo* Esiodeo," *Studio Florentina A Ronconi oblata* (Rome, 1970) 64-67.

[2]Moreover, these repeated appearances are not reflected in paraphrases. Menelaus and Agamemnon appear only in one (fr. 194) and Heracles only in four (frr. 230; 248-249; 250), the last three of which Merkelbach and West relegate to the *Megalai Ehoiai.*

children appear in fragment 135.2ff. So, most mortal men are tied firmly to their genealogies, whether they appear once or more.

Immortals   The roles of the immortals are much more varied, however. As in the case of mortals, their primary role is usually sexual. Thus Zeus,[1] Poseidon,[2] Apollo,[3] and Hermes[4] all appear in sexual roles, usually as the seducer or rapist of a mortal woman. The exceptions to this rule are the gods who rarely figure in mythology as fathers: Ares,[5] Hephaistos,[6] and Dionysos.[7]

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[1]Frr. 1.2, *15; 5.2; 7.1; 25.29, 33; 135.4; 141.2-3, 11, 15, 21; 145.2; 150.16; *177.6; 195 *Scut.* 53, 56; *229.9, 13; 234.2; 248.2. These citations include the terms πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε; Κρονίων; Κρονίδης; Ὀλύμπιος. These citations exclude the following: Διόθεν (frr. 141.28; 195 *Scut.* 22); Διὸς (ἄλκιμος) υἱός (frr. 35.5; 43(a).61; 235.1) and Διὸς ταλασί̣ϙρονα παῖδα (fr. 33(a).28); Ζηνὸς ἔχων σκῆπτρον (fr. 144.3); Ζηνὸς πάρα θέσφατα (fr. 193.8); Διὸς νόος (frr. 16.7; 43(a).52, 76-77); citations in paraphrases and in which Zeus is clearly named, but his role is unclear, due to a fragmentary portion of the text (frr. 30.8; 75.17, 19; 129.6; 141.9; 193.22; 204.64, 106; 211.11; 240.6); citations in which the fragment is too short or fragmentary to determine anything except his name, and sometimes not even that (frr. 56.2; *57.8; *66.5; *75.1; 143.28; *150.12; *204.107); the phrase ἐρίζοι Ζηνὶ ἄνακτι (fr. 30.23).

[2]Frr. 17(a).13, 15; 30.32; 31.1; 43(a).55, 68, (*)81; *150.27; 253.2. This includes the terms ἐννοσίγαιος and γαιήοχος. His role(s) in the following lines are uncertain, due to the fragmentary nature of the passages, and are therefore excluded from our discussion: frr. 1.17; 136.17; 244.8.

[3]Frr. 64.16; 185.1; 235.1; 252.5; plus P.Herc. 243 III in West, M.L. "The Hesiodic Catalogue: New Light of Apollo's Love Life," *ZPE* 61 (1985) 1-7. These citations include the epithet Φοῖβος. The only passage excluded from our discussion, due to the fragmentary nature of the text, is fr. 185.9.

[4]Frr. *64.17-18; 137.1; *150.31; 170.1. These citations include the epithet Ἀργεϊφόντος. Excluded, due to fragmentary nature of passage, are frr. *1.12; 59.15; 66.4; 217.2.

[5]Frr. 25.16; 193.6. This discussion excludes the use of the phrase ὄζος Ἄρηος (frr. 12.1; 26.30; 175.2) and the fragmentary passages (frr. 1.18; 25.4).

[6]Fr. 141.4. Excluded is fr. *1.20.

[7]Fr. 239.1.

The roles for female immortals are more ambivalent. By definition, the virgin goddesses cannot be sexual beings. Thus Athena appears as a planner[1] and a teacher of the housewifely arts.[2] Artemis appears as the savior of Agamemnon's daughter at Aulis.[3] Non-virgin goddesses, however, are not restricted to purely sexual roles. Aphrodite appears once as a punisher,[4] as does Hera.[5] Hera does, however, appear in the sexual role of mother,[6] while Demeter is the subject of an attack by a mortal man.[7]

Like the goddesses, the gods also appear in a surprising variety of roles in the *Catalogue of Women.* Thus Zeus is a planner,[8] a punisher,[9] and a savior.[10] He also is called upon as witness,[11] establishes kingdoms,[12] and gives gifts.[13] Poseidon is also a

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[1]Frr. 33(a).19, 22, 31; (*)43(a).78. Excluded due to her uncertain role are frr. *43(a).38; 70.11, *14.

[2]Fr. 43(a).71.

[3]Fr. 23(a).26.

[4]Fr. 176.1. Excluded are all phrases in which Aphrodite appears as a metaphor for sexual desire (frr. *23(a).35; *76.6, *10; *172.4; 195 *Scut.* 47; 221.3; 253.3), comparisons (frr. 195 *Scut.* 8; 196.5), similes ((*)30.25), and passages in which her role is unclear (frr. 26.13; *185.17).

[5]Frr. 25.30; *229.10. Excluded is fr. *37.14.

[6]Frr. 25.29; 229.9.

[7]Fr. *177.9, *12.

[8]Frr. 43(a).78; 70.4; *141.26; 195 *Scut.* 27, 33; 204.115, 126; 205.3.

[9]Of mortals: frr. 30.12; 69.1; *177.10; 204.138. Of immortals: frr. 51.1; 54(a).3, *11.

[10]Fr. 30.28.

[11]Fr. 75.25.

[12]Frr. *33(a).3; 129.9.

[13]Frr. 27.1; 203.1; 211.8.

planner,[1] gives special powers to Periclymenos,[2] and helps build the walls of Troy.[3] Apollo is also a planner[4] and a punisher.[5] He also gives a bow to Heracles,[6] and helps Poseidon build the walls of Troy.[7] Apollo is atypical in that he is himself punished by Zeus, for taking retribution for the death of his son Asclepios.[8] Lastly, it is clear that Hermes is born,[9] and appears several times, probably in non-sexual roles, but the text in each case is too fragmentary to make any real determination.[10]

Thus the roles of male and female gods is much more extensive than one would expect in a genealogical catalogue. Unlike mortals, except for Heracles and Agamemnon and Menelaus, the gods appear in a variety of roles which have little or nothing to do with their sexual function. This is a clue towards the themes intended by the author.

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[1]Fr. 31.2ff.

[2]Fr. 33.13.

[3]Fr. 235.5.

[4]Fr. 26.22.

[5]Frr. 25.12; 60.3; 171.8.

[6]Fr. 33.29.

[7]Fr. 235.5.

[8]Frr. (*)51.3; *54(a).11.

[9]Fr. 170.1.

[10]Frr. 1.12; 59.15; 217.2.

APPENDIX B

THE SNAKE IN THE *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*

The passage which discusses the snake resembles no other extant passage, actual or paraphrased (fr. 204.124ff). As a result, little attempt has been made to explain it. West has pointed out passages which are loosely parallel.[1] But even he is unable to explain this passage, calling it "perplexingly irrelevant and disproportionately long."[2] He then tentatively correlates it with the Heroic Age, which has been banished to the Blessed Isles, whose spirit will "after centuries of waiting, manifest itself again in their descendants."[3] Further evidence for this viewpoint may be the long association between the seasons (ὥρη) and the hero (ἥρως).[4] The snake is now ruled by Zeus (Διὸς αἴσηι, fr. 204.126) and the seasons (ὥρηι ἐν εἰαρινῆι, fr. 204.129; χειμῶνος δ᾽ ἐπιόντος, fr. 204.134). Is this also true for the heroes who will now live, fight, and die on earth?[5] Unfortunately, this is all highly speculative, and very difficult to prove.

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[1]West, M.L. Hesiod. *Works and Days*. (Oxford, 1978) ad loc 167, which he relates to fr. 204.99ff, and ad loc. 524, which he relates to fr. 204.129.

[2]West, M.L. The Hesdiodic Catalogue of Women. (Oxford, 1985) 120.

[3]West 1985, 120. (Perhaps he has been overly influenced by the legend of King Arthur?)

[4]Schein, S. The Mortal Hero. (Berkeley, 1987) 69; Sinos, D. Achilles, Patrocles, and the Meaning of *Philos*. (Innsbruck, 1980); Pötscher, W. "Hera und Heros," *RhMus* 104 (1961) 302-355, esp. 306-309.

[5]An allied motif is "the numbers of men are as the leaves on trees," (*Il.* 2.468; 6.146-149), and the simile describing the death of Simoeisios (*Il.* 4.473-489).

Previous passages have contained geographical information (frr. 150.22-24, 25-26; 180.3-4), and even a reference to spring (fr. 70.13), but never any zoological information.[1] But the snake is completely at the mercy of Zeus (fr. 204.126, 138).

Snaky beings also appear in the *Theogony*. Zeus must overcome or control several of them before his rule is secure. The first is the Echidna (*Th.* 295-305), who lives undying, but underground. This monster in turn engenders other monsters which must be slain. Most importantly, there is Typhoeus (*Th.* 820-868). Zeus, in his last battle to secure his power, conquers this monster without help. In the process of their battle, the earth is 'recreated.'[2]

Two types of snaky beings appear in the *Theogony*, all of which are described as "ὄφις." The first is a group loosely associated with Heracles. This includes the descendents of Keto,[3] Periclymenos, and the snakes on his shield. Heracles kills several of Keto's descendents and Periclymenos, and uses the third while killing Cycnus. The second type is a being conquered by Zeus in his last battle to secure power.[4]

In the *Theogony*, there is a term which occurs only in conjunction with ὄφις (... ὄφιος κρατεροῖο δράκοντος, *Th.* 322; ... ὄφιος δεινοῖο δράκοντος, *Th.* 825; this excludes use in bracketed line *Th.* 323). In the *Catalogue of Women*, δράκων appears

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[1]Unless one includes the description of the Minotaur (fr. 145.15-17) and the twins Kteatos and Eurytus (fr. 17(a).16-17).

[2]Hamilton, R. The Architecture of Hesiodic Poetry. (Baltimore, 1989) 26-29; West, M.L. Hesiod. *Theogony*. (Oxford 1966) ad loc.

[3]Echidna, *Th.* 299; Chimera, *Th.* 322; snake of the Apples, *Th.* 333; West 1966, ad loc. 270-336.

[4]West 1966, ad loc. 820-880.

only in a description (fr. 70.23), although it does appear more frequently in the *Shield*.[1] Thus the term ὄφις seems attached to Hesiodic texts in general and Heracles in particular.[2]

In the *Catalogue of Women*, the snake (ὄφις, fr. 204.136) is now a part of the natural world. It has also been recreated in such a way that it now has a specific place in the world. Even snakes have children in this genealogical catalogue. Further, they are subject to the seasons (fr. 204.129, 134) and place (fr. 204.130, 131).

Thus, while the snake may be a sign of the end of an epoch, it may also be a sign of continuity and change together.

The snakes in the Homeric poems have no special overtones. The term for snake used most frequently in the Hesiodic texts, ὄφις, appears only once in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 11.208). The latter uses δράκων as the word for snake. In the Homeric poems, snakes appear in three types of passages. They appear as omens (*Il.* 2.308; 12.202, 220), in similes (*Il.* 3.33 (Paris is compared to a man who fears a mountain snake); 22.93 (Hector is compared to a snake awaiting a man in a mountain lair)[3]), and in descriptions (*Il.* 6.181 (Chimera); 11.26, 39 (snakes on the armor of Agamemnon); *Od.* 4.457 (one of Proteus' shapes)). Thus in the Homeric poems, snakes are a threat to no one's power, and are purely a part of the natural world. These snakes are direct descendants of the snake which appears after the Catalogue of Suitors (fr. 204.124ff).

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[1]Further description of Heracles' shield, 166; description of sculpture on shield with snakes hanging from Gorgon's belts as they pursue Perseus; it is also a variant reading in a description of Fear on his shield.

[2]The term ἄτριχος is very unusual, and does not appear elsewhere in the Hesiodic or Homeric corpus.

[3]Note the reversal of roles in the simile.

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