THE PRE-ALEXANDRIAN FOOTNOTE

II.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore the early Greek precedent for the most famous and frequent index of allusion in Roman poetry, the 'Alexandrian footnote'. As we have seen, Latin poets often signposted their allusions to and departures from tradition through vague appeals to the transmission of talk and hearsay (§I.I.I). By prefacing their allusive references with vague gestures to others' words, they signposted their intertextual gestures, appropriating, challenging and creatively reworking the authority of tradition.

In the sections that follow, I argue that this same indexical potential is already manifest in archaic Greek poetry's engagement with hearsay and its transmission. From Homer onwards, archaic poets evoke, confront and revise what others have previously 'said'.

II.2 Epic *Fama*

In the world of archaic epic, fame and renown play a prominent role. Both Homeric poems convey a strong impression of tales and traditions circulating between individuals and communities. This is especially visible in the *Odyssey*, where we witness the stories of the Achaeans' returns recounted by Phemius, Nestor and others, as well as Telemachus' active quest to seek news (ἀκουήν, *Od.* 14.179) of his father's fortunes. Yet even in the *Iliad*, stories of the past circulate continuously, as characters repeatedly appeal to a range of past tales as paradigms for their own circumstances (e.g. Bellerophon, Meleager and Niobe). Nor is this concern with the telling of tales limited to a retrospective concern with the past; it also looks to the present and future. In both epics, Homer's

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characters are intimately concerned to preserve their own κλέος, a word which is often translated as 'fame', 'renown' or 'legacy', but which etymologically means 'that which is heard' (cf. κλύω, 'I hear'). Heroes may win κλέος on the battlefield (*Il.* 5.3, 18.121), in athletic contests (*Od.* 8.147–8) or even for fine words in council (*Od.* 16.241–2). And throughout Homeric society, there is a recurring concern with how future generations will hear of and judge their actions.[1] Even objects can enjoy a κλέος of their own, often through elaborate stories attached to them, such as Agamemnon's sceptre (*Il.* 1.234–9) and Meriones' boar-tusk helmet (*Il.* 10.261–71).[2] In the words of one critic, the Homeric universe is bound together by 'an elaborate network of gossip, rumor, and reputation'.[3] It is κλέος which drives heroic activity. And it is κλέος which eventually becomes memorialised in song.[4]

Throughout both Homeric poems and archaic Greek epic more generally, characters often appeal to these circulating traditions in vague and generalised terms through verbs of hearing and speaking, especially the third-person plural φασί ('they say').[5] In current scholarship, such gestures are frequently interpreted as part of a larger epic contrast between reliable first-hand experience and the indirect transmission of hearsay.[6] Since these appeals to tradition are primarily found in the mouths of mortal characters, who sometimes acknowledge their lack of direct autopsy, they are thought to reflect the limitations and fallibility of human knowledge, a foil to the omniscient and divinely authorised perspective of the epic narrator.[7] In the invocation of the Muses in *Iliad* 2, the

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1 Note especially the repeated verse-end phrase ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι, 'for future generations to hear': *Il.* 2.119, 22.305; *Od.* 11.76, 21.255, 24.433. Cf. *Il.* 3.287, 353–4, 460, 6.357–8; *Od.* 8.579–80, 24.196–202.

2 Cf. Griffin (1980) 1–49; Grethlein (2008) 35–43.   3 Olson (1995) 2.

4 Cf. Achilles singing the 'famous stories of men' (κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* 9.189: §1). On epic κλέος: Nagy (1974) 244–55; Redfield (1975) 31–5; Olson (1995) 1–23; Petropoulos (2011) 1–89; Burgess (2012b) 283–7; Hardie (2012) 48–67; González (2015a) 117–72; Li (2022).

5 φασί(ν) appears in the *Iliad* (21×), *Odyssey* (21×), *Theogony* (1×), *Works and Days* (1×), *Homeric Hymns* (3×) and at least one epic fragment. De Jong (2004) 237–8 offers a useful list of the Homeric examples, grouped into four main categories that reflect her narratological priorities.

6 E.g. Ford (1992) 57–67; Mackie (2003) 68–9.

7 See e.g. Ford (1992) 57–89; and O'Maley (2011), who contrasts contestable hearsay with reliable memory. Cf. de Jong's category B1: (2004) 237–8.

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poet famously remarks that 'you are goddesses and are present and know all things, whereas we hear only a rumour and know nothing' (ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα, | ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν, *Il.* 2.485–6). As Ford has argued from this and other such passages, the 'fiction' of the Muses conceals the reality of bardic education and transmission, freeing the Homeric narrator – unlike his characters – from needing to rely on 'mere' κλέος.[8] By presenting matters in this way, Homer is said to establish his own poetry's κλέος as superior to other socially embedded, self-interested forms of oral report.[9]

There is certainly an element of truth to this opposition, but it is overly reductive to restrict every instance of φασί to such rhetorical posturing. After all, the same idiom also appears in the mouths of epic narrators (*Il.* 2.783, 17.674; *Od.* 6.42; *Theog.* 306; *Op.* 803),[10] alongside a number of other remarks which acknowledge the limitations of their knowledge (*Il.* 12.176, 17.260–1; *Theog.* 369).[11] A straight dichotomy between mortal ignorance and poetic omniscience simply cannot hold. Nor does inspiration from the Muses deny poets' independence: it is clear from the *Odyssey* that this is conceived as a familiar instance of 'double determination', involving both divine and human agency.[12] Phemius famously declares that he is both self-taught and the recipient of divine aid (αὐτοδίδακτος δ᾽ εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας | παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν, *Od.* 22.347–8), while Alcinous' description of Demodocus makes it clear that his poetry is both god-given and the product of his own *thumos*, 'spirit' (τῷ γὰρ ῥα θεὸς περὶ δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν | τέρπειν, ὅππη θυμὸς ἐποτρύνησιν ἀείδειν, *Od.* 8.44–5). The poet's divinely inspired status is not opposed to but

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[8] Ford (1992) 61–3, 90–130; cf. Scodel (1998).

[9] E.g. Ford (1992) 57–67, 91–2; Scodel (2001) 110–12. Cf. Kelly (2008b), (2018).

[10] A fact ignored by Mackie (2003) 69, who claims that 'the primary narrator, the Homeric poet himself, never does, and never would, legitimate his own narrative in this way' (sc. by grounding 'the validity of his tale in its traditional character').

[11] Cf. de Jong (2004) 47–9; Purves (2010) 6–10. The Homeric passages (*Il.* 12.175–81, 17.260–1) have been suspected by ancient and modern scholars. But it is a *petitio principii* to claim that Homer does not indulge in any self-reference and then remove all lines which do not fit this view. Both passages can be amply defended: the scholia identify 'Homeric vividness' in *Il.* 12.175–81 (Ὁμηρικὴ ἐνάργεια, Σ Τ *Il.* 17.175–81b *ex.*); Edwards (1991) 88 notes poetic expansion in *Il.* 17.260–1.

[12] Murray (1981) 96–7; Verdenius (1983) 37–40; de Jong (2004) 52, (2006) 191–3; Ritoók (1989) 342–4; Kelly (2008b) 194 n. 48. On double determination: Lesky (1961); Pelliccia (2011).

rather complements his own poetic craftsmanship on the mortal plane. In the words of Jonathan Ready, the poet has 'agency as a mediating performer' and is not simply a 'mere instrument' of the Muse.[13] However hard Homer tries to conceal his fallibilities behind the smokescreen of the Muses, he ultimately cannot avoid embracing and engaging with other traditions and 'what people say'.

In fact, on closer examination, Homeric uses of φασί and other related expressions, in both the narrator's and characters' mouths, often highlight connections with other traditions and stories, playing an important role in situating each epic within the larger mythical traditions of archaic Greece. Far from simply downgrading other forms of speech, appeals to rumour and hearsay mark an engagement with broader traditions of myth and poetry. In this section, I will explore the indexical potential of these appeals. I argue that scenes in which characters talk of receiving and transmitting news serve as a model for how we conceive of epic poets' own intertextual relationships, as they gesture to and incorporate other traditions.

We shall begin with the first φασί of the *Iliad*, a rare instance of the device in the narrator's own voice, but one which already exhibits all the hallmarks of the 'Alexandrian footnote' (§II.2.1). We will then turn to consider one further paradigmatic case in character speech (§II.2.2), before broadening out to examine the particular prevalence of appeals to hearsay focused on the Trojan war tradition (§II.2.3). In these sections, we will see how Homer deploys indexical hearsay to acknowledge his own encyclopaedic mastery of tradition. In the following section, by contrast, we will explore more agonistic gestures to suppressed narrative alternatives and rival traditions (§II.2.4). To close, we will look beyond the Homeric poems to the use of this device in the wider corpus of archaic Greek epic (§II.2.5).

II.2.1 *The* Iliad*'s First φασί and Theogonic Myth*

The first instance of **φασί** in the *Iliad*, and one of the few in the narrator's voice, is a prime example of the verb's indexical function. It occurs at the end of the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* 2, within

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[13] Ready (2019) 97.

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a pair of climactic similes that connect the events unfolding on earth with the supernatural strife of Zeus and Typhoeus (*Il.* 2.780–5):

οἳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἴσαν ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο·
γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνῳ
χωομένῳ, ὅτε τ᾽ ἀμφὶ Τυφωέϊ γαῖαν ἱμάσσῃ
εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι **φασὶ** Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς·
ὣς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγα στεναχίζετο γαῖα
ἐρχομένων·

So they [the Greeks] went as if the whole earth was being devoured by fire; and the earth groaned beneath them, just as beneath Zeus who delights in thunder, when in anger he lashes the earth around Typhoeus in the land of the Arimoi, where **they say** Typhoeus has his resting place. So then the earth groaned greatly beneath their feet as they went.

Scholars have long admired the artistry of these lines, which close the Greek catalogue with an elaborate ring composition, echoing the series of similes with which it opened: the scorched land of verse 780 generalises and extends the devastation of the forest fire at 2.455–8, while the earth groaning beneath the Greeks' feet (784) recalls the earlier emphasis on the din of their steps (αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθὼν | σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, 2.465–6).[14] Yet these lines themselves also offer a miniature ring composition of their own: the chiastic arrangement of γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεστενάχιζε (781) . . . στεναχίζετο γαῖα (784) is framed in turn by two verbs describing the Greeks' advance (ἴσαν, 780; ἐρχμομένων, 785).[15] Less attention has been paid, however, to the unobtrusive **φασί** clause in verse 783, an aside which attributes part of the Typhoeus tale to the anonymous talk of men.

Eustathius interpreted this appeal to hearsay as a distancing device (Eust. 347.8–9 ad *Il.* 2.783 = 1.544.6–7 van der Valk):

τὸ δέ "**φασίν**" εἶπε κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὁ ποιητής, ἵνα μὴ προσκρούοιμεν ὡς Ὁμηρικῷ ὄντι διὰ τὸ μυθῶδες.

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[14] Cf. too the earlier din as the Greeks first sat down to assembly: ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα, 2.95.
[15] Cf. Watkins (1995) 451–2; Lovell (2011) 18–20.

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> According to older critics,[16] the poet said '**they say**' so that we do not disapprove of the passage in seeing it as a strictly Homeric tale, on account of its fabulous character.

Building on a remark of the Homeric scholia (Σ b *Il*. 2.783a *ex*.), the Byzantine scholar constructs Homer in his own rationalistic image, distancing himself from an implausible, legendary myth. Such an apologetic interpretation may misconstrue the full significance of **φασί** here. The verb certainly acknowledges the narrator's distance in space and time from the events he describes, but that alone does not necessarily imply doubt, especially given the absence of any further hints of hesitation or qualification.[17] Yet even so, Eustathius is right to note how the verb acknowledges Homer's debts: the poet gestures to an independent pre-existing tradition.[18] Eustathius does not take this point further and nor – as far as I am aware – have modern scholars. But his remark demands further consideration. Who are the anonymous 'they' who claim that Typhoeus' bed is among the Arimoi?

For scholars who regard Homer as engaging allusively with Near Eastern sources, one possible answer to this question might be that **φασί** points to the poetic traditions of the Near East. Typhoeus appears to have a Semitic pedigree (compare the alternative spelling of his name 'Typhon' with the Canaanite-Phoenician name *ṣāpōn*), and Homer's placement of him here among the Arimoi (= Aramaeans?) has been interpreted as a self-conscious acknowledgement of the myth's eastern origins.[19] However, as I argued in Chapter 1 (§1.2.2), we should be cautious of this approach which assumes an active and interpretable

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[16] It is tempting to render κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς as 'in the manner of' or even 'in reference to' 'the ancients' (i.e. 'the ancient poets'), but Eustathius' practice elsewhere suggests that he is primarily acknowledging his debt to earlier scholarship (cf. e.g. Eust. *Il*. 692.21 ad *Il*. 7.475 = II.504.4–5 van der Valk ~ Σ A *Il*. 7.475a *Ariston*., Σ T *Il*. 7.475c *Ariston*.); cf. Triclinius' use of παλαιόν/παλαιά to refer to older scholiastic material: Dickey (2007) 37 n. 22.

[17] Cf. Fontenrose (1966) 67: 'In the Homeric and Hesiodic poems φασί without subject does not suggest the speaker's doubt about the truth of the statement, but just about the opposite, complete confidence in it'; cf. Stinton (1976).

[18] Cf. Σ EHP¹X *Od*. 6.42b *Ariston*., where Homer's use of **φασί** is thought to 'indicate the tradition transmitted from his ancestors' (διὰ τοῦ "**φασί**" τὴν ἐκ προγόνων παράδοσιν ἐμφαίνει).

[19] Currie (2016) 201, 203–4, with further bibliography. On the 'Arimoi', see Fontenrose (1966).

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engagement with Near Eastern myth. Here in particular, the Aramaean location appears to be a traditional feature engrained in the Greek tradition (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 304; Pind. fr. 93), and it is far more easily explained as the passive trace of a more distant literary genealogy, rather than a self-conscious nod to an earlier Near Eastern tradition. It is unlikely that **φασί** would direct any audience member to Near Eastern myth, a distant 'source' which would add little to our immediate appreciation of this simile.

Instead, a more likely answer to the significance of Homer's **φασί** may be found in the numerous similarities shared by these Iliadic verses and Hesiod's description of Typhoeus' defeat in the *Theogony* (843–7, 857–9):

> ἐπεστενάχιζε δὲ γαῖα.
> καῦμα δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων κάτεχεν ἰοειδέα πόντον
> βροντῆς τε στεροπῆς τε πυρός τ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῖο πελώρου
> πρηστήρων ἀνέμων τε κεραυνοῦ τε φλεγέθοντος,
> ἔζεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα·
> . . .
> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή μιν δάμασε πληγῇσιν ἱμάσσας,
> ἤριπε γυιωθείς, στενάχιζε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη.
> φλὸξ δὲ κεραυνωθέντος ἀπέσσυτο τοῖο ἄνακτος

and the earth groaned in response. A conflagration from them both engulfed the violet-dark sea, a conflagration of thunder and lightning and fire from the monster, of tornado winds and the blazing thunderbolt. The whole earth seethed, and the sky and sea … but when he [Zeus] had overpowered him, lashing him with blows, he [Typhoeus] fell down wounded, and the monstrous earth groaned; a flame darted forth from the thunderstruck lord.

In this climactic passage, Zeus secures his control over the universe by conquering Typhoeus, his last major adversary, just as he had earlier defeated the Titans.[20] There are a number of significant parallels between this narrative and Homer's simile.[21] In both accounts, Zeus lashes the ground (ἱμάσσῃ, *Il.* 2.782) or his foe (ἱμάσσας, *Theog.* 857), and the earth groans under the weight of these blows (γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεστενάχιζε, *Il.* 2.781; στεναχίζετο γαῖα, *Il.*

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[20] For the structural, verbal and thematic relationship between the Titanomachy and Typhonomachy, see e.g. Saïd (1977); Blaise (1992). The repetition serves as a 'decreasing doublet', a common strategy for concluding an orally derived poem: Kelly (2007b) 389–90.

[21] Cf. Nimis (1987) 75–7; Lovell (2011) 20–31; West (2011c) 214.

2.784) or the warring participants themselves (Typhoeus: στενάχιζε δὲ γαῖα, *Theog.* 858; Zeus: ἐπεστενάχιζε δὲ γαῖα, *Theog.* 843). In the wider context of both passages, emphasis is laid on Zeus's thunder as the weapon which vanquishes Typhoeus (Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνῳ, *Il.* 2.781 ~ κεραυνοῦ, *Theog.* 846; κεραυνόν, *Theog.* 854; κεραυνωθέντος, *Theog.* 859) and the blazing destruction of the whole earth (πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο, *Il.* 2.780 ~ καῦμα … πυρός, *Theog.* 844–5, χθὼν πᾶσα, *Theog.* 847). Within a handful of Iliadic lines, there are numerous verbal connections with Hesiod's account of Typhoeus' defeat, connections which again reinforce the closural ring composition of this simile: already before the Catalogue, the earth had thundered terribly beneath the Achaeans' feet (χθὼν | σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε, *Il.* 2.465–6), just as it did in Hesiod's Typhonomachy (σμερδαλέον κονάβησε, *Theog.* 840).

Of course, the relationship between Homer and Hesiod is a matter of much debate. Most today would take Homer to be prior, but a number of eminent scholars have argued for the opposite conclusion.[22] If we tentatively accept this latter hypothesis, we could see a direct Iliadic allusion here to Hesiod's *Theogony*, signposted through a footnoting **φασί**. The *Iliad*'s Typhoeus simile appears to offer a compact and miniature postscript to a major episode of Hesiod's poem, highlighting how the defeated Typhoeus continues to be punished in terms precisely comparable to his initial defeat (note the subjunctive ἱμάσσῃ in 782, indicating a recurring action). The effect is very similar to that later found in Pindar's first *Pythian* (1.13–28), where Typhoeus' ongoing imprisonment is presented in language reminiscent of his original defeat. As Tom Phillips remarks, 'even as Pindar's narrative positions Zeus's battle with Typhon in the past, echoes of the *Th*[*eogony*] replay it'.[23] The same dynamics of recollection and replay are at work in Homer's simile, which depicts the aftermath

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[22] Hesiodic priority: West (1966) 40–8, (2012); Burkert (1976); Blümer (2001) I 107–260. Contrast: Heubeck (1979) 109–16, (1982) 442–3; Janko (1982) esp. 94–8, 188–99, (2012).

[23] Phillips (2018) 270–4 (quotation p. 274). E.g. κυλινδομένα φλόξ, *Pyth.* 1.24 ~ φλὸξ δὲ κεραυνωθέντος ἀπέσσυτο, *Theog.* 859. On Pindar's Hesiodic allusion here, cf. Morgan (2015) 314–16; Passmore (2018).

of the conflict while echoing the language of its climax. Within a handful of verses, Homer appears to invoke and epitomise a central episode of another poem, indexed through **φασί**.

We might be able to extend this conclusion further. The precise detail that Homer attributes to hearsay is that the resting place of Typhoeus is among the Arimoi, a detail which again finds close parallel in the *Theogony* (304–8):

ἣ δ' ἔρυτ' εἰν Ἀρίμοισιν ὑπὸ χθόνα λυγρὴ Ἔχιδνα,
ἀθάνατος νύμφη καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα.
τῇ δὲ Τυφάονά **φασι** μιγήμεναι ἐν φιλότητι
δεινόν θ' ὑβριστήν τ' ἄνομόν θ' ἑλικώπιδι κούρῃ·
ἣ δ ὑποκυσαμένη τέκετο κρατερόφρονα τέκνα.

Baneful Echidna keeps guard among the Arimoi under the earth, an immortal nymph, unageing through all her days. **They say** that Typhon – terrible, insolent and lawless – mingled in love with her, a glancing-eyed girl; and she became pregnant and bore mighty-hearted children.

Just as Homer places Typhoeus' bed 'among the Arimoi' (εἰν Ἀρίμοις, *Il.* 2.783), Hesiod claims that Typhoeus slept with Echidna εἰν Ἀρίμοισιν.[24] Here too, we could see Homer allusively reshaping the Hesiodic narrative. The noun εὐνάς (*Il.* 2.783) is pointedly ambiguous. It could at a push refer to the 'bed' where Typhoeus once slept with Echidna (as in *Theog.* 304–6), but this makes little sense in the context of Zeus's ongoing punishment of the monster in the present. More plausibly, it can be taken euphemistically to refer to the 'tomb' that became his final resting place.[25] But in that case, this detail departs from the Hesiodic conclusion, in which Typhoeus was ultimately dispatched to Tartarus (*Theog.* 868). Homer's **φασί** appears to index tradition precisely at the point where it is most contestable.[26]

It is thus possible to discern a remarkably intricate intertextual relationship between this Iliadic simile and the *Theogony*. If we

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[24] Σ *Theog.* 304 notes the parallel.
[25] Cf. Σ b *Il.* 2.783a *ex.*: εὐφήμως δὲ τὸν τάφον εὐνὰς ἐκάλεσεν ('he euphemistically called the tomb a bed').
[26] Cf. Homeric θέμις-claims, which are often made where the practice so described is not so settled: Scodel (1999) 49–50. For the wider debate and disagreement in antiquity concerning Typhoeus' final resting place, see Ballabriga (1990) 23–6; Fowler (2000–13) II 28–9; Ogden (2013) 76.

accept Hesiod's priority, Homer can be seen to replay, revise and epitomise key aspects of the original Hesiodic conflict. However, as I outlined in Chapter I (§1.2), such a direct connection between two 'texts' is difficult to reconcile with the oral environment of early Greek epic, not to mention with the uncertainties over the relative dates of our *Iliad* and *Theogony*. I thus prefer to see Homer here evoking a more general Typhoean and theogonic tradition, rather than a specific text. The contours of such a Typhoeus tradition were evidently well established already in the archaic age. The *Iliad* assumes its audience's familiarity with a version of theogonic narrative very similar to that preserved in our *Theogony* and readily evokes key features of the succession myth elsewhere (e.g. in Thetis' rescue of Zeus, *Il.* 1.396–406).[27] Moreover, the fact that the Homeric mention of Typhoeus occurs in a simile (a narrative device which frequently introduces familiar and relatable material) raises the expectation that Homer's audience would be acquainted with the myth.[28]

In any case, Homer's account certainly appears to reflect core features of the *fabula* of Zeus's fight with Typhoeus that transcend Hesiod's specific telling. These include the presence of fire, lashing, thunder and the groaning earth. Such elements are familiar to modern readers from Hesiod's poem, but they evidently pre-dated it. Watkins has argued that the lashing/binding motif is a very old element of the tradition, originally deriving from earlier Hittite versions of the tale.[29] Even if we do not follow his broader conclusions, the Near Eastern parallels for the myth certainly suggest that the episode had a considerably ancient pedigree.[30] Within the Greek tradition alone, moreover, the lashing motif appears to have been an integral feature of the myth: in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Typhoeus' mother Hera similarly whips the earth before giving birth to the monster (ἵμασε χθόνα,

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[27] Slatkin (1991) 66–9, noting especially in *Il.* 1.396–406 the threat of binding and the presence and role of Briareus. For further possible connections between the *Iliad* and Hesiod's Titanomachy/Typhonomachy, see M. L. West (2012) 226 n. 3.

[28] Cf. Watkins (1995) 452; Lovell (2011) 21–2; and generally, Minchin (2001b) 42–3. On similes as signposts of allusion in their own right, see Currie (2016) 261 with n. 20.

[29] Watkins (1992), (1995) 448–59.

[30] See e.g. Porzig (1930); Vian (1960); Penglase (1994) 189–96; West (1997) 303–4; Lane Fox (2008) 304–15.

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HhAp. 340). The key moments of Typhoeus' life (his birth and defeat) are both marked by the same violent act.[31]

Moreover, it is notable that Hesiod's own mention of Typhoeus' mingling with Echidna among the Arimoi is also indexed with a **φασί** – the sole use of the device in the whole poem (*Theog*. 306).[32] If Homer and Hesiod were contemporaneous Hellenistic poets, scholars might argue that this pair of indices marks a reciprocal relationship between these two passages – a self-reflexive cycle of cross referencing, in which each author knowingly nods to the 'talk' of their poetic peer. In the context of archaic epic, however, it is likely that each **φασί** rather points to a pre-existing Typhoean tradition with which each poet is engaged.[33]

In both *Iliad* 2 and the *Theogony*, therefore, **φασί** signposts engagement with traditional theogonic narratives. In both cases, the index acknowledges the authority (and contestability) of tradition, marking each poet's encyclopaedic control of their poetic heritage. For Hesiod, the device authorises his primary narrative; but for Homer, it is also a means to introduce another mythical tradition as a foil for his own. Through his simile, the pending conflict between the Greeks and Trojans becomes a replay of the cosmic struggle between Zeus and Typhoeus, between the defender of civilisation and the threat of chaos.[34] Homer signals his appropriation of theogonic myth as he encapsulates it and subsumes it within a handful of verses. The mortal conflict of Greece and Troy is established as a fair match for the divine and primeval discord of theogonic myth.

The first Iliadic **φασί** thus has a strong claim to act as a 'pre-Alexandrian footnote', indexing Homer's allusion to theogonic

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[31] The *Hymn*'s Typhoeus also parallels his Hesiodic wife, Echidna, in resembling neither mortals nor gods (ἣ δ᾽ ἔτεκ᾽ οὔτε θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε βροτοῖσιν, *HhAp*. 351 ~ ἣ δ᾽ ἔτεκ᾽ ἄλλο πέλωρον ἀμήχανον, οὐδὲν ἐοικὸς | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, *Theog*. 295–6): Yasumura (2011) 122.

[32] Cf. Stoddard (2004) 49–54.

[33] Cf. Fontenrose (1966) 68: 'Hesiod's φασί indicates that the information is traditional.' For the *Theogony*'s presupposing of earlier Typhonomachic narratives, cf. Tsagalis (2013) 21 n. 11; Currie (2021c) 323, (2021d) 91–7.

[34] Though see Lovell (2011) 56–62 on the instability of this parallel: the Greek army can be aligned with both Zeus and Typhoeus, foregrounding the moral ambiguities of the Trojan war. Cf. too Brockliss (2017–18) 142–4 for the blurred opposition between Zeus and Typhoeus in the *Theogony*.

tradition. It is worth noting, however, that this indexed allusion introduces a parallel which continues to underlie much of the remainder of the poem. Typhonomachic imagery recurs throughout the epic in various forms. Similes repeatedly compare the action of the poem to the desolation of the natural world, recalling the elemental disruption of the Typhonomachy.[35] The threats which the other gods pose to Zeus's rule echo the past dangers of both the Titans and Typhoeus: Zeus threatens to hurl them to Tartarus like his previous adversaries (*Il.* 8.13–16 ~ *Theog.* 717–20, 868),[36] and in anger at Hera and Athena, he causes Olympus to shake beneath his feet, just as when he faced Typhoeus.[37] More specifically, the clash of the gods in *Iliad* 20 (*Il.* 20.54–75) is introduced with imagery that evokes the environmental upheaval of both theogonic episodes: Zeus thunders terribly (*Il.* 20.56 ~ *Theog.* 839), the world trembles (*Il.* 20.57–60 ~ *Theog.* 680–2) and Hades is terrified by the immense shaking above (*Il.* 20.61–5 ~ *Theog.* 850–2).[38] In addition, Achilles' theomachic fight with the river Scamander in *Iliad* 21 is similarly bestowed with a cosmic, Typhonomachic grandeur, replete with tumultuous waves, blasts of wind, scorched earth and boiling water (*Il.* 21.212–382).[39] The net result of these recurring theogonic resonances is to elevate the events of the Trojan war to the cosmic plane; they become as

[35] E.g. fire (*Il.* 11.155–7, 17.737–9, 20.490–2 ~ καῦμα . . . πυρός, *Theog.* 844–5); waves (*Il.* 4.422–6, 11.305–8, 15.381–3 ~ κύματα μακρά, *Theog.* 848); winds (*Il.* 13.795–9, 16.765–9 ~ πρηστήρων ἀνέμων τε, *Theog.* 846); cf. too Typhoeus' more general association with winds (esp. *Theog.* 869–80), presumably aided by a folk etymology (cf. τυφῶς/τυφῶν, 'typhoon'): West (1966) 390.

[36] Zeus's threat verbally parallels various Hesiodic verses, e.g. *Il.* 8.13 (ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον) ~ *Theog.* 868 (ῥίψε . . . ἐς Τάρταρον); *Il.* 8.15 ~ *Theog.* 811; *Il.* 8.16 ~ *Theog.* 720. For the gods' ten-year punishment (*Il.* 8.404), cf. too *Theog.* 801–4.

[37] ἕζετο, τῷ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος, *Il.* 8.443 ~ ποσσὶ δ' ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος, *Theog.* 842; cf. too *Theog.* 680–1 (Olympus shaken during the Titanomachy). For this motif's association with divine *stasis*, see Kelly (2007a) 216–17 (although his other examples are not as close verbally).

[38] Note too the description of dank Tartarus at *Il.* 20.65, which resembles *Theog.* 739 = 810. The mention of Titans and Cronus in the underworld at *Theog.* 851 also resonates with *Il.* 14.273–4, 278–9, 15.224–5.

[39] Waves (κύκωμενον . . . κῦμα, *Il.* 21.240); wind (χαλεπὴν . . . θύελλαν, *Il.* 21.335); fire (πῦρ . . . πῦρ . . . πῦρ, *Il.* 21.341–3); boiling water (ἔφλυε . . . ῥέεθρα, 21.361; ξέε δ' ὕδωρ, 21.365 ~ ἔξεε . . . ῥέεθρα, *Theog.* 695). For Achilles' assimilation to Zeus in *Iliad* 21, cf. Nagler (1974) 147–66; Cook (2020) 65.

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devastating and momentous as the establishment of Zeus's rule in heaven.[40]

Significantly, this major and insistent theogonic pattern is inaugurated by Homer's indexed simile in Book 2. The φασί which accompanies Homer's Typhoeus simile does not just sign-post a passing allusion to another mythical tradition but rather keys the audience into a recurring mythological paradigm that underpins the whole *Iliad*. This inceptive function of the index is something that we will see on a number of other occasions in Greek epic and lyric. The appeal to 'what people say' establishes a link to another myth which remains active for the remainder of the poem.

In its very first appearance in the *Iliad*, therefore, φασί already exhibits many of the key features associated with the footnoting of Alexandrian and Roman poets. It signposts allusion to another tradition (theogonic myth), if not text (Hesiod's *Theogony*), acknowledges competing traditions surrounding Typhoeus' final resting place and initiates an ongoing allusive dialogue with Typhoean tradition, aligning the war at Troy with the cosmic upheaval of the heavens. In his own voice, the poet indexes a major myth that serves as both a model and a foil.

II.2.2 *Other Worlds and Others' Words: Tydeus and Theban Myth*

More frequently in both Homeric poems, φασί appears in the mouth of internal characters. Within the internal story world, their gestures to hearsay reflect their limited first-hand knowledge and reliance on external sources. But these same gestures can also be interpreted on an extradiegetic level as the poet's invocation of a wider canon of tradition, triggering links with other myths and other domains of knowledge. As I have already noted, such a shift from the perspective of the character to the narrator is assisted by ancient literary critics' conception of poetic impersonation: at any moment, a character's words are simultaneously the poet's

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[40] Cf. Nimis (1987) 75 for the significance of this parallelism: Zeus's acquisition of τιμή in the *Theogony* mirrors Achilles' re-establishment of τιμή in the *Iliad*.

(§1.2.4). When Homer's characters indicate their debt to the words of others, the poet simultaneously indexes other familiar traditions, marking his own encyclopaedic mastery of them.

This indexical aspect of characters' appeals to hearsay is best exemplified by the second **φασί** of the *Iliad*, when Agamemnon recalls the exploits of Diomedes' father Tydeus (*Il.* 4.370–5):

> ὤ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο,
> τί πτώσσεις, τί δ' ὀπιπεύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας;
> οὐ μὲν Τυδέϊ γ' ὧδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν,
> ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὸ φίλων ἑτάρων δηΐοισι μάχεσθαι,
> ὡς **φάσαν** οἵ μιν ἴδοντο πονεύμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
> ἤντησ' οὐδὲ ἴδον· περὶ δ' ἄλλων **φασὶ** γενέσθαι.

> Ah me, son of battle-minded, horse-taming Tydeus, why are you cowering and gazing on the lines of battle? It was not Tydeus' habit to cower away like this, but to fight the enemy far ahead of his own companions; that's what those who saw him in action **used to say**. I myself never met him or saw him, but **they say** that he surpassed all others.

This elaborate source-attribution serves as a springboard into a miniature narrative on Tydeus' adventures in the build-up to the Theban war (*Il.* 4.376–400). Agamemnon recounts how Diomedes' father visited Mycenae alongside Polynices to recruit 'famed allies' (κλειτοὺς ἐπικούρους, 4.379) for their expedition against Thebes; and although the Mycenaeans were initially willing, Zeus discouraged their involvement by displaying signs of ill omen (παραίσια σήματα, 4.381). At a later time, Tydeus was sent on a solo mission to Thebes itself, where he challenged the Thebans to athletic contests and won everything easily with Athena's help (ἐπίρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη, 4.390). Angered by his success, the Thebans ambushed him with fifty men, but Tydeus again emerged victorious, sparing only Maeon, whom he sent back to Thebes in obedience to the portents of the gods (θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας, 4.398). Such extraordinary achievements, Agamemnon suggests, are beyond the reach of Tydeus' son Diomedes, who is inferior to his father in battle (4.399–400), seeing how he now cowers apart from the battle lines (4.371).[41]

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[41] Cf. Beck (2005a) 160–1, who notes how in 4.370 Homer alters the usual friendly full-verse vocative addressed to Diomedes (Τυδεΐδη Διόμηδες, ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ), transforming 'the patronymic into a term of abuse rather than respect'.

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Agamemnon thus introduces the tale of Tydeus as a hortatory paradigm to provoke Diomedes to action.[42] Within the context of the narrative, his appeal to the talk of others, particularly those who witnessed these events first-hand, authorises the validity of his account; it is grounded in a reliable tradition and foregrounds the fact that neither Agamemnon nor Diomedes witnessed these events at first hand. After all, Diomedes stresses elsewhere that he has no direct memory of his father, who left while he was still young (*Il.* 6.222–3); he has to rely on the report of others to know anything of his father.[43] Nevertheless, the vagueness of Agamemnon's attribution encourages us to ask what the 'tradition' invoked here actually is, especially since the second φασί seems to be more general in scope than the first φάσαν: Agamemnon has heard this tale not just from those who saw Tydeus at first hand (a phrase which itself evokes the Homeric fiction of bardic autopsy), but also from 'people' in general. As in Book 2's Typhoeus simile, this generalised appeal to hearsay invites Homer's audience to recall other tales and traditions, in this case those surrounding Theban myth and Tydeus' exploits.[44]

Unlike in the case of theogonic myth, we are less well furnished with the early epic treatments of the Theban cycle, possessing only a handful of fragments, none of which refer directly to this episode.[45] Yet there are still good grounds for seeing a pre-existing Theban tradition behind Agamemnon's account. For a start, the brevity and concision of his narrative suggest a miniaturised version of a larger story, especially when we note its underlying doublet structure. As Benjamin Sammons has highlighted, the tale

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[42] For this episode and the exemplum of Tydeus in the *Iliad* more generally, see Andersen (1978) esp. 33–46; Alden (2000) 112–52; Pratt (2009); Barker and Christensen (2011), (2020) 47–89; Davies (2014) 33–8; Sammons (2014); O'Maley (2018).

[43] Cf. O'Maley (2018) 284–5, who notes how Diomedes' later references to his father may be indebted to Agamemnon's account here. Σ D *Il.* 4.376 implies that Agamemnon only heard the tale because Tydeus had appealed directly to Thyestes.

[44] Cf. already Torres-Guerra (1995) 33, who contends that these verses 'imply the pre-existence of epic stories about the Theban exploits of Tydeus' ('implican la preexistencia de relatos épicos sobre las gestas tebanas de Tideo'); cf. Barker and Christensen (2020) 43, 48; contrast Vergados (2014) 438–9, who suggests that Homer distances himself from Theban tradition by limiting it to hearsay, with 'no divine, transcendental source of inspiration'.

[45] For the extant fragments of Theban epic, see Torres-Guerra (1995); West (2003b) 38–63; Davies (2014).

is shaped by anticipatory doublets, the typical building blocks of large-scale epic narrative: Tydeus' initial embassy to Mycenae prepares for his more involved and dangerous embassy to Thebes, where we also find paired scenes of conflict, the hero's victory in the athletic contest paving the way for his defeat of the ambush.[46] As Sammons notes, 'anticipatory doublets underlie relatively large-scale narrative structures and development of themes across passages; these functions are not relevant or even particularly desirable in such small-scale narratives'.[47] The structure and detail of Agamemnon's account go considerably beyond the ruler's immediate rhetorical purposes and betray a larger underlying narrative (i.e. *fabula*) which Homer has miniaturised.[48]

This same episode is also recalled several other times in the *Iliad* with considerable consistency, further suggesting that it is not solely an ad hoc invention for this moment: Athena summarises the same events when spurring Diomedes to action in the next book (*Il.* 5.800–13), while Diomedes cites Athena's former support of his father on this occasion as precedent to ask for her continuing help during the *Doloneia* (*Il.* 10.284–90).[49] There are many verbal and thematic overlaps between these accounts,[50] which seem to reflect a consistent *fabula* whose traces we can reconstruct: Tydeus set out alone and displayed his strength in the Theban heartland, before facing and overcoming an ambush on his return.[51] Of course, many

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[46] Sammons (2014) 301–4, further noting thematic links between the doublets, e.g. the contrast of peace and war, and the obedience of both the Mycenaeans and Tydeus to divine signs (*Il.* 4.381, 4.398).

[47] Sammons (2014) 310.

[48] We could also, if so inclined, apply the neoanalytic argument of suitability: as West (2011a) 147 remarks of the athletic contests, 'such an inorganic episode implies an epic narrative on an ample scale'.

[49] Cf. too the passing mentions of Tydeus' feats at *Il.* 6.222–3, 14.113–27 and of Athena's support for Tydeus at *Il.* 5.115–20.

[50] E.g. Ἀσωπόν (4.383) ~ Ἀσωπῷ (10.287); ἀγγελίην (4.384) ~ ἄγγελος (5.804, 10.286); ἐς Θήβας (5.804, 10.286); δαινυμένους (4.386) ~ δαίνυσθαι (5.805); μοῦνος ἐών (4.388) ~ νόσφιν Ἀχαιῶν (5.803); πολέσιν μετὰ Καδμείοισιν (4.388) ~ πολέας μετὰ Καδμείωνας (5.804); ἀεθλεύειν προκαλίζετο (4.389) ~ προκαλίζετο (5.807); πάντα δ᾽ ἐνίκα | ῥηϊδίως (4.389–90 = 5.807–8); τοίη οἱ ἐπίρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη (4.390) ~ τοίη οἱ ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθος ἦα (5.808) ~ σὺν σοί, δῖα θεά, ὅτε οἱ πρόφρασσα παρέστης (10.290); ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφῆκε (4.396) ~ μέρμερα μήσατο ἔργα (10.289).

[51] Cf. Gantz (1993) 513: 'Likely enough the adventure played a major role in the epic *Thebais* or some other early narrative as a foretale to the actual assault; Statius' lengthy treatment well shows how easily the story lends itself to elaboration.'

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elements of such a narrative would have been composed of familiar
type scenes, including the embassy, the challenge of a guest and the
ambush.[52] Yet the specific combination of elements in this case
would have produced a distinctive Tydean *fabula* to which the *Iliad*
poet could allude. In particular, Tydeus' emphatically solo mission
to the Cadmeans (μοῦνος ἐών, 4.388) alters the traditional pattern in
which at least two individuals are normally sent on an embassy,
thereby emphasising his exceptionality.[53]

   The possibility of an underlying Tydean *fabula* is further strength-
ened by the correspondence between Agamemnon's tale and the
details in later accounts of the war, many of which may look back
to earlier features of the archaic Theban tradition. Tydeus was always
a central figure of the Seven narrative: as son-in-law of Adrastus, he
was an early recruit to Polynices' cause and a quasi-doublet to the
Theban, since he too was an exile.[54] Athena's support of Tydeus was a
mainstay of the myth and crucial for her later abandonment of the
hero,[55] while Apollodorus' extensive focus on Tydeus' lineage (*Bibl.*
1.8.3–4) may reflect a similar concern with the hero's ancestry in
earlier cyclic tradition, as George Huxley has suggested.[56] Divine
disapproval of the whole expedition was also an integral element of

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[52] Embassy: e.g. *Il.* 3.205–24, 9.173–668, 11.765–90; *Od.* 24.115–19 (cf. §III.2.3). Guest's
   challenge: e.g. *Od.* 8.133–240. Ambush: e.g. *Il.* 6.187–90, 10.254–579, 18.513–29; cf.
   Dué and Ebbott (2010) esp. 31–87; Dué (2012). See too Ebbott (2014) more generally
   on traditional themes shared by this episode and the *Iliad*. These traditional motifs
   account for the story's similarities to the tale of Bellerophon in *Iliad* 6; *pace* Niese
   (1882) 129, who believed that the whole scene was derived directly from the
   Bellerophon account (for the similarities, cf. Andersen (1978) 38; Vergados (2014)
   440–1).

[53] E.g. Odysseus and Menelaus to Troy (*Il.* 3.205–24); Agamemnon and Menelaus to
   Odysseus (*Od.* 24.115–19; cf. §III.2.3); Odysseus and Talthybius to Clytemnestra
   (*Cypria*, arg. 8 *GEF*). On heroic isolation in Homer, see Kahane (1997) 118–34;
   Barker and Christensen (2011) 12–23.

[54] Sammons (2014) 310–11 n. 42.

[55] Athena's support of Tydeus and her intention to immortalise him were famously
   rescinded upon his barbaric consumption of Melanippus' brains, a macabre episode
   narrated in the *Thebaid* (fr. 9 *GEF*) and represented on vases by at least the fifth century
   (cf. Beazley (1947) 1–7). If pre-Homeric, the *Iliad*'s suppression of this grisly detail fits
   with the poem's general avoidance of the grotesque and supernatural (cf. Griffin (1977)
   46–7), while also rendering Tydeus a more positive exemplum (Vergados (2014) 440).
   Though see Goode (2012), who highlights how this later episode chimes with (and is
   perhaps even alluded to by) Tydeus' headstrong disregard of Athena's advice at *Il.*
   5.802–8: note especially θυμὸν ἔχων ὃν καρτερόν (*Il.* 5.806, cf. ὑπέρθυμον Διομήδεα,
   4.365) ~ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ (*Theb.* fr. 9 *GEF*); cf. Torres-Guerra (1995) 43, 59–61.

[56] Huxley (1969) 45.

the legend.[57] Indeed, the phrase used to describe this supernatural ill will (παραίσια σήματα, 4.381) is a Homeric *hapax legomenon*, which has prompted Øivind Andersen to suggest that it 'perhaps derives from the Theban tradition, where it plays such a large role'.[58] As for Tydeus' exploits, later treatments of them by Antimachus and Statius indicate the lengths to which the narrative could be spun.[59] The sole survivor of Tydeus' onslaught, Maeon, also seems to have played a significant part in later tradition: in Statius, he is a priest of Apollo (e.g. *Theb.* 3.104–5, 4.598), a status to which the elliptical θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας of 4.398 could well allude,[60] while Pausanias (9.18.2) records a Theban tradition that Maeon buried Tydeus in Thebes, matching Diomedes' later claim that Tydeus lies buried in the city (*Il.* 14.114).[61] The authentic Theban name of Maeon's father (Haemon) may also suggest that he is a pre-existing character of Theban myth,[62] unlike his co-leader Polyphontes, whose speaking name ('Much-slaying'), alongside that of his father Autophonus ('One who slays with his own hands'), rather implies a figure invented for this specific context.[63] And last but not least, Maeon's very survival has led some to suggest that tradition demanded he remain available for future deeds.[64] Of course, later narratives could simply offer expansions and elaborations of this terse Homeric reference,[65]

[57] E.g. Pind. *Nem.* 9.18–20; Aesch. *Sept.* 379; Eur. *Supp.* 155–60; cf. Davies (2014) 34–5.

[58] Andersen (1978) 36: 'entstammt vielleicht der thebanischen Tradition, wo solches eine grosse Rolle spielt'.

[59] Tydeus' embassy may have filled a whole book of Antimachus' *Thebaid* (Book 3: Matthews (1996) 23); Statius' *Thebaid* treats both the embassy to Thebes and the ambush at considerable length (*Theb.* 2.370–703).

[60] Cf. Leaf (1886–88) I 138 ad *Il.* 4.394.

[61] This line (*Il.* 14.114) was considered suspect by ancient scholars (Σ AT *Il.* 14.114a *Did.*), presumably because it disagreed with the Attic tradition that Tydeus was buried at Eleusis, first found in Aeschylus' *Eleusinians* (Σ T *Il.* 14.114b *ex.*; Higbie (2002a)): see Alden (2000) 141 n. 58, who notes that 'there is no reason to prefer the Attic tradition'.

[62] Cf. Creon's son in *Oedipodeia* fr. 3 *GEF*: thus Robert (1915) I 192; Willcock (1964) 145; Davies (2014) 35. Contrast Torres-Guerra (1995) 47, who suspects another stock speaking name (cf. αἷμα, 'blood'), especially given other appearances of the name elsewhere in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 4.296, 17.467).

[63] Cf. φόνος ('slaughter'): thus Willcock (1964) 145; Andersen (1978) 44 n. 11; von Kamptz (1982) 26; Torres-Guerra (1995) 46; Scodel (2002) 134.

[64] E.g. Andersen (1978) 44 n. 11. Tsagalis (2012a) 222 n. 174 even argues that Maeon 'belongs to the older phase of Theban myth, before the advent of Oedipus and certainly long before the expedition of the Seven'.

[65] Thus e.g. Andersen (1978) 38. For later accounts of Tydeus' embassy and ambush, see Diod. Sic. 4.65.4 (in which all ambushers are killed); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.5 and Stat. *Theb.* 2.370–703 (in which Maeon survives).

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and at least one ancient scholiast seemed unfamiliar with Maeon's identity,[66] so we should remain cautious, but given the intratextual and intertextual congruity of the episode, its underpinning doublet structure, and the repeatedly brief nature of its telling, it is plausible to see a coherent Theban *fabula* underlying Agamemnon's account.[67]

Agamemnon's opening appeal to hearsay can thus be interpreted as a cue for Homer's audience to focus on his appropriation of this *fabula*: it is not just those who saw him, but also epic singers of the Theban war who say that Tydeus was pre-eminent. **φασί** here is not merely a means to legitimise and authorise Agamemnon's statements within the narrative, but also an external pointer for Homer's audience, indexing the poet's engagement with the Theban tradition. When Kirk claims that 'the stress on Agamemnon's reliance on hearsay' in *Iliad* 4 'seems unnecessary',[68] he crucially misses the indexical significance of the gesture. It is no simple deference to hearsay and transmitted tradition, nor a simple badge of authority, but a marker of allusive engagement with other mythical traditions. When Diomedes later claims that his fellow Greeks must have previously '**heard**' of his father Tydeus (τὰ δὲ μέλλετ' **ἀκουέμεν**, *Il.* 14.125), we have a further example of the same phenomenon: as Diomedes perpetuates his ancestral fame, Homer flags his external audience's familiarity with the hero's Theban genealogy, whether from previous tellings of the myth or – for a newcomer to the epic tradition – from the earlier Iliadic accounts of Diomedes' ancestry.

In a character's voice, as much as the narrator's, therefore, **φασί** can index other mythical traditions. Agamemnon's appeal to hearsay signposts the ruler's ensuing miniaturisation of Theban myth. And as with the theogonic allusion of *Iliad* 2, so too here we can identify a

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[66] See Σ D *Il.* 4.394: 'some guess that Maeon was a herald, and for that reason he alone was saved; for the race of heralds is holy' (τὸν δὲ "Μαίονα" τινὲς στοχάζονται κήρυκα γεγονέναι, διὰ τὸ μόνον αὐτὸν σωθῆναι. ἱερὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ γένος τῶν κηρύκων) – perhaps extrapolating from Odysseus' sparing of the herald Medon in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 22.355–80)?

[67] Cf. e.g. Scodel (2002) 132–4; Ebbott (2010). Older scholars tended to imagine that the passage 'derived' from a specific Theban poem (e.g. Friedländer (1914) 321; Kirk (1985) 368; Torres-Guerra (1995); West (2011a) 146), but scholars have more recently highlighted how the tale is suited to its immediate rhetorical context and cannot simply be used as a faithful template to reconstruct an actual part of an earlier *Thebaid*: e.g. Andersen (1978); Barker and Christensen (2011); Davies (2014) 34–8; Sammons (2014) 310–11.

[68] Kirk (1985) 369.

significant inceptive function. Not only does the index introduce Agamemnon's ensuing mythical narrative, but it also establishes a pattern of Theban allusion that continues to resonate throughout the epic. We have already noted how Tydeus' past exploits recur as a paradigm later in the poem, establishing an ongoing *synkrisis* between father and son. But the frequency with which Diomedes continues to be identified by his patronymic throughout the epic ensures that he can never escape his father's shadow, even when his deeds are not directly recalled.[69] We shall see later how Sthenelus' response to Agamemnon in Book 4 reframes this intergenerational relationship in agonistic terms, with possible repercussions for our understanding of the *Iliad*'s relationship to Theban myth (§IV.2.3). But for now, we can also observe how the Theban tradition rears its head in many other parts of the *Iliad*: the walls of both Troy and the Achaean camp echo those of seven-gated Thebes; the Trojans are aligned with the defeated Seven through the epithet 'famed allies' (κλειτοὺς ἐπικούρους); and Diomedes' retreat at the threat of Zeus's thunderbolt (*Il.* 8.133–6) echoes and rewrites the unhappy fate of Sthenelus' father Capaneus, who was killed by this very divine instrument.[70] Just as the indexed Typhoeus simile in *Iliad* 2 establishes an ongoing dialogue with theogonic myth, Agamemnon's story introduces an enduring inter-textual foil for Homer's narrative, centred on (but by no means restricted to) the figure of Diomedes.

A number of indexical appeals to hearsay thus gravitate towards those myths which are of most significance for the poem as a whole, especially those which feature near the outset of the poem, serving as paradigmatic models and foils. On a micro-level, **φασί** marks allusion, but on a macro-level, it foregrounds some of the most important mythical intertexts for an entire work.[71]

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[69] Diomedes is the hero most often named by his patronymic in the *Iliad*; he is so identified more often than by his actual name: see Tsirpanlis (1966) 248–53; Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1981) 96; Higbie (1995) 87–100; Pratt (2009) 147 n. 24, 149–50 with n. 28; Slatkin (2011a) 101.

[70] Walls: Pache (2014). 'Famed allies': Ebbott (2014) 330–2. Zeus's thunderbolt: Slatkin (2011a) 111–12. Cf. too Johnston (1992) 95–7 on the connection between Achilles' horse Xanthus and Adrastus' Arion. For the Theban background of Homeric epic generally, see esp. Torres-Guerra (1995); Cingano (2002–3); Tsagalis (2014c); Barker and Christensen (2020).

[71] Cf. too *Il.* 5.638 (**φασί**), introducing the recurring paradigm of Heracles' previous sack of Troy (cf. §III.2.1); *Od.* 2.118 (**ἀκούομεν**), introducing the *Odyssey*'s ongoing engagement with *Catalogue of Women* traditions (§II.2.4).

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ii.2.3 *The Trojan War Tradition*

Given this foregrounding function of **φασί**, it is perhaps unsurprising that the majority of Homeric appeals to hearsay cluster around the Trojan war tradition itself, the primary mythological context in which both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* situate their narratives. Homer's characters often cite hearsay when referring to different episodes or characters of the war. In part, this reflects the chaotic workings of rumour and hearsay during the Trojan war and its aftermath, as heroes rely on word of mouth for information about both their enemies and their friends. But these gestures to tradition also acknowledge the traditionality of the events narrated, while also hinting that a newly developing tradition is emerging surrounding the war: before our very eyes (and ears), these events are transcending into the world of legend.

Myth in the Making

In the *Iliad*, Achilles attributes his knowledge of both Ilion and Priam to hearsay. He refers to all the wealth which '**they say**' (**φασίν**) Ilion once possessed 'in **previous** times of peace' (**τὸ πρὶν** ἐπ᾽ εἰρήνης, *Il.* 9.401–3), and similarly claims that '**we hear**' Priam 'was **previously** happy' (**τὸ πρὶν** μὲν **ἀκούομεν** ὄλβιον εἶναι, *Il.* 24.543), since '**they say**' that he surpassed all his neighbours in wealth and sons (πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἱάσι **φασὶ** κεκάσθαι, *Il.* 24.546). Knowledge of a distant people naturally relies on information from others, and such rumours of Trojan affluence doubtless circulated in the build-up to the expedition as a further incentive to join Agamemnon's force.[72] After all, Hector himself claims that '**previously** all mortal men **used to talk** of Priam's city as rich in gold and bronze' (**πρὶν** μὲν γὰρ Πριάμοιο πόλιν μέροπες ἄνθρωποι | πάντες **μυθέσκοντο** πολύχρυσον πολύχαλκον, *Il.* 18.288–9). Besides this practical reality, however, these statements can also be taken more broadly to imply that Troy and its ruler have already become figures of legend. Even as the events of the war are unfolding, they have gained a traditional status in the talk of men.

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[72] Cf. e.g. Stat. *Achil.* 1.959, where Achilles has his mind on 'gifts of Phrygian treasure' (*Phrygiae . . . munera gazae*) soon after being discovered by Ulysses.

Such a conception of a pre-existing and developing tradition surrounding Troy is felt even more clearly in the *Odyssey*.[73] Even before his departure for the war, Penelope remembers how Odysseus had attributed the Trojans' reputation of military might to hearsay (**φασί**, *Od.* 18.261), pointing to the pre-existing traditionality of their valour in martial epic. In context, we would have to imagine that Odysseus was thinking of Troy's earlier war against Heracles, a core feature of tradition that is mentioned repeatedly in the *Iliad* (§III.2.1), but an audience of the *Odyssey* itself may also anachronistically recall the very war at Troy in which Odysseus himself had since fought, the subject of the *Iliad* and other cyclic poems. The ten-year duration of that war attests to the fact that the Trojans are indeed formidable 'fighting men' (μαχητὰς . . . ἄνδρας, *Od.* 18.261). But it also renders ironic Odysseus' following claim that they are the kind who 'very quickly decide the great strife of equal war' (οἵ τε τάχιστα | ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος ὁμοιΐου πτολέμοιο, *Od.* 18.263–4); in reality, there was nothing ταχύς ('quick'), let alone τάχιστος ('very quick'), about the war over Helen. Crucial for our current discussion, however, is the fact that the Trojans are once more represented as figures of legend. They are invoked in the same manner as heroes of the past: they have already joined the annals of tradition, alongside the likes of Typhoeus and Tydeus.

Elsewhere in the *Odyssey*, other recent events are similarly presented as established features of hearsay. When Telemachus first arrives in Pylos, he asks his host Nestor for news of his father, contrasting Odysseus' unknown fate (ἀπευθέα) with what '**we have heard**' about all the others (**πευθόμεθ'**, *Od.* 3.86–8):[74]

> ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ πάντας, ὅσοι Τρωσὶν πολέμιξον,
> **πευθόμεθ'**, ἧχι ἕκαστος ἀπώλετο λυγρῷ ὀλέθρῳ·
> κείνου δ' αὖ καὶ ὄλεθρον ἀπευθέα θῆκε Κρονίων.

> Now for all the others who warred with the Trojans, **we have heard** where each of them died a woeful death; but as for that man [Odysseus], the son of Cronus has put even his death beyond men's hearing.

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[73] On the development of nascent song traditions within the *Odyssey*, see e.g. Ford (1992) 101–10; Biles (2003) 194–8.

[74] πεύθομαι/πυνθάνομαι is closely linked with hearing: cf. Ford (1992) 62 n. 11; Hsch. ε 4493 (ἐπευθόμεθα· ἠκούομεν).

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This rhetoric of Odyssean exceptionality echoes that of the narrator at the outset of the *Odyssey* (1.11–15), who similarly claims that 'all the others who had escaped sheer destruction' were already home (ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες, ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον, 1.11 ~ ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ πάντας, ὅσοι, 3.86), whereas Odysseus alone (τὸν δ' οἶον, 1.13) was still stuck mid-journey.[75] By referring to these other returns through the language of hearsay, however, Telemachus acknowledges that they are already developing into an independent tradition in their own right. After all, we know that Telemachus has indeed heard about such *nostoi* from the poet Phemius on Ithaca, who sang in Book 1 'of the return of the Achaeans, the woeful return which Pallas Athena laid upon them from Troy' (ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἄειδε | λυγρόν, ὃν ἐκ Τροίης ἐπετείλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, *Od.* 1.326–7, cf. λυγρῷ, 3.87).[76] In appealing to what he has heard, Telemachus practically cites other poetic and mythical traditions about the aftermath of the war.

In response, Nestor embarks on a summary of the whole Trojan war and its aftermath (*Od.* 3.103–200, 254–316), offering a mini-ature overview of cyclic tradition from the events of the *Cypria* down to those of the *Nostoi*.[77] He first recounts the events at Troy, introducing them with the language of memory, a reflection of his first-hand experience (ἔμνησας, *Od.* 3.103, cf. μνῆσαι, *Od.* 3.101: §III.2). But when he reaches the final part of the 'Returns', he invokes the authority of hearsay (*Od.* 3.186–94):

> ὅσσα δ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι καθήμενος ἡμετέροισι
> **πεύθομαι**, ἣ θέμις ἐστί, **δαήσεαι**, οὐδέ σε δεύσω.
> εὖ μὲν Μυρμιδόνας **φάσ'** ἐλθέμεν ἐγχεσιμώρους,
> οὓς ἄγ' Ἀχιλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱός,
> εὖ δὲ Φιλοκτήτην, Ποιάντιον ἀγλαὸν υἱόν.
> πάντας δ' Ἰδομενεὺς Κρήτην εἰσήγαγ' ἑταίρους,
> οἳ φύγον ἐκ πολέμου, πόντος δέ οἱ οὔ τιν' ἀπηύρα.
> Ἀτρεΐδην δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ **ἀκούετε** νόσφιν ἐόντες,
> ὥς τ' ἦλθ' ὥς τ' Αἴγισθος ἐμήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

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[75] Telemachus' pessimism may be reflected in the fact that he focuses on 'all those who died', in contrast to the narrator's focus on 'all those who survived'. The narrator knows that Odysseus will join the latter group, whereas Telemachus assumes he must be classed among the former.

[76] Thomas (2014) esp. 94; Barker and Christensen (2015) 93–6. Cf. too Aeolus questioning Odysseus about the νόστον Ἀχαιῶν (*Od.* 10.14–15).

[77] Cf. Marks (2008) 103–22. On Nestor's rendition and its structural and thematic proximity to a self-standing song, see Dickson (1995) 75–82.

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> But as for the news **I hear** as I sit in my halls, **you shall learn** it all, as is right –
> and I won't hide anything. **They say** that the Myrmidon spearmen came home
> safely, those whom the glorious son of great-hearted Achilles led; safe too was
> Philoctetes, Poias' brilliant son. And Idomeneus brought all his companions
> to Crete, all those who escaped the war; the sea robbed him of none of them.
> But as for the son of Atreus, even you yourselves **hear** – though you live far
> away – how he came home and how Aegisthus devised his woeful death.

Within the immediate context, Nestor's repeated invocations of others' talk suggests his incomplete knowledge and reliance on external sources, since he did not witness these events directly: after reaching safety himself, he does not know for certain who died or was saved (3.184–5). But the emphasis on verbal transmission also figures the traditionality of these events, pointing to the numerous traditions of other heroes' homecomings which were later crystallised in the *Nostoi* and which here serve as foils and paradigms for Odysseus' ongoing return.[78] In particular, Nestor claims that 'even you yourselves **hear**' of Agamemnon's death (καὶ αὐτοὶ **ἀκούετε**, *Od.* 3.193), nodding to the centrality of this specific narrative as a foil for Odysseus' return, while also acknowledging the frequency with which it recurs in the *Odyssey*, from Zeus's opening speech onwards (see §III.2.1 n. 38). After all, Telemachus has indeed already heard of it from the disguised Athena (*Od.* 1.298–300).[79] Besides signposting the allusive density of Nestor's speech, however, this emphasis on hearsay also reflects the mechanics of tradition: Nestor claims that Telemachus will '**learn**' all that he knows (**δαήσεαι**, *Od.* 3.187), figuring his speech as an act of transmission. His speech represents the dispersion of tradition, the gradual spread of 'what people say'. In this scene between Telemachus and Nestor, the poet not only indexes

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[78] Cf. Danek (1998) 79–86; Kahane (2019) 249. It is especially appropriate for Nestor to recount such *nostoi*, given the etymological connection of his name with the root *nes-, 'to return' (Frame (1978) 82–5, (2009) 28–9; Kanavou (2015) 63–7). On these *nostoi* traditions, see too Malkin (1998) 210–57.

[79] Note esp. the indexically charged *Od.* 1.298 (ἢ οὐκ **ἄϊεις** οἶον **κλέος** ἔλλαβε δῖος Ὀρέστης, 'or do you not **hear** what kind of **fame** godlike Orestes won?'); cf. *Od.* 2.314–16: Telemachus vows to kill the suitors after '**learning** from the **tale he hears** from [or 'about'] others' (ἄλλων **μῦθον ἀκούων** | **πυνθάνομαι**) – an implicit reference to Orestes? Cf. too *Od.* 3.203–4: Telemachus claims that Orestes' fame will spread such that it is heard by future men (ἐσσομένοισι **πυθέσθαι**).

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his engagement with a host of other *Nostoi* traditions, but simul-
taneously depicts the development of his own tradition.

This self-reflexivity is even more visible in the way that events
more contemporary with the *Odyssey* are represented as the object
of hearsay. Shortly after his first Trojan war summary, Nestor
notes that he has also heard talk of how Penelope's many suitors
devise evil in Telemachus' halls (**φασὶ** μνηστῆρας σῆς μητέρος
εἵνεκα πολλοὺς | ἐν μεγάροις ἀέκητι σέθεν κακὰ μηχανάασθαι, *Od*.
3.212–13).[80] Again, at one level this **φασί** acknowledges Nestor's
reliance on reports from afar; but for Homer's audience, this is a
situation which we have seen all too clearly in the first two books
of the poem. Indeed, we might suspect that Homer here advertises
the budding fame of his own version of events even as they unfold:
the suitors' wrongdoing, like the Trojans' wealth, are solidifying
into elements of tradition as the epic progresses.[81] Besides this
interpretation, however, the reference may also bear an additional
significance, pointing beyond Homer's narrative to other pre-
existing traditions of Odysseus' homecoming. Many scholars
have suspected that our *Odyssey* repeatedly alludes to alternative
and competing versions of Odysseus' *nostos*, including one ver-
sion which involved a more 'realistic' itinerary that took the hero
to real-world locations such as Crete and Thesprotia.[82] The con-
tents of any such alternative traditions are extremely conjectural
and often based on little more than late sources and the internal
evidence of the *Odyssey* itself,[83] but they are at least partly pre-
supposed by the Odyssean proem, in which Homer asks the Muse

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[80] This reference is also signposted through the language of recollection (ταῦτα μ'
ἀνέμνησας, *Od*. 3.211); cf. §III.

[81] Cf. Burgess (2012b) 283, in relation to Odysseus' *Apologoi*: 'it would not at all be unlike
the *Odyssey* to suggest that events are already famous as they are unfolding'.

[82] E.g. Merkelbach (1969) 199–236; West (1981); van Thiel (1988); Schwinge (1993);
Reece (1994); Danek (1998) 1–7 and *passim*; Malkin (1998) 120–55; Marks (2003),
(2008) 62–82; Currie (2006) 15–23, (2016) 47–55; Steiner (2010) 84–5; Tsagalis (2011)
220–1, (2012b); Haller (2013). Though note the caution of Burgess (2017b).

[83] The slim external evidence includes the Zenodotean readings at 1.93 and 1.285–6,
which apparently had Telemachus (planning to) visit Idomeneus on Crete rather than
Menelaus at Sparta (although Zenodotus' text still included the Spartan episode: West
(2014a) 107–10; cf. Beck (2020)); and Dictys of Crete's late account that Odysseus
visited Crete (6.5), although this is most likely a refashioning of Homer to suit later
Greek and local Cretan tastes, rather than an independent manifestation of non-Homeric
tradition (contrast Allen (1924) 149–69, esp. 166–8; Reece (1994) 168–9).

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to 'speak <u>to us</u> **too** from some point in the story' (τῶν ἁμόθεν γε . . .
εἰπὲ **καὶ** ἡμῖν, *Od.* 1.10), an expression that seems to acknowledge
bardic predecessors to whom the Muse has previously told the
same Odyssean tale.[84] If we accept the possibility of other
Odyssean traditions underlying our poem, then Nestor's words
gain further resonance: the suitors' misbehaviour is indeed part of
what 'they talk about' in the wider mythical tradition. The situ-
ation of Penelope and her suitors was already a well-known and
established part of the *fabula*.[85]

Character (Por)traits

Besides such general evocations of broad events from the Trojan
war tradition, Homer's characters also appeal to hearsay when
referring to more precise and detailed traits of specific characters.
In such cases, we find fine-grained indexing of particular details
from individual heroes' biographies, not just allusion to the gen-
eral contours of tradition in broad brushstrokes.

In *Odyssey* 4, for example, Peisistratus reminisces about his
dead brother Antilochus, whom '**they say** excelled all others, pre-
eminent in speed of foot and as a fighter' (περὶ δ' ἄλλων **φασὶ**
γενέσθαι | Ἀντίλοχον, περὶ μὲν θείειν ταχὺν ἠδὲ μαχητήν, *Od.*
4.201–2). Within the internal story world, this remark reflects
Peisistratus' lack of direct acquaintance with his brother's
exploits, given that he was not himself present at Troy to see
them (οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ γε | ἤντησ' οὐδὲ ἴδον, *Od.* 4.200–1), but it also
evokes the Trojan war traditions through which Antilochus' fame
has reached him and with which Homer's audience would have
been familiar. The Pylian youth played a significant part in the war
as a close friend of Achilles, especially after Hector's killing of
Patroclus. In particular, his death at the hands of the Ethiopian
Memnon was a prominent feature of the larger tradition, a key

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[84] 'Tell us as you have already told others': Allen (1924) 139 n. 1; Danek (1998) 36–7;
Scodel (2002) 67–8; Tsagalis (2011) 225; Σ O *Od.* 1.10g. Contrast: 'tell us too, share
your knowledge with us': S. R. West (1988) 73; Pulleyn (2019) 102; Σ V *Od.* 1.10f. 'Tell
us in addition to Odysseus': Bakker (2009) 134. On the indexical significance of καί:
§IV.2.2.

[85] Cf. Martin (1993) 237–9, who notes how the suitors are only vaguely introduced at the
start of the *Odyssey*; knowledge of their identity and situation is taken for granted,
presumably because Homer's audiences were already familiar with them.

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episode in the later Cyclic *Aethiopis* (*Aeth*. arg. 2c *GEF*) and one which the Homeric narrator has just recalled with the loaded language of memory (**μνήσατο, ἐπιμνησθείς**, *Od*. 4.187–9: §III.2.1). Peisistratus' appeal to hearsay acknowledges the central role that his brother played in the Trojan war *fabula*.

   The emphasis on Antilochus' speed, however, points not so much to the hero's duel with Memnon as to his more general reputation as a runner in the wider tradition. In the *Iliad*'s footrace, he is introduced as the fastest of all the Achaean youths (ὃ γὰρ αὖτε νέους ποσὶ πάντας ἐνίκα, *Il*. 23.756), while Menelaus earlier claims that he is unmatched in his youth, speed and valour, paralleling Peisistratus' description of his brother's key traits (οὔ τις σεῖο νεώτερος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν, | οὔτε ποσὶν θάσσων, οὔτ' ἄλκιμος ὡς σὺ μάχεσθαι, *Il*. 15.569–70). Elsewhere in the *Iliad*, moreover, Antilochus is called a 'swift warrior' (θοὸς ... πολεμιστής, *Il*. 15.585) – a phrase used only once elsewhere in Homer of Aeneas, another hero renowned for his speed[86] – and his agility is repeatedly stressed in his key contribution to the Iliadic narrative: his delivery of the news of Patroclus' death to Achilles (θᾶσσον ἰόντα, *Il*. 17.654; βῆ δὲ θέειν, 17.698; πόδες φέρον, 17.700; πόδας ταχὺς ἄγγελος, 18.2).[87] Although we do not have other evidence for his depiction elsewhere in archaic Greek epic, such a character trait was presumably an established feature of Antilochus in the Trojan war myth, not just limited to the *Iliad*. Indeed, earlier in the *Odyssey*, Nestor has already described his son in precisely the same terms as Peisistratus does here, suggesting that the attributes are formulaic and traditional (Ἀντίλοχος, περὶ μὲν θείειν ταχὺς ἠδὲ μαχητής, *Od*. 3.112 ~ *Od*. 4.202). After all, it is especially appropriate for Antilochus to share a major attribute of his companion, 'swift-footed' Achilles (e.g. Ἀχιλῆα πόδας ταχύν, *Il*. 13.348).[88] Peisistratus' appeal to hearsay in *Odyssey* 4 thus looks beyond the immediate narrative to point to Antilochus' pre-eminence as a runner in the wider Trojan tradition. By indexing another element of cyclic epic, Homer signals not just his allusion to other features of the Trojan war

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[86] Notably, as he flees from Antilochus: *Il*. 5.571. 'Swift-footed Aeneas': Fenno (2008) 158.

[87] Cf. too *Il*. 17.676, where a simile associates Antilochus with a 'swift-footed' hare (πόδας ταχὺς ... πτώξ).

[88] Cf. Dunkle (1997) 231.

narrative, but also his mastery over the mass of mythical material at his disposal.

In the *Iliad*, meanwhile, Antilochus himself appeals to hearsay when talking of Odysseus' 'raw old age' during the funeral games for Patroclus (ὠμογέροντα δέ μίν **φασ'** ἔμμεναι, *Il.* 23.791). On one level, this index simply reflects Odysseus' traditional seniority within the Greek camp (especially when viewed from Antilochus' youthful perspective).[89] But as de Jong notes, **φασί** seems to place a particular emphasis on the preceding adjective ὠμογέροντα, making it 'a kind of quotation, a nickname of Odysseus'.[90] The word is a Homeric *hapax legomenon*, which was variously interpreted in antiquity as referring either to 'early' or to 'premature' old age.[91] But if it is a 'quotation' of sorts, from what kind of tradition does it derive? Given the generally proleptic flavour of the funeral games, which fore-shadow many later events of the Trojan cycle (§IV.2), I would suggest that this reference also looks forward: in this case, to the wider *fabula* of Odysseus' later life, as known from the *Odyssey* and *Telegony*. Unlike the 'swift-fated' Achilles, destined to die young at Troy, Odysseus was traditionally associated with a long and prosperous old age.[92] The hero spends much of the second half of the *Odyssey* disguised as an old man (παλαιοῦ . . . γέροντος, *Od.* 13.432) and is repeatedly addressed as a γέρων (e.g. *Od.* 14.37, 45, 122, etc.).[93] But this deceptive role-playing only foreshadows his future old age beyond the bounds of the poem, as reflected in Teiresias' prophecy (*Od.* 11.100–37) and as subsequently narrated in the *Telegony* (arg. 1–3 *GEF*).[94] More generally, the centrality of old age to the

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[89] Cf. e.g. *Il.* 2.404–7, where Odysseus is grouped among the γέροντας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν ('the elders, the chiefs of all the Achaeans', 404).

[90] de Jong (2004) 238.

[91] See Richardson (1993) 257; Harder (2012) II 242–3. The former sense seems likely here: cf. e.g. Σ D *Il.* 23.791: τοὺς ἔτι συνεστῶτας καὶ μήπω πάνυ γέροντας, ἀλλὰ πλησίον τοῦ γήρως ('those who are still firm and not yet exceedingly old, but near old age'); Hsch. ω 196 (ὠμογέρων· τὸν ἀρξάμενον γηράσκειν, ἔτι δὲ ἰσχύοντα, 'a man who is beginning to grow old, but is still strong'). Callimachus reuses the *hapax* in this sense to describe the elderly farmer Theiodamas, who is 'still a mighty man' (ἔτι πουλὺς ἀνήρ) despite his old age (ὠμογέρων: *Aet.* fr. 24.5, cf. Philostr. mai. *Imag.* 2.24).

[92] ὠκύμορος Achilles: *Il.* 1.417, 1.505, 18.95, 18.458; cf. 1.352 (μινυνθάδιος, 'short-lived'); Burgess (2009) 54.

[93] Cf. Falkner (1989) 51 with 62 n. 82.

[94] On Odysseus' death and the relationship of the *Odyssey* and *Telegony* narratives, see Hansen (1977); Peradotto (1985); Ballabriga (1989); Burgess (2015b), (2019b); Arft (2019).

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Odyssean tradition is further reflected in the figure of the hero's father, Laertes, who is in many ways a doublet of his son;[95] indeed, he is explicitly described as being beset by a 'raw old age', just like the Iliadic Odysseus (ἐν ὠμῷ γήραϊ, *Od.* 15.357).[96] Senectitude, therefore, is a prominent feature of Odysseus' *fabula*; it was perhaps this very association which encouraged pseudo-Longinus to conceive of the *Odyssey* as the product of Homer's old age (*Subl.* 9.11–14).[97]

Antilochus' description of ὠμογέρων Odysseus thus taps into a wider tradition of Odyssean old age. The adjective ὠμογέρων parallels the situation of the Odyssean Laertes (ἐν ὠμῷ γήραϊ, *Od.* 15.357), but it also resonates with Teiresias' prophetic mention of Odysseus' sleek old age (γήρᾳ ... λιπαρῷ, *Od.* 11.136), another rare phrase which seems to have been particularly associated with Odysseus (cf. *Od.* 19.368, 23.283). The only other epic instance of a similar idiom relates to Nestor (λιπαρῶς γηρασκέμεν, *Od.* 4.210) in a context celebrating his fortunate long life (perhaps as a model for Odysseus?), while its two other pre-Hellenistic appearances both evoke Odysseus as a model of long life and continued familial prosperity.[98] The hero was the archetype of a full and gentle old age, ensuring a prosperous stability for his people (λαοὶ | ὄλβιοι, *Od.* 11.136–7). In describing the hero as ὠμογέρων, Homer thus appears to disrupt linear time by looking forward to these events that lie strictly beyond the *Iliad*. Within the wider proleptic context of the funeral games, Antilochus' reference to Odysseus' old age alludes to yet another later episode of the Trojan war tradition, signposted through **φασί**.

Such self-aware citation of tradition may even extend to direct textual allusion. The strongest case for this comes from the

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[95] Laertes as doublet: Falkner (1989) 51–2. E.g. Odysseus is bathed by Eurynome, Laertes by the Sicilian maidservant (*Od.* 23.153–63 ~ 24.365–71); Athena beautifies Odysseus and Laertes (*Od.* 18.69–70, 23.156–7 ~ 24.367–9); both are described as a ποιμὴν λαῶν (*Od.* 18.70, 20.106, 24.368); and Laertes kills Eupeithes, Antinous' father (*Od.* 24.520–5), just as Odysseus slaughters Antinous (*Od.* 22.8–21).

[96] For the expression, cf. too Hes. *Op.* 705 (ὠμῷ γήραϊ), of a man reduced to old age by a 'bad wife'.

[97] Cf. Hunter (2018) 186–90 on ps.-Longinus' specification of τὸ φιλόμυθον ('love of stories') as a characteristic of both old age and the *Odyssey*.

[98] λιπαρὸν γῆρας, Cratinus fr. 1.4 K–A; λιπαρῷ τε γήραϊ, Pind. *Nem.* 7.98–101.

Odyssey, when Telemachus reports to Mentor-Athena that Nestor has been king for three generations of men (*Od.* 3.243–5):

νῦν δ᾽ ἐθέλω **ἔπος** ἄλλο μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι
Νέστορ᾽, ἐπεὶ περὶ οἶδε δίκας ἠδὲ φρόνιν ἄλλων·
τρὶς γὰρ δή μίν **φασιν** ἀνάξασθαι γένε᾽ ἀνδρῶν·

> But now I want to enquire and ask Nestor about another **story**, since he knows what is right and wise beyond all others. For **they say** that he has ruled over three generations of men.

On an internal level, this reference to Nestor's age emphasises his wisdom and authority. He is a reliable source of information for Telemachus to consult. Such fabled seniority is the very kind of thing that Telemachus would have heard stories about as he was growing up on Ithaca, so **φασίν** makes natural sense within the story world: this is precisely the kind of tale that people tell, and the very kind of detail for which Telemachus would have to rely on the experience of others. As scholars have long recognised, however, this description of the Pylian king also closely resembles his opening description in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 1.247–52):

τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ
ἡδυεπὴς ἀνόρουσε, λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής,
τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή.
τῷ δ᾽ ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἐφθίαθ᾽, οἵ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἠδ᾽ ἐγένοντο
ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθέῃ, <u>μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν.</u>

> Among them rose up sweetly spoken Nestor, the clear-voiced speaker of the Pylians, from whose tongue speech flowed sweeter than honey. He had already seen two generations of mortal men pass away, those who had previously been born and reared with him in holy Pylos, <u>and now he ruled over the third</u>.

This connection was already noted by ancient and Byzantine scholars. The Odyssean scholia remark that Telemachus' sentiment 'has been adapted from the phrase in the *Iliad*' (παρὰ τὸ ἐν Ἰλιάδι πεποίηται "μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν", Σ EHMᵃT *Od.* 3.245a *Ariston.*), while Eustathius comments that 'the poet succinctly paraphrases what was said about Nestor at more length in the *Iliad*' (παραφράζων συντόμως ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ ἐν Ἰλιάδι περὶ Νέστορος πλατύτερον ἱστορηθέν, Eust. 1465.46–7 ad *Od.*

3.245–6 = 1 124.5–6 Stallbaum). Of course, the two passages are not identical, and scholars have long been vexed by a slight discrepancy between them: on a literal reading, Nestor appears to have only ruled for one generation in the *Iliad*, but three in the *Odyssey*.[99] Martin West's assessment is not atypical: he describes the Odyssean line as 'an egregiously unsuccessful attempt to reproduce the sense of A 250–2'.[100] However, Grethlein has highlighted the essential consistency between both passages: in each case, Nestor is pictured as having ruled over his own generation, as well as those of his children and grandchildren. As he acknowledges, the resulting timeframe skews both epics' implicit chronology (seemingly interposing another generation between Nestor and his sons), but in both passages this can be explained as an exaggeration to reinforce Nestor's authority.[101] Given the similar hyperbole and the shared emphasis on Nestor's age, experience and wisdom, this thus remains a strikingly close parallel.

For scholars who are prepared to see a direct intertextual connection between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, this is certainly an attractive case for a direct, indexed allusion in archaic Greek epic: beneath Telemachus' vague, pluralised φασίν, we may detect a specific reference to the *Iliad*. After all, the Iliadic passage derives from Nestor's very first appearance in that poem, part of a memorable description of the Pylian king's mellifluous speech (*Il.* 1.248–9).[102] It is – to use a phrase familiar from later periods – a 'purple patch' that could easily stick in an audience's mind. By evoking it here, Homer and Telemachus would draw on literary precedent to authorise their exaggerated claim about Nestor's age, gesturing to the fuller prior account of the *Iliad*, a truly 'brief paraphrase' as Eustathius claimed. Indeed, we could even see this allusion pre-empted in Telemachus' wish to ἔπος ἄλλο μεταλλῆσαι (*Od*. 3.243), literally 'enquire about another story', but perhaps also 'search after another epic' (i.e. the *Iliad*).[103]

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[99] E.g. Σ EHMᵃT *Od*. 3.245a *Ariston.*; Leaf (1886–88) 1 16; Kirk (1985) 79.

[100] West (2014a) 71. [101] Grethlein (2006b).

[102] Alden (2000) 74 stresses the unusualness of this character introduction. The description remained famous in antiquity: see Hor. *Carm*. 2.9.13; [Tib.] 3.7.50–1; Juv. 10.246–7 (with explicit attribution to *Homerus*); *Laus Pisonis* 64 (indexed with ***inclita***); *AP* 15.9.6–8.

[103] On ἔπος and ἔπεα as signposts of specifically hexameter tradition, cf. §IV.3.1 n. 161.

Such a direct connection is certainly possible, and one that I would not want to rule out. It is likely, however, that such a characterisation of Nestor's seniority and triple-rule would not have been restricted to these two places in the archaic epic tradition. Nestor is a mainstay of the Trojan war story (cf. §1.2.1), who features across the Epic Cycle from the *Cypria* to the *Nostoi*, with a series of old and only partially understood epithets which indicate a character of considerable antiquity. His seniority and experience are essential parts of his mythical *fabula*; throughout the *Iliad*, his exceptional age is a recurring characteristic, already fixed in tradition (cf. *Il.* 2.555; §IV.2.1). In that case, we may suspect here engagement with the larger tradition surrounding Nestor, not restricted to a single source.[104] This detail of his age and triple-rule is indeed what epic bards repeatedly 'tell of'; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are simply two instantiations of what was most likely a common motif. It is significant, however, that this index comes in the voice of Telemachus, a figure who is no stranger to song (*Od.* 1.325–59). Once more, the distinction between song within and outside the story world begins to break down.

Regardless of one's stance on the precise 'target' of this allusion, therefore, what is clear is that this φασίν – embedded in the voice of an internal character – already points to poetry beyond the *Odyssey*. Like the previous indices we have examined in this section, the device situates Homer's poetry within a larger road map of myth, highlighting the poet's detailed and encyclopaedic mastery of his mythical repertoire – not only on the level of plot and action, but also in the construction and articulation of individual characters.

Prominent Protagonists

Such indexed allusions to specific characters gravitate most towards the major protagonist of each Homeric epic: Achilles in the *Iliad* and Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. By concentrating on the talk swirling around each hero, Homer signposts his engagement

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[104] Cf. Danek (1998) 90–1. To push for a direct connection with the *Iliad* may fall foul of the documentary fallacy which Kelly has cautioned against: the natural desire to connect our surviving material at the expense of the wider mass of texts and traditions now lost to us: Kelly (2015a) 22, (forthcoming a), (forthcoming b).

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and adaptation of prior traditions, while also acknowledging the key role which his own poetry plays in shaping the mythological record.

In the case of Achilles, these indices centre especially around the hero's mixed parentage and ambiguous position between the mortal and divine worlds. We will consider Agenor's indexed assertion of Achilles' mortality below (*Il.* 21.568–70: §II.2.4), but for now we can cite other cases in which internal characters comment on Achilles' status. In *Iliad* 6, the Trojan augur Helenus introduces Achilles' descent from a goddess with **φασί** (ὅν πέρ **φασι** θεᾶς ἐξ ἔμμεναι, *Il.* 6.100), marking the traditional and central role of Thetis in the hero's biography. Similarly, when Aeneas later faces Achilles, he emphasises that they are both familiar with each other's ancestry: they '**know**' it from '**hearing the ancient legends** told by [or 'about'] mortal men' (ἴδμεν ... | **πρόκλυτ' ἀκούοντες ἔπεα** θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, *Il.* 20.203–4). As Edwards notes, this comment can easily be taken as a reference 'to epic poetry celebrating the exploits of the two heroes',[105] a reference which is reinforced by the use of the noun **ἔπεα**: not just 'words' in general, but also 'poetic' or even 'epic utterances'.[106] Alongside the mention of ἄνθρωποι ('people'), commonly singled out as the audience and propagators of epic poetry elsewhere,[107] Aeneas' emphasis on the fame and antiquity of these **ἔπεα** highlights the epic traditionality of both his and Achilles' lineage.[108] In his following words (206–7), Aeneas proves the accuracy of his knowledge, claiming that '**they say**' that Achilles is the offspring of Peleus and Thetis (**φασί**, *Il.* 20.206). Once more, Achilles' divine ancestry is pinpointed as a key feature of tradition.

In the *Odyssey*, meanwhile, Odysseus' mythical career and accomplishments are similarly marked through the language of

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[105] Edwards (1991) 315.

[106] Thus Nagy (1979) 271, chap. 15 §7. On this association of ἔπος/ἔπεα, cf. §IV.3.1 n. 161. Cf. Martin (1989) 16 who highlights the close connection of ἔπος with the audition and transmission of words.

[107] Cf. §II.2.4 n. 127.

[108] On Aeneas' famous ancestry, cf. too *Il.* 20.105–6, where the disguised Apollo similarly tells Aeneas that 'they say that you were born from Aphrodite, the daughter of Zeus' (σέ **φασι** Διὸς κούρης Ἀφροδίτης | ἐκγεγάμεν). The inset narrative of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* evidences the fame of this genealogy.

hearsay. When addressing Nestor in Book 3, Odysseus' son Telemachus claims that his father '**once**, **they say**, fought by your side and sacked the city of the Trojans' (ὅν **ποτέ φασι** | σὺν σοὶ μαρνάμενον Τρώων πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξαι, *Od*. 3.84–5), while when reunited with his father, he remarks that '**I have always heard of your great fame**, that you were a spearman in strength of hand and wise in counsel' (ἦ τοι **σεῖο μέγα κλέος αἰὲν ἄκουον**, | χεῖράς τ' αἰχμητὴν ἔμεναι καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν, *Od*. 16.241–2). Although these cases may simply reflect Telemachus' limited direct knowledge about his own father and thus inevitable resort to indirect hearsay (cf. *Od*. 1.215–16), they nevertheless suggest that both the events of the Trojan War and Odysseus' exploits in them have already become established (and frequent, **αἰέν**) in the talk of men, as indeed they had: we can readily compare Demodocus' first and third songs in *Odyssey* 8, or Menelaus' and Helen's competing accounts in *Odyssey* 4, which together emphasise the centrality of Odysseus as both warrior and schemer.[109]

It is particularly Odysseus' resourcefulness, however, that is acknowledged as an established feature of tradition. Later in the poem, Telemachus again attributes his father's reputation to hearsay, now with a focus on his cunning (*Od*. 23.124–6): '**they say**' (**φάσ'**) Odysseus is pre-eminent in wiles (μῆτιν, 23.125). Similarly, when Odysseus himself reveals his identity in Scheria, he asserts that he is '**an object of concern to all men**' for his tricks (δόλοι) and that his '**fame** reaches the heavens', employing language that mirrors Circe's allusive nod to Argonautic myth (ὃς **πᾶσι** δόλοισιν | **ἀνθρώποισι μέλω**, καί μευ **κλέος** οὐρανὸν ἵκει, *Od*. 9.19–20; cf. Ἀργὼ **πᾶσι μέλουσα**, *Od*. 12.70).[110] These comments point to the well-established tradition of Odysseus as the arch-deviser of the Trojan war myth, a reputation reflected in his formulaic epithet

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[109] Odysseus' achievement of κλέος is a central theme of the poem. Cf. too Penelope's claim that his '**fame** is spread wide throughout Greece and mid-Argos' (**κλέος**, *Od*. 1.344) and Telemachus' concern that he is ἄϊστος ἄπυστος ('beyond sight and hearing', *Od*. 1.242); also *Od*. 19.267, where the disguised Odysseus claims that '**they say**' (**φασί**) that Odysseus is like the gods (θεοῖσ' ἐναλίγκιον).

[110] For the Argonautic allusion: §1.1.4. For μέλω of literary concern, cf. Thgn. 245–6 (**μελήσεις** | . . . ἀνθρώποισ'); Thgn. 1058 (**<μέλο>μεν** δ' ἀμφιπερικτίοσιν). The noun ἀνθρώποισι also points to poetic audiences: §ΙΙ.2.4 n. 127; cf. ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, *Od*. 23.125.

πολύμητις ('of many wiles'), and more than deserved by his role in such episodes as the ambushes of Dolon, Rhesus and Helenus, as well as his various spying missions in Troy and the mobilisation of the Wooden Horse (*Il.* 10.338–579; *Il. Parv.* arg. 2a, 4b–d *GEF*; *Od.* 8.500–20). These indices highlight the traditionality of Odysseus' cunning, while also acknowledging the *Odyssey*'s role in cementing it.[111] Like Achilles, Odysseus emerges from his epic as a figure who is much talked of – and even more so, given his absence from Ithaca for the majority of the poem.

Homer thus indexes allusions to familiar aspects of the Trojan war tradition through the words of his characters. In some cases, he gestures to general events and broader elements of the mythical story: the Trojans' might, the suitors' insolence and the returns of the Greeks from Troy. But he also indexes specific characteristics of individual heroes: Antilochus' speed, Odysseus' old age and Nestor's experience, as well as Achilles' divine parentage and Odysseus' cunning guile. In so doing, the poet emphasises the traditionality of his material, while also foregrounding his mastery over the larger mythical canon: in gesturing to what 'others say', he highlights his selective control of his inherited tradition.

In many respects, these examples support Scodel's concept of Homer's 'rhetoric of traditionality'. As she has argued, the poet presents his material as traditional and familiar, eliding his own authorial presence and effacing any hint of originality.[112] By presenting these events and details as what 'they say', Homer does indeed position them within a pre-existing canon of tradition and distances them from his own creativity. The Homeric epics are a retelling of what has been said before. However, Scodel's theory does not work for all cases of indexical hearsay. On some occasions, indexed allusions involve a more competitive engagement with tradition. We have already noted Homer's possible nod to competing traditions over Typhoeus' final resting place (§II.2.1), while Telemachus' indexing of Odysseus' μῆτις includes an assertion that no one could contend with his father's guile (ἐρίσειε, *Od.* 23.126) – a statement that suggests the pre-eminence of not only Odysseus, but also the very poem which

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[111] Cf. e.g. the verbal play with Οὖτις / μή τις ('nobody') and μῆτις ('cunning') in Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemus, esp. *Od.* 9.405–14: Austin (1972) 13–19.

[112] Scodel (2002) esp. 65–89.

preserves his deeds.[113] In the following section, we will consider further appeals to hearsay which foreground a more competitive engagement with the mythic tradition.

II.2.4 Contesting Tradition

Far from always asserting the authority of tradition, some characters' appeals to hearsay bear a far more agonistic edge, not just acknowledging the wider mythical canon, but directing an audience to specific elements of it which Homer has pointedly suppressed or diverged from. What 'people say' can prove a distancing foil as much as a legitimising badge of authority.

Lies, Lies

On some occasions, the talk of others is explicitly branded as deceitful lies. In *Iliad* 5, for example, the Greek Tlepolemus accuses Lycian Sarpedon (Zeus's son) of failing to live up to the standards of his own father Heracles, another son of Zeus (*Il.* 5.633–7):[114]

> Σαρπῆδον, Λυκίων βουληφόρε, τίς τοι ἀνάγκη
> πτώσσειν ἐνθάδ' ἐόντι μάχης ἀδαήμονι φωτί;
> **ψευδόμενοι** δέ σέ **φασι** Διὸς γόνον αἰγιόχοιο
> εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδεύεαι ἀνδρῶν
> οἳ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο **ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων**·

> Sarpedon, counsellor of the Lycians, why must you cower here, being a man unskilled in battle? **They lie** when **they say** that you are the offspring of aegis-bearing Zeus, since you fall far short of those men who were born to Zeus **in previous generations of men**.

Tlepolemus accuses Sarpedon of cowering from battle as Agamemnon criticised Diomedes in Book 4 (τίς τοι ἀνάγκη | πτώσσειν, 5.633–4 ~ τί πτώσσεις, 4.371: §II.2.2),[115] but here he goes even further than the Greek general by actively challenging

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[113] Cf. *Od.* 3.120–1, where Nestor similarly recalls that no other was willing to vie (ὁμοιωθήμεναι ἄντην) with Odysseus in terms of μῆτις.

[114] For this scene of flyting, see e.g. Drerup (1913) 251–3; Grethlein (2006a) 76–7; Aceti (2008) 22–33; Kelly (2010). This is not the first time that Tlepolemus has had an antagonistic run-in with relatives: cf. *Il.* 2.665–6.

[115] Such rebukes are usually made among allies; its use here between enemies may point to the genealogical connection between Sarpedon and Tlepolemus: Fenik (1968) 66–7; Aceti (2008) 27–9; Kelly (2010) 266–7.

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the tradition of Sarpedon's divine parentage.[116] Of course, in this case his assertions prove misguided: Homer has already introduced the pair as a son and grandson of Zeus (5.631), while Tlepolemus' swift death and Zeus's later support of Sarpedon demonstrate through action that what 'they say' about the Lycian is indeed correct. But the hero's countering of hearsay serves as a model for the poet's own conduct elsewhere. Like Tlepolemus, Homer attempts to substitute tradition with a replacement narrative. But unlike his characters, the poet's divine support and broader vantage point allows him to sift through the realms of hearsay with much more authority – and success.

Looking beyond the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* for a moment, the fragmentary *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* opens with an extended instance of such contestation (*HhDion.* A.2–8):[117]

> οἳ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ', οἳ δ' Ἰκάρῳ ἠνεμοέσσῃ
> **φᾶσ'**, οἳ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος Εἰραφιῶτα,
> οἳ δέ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινήεντι
> {κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ},
> ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβῃσιν ἄναξ σε **λέγουσι** γενέσθαι,
> **ψευδόμενοι**· σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
> πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, κρύπτων λευκώλενον Ἥρην.

> For some **say** it was at Dracanum, some on windy Icarus, some on Naxos, O Zeus-born Bull god, and some by the Alpheius, the deep-eddying river, {that Semele conceived and bore you to Zeus who delights in thunder}; and others, lord, **say** that you were born at Thebes. **But they are all liars**. The father of gods and men begot you far from humankind, in secret from white-armed Hera.

The poet begins by canvassing a range of locations for Dionysus' birthplace, all of which are attributed to the common talk of men (**φάσ'**, 3; **λέγουσι**, 6). But the poet – like Tlepolemus – dismisses such traditions as lies (**ψευδόμενοι**, 7), in favour of his own alternative explanation (Nysa, 9). In some respects, this opening priamel fits into the common hymnic motif of *aporia*, in which a poet expresses his hesitation about where or how to begin (e.g. πῶς

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[116] Homeric mentions of ancestry are frequently combined with an appeal to hearsay: e.g. Asteropaeus (**φασί**, *Il.* 21.159), Telemachus (**φασί**, *Od.* 1.220), Eidothea (**φασίν**, *Od.* 4.387). As Telemachus acknowledges, one can never be certain of one's own parentage (*Od.* 1.215–16), but these appeals also acknowledge the developing tradition of Trojan myth.

[117] On this poem, see the discussion and reconstruction by West (2001b).

τάρ σ’ ὑμνήσω, *HhAp.* 19).[118] But here, there is in fact no uncertainty about where or how the poet is starting: he is set on the god’s birthplace from the start, and the only question is which tradition is correct.[119] We are no longer in a position to determine whether the dismissed locations represent pre-existing alternative traditions which the poet counters, or simply foils that he has invented for rhetorical effect. But what is crucial for us here is the fact that the poet represents these dismissed alternatives as belonging to the domain of hearsay: it is what others say – and they are explicitly wrong.

This discourse of poetic lies has a wider currency in archaic Greek epic, especially as refracted through the voices of internal figures.[120] At the outset of the *Theogony*, the Muses claim that they can speak ‘lies that seem like the truth’ (*Theog.* 27–8):

> ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
> ἴδμεν δ’, εὖτ’ ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.

> We know how to speak many lies that seem like the truth, and we know – when we wish – how to sing truth.

This statement has often been interpreted as a polemical dig against the falsities of Homeric epic, especially given the verbal parallel with *Od.* 19.203 (ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα).[121] Even if we do not accept such a precise intertextual connection, however, it is likely that Hesiod here distances himself from the ‘falsehoods’ of other (epic?) poetic traditions in favour of his own truth-speaking poetry. Elsewhere in his works, he presents ψεύδεα in a pejorative light: Falsehoods are the children of Eris

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[118] Race (1982) 5–8.

[119] This opening foreshadows Callimachus’ *Hymn to Zeus*, which similarly negotiates between competing traditions about Zeus’s birthplace (σέ . . . **φασι** γενέσθαι, *hZeus* 6 ~ σε **λέγουσι** γενέσθαι, *HhDion.* A.6) and dismisses some versions as lies (**ἐψεύσαντο**, *hZeus* 7; **ψεῦσται**, *hZeus* 8 ~ **ψευδόμενοι**, *HhDion.* A.7). Goldhill (1986) 27 remarks that Callimachus ‘converts the *topos*’ of hymnic *aporia* ‘into an academic question about the birth-place of Zeus’, but something similar could already be said of the archaic hymnist.

[120] On lying in archaic Greek poetry, see Luther (1935); Bowie (1993b); Pratt (1993).

[121] See e.g. Kambylis (1965) 63; Puelma (1989) 75; Arrighetti (1996); Kelly (2008b) 196, 199. Contrast e.g. Nagy (1990a) 45–7; Scodel (2001) 112–21. For the ancient tradition of Homer as liar, cf. Pind. *Nem.* 7.22–3; Pl. *Resp.* 2.377d; Arist. *Poet.* 24.1460a18–19. For other interpretations of *Theog.* 27–8, see Collins (1999); González (2013) 235–66; Tor (2017) 61–103; Brockliss (2017–18) 130 n. 5.

('Strife') alongside a host of horrific siblings like Famine and Ruin (*Theog.* 226–32), while in the *Works and Days* they are among Hermes' gifts to the destructive Pandora (*Op.* 78).[122] Unlike the deceptive falsities of other poetry, Hesiod implies that his own Muses do want to speak ἀληθέα, 'true things'. Like the narrator of the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, he opens by dismissing prior traditions as 'false' to carve out his own space in the tradition.

This pejorative rejection of 'false' alternative traditions also lends some support to those scholars who have seen an allusive polemic underlying the 'lying tales' of the *Odyssey*. In the second half of the epic, the disguised hero utters five false tales about his own *nostos*, all of which are patently false within Homer's narrative world (cf. *Od.* 13.254–5, 19.203).[123] Many scholars suspect that these tales reflect pre-existing alternative traditions of Odysseus' return which the poet has incorporated into his epic but de-authorised by recasting them as lies.[124] This is an attractive, if speculative suggestion. But it may be strengthened by the fact that Odysseus also presents parts of his tales as the object of hearsay. In his fictional tales to Eumaeus and Penelope, the hero claims that he has '**learned**' of Odysseus (Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ **πυθόμην**, *Od.* 14.321) and '**recently heard**' of his return from Pheidon, the king of the Thesprotians (**ἤδη** Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ περὶ νόστου **ἄκουσα** | ἀγχοῦ, *Od.* 19.270–1, cf. **ἀκοῦσαι**, *Od.* 17.525) – just as Nestor has '**learned**' of the Achaeans' returns and Telemachus has heard of Agamemnon's death (**πεύθομαι**, *Od.* 3.187; **ἀκούετε**, *Od.* 3.193). It is thus very possible that Homer – more implicitly than the poet of the *Homeric Hymn* – is downgrading other Odyssean traditions as mere lies, asserting the primacy and authority of his own version of events over the talk of others. While exploiting the language of hearsay to evoke the larger oral tradition within which

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122 Cf. Scodel (2001) 113–14.
123 On Odysseus' lying tales, see Walcot (1977); Maronitis (1981); Haft (1984); Emlyn-Jones (1986); Hölscher (1989) 210–34; de Jong (2001) 326–8.
124 See e.g. Schwartz (1924) 66–70; Woodhouse (1930) 126–57; Merkelbach (1969) 224; Reece (1994); Danek (1998) 216, 269, 285; Tsagalis (2012b); Finkelberg (2015) 130–1, (2016) 39; Stripeikis (2018). For comparison with South Slavic oral poetry, cf. Coote (1981) esp. 8: 'what is told to deceive in one story can be told to be believed in another'. For a tragic example of an allusive lying tale, see Soph. *Phil.* 591–7, 603–21: R. B. Rutherford (2012) 360; Currie (2016) 151 n. 20.

he works, Homer would then be highlighting his own superiority by discounting the truth value of rival and alternative traditions. Like Tlepolemus, Hesiod, and the poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, here too, the circulating stories of others would be dismissed as lies.

Achillean (Im)mortality: Suppressing Alternatives

Presenting alternative versions of myth as 'false words' thus seems to have been an established mode for delegitimising rival traditions. But mere appeals to hearsay could also carry the same polemical charge, even without an explicit comment on a specific claim's truth value. When Homer's characters report what 'they say', we are invited to reconsider the details under discussion and ask whether others or indeed Homer himself would report things differently.

In the *Iliad*, such combative positioning is especially centred around the figure of Achilles. When Eurypylus claims that '**they say**' (**φασίν**) Patroclus learnt his knowledge of healing herbs from Achilles, who in turn learnt it from Cheiron (*Il.* 11.830–2), the poet gestures to the tradition of Achilles' tuition by Cheiron, a fantastical version of the hero's upbringing which Homer tends to downplay elsewhere.[125] More polemical, however, is Agenor's assertion of Achilles' mortality, that '**people say** he is mortal' (*Il.* 21.568–70):

καὶ γάρ θην τούτῳ τρωτὸς χρὼς ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ,
ἐν δὲ ἴα ψυχή, θνητὸν δέ ἕ **φασ' ἄνθρωποι**
ἔμμεναι· αὐτάρ οἱ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει.

His flesh, too, I suspect, can be pierced with sharp bronze; there is only one life in him, and **people say** he is mortal. But Zeus the son of Cronus is granting him glory.

Unlike all the other examples of **φασί** I have discussed so far, this example is unusual since it does not lack a nominative agent, prompting de Jong to group it under her category (A) of φασί-utterances, those 'with definite subject'.[126] Yet the noun ἄνθρωποι

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[125] Cf. Hainsworth (1993) 310; Robbins (1993); C. J. Mackie (1997); Cairns (2001a) 39–41; Gregory (2018) 87–90.

[126] de Jong (2004) 237–8.

('mankind') hardly provides much more precise specification than the usual anonymous use of φασί; it is an ill fit when grouped alongside other specified subjects such as the Trojans and their allies (*Il.* 9.234), Ajax's comrades (*Il.* 17.637), the suitors (*Od.* 2.238), the Phaeacians (*Od.* 7.322) or Odysseus' father and son (*Od.* 11.176). The apparently superfluous ἄνθρωποι thus lays unusual stress on the phrase. On the one hand, this may play on the subject of the talk: 'mortals' claim that Achilles is 'mortal'. But it is also significant that the noun ἄνθρωποι indicates the audience or propagators of poetry elsewhere in early Greek epic: Helen and Paris will be the subject of song for men of future generations (καὶ ὀπίσσω | ἀνθρώποισι ... ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι, *Il.* 6.357–8); Odysseus claims that he is the subject of song among men because of his trickery (πᾶσι δόλοισιν | ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, *Od.* 9.19–20); and Agamemnon's shade claims that Clytemnestra will be the subject of a hateful song among men (στυγερὴ δέ τ' ἀοιδὴ | ἔσσετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, *Od.* 24.200–1).[127] It is thus tempting to treat this **φασί** as an invitation for Homer's audience to consider other poetic traditions surrounding Achilles and questions of his (im)mortality: 'people say' that Achilles is mortal, but are they right?[128] As with Achilles' tuition from Cheiron, **φασί** here allusively acknowledges but simultaneously rejects an alternative tradition in which Achilles was more than mortal.

Of course, direct evidence for the tradition of Achilles' immortality is attested only far later. The first extant instances of Thetis'

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[127] Cf. Nagy (1979) 37, §13 n. 4 on epic's conventional link between ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους and κλέος (e.g. *Il.* 10.212–3). Admittedly, ἄνθρωπος is a common noun in Homer, but it usually occurs in an explicit contrast between mortals and gods, a contrast which is lacking in all these metapoetic cases. Cf. too *Il.* 20.204 (**ἔπεα** θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων: §II.2.3); *Od.* 11.274 (**ἀνάπυστα** ... ἀνθρώποισιν: Barker and Christensen (2008) 24: §I.1.4); *Od.* 24.197–8 (ἐπιχθονίοισιν). Later lyric examples include Thgn. 245–6 (**μελήσεις** | ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις **αἰὲν** ἔχων **ὄνομα**); Pind. *Pyth.* 3.112 (ἀνθρώπων **φάτις**: §II.3.1), fr. 70a.15 (**λέγοντι** ... βροτοί: §II.3.1); Ibyc. fr. 303a (**φᾶμις** ... βροτῶν: §II.3.3). In tragedy, cf. too e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 1 (**λόγος** ... ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων ~ Hdt. 1.32(?)); Theodectes fr. 1a.1 *TrGF* (ἐν βροτοῖσιν **ὑμνεῖται λόγος** ~ Eur. *Med.* 231): Nelson (forthcoming b).

[128] Note too the hesitation implied by θήν (equivalent to the particle δή: Denniston (1954) 288), conveying a sceptical or ironical tone. Cf. Denniston (1954) 229–36, esp. 234: it 'often denotes that words are not to be taken at their face value ... δή often gives the effect of inverted commas'.

attempts to immortalise Achilles occur in the Hellenistic period, with passing references in Dosiadas' *Altar* (σποδεύνας ἶνις Ἐμπούσας, *AP* 15.26.3) and Lycophron's *Alexandra* (178–9, with Tzetz. *ad Alex.* 178). Apollonius of Rhodes offers a fuller account in his *Argonautica* (4.869–79), but this seems to draw heavily on Demeter's similar treatment of Demophon in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (231–91), which complicates any attempt to trace the myth's earlier history.[129] Moreover, the Styx-dipping tradition, the most famous aspect of the myth in modern popular culture, is only securely attested even later: besides a possible passing allusion in the *Batrachomyomachia* (233), this detail of the myth appears first in literature only in Statius' *Achilleid* (*Achil.* 1.133–4, 268–70, 480–1), and even later in art.[130] It is thus possible that traditions of Achilles' immortality are a post-Homeric invention. Indeed, some scholars suspect a Hellenistic origin for the myth.[131]

Despite our late and limited evidence, however, it is likely that earlier traditions did exist surrounding Thetis' concern over Achilles' mortality and the hero's subsequent invulnerability.[132] The obliqueness and brevity of Statius' triple allusion to the Styx story suggest that the poet is drawing on an already familiar tradition, which he even indexes through temporal adverbs (**saepe**, **iterum**, *Achil.* 1.133–4). This alone would not rule out a Hellenistic origin for the myth, but there are strong grounds for tracing it back earlier. Invulnerability was a common attribute of other heroes in archaic myth,[133] and we can find a number of hints that it was also applied to Achilles at an early date. The Hesiodic *Aegimius* already recounted Thetis' attempts to test the immortality of her children by Peleus, here too by dipping them in water

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[129] For Apollonius' linguistic and thematic debts to the *Hymn*: Richardson (1974) 237–8; Vian (1976–81) III 178; Hunter (2015) 202–4. Cf. too Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.6.

[130] Cf. Burgess (2009) 9 with n. 9, citing *LIMC*, s.v. 'Achilleus', nos. 5–18. For the possible reference in the *Batrachomyomachia*, see Hosty (2017) 138, (2020) 228.

[131] Robert (1920–26) 67–8, 1187; Burgess (1995) 222; Heslin (2005) 167, (2016) 94–6. Weitzmann (1959) 54–9 even hypothesised a lost Alexandrian *Achilleis* as Statius' source.

[132] Cf. Davies (2016) 67–71; Nelson (2021a). See too Paton (1912)'s proposal that the *Iliad* suppresses a tradition surrounding the invulnerability of Achilles' armour.

[133] Burgess (1995) 219 n. 6 lists Ajax, Asterus, Caeneus, Cycnus, the Nemean lion, Talos and possibly Meleager; cf. Bocksberger (2021) 34–47 on Ajax.

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(Hes. fr. 300); we know that Achilles already enjoyed quasi-immortality in the *Aethiopis* with his afterlife on the White Isle – thanks again to Thetis' intervention (*Aeth.* arg. 4b *GEF*); and the *Iliad* itself also conceals a veiled allusion to Achilles' heel and associated invulnerability in Homer's treatment of Diomedes' foot-wound from Paris (*Il.* 11.369–83), part of Diomedes' larger adoption of Achillean traits in the first half of the poem (§1.2.2).[134] Various hints in archaic poetry thus suggest that the myth was of considerable antiquity.

Such a conclusion can be bolstered further by a neoanalytical case of motival priority. A number of scholars have argued that the Apollonian 'immortalisation by fire' is more appropriate to Achilles than Demophon, and thus cannot be wholly derived from the *Homeric Hymn*.[135] The logic of the myth appears to be that fire burns off the infant's mortal half, leaving only his immortal nature.[136] And as Burgess notes, it is Achilles, not Demophon, who 'is semidivine, and so could logically become immortalised if his mortality were burned away'.[137]

It is thus plausible that traditions about Thetis' attempted immortalisation of her son existed already in the archaic period and that Homer's original audiences may well have been aware of them.[138] The *Iliad*'s general silence on this specific tradition would be in keeping with its suppression of immortality elsewhere, so as to emphasise the stark dichotomy between short-lived mortals and the immortal gods.[139] Yet by having a character

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[134] Mackie (1998) 330 further notes that Achilles is 'the only Achaean prince' to be immersed in the cauldron-like river Scamander in the *Iliad* (ὡς δὲ λέβης ζεῖ, *Il.* 21.362), which thematically recalls the *Aegimius* story (the children are dipped into a cauldron of water: εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος, fr. 300).

[135] Burgess (1995) 221 with n. 13, (2001b) 216 with n. 9, (2009) 102; Mackie (1998).

[136] Cf. Heracles: Theoc. *Id.* 24.83; Ov. *Met.* 9.251–3, 262–70. For fire's deifying power: Edsman (1949).

[137] Burgess (2009) 102; cf. Mackie (1998) 337.

[138] Some suspect that the story could have featured in the *Cypria*: Severyns (1928) 258; Mackie (1998) 331 n. 9. It may be a step too far to argue that Agenor even echoes language traditionally attached to this *fabula*: *Il.* 21.568 (τρωτὸς χρὼς ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ) closely parallels and inverts *Achil.* 1.481 (*pulchros ferro praestruxerit artus*), but it cannot be proved that Statius' phrasing derives from earlier tradition, rather than from this very Homeric passage (the following line's ***iterant*** and ***tradunt*** certainly seem to index some prior tradition, *Achil.* 1.482).

[139] Cf. Nelson (2021a). See e.g. *Il.* 3.243–4 on the Dioscuri (contrast *Od.* 11.299–304); *Il.* 18.117–19 on Heracles (contrast *Od.* 11.601–4; Hes. *Theog.* 950–5, fr. 25.25–33, fr.

insist on the hero's mortality with an indexical **φασί**, the poet acknowledges this alternative tradition, while pointedly highlighting his denial and divergence from it. In this case, Homer's perspective coheres with what Agenor claims 'people say', but it is implicitly set against a major narrative variant.[140]

Competing Traditions: Penelope versus the Women of the Catalogue

The same agonistic strategy is also in play when Homer situates his own epic against other traditions of poetry and myth beyond those of the Trojan war. In such cases, the poet does not so much deny the truth value of other traditions, but rather uses them as a foil to assert the supremacy of his own narrative. A prime example is the relationship of the *Odyssey* to female catalogue poetry. Scholars have long recognised that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* presuppose earlier traditions of female catalogue poetry familiar to us from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Margalit Finkelberg has argued that Ajax's appearance in the list of Helen's suitors (Hes. fr. 204.44–51) lies behind his entry in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il*. 2.557–8),[141] while Ian Rutherford has highlighted various correspondences between the *Catalogue of Women* and other poems in the early epic tradition.[142] In particular, Odysseus' catalogue of heroines in the *Nekyia* (*Od*. 11.225–329) displays considerable overlap with the Hesiodic poem, especially visible in the case of its first heroine, Tyro, and her liaison with Poseidon (*Od*. 11.235–59): the preserved words of several Hesiodic lines precisely parallel Odysseus' account of the episode,[143] while the *Odyssey*'s comparison of surging water to a mountain when Poseidon conceals their lovemaking is also said to have

229.6–13; *Hh*. 15.7–8: Barker and Christensen (2014); R. B. Rutherford (2019) 120–2. For the *Iliad*'s emphasis on mortality and death: Griffin (1977) 42–3; Schein (1984) 67–88; Edwards (1985b) 215–18; Burgess (2009) 102–3.

[140] Later poets reassert the immortality tradition: see Heslin (2016) on Ovid's polemical 'correction' of Homer.

[141] Finkelberg (1988), though note the caution of Cingano (1990), (2005) 143–51.

[142] Rutherford (2000) 93–6, (2012); cf. too Zutt (1894) 13–23; Gazis (2018) 125–56.

[143] καλὰ ῥέεθρα (fr. 30.35, cf. *Od*. 11.240); [τέξεις δ' ἀγλαὰ τέκ]να, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποφώ[λιοι εὐναὶ | ἀθανάτων· σὺ δὲ τ]οὺς κομέειν ἀτιτα[λλέμεναί τε] (fr. 31.2–3, cf. *Od*. 11.249–50). Cf. too the presence of Chloris and her children to Neleus in both poems (esp. fr. 33a.12 = *Od*. 11.286).

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occurred in the *Catalogue* (*Od.* 11.243–4, Hes. fr. 32).[144] Despite the fragmentary state of the Hesiodic poem, there is a clear and strikingly close connection between these two passages.

What we make of these parallels depends in part on our theoretical preconceptions, but I am inclined to accept the conclusion of Rutherford that the *Catalogue* narrative likely pre-dated the *Odyssey*, even if the *Catalogue* as we have it is of a later date – a similar conclusion to that regularly drawn concerning the Epic Cycle.[145] In that case, the surviving fragments of the *Catalogue* offer potential evidence for the kind of pre-Homeric traditions with which the *Odyssey* may have engaged. Of course, we must handle this evidence with considerable care and caution, since parts of the *Catalogue* as we have it may display some Homeric influence,[146] but even so, our surviving fragments still provide the best window onto the possible contours of lost pre-Homeric traditions. In the immediate context of *Odyssey* 11, I thus consider it plausible that Homer is evoking earlier female catalogue traditions that would later coalesce into our Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.[147] As in later literature, so already in the *Odyssey*, the Underworld is a natural site for direct engagement with the literary past.[148]

However, the *Odyssey*'s engagement with catalogue traditions is first signalled far earlier in the poem and in a far more overtly agonistic manner, during the Ithacan assembly of Book 2. Antinous, in his frustration at Penelope's devious tricks for delaying

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[144] Note also the line following Poseidon's speech (*Od.* 11.253), which resembles Hes. fr. 31.6. For the story, see also Sophocles' *Tyro* (frr. 648–69a *TrGF*); Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.8.

[145] I. C. Rutherford (2012) esp. 163. Cf. West (1985) 164: most genealogies in our *Catalogue* were 'constructed not later than the eighth century'. On the Epic Cycle as both a source for pre-Homeric myth and an assemblage of post-Homeric receptions, see Burgess (2001a), (2019a) 18–26; cf. §1.2.2.

[146] See Ormand (2014) esp. 119–51 (on Atalanta and Achilles; contrast Laser (1952)), 152–80 (Amphitryon and Odysseus).

[147] Thus I. C. Rutherford (2012) 161–4. On the *Nekyia* more generally as a literary-historical catalogue of the subspecies of *epos*, see Most (1992).

[148] Cf. Ar. *Frogs*, *Gerytades* (frr. 156–90 K–A); Callim. *Ia.* 1 (fr. 191 Pf.); Currie (2016) 26–7 n. 166. For Roman and later continuations of this tradition, see Hardie (2004); Deremetz (2005); Parkes (2010).

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the suitors' advances, claims that she is unrivalled, even among women of a former age (*Od.* 2.115–22):

εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἀνιήσει γε πολὺν χρόνον υἷας Ἀχαιῶν,
τὰ φρονέουσ' ἀνὰ θυμόν, ἅ οἱ περὶ δῶκεν Ἀθήνη,
ἔργα τ' ἐπίστασθαι περικαλλέα καὶ φρένας ἐσθλὰς
κέρδεά θ', οἷ' οὔ πώ τιν' **ἀκούομεν** οὐδὲ **παλαιῶν**,
τάων αἳ **πάρος** ἦσαν ἐϋπλοκαμῖδες Ἀχαιαί,
Τυρώ τ' Ἀλκμήνη τε ἐϋστέφανός τε Μυκήνη·
τάων οὔ τις ὁμοῖα νοήματα Πηνελοπείῃ
ᾔδη· ἀτὰρ μὲν τοῦτό γ' ἐναίσιμον οὐκ ἐνόησε.

But if she will continue to vex the sons of the Achaeans for a long time, mindful in her heart of the things which Athena has granted her above other women: knowledge of most beautiful handiwork, good sense, and cunning – such as we have never yet **heard** that any of the women **of old** knew, those lovely-haired women who lived **long ago**: Tyro, Alcmene and Mycene of the lovely garland – not one of them had thoughts similar to Penelope's. But this at any rate she has devised improperly.

Antinous here compares Penelope with three women of the distant past: Tyro, Alcmene and Mycene, all of whom occupy prominent positions in Greek myth as the ancestors of many of its most famous heroes. In giving birth to Aeson, Pheres, Amythaon, Pelias and Neleus (*Od.* 11.254–9), Tyro in particular counts numerous heroes from the Trojan, Theban and Argonautic sagas in her lineage, including Melampus, Jason, Admetus, Adrastus and Nestor; Alcmene was the mother of Heracles, whose numerous affairs ensured a plentiful progeny; and Mycene, the eponymous heroine of Mycenae, was a significant ancestor in the Argive family tree as the mother of Argus, guardian of Io. By claiming that Penelope surpasses such eminent figures of the distant past, Antinous aims to criticise her unconventional 'cunning' (κέρδεα, 118), a trait that he has already blamed for the current impasse on Ithaca (2.88).[149] But in so doing, he inadvertently praises Penelope's exceptionality and highlights her obvious appeal: on this logic, whoever succeeds in wooing her will enjoy an

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[149] This unconventionality is reflected in Homer's language: *Od.* 2.117 seems to be a formulaic verse celebrating traditional female virtues (it reappears at *Od.* 7.111 of the Phaeacian women), but the enjambed κέρδεα are a unique addition: Katz (1991) 4; Sammons (2010) 60–1. On Penelope's intelligence in general, see Marquardt (1985); Murnaghan (1986).

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illustrious and unsurpassed progeny – though as Danek notes, this comparison also exposes the suitors' *hybris*: all three of these mythical women had divine lovers, so if Penelope is superior to them, she is completely out of the suitors' league.[150]

Besides this ironic reflection on the suitors' situation, Antinous' direct contrast between Penelope and these other mythical women also activates a more allusive contrast between the *Odyssey* and female genealogical poetry. All three of Antinous' *comparanda* also feature prominently in Hesiodic catalogue poetry: we have already encountered Tyro's presence in both the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and the Odyssean *Nekyia* (*Od.* 11.235–59; Hes. frr. 30–2), while we can find Alcmene in both lists (*Od.* 11.266–8; Hes. fr. 193.19–20, fr. 195.8–63 = *Scut.* 1–56), as well as in the *Great Ehoiai* (frr. 248–9), where Mycene is also said to have featured (fr. 246).[151] Given the close combination of these women here, Antinous' words point towards pre-existing female catalogue traditions, just as Odysseus' do in the *Nekyia*. The likelihood of a reference to such traditions is further reinforced by the very nature of these lines: by listing the women in a miniature catalogue, Antinous repeats the compositional technique of *Ehoiai* poetry itself, while the word with which he introduces them, the relative pronoun οἷα (*Od.* 2.118), acts as a generic signpost, echoing the common introductory formula of such poetry (ἢ οἵη).[152] Antinous' comparison thus imitates the key features of Hesiodic catalogue poetry at the same time as he evokes some of its principal protagonists.[153]

The allusive nature of these verses is sealed, however, by their indexical framing: Antinous introduces these women by appealing to hearsay (ἀκούομεν, 118) and antiquity (παλαιῶν, 118; πάρος, 119).

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[150] Danek (1998) 74. The irony is even stronger when we recall that Tyro was famous for warning her father not to contend with the gods ([οὐ]δ᾽ εἴασκε θεοῖς [βροτὸν ἰσ]οφαρίζειν, Hes. fr. 30.27); Antinous too should heed this advice.

[151] On the *Great Ehoiai* and its relationship to the *Ehoiai*: Hirschberger (2004) 81–6; D'Alessio (2005a).

[152] Skempis and Ziogas (2009) 234. The listing of three names in a single verse as in *Od.* 2.120 (an 'augmented triad': West (2004)) is also typical of hexameter catalogues: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 338–45, fr. 33a.9–12; West (2007) 117–19.

[153] Compare also οὔ πώ τιν᾽ (*Od.* 2.118) ~ οὔ πώ τις (Hes. fr. 195.17), a parallel that further highlights the degree to which Alcinous appropriates the rhetoric of female catalogue poetry.

The names of these women have reached him through transmitted tales, while their age marks the venerability of these traditions and heightens the contrast with the present. Stephanie West remarks that 'the antiquarian note' of these lines 'is slightly strange',[154] yet viewed as indices of allusion, their function is clear: once more, appeal to hearsay signposts allusive interactions.[155] After all, as regular 'auditors' of Phemius' songs (ἀκούοντες, *Od*. 1.325–7), the suitors are themselves 'aficionados of epic poetry'; it is no surprise if they derive their knowledge from older song traditions.[156]

Given this evocation of Hesiodic Catalogue poetry, Antinous' comparison thus does much more than simply highlight Penelope's desirability and objectionable craftiness. It also sets her Odyssean self against representatives of another rival poetic tradition. Despite Antinous' attempts to criticise her κέρδεα, this comparison is in fact very favourable when viewed against the poem's broader ideological framework. Penelope's exceptional κέρδεα make her a prime match for Odysseus, whose own unrivalled κερδοσύνη ('cunning') is repeatedly highlighted in the epic (esp. *Od*. 19.285–6; cf. 4.251, 13.297, 14.31; cf. *Il*. 23.709). In addition, the only other specific figures whose κέρδεα are mentioned in the *Odyssey* are the couple's son, Telemachus (18.216, 20.257), and Odysseus' divine patron, Athena (13.297, 299). Within the broader context of the poem, κέρδεα are valorised as the emblematic and unifying trait of Odysseus' household: κέρδεα are 'arguably a defining theme of the *Odyssey* itself'.[157] By having Antinous assert Penelope's superiority to catalogic women in these terms, Homer thus agonistically

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[154] S. R. West (1988) 139 on *Od*. 2.120.

[155] In this regard, one might wonder whether the frequent use of **φασί** in discussions of ancestry in early Greek epic could point to larger traditions about heroic genealogies, as exemplified by the *Catalogue*: e.g. *Il*. 5.635, 6.100, 20.105, 20.206, 21.159; *Od*. 1.220, 4.387, 18.128; cf. §II.2.4 n. 116.

[156] Thus Sammons (2010) 61 n. 8. The suitors also have a particularly strong association with catalogic poetry themselves: they woo Penelope like the *Catalogue*'s suitors of Helen (Hes. frr. 196–204) and are themselves frequently presented in list-form (*Od*. 16.245–53, 18.291–301, 22.241–3, 265–8, 283–4): cf. Sammons (2010) 197–204.

[157] Sammons (2010) 61. Notably, this positive Odyssean assessment of κέρδεα contrasts with a largely critical evaluation elsewhere in early Greek epic: e.g. Hesiod's warning about the dangerous pursuit of profit (κέρδος, *Op*. 323; κερδαίνειν, κακὰ κέρδεα, 352), and Antilochus' reckless behaviour in the chariot race of *Iliad* 23 (κέρδεσιν, 515), an act of 'deception', 'guile' and 'cheating' (ψεύδεσσι, 576; δόλῳ, 585; ἠπεροπεύειν, 605). Cf. Roisman (1994); Dougherty (2001) 38–60; Tsagalis (2009) 152–4.

hints at the superiority of the tale in which she features: just as
Penelope surpasses these women of the past, so too does the
Odyssey trump the Hesiodic tradition of female catalogues.
Antinous' ensuing claim seals this agonistic one-upmanship:
Penelope is winning great **κλέος** for herself – not just a 'notorious
reputation', but also 'epic fame' (μέγα μὲν **κλέος** αὐτῇ | ποιεῖτ',
2.125–6).[158] As she surpasses the likes of Tyro and Alcmene, she
too joins the ranks of those who are the subject of song in their own
right.[159]

The polemic of this comparison is heightened when we consider
how these Hesiodic women were themselves presented as
unrivalled paragons of womanhood. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* expli-
citly sets out to list those women who were 'the best at that time [and
the most beautiful on the earth]' (αἳ τότ' ἄρισται ἔσαν [καὶ κάλλισται
κατὰ γαῖαν], Hes. fr. 1.3),[160] and both Tyro and Alcmene are further
celebrated as flawless models of femininity in their entries in the
Catalogue: Tyro surpasses all female women in beauty (εἶδος |
[πασάων προὔχεσκε γυναι]κῶν θηλυτεράων, fr. 30.33–4) and is
praised for her beautiful hair ([ἐϋπ]λόκαμος, fr. 30.25, notably the
same epithet that Antinous uses of the Achaean women of the past:
ἐϋπλοκαμῖδες Ἀχαιαί, *Od.* 2.119). Alcmene, meanwhile, receives a
particularly lavish encomium (fr. 195.11–17 = *Scut.* 4–10):

ἥ ῥα γυναικῶν φῦλον ἐκαίνυτο θηλυτεράων
εἴδεΐ τε μεγέθει τε· νόον γε μὲν οὔ τις ἔριζε
τάων ἃς θνηταὶ θνητοῖς τέκον εὐνηθεῖσαι.
τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν βλεφάρων τ' ἄπο κυανεάων
τοῖον ἄηθ' οἷόν τε πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.
ἣ δὲ καὶ ὣς κατὰ θυμὸν ἑὸν τίεσκεν ἀκοίτην,
ὡς οὔ πώ τις ἔτισε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων·

She surpassed the tribe of female women in beauty and stature; and as for her
mind, no woman could rival her, out of all those whom mortal women bore
after sleeping with mortal men. Such charm wafted from her head and dark
eyelids as comes from golden Aphrodite. And she honoured her husband in
her heart as no other female woman has ever yet honoured hers.

[158] Thus Sammons (2010) 61; cf. Clayton (2004) 34.
[159] Compare Agamemnon on Penelope's enduring κλέος and future song: *Od.* 24.196–8.
[160] Merkelbach's plausible supplements here and in fr. 30.34 reinforce my argument. But
even if we leave the lacunae unsupplemented, these verses still display an emphasis on
pre-eminence (ἄρισται, fr. 1.3) and physical appearance (εἶδος, fr. 30.33).

In part, these verses draw on traditional elements of epic encomium: εἶδος ('beauty') and μέγεθος ('stature') are frequently combined in the praise, criticism or description of an individual's physique, alongside other nouns such as δέμας ('body') and φυή ('form').[161] The image of wafting beauty is paralleled elsewhere in the *Catalogue* (fr. 43a.73–4) and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (276). Yet the larger focus here on Alcmene's νόος ('mind') and marital fidelity are uncommon in such descriptions. Somebody's φρένες ('wits') are sometimes picked out for comment,[162] yet the only other mention of νόος in such contexts is Odysseus' negative dismissal of Euryalus' 'stunted mind' during the Phaeacian games of *Odyssey* 8, in comparison to his outstanding looks (εἶδος μὲν ἀριπρεπές, ... νόον δ' ἀποφώλιός ἐσσι, *Od*. 8.176–7). The Hesiodic poet's emphasis on this attribute here, then, in notably combative terms (οὔ τις ἔριζε, fr. 195.12), highlights Alcmene's exceptionality. So too does the 'honour' which she pays to her husband (fr. 195.16–17), an expression which finds no direct parallel in the early Greek tradition,[163] although there is perhaps an underlying touch of irony given her coming 'affair' with Zeus during Amphitryon's absence.[164] In any case, if these two traits (intelligence and fidelity) were particularly associated with Alcmene in early genealogical traditions, as the uniqueness of these lines may suggest, Antinous' use of her in the *Odyssey* as a foil to Penelope is even more pointed. Not only does Penelope surpass the best women of the past, but she eclipses even her closest rival in wit and marital loyalty.[165] She remains faithful to her husband,[166] and displays an unparalleled facility with κέρδεα (2.118). Penelope's

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[161] *Il*. 2.58; *Od*. 5.217, 6.152, 14.177, 24.253, 24.374; *HhDem*. 275; *HhAphr*. 85. Cf. *Il*. 23.66–7, where tradition is adapted to describe Patroclus' ghost (μέγεθος, ὄμματα, φωνή). See Shakeshaft (2019) on Homeric terminology for beauty.

[162] *Il*. 1.115; *Od*. 4.264, 11.337, 14.178, 17.454, 18.249.

[163] The only close parallel is the honour Alcinous shows to his wife Arete in Scheria (*Od*. 7.66–70), although here the genders are reversed.

[164] Hes. fr. 195.34–63 = *Scut*. 27–56; cf. Diod. Sic. 4.9, Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.4.8. An erotic context is evoked by the comparison to Aphrodite (fr. 195.15) and the mention of Alcmene's 'dark eyelids' (βλεφάρων ... κυανεάων, fr. 195.14): cf. Ibycus' description of Eros (κυανέοισιν ... βλεφάροις, fr. 287.1–2).

[165] This direct rivalry may even be asserted on a verbal level: note the similar phrasing of *Od*. 2.121–2 (τάων οὔ τις ὁμοῖα νοήματα Πηνελοπείη | ᾔδη) and fr. 195.12–13 (νόον γε μὲν οὔ τις ἔριζε | τάων).

[166] Cf. Winkler (1990) 151: Penelope's 'superiority lies precisely in her unwillingness to be taken in by what might be merely a convincing replica, whether mortal or immortal, of her husband' (Poseidon disguises himself as Tyro's beloved Enipeus, and Zeus as

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intelligence is unsurpassed, which makes her the perfect match for Odysseus and – ironically – completely unsuitable for Antinous, whose very name betrays his hostility to sensible thought (ἀντί + νόος: 'enemy of discernment').[167]

Antinous' words in *Odyssey* 2 thus position Penelope against key representatives of female catalogue poetry. Penelope proves superior even to the most intelligent and loyal women of this rival poetic tradition, a pre-eminence which reflects positively on the Homeric poet: his subject matter surpasses that of his predecessors. Near the start of the whole epic, Homer asserts the pre-eminence of his female protagonist and his own poetry, and he does so – rather ironically – through the ambivalent voice of a suitor. Although Antinous may attempt to criticise Penelope's cunning, his *synkrisis* in fact foregrounds her exceptionality and unwittingly proves how suitable she is not only as a match for Odysseus but also as an emblem for the poem itself.

This emphasis on Penelope's incomparability recurs several times later in the *Odyssey* with a similarly agonistic point.[168] When Penelope speaks to the disguised Odysseus on his return to Ithaca, she wants him to learn whether she is 'pre-eminent among other women' for her 'intelligence and prudent cunning' (δαήσεαι εἴ τι γυναικῶν | ἀλλάων περίειμι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα μῆτιν, *Od.* 19.325–6), while in the second *Nekyia* (*Od.* 24.192–202), Agamemnon compares her favourably with Clytemnestra (who also features in the *Catalogue*: frr. 23a.13–30, 176.5–6). However, it is especially Telemachus' compliments before the bow contest in *Odyssey* 21 which resonate with Antinous' earlier words (*Od.* 21.106–10):

ἀλλ' ἄγετε, μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ τόδε φαίνετ' ἄεθλον,
οἵη νῦν οὐκ ἔστι γυνὴ κατ' Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν,
οὔτε Πύλου ἱερῆς οὔτ' Ἄργεος οὔτε Μυκήνης·
[οὔτ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης οὔτ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης]
καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ τόδε γ' **ἴστε**· τί με χρὴ μητέρος αἴνου;

Alcmene's husband Amphitryon). On Penelope's fidelity, cf. Foley (1995) esp. 103; Zeitlin (1995); Lesser (2017).

[167] For this etymology: Peradotto (1990) 107; Kanavou (2015) 132. Cf. the opposition between Antinous and Noemon, son of Phronis ('Intelligence, son of Mind', *Od.* 2.386, 4.630, 648): Austin (1972) 1.

[168] For a fuller exploration of these reverberations, see Nelson (2021c) 37–42.

> But come now, you suitors, since this here is your prize before you: a woman who has no peer today throughout the Achaean land, neither in holy Pylos, nor in Argos, nor in Mycenae. [Nor in Ithaca itself, nor on the dark mainland.] But **you know** this yourselves – why do I need to praise my mother?

Like Antinous' former praise, these verses evoke key features of the Hesiodic catalogue tradition: the οἵη (*Od.* 21.107) nods to the formula of catalogue poetry, like οἷα in Book 2,[169] while the very context of these lines – the wooing of a woman and the idea of a woman as a prize (ἄεθλον) – resonates with many of the common themes of the catalogic genre.[170] Here too, Penelope is set against the traditions of the *Catalogue* and comes out on top. Yet these lines also have a closer connection with Antinous' earlier words than has been observed before. The initial trio of cities which Telemachus lists are all intimately linked with Antinous' exempla: Tyro's descendants ruled Pylos (Neleus/Nestor); Alcmene was from Argos, while her son Heracles was frequently imagined as the ruler of the locality (cf. *Il.* 15.29–30); and the city of Mycenae drew its name from Mycene herself.[171] Telemachus' words thus not only evoke traditions of female catalogue poetry but also recall the implicitly agonistic inter-textuality of the earlier episode. After all, he ends by claiming that the suitors themselves '**know**' of Penelope's incomparability (καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ τόδε γ' **ἴστε**, *Od.* 21.110), a remark that acknowledges their (and the external audience's) familiarity with Antinous' earlier words. Like the Iliadic allusions to Typhoeus and Tydeus, the indexed allusion in *Odyssey* 2 thus continues to resonate throughout the remainder of the poem, establishing an enduring contrast with another literary tradition and its paradigmatic representatives.[172]

Indexical appeals to hearsay in Homer, therefore, not only flag and signpost allusion but also mark a deeply agonistic engagement with other traditions. As in later Latin poetry, the device is used to mark out

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[169] Nasta (2006) 63–4; Skempis and Ziogas (2009) 233–4.

[170] Cf. Skempis and Ziogas (2009) 234 n. 59, whose examples include Atalanta (Hes. frr. 72–6), Mestra (fr. 43a.21) and Helen (frr. 196–204).

[171] This interpretation may lend additional support to the deletion of *Od.* 21.109, which introduces Ithaca and the mainland, places which are unnecessary for the allusive back-reference. The line appears to be a 'concordance interpolation': it is absent in many manuscripts, seems to have been adapted from *Od.* 14.97–8 and is 'out of place' after the mention of 'the Achaean land' in 107 (Fernández-Galiano (1992) 158 on 21.107).

[172] This ongoing agonism may also suppress alternative traditions of Penelopean infidelity: Nelson (2021c) 42–3.

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a larger map of poetic territories within and against which a poet defines himself. The device exhibits not only an encyclopaedic but also an agonistic drive. In the following section, we shall see how this same combination of nuances co-exists in our wider corpus of archaic Greek epic.

II.2.5 *Beyond Homer*

As we have seen, Homeric appeals to hearsay in both the characters' and narrator's voice highlight the poet's mastery of his mythical repertoire, within which he selects and builds his own narrative, following some paths of song while pointedly suppressing others. These indices exhibit an array of functions: most fundamentally, they signpost allusion to other traditions (if not texts), but they can also initiate an allusive dialogue that continues to resonate throughout a poem, or polemically challenge pre-existing and alternative strands of myth. Yet in all these cases, Homer uses such indices to position his poem against the larger store of traditional tales from which he draws his material, gesturing to an archive of epic song.

However, the Homeric epics were not unique in such applications of indexical hearsay. The broader corpus of archaic Greek epic displays many comparable instances of such encyclopaedic and agonistic engagement with tradition. We have already noted several possible examples: the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*' dismissal of competing talk surrounding the god's birthplace, Hesiod's footnoting of Typhoeus' sex life and his potential downgrading of other poetic traditions as 'lies that seem like the truth'. But we can also cite a range of other cases in which archaic Greek epic poets indexed other traditions – or perhaps even other texts – through appeal to hearsay.

Take, for example, a papyrus fragment (ascribed to Hesiod or the epic *Minyas*) which draws on the authority of tradition with a character's indexing φασί (*P. Ibscher* col. i; *Minyas* fr. 7* *GEF* = fr. *6 *EGEF* = Hes. fr. 280).[173] After encountering Meleager in the Underworld, Theseus justifies his and Peirithous' *katabasis* in search of Persephone by arguing that Peirithous is merely following the example of the gods in desiring to marry a relative: 'for **they say**

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[173] On the poem's ascription: Álvarez (2016) 48–51.

that they too [sc. the gods] woo their glorious sisters and marry without the knowledge of their dear parents' ([καὶ γὰρ] ἐκείνους **φασὶ** κασιγνήτας μεγ[ακ]υδεῖς | [μνησ]τεύειν, γαμέειν δὲ φίλων ἀπάν[ευθε τοκήων], 15–16). On one level, this index points to the traditional incest of the Olympian pantheon, an established feature of myth. But the phrase φίλων ἀπάν[ευθε τοκήων] may also invite us to recall the most famous divine union of all, that of Zeus and Hera. In the Iliadic Δίος Ἀπάτη, Zeus is famously struck by a passion equal to that when he and his sister first furtively slept together 'without their parents' knowledge' (φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας, *Il.* 14.296), a phrase that closely parallels the sense and structure of the papyrus in the very same metrical *sedes*. Some caution is required, given the fragmentary nature of the papyrus, and the frequency with which 'parents' (τοκῆες) are 'dear' (φίλοι) throughout early Greek poetry.[174] But if Peirithous were indeed modelling his behaviour on that of Zeus (either as a reference to the *Iliad* or to the *fabula* of the divine marriage), it would reinforce the brazenness (and ultimate futility) of his already hybristic mission: Meleager is right to shudder at what he hears (Οἰνεΐδης δὲ κατέστυγε **μῦθον** ἀκούσας, v. 24).[175]

A stronger case for a direct textual echo can be made for the sole instance of **φασί** in the *Works and Days*, a case that parallels Telemachus' potentially textual evocation of the Iliadic Nestor in the *Odyssey*. In the closing catalogue of 'Days', Hesiod claims that 'on the fifth day, **they say** the Erinyes attended the birth of Oath, whom Eris bore as a bane for perjurers' (ἐν πέμπτῃ γάρ **φασιν** Ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν | Ὅρκον γεινόμενον, τὸν Ἔρις τέκε πῆμ' ἐπιόρκοις, *Op.* 803–4). We do not find this precise detail of the Erinyes attending Oath's birth elsewhere, but this index attests to the traditional association that personified Oath (*Op.* 219) and the Erinyes (*Il.* 19.259–60, cf. 3.278–9) had with the punishment of perjurers, while also providing an aetiological explanation for the dangers that the fifth day of each month presented to those who were forsworn.[176] Most significantly,

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[174] E.g. *Il.* 4.477–8; Hes. *Theog.* 469; Sapph. fr. 16.10; Thgn. 263; Aesch. *Eum.* 271. The common formula strengthens the supplement τοκήων, which is also plausible given the apparently formulaic nature of the clausula ἀπάνευθε τοκήων (*Il.* 24.211; *Od.* 9.36).

[175] **μῦθον** may further index this allusion, suggesting not just 'word'/'speech', but also 'myth'/'story'.

[176] West (1978a) 359. In addition, there may be some play with a dim tradition of the Erinyes as 'attendants': cf. *Od.* 20.78, where the Harpies gave the daughters of

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however, the detail of Oath's birth looks back to its similar description in the *Theogony*, where the catalogue of Eris' fourteen offspring (including Ψεύδεα: cf. §II.2.4 above) reaches a climactic conclusion with Oath (*Theog.* 231–2):[177]

Ὅρκόν θ', ὃς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους
πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ·

and Oath, who is truly the greatest bane for humans on the earth, whenever someone deliberately swears a false oath.

Besides the general thematic link, the *Works and Days* echoes this passage verbally, ἐπιόρκοις and πῆμ' picking up on the *Theogony*'s πημαίνει and ἐπίορκον – a rare verbal combination which only appears once elsewhere in extant Greek literature: of the river Styx in the *Theogony*, the divine equivalent of Oath, who is a 'great bane' for any divinity who swears a false oath (μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσιν. | ὅς κεν τῆς ἐπίορκον ἀπολλείψας ἐπομόσσῃ | ἀθανάτων κτλ., *Theog.* 792–4). Given the numerous close connections between the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* (§I.2.3), it is very possible that, here too, we should see a specific cross reference to Hesiod's earlier poem, drawing on its established authority. Of course, the *Theogony* did not specify the date of Oath's birth or the presence of the Erinyes, but its precedent nevertheless buttresses the addition of these new details. In gesturing to hearsay, Hesiod expands and develops a pre-existing strand from his own poetry.

A more agonistic appeal to hearsay is offered by the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, in which the eponymous god attributes Apollo's art of prophecy to tradition (*HhHerm.* 471–2):[178]

σέ γέ **φασι** δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς
μαντείας, Ἑκάεργε (Διὸς πάρα θέσφατα πάντα)

They say that you learned prophecies from Zeus's utterance, Far-worker (all divine decrees come from Zeus).

Pandareus στυγερῇσιν Ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν – 'to serve the hateful Erinyes' or 'for the hateful Erinyes to attend'? Cf. Rutherford (1992) 212–13.

[177] Thus West (1978a) 360.

[178] For the punctuation of the Greek text, I follow Thomas (2020) 407; cf. Vergados (2013) 533; Schenck zu Schweinsberg (2017) 264–5. Contrast West (2003a) 150; Richardson (2010) 211.

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Besides the irony that the newborn Hermes is already somehow immersed in the currents of hearsay, this phrase is a clear reference to the traditional association of Apollo with prophecy, an association already attested in the *Iliad* by his patronage of the prophet Calchas (*Il.* 1.72). Beyond this general association, however, it is notable that Hermes' words here are repeated by Apollo later in the same poem (ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς. | μαντείην, *HhHerm.* 532–3). The verbal repetition may suggest an independent formulaic phrase to which Hermes' earlier **φασί** could allude, but the repetition may also add a touch of humorous irony: Hermes has prophetically pre-empted Apollo's own claim to prophecy. It is as if he has proleptically heard and quoted Apollo's sentiments, beating him at his own game of prophetic prediction. This agonistic one-upmanship would fit into the *Hymn*'s larger intertextual engagement with the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, a 'sibling' hymn with which it has been seen to compete agonistically elsewhere.[179] In the Apolline poem, Apollo's oracular ability also plays a central role: indeed, the god's opening words prophetically predict his future occupation (χρήσω τ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν, 'I shall prophesy Zeus's unerring plan to mortals', *HhAp.* 132), a phrase that matches the sense, if not the vocabulary, of Hermes' sentiment. Hermes' appeal to hearsay in his own *Hymn* could thus point not only to Apollo's established role as an oracular deity, but also to his particular establishment as such in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.[180] By co-opting the prophetic voice himself, Hermes positions his own poem against that of his sibling rival, just as Antinous' words in *Odyssey* 2 set Homer's poem against female catalogue poetry.

To close this section, however, let us turn to an example which appears to be doing something a little different to what we have seen so far: not simply invoking or contesting the authority of tradition, but openly reworking it. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the disguised goddess of love fabricates a patently

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[179] *HhAp.* and *HhHerm.*: Radermacher (1931) 110–11, 229; Abramowicz (1937) 72; Dornseiff (1938); Richardson (2007) 89–91, (2010) 20–1; Vergados (2013) 70–3; Thomas (2017) 77–80, esp. 79 on prophecy, (2020) 13–20.
[180] Cf. Dornseiff (1938) 83.

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false genealogy during her seduction of Anchises, which she legitimises through appeal to hearsay (*HhAphr*. 111–12):

Ὀτρεύς δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ **ὀνομάκλυτος, εἴ που ἀκούεις**,
ὃς πάσης Φρυγίης εὐτειχήτοιο ἀνάσσει.

My father is Otreus, **whose name is famous – if you've perhaps heard of him**; he rules over the whole of well-walled Phrygia.

Aphrodite conceals her fabrications with the veneer of hearsay, appropriating the authority of tradition. Indeed, her language is very similar to that of Sinon in *Aeneid* 2, in a comparable case of disguised invention (**εἴ που ἀκούεις** ~ *si forte tuas pervenit ad auris*, *Aen*. 2.81; **ὀνομάκλυτος** ~ *incluta fama | gloria*, *Aen*. 2.82–3: §1.1.1). In context, this is a patent lie. Aphrodite is not the son of a mortal, but of Zeus, king of the gods, as the narrator has just reminded us (Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη, *HhAphr*. 107). But her fictitious cover story is not an outright invention. It rather builds on and adapts tradition. We know barely anything else about Otreus, the man whom she co-opts as her father, but he is mentioned once elsewhere in archaic Greek literature, as one of two Phrygian rulers whom Priam assisted during an Amazon invasion (*Il*. 3.186). In later sources, he was considered Priam's maternal grandfather (Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.12.3) or Dymas' son, and so Hecuba's brother (Σ T *Il*. 3.189 *ex.*). He may thus belong to lost traditions of Trojan and Phrygian conflicts against the Amazons, perhaps part of the larger background of Penthesilea's involvement in the later stages of the Trojan war. But this alone hardly warrants his description as **ὀνομάκλυτος** ('**of famous name**').

There is thus considerable irony in the obscurity of this allegedly 'famous' father. If the *Hymn*'s audiences were familiar with the *Iliad*, Aphrodite's **εἴ που ἀκούεις** ('**if you've perhaps heard of him**') could even playfully index Otreus' sole Iliadic mention, inviting them to test their knowledge of the literary tradition: can they remember 'hearing' this name before?[181] Further encouragement to recall this specific Iliadic scene could also be found in Aphrodite's later mention of the 'Phrygians with

[181] For the relationship between the *Hymn* and *Iliad*, see Faulkner (2008) 26–34; Richardson (2010) 29–30; Olson (2012) 16–20.

darting steeds' (Φρύγας αἰολοπώλους, *HhAphr.* 137), which picks up unique language from the same Iliadic passage (Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπώλους, *Il.* 3.185).[182] Douglas Olson has pursued such an Iliadic allusion even further, however. He notes that Otreus' sole mention in the *Iliad* occurs during the *Teichoscopia* and suggests that the hymnist's unique εὐτειχήτοιο ('well-walled') could gesture to this context. Similarly, the adjective used to describe Otreus in the *Hymn* (ὀνομάκλυτος) is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* that appears in *Iliad* 22, when Priam appeals to Hector, again from the vantage point of the Trojan walls (*Il.* 22.51).[183] Combining this evidence, Olson has proposed that 'Aphrodite's lying tale – which leads directly to the birth of Aeneas, who escaped the destruction of Troy – thus engages pointedly with the story of the ruin of Priam and his branch of the royal family'.[184] Through a strong emphasis on hearsay, her audience would then be invited both to see through her fiction and to ask where they have heard these words before.

This is an attractive reading, but the intricate verbal precision may go a little too far. After all, although the adjective ὀνομάκλυτος is strictly a Homeric *hapax legomenon*, it does occur again in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (*HhHerm.* 59), and – in divided form as a noun and adjective – twice in the *Odyssey* (ὄνομα κλυτόν, *Od.* 9.364; 19.183).[185] In both Odyssean instances, the phrase refers to two of Odysseus' false names (Outis and Aethon), suggesting that it may well have had a traditional association with fabricated identities, an association that would be particularly apt for Aphrodite's lying tale here. A precise link to *Iliad* 22 thus seems implausible, especially given the absence of any real thematic connection. As for εὐτείχητος, the adjective may be unique, but the comparable εὐτείχεος occurs seven times in the *Iliad*, which suggests that describing something as 'well-walled' carries a generic force; it is a stretch to see a direct link to the Iliadic *Teichoscopia*. Even so, however, the traditional resonance of the epithet may still lend a

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[182] Though cf. *Il.* 19.404 (πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος). Φρύγας ... αἰολοπώλους could be an underattested formula: the Phrygians are only mentioned twice elsewhere in extant archaic epic (*Il.* 2.862 and 10.431, where they are again linked with horses: ἱππόμαχοι).

[183] Olson (2012) 196–7.   [184] Olson (2012) 196.

[185] Cf. too ὀνομακλήδην (*Od.* 4.278); later lyric appearances: Semon. fr. 7.87; Ibyc. fr. 306; Pind. *Pae.* 6.123.

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note of foreboding to Aphrodite's words: every Homeric instance of εὐτείχεος appears in the context of city-sacking, six times of Troy (*Il.* 1.129, 2.113, 2.288, 5.716, 8.241, 9.20) and once of Briseis' home-town (*Il.* 16.57).[186] When used of Phrygia in the *Hymn*, the epithet may thus look ahead to the future defeat of the Trojans and Phrygians in the coming war, even if not to the specific fate of Priam.

Once again, a character's emphasis on hearsay invites an audi-ence to situate her words against the larger epic tradition. But in this case, the index plays a further role: marking and authorising the poet's openly creative reworking of tradition. In this regard, the hymnic poet appears to pre-empt an aspect of indexical hearsay which is more familiar from later literature: 'faux footnoting'. We have not seen a clear instance of such indexed innovation in the Homeric poems, although we can identify potential candidates. For example, the Odyssean narrator indexes his elaborate descrip-tion of stable Olympus (*Od.* 6.41–6: **φασί**, 42) whose snowless state appears to contradict two traditional epithets of 'snowy' Olympus elsewhere (οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται, 6.44),[187] while Achilles employs **φασί** in his description of Mount Sipylus after his patent adaptation of the Niobe myth (*Il.* 24.614–17).[188] In neither of these cases, however, is the apparent innovation as directly connected to the appeal to hearsay as in the *Homeric Hymn*. We shall see later how this aspect of the index is further developed in lyric poetry, especially Pindaric epinician (§II.3.4). But we can conclude here that it is an element which possesses at least some epic pedigree. Even if we cannot identify a clear case in

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[186] Cf. too Thgn. 1209 (εὐτείχεα of Thebes, another city known for being sacked); Eur. *Andr.* 1009 (εὐτειχῆ of the 'rock of Troy'). On Troy's Homeric epithets: Scully (1990) 69–80.

[187] Contrast νιφόεις ('snowy', *Il.* 18.616; *Theog.* 42, 62, 118, etc.; *Hh.* 15.7) and ἀγάννιφος ('snow-capped', *Il.* 1.420, 18.186; Hes. fr. 229.6, 15; *HhHerm.* 325, 505), cf. S. R. West (1988) 296. For this passage's more general engagement with key features of the mythological Olympian gods and their distance from mortality, see Spieker (1969).

[188] Niobe mythological innovation: e.g. Kakridis (1949) 96–105; Willcock (1964) 141–2; Richardson (1993) 340. The authenticity of *Il.* 24.614–17 has been challenged since antiquity (see Pearce (2008), with further bibliography), but I follow those who are inclined to accept these lines (e.g. von der Mühll (1952) 384–5; Sano (1993); Schmitz (2001); West (2011a) 423).

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the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, we can in the larger corpus of archaic Greek epic.[189]

Throughout early Greek epic, therefore, hearsay was already a well-established motif for the transmission and interaction of songs and stories. Characters' and narrators' appeals to what 'people say' and what their audiences have heard frequently signalled references to other traditions or even – on occasion – specific texts. These indices variously flag a poet's encyclopaedic control of his material, an agonistic urge to suppress alternative accounts and even – on at least one occasion – the creative reworking of tradition. The various functions of the 'Alexandrian footnote' that I traced in Chapter I (§I.I.I) are thus already deeply engrained in the allusive system of our earliest Greek poetry. From the very start, Greek poets could self-consciously index other myths to carve out their space in the broader tradition. Both halves of the 'Alexandrian' 'footnote' are a misnomer: it is not intrinsically tied to the scholarly interests and pedantic learning of the Alexandrian library.

As we turn now to lyric poets' use of indexical hearsay, we shall see that this allusive device remained an integral feature of early Greek intertextual practice throughout the archaic age. It was not just limited to the epic genre.

II.3 Lyric *Fama*

Like their epic peers, lyric poets display a strong interest in the circulation of news and stories. In the present, they are concerned with the preservation and memorialisation of their own subject matter, setting it on a par with the poetry of the past. Epinician poets, in particular, repeatedly stress the importance of the report of victory and the enduring fame it will provide for their *laudandi*, as well as their family and homelands. But they are far from alone

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[189] I leave aside here a fragment of Aristeas' *Arimaspea* (fr. 5 *PEG*) which appears to authorise its fabulous legends of the north through appeal to hearsay (**φασ'**, Hubmann's proposal for the manuscripts' corrupt σφᾶς), since this verb (if the correct emendation) was likely attached to a specific subject, the Issedonians (Ἰσσηδοί, fr. 4 *PEG*; cf. Hdt. 4.16.1: τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φὰς Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας, 'he spoke of what lay to the north through hearsay, reporting what the Issedonians had told him'); see Bolton (1962) 8–9.

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in doing so: Sappho is concerned with the immortalising power of poetry (fr. 55, Aristid. *Or.* 28.51 = fr. 193), Theognis claims that Cyrnus' name and fame will never die (Thgn. 245–6) and Ibycus even promises Polycrates κλέος ἄφθιτον ('undying fame'), that prized goal of epic heroes (S151.47, cf. *Il.* 9.413). Lyric poets are deeply committed to the propagation of renown.

In addition, lyric poets are equally concerned with stories and myths of the past, which they commonly cite as exempla. Here too, these myths are regularly marked by the language of hearsay and rumour. **φασί** and similar forms occur frequently across the extant canon of early Greek lyric poetry, now accompanied by a string of abstract nouns which refer to self-standing stories without mention of a speaking agent (e.g. **λόγος**). Such language is occasionally used in gnomic contexts, appealing to the authority of anonymous wisdom,[190] but it is more frequently used to introduce specific mythological tales. As in epic, these appeals to tradition can be interpreted as having a strong indexical force, flagging engagement with and departure from the literary tradition. In contrast to epic, however, we can more frequently make a stronger case for the indexing of precise sources, rather than the indexing of traditions in general.

In the sections that follow, we will first explore how indexical hearsay performs the same functions as we have seen in epic: it may gesture to the authority of tradition (§II.3.1) or mark agonistic engagement with rival or suppressed narrative alternatives (§II.3.2). In addition, however, it also develops aspects which we saw only rarely in epic: inviting audiences to supplement a tale with their larger knowledge of tradition (§II.3.3) or legitimising a poet's creative reworking of their mythical inheritance (§II.3.4).

II.3.1 Indexing Authority: Traditions and Texts

Archaic lyric poets frequently invoke hearsay when mentioning and narrating myths, imbuing their accounts with the authority of tradition. Due to our limited extant evidence and the fragmentary

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[190] Esp. in Pindar: e.g. **φαντί**, *Pyth.* 4.287; **φαντί**, *Pyth.* 7.19; **λέγεται**, *Nem.* 6.56; **ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων**, *Nem.* 9.6.

state of many of these poems, it is often difficult to situate cases of indexical hearsay within the larger traditions surrounding a given myth.[191] But even from what we have, we can identify numerous plausible cases from the seventh century onwards. We shall begin here by exploring the phenomenon in general, before turning to further nuances of its use in the following sections.

Early Indices: Archilochus, Sappho, Alcaeus

Our earliest lyric cases of indexical hearsay look not to the lofty traditions of epic, but to the far humbler genre of fable. On several occasions in his surviving iambic fragments, Archilochus explicitly introduces his fables as αἶνοι – a word which not only signals his generic consciousness, but also his debt to pre-existing traditions.[192] He begins his account of 'the fox and the monkey' by claiming that he will tell his addressee Cerycides an αἶνος (**ἐρέω τιν'** ὕμιν **αἶνον**, ὦ Κηρυκίδη, fr. 185.1) and similarly introduces his tale of the fox and eagle as 'a fable told among men' (fr. 174):

> **αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων** ὅδε,
> ὡς ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ καἰετὸς ξυνεωνίην
> ἔμειξαν

> This is **a fable told among men**, how a fox and an eagle joined in partnership.

The specification here of an audience of ἄνθρωποι (a noun which we have already seen combined with allusive indices in epic)[193] emphasises the traditionality of the tale and the authority of its moral message.[194] Such explicit citations of αἶνοι appear to have been an established part of the handling of fable from Hesiod

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[191] See e.g. Xenophanes fr. 7 *IEG*, which indexes an otherwise unknown fable: the poet moves on to '**another account**' (**ἄλλον** ἔπειμι **λόγον**) and reports a story about Pythagoras (fr. 7a): 'they say' (**φασίν**) that he 'once' (**ποτέ**) took pity on a maltreated puppy, recognising the soul of a dear friend just from its voice. The satirical allusion to Pythagorean metempsychosis is obvious, but it is unclear whether this is an isolated invention of Xenophanes or part of a wider tradition of Pythagorean parody.

[192] For the meaning of αἶνος, a term restricted to the archaic period, cf. Nøjgaard (1964–67) I 123–5; van Dijk (1997) 79–82. On Archilochus' allusive use of αἶνοι: Swift (2014a); Brown (2018) 31–41; Carey (2018) 22–5.

[193] ἄνθρωποι: §II.2.4 n. 127. The genitive ἀνθρώπων is intentionally ambiguous (subjective: 'told by men' vs. objective: 'told about men'): Corrêa (2007) 103–4; Swift (2014a) 70.

[194] Cf. Rawles (2018) 57. On Archilochus' handling of the fox/eagle fable: van Dijk (1997) 138–44; Irwin (1998); Hawkins (2008) 93–101; Gagné (2009).

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onwards,[195] and the repeated use of the indefinite article τις retains the vagueness of reference that we have seen with other verbal indices. In this second Archilochean case, however, we have some evidence that the poet is indeed following an established *fabula*. The remaining words of Archilochus' fragment closely resemble the beginning of the later Aesopic version of the same fable, centred on the friendship and union of the two animals (ὡς ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ καἰετὸς ξυνεωνίην | ἔμειξαν, fr. 174.2–3 ~ ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι, *fab*. 1 Perry).[196] Admittedly, the text of this version is late, written probably between the first and third centuries CE, but it must derive from an older tradition, since Aristophanes' Peisetaerus too refers to the same Aesopic fable with similar phrasing and indexing (*Av*. 651–3):[197]

> ὅρα νυν, ὡς ἐν Αἰσώπου **λόγοις**
> ἐστὶν **λεγόμενον** δή **τι**, τὴν ἀλώπεχ', ὡς
> φλαύρως ἐκοινώνησεν αἰετῷ **ποτέ**.

> Watch out now, because in Aesop's **fables** there's **some story told** about the fox, how she **once** fared wretchedly in her partnership with an eagle.

Like Archilochus, Aristophanes introduces the fable by foregrounding the coming together of bird and beast (ἐκοινώνησεν, 653), while also employing the indefinite τι (652). But he attributes the tale not to Archilochus, but to the λόγοι of Aesop (651). Given the consistency of the fable in these later parallels, as well as Archilochus' own gestures to independent, pre-existing αἶνοι, it is likely that such a fabular tradition already circulated in the mid-seventh century.[198] Through such a self-conscious citation (**αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων**), Archilochus signposts his allusive adoption of

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[195] Cf. **αἶνον** . . . ἐρέω, Hes. *Op*. 202; ἐρέω **τιν'** ὕμιν **αἶνον**, ὦ Κηρυκίδη, Archil. fr. 185.1; **αἶνός τίς** ἐστιν, Panarc. fr. 1(a) *IEG*; ἦν ἄρα τρανὸς **αἶνος ἀνθρώπων** ὅδε, Moschion, fr. 8.1 *TrGF*. Cf. too Archil. fr. 23.16 (**λόγῳ**, indexing the fable of the ant and dove?); Archil. fr. 168.2–3 (χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον | ἐρέω).

[196] Cf. Nelson (2019b).

[197] Cf. West (1984a); Dunbar (1995) 417–18; Corrêa (2007) 103.

[198] The general antiquity of the tale is also supported by its well-known connections with Near Eastern myth, especially that of Etana: Williams (1956); Trencsényi-Waldapfel (1959); Baldi (1961); Adrados (1964); La Penna (1964) 24–36; Burkert (1992) 122–3; Corrêa (2007) 105–8; Currie (2021a).

another tradition, just as Homer indexed his engagement with other myths.[199]

The melic poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus, by contrast, indexes epic myth on a number of occasions. In a small fragment of Sappho, we find an indexed allusion to traditions about Helen's birth (fr. 166):

φαῖσι δή **ποτα** Λήδαν ὐακίνθινον
< . . . > ὤϊον εὔρην πεπυκάδμενον

they say that Leda **once** found a hyacinth-coloured egg, covered . . .

The wider context of this fragment is lost, but what we have corresponds to the version of the myth in which Helen was not the daughter of Zeus (or Tyndareus) and Leda, but rather the product of a liaison between Zeus and Nemesis – born from an egg that Leda received from a wandering shepherd or Hermes.[200] The story was a popular subject of fifth-century vase painting and also featured in Cratinus' *Nemesis*,[201] but it was already well established before the fifth century: elements of the myth suggest a primal and even pre-Homeric pedigree,[202] and it certainly featured already in the Cyclic *Cypria* (frr. 10–11 *GEF*). Sappho may or may not have known the story from this specific poem, but her broad engagement with Trojan themes elsewhere attests to her familiarity with cyclic myth, which she must have known at least in part through epic poetry.[203] Her opening **φαῖσι** (alongside a

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[199] Archilochus' Telephus elegy may also offer an early example of elegiac indexing, but only if we accept Bowie's proposed reconstruction of the fragment: ἤ[ρω' **ἐδεξά]μεθ'** ἄ[νδρ]α φυγεῖν ('**we have heard** that a man who was a hero fled', fr. 17a.4: Bowie (2010b) 151 with 163 n. 22, (2016a) 19–20 with n. 12), marking engagement with the myth of the 'Teuthranian Expedition', an episode familiar to us from the *Cypria* and elsewhere (*Cypr.* arg. 7 *GEF*; §III.2.3). However, few scholars accept Bowie's interpretation of the elegy as a self-standing narrative, since the fragment gives signs of being a paradigmatic exemplum that does not extend far beyond the surviving portion of text (Swift (2019) 231; cf. Lulli (2011) 100–4). A more dynamic first-person verb is more likely, e.g. [εἴμ]εθ' ἄρ[η]α φυγεῖν ('we sped to flee the battle': West (2006) 12–13).

[200] Shepherd: Apollod. ʾ*Bibl.* 3.10.7; Hermes: Hyg. *Astr.* 2.8. In Etruscan iconography, Hermes or one of the Dioscuri deliver the egg: Carpino (1996).

[201] Vase painting: Chapouthier (1942). Cratinus' *Nemesis*: Bakola (2010) 168–73, 220–4.

[202] Kerényi (1939). If the myth pre-dates the *Iliad*, there may be some irony in the Trojan elders' claim on the walls of Troy that there need be 'no nemesis' for the Greeks and Trojans to be fighting over Helen (οὐ νέμεσις, *Il.* 3.156); cf. Kullmann (1960) 255.

[203] E.g. fr. 16 (§III.3.1 n.132); fr. 17 (~ *Od.* 3.168–75, *Nostoi* arg. 1 *GEF*: Burris et al. (2014)); fr. 44 (§II.3.3); fr. 58c (§II.3.3). On Sappho and epic traditions: West (2002);

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temporal **ποτά**) signposts her introduction of a familiar mythical episode, cueing her audience's knowledge of this cyclic tradition.[204]

A comparable engagement with epic myth can also be found in Alcaeus, who appeals to hearsay when discussing Priam's grief and the destruction of Troy 'because of Helen' (fr. 42.1–4, suppl. Page):

> **ὡς λόγος**, κάκων ἄ[χος ἔννεκ' ἔργων
> Περράμῳ καὶ παῖσ[ι **ποτ'**, Ὤλεν', ἦλθεν
> ἐκ σέθεν πίκρον, π[ύρι δ' ὤλεσε Ζεῦς
> Ἴλιον ἴραν.

> **As the story goes**, because of wicked deeds bitter grief **once** came to Priam and his sons from you, Helen, and Zeus destroyed sacred Ilion with fire.

Alcaeus' index points to the ruin and destruction at the heart of the Trojan war tradition. But within this, it also evokes a larger epic discourse surrounding Helen's responsibility for the conflict: the phrase ἀμφ' Ἐ[λένᾳ] in the fragment's penultimate verse (v. 15) appears to have been a set formula associated with the war,[205] while ἐκ σέθεν (v. 3) similarly recalls other formulaic phrases attributing blame to Helen (e.g. Ἑλένης εἵνεκα).[206] Besides the general Trojan myth, the poem fits into a larger tradition of Helen *kakegoria*, to which Stesichorus' *Palinode* (esp. οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος **λόγος** οὗτος, fr. 91a) and the incipit of an anonymous lyric poem also gesture ([Ἑ]λένην **ποτὲ λόγος**, *P. Mich.* 3250c recto col. i.5): all three index pre-existing stories (λόγοι) about the Spartan princess.[207]

Spelman (2017) 743–7; Sironi (2018); Kelly (2020), (2021b); Scodel (2021b). The ascription of the *Little Iliad* to the Lesbian poet Lesches offers a glimpse of epic traditions on Lesbos: West (2013) 35–7; Kelly (2015b) 318–19. The *Cypria* is variously dated to the seventh or sixth century (Currie (2015) 281), but episodes from it feature on an Olympian bronze tripod leg from the late seventh century, indicating the pre-Sapphic date of much of its mythological content: West (2013) 42, 63–5.

[204] Cf. too **κλέος** (Sapph. fr. 44.4, §II.3.3); **ἔφαντο** (Sapph. fr. 58c.9, §II.3.3).

[205] Blondell (2010) 359 argues for a specific allusion to *Il.* 3.70, but the other appearances of the word suggest a more general, traditional resonance: *Il.* 3.91; *Od.* 22.227; Pind. *Pyth.* 11.33 (see Edmunds (2019) 155–6 for a fuller list).

[206] Cf. Davies (1986c) 260 n. 15; Blondell (2010) 351–9; contrast Pallantza (2005) 28–34.

[207] Cf. Page (1955a) 281. Stesichorus: §IV.3.2; *P. Mich.*3250c: Borges and Sampson (2012) 27; Bernsdorff (2014) 6–7. For other Alcaean indices, cf. fr. 339 (ὡς **λόγος** ἐκ πατέρων ὄρωρε, 'as the **story** has come down from our fathers'); fr. 343 = S264.21–2

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It was not only traditional myths that were the subject of the Lesbian poets' indexical references, however. In a more self-reflexive move, a poet could also signpost engagement with the traditions of their own poetry. Take, for example, Sappho's (unprovenanced) *Brothers Poem*, the first extant quatrain of which reads as follows (fr. 10.5–8):[208]

ἀλλ' **ἄϊ θρύλησθα** Χάραξον ἔλθην
ναῖ σὺν πλήαι. τὰ μὲν οἴομαι Ζεῦς
οἶδε σύμπαντές τε θέοι· σὲ δ' οὐ χρῆ
     ταῦτα νόησθαι

But you're **always chattering** that Charaxus came with a full ship. Zeus knows these things, I imagine, and all the gods; but you shouldn't think about them.

Both the speaker and the addressee of these verses are unknown. A common interpretation is that Sappho addresses her mother or another family member, but alternatively Sappho herself might be the chatterer, critiqued by another speaker or addressing herself in a soliloquy.[209] In any case, the description of the addressee's 'chatter' has a derogatory flavour: θρυλέω is a relatively rare verb, primarily found in prose and used of both repetitive and grating talk in a private or public setting.[210] If it is used here of Sappho or another female family member, it likely implies a

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SLG (**φαῖσι**, invoking tradition to authorise the Nymphs' creation from Zeus); fr. 360 (**φαῖσ'**, introducing a quotation from Aristodemus). In these cases, interpretation is limited by the fragmentary state of our evidence.

[208] The papyrus transmitting this poem (*P. Sapph. Obbink*) has no established provenance. I engage with the text here, but the circumstances around its acquisition and publication are extremely problematic and troubling: see Mazza (2020), (forthcoming); Sampson (2020); Hyland (2021); Schultz (2021) 113. In printing the text, I follow the enumeration of Obbink (2015). It is likely that at least one stanza is missing at the start of the papyrus (Obbink (2014) 34, (2016b) 53; West (2014b) 7–8; contrast Bär (2016) 27–31, who argues for an inceptive use of ἀλλά.

[209] Mother addressed: Ferrari (2014) 4; Obbink (2014) 41–2; West (2014b) 7–8; Neri (2015) 58–60; Kurke (2016) 240, 251 n. 38. Sappho addressed: Obbink (2014) 41. Soliloquy: Bär (2016) 15–23. Other suggested addressees include another brother, Larichus (Stehle (2016) 268–70) or Erigyius/Eurygius (Lardinois (2016) 183–4; cf. *test.* 252–3), the absent Doricha (Bowie (2016b) 159–63) or various figures who are otherwise unmentioned in Sappho's extant poetry and testimonia: a nurse (Bettenworth (2014); Sironi (2015); Bär (2016) 16–17), uncle (Bierl (2016) 330) or sister (Bär (2016) 17–18; Gribble (2016) 50–1). A female addressee is most plausible since 'except in wedding songs, Sappho never addresses a man' (Schultz (2021) 132).

[210] Obbink (2014) 41; Kurke (2016) 239; Benelli (2017) I 95–6; O'Connell (2018) 244.

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gendered dismissal of 'women's prattle', in contrast to the socially sanctioned speech act of prayer (λίσσεσθαι, fr.10.10).[211]

In addition to this gendered resonance, however, it is also possible to take this initial 'chatter' as a reference to Sappho's own poetry. As Dirk Obbink has highlighted, Sappho's poems repeatedly refer to Charaxus in terms of his movement and travels: he is always said to have 'come' or be 'coming' somewhere or other.[212] Obbink thus suggests that these verses act as a kind of 'intertextual reference or self-citation', acknowledging the frequency with which Sappho's poetry chatters about Charaxus in this way.[213] Peter O'Connell has taken this argument even further by speculating that a real or notional 'welcome song' for Charaxus might underlie these words, given the lexical parallels shared with other archaic songs of that subgenre.[214] Sappho's words would then be evoking and critiquing a specific song from her larger repertoire – an attractive, if ultimately unprovable, conjecture.

Given the various ways in which these verses seem to recall Sappho's broader corpus, it may thus be possible to see a further indexical edge to **θρύλησθα**, especially if we take Sappho as the addressee ('You, Sappho, are always chattering in your poetry . . .').[215] The flexibility of the Sapphic speaking 'I' and the fact that Sappho is frequently addressed elsewhere in her extant corpus make this a plausible hypothesis.[216] As does the fact that later authors also employ the verb θρυλέω to refer to poetry and to index literary quotation: Plato and Polybius explicitly apply it to poetic chatter,[217] and Euripides'

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[211] Cf. Kurke (2016) 239–40; Swift (2018) 83–4. 'Women's prattle': cf. e.g. Theoc. *Id*. 2.142: Simaetha does not want to 'chatter' at length (θρυλέοιμι); *Id*. 15.87–8: a stranger criticises Gorgo and Praxinoa for their endless chattering (ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοισαι).

[212] E.g. fr. 5.2 (ἴκεσθα[ι]), fr. 10.5 (ἔλθην), fr. 10.11 (ἐξίκεσθαι), fr. 15.12 (ἦλθε); cf. too Hdt. 2.135.6 (ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην); Strabo 17.1.33 (κατάγοντος εἰς Ναύκρατιν); Ath. *Deipn*. 13.596b–c (εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος); Ov. *Her*. 15.117–18 (*itque redit-que*). For the possible Odyssean resonances here, see e.g. Nünlist (2014); Bär (2016) 23–7; Mueller (2016); Schultz (2021) 135–7.

[213] Obbink (2016c) 210; cf. already Obbink (2014) 41: a 'reflexive self-address on her own poetic discourse'.

[214] O'Connell (2018) 250–8 (cf. esp. νηὶ σὺν σ[μ]ικρῇ . . . ἦλθες, Archil. fr. 24.1–2).

[215] A suggestion already made by O'Connell (2018) 254–6, on whose arguments this paragraph builds; he describes θρύλησθα as an 'Alexandrian footnote'.

[216] Flexibility: e.g. fr. 102 (a young girl addressing her mother). Sappho addressed: e.g. by Aphrodite (fr. 1.15–24, fr. 65.5, fr. 133.2, fr. 159); by a departing friend (fr. 94.5).

[217] οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῖν **ἀεὶ θρυλοῦσιν**, Pl. *Phd*. 65b3; ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν . . . **θρυλούμενος**, Polyb. 2.16.6; cf. O'Connell (2018) 244.

Bellerophon uses it to introduce a quotation of a *gnome* that is '**chattered about** everywhere'.[218] Epicurus, meanwhile, uses the verb to mark a cross reference within his own work: φον[ὴ] μόνον ἀμ[ίβε]ται, καθάπερ **πάλαι θρυ[λῶ]** ('only the sound is changed, as **I have long been chattering**', fr. 34.30.5–7).[219] In a similar manner, Sappho's **θρύλησθα** may thus not only dismiss excessive female prattling, but also look back to her previous songs about Charaxus' travels, which are here revised and corrected in the face of fresh news.

Of course, the fragmentary opening of the poem resists absolute conclusions, but on available evidence it is plausible to see θρυλέω as a more colourful alternative to the likes of λέγω and φημί, indexing prior poetic speech. If so, this example is more direct and explicit than the other indices we have explored. In comparison to the third-person forms of φημί and the abstract nouns λόγος and αἶνος, the second-person **θρύλησθα** points to speech within a specific context – which is apt for the more self-reflexive nature of the index, within Sappho's own speech world. Yet this is not an isolated moment: in later chapters, we will see how Sappho similarly indexes engagement with her wider poetic traditions through appeals to memory (§III.3.3) and temporality (§IV.3.1 and IV.3.2). Her repeatedly indexed self-references contribute to her creation of a consistent story world and of distinctive song cycles.

Fifth-Century Footnotes: Pindar, Bacchylides, Skolia

It is in the fifth century, however, that indexical hearsay is particularly prominent. Bacchylides indexes his account of Heracles' *katabasis* in pursuit of Cerberus (**[π]οτ'**, 5.56; **λέγουσιν**, 5.57),[220] as well as his treatment of Euenus' harsh treatment of his daughter

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[218] τὸ ... πανταχοῦ **θρυλούμενον**, *Bellerophon*, fr. 285.1–2 *TrGF*. Bellerophon's *gnome* (that it is best for a mortal not to be born, fr. 285.2) is traditional: see e.g. Thgn. 425–6; Bacchyl. 5.160–2; Soph. *OC* 1224–5; Eur. fr. 908 *TrGF*; Arist. fr. 44 Rose; *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 7.

[219] Thus O'Connell (2018) 244 n. 40. Laursen (1997) 71 (ad *P. Herc.* 1191 -6 sup. 5/ 1056,7,4,2) lists Epicurus' internal cross references; cf. Long and Sedley (1987) II 108. Cf. too Antig. Car. 25a.2 (ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ **θρυλούμενον** ἔγραψεν, citing a variant of *Thebaid* fr. 8.1–2 *GEF*); Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 36b (τὸ παρ' Ἐπικούρου **θρυλούμενον ἀεί**, citing Epicurus fr. 204: cf. Hunter and Russell (2011) 203).

[220] Cf. *Il.* 8.367–9; *Od.* 11.623–6; Hes. *Theog.* 310–12. Burnett (1985) 198 n. 7 notes other possible links with the epic *Minyas*, Stesichorus' *Cerberus* (frr. 165a–b) and Cercops of Miletus' *Aegimius* (Robertson (1980)).

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Marpessa (**λέγουσι**, fr. 20a.14).[221] Yet it is Pindar who is the most intense and frequent footnoter of tradition. He indexically marks a wide range of myths, including Zeus's flooding of the earth and the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha (**λέγοντι** μάν, *Ol.* 9.49);[222] the deaths of Otus and Ephialtes, the theomachic sons of Iphimedeia and Aloeus (**φαντί**, *Pyth.* 4.88);[223] Ixion's words as he is turned on the wheel (**φαντί**, *Pyth.* 2.21);[224] Antaeus' audition of how Danaus once devised a way for his daughters to marry in Argos (**ἄκουσεν**, **ποτ'**, *Pyth.* 9.112);[225] Zeus's rape of Danae as a shower of gold (**φαμέν**, *Pyth.* 12.17);[226] Perseus' flight from the Gorgons (**λέγοντι** δὲ **βροτοί**, fr. 70a.15);[227] Zeus's keeping watch over Leto's birth pains (**λέγο[ντι]**, *Pae.* 12.9);[228] Cadmus' marriage of Harmonia (**ποθ'** . . . **[φ]άμα**, fr. 70b.27);[229] Zeus's fathering of Aeacus and Heracles (**λέγοντι**, *Nem.* 7.84); and the fame of Aeacus (**κλεινὸς** Αἰακοῦ **λόγος**, *Isth.* 9.1).[230] In many of these cases, we do not possess full earlier accounts of the myth in question, but from the limited picture we have, these indices seem to mark references to established and familiar traditions.

This impression is reinforced when we consider Pindar's indexical treatment of Trojan myth, where we have a clearer view of the traditions with which he could engage. In *Isthmian* 8, Zeus's assent to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is signposted with **φαντί** (*Isth.* 8.46a); the poet signals his engagement with the larger

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[221] Cf. *Il.* 9.555–64; Simon. fr. 563; the chest of Cypselus (Paus. 5.18.2); Bacchyl. 20 (esp. χρυσάσπιδος υἱὸ[ν Ἄρηος], 20.11 ~ [Ἄρ]εος χρυσολόφου παῖ[δα], fr. 20a.13–14).

[222] Cf. Hes. frr. 2–7, fr. 234; Epicharmus, *Pyrrha* (frr. 113–120 K–A); Gantz (1993) 164–6. D'Alessio (2005b) 220–8 and Pavlou (2008) 555 argue for a precise reference to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* here, but our limited knowledge from scanty fragments does not permit such a firm conclusion.

[223] Cf. *Il.* 5.385–91; *Od.* 11.305–20; Hes. fr. 19; Gantz (1993) 170–1.

[224] Cf. *Il.* 14.317–18; Aesch. *Ixion* (frr. 89–93 *TrGF*), *Perrhaebides* (frr. 184–6a *TrGF*); Soph. *Phil.* 676–9; Gantz (1993) 718–21.

[225] Cf. Hes. frr. 127–9; Phrynichus, *Aegyptoi* (fr. 1 *TrGF*), *Danaides* (fr. 4 *TrGF*); Aesch. *Danaid* trilogy, *PV* 853–69; Pind. *Nem.* 10.1–6; Gantz (1993) 203–8.

[226] Cf. Hes. fr. 135.4 (Διὶ χρυσει[); Pherec. fr. 10 *EGM*; Simon. fr. 543; Pind. *Nem.* 10.11; Soph. *Ant.* 944–50; Gantz (1993) 300–3.

[227] Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 270–81; *Scut.* 216–37; Pherec. fr. 11 *EGM*; Pind. *Pyth.* 12.11–12; Aesch. *Phorcides* (frr. 261–2 *TrGF*); Gantz (1993) 304–7.

[228] *HhAp.* 30–119; Thgn. 5–10; *Carm. Conv.* 886 *PMG* (N.B. **ποτ'**); Gantz (1993) 37–8.

[229] Hes. *Theog.* 937, 975; Thgn. 15–18; Pind. *Pyth.* 3.86–96; Gantz (1993) 471–2.

[230] *Il.* 21.189; Hes. fr. 205; Pind. *Nem.* 8.6–12, *Isth.* 8.17–23, *Pae.* 6.134–40; Gantz (1993) 219–21.

tradition of the pair's wedding and the threatening power of Thetis' offspring (§III.3.1). In *Pythian* 3, Nestor and Sarpedon are singled out as '**the talk of men**' (ἀνθρώπων φάτις, *Pyth.* 3.112), known to later generations from 'such resounding verses as wise craftsmen constructed' (*Pyth.* 3.113–14); we are invited to recall the pair's prominent role in early Greek epic, perhaps especially in the *Iliad*.[231] In *Olympian* 2, meanwhile, the poet indexes Ino's immortal life among the Nereids (λέγοντι, *Ol.* 2.28–30), an account which might look to the *Odyssey*'s specific description of her immortalisation and new life in the sea (*Od.* 5.333–5: cf. Σ *Ol.* 2.51d).[232] Given Ino's mentions elsewhere in archaic literature, a more general nod to her mythical *fabula* is more likely,[233] although an Odyssean reference would fit with the poem's larger appropriation of Homeric passages to construct a particular view of the afterlife.[234] Alongside his frequent indexing of non-Trojan myth, therefore, it is clear that Pindar frequently marked his mythical allusions through the language of hearsay, authorising his account with the backing of tradition.

Such appeals to hearsay are not restricted to the epinician genre in the fifth century, however. A similar indexical appeal to epic traditions is also visible in a pair of Attic *skolia* preserved by Athenaeus (15.695c = *Carm. Conv.* 898–9 *PMG*):

παῖ Τελαμῶνος, Αἶαν αἰχμητά, **λέγουσί** σε
ἐς Τροῖαν ἄριστον ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Ἀχιλλέα.

Son of Telamon, spearman Ajax, **they say** that you were the best of the Danaans to come to Troy after Achilles.

τὸν Τελαμῶνα πρῶτον, Αἴαντα δὲ **δεύτερον**
ἐς Τροῖαν **λέγουσιν** ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν καὶ Ἀχιλλέα.

Telamon, **they say**, was first among the Danaans to come to Troy, Ajax **second** alongside Achilles.

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[231] Spelman (2018a) 106–9; cf. §III.3.4. Though see §I.2.1 for the wider traditionality of Nestor. On the significance of this allusion: Sider (1991); A. M. Miller (1994).

[232] Esp. ἐν καὶ θαλάσσᾳ, *Ol.* 2.28, ἁλίαις, *Ol.* 2.29 ~ ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι, *Od.* 5.335.

[233] Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 976, fr. 70.1–7 (nursing of Dionysus: N.B. **κλέος**, fr. 70.5, 7), fr. 91 (apotheosis?: Hirschberger (2004) 79); Alcm. fr. 50b ('Ἰνὼ σαλασσομέδοισ': Calame (1983) 518–19): Nelson (forthcoming b).

[234] Cf. Hurst (2020).

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The first *skolion* focuses on the credentials of the Greek hero Ajax, gesturing to a well-established tradition of this hero as the second-best of the Achaeans. The sentiment recurs repeatedly in Homer and a variety of later authors, suggesting that it was a fixed part of Ajax's *fabula*.[235] Indeed, it is a crucial element of the hero's mythical biography, since it explains the great shame and anger he feels after he fails to beat Odysseus in the contest for Achilles' arms. The arms were a 'victory prize for the best' (τῷ ἀρίστῳ νικητήριον, Apollod. *Epit.* 5.6). Based on the form of tradition, Ajax should have been their rightful heir. Aided by the indexical **λέγουσι**, these verses thus evoke an established element at the heart of Ajax's mythical *fabula*.

The second *skolion*, however, builds on and caps the first by imitating its allusive strategy while simultaneously shifting its point of comparison from heroic excellence to temporal priority.[236] Ajax is now a peer of Achilles, but still in second place because his father Telamon beat him to Troy by a whole generation. The *skolion* picks up on and reworks the earlier poem's patronymic (παῖ Τελαμῶνος), as well as its concern with Ajax's status. Indeed, the hero is explicitly marked as **δεύτερος** here (in comparison to the first poem's ἄριστος), an adjective which may itself reflect this *skolion*'s secondary and epigonal status in relation to its predecessor.[237] Crucially, however, this poem clinches its argument through another appeal to hearsay, marking its allusion to another well-established element of Trojan myth: the tradition of Heracles' earlier expedition against Troy, in which Telamon played a key role.[238] Like its predecessor,

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[235] *Il.* 2.768–70, 13.321–5; *Il.* 17.279–80 = *Od.* 11.550–1; *Od.* 11.469–70 = *Od.* 24.17–18; Alc. fr. 387; Pind. *Nem.* 7.27–30; Soph. *Aj.* 1338–41; Eur. *Rhes.* 497. Cf. Ibyc. S151.32–4. At Troy, Achilles and Ajax were stationed at opposite ends of the Greek camp (*Il.* 11.7–9), 'the best fighters securing the army's flank' (Heath and Okell (2007) 365). The pair are also frequently associated in art (Brommer (1973) 334–9, 373–7; Brunori (2011)), e.g. the board-game scene on the Vatican amphora by Exekias, where the two warriors are presented symmetrically as near equals, but Achilles' helmeted head, higher stool and higher roll mark his superiority: Mommsen (1988) 447; Lowenstam (2008) 39–43; Mackay (2010) 327–51, (2019) 49–52.

[236] Cf. Reitzenstein (1893) 21; Davies (2020) 234. With this interpretation, the transmitted καί of 899.2 *PMG* makes perfect sense, and we have no need to accept Casaubon's μετ': cf. Fabbro (1995) 165–6.

[237] For this epigonal resonance of **δεύτερος**, cf. *Ol.* 1.43 (§IV.3.3 n. 253 below); Torrance (2013) 194–7.

[238] Heracles' expedition: *Il.* 5.638–42 (N.B. **φασί, ποτέ**); Hes. fr. 43a.63–4, fr. 165.10–14; Gantz (1993) 442–4. Telamon's involvement: Peisander fr. 10 *GEF*; Pind. *Nem.*

this *skolion* thus alludes to an established feature of the Trojan war *fabula* and legitimises its claim with an indexing **λέγουσιν**. As a pair, they both invoke familiar features of tradition to justify their competing perspectives on Ajax. As generically 'low' sympotic song, they invoke the lustre of epic to authorise their own status as literature.

Besides gesturing to the authority of tradition at large, however, the first *skolion* may also look back to a specific, famous instantiation of the Ajax-as-second-best motif. In *Odyssey* 11, when Odysseus encounters his adversary's shade, he not only recalls the arms contest (*Od.* 11.544–9) and twice expresses the second-best motif (*Od.* 11.469–70, 550–1) but also addresses the hero as παῖ Τελαμῶνος (*Od.* 11.553), the same apostrophe that we find in the *skolion*. This is a notably rare collocation that appears elsewhere only in Sophocles' *Ajax* (*Aj.* 183) and an anonymous epigram in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* 9.116.3), both in the context of the arms contest and its aftermath.[239] Given the unique combination of the motif with this rare vocative address, the *skolion* may thus look back to Odysseus' account of the Underworld encounter, an episode in which Ajax's status played an important role. Behind the vague **λέγουσι**, we could see a specific reference to Homer and Odysseus as the key authorities for this claim. Even in this case, however, we should be wary of overplaying the evidence, especially given the frequency with which Ajax is defined by his patronymic elsewhere in early Greek poetry (Τελαμωνιάδης, e.g. *Il.* 9.623, *Od.* 11.543, Pind. *Nem.* 4.47; υἱὸς Τελαμῶνος, *Il.* 13.177, 17.284, 17.293, Pind. *Nem.* 8.23). The collocation παῖ Τελαμῶνος is ultimately not as distinctive as it first seems. Alongside the numerous other evocations of the second-best motif, and further echoes of epic phraseology in the *skolion* itself,[240] it is thus more plausible to see here an

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3.36–7, 4.25, *Isth.* 5.36–7, 6.27–30; Soph. *Aj.* 434–6; Eur. *Tro.* 799–819; Hellanicus fr. 109 *EGM*.

[239] In Sophocles' drama, the phrase appears in the context of Ajax's frenzied revenge attempt on the Greek chieftains (with a potential echo of the *skolion* itself: G. S. Jones (2010)). In the epigram, Achilles' shield summons Ajax as its 'worthy bearer' (ἄξιον ἀσπιδιώτην).

[240] Ajax is classed as an αἰχμητής in his Iliadic duel with Hector: ἄμφω δ' αἰχμητά, *Il.* 7.281 (~ αἰχμητά, 898.1 *PMG*).

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evocation of a more general motif of the epic tradition, rather than one specific instantiation. The *skolion* poet musters the support of tradition to prove his point, invoking a familiar and well-established feature of Ajax's mythical *fabula*.

Indexing Texts: Pindar and Simonides on Hesiod

So far, we have seen that lyric poets frequently indexed their mythical references by appealing to hearsay, signposting and authorising their engagement with other traditions (or even perhaps specific texts: the *Cypria*, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*). In two further cases, however, we can be very confident that an index points to a precise text even in spite of the appeal to anonymous hearsay.

The first of these is found in Pindar's sixth *Pythian*, a poem which celebrates a Pythian chariot victory by Xenocrates of Akragas and dwells on the filial piety of his son Thrasybulus. The youth, Pindar claims, follows the advice which the centaur Cheiron once gave to the young Achilles (*Pyth.* 6.19–27):

σύ τοι σχεθών νιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ χειρός, ὀρθὰν
ἄγεις ἐφημοσύναν,
τά **ποτ'** ἐν οὔρεσι **φαντὶ** μεγαλοσθενεῖ
Φιλύρας υἱὸν ὀρφανιζομένῳ
Πηλεΐδᾳ παραινεῖν· μάλιστα μὲν Κρονίδαν,
βαρυόπαν στεροπᾶν κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν,
θεῶν σέβεσθαι·
ταύτας δὲ μή ποτε τιμᾶς
ἀμείρειν γονέων βίον πεπρωμένον.

Indeed, by keeping it at your right hand, you correctly follow the precept which **they say** Philyra's son **once** commended to the mighty son of Peleus in the mountains, when he was separated from his parents: above all gods to worship Cronus' son, deep-voiced lord of thunder and lightning; and never to deprive his parents of the same honour during their destined lifespan.

These instructions, to revere both the gods and one's parents, form a stock part of Greek moral didacticism.[241] But the scholia note a possible source for this maxim, the *Precepts of Cheiron*

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[241] E.g. Hes. *Op.* 331–2, 336–41; Aesch. *Eum.* 269–71, 538–49; Eur. fr. 853 *TrGF*; Gorg. *Epitaph.* fr. 6.4; Or. Sib. 2.59–60. Cf. Dihle (1968); West (1978a) 240; Kurke (1990) 89–90 n. 20.

(αἱ Χείρωνος Ὑποθῆκαι), a work attributed in antiquity to Hesiod (Σ *Pyth*. 6.22, quoting Hes. fr. 283):

> τὰς δὲ Χείρωνος ὑποθήκας Ἡσιόδῳ ἀνατιθέασιν, ὧν ἡ ἀρχή·
>   εὖ νῦν μοι τάδ' ἕκαστα μετὰ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι
>   φράζεσθαι· πρῶτον μέν, ὅτ' ἂν δόμον εἰσαφίκηαι,
>   ἔρδειν ἱερὰ καλὰ θεοῖς αἰειγενέτῃσιν.

> They attribute to Hesiod *The Precepts of Cheiron*, which begin as follows:

>> Now consider well each of these things in your prudent mind: first, whenever you arrive home, perform a beautiful sacrifice to the immortal gods.

Scholars have often taken this scholiastic note as evidence that the maxim in *Pyth*. 6.23–7 derives directly from this Hesiodic poem,[242] although the scholia do not quite say as much: all they actually claim is that Hesiod was attributed a poem on the same topic. Yet it is a plausible inference that Pindar had this specific poem in mind.[243] Both Pindar and Bacchylides appear to have alluded to the work elsewhere,[244] and the reverent and religious sensibility of the advice in *Pythian* 6 closely parallels the Hesiodic fragment's injunction to sacrifice to the gods. There are thus strong grounds for seeing φασί here directing Pindar's audience to a specific didactic predecessor. Given the fragmentary state of the Hesiodic poem, we cannot determine how Pindar manipulated his model, beyond his exploitation of Cheiron as an authorising figure of paraenetic authority.[245] But even from what remains, we can see that Pindar here indexed a precise citation through a vague appeal to hearsay.

    Our second example offers an even stronger case for a direct citation of a specific poetic predecessor. It is a particularly

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[242] Kurke (1990) 90; West (2011b) 62; Pavlou (2012) 107. Lowrie (1992) 420 n. 21 even supposes that 'honour your parents' immediately followed fr. 283's 'honour the gods' to match the sequence of thought in *Pythian* 6. Hutchinson (2001) 381 is more cautious.

[243] Cf. Spelman (2018a) 99.

[244] E.g. διδασκαλίαν Χείρωνος, *Pyth*. 4.102 (Braswell (1988) 192–3); *Pyth*. 9.29–65; *Nem*. 3.43–63 (D'Alessio (2005b) 232); ‹τ›αὶ δὲ Χίρωνος ἐντολαί, fr. 177c; Bacchyl. 27.34–8 (Merkelbach and West (1967) 143). Bacchylides' quotation of an otherwise unknown Hesiodic *gnome* (Bacchyl. 5.191–4 = Hes. fr. dub. 344) may derive from the Ὑποθῆκαι (Maehler (2004) 128; Cingano (2009) 100), although it may instead paraphrase *Theog*. 81–97 (Merkelbach and West (1967) 172). For the poem's broader reception and popularity in the fifth century BCE: Kurke (1990).

[245] Cf. *Pyth*. 9.29–65, *Nem*. 3.53–8; Halliwell (2009).

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well-known case of early Greek allusion, Simonides' fragment on the mountain of Arete (fr. 579):[246]

ἐστί τις λόγος
τὰν Ἀρετὰν ναίειν δυσαμβάτοισ' ἐπὶ πέτραις,
†νῦν δέ μιν θοαν†[247] χῶρον ἁγνὸν ἀμφέπειν·
οὐδὲ πάντων βλεφάροισι θνατῶν
ἔσοπτος, ᾧ μὴ δακέθυμος ἱδρὼς
ἔνδοθεν μόλῃ,
ἵκῃ τ' ἐς ἄκρον ἀνδρείας.

There is a certain tale that Arete dwells among rocks which are difficult to ascend . . . and occupies a holy place. She is not visible to the eyes of all mortals, but only to the one upon whom heart-biting sweat comes from within and who reaches the peak of manliness.

These lines are a clear adaptation of a passage from Hesiod's *Works and Days* on the diverging paths of ἀρετή and κακότης (*Op.* 287–92):

τὴν μέν τοι Κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἑλέσθαι
ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει·
τῆς δ' Ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

It is easy to seize Kakotes (Wretchedness) even in droves; the road is smooth, and she dwells very near. But the immortal gods have set sweat before Arete (Success/Virtue); the path to her is long and steep, and rugged at first. But when one reaches the peak, then the path is easy, difficult though it was.

Simonides' evocation of this passage is secured by a number of verbal and thematic parallels: in Simonides' fragment, Arete dwells (ναίειν, fr. 579.2 ~ ναίει, *Op.* 288 of Κακότης) among rocks which are 'difficult to ascend' (δυσαμβάτοισ', fr. 579.2), just as the Hesiodic path to Arete is 'long, steep and rough' (μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος . . . | καὶ τρηχύς, *Op.* 290–1); and both passages focus on reaching the pinnacle (ἵκῃ τ'ἐς ἄκρον, fr. 579.7 ~ εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται, *Op.* 291), an endeavour which requires much sweat (ἱδρώς, fr. 579.5 ~ ἱδρῶτα,

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[246] On the fragment's possible context (an encomiastic poem?): Rawles (2018) 64–8.
[247] For discussions of this notorious crux, see e.g. Giangrande (1971) 114–18; Poltera (1997) 557–61; Rawles (2018) 50–6.

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Op. 289).[248] Although Simonides attributes this image to a mere, indefinite **λόγος**, there is thus a clear connection to the *Works and Days* passage, a connection which is further reinforced by the personification of Arete: as Richard Hunter notes, personification is a typically Hesiodic trope, through which Simonides 'leaves little doubt stylistically as to which poet he is following'.[249] Behind its vague and riddling anonymity, the opening phrase **ἐστί τις λόγος** points not only to a familiar commonplace, but also to a specific literary predecessor.[250]

This anonymity also conceals Simonides' selective adaptation of his source. As scholars have highlighted, Simonides updates and rebrands Hesiod's original image, eliding all mention of Κακότης and injecting Ἀρετή with a more moral aspect. Whereas in Hesiod the noun stood largely for agricultural success and material prosperity, Simonides restricts it to those who exhibit manly virtue (ἀνδρεία), internalising the toil and struggle required to achieve it (cf. ἔνδοθεν, v. 6).[251] As Daniel Babut remarks, Simonides has 'profoundly modified the structure and significance' of Hesiod's parable, rebranding it into a moral object lesson.[252] Simonides' opening appeal to hearsay thus not only points to a precise literary predecessor, but also appropriates Hesiod's authority to legitimise his new moral outlook. Simonides presents a pointedly appropriative intertextuality, signposted through the indexical introduction: **ἐστί τις λόγος**.

In a host of lyric poets, therefore, indexical hearsay functioned as a way of marking allusion to other texts and traditions, appropriating their authority and signalling the poet's command of their sources. The phenomenon is very similar to what we saw in epic, but here we are often on far stronger ground when arguing for the precise citation

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[248] Cf. Poltera (2008) 445; Koning (2010) 147 n. 87; Hunter (2014) 142–3; Rawles (2018) 56–8.

[249] Hunter (2014) 143.

[250] In contrast to the verbal indices that we have encountered previously (φασί, λέγοντι, etc.), the noun λόγος may imply a greater level of specificity in its reference, but the indefinite τις pointedly avoids precision: cf. Alcaeus fr. 42.1 (ὡς **λόγος**: see above, 'Early Indices'); contrast Stesichorus, fr. 91a.1 (οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος **λόγος οὗτος**: §IV.3.2), where the deictic οὗτος is more direct.

[251] Babut (1975) 59–61; Canevaro (2015) 9.

[252] Babut (1975) 61: 'il en modifie profondément la structure et la signification', comparing his treatment of a saying of Pittacus: fr. 542.

of earlier texts. As Scodel once claimed for Pindar, 'What "they say" here may be what earlier canonical poetry said.'[253] But, as we have seen, this is not solely a Pindaric phenomenon. If we had more texts surviving from antiquity, it is plausible that we could identify further precise references in many of the other cases we have explored. As things stand, however, we are simply no longer in a position to track their precise contours.

II.3.2 *Suppression and Contestation*

In other lyric cases, we find more agonistic and polemical invocations of alternative details of myth, a phenomenon we have already seen in epic with Homer's allusion to Achilles' immortality (§II.2.4). In lyric poetry, too, we find instances where poets employ the language of hearsay to highlight their suppression of further details of a myth or their engagement with a particularly contestable point of tradition.

Suppressed Alternatives: Theognis on Atalanta

In Theognis' elegy on Atalanta, the footnoting **φασίν** invites an audience to situate a specific telling of a myth within its wider mythological context (Thgn. 1283–94):

> ὦ παῖ, μή μ' ἀδίκει· ἔτι σοι κα<τα>θύμιος εἶναι
>   βούλομαι, εὐφροσύνη τοῦτο συνεὶς ἀγαθῇ.
> οὐ γάρ τοί με δόλῳ παρελεύσεαι οὐδ' ἀπατήσεις·
>   νικήσας γὰρ ἔχεις τὸ πλέον ἐξοπίσω,
> ἀλλά σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, **ὡς ποτέ φασιν**
>   Ἰασίου κούρην παρθένον Ἰασίην
> ὡραίην περ ἐοῦσαν ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν
>   φεύγειν. ζωσαμένη δ' ἔργ' ἀτέλεστα τέλει,
> πατρὸς νοσφισθεῖσα δόμων ξανθὴ Ἀταλάντη·
>   ᾤχετο δ' ὑψηλὰς ἐς κορυφὰς ὀρέων
> φεύγουσ' ἱμερόεντα γάμον, χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης
>   δῶρα· τέλος δ' ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἀναινομένη.

Boy, don't wrong me. I still want to be dear to your heart, understanding this with good cheer. You won't pass by me with a trick, nor will you cheat me. For though you have been victorious and have an advantage in the future, yet I will wound you as you flee from me, **as once**, **they say**, the daughter of Iasius, the Iasian

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253 Scodel (2001) 124.

maiden, refused marriage with men and fled, though she was in her prime. Blonde Atalanta girded herself and accomplished fruitless deeds, after leaving her father's home. She went off to the lofty peaks of the mountains, fleeing lovely marriage, the gift of golden Aphrodite. But in the end she came to know it, despite her staunch refusal.

In these verses, the spurned speaker uses the exemplum of Atalanta to show that his addressee cannot run from him forever: just as Atalanta fled from marriage (γάμον . . . | φεύγειν, 1289–90; φεύγουσ' . . . γάμον, 1293), but eventually and unwillingly succumbed to its τέλος (1294), so too will the addressee, despite spurning love now (φεύγοντα, 1287), eventually feel the 'wound' of love (the speaker's τέλος).[254] Scholars have recently suggested that the introductory phrase **ὥς ποτέ φασιν** is 'a reference to poetic tradition'.[255] But more than that, I contend, it also encourages an audience to look beyond the bare details of Theognis' account to what the poet has left untold.

Kirk Ormand has noted that the opening verses of the poem, directed to the addressee, are larded with imagery evocative of racing and competition: the boy will not pass the speaker by (παρελεύσεαι, 1285 – a verb commonly used in agonistic contexts), the boy has been victorious (νικήσας, 1286) and the speaker will 'wound' his fleeing beloved (1287, evoking a scene of hunting or battle).[256] Given such preparatory clues, Theognis leads his audience to expect that the ensuing Atalanta exemplum will narrate the maiden's footrace against her suitors, known from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and several other later sources.[257]

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[254] Some suspect the unity of this poem and see the remnants of a sloppy join in 1288's 'extraordinary tautology' (West (1974) 166–7; cf. Vetta (1975), (1980) 80–2), but Renehan (1983) 24–7 has convincingly refuted this view (cf. Carey (1984); Koniaris (1984) 104–6; Ferrari (1989) 316–20). To further support 1288, we could note the common apposition of παρθένος and κόρη in Greek poetry (Bacchyl. 16.20–1; Eur. *Tro*. 553–4, *Hel*. 168; Ar. *Thesm*. 1138–9; Antiphanes fr. 55.9 K–A; Autocrates fr. 1.2 K–A; Callim. fr. 782 Pf., etc.), itself part of a widespread Greek tendency to juxtapose *genus* and *species* (e.g. βοῦς . . . ταῦρος, *Il*. 2.480–1: Dodds (1960) 206; Renehan (1980) 348, (1985) 148). Those still unsatisfied may find inspiration for emendation in other full-verse descriptions of Atalanta: Callim. *hArt*. 216; ps.-Aristot. *Pepl*. 44.

[255] Ziogas (2013) 178. Roman poets indexed the myth similarly: **ferunt** (Catull. 2b.1); *forsitan **audieris*** (Ov. *Met*. 10.560). For the indexical significance of ποτέ: §IV.

[256] Ormand (2013) 141–2.

[257] There is some confusion about the presence of two Atalantas in the mythological tradition: one Boeotian, the daughter of Schoeneus and future wife of Hippomenes, involved in the footrace; the other Arcadian, the daughter of Iasius and future wife of Melanion, abandoned by her father and later a hunter: Gantz (1993) 335–9; Barringer

But this expectation is frustrated. Instead of the race, we are simply told that Atalanta retreated into the lonely mountains (1292).

This omission is particularly striking since in some versions of the tale (most probably including the *Catalogue*), Atalanta was said to have raced after her suitors fully armed, imitating a hunt, and to have killed them if she overtook them.[258] Such a narrative of violence would more appropriately parallel the speaker's desire to 'wound' his fleeing beloved here (σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, 1287). Theognis' avoidance of this version is thus particularly surprising, all the more so since his ensuing narrative shares a number of phrases with the *Catalogue*'s treatment of the episode, especially fr. 73.4–5 and fr. 76.6:[259]

> πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀ]παναίνετο φῦλον ὁμιλ[εῖν
> ἀνδρῶν ἐλπομένη φεύγ]ειν γάμον ἀλφηστάων[.

She refused to keep company with the tribe [of humans, hoping to flee] marriage [with men] who eat bread.

> ἵετ' ἀναινομένη δῶρα [χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης]

She raced on, refusing the gifts [of golden Aphrodite].

Just as in Theognis, so too in the *Catalogue*, Atalanta flees from marriage and the gifts of Aphrodite (~ ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν | φεύγειν, Thgn. 1289–90; φεύγους' ἱμερόεντα γάμον, χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης | δῶρα, Thgn. 1293–4).[260] Admittedly, these parallels rely partly on reconstructions of the *Catalogue* which may be inspired by Theognis' verses. But these reconstructions are very plausible in their own right,[261] and even without any supplementation the

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(1996) 48–9; Fratantuono (2008) 346–52; Σ Eur. *Phoen*. 150; Σ Theoc. *Id*. 3.40–42d. I follow Ormand (2013) 139 in seeing these doublets as deriving from an originally single mythical figure, sharing 'the significant attributes of aversion to marriage and swiftness of foot' and reflecting the same basic trope of a woman paradoxically inhabiting a liminal, male, ephebic state (cf. Detienne (1979) 30–2; Ormand (2014) 121–2).

[258] Ormand (2014) 132–3. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.9.2; Hyg. *Fab*. 185.

[259] Cf. West (1974) 166; Ziogas (2013) 177–8.

[260] Cf. too fr. 76.10 δῶρα θε[ᾶς χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης].

[261] ἀνδρῶν is highly likely in fr. 73.5, since the adjective ἀλφηστής is always paired with ἀνήρ elsewhere in archaic epic (a combination also found in Attic tragedy: Aesch. *Sept*. 770, Soph. *Phil*. 708); the noun φῦλον is very frequently paired with a genitive plural

fragments still exhibit a clear emphasis on marriage and its refusal. Indeed, φεύγειν γάμον appears to have been a formula particularly associated with Atalanta's *fabula*. Besides its use in a misogynistic *gnome* by Hesiod (*Theog*. 603), it appears nowhere else in extant archaic literature, while Aristophanes' later use of the phrase for Atalanta's lover Melanion offers a playfully comic distortion of the same myth, as he – rather than Atalanta – runs in flight (*Lys*. 781–96).[262]

In Theognis' elegy, it is thus attractive to see the poet drawing on key vocabulary attached to the *fabula* of Atalanta's race, or even the *Catalogue*'s specific instantiation of it, reapplying this traditional phrasing to a different context: the mountains rather than the racetrack. Theognis elides the expected tale of the footrace, while still evoking it through the opening language of violent competition and several verbal echoes of its traditional *fabula*.[263] The effect is to maintain a more direct analogy between Atalanta and the recalcitrant παῖς as passive fleers of love. But the lingering echoes of the *Catalogue* tradition also align the speaker with the pursuing and violent Atalanta of the race story, destabilising any neat mapping. There may even be some irony in the sympotic speaker's failure to control the full meaning of his exemplum.

The introductory ὥς ποτέ φασιν thus invites an audience to integrate this particular version of the tale within their wider knowledge of the myth, to appreciate the poet's subtle appropriation and refashioning of a conflicted tradition. The phrase is not simply a mark of authority, but also a cue for the poet's audience to incorporate their broader knowledge of the myth and to consider the significance of what 'others say' about Atalanta, including – at least from our perspective – the poet of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.

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noun, e.g. θεῶν, γυναικῶν and esp. ἀνθρώπων (e.g. *Il*. 14.361; *Od*. 15.409; Hes. *Theog*. 556, *Op*. 90; *HhDem*. 352); and 'the gifts of (golden) Aphrodite' are a common epicism (*Il*. 3.54, 3.64; Hes. fr. 195.54 = *Scut*. 47; *HhDem*. 102).

[262] Note Aristophanes' indexical opening: **μῦθον** . . . ὅν **ποτ' ἤκουσ'** ('the **tale** which **I once heard**', *Lys*. 781). For Aristophanes' Melanion: Hawkins (2001) 143–7. Σ *Lys*. 785a notes the motif transference: μήποτε παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν εἴρηκεν. οὐ γὰρ Μειλανίων ἔφευγε μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἀταλάντη.

[263] For similar nods to alternative versions of the Atalanta myth by later authors, see Heslin (2018) 59–72 on Callim. *hArt*. 215–24 and Prop. 1.1.

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Is That So? Bacchylides on Heracles' Tears

An even more knowing gesture to contestable tradition comes in Bacchylides' fifth epinician, a poem whose embedded myth of Heracles' katabatic encounter with Meleager is introduced – as we have already noted – with a footnoting **λέγουσιν** (Bacchyl. 5.57: §II.3.1). Over 100 lines later, however, the narrative closes with a further index, framing Bacchylides' whole account in an allusive ring composition and placing additional weight on the poet's final claim (Bacchyl. 5.155–8):

> **φασὶν** ἀδεισιβόαν
>   Ἀμφιτρύωνος παῖδα μοῦνον δὴ τότε
> τέγξαι βλέφαρον, ταλαπενθέος
> πότμον οἰκτίροντα φωτός·

> **They say** that the son of Amphitryon, undaunted by the battle-cry, wetted his eyelids then and only then, pitying the fate of a man who has endured sorrow.

Such an indexical frame may mark the general traditionality of this episode: after all, Heracles' katabatic encounter with Meleager was also narrated by Pindar (fr. 70b, 249a, fr. dub. 346c). But in addition, Bacchylides' **φασίν** encourages an audience to recall other aspects of the myth beyond those directly relayed here. In claiming that Heracles shed tears in his life 'then and only then' (μοῦνον δὴ τότε, 5.156), the poet appears to be protesting a little too much, and his indexical appeal to hearsay invites his audience to recall another later occasion on which Heracles was also said to cry: his death by the poisoned robe he had received from his wife Deianeira.[264]

In Sophocles' later tragic account of that myth, the hero's tears are a prominent motif: Heracles seeks pity for his pitiable self (οἴκτιρόν τέ με | πολλοῖσιν οἰκτρόν, *Trach.* 1070–1; contrast his pitying of Meleager in Bacchylides: οἰκτίροντα, 5.158) and claims that he has never cried before (καὶ τόδ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς ποτε | τόνδ᾽ ἄνδρα φαίη πρόσθ᾽ ἰδεῖν δεδρακότα, | ἀλλ᾽ ἀστένακτος αἰὲν εἰχόμην κακοῖς, *Trach.* 1072–4). Sophocles' treatment post-dates Bacchylides'

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[264] On the myth: March (1987) 49–77; Gantz (1993) 431–4, 457–60; Romero-González (2021). Deianeira was an established part of tradition from at least the seventh century (Archil. frr. 286–8: cf. §III.3.1).

Ode,[265] so it cannot be a specific intertext for his epinician, but it is plausible that similar sentiments would have been expressed already in one of the many earlier treatments of the Heracles myth, especially given the hero's broader tearless reputation in antiquity.[266] After all, in Bacchylides' own dithyrambic treatment of the hero's demise, Fate is said to 'weave a shrewd, <u>tear-filled</u> plan' for Deianeira, a phrase that suggestively alludes to the tears that result from her jealous attempts to regain Heracles' love (ἄμαχος δαίμων | Δαϊανείρᾳ <u>πολύδακρυν</u> ὕφανε | μῆτιν ἐπίφρον᾽, Bacchyl. 16.23–5). And already in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, the narrative of Heracles' death (fr. 25.20–5) closes with the hero going down to the '<u>much-lamenting</u> house of Hades' (Ἀΐδ[αο <u>πολύστονον</u> ἵκε]το δῶμα, fr. 25.25), a phrase which – if we accept Merkelbach's plausible supplement – may not only evoke the generic doom and despair of the Underworld, but also the specific tears and lamentation of Heracles' end, a contrast to his previously ἀστένακτος existence.[267]

It is likely, therefore, that Heracles would have traditionally broken his tearless reputation only at the very end of his life, rather than in one chance encounter with a deceased hero in the middle of his labours. By importing the motif into Heracles' *katabasis* (an adventure that itself imitates the end of life), Bacchylides is thus self-consciously innovating, introducing an ominous allusion to the hero's future fate by means of 'motif transference'.[268] For a knowing audience, Bacchylides' claim that this was the only occasion on which Heracles cried would be transparently untraditional and open to question. The claim is supposed to be challenged, and **φασίν** marks it as such: 'who else has said this?' we are invited to ask. The answer? 'Nobody.' Just as in Agenor's Iliadic

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[265] The dating of *Trachiniae* is uncertain, but it almost certainly post-dates Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (458 BCE: Easterling (1982) 19–23). In any case, Sophocles' first production was only in 468 BCE, considerably after the date of Bacchylides' *Ode* 5 (476 BCE: Cairns (2010) 75–6). The story is different for Bacchylides' later *Ode* 16, which seems indebted to Sophocles' tragedy: Hoey (1979) 214–15; Riemer (2000); Foster (2019) 217–21; Hadjimichael (2021).

[266] E.g. Soph. *Trach.* 1199–1201; Theoc. *Id.* 24.31 (αἰὲν ἄδακρυν, 'always unweeping').

[267] Merkelbach's supplement is extremely plausible: cf. Soph. *OT* 29–30 for Hades' association with lamentation. πολύστονος is not used of the 'house of Hades' elsewhere, but other attested adjectives do not fit the remaining space: εὐρυπυλές (*Il.* 23.74; *Od.* 11.571), μέλαν (Thgn. 1014), μέγα (Thgn. 1124).

[268] Motif transference: §1.2.1–2; Burgess (2006). Currie (2016) 129 also suspects Bacchylidean invention.

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evocation of Achilles' mortality, the indexical **φασίν** highlights a point of tradition at the point where it is most contestable.[269]

An audience member who makes such a connection with Heracles' future death, moreover, would find great irony in the fact that this Underworld encounter with Meleager is also the very moment that precipitates Heracles' future tears. It is in this meeting that the Theban hero first hears of his future wife Deianeira, Meleager's sister (Δαϊάνειραν, 5.173). The closing reference to Deianeira as 'still without experience of golden Cypris, that enchantress of men' (νῆϊν ἔτι χρυσέας | Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου, 5.174–5) is especially pointed, since Deianeira will kill Heracles precisely when she resorts to magic and θέλξις in an attempt to regain his love, the domain of Cyprian Aphrodite.[270] Bacchylides' **φασίν** is thus extremely loaded, inviting his audience to challenge his assertion and recall another occasion on which Heracles was traditionally thought to have cried. Indeed, Heracles' Underworld tears proleptically foreshadow those which are still to come.[271] Ultimately, Heracles' fate is not very dissimilar to Meleager's own, and Heracles is not far from the truth when he suspects that he will be killed by Meleager's murderer (5.89–91). Their killers are not the same, but still very similar: close female relatives, δαΐφρων Althaea (5.137) and Deianeira (Δαϊάνειραν, 'man-destroyer', 5.173).[272] Both heroes thus prove to be archetypal embodiments of the maxim which introduced Bacchylides' extended narrative: 'no man is fortunate in all things' (οὐ | γά‚ρ τις‚ ἐπιχθονίων | π‚άντ‚α γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφυ, 5.53–5). Far from simply highlighting the traditionality of Bacchylides' account,

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[269] Later authors continue to adapt the 'first tears' motif: cf. Maehler (2004) 125. Notably, Euripides playfully inverts Sophoclean temporality in *Hercules furens*: the hero weeps after slaughtering his children (*HF* 1353–6), 'earlier' in literary time, but 'later' from the perspective of literary history: Suter (2009) 67.

[270] Thus Campbell (1982a) 432, comparing the θελκτήρια of Aphrodite's girdle (*Il.* 14.215). Cf. Lefkowitz (1969) 86–7; Cairns (2010) 243–4; Willigers (2017) 116–17. Some also see a further positive allusion to Heracles' subsequent apotheosis: Goldhill (1983) 78 n. 31; Stenger (2004) 154–7.

[271] Burnett (1985) 146; Currie (2016) 129.

[272] For the acoustic jingle, see Lefkowitz (1969) 86; cf. too δαΐφρων of Artemis (Bacchyl. 5.122), another destructive female in the poem. All three are also presented as daughters: Artemis: κούρα, 104; θυγάτηρ, 124; Althaea: κούρα, 137; Deianeira: θυγάτρων, 167. The epithet δαΐφρων may also evoke the firebrand of the Meleager myth: Cairns (2010) 89.

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this concluding index encourages an audience to situate this specific version within their wider knowledge of the myth, emphasising the contestability of tradition and looking forward to Heracles' traditional tears that are still to come.

As in Theognis, Bacchylides' use of indexical hearsay thus has an agonistic edge. The index encourages an audience to set rival and competing alternatives against each other. Theognis relocates Atalanta's asceticism from the racecourse to the mountains, and Bacchylides invites his audience to challenge the assertion that Heracles cried only in his meeting with Meleager, rather than at the traditional moment of his death. As in epic, so too in lyric: indexical appeals to hearsay frequently emphasise the flexibility and fierce contestability of the mythical tradition.

II.3.3 The Poetics of Supplementation

These last examples, those of Theognis and Bacchylides, also exhibit an aspect of indexical hearsay that is considerably widespread in lyric – indices which invite an audience to supplement the immediate narrative at hand with their larger knowledge of tradition. Just as Bacchylides invites audiences to recall Heracles' future demise at the hands of Deianeira, so too do other lyric poets frequently prompt an audience to supplement their sparse telling of a myth with further details. Such an invitation to 'fill in the gaps' was less common in epic. It presumably stems from lyric poetry's briefer and more self-contained treatment of myth, with very few extensive narrations. Within lyric poets' selective treatments of a story, indexical appeals to hearsay evoke other untold details that complicate, ironise and enrich the present telling.

A familiar case of such signposted supplementation is Sappho fr. 44, an epicising fragment on the wedding of Hector and Andromache. When the Trojan herald Idaeus predicts future κλέος ἄφθιτον ('undying **fame**') as a result of the marriage (fr. 44.4), the audience are invited to supplement Sappho's selective treatment of the myth with their wider knowledge of the couple's famous but unhappy future: Hector's death,

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Andromache's enslavement and their son's brutal murder.[273] Even at this joyous moment of marriage, Sappho's invocation of the pair's 'undying fame' invites her audience to incorporate their awareness of the larger Trojan war tradition or even the *Iliad* specifically, looking forward to the end of their marriage, just as Homer, at Hector's death, looks back to its very start (*Il.* 22.466–72).[274] In this case, the spur to supplement is particularly strong given the emphatically epic resonance of the phrase **κλέος** ἄφθιτον (cf. *Il.* 9.413, Hes. fr. 70.5). But other appeals to hearsay can also encourage audiences to draw on their broader knowledge of tradition.

Ibycus and Cassandra's Fame

A less well-known invitation to 'fill in the gaps' occurs in a short fragment of Ibycus, whose context is now lost (fr. 303a):

> γλαυκώπιδα Κασσάνδραν
> ἐρασιπλόκαμον Πριάμοιο κόραν
> **φᾶμις ἔχηισι βροτῶν**.

The talk of mortals keeps hold of grey-eyed Cassandra, Priam's daughter with lovely locks.

Cassandra is here presented as a traditional figure of myth, within the grip of *fama* itself, as indeed she was. She appears in a number of archaic epic poems, where her beauty is similarly highlighted (cf. ἐρασιπλόκαμον, v. 2): in the *Iliad*, she is the most beautiful of Priam's daughters (13.365–6) and directly likened to Aphrodite (24.699). Yet besides her epic appearances, she also features in Alcaeus, Bacchylides and Pindar, as well as

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[273] Similarly, Spelman (2017) 753. The phrase also acknowledges Sappho's role in preserving this κλέος (Budelmann (2018a) 141) and may look back to the Iliadic Hector's hope for future κλέος (*Il.* 7.86–91: Xian (2019)). Cf. **ὔμνην** in the final verse (fr. 44.34), a self-reflexive nod to the songs produced about the couple. Other lyric instances of κλέος and its compounds similarly index tradition: Stesichorus' *Sack of Troy* (**κλέος**, fr. 100.14; [ἀ]**νθρώπους κλέο[ς]**, fr. 117.9; [T]ροΐας **κλεεννό[ν]**, fr. 117.6); Simon. fr. *eleg.* 11.13–15 (ἀοίδιμον, κλέος; cf. ἀγλαόφη[με], fr. *eleg.* 10.5); Ibyc. S151 (see immediately below).

[274] Kakridis (1966); Rissman (1983) 119–48; Meyerhoff (1984) 118–39; Schrenk (1994); Pallantza (2005) 79–88. Even if one is wary of accepting specific allusions to the *Iliad* here (e.g. Kelly (2015a) 28–9), the traditional *fabula* of the couple's impending fate will still hover in the background.

frequently in archaic art.[275] In Ibycus' own Polycrates Ode, she appears again as the subject of song (**[ὑμ]νῆν** Κασσάνδραν, S151.12) in a poem that similarly emphasises her physical attractiveness ('slender-ankled', τανί[σφ]υρ[ον], S151.11), as well as the traditionality of the Trojan war myth: 'the **much-sung** strife' ([δῆ]ριν **πολύυμνον**, S151.6) around the '**most renowned**' city of Troy (**περικλεές**, S151.2). The short Ibycan fragment in question here, however, lacks a clear context. It is unlikely to be a complete poem, given the subjunctive ἔχησι, but we do not know what came before or after it. Even so, the extant verses exhibit a strong epic flavour, akin to Sappho fr. 44 with their epic-style compound adjectives and -οιο genitive ending. As in Sappho's fragment, we are thus encouraged to think of this φᾶμις as taking a specifically epic form.

But more than this, given the traditional resonance of the fragment's epithets, the indexical **φᾶμις** may also point to a specific moment in Cassandra's mythical biography. The adjective γλαυκῶπις is a notably unusual choice for Cassandra: besides its appearance here, it is only ever used of Athena in archaic epic and lyric. Indeed, it is a stock epithet of the goddess, used over ninety times of her in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* alone.[276] Given its traditional association, Ibycus' innovative redeployment of the epithet for Cassandra suggests a close association between the goddess and the Trojan princess.[277] As Claire Wilkinson has suggested, the resulting link may parallel the beauty of both figures, but it also evokes the story of Cassandra's rape by Locrian Ajax, an episode in which Athena played a central role. Not only did the rape take place in her temple at Troy, violating the goddess' cult statue, but Athena was also the one to punish Ajax with death at sea and the rest of the

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[275] Epic: *Il.* 13.365–6, 24.699–706; *Od.* 11.421–3; *Cypr.* arg. 1d *GEF*. Lyric: Alc. fr. 298; Bacchyl. 23; Pind. *Pyth.* 11.33, *Pae.* 8a. Art: *LIMC* s.v. 'Aias II'.

[276] *Iliad* (36×), *Odyssey* (57×), *Homeric Hymns* (7×), Hesiod (12×); cf. Tyrtaeus fr. 2.16; Stesichorus fr. 18.3; Peisander fr. 7.1 *GEF*; Pind. *Ol.* 7.51, *Nem.* 7.96, 10.7, fr. 70d.38–9. Empedocles applies the epithet to the moon (D132.3 L–M), followed by Euripides (fr. 1009 *TrGF*) and Nonnus (*Dion.* 5.70).

[277] Cf. *Thebaid* fr. 11 *GEF*, where Adrastus' horse Arion is called κυανοχαίτης, a traditional epithet of Poseidon: Paus. 8.25.7–8 reports that the verse was understood to hint (αἰνίσσεσθαι) at Arion's descent from Poseidon.

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Greeks with a stormy *nostos*.[278] Through the unusual adjective, Ibycus gestures to this specific aspect of Cassandra's mythical *fabula*, supported by the indexical force of φᾶμις.

This allusion is reinforced further by the other adjective used to describe Cassandra in these verses, ἐρασιπλόκαμος ('lovely-locked'). This is a very rare epithet, used elsewhere in extant Greek literature before late antiquity only twice of other mythical rape victims: of Tyro, who was raped by Poseidon (Τυροῦς ἐρασιπλοκάμου γενεά, *Pyth*. 4.136; cf. παῖ Ποσειδᾶνος, 4.138), and of the Muse Calliope, who gave birth to Orpheus after being raped by Oeagrus or Apollo (Μούσας ἐρασιπ[λοκάμου], Bacchyl. 29d.9).[279] It thus appears to have been an epithet especially used to describe victims of male sexual violence. Its use here would further encourage the recall of Cassandra as Ajax's victim, just as γλαυκῶπις evokes Cassandra as a favourite of Athena.[280] Given these hints, it would be unsurprising if these Ibycan verses were originally followed by a narrative account of the rape, similar to that we find in Alcaeus fr. 298; the allusive hints in Ibycus' language would then set the course for the ensuing narrative. But even if the original poem contained nothing more than a passing reference to Cassandra, its vocabulary, alongside the indexical **φᾶμις**, still points to a specific moment in the heroine's *fabula*. Ibycus' allusive index invites an audience to look beyond (and through) his immediate words to harness the larger, unexpressed tradition that lies beyond them.

Sappho and the Tithonus Myth

As a final example, we may turn to a particularly rich instance of such signposted supplementation: the recently reconstituted Sapphic poem on Tithonus and old age. In this poem, the poet's persona laments her ageing physique before ending with a

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[278] Cf. Wilkinson (2013) 277. Cf. *Il. Pers.* arg. 3 *GEF*; Alc. fr. 298. Art: Gantz (1993) 655.
[279] Tyro: §11.2.4. Calliope: Prop. 2.30.35–6; Fedeli (2005) 865–6. On this epithet, see Braswell (1977).
[280] For the allusive potential of Ibycus' epithets elsewhere, cf. Barron (1969) 133–4; Steiner (2005).

mythical exemplum that proves mortals' inability to escape senile decrepitude (Sapph. fr. 58c.8–12):[281]

ἀγήραον, ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ᾽, οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι.
καὶ γάρ **π[ο]τα** Τίθωνον **ἔφαντο** βροδόπαχυν Αὔων,
ἔρῳ δεδάθεισαν, βάμεν᾽ εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισα[ν,
ἔοντα [κ]άλον καὶ νέον, ἀλλ᾽ αὖτον ὔμως ἔμαρψε
χρόνῳ πόλιον γῆρας, ἔχ[ο]ντ᾽ ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν.

It is not possible for a human to become ageless. Yes, for **they used to say** that **once** rose-armed Dawn, schooled by love, went to the ends of the earth carrying away Tithonus since he was young and beautiful; but even still, grey old age eventually grasped hold of him, even though he had an immortal wife.

Tithonus, the mortal husband of Dawn, is introduced to prove that even those intimately connected with the gods cannot escape old age: γῆρας still seized him, just as it did frail Laertes in the *Odyssey* (κατὰ γῆρας ἔμαρψεν, *Od*. 24.390, cf. fr. 58c.11–12). At the outset, this tale is indexically marked as the subject of hearsay and a familiar part of tradition (**ἔφαντο**, fr. 58c.9). Indeed, Tithonus was a well-known mythical character from Homer onwards. In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, he is already the spouse of Dawn, lying in her bed as she rises to inaugurate the day (*Il*. 11.1–2, *Od*. 5.1–2), while in Hesiod, he and Dawn are named as the parents of Memnon and Emathion (*Theog*. 984–5). He may also, moreover, have made an appearance in the *Aethiopis* and its associated traditions, in which his son Memnon also receives immortality thanks to the intervention of Dawn (*Aeth*. arg. 2e *GEF*).[282] However, it is only a little later that we first encounter clear evidence for the tradition of his flawed immortality, as evoked here by Sappho: he was granted exemption from death, but he could not stop the process of ageing and gradually withered away. In addition to Sappho fr. 58c, this tradition of

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[281] The text was first published by Gronewald and Daniel (2004a), (2004b) and has since received a flurry of scholarly attention, although the papyrus' provenance is as insecure as that of *P. Sapph. Obbink*: Nash (2020); Mazza (forthcoming). On the poem, see esp. West (2005a); Greene and Skinner (2009); Budelmann (2018a) 146–52. Here, I follow the text of Janko (2017), especially for v. 10 δεδάθεισαν; on this textual crux, cf. Benelli (2017) II 288–93; Budelmann (2018a) 151–2; Neri (2021) 672.

[282] Brown (2011) 24 with n. 17. In their immortality, father and son form a narrative doublet, a common feature of early Greek epic: cf. Fenik (1974) 131–232; Kelly (2007b); Sammons (2013), (2017) 101–25.

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Tithonus' unavoidable ageing appears in the work of Sappho's contemporary Mimnermus (fr. 4), as well as more extensively in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, when Aphrodite introduces Tithonus' plight as an exemplum for Anchises of the dangers of divine–mortal relations (*HhAphr.* 218–38).[283] Sappho's ἔφαντο thus points to a well-established tradition of Tithonus as Dawn's spouse and a figure of perpetual ageing.[284] Indeed, it may even point to our *Homeric Hymn* as a privileged intertext.[285]

Besides invoking a specific tradition or text, however, Sappho's ἔφαντο also prompts her audience to recollect an aspect of the myth about which others have previously 'talked', but which she leaves unmentioned here: Tithonus' subsequent transformation into a cicada. The Trojan prince wasted away to such an extent that he eventually became a tiny insect that feeds only on dew, left with nothing more than his own beautiful voice – an *aetion* to explain the fact that cicadas start chirping around dawn. The earliest explicit mention of this metamorphosis comes from Hellanicus of Lesbos in the fifth century – notably, a compatriot of Sappho, perhaps suggesting a particularly Lesbian or Aeolic interest in this myth (fr. 140 *EGM*).[286] Yet earlier texts already hint at this tradition, especially the *Homeric Hymn*. As Johannes Kakridis has argued, the description of Tithonus' ceaselessly flowing voice matches the constant chirping of the cicada (φωνὴ ῥέει ἄσπετος, *HhAphr.* 237), and he is locked away in his chamber like a cicada in a basket (*HhAphr.* 236).[287] More significantly, Richard Janko notes that the description of 'shedding old age' (ξῦσαί τ' ἄπο γῆρας, *HhAphr.* 224) evokes the tradition of cicadas shedding their skin, playing on the polyvalent potential of γῆρας to

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[283] Mimnermus: Janko (1990). Tithonus also appears in Tyrtaeus as an example of great beauty (fr. 12.5); there is no direct mention of his aged wasting, but if an audience recalled it, it would add a poignant note, acknowledging the transitory nature of this beauty: cf. Shey (1976) 9; §III.3.2.

[284] Cf. Hardie (2005) 28; Rawles (2006) 3. For other nuances: Janko (2017) 275–6.

[285] Rawles (2006) 1–4; de Jong (2010) 156–60. Note ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης (*HhAphr.* 227) ~ εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς (fr. 58c.10); ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως (*HhAphr.* 214) ~ ἀγήραον (fr. 58c.8), ἀθανάταν (fr. 58c.12). Faulkner (2008) 270 lists further verbal parallels but suspects a 'common model'. Sapph. fr. 44 may also show awareness of the *Hymn*: Janko (1982) 169–70; Faulkner (2008) 45–7.

[286] Cf. Janko (2017) 285–6.

[287] Kakridis (1930a); cf. West (2003a) 177. Faulkner (2008) 276 and Carrara (2011) 103–9 remain sceptical.

mean both 'old age' and 'exuvia',[288] while Richard Rawles has suggested that the rare noun κῖκυς ('strength', *HhAphr.* 237) puns on the 'kik' sound of the insect (a sound also reflected in the insect's Latin name, *cicada*, and in Greek vocabulary: κίκους· ὁ νέος τέττιξ, '*kikous*: the young cicada', Hsch. κ 2662).[289]

Despite no explicit mention, therefore, the hymnic poet leaves a number of traces that hint at the cicada metamorphosis, suggesting that this feature of the myth may have also been in the background of Sappho's fragment.[290] Indeed, the metamorphic myth could even be traced back to the *Iliad*, with its famous comparison of Trojan elders to cicadas (*Il.* 3.149–53). Just like their relative Tithonus, these aged men are worn down by old age (γήραϊ, 150), and though no longer fit for battle, they remain good speakers (ἀγορηταὶ | ἐσθλοί, 150–1).[291] The simile encapsulates the core elements of Tithonus' transformation: the physical decay of the body, but the enduring power of the voice. It is thus certainly possible that this metamorphosis already formed an established part of the literary tradition with which Sappho worked. And indeed, Helen King has argued that another Sapphic fragment may even allude to the myth directly.[292] We could thus interpret **ἔφαντο** here as another act of signposted supplementation, prompting audiences to consider the larger tradition of the story with which they are familiar. As Rawles notes, such a reference would certainly resonate against the poem's larger concerns, adding a note of consolation to the dreary inevitability of old age. The insect's enduring voice parallels the poetess' immortal song: although Sappho's body cannot conquer death, her poetry certainly can.[293]

Sappho's **ἔφαντο**, like her **κλέος** in fr. 44, thus gestures to larger Trojan traditions: Tithonus' marriage to the immortal Dawn, his inescapable ageing and his eventual transformation into a cicada. In our discussion so far, however, I have avoided commenting on

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[288] Janko (2017) 288; cf. Brown (2014).   [289] Rawles (2006) 6.
[290] Cf. Pataki (2015). The overall muting of the metamorphosis fits Aphrodite's rhetorical strategy in the *Hymn*: King (1986) 27–30.
[291] Cf. Σ D *Il.* 3.151; Janko (2017) 286.
[292] King (1986) 27 n. 22: χρόα γῆρας ἤδη, Sapph. fr. 21.6 (cf. fr. 58c.3).
[293] Rawles (2006) 6–7; cf. Janko (2017) 288–9.

one feature of Sappho's 'footnote' that has caused a great deal of scholarly consternation: its unusual past tense. Instead of the usual φασί, we have the imperfect **ἔφαντο**, a form elsewhere found predominantly in epic.[294] There have been many attempts to explain the apparent anomaly,[295] but one particularly intriguing suggestion is that of Luca Bettarini, who has argued that the verb's tense establishes a contrast between two different versions of the Tithonus myth, one old and outdated, the other new and current.[296] According to his argument, Sappho's predecessors 'used to say' that Tithonus became immortal *and* ageless, remaining both young and beautiful ([κ]ᾱλον καὶ νέον, v. 11), with no negative complications. Such a tradition, he argues, is reflected in Homeric dawn periphrases (*Il.* 11.1–2, *Od.* 5.1–2), where Eos is pictured rising from the side of Tithonus, a detail that others too have taken to imply that – in Homer at least – 'he was immortal and ageless like her'.[297] In Sappho's day, by contrast, following Bettarini's argument, Tithonus is said to be immortal *but* still ageing: in this newer and still current version, even he could not escape the onset of γῆρας. For Bettarini, Sappho's **ἔφαντο** thus points to a former tradition that is no longer active, contrasting it with the more recent and complicated instantiation of the myth with which she is concerned. If true, Sappho's index here would not only point to other texts and traditions but also exhibit an intense literary historical awareness, reflecting on the diachronic development of a specific myth.

Some support for this reading may be found in Pindar, who elsewhere similarly distinguishes different versions of a single myth. Christopher Brown compares Pindar's first *Olympian*, where the envious gossip of Pelops' neighbour (also expressed with the imperfect: ἔννεπε, *Ol.* 1.47) is set against Pindar's more

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[294] *Il.* 6.501, 12.106, 12.125, 17.379; *Od.* 1.194, 4.638, 13.211; *Hh.* 7.11.

[295] Edmunds (2006) 24 sees a contrast between what Sappho used to hear and think about old age, and what she understands now; Lardinois (2009) 47 sees a hint that the story dates back to a time before Sappho's addressees were born.

[296] Bettarini (2007) 1–5. Cf. Brown (2011) 22: 'the imperfect seems to suggest something that is no longer true, although once asserted', although he goes on to see this contrast in the mythical world of the story, rather than as a fact of literary history.

[297] Janko (2017) 280; cf. Meyerhoff (1984) 190; Bettarini (2007) 2–4; Brown (2011) 24; Carrara (2011) 92–3.

'recent' version of the myth (*Ol.* 1.35–52: §IV.3.3).[298] An even closer parallel, however, can be found in Pindar's first *Nemean*, where the poet claims that he is rousing up an '**old tale**' (ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων **λόγον**, *Nem.* 1.34). This appears to contrast his traditional account of Heracles' infancy (possibly derived from Peisander's epic *Heraclea*)[299] with a more recent version, perhaps Pherecydes' near-contemporary rationalisation of the myth (in which Amphitryon, not Hera, sent the snakes: frr. 69a–b *EGM*).[300] If Pindar could draw such a distinction between different versions of the same myth, we may indeed wonder whether Sappho could do the same a century earlier.[301]

However, I am sceptical whether ἔφαντο alone can mark the differentiation that Bettarini requires of it. At first, his argument appears to be supported by the syntax of these verses: only the claim that Eos 'went' to the ends of the earth with Tithonus is strictly part of the indirect speech introduced by ἔφαντο, whereas the onset of old age is described by the poet herself with the indicative ἔμαρψε. The hearsay is thus strictly restricted to Tithonus' alleged immortality. However, such a transition from *oratio obliqua* to direct speech can be paralleled elsewhere without implying any significant shift in the truth value of the content: for example, Simonides' Arete fragment (fr. 579: §II.3.1) moves from an accusative and infinitive construction (τὰν Ἀρετὰν ναίειν, v.2; ἀμφέπειν, v. 3) to the nominative ἔσοπτος (v. 5, with ἔστί understood) without any clear change in meaning.[302] Stronger support for Bettarini's case may still

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[298] Brown (2011) 25. For such change in tradition over time, cf. too Hes. fr. 296 on the island of Euboea: the gods previously called it Abantis (πρὶν . . . κίκλησκον), but Zeus changed its name to Euboea.

[299] Peisander: Braswell (1992) 57.

[300] For the different versions: Rosenmeyer (1969) 243; Braswell (1992) 54–5. Contrast Loscalzo (1988) 72. Cf. Eur. *IA* 78, where **παλαιούς** similarly appears to restate tradition against Thucydides' recent rationalisation of the Tyndarid oath (Willink (1971) 347–8). Such polemic fits the authors' chronology: Pherecydes' *Historiai* have been dated between 508/7 and 476/5 BCE (Jacoby (1947) 33), although a date in the early 470s seems most plausible (Huxley (1973) 140–1). *Nemean* 1 is dated after the foundation of Aetna in 476/5 BCE; Braswell (1992) 25–7 suggests 469 BCE.

[301] For a later parallel, cf. e.g. *Batrach.* 8 (ὡς **λόγος** ἐν **θνητοῖσιν** ἔην), which seems to contrast the past popularity of the Gigantomachy myth with the present *Batrachomyomachia*: Hosty (2020) 128.

[302] Cf. Rawles (2018) 51–6.

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perhaps be found in the verb ἔφαντο, which often appears else-where in epic contexts 'of false hopes or promises',[303] a trad-itional reference that would resonate effectively here: they said (or 'thought') that Tithonus was immortal, free from the usual handicaps of mortality, but this was ultimately not true. However, in spite of these supporting arguments, we should question Bettarini's neat notion of a continuous development from one version of the Tithonus myth to another, an evolutionary model which fails to account for the potential of an ongoing interchange and dialogue between different versions in different contexts. We have, after all, already seen potential hints of Tithonus' cicada transformation in the *Iliad*, while even the Homeric dawn peri-phrases do not explicitly contradict the version of Tithonus' continuous ageing. Elsewhere in the *Iliad*, Tithonus is named as a son of Laomedon, a brother of Priam and cousin of Anchises (*Il.* 20.237). Even if he had not achieved eternal youth, therefore, he would still have been within the usual life cycle of a human being during the events of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[304] There is, in short, no reason for seeing the Homeric formula as evidence for an earlier, more primitive version of the myth in which Tithonus enjoyed an unblemished immortality.

The anomaly of the past tense has also been considerably overplayed; it is not in fact without parallel. Besides the archaic and classical examples cited by other scholars,[305] it is particularly worth comparing Aratus' Hellenistic account of Orion's rape of Artemis and the huntsman's subsequent death from a scorpion sting (*Phaen.* 634–46). Just as in Sappho, this tale is attributed to the talk of the poet's predecessors with the imperfect ἔφαντο (προτέρων λόγος, οἵ μιν ἔφαντο, *Phaen.* 637), and it also transitions from an infinitive to a simple

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[303] Graziosi and Haubold (2010) 225.

[304] Carrara (2011) 93 notes that in the *Hymn*, Aphrodite claims that Dawn stayed away from Tithonus' bed as soon as his first grey hairs appeared (*HhAphr.* 228–30), but this may be rhetorical exaggeration to suit her immediate argument.

[305] E.g. Edmunds (2006) 24 n.10: ἐπευθόμεθα (*Il.* 9.524); μῦθον . . . ὅν ποτ' ἤκουσ' . . . ἔτι παῖς ὤν (Ar. *Lys.* 781–2); de Jong (2010) 159–60: Ἑλλήνων μέν τινες . . . ἔλεξαν (Hdt. 2.20.1 ~ Thales of Miletus); Willigers (2017) 122: ὡς φάσαν (*Il.* 4.374). Cf. Westlake (1977) 349 on Thucydides: 'there does not, however, seem to be much significance in his choice of tense, and it is seldom clear why he prefers the present to the past or vice versa'.

indicative during the course of its narration (ἐλκῆσαι, *Phaen.* 638; ἡ δὲ ... ἐπετείλατο, *Phaen.* 641). Yet it ends with a present **φασί** in a kind of ring composition (*Phaen.* 645), marking the complementarity of past and present speech. Both φασί and ἔφαντο can thus be used to gesture to other traditions, even within a single passage. Despite its attractions, therefore, we cannot maintain the distinction which Bettarini draws between the two versions of the Tithonus myth, or the significance he places on Sappho's imperfect. Rather, I contend, **ἔφαντο** functions like any other index of hearsay, whether in the present or a past tense, alerting an audience member to other tellings of this myth and inviting them to supplement it with their wider knowledge. Indeed, if anything, the rare epic imperfect adds to the Homeric flavour of these lines, reinforcing the potential connection with the hexametric *Homeric Hymn*. As in Ibycus, Bacchylides and Theognis, Sappho's appeal to hearsay indexes her engagement with wider traditions and texts surrounding Tithonus, inviting her audience to supplement unmentioned details of the myth.

II.3.4 *Lyric Innovation: Faux Footnoting?*

So far, we have encountered numerous cases where lyric poets' appeals to hearsay footnote and signal interactions with other texts and traditions. But it is worth asking whether such indexical appeals to hearsay are always so 'straight', or whether they may sometimes conceal a degree of literary innovation. We have already seen the disguised Aphrodite bend the truth of tradition to fit her immediate context in her eponymous *Homeric Hymn*. And when we turn to lyric poetry, we can identify a number of similar cases where tradition is invoked precisely at points where it is creatively refashioned. Naturally, such an examination is severely hampered by our limited evidence for earlier traditions and literature, and it is often impossible to determine whether some specific element in a narrative is an innovation or a traditional element. Yet despite this degree of uncertainty, we can still explore at least a few possible cases of indexed innovation, especially in the work of Pindar.

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Pindar's Flexible Mythology

On a number of occasions, Pindar alters the literary tradition to heighten the parallelism between a myth and his contemporary present, or to incorporate a primarily local myth into the Panhellenic traditional canon. In such cases, he often appeals to hearsay to embellish his account with the veneer of traditional authority. In *Pythian* 1, for example, the Theban poet introduces Philoctetes as a parallel for the Sicilian tyrant Hieron, recalling the Greek hero's physical infirmity, rescue from Lemnos and key role in the sack of Troy (*Pyth.* 1.50–5). The introductory **φαντί** (*Pyth.* 1.52) marks the general traditionality of this myth, nodding to the hero's gruesome snake wound and Helenus' prophecy that Troy could not be taken without Philoctetes and Heracles' bow, familiar from the Epic Cycle and elsewhere.[306] But it also authorises a patently untraditional element: in other versions of the myth, Philoctetes was cured of his wounds before he entered battle.[307] In Pindar, by contrast, he continues to 'walk with a weak body' (ἀσθενεῖ . . . χρωτὶ βαίνων, *Pyth.* 1.55), a detail that renders him a closer parallel for the poet's sickly patron.[308] Through the indexical **φαντί**, Pindar invokes tradition to legitimise this revamped version of the myth.[309]

However, Pindar does not only rewrite tradition to enhance his victors' glory. At other points, he adapts the mythical past to reflect the contemporary political realities of a victor's hometown. In *Olympian* 6, for example, Evadna, the mother of Iamus and the Iamid line, is introduced not as the true biological daughter of Aepytus, the king of Arcadia (as was traditional), but rather as his

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[306] Snake wound: *Il.* 2.721–5 (esp. ἕλκεϊ μοχθίζοντα, *Il.* 2.723 ~ ἕλκεϊ τειρόμενον, *Pyth.* 1.52); cf. *Cypr.* arg. 9b *GEF*; Quint. Smyrn. 9.461 (cf. Quintus' own indexing: **φασίν**, 9.385; **ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ὕστερον ἐσσομένοισι**, 9.391). Prophecy: *Il. Parv.* arg. 2b *GEF*; Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 1.100 (with a likely reference to Bacchyl. 23: Maehler (1997) 271); cf. **μοιρίδιον** ἦν, *Pyth.* 1.55.

[307] *Il. Parv.* arg. 2c *GEF*; cf. Quint. Smyrn. 9.459–79.

[308] Cf. Gentili et al. (1995) 347. Hieron's sickness: *Pyth.* 3, esp. 63–76.

[309] Cf. Spelman (2018c) 189. Cf. too *Nem.* 9.39–40: the indexed assertion that Hector fought by the river Scamander (**λέγεται, κλέος**) is not paralleled by extant literature (von Leutsch (1859) 68 suggests a reference to Hector's slaying of Protesilaus, but this is located at the seashore, not the river: *Cypr.* arg. 10a, fr. 22 *GEF*). However, this detail enhances the parallel with Pindar's *laudandus* Chromius, who is praised for fighting successfully by the Sicilian river Helorus (*Nem.* 9.40–2): Braswell (1998) 121–3.

foster daughter. Instead, her true parents are said (**λέγεται**, *Ol.* 6.29) to have been Poseidon and Pitana, the homonymous heroine of a Spartan city. This genealogy appears to reflect the contemporary politics of Pindar's own day, in which the most famous Iamid prophet, Teisamenus of Elis, had been granted Spartan citizenship.[310] By incorporating the Spartan Pitana into Iamus' genealogy, Pindar integrates his contemporary reality into the mythical past. And by appealing to hearsay at this moment, he legitimises this addition with a veneer of traditional authority. In the words of Pavlou, he 'manages to present the recent insertion into the Iamid genealogy as already traditional and socially authoritative'.[311]

Pindar also appeals to the authority of hearsay when imbuing local, epichoric traditions with a Panhellenic pedigree, as in the mythical *aetion* of Rhodes in *Olympian* 7. The poet introduces the emergence of the island from the sea as the 'ancient talk of men' (*Ol.* 7.54–7):

> **φαντὶ δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων παλαιαί**
> **ῥήσιες**, οὔπω, ὅτε χθόνα δατέοντο Ζεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι,
> φανερὰν ἐν πελάγει Ῥόδον ἔμμεν ποντίῳ,
> ἁλμυροῖς δ᾽ ἐν βένθεσιν νᾶσον κεκρύφθαι.

> **Ancient tales of men say** that when Zeus and the immortals were dividing the earth, Rhodes was not yet visible in the vast sea, but the island lay hidden in its salty depths.

The narrative continues with Helios, the sun god, failing to gain a share of land because of his absence during the lot-taking; but he sees Rhodes below the sea and requests it as his future domain when it rises (*Ol.* 7.58–71). Here, once more, the language of hearsay and antiquity combine to index a mythical reference, alongside the specification of a community of **ἄνθρωποι**.[312] However, as the Pindaric scholia note, this tradition of Rhodes' submergence is not attested in literary sources before

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[310] Hdt. 9.33–5; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1886) 162–85; Huxley (1975) 28–30.

[311] Pavlou (2012) 108. Cf. *Ol.* 9.49 (**λέγοντι**), authorising Pindar's adaptation of the history of Opous to foreshadow Epharmostus' victories, perhaps alongside an echo of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*: D'Alessio (2005b) 220–6; Pavlou (2008) 554–60.

[312] Cf. §II.2.4 n. 127 above.

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Pindar (Σ *Ol.* 7.101). Rather, the scholia suggest that the poet is drawing on ancient local traditions, a plausible suggestion (Σ *Ol.* 7.100a, 101). As Barbara Kowalzig has demonstrated, 'the presence' of Helios 'and the importance of his legends on Rhodes at an early time . . . are undeniable'.[313] Yet the divine division of lots also has a significant literary heritage of its own, going back at least to Poseidon's account of the three-way division of the world in the *Iliad* (15.187–93). Kowalzig has highlighted Pindar's numerous verbal connections with the Homeric passage[314] but also notes that the Pindaric scene exhibits a significant discrepancy with its epic forebear: in Homer, the earth remained common to all (γαῖα δ' ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων, *Il.* 15.193), while in Pindar it is precisely the earth that is divided up (ὅτε χθόνα δατέοντο, 55; χώρας ἀκλάρωτον, 59).[315] Pindar thus appropriates and adapts the authority of the literary tradition to bolster local myth. The introduction of the story with a gesture to ancient hearsay does not so much paper over Pindar's innovations as much as it endows a local and little-known story with the prestige of canonicity.

The Tyrant Slayers: Inventing Tradition

In lyric poetry, we thus do not find out-and-out mythological inventions disguised as traditional tales, but rather slight adaptations of pre-existing myths to reflect and enhance contemporary circumstances. In such cases, appeals to tradition bestow an element of canonicity on contemporary and epichoric traditions, inscribing them into the wider storehouse of communal song.[316] This perfectly fits the more general practice of epinician, which often juxtaposes local figures and traditions with the major Panhellenic myths of the Greek world. But it is worth stressing that this is not solely a Pindaric or even epinician phenomenon. We can identify a comparable instance of authorised 'innovation' in an

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[313] Kowalzig (2007) 243–4.
[314] Kowalzig (2007) 243: 'the division (δέδασται 189—δατέοντο 55) of earth is performed by mixing (παλλομένων 191—ἄμπαλον 61) and drawing lots (ἔλαχον/ἔλαχε/ἔλαχ' 190/1/2—ἔνδειξεν λάχος 58)'.
[315] Kowalzig (2007) 243 n. 58; cf. Gentili et al. (2013) 492.
[316] Cf. Pavlou (2012) 108–9.

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Attic *skolion* on the immortality of the Athenian tyrant slayer Harmodius (*Carm. Conv.* 894 *PMG*):

φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι', οὔ τί που τέθνηκας,
νήσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ **φασιν** εἶναι,
ἵνα περ ποδώκης Ἀχιλεὺς
Τυδεΐδην τέ **φασιν** Διομήδεα.

Dearest Harmodius, you are surely not dead: **they say** that you are alive in the Isles of the Blessed, where swift-footed Achilles is and, **they say**, Tydeus' son Diomedes.

This text, as transmitted, contains two indexical appeals to tradition within the space of four lines. The second, if retained,[317] is the more straightforward and evokes wider traditions surrounding Achilles' and Diomedes' immortalisation, here expressed through tradition-ally epic language.[318] Achilles, in particular, was associated with a range of afterlife locations after his death: besides the Odyssean Underworld (*Od.* 11.471–540), he was also situated on the White Isle (*Aeth.* arg. 4b *GEF*; Pind. *Nem.* 4.49–50), the Elysian fields (Ibyc. fr. 291; Simon. fr. 558) and – as here – the isles of the Blessed (Pind. *Ol.* 2.70–80; Pl. *Symp.* 179e–180b). Diomedes, meanwhile, was immortalised by Athena, at least according to Pindar (*Nem.* 10.7) and apparently also Ibycus (fr. 294 = Σ Pind. *Nem.* 10.12). The second **φασί** thus marks the traditionality of these heroes' afterlives, while also perhaps acknowledging the competing alternatives for Achilles' final resting place.[319]

The first **φασίν**, however, is more arresting, since it attributes the same immortal status to a historical individual, the Athenian tyrant slayer Harmodius. This youth famously lost his life along-side his adult lover Aristogeiton in their attempt to kill the

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[317] The transmitted final verse is unmetrical: Τυδεΐδην τέ φασι τὸν ἐσθλὸν Διομήδεα. I print Lowth's popular emendation. Other options include excising φασί or Διομήδεα: see Fabbro (1995) 32, 151–2. Even if this second φασί is excised, this has no bearing on the first φασίν, which is the key to my argument here.

[318] Cf. ποδώκης ... Ἀχιλλεύς (*Il.* 18.234); Τυδεΐδην Διομήδεα (*Il.* 6.235, 10.150). If we retain φασί, we could also consider putting Achilles in the accusative, so that he is explicitly part of the indirect speech (ποδώκε' Ἀχιλέα Ilgen; ποδώκη τ' Ἀχιλέα Edmonds).

[319] Barker and Christensen (2020) 42 further suggest that Achilles and Ajax are introduced here as mythical analogues for the tyrant slayers, since they are 'heroes who are recognized for standing up to authority'.

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Athenian tyrant Hippias and his brother Hipparchus in 514 BCE. In the grim light of history, their behaviour does not seem equal to that of Homer's greatest heroes: it was an act of revenge, motivated by a personal slight, and only partially successful. The pair managed to kill Hipparchus but not Hippias, who responded to their plot with a harsher and more repressive rule. Despite these realities, however, Harmodius and Aristogeiton became lauded as 'tyrant slayers' in the popular imagination and were refashioned as the poster boys of Athenian democracy, celebrated with statues, song and hero cult.[320] This *skolion*, alongside others on the same theme (893, 895–6 *PMG*), forms part of the larger ideological development of the Harmodius myth, setting the hero on a par with the greatest warriors from the Trojan war. After all, we have already seen in other *skolia* how one of the heroes mentioned here, Achilles, was singled out as the greatest warrior who went to Troy (898–9 *PMG*: §II.3.1). In this context, the poet's initial **φασίν** is extremely loaded, drawing on the authority of tradition to authorise this local Athenian legend.

As in Pindar, this innovation is achieved through a creative reworking of tradition. Already in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the Isles of the Blessed were the home of the prosperous heroes (καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν . . . | ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι . . . | ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, Hes. *Op.* 170–2). But the *skolion* appropriates this long-standing epic tradition of heroic immortality for a specifically Athenian purpose, aligning a local hero with the Panhellenic greats.[321] In so doing, it may also evoke Achilles as a prime model for Harmodius' pederastic relationship with Aristogeiton. Elsewhere in Attic literature, Achilles and Patroclus are mentioned as ancient analogues for the tyrant slayers (Aeschin. *In Tim.* 132–3, 140–2; Pl. *Symp.* 179e–180b, 182c),[322] and in Plato's *Symposium* Phaedrus claims that it is precisely Achilles' love for his friend which guaranteed his immortalisation on the Isles of the Blessed (179e–180b).

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[320] Hdt. 5.55–6, 6.123; Thuc. 6.54.1–59.1; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 18.3–6; Taylor (1981); Lavelle (1993) 50–8; Monoson (2000) 21–50; Azoulay (2014); Budelmann (2018a) 265–7.

[321] Similarly, the bronze statues of the tyrannicides by Critius and Nesiotes exploited gigantomachic iconography to align Harmodius with Apollo: Carpenter (2021). On the Harmodius *skolia*'s general appropriation of the epic tradition: Taylor (1981) 66–9.

[322] Cf. Fantuzzi (2012) 225.

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Achilles here is thus an exemplar not only of heroic immortality, but also of someone who has achieved it through pederastic devotion. As in Pindar, a local tradition is incorporated into the annals of song and bolstered by the authority of the mythical past. The indexical **φασίν** both authorises and cements the traditionality of the Harmodius myth.[323]

Appeals to hearsay in lyric, therefore, not only signpost allusions to pre-existing traditions and texts, but also mark and authorise the creative reworking of tradition, building on the epic example we have already seen in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. These are not so much cases of pure invention and fabrication, as occasions on which poets rework and revise traditional material. Our limited access to the whole range of lyric poetry inhibits a fuller perspective on such practice, but even from these glimpses, we see that lyric poets exploited the indexical potential of hearsay not only to mark and supplement their allusions to pre-existing texts and traditions, but also to authorise their innovative departures from the trodden path.

II.4 Conclusions

The 'Alexandrian footnote' has a long history before Alexandria. The various examples treated above demonstrate that this indexing of allusion was not a novelty of the Hellenistic age – it already has considerable archaic precedent.

As we have seen, archaic epic and lyric poets employ this device to signal their mastery and control over the many strands of song. They variously invoke and challenge the authority of prior traditions and texts, but this phenomenon also involves a number of more specific nuances: Homer sometimes appeals to hearsay when foregrounding a major mythical model that continues to underlie his whole poem, while lyric poets frequently invoke tradition at moments of narrative ellipsis, inviting audiences to fill in the blanks of what a poet has left unsaid – a process of signposted supplementation which reflects the lyric genre's predilection for

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[323] Cf. another *skolion* in which both tyrant slayers are promised everlasting κλέος in similarly epic language (**αἰεὶ** σφῷν **κλέος** ἔσσεται κατ' αἶαν, 896.1 *PMG*).

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brief exempla over extensive narrative. Over time, we can also identify an increasing number of indexed innovations, instances where tradition is creatively reworked, but legitimised through appeal to hearsay.

It is worth noting that at least some ancient readers seem to have been attuned to the indexical demands of this poetic language. In many examples where we have accompanying scholia or ancient commentary, these ancient scholars cite a source or parallel for the passage in question, or comment on the significance of **φασί** as an attribution to another source.[324] Of course, this inevitably tells us more about the maximally intertextual reading practices of the post-classical age, which cannot necessarily be mapped back directly onto archaic audiences (cf. §1.1.3). Yet even so, these later receptions suggest that Hellenistic and later poets recognised the archaic and classical precedent for their footnoting strategies. In continuing this practice, they were following tradition, not radically innovating on it.

Within the archaic period alone, however, it is also possible to trace some broader developments in the use of this device. In Homeric epic, the 'pre-Alexandrian footnote' does largely seem to do what it says on the tin, appealing to the traditions of 'what people say' at large, rather than to specific texts. The strongest cases for direct reference can be made for the Hesiodic echoes in *Iliad* 2 and Telemachus' reporting of Nestor's age in *Odyssey* 3, but even here we have noted reasons for preferring engagement with broader traditions. As we progress to later epic and lyric examples, however, it seems that the likelihood of a direct textual reference becomes greater. In part, this may simply reflect our own improved access to a wider range of possible sources as we move to study increasingly later texts, but it also suggests a gradual shift in ancient poets' understanding of the literary tradition: from an amorphous mass of tales to a canon of individual, identifiable texts. This transition also seems to be reflected in the expanding

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[324] Cf. Σ D *Il*. 17.674–5 (§1.1.3); Σ EHMᵃT *Od*. 3.245a *Ariston*. (§11.2.3); Eust. 347.8–9 ad *Il*. 2.783 (§11.2.1); Σ Hes. *Theog*. 304 (§11.2.1); Σ Pind. *Ol*. 2.51d (§11.3.1); Σ Pind. *Pyth*. 6.22 (§11.3.1). The same tendency is also apparent in responses to the device in tragedy: e.g. Σ Soph. *Trach*. 1a; Σ *Phil*. 94; Σ Eur. *Rhes*. 185; Eusebius *Praep. Ev*. 10.3.19 (on Theodectes, fr. 1a *TrGF*): see Nelson (forthcoming b).

range of linguistic manifestations of this device. The initial concentration on verbal forms (such as φασί, πυνθάνομαι and λέγω) gradually expands to incorporate concrete nouns like λόγος, a word which in itself hints at a greater specificity of reference. In addition, these changes may also result from variation by genre. We have already noted lyric poets' ready use of other poets' names, in comparison to the silence of Homeric epic (§1.2.3), and it seems likely that the more flexible narrator of lyric poetry would have been more amenable to direct and explicit indexical references.

Despite these changes, however, it is striking that the rhetoric of the device remains permanently attached to the anonymous and the general, even when it becomes directed to individual texts. Even as literacy and writing began to play an increasingly important role in the preservation and commemoration of literature and as poets began to name their contemporaries and predecessors directly, they still regularly employed the vague anonymity of hearsay to signpost their allusions.[325] In part, this could reflect the conservatism of the Greek poetic tradition: literal appeals to tradition in archaic poetry were adopted into later poets' repertoire as a stylised rhetorical device, even as the source of their allusive gestures changed – from traditions to texts. But this alone cannot be the whole story. I suspect the anonymity of the device also encouraged its continuing use. On the one hand, it allowed poets to bolster their claims through the abstract authority of the poetic and mythical past, deriving legitimacy from a monolithic and uncontestable 'tradition'. Yet on the other, it proved a way for them to distinguish themselves and their own individual treatments from this larger tradition, subsuming other past and contemporary poets into a vague and faceless mass of transmitted words. Most importantly, however, the device was also a means of fostering a special and direct connection with (especially elite)

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[325] This phenomenon continues into fifth-century prose and drama. Drama: e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 335 (ὡς λέγουσιν ∼ *Il.* 21.278; *Aeth.* arg. 3a *GEF*; Aesch. fr. 350.8–9 *TrGF*); Nelson (forthcoming b). Thucydides: Westlake (1977); Gray (2011). Herodotus: Fehling (1989); Török (2014) 54–117. Philosophers: e.g. Pl. *Phd.* 69c8–d1 (φασίν ∼ Orph. 576 *PEG*: Cristóbal (2009) 47–50. Cf. too Schenkeveld (1992) on the prose uses of ἀκούω to mean 'I read'.

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members of an audience, flattering them as part of an in-crowd who were already familiar with other texts and traditions, with all that people say and tell.

In whatever way we ultimately account for the device's enduring appeal, however, one thing should be clear: there was nothing distinctively Alexandrian or scholarly about indexical appeals to hearsay. This was a key intertextual tool from the very start of the Greek poetic tradition.