

HOMER, HESIOD AND THE ACHAEAN HERITAGE OF ORAL POETRY

IN the light of present day Homeric and archaeological studies a re-examination is needed of the relation of Homer to Hesiod.¹ This study of the survival of Achaean oral poetry² in the mainland and in Ionia in the eighth and seventh centuries hopes to throw new light on this relation. The problem which this study poses is whether there is a direct continuity of the Achaean tradition of oral poetry in the mainland from the preclassical to the classical period. Is it possible that there could be a survival of the Achaean oral poetry only in the epics of Homer and not in the mainland at the same period? Is the assumption correct that the Dorian invasion resulted in "no continuity of memory,"³ in a cultural vacuum and that this was filled by the coming of the Homeric poems to the mainland as early as the eighth century? Must we look to the Homeric poems as the *fons et origo* of Hellenic culture on the mainland? Such has been the traditional view. There is new evidence, in my opinion, that requires a re-examination of this problem. In this study I shall undertake to discuss it in the light of recent Homeric oral studies, integrating their conclusions with historical data, archaeological evidence, early metrical inscriptions, and with the

¹ This study embodies the views I set forth on the relations of Homer to Hesiod in my seminar on the early Greek epic given at the Princeton University Graduate School in 1955-56. An earlier draft was read at the meeting of the American Philological Association, December 28, 1957. After the completion of this study there came to my attention A. Hoekstra's paper, "Hésiode et la tradition orale; contribution à l'étude du style formulaire," *Mnemosyne*, X, 1957, pp. 193-225, which independently corroborates my conclusion that Hesiod was an oral poet. In the published version of my study I have omitted the detailed linguistic analysis which covers much the same ground as Professor Hoekstra's study and I concentrate on the phases of the problem which constitute the differences in our approach. For aid in this study I am indebted to the Guggenheim Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens where, as Visiting Professor in 1952-1953, part of the work for this article was done.

² Homer generally uses the term "Achaean" to refer to the Greeks who came from all parts of the mainland to Troy. Linguists recently use the term for the core of the Arcado-Cyprian dialect, which is reflected in the language of the Linear B tablets; cf. C. J. Ruijgh, *L'élément Achéen dans la langue épique*, Assen, 1957. The present study will use the term, in Homer's sense, to designate all phases of the culture of the pre-classical Greeks, other than the Minoans, as they emerge in the Geometric age, the age of Homer. In this study the terms "Protogeometric" and "Protoattic," though properly descriptive of styles of pottery, are also used, on analogy with the terms "Geometric," "Archaic," to denote periods of time and culture. For the eighth century as the date, used in this study, of the composition of the *Iliad* cf. W. Schadewaldt, "Homer und sein Jahrhundert," *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, London, 1950, pp. 87-129; H. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London, 1950, pp. 452-493.

³ J. M. Cook, "The Cult of Agamemnon at Mycenae," *Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλων, 'Εταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*, IX, 1953, p. 115.

evaluation of some of the data in the light of my own field work in modern Greek heroic oral poetry.⁴

Outside of several autobiographical references in the *Works and Days* and in the *Theogony* the only solid fact we have about Hesiod is Herodotos' statement that Homer and Hesiod were contemporaries, a fact which is assumed in the ancient lives of the poets and by the author of the *Certamen*.⁵ The priority of Homer to Hesiod and the dependence of one on the other is not the ancient way of thinking but a modern assumption based largely on the presence of Homeric diction in Hesiod.⁶ Yet this assumption immediately runs into the difficulty that there are in these poets many stylistic differences ranging from formulae, marked variations in the use of genitives in *-οιο* and *-οι*, the question of the initial digamma and many other differences noted in past and present linguistic studies.⁷ What is needed is an explanation which will account for the presence in Hesiod of Homeric formulae and for the linguistic differences, an explanation which at the same time will not do violence to the ancient testimony on the contemporaneity of Homer and Hesiod. This problem is now for the first time capable of solution in the light of recent Homeric oral studies by Milman Parry.⁸ Our knowledge now that Homer is an oral poet leads us to ask, is Hesiod, Homer's contemporary, not an oral poet too? Here we are challenged by the opportunity to interpret new knowledge to the full extent of its meaning.

The touchstone of the oral style is the formula, whose convenience in oral improvisation was first pointed out by Meillet and thoroughly illustrated by Parry. It is not

⁴ J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer as an oral poet in the light of modern Greek heroic oral poetry," *Year Book of The American Philosophical Society for 1953*, Philadelphia, 1954, pp. 249-253. A selection of these heroic poems, with a historical introduction, text, translation, commentary, and musical scoring, has been issued by Folkways Records F. E. 4468: *Modern Greek Heroic Oral Poetry from Cyprus, Salonika, Epirus, Crete, and Peloponnesus*, Recorded and with notes by James A. Notopoulos, New York, 1959.

⁵ *Works and Days*, 27-41, 631-640, 650-662; *Theogony*, 22-34. For the lives and the *Certamen* cf. *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi*, ed. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin, 1929. The date of Hesiod, ca. 700 B.C. on the basis of the Lelantine war, alluded to in *W.D.*, 654-659, is discussed by Wade-Gery in *The Poet of the Iliad*, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 25-29 and in *Phoenix*, III, 1949, pp. 81-93.

⁶ Conversely, some see the influence of Hesiod on Homer; cf. D. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 36-38 where the second and third lines of P. Tebtunis 271²⁴ are identical with *Odyssey* λ, 249-250; H. Mundry, "Anspielung auf Hesiods *Erga* in der *Odyssey* τ 357 ff." *Hermes*, LXXXIII, 1955, pp. 51-68.

⁷ J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, Göttingen, 1916; R. Rzach, *Der Dialekt des Hesiodos*, Leipzig, 1876; P. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique*, Paris, 1948, I, pp. 117 ff.; I. Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiod*, Hamburg, 1934; J. A. Scott, *T.A.P.A.*, LXI, 1930, abstract XXXI; R. Cantarella, "Elemente primitive nella poesia Esiodea," *Riv. Indo-Greca-Italica*, 1931, pp. 105-149; Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne*, VII, 1954, pp. 297-299 and X, 1957, pp. 202-221.

⁸ For Homer as an oral poet see the bibliography of Parry listed in *A.J.A.*, LII, 1949, pp. 43-44; cf. also bibliography on repetitions and typology in Homer listed in H. J. Mente, "Homer 1930-1956," *Lustrum*, I, 1, Göttingen, 1957, no. 468-524.

merely the presence of the formula but the frequency of its occurrence which constitutes the touchstone of the oral style. In his study of the Homeric style Parry showed that there is a formula in almost every line of Homer, consisting of entire lines or phrases occurring before or after the caesura, the linking of which explains better than before certain linguistic phenomena in Homer. These formulae often fall into systems flexibly constituted for ease in oral verse-making. In an investigation of post-Homeric poetry Parry showed a relative absence of formulae, except for certain literary effects, thus confirming, by using what in biological experiments is called "a control," the oral style of Homer. If Hesiod's style is comparably as formulaic as Homer's then we have the answer to our question.

It was in his article in the *Harvard Studies* that Parry, while studying the role of the formula in poetry after Homer, first became aware that Hesiod is an oral poet. His investigation of this problem was, however, cursory, relying for his statistics on Rzach's *editio maior* of Hesiod which, while it lists all the Homeric influence, yet makes no differentiation between the occurrence of Homeric formulae, repeated exactly as metrical equivalents, and passages from Homer which, though not metrically equivalent to Hesiod's phrases, are similar or express similar thoughts. Had Parry applied strictly and thoroughly his own technique of formulaic analysis to Hesiod's poetry he would have established that Hesiod was authentically an oral poet. He intended to do this in a later study which his untimely death prevented. Parry, in his study of the problem, also made use of Kretschmer's valuable doctoral thesis, *De iteratis Hesiodeis*,⁹ but its real contribution was overlooked. In this thesis Kretschmer lists the repetitions which occur within Hesiod's poetry, not merely formulae from Homer but many Hesiodic formulae (listed by a star) which are not found in the Homeric poems. It is now obvious, in the light of oral poetry where, as in modern Greek heroic poetry, we have regional formulae mixed in with those which occur in all parts of the oral tradition, that we are dealing here with formulae of the Boeotian school of poetry. These formulae are only in part explained by regional differences; formulae, as we know, are integrally connected with the subject matter of oral poetry, and since the subject matter of Homer's poetry is largely different from Hesiod's it is natural that Hesiodic poetry will exhibit some different formulae, often attended by linguistic differences. Here then is a body of mainland formulae whose role was not realized by early Hesiodic scholars, who had no knowledge of the workings of oral poetry, nor by editors of Hesiod who, as was the case earlier with Homer, bracketed many single lines or groups of verses which reproduce some other part of the poem in a similar or identical form.¹⁰ Kretschmer's thesis, when viewed today in the light of Parry's work, turns out to be a basic contribution in determining the oral style of

⁹ P. F. Kretschmer, *De iteratis Hesiodeis*, Vratislaviae, 1913.

¹⁰ Cf. P. Walcott, *Cl. Quart.*, VI, 1956, p. 198.

Hesiod. For when we set the data of this thesis and the Homeric repetitions listed by Rzach in the context of the oral technique of composition, the results reveal the oral rubric of Hesiod's style. A comparison of the repetitions within the poems of Hesiod and Homer respectively leaves little doubt as to the oral character of their poems. The results of Kretschmer's thesis are shown in the following: ¹¹

	<i>Repetitions of groups of lines</i>	<i>Repetitions of lines</i>	<i>Repetitions of phrases before the caesura</i>	<i>Repetitions of phrases after the caesura</i>	<i>Repetitions of phrases in the middle of the line</i>	<i>Repetitions which occur in whole or in part in the same position in the verse</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Theogony</i> (1022 vv.)	5	38	74	206	7	8	338
<i>Works and Days</i> (822 vv.)	1	9	32	64	1	3	110
<i>The Shield</i> (480 vv.)	1	10	22	40	3	3	79
Total (2380 vv.)	7	57	128	310	11	14	527

It follows that 23% of the Hesiodic *corpus* consists of repetitions of lines or phrases found in other parts of Hesiod's poems. This compares with 33% in the case of Homer, for out of 27,853 verses in Homer, 9,253 are repeated or contain repeated phrases.¹² This proportion of 23% and 33% respectively, a phenomenon found nowhere in subsequent Greek or Latin poetry, is the litmus test of the oral style.

The formulaic character of Hesiod's style appears more clearly when we analyze, in Parry's manner, the first hundred lines respectively of the Hesiodic *corpus*: ¹³

<i>Poem</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Formulaic lines</i>	<i>Percentage of formulaic lines</i>
<i>Works and Days</i>	1-100	77	.77
<i>Theogony</i>	1-100	80	.80
<i>The Shield</i>	1-100	90	.90

Parry's formulaic analysis of the first twenty-five lines respectively of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* shows the following: ¹⁴

<i>Iliad</i>	A 1-25	22	.88
<i>Odyssey</i>	a 1-25	23	.92

In determining the formulaic texture of the Hesiodic *corpus* the following categories of formulae were used: 1) formulae in Hesiod not found in Homer; 2)

¹¹ Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹² These statistics for Homer are from C. E. Schmidt, *Parallel-Homer*, Göttingen, 1885, p. viii.

¹³ In this analysis I have made use of Rzach's *editio maior*, Kretschmer, and C. F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum*, Firenze, 1950. In addition to these I have discovered, through use of Gehring's *Index Homericus*, some analogical formulae not noted before. A typescript of this analysis, as well as that for the early Greek elegy, is on deposit at the Trinity College Library.

¹⁴ Parry, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1930, pp. 118-121.

formulae formed by the play of analogy; 3) Homeric formulae found in Hesiod. With respect to the first category, it has been noted that they are the remains of a mainland tradition of poetry which survives in Hesiod, and, as we shall see later, in eighth century metrical inscriptions. Scholars have long noted that stylistic differences from Homer in the formulae and diction of Hesiod show the presence of an oral tradition related to yet independent of Homer. Some of these formulae fall into systems not found in Homer. Some reappear in the *Homeric Hymns* and the early Greek elegy¹⁵ which is largely formulaic as may be seen in the following analysis:

<i>Poet</i>	<i>Poem</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Formulaic Lines</i>	<i>Percentage of formulaic lines</i>
Kallinos	<i>Elegy</i> 1,3,4	23	19	.83
Tyrtaios	<i>Elegies</i> 2-9	147	87	.59
Solon	<i>Elegy</i> 1	76	45	.60
Theognis	<i>Elegy</i>	1-100	41	.41

In addition we have a new category of formulae of which Parry has made us aware in Homer and which Hesiodic scholars prior to Parry had not taken into

¹⁵ In this analysis I have made use in Kallinos, of T. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy*, Cardiff, 1926, and E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, editio stereotypa editionis tertiae (1949), Leipzig, 1954; in Tyrtaios, of Hudson-Williams, Diehl, and A. Monti, *Tirteo, Studio Critico e testi con Raffronti Omerici*, Turin, 1910; in Solon, of Hudson-Williams, Diehl, and N. Riedy, *Solonis elocutio quatenus pendeat ab exemplo Homeri*, Munich, 1903; in Theognis, of Diehl, and R. Kuellenberg, *De Imitatione Theognidis*, Argentorati, 1887. Analogical formulae were determined on the basis of consultation of Gehring's *Index Homericus*. The formulae in the early elegy deserve a reexamination on several grounds. First, their Homeric provenience is by no means the only explanation; they could come from the mainland tradition of oral poetry and we have evidence that outside of Kallinos and Tyrtaios the strongly personal and ethical character of the elegy is closer to Hesiod than to Homer. Even in the lyric there is scepticism that the poets imitated specific Homeric verses. J. A. Davison, in his review of Otto von Weber's *Die Beziehungen zwischen Homer und den älteren griechischen Lyriker*, Bonn, 1955, in *Cl. Rev.*, New Series, VIII, 1958, p. 23, remarks "As I have already suggested (*Eranos*, LIII, 1955, pp. 139-140), it is possible that when two poets use the same (or closely similar) words, neither is necessarily acquainted with the other's work, but both may be drawing upon some common stock. This problem of the common stock is especially difficult in early Greek poetry. . . ." If the Achaean oral epic survived on the mainland, as I hope to show, the Homeric provenience of formulae in the early elegy and the lyric will not be as settled as our fixed modes of literary thinking indicate. Nor is the literary character of early elegy certain. The frequency of formulae in Kallinos (83%) points in the direction of oral poetry. In Tyrtaios (59%) and Solon (60%) the frequency of formulae is less yet far greater than is shown in the texture of later poetry. Difficulties presented in adapting hexameter formulae to the pentameter and change in subject matter with which formulae are associated are factors to be taken into account. The situation in Tyrtaios and Solon is uncertain. In Theognis we have a clear case of transition from oral to written literature. We have a similar phenomenon in Cyprus today where the poems of some *ποιητάριδες* (itinerant bards) show less formulaic texture; though traditional formulae still survive in their poems, they are fewer and are present only for traditional ornament and atmosphere rather than for their use in easy verse-making. Information on the decline of an oral society is needed to throw light on the transition of literature from oral to literary.

account. That is, formulae created by analogy, phrases which metrically are of the same type as others, e.g. ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δε (A3) which is the metrical equivalent of ἡρώων τοῖσιν τε (E 747, θ 391, α 101).¹⁶ They involve the play of analogy which underlies all traditional diction. Parry noted such word groups with broken lines which indicate phrases of the same type as others. There are many such analogical word groups in Hesiod as well, such as,

τέκε πατρὶ μιγείσα	(Th. 53; cf. α 73, λ 266)
κρατερῶν τε Γιγάντων	(Th. 50; cf. Δ 87)
κτῆμας' ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις	(W.D. 34; cf. η 150)
ἀγήνορα κάρφει	(W.D. 7; cf. λ 562)
κασιγνήτων τε φόνιοιο	(Shield 17; cf. ω 484)
Βοιωτοὶ πλῆξιπποι	(Shield 24; cf. Β 104)

The final category of formulae used in the analysis comes from Homer; they are listed fully by Rzach. These Homeric formulae in Hesiod exhibit the same systematization of oral diction, the same linguistic mixture, the same metrical exigencies which Parry showed in his studies of the Homeric oral style.¹⁷ Variations in Hesiod from the Homeric formulae expressing the same ideas have not been listed unless they conform to the same metrical pattern. These variations have been interpreted as a decomposition of the Homeric style or as adaptations by Hesiod from the Homeric text, but recent linguistic studies show the proper explanation, namely, that they belong rather to the mainland epic and sometimes they go back to the oldest strata of Achaeian poetry.

From this comparative analysis of formulaic texture in the passages chosen from Homer and Hesiod it is evident that the Hesiodic *corpus* is so close to Homer in percentage of formulaic lines and so far above any found in later Greek poetry that the Hesiodic style is oral. This conclusion finds corroboration in a valuable piece of autobiographic evidence in the *Works and Days*, namely, that Hesiod took part in a contest of oral poetry in Euboea and won the prize of a tripod which he dedicated to the Helikonian Muses.¹⁸ It also fits in with the traditional character of genealogies in Hesiod's poetry, of traditional precepts exhibited in the second part of *Works and*

¹⁶ Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-121.

¹⁷ Cf. Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne*, X, 1957, pp. 193-221.

¹⁸ *W.D.*, 654-659. If ὕμνος (line 657) has the same meaning as in *Odyssey*, θ 429, the poem which Hesiod sang was probably the average length of a Homeric ἀριστεία episode, possibly on the glorious deeds of the hero Amphidamas. The contest involved singing (ἀοιδῆς); he dedicated the prize tripod to the Muses who are the inspirers of oral poetry. These Muses who dwelt on Helikon are, as Allen has pointed out (*Homer, Origins, and Transmissions*, Oxford, 1924, p. 89) not the Muses of the *Iliad*; the Muses of Helikon are the inspirers of the mainland poetry. These contests are an old mainland tradition. Homer's Thamyras (B, 594-600) participated in such a one when he rashly challenged the Muses (cf. Virgil, *Ec.*, IV, 55 ff.) who destroyed his powers of oral improvisation by destroying his memory (ἐκλέλαθον).

Days, with the traditional oral prologue of invocation to the Muses, a commonplace in the Greek epics.

The large number of Homeric formulae in Hesiod brings up the subject of Hesiod's conscious imitation of the text of Homer. Scholars who see the direct influence of Homeric texts on Hesiod are compelled to disregard the Herodotean statement, which makes the poets contemporaries, and thus lower the date of Hesiod so as to allow for Hesiod's use of the Homeric texts to the extent noted by Rzach. For the presence of the Homeric texts on the mainland at so early a date they point to Homeric themes on Geometric vases.¹⁹ Recent archaeological studies, however, are making this argument very tenuous and studies in oral poetry are making it irrelevant to the question. Aside from the oral texture of Hesiod's style there are difficulties in putting the Homeric texts on the mainland in the eighth and seventh centuries. The "generalized" character of Geometric art makes it difficult, as Hanfmann points out, to identify a mythological subject with a scene.²⁰ The most recent study of this topic by Webster veers away from explaining these vases in terms of the *Iliad*.²¹ Rather he finds that Geometric painting tells us something of early pre-migration Attic poetry. A few vases of the Protoattic period,²² dated *ca.* 650 B.C., have Homeric

¹⁹ For Homeric influence on Geometric vases cf. F. Jacoby, *Hermes*, LXVIII, 1933, p. 4; Schadewaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Lorimer, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 105; P. Mazon, *Introduction à l'Illiade*, Paris, 1948, pp. 266-269. Recently Hampe (*Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen, 1952, pp. 26-30) has studied a scene on the neck of a Geometric vase in Munich dated in the eighth century. He identifies it with the scene in the *Odyssey* which shows Odysseus on the upturned ship with his crew swimming among the fish consequent to their eating the sacred cattle of Helios. Hampe is careful not to come out boldly for the influence of the *Odyssey* on the mainland as early as the middle of the eighth century. Two interpretations are possible. If the identification with the *Odyssey* is correct, we have an instance of the existence on the mainland of the *Odyssey* saga prior to Homer's later reshaping of it in Ionia. It is quite possible, however, that the picture does not illustrate the *Odyssey* saga but reflects a genre from the dangerous life of the sea. Various interpretations have been given as to what exactly the ship scenes on Geometric vases represent. For the most recent study of them cf. G. S. Kirk, *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pp. 93-153. Scholars also find other representations from Homer, such as the Aktorione—Molione scene on the Agora jug, the abduction of Helen by Paris on the lebes in the British Museum, and other scenes on Geometric vases, fibulae, and relief vases from the second half of the eighth century. Cf. Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and notes, and *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder*, Athens, 1936, pp. 74-81; J. M. Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 191-192, note 4, and pp. 206-208 where he gives corrections for the early dating in Hampe's *Sagenbilder*; Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, p. 7. Such identifications, however, are doubtful because no proved mythological scenes exist before the Protoattic period.

²⁰ Hanfmann, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 71-72.

²¹ Webster, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 49-50.

²² For the classification and chronology of Protoattic pottery cf. Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 165-219, pls. 38-60. For other mythological scenes in the early Archaic period cf. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 124-143; Lane, *B.S.A.*, XXXIV, 1933-34, pp. 162-168; E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 139-174. The non-Homeric themes on these vases imply the existence of a rich storehouse of saga on the mainland. For the importance of the oral

themes.²³ The recent discovery, however, of a hexameter inscription in Ischia, dated in the eighth century, mentions Nestor's cup,²⁴ a fact which can be explained at so early a date only by the existence of Achaeian oral poetry in two streams, the Ionian in Homer and the mainland, both having common formulae and themes. The Homeric themes on Protoattic vases cannot be used as conclusive evidence for the existence of Homeric texts on the mainland. The Achaeian epic, as will be shown, survived the Dorian Conquest, and themes from the *Odyssey*, such as the Polyphemos vases show, could well have been the subject of mainland epics as well as those of Homer. The differences between the versions of the Polyphemos theme on the Protoattic vases and the text of Homer make the Homeric provenience far from a certainty. The presence on Protoattic vases of mythical themes with subjects other than those of Homer adds to our confidence in a vital mainland tradition of oral poetry which could have included in its repertory many of the sagas found in Homer. In an oral society there are no copyrights to themes. Our doubts as to Homeric influence increase as we advance into the seventh and early sixth centuries. Zschietzschmann and Johansen in their studies of early Attic and Corinthian vases independently show that there was a widespread ignorance of the Homeric epics in the seventh and early sixth centuries.²⁵ Their conclusions are in agreement with all the literary evidence as to the late date of the introduction of the Homeric epics into Greece.²⁶

transmission of myths on vases cf. J. Fontenrose, *Python, A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins*, Berkeley, 1959, pp. 4-5.

²³ The mainland vases with Homeric themes are: 1) the Menelaos stand picturing Menelaos, who is identified by the inscription *Μενέλαος*, leading four other Achaeian princes (Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 189-190, note 7; Beazley, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8); 2) the Aigisthos krater showing a cowardly Aigisthos being slain by Orestes (*C.V.A.*, Berlin, I, pls. 18-21; Beazley, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9, pl. 3); 3) the Eleusis amphora recently discovered by Mylonas, on whose neck is painted Odysseus and two companions driving a stake into the eye of Polyphemos (G. E. Mylonas, *The Protoattic Amphora of Eleusis*, Athens, 1958); variations of the same theme are to be found in the Aristonothos krater (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, III, pl. 14, no. 65; E. Buschor, *Griechische Malerei*, Munich, 1940, p. 47, pl. 53) and in a vase recently found in Argos (Courbin, *B.C.H.*, LXXXIX, 1955, pp. 1-49); 4) the Ram Jug showing two rams and part of a third, each with a naked youth clinging under, representing the escape of Odysseus and his companions (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 325-327, pl. 8; *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pl. 53; K. Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, p. 18, fig. 52). The Polyphemos vases seem to be confined to Argos, Aegina, Attica. The repeated themes of Polyphemos show that the ceramic artist, like the Homeric poet, composes by means of traditional themes; cf. J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer and Geometric Art; A Comparative Study in the Formulaic Technique of Composition," *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 1957, pp. 65-93. The origin of these themes need not necessarily be Homer, especially in the case of the Polyphemos theme which is a very pervasive folklore theme; for bibliography cf. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, p. 18, note 5; R. M. Dawkins, *More Greek Folktales*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 12-24.

²⁴ Cf. *infra* p. 195.

²⁵ W. Zschietzschmann, "Homer und die attische Bildkunst um 560," *Jahrb.*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 45-60; K. Friis Johansen, *Iliaden: tidlig graesk Kunst*, Copenhagen, 1934 (for the summary of this book I am indebted to Beazley's review in *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 84-85). The same situation

Recent re-appraisals by archaeologists of the role of Ionia in the eighth and seventh centuries ²⁷ are changing our traditional views as to the relative positions of

is reported by Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 137. The inscriptions on vases have a bearing on the Homeric literary activity of the sixth century in Athens. The labelling of figures is first seen in the Menelaos vase in the middle of the seventh century, followed by the Euphorbos vase of Rhodian manufacture, *ca.* 600. The frequent use of names on vases begins with the decade *ca.* 580-570. Commenting on this phenomenon Cook remarks, "I should imagine such naming had just become fashionable" (*Cl. Quar.*, XXX, 1937, p. 208). I believe a more likely explanation is that the infrequency of names on Geometric and Protoattic vases is to be associated with the general illiteracy of a society largely oral in character. The growth of literacy, reflected in the increase of inscriptions on vases *ca.* 580-570, is to be associated with the growth of literacy in the sixth century Athens. The increasing use of inscriptions on the vases of this period shows that the general public for whom these vases were meant was literate enough so that the vase painter could coördinate the scenes on his vases with the scenes in the Homeric poems which were now becoming popular in the Panathenaia. Furthermore, the growth of literacy enabled the vase painter (who was often a bad speller, as we see in vases) to overcome the iconographic difficulties of generic scenes in earlier vases, such as the Thebes lebes where it is difficult to know whether the scene is the abduction of Helen by Paris, of Adriadne by Theseus or merely a farewell scene between the captain of a ship and his wife.

²⁶ As far as concerns Athens none of our sources refer to the public recitations of Homer before the sixth century (Diogenes Laertios, I, 2, 57; Plato, *Hipparchos*, 228b; *Pausanias*, VII, 26, 13; Cicero, *De Orat.*, 3, 137; Lykourgos, in *Leocr.*, 102; Isokrates, *Paneg.*, 159). The same is true of other parts of Greece. Herodotos mentions the activity of Homeric rhapsodes in Sikyon at the time of its tyrant, Kleisthenes (V, 67). The rhapsode Kynaithos introduced the Homeric poems into Sicily in 504 (Pindar, Schol. on *Nem.*, II, 1); for a defense of the scholiast's date against emendation cf. Wade-Gery, "Kynaithos" in *Greek Poetry and Life*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 72-78. Maximus of Tyre (17, 5a) gives further evidence of the lateness of the arrival of the Homeric poems in other parts of Greece. For recent re-examinations of the evidence for a Peisistratid recension cf. J. A. Davison, "Peisistratos and Homer," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI 1955, pp. 1-21 and R. Sealey, "From Phemios to Ion," *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXX, 1957, pp. 343-351. Davison maintains that although an Ionian text of Homer probably antedates Peisistratos, it was brought to Athens by Hipparchos for the Panathenaia and this marks the introduction of the text of Homer in Athens. Sealey maintains that the answer to the question, when were the Homeric poems written down, is the same as that to the question, when did the book trade arise in Greece, i.e. sometime between 550 and 450. I hope to show in a section of a forthcoming book that the fostering of the epic tradition in its entirety, i.e., Homeric and non-Homeric epics, is largely connected with Greek tyranny which has different dates (7th-6th centuries) in various parts of Greece. An aristocratic environment is necessary for the support of rhapsodes and epic recitations. The tyrants used the epic tradition, carried on orally by the rhapsodes who, like Shakespearean actors, may have had written text as an *aide-de-mémoire* (often not followed faithfully), for ornament, for the entertainment of the people, and for reasons of political policy (cf. Herodotos V, 67 and rumors of Athenian interpolations). I believe with Else (*Hermes*, LXXXV, 1957, pp. 17-46) that the *τραγῳδός* evolved from the Homeric *ῥαψῳδός* and that the Athenian state took over the role of the tyrants in offering entertainment to the people through the drama. The drama and not lyric poetry, as has been believed, undermines the epic tradition. For Aeschylus Homer was already a poet of the past. Homer and the other oral poets then largely become textbooks for the education of the young as we see in the Duris vase, in Plato's account of fifth century education in the *Republic* and in Xenophon, *Symp.*, III, 5. Perikles then renews the policy of the Peisistratids of a Homeric rhapsode recitation in the splendid Panathenaia of 442 (cf. Plutarch, *Per.*, 13, 11 and Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, pp. 30-31, 77-78).

²⁷ Hanfmann, "Ionia, Leader or Follower?," *H.S.C.P.*, LXI, 1953, pp. 1-37. For a warning

Ionian and the mainland. While in the mainland Athens was resplendent with Dipylon Geometric vases, and Boeotia and Corinth were not far behind in their art, Ionian culture was slower in maturing in phases other than the epic which usually flourishes in the frontiers of a culture. Archaeologists are now beginning to discard Panionism as an influence on mainland art, and it is emerging that, in comparison with the mainland, Ionia was on the whole backward in art. Ionia was, as Hanfmann points out, not a cultural leader but a colonial frontier region between Greece and Anatolia, "something of a backwater from 700-650 B.C."²⁸ This situation must be clearly kept in mind when one is speaking of an alleged direct Homeric influence on the mainland at the same time. This influence turns out to be a mirage engendered by our long-ingrained modes of thinking which see in Homer the fountainhead of all Greek culture, a notion largely engendered by Plato's statement, *ὡς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαιδευκεν οὗτος ὁ ποιητής* (*Rep.* 606e).

While archaeologists are now making us more cautious in speaking of Homeric influence on the mainland so early, field work in oral literature is making us see it as an *idée fixe* of a literary mentality which is widely at variance with the workings of oral composition. I believe that oral poetry offers us a simpler solution for the presence of Homeric and non-Homeric formulae in Hesiod. One of the most valuable intuitions of Parry were his words on the subject of imitation in oral literature. "It is not the place here," he says, "to explain the varying degrees of repetitions written within the Homeric poem nor the use of Homeric phrases. That will be possible only in a larger study in which one will throw aside the idea of imitation, which has weighed so heavily on the early poetry outside of Homer, and take up repetitions as part of a traditional technique of verse-making. One will learn, I believe, a great deal about the nature of epic diction, of its use for different subjects, and by different poets or schools of poets and of its decline."²⁹ Parry's and Lord's later field work in recording both by dictation and disc the heroic poems of the Serbocroatian *guslars* and my own in Greece corroborate this keen observation. We now know from field experience with practising oral bards that the use of formulaic diction does not constitute grounds for alleged influence by one poet on another, as is the case in written literature, but rather points to the fact that oral poets, districts apart, compose by means of the same ready-made word groups which are part and parcel of a long epic tradition of oral diction. In no way was there evidence of direct copying of one from the other.³⁰

against the tendency to find the origins of Hellenic culture and art in Asia cf. R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.," *J.H.S.*, LXVI, 1946, p. 67; cf. Desborough, *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1948, p. 271; Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. vii-viii, 124.

²⁸ Hanfmann, *H.S.C.P.*, LXI, 1953, p. 15.

²⁹ *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1930, p. 90. There was a period in Homeric scholarship when the formulae of Homer were thought to be "literary imitations," cf. Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homer*, Paris, 1928, p. 9.

³⁰ For the workings of oral literature cf. Parry's interviews with Southslavic *guslars* in

Heroic poems recorded in Epiros, Roumele, Peloponnesus, Crete and Cyprus reveal the presence of identical formulae, whose origin is a common tradition and not oral or literary contact between the singers involved. Such was the case also with Homer and Hesiod who drew from a common oral tradition. In the heroic poems of post-classical Greece, such as the Akritan, the kleptic ballads, and the long Cretan narrative poems, besides identical formulae we find regional formulae, which correspond to the non-Homeric formulae in Hesiod. We also find in these heroic poems the creation of formulae by analogy. In sum, genius apart, the modern Greek heroic poems exhibit orally the same problems as confront us in trying to explain the presence in Hesiod of Homeric and non-Homeric formulae. For the only proper explanation we must go and observe oral poets at work. A Balkan bard does not memorize *verbatim* another's poem or vocabulary; he does not even recite his own poem twice the same within the same day. He may learn his basic formulaic vocabulary by hearing other poets in his district in a period of oral apprenticeship; he learns in the same way type-scenes and story themes which are no less traditional than the formulae. But when he reaches a stage of maturity he may borrow episodes from another poet, use the "design" of the story, but he will rework the material in his own way, with his own ornamentation,³¹ using traditional formulaic diction.

As the result of our understanding of the workings of oral poetry we must throw aside in oral literature the concept of imitation such as we find to be the case in studying of literary influence among later Greek writers, in the Roman imitation of Greek literature where significant phrases or imagery are involved. Nor are repetitions in these later instances so numerous as we find them in Homer and Hesiod. None of the formulaic repetitions in Hesiod involve conscious imitation of Homer for literary effect as we see in Virgil. The repetitions are invariably significant only as they have metrical value in oral verse-making. Classical scholarship of the past, which had no knowledge of oral literature, interpreted Homeric repetitions in Hesiod in the usual *quellengeschichte* technique of literary imitation. If we give up, as I believe

Serbocroatian Heroic Songs, collected by Milman Parry, edited and translated by A. B. Lord, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, I, pp. 56-67, 225-245, 263-267, 289-292. In particular one should note ". . . no singer, even if he learned from a song book, reproduces it exactly" (p. 9). One of the singers claimed that upon hearing a song he can repeat it word for word (p. 241). Lord, however, points out in comparing this singer's version and the one from which he learned it through hearing, that there is considerable variation. For a similar situation compare Murko's remarks on an instance of collecting four versions from a singer and the changes noted (M. Murko, *La Poésie Populaire Épique en Yougoslavie au debut du xx^e Siècle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 16-17). These results are independently corroborated by a Cretan singer's two versions, recorded in the same day, on the Airborne Capture of Crete by the Germans in 1941. They differ considerably from each other. For a detailed study of the oral art as practised in Jugoslavia cf. A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

³¹ For a singer's technique of 'ornamenting' a song cf. Parry, *Cl. Phil.*, XXI, 1936, p. 359 and Parry and Lord, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-241.

we must, this approach to our problem, we must ask what historical grounds there are for assuming a common oral tradition between Homer and Hesiod.

For the answer we must go to the survival of the Achaeian tradition of oral poetry in the mainland after the Dorian Conquest. In fact, we know that it survived as late as the Protogeometric age, the date of the Ionian migration. Thucydides is emphatic in placing the migration from the Greek mainland to Ionia, which resulted in the Homeric epics, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ after the Dorian invasion.³² The migration came from Athens and was not a mere flotsam and jetsam of peoples of the fragmented Achaeian world, but an organized Attic-Ionic migration, with a good leaven from Pylos. The pre-eminence of Athens at this time is indicated by the emergence of the new Protogeometric style, with its emphasis on elegance rather than utility. The long interim posited by Thucydides "is roughly the Protogeometric age, during which the 'Hellenic' civilization was in gestation. . . . It was probably when the Protogeometric style began to give away to the Geometric (perhaps about 900 B.C.) that the Hellenic Conquest of Ionia began."³³ If this is the case, we have grounds for believing in the survival of the Achaeian heritage from the tenth to the eighth century to influence mainland art and poetry independently of Homer. We hear of no destruction in the mainland after the Dorian invasion, resulting in a cultural gap from the tenth century to be filled by Homer. Thucydides is clear; the Achaeian heritage survived in the mainland, and in the Protogeometric period it divided into two streams, the one going with the migration to Ionia, the other staying in the mainland and influencing the poetry and the ceramic art of the mainland, passing on into the classical period the Achaeian tradition whose Hellenic character now is re-enforced by the Greek language of the Linear B tablets³⁴ which show "that the new certainty in language adds to the possibility of continuity in other forms."³⁵ Surely the epic was one, as we shall see.

³² Thucydides, I, 12,4.

³³ Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, p. 5. For the archaeological corroboration of Thucydides cf. Hanfmann, *H.S.C.P.*, LXI, 1953, p. 11, where the migration is dated 850, and *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pp. 135-155; C. Roebuck, *Cl. Phil.*, L, 1955, pp. 34-35, and notes 62-63; Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-460; Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 298-299; Mellink, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, pp. 231-240. The other current view of the date of the Ionian migration is the early part of the Protogeometric period, ca. 1000 B.C.; cf. Roebuck, *Cl. Phil.*, L, 1955, p. 26 and note 5 on p. 37. Hanfmann's dating and some interpretations are criticized by Mellink, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, p. 184; Cook, *J.H.S.*, LXXV, 1955, pp. 157-158. The earlier dating, however, of the migration does not affect the argument about the survival of the Achaeian tradition in the mainland, but does bring the Achaeian tradition nearer to the destruction of the Mycenaean centers, allowing a longer period for the epic tradition in Ionia, 300 rather than 200 years.

³⁴ Cf. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge, 1956; T. B. L. Webster, "Homer and the Mycenaean Tablets," *Antiquity*, XXIX, 1955, pp. 10-14 and "Early and Late in Homeric Diction," *EranoS*, LIV, 1956, pp. 34-48; L. D. Richardson, "Further Observations on Homer and the Mycenaean Tablets," *Hermathena*, LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 50-65.

³⁵ E. L. Bennett's review of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek in Language*, XXXIII, 1957, p. 555.

Nor was the destruction that followed the Dorian invasion such as to result in a cultural vacuum. Wace sees no sign of any interruption in the evolution of culture. "The 'return' of the Dorians," he says, "or the coming of any other fresh tribes of the Greeks seems not to have caused any racial or cultural break, but only political or physical disturbances in which the seats of the mighty were overthrown."³⁶ Perhaps this is too optimistic a view of the facts that the centers of Mycenaean Greece were destroyed, the political organization broken (except perhaps in Athens), the economic basis of Mycenaean society destroyed. The complexity of a highly developed culture was "barbarized" and a new complex had to be rewoven. This, however, is not to question the validity of the survival of oral tradition, for folk-memory, oral traditions, religious practices and beliefs are of a different *order* of things, and only a part of a culture, the real part, however, which enables it to survive and carry on. Yet despite the destruction the Achaean civilization emerges in the eighth century with marked vitality sufficient to characterize it not merely a survival but a revival. Nilsson has shown that classical mythology is a heritage from Mycenaean times;³⁷ this heritage could not all come from the Homeric poems for there are myths and sagas in Geometric art, in Boeotian art and poetry, in Archaic art and poetry, and later in drama that are not found in Homer. The heritage of megaron architecture, of religious beliefs and practices shows that the continuity of the Achaean heritage is unbroken. Geometric art appears from the excavations of the Kerameikos to be survival of Mycenaean art and therefore presumably not the result of Dorian influence. Athens had a strong continuity in Mycenaean culture,³⁸ and her Geometric vases reflect the existence of non-Homeric local epics.³⁹ In Argos and Mycenae we see hero cults⁴⁰ emerging in the eighth century and these are not to be explained by the arrival of the Homeric poems. The eighth century shows emphasis on the heroic age in the poetry of Homer, in the prominence of the age of heroes in the cycles of Hesiod, in mainland art and vases. The eighth century at home and abroad saw its present, marked by a new creative spirit, as a revival of ancestral glory. While the *Iliad* was being created in Ionia in the eighth century the mainland was far from a shadow. Boeotia shows in its poems a moral fibre, such as we only meet later in Solon and Aeschylus. The aristocracies of the mainland, such as the Bacchiadae, the vases for trade and *in memoriam* funeral use, Corinth's leadership in shipbuilding and naval

³⁶ Wace, "The Arrival of the Greeks," *Viking*, 1954, p. 222. This paper, slightly altered, is published in *C.W.*, XLVII, 1954, pp. 152-154; cf. Foreword by Wace in *Mycenaean Documents*, pp. xxix-xxxi. See also Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, London, 1933, p. 178; Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 461; Desborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-299.

³⁷ Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, Berkeley, 1932.

³⁸ O. Broneer, "What Happened in Athens," *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pp. 111-114; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, pp. 8-21, 223-225.

³⁹ Webster, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 49-50 and *Lustrum*, I, 1, 1957, p. 92.

⁴⁰ Cook, *Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*, IX, 1953, pp. 112-118.

warfare, colonization movements of the mainland in the West, all these taken together add up to the fact that there was a high level of culture in the mainland in the eighth century sufficient to make us cautious in accepting the Homeric poems as *ex oriente lux*.

It is amazing to see how we have accepted the survival in the mainland of myths and sagas not found in Homer, yet have left a lacuna for mainland oral poetry by means of which much of this heritage was transmitted to the classical period. Parallels for the survival of folklore and oral poetry in nations which have been conquered or governed by aliens, even amid circumstances of as great destruction as is shown in the Dorian Conquest, show that cultural vacuum is by no means the necessary result of conquest. Examples of the oral continuity of culture within the post-classical tradition attest not only to its survival but its survival even when writing is known to exist. In the category of heroic poetry the modern Greek refugees from Pontus and Cappadocia brought back with them to Greece, on the occasion of the exchange of the minority populations between the Greeks and the Turks in 1922, oral ballads about Digenes Akritas, the Byzantine frontier hero of the ninth century about whom Bishop Arethas of Caesarea in the tenth century tells us wandering oral poets composed songs.⁴¹ The versions about Digenes Akritas collected from the refugees are variants of others about the same hero which are still sung in Cyprus, the Dodecanese, and Crete.⁴² This survival of folklore from Byzantine times into modern Greece, despite centuries of enslavement under the Turks, provides a parallel to the continuity of Achaeian culture into the classical period. To this parallel may be added the amazing linguistic survival of the Greek language and oral poetry in Italy's regions of Calabria and Terra d'Otranto.⁴³ The survival until today of the Greek language and songs in the Greek-speaking villages in the southern defiles of Mount Aspromonte and in the villages not far from Reggio is further evidence of the longevity of folklore. This oral tradition of the Greek language and poetry goes back if not, as maintained by

⁴¹ *Λαογραφία*, IV, 1913-14, pp. 239-240. For a bibliography see Π. Καλονάρου, *Διγενής Ἀκρίτας*, Athens, 1941, I, Introduction pp. λθ-μθ'; H. Gregoire, *Ὁ Διγενής Ἀκρίτας*, New York, 1942, pp. 14-16; J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 261-264.

⁴² For a selected collection of these songs cf. *Λαογραφία*, I, 1909-1910, pp. 169-275 and N. Πολίτου, *Ἑκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τραγούδια τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens, 1932, pp. 81-106; Καλονάρου, *Διγενής Ἀκρίτας*, pp. 205-253; Α. Σακελλαρίου, *Τὰ Κυπριακά*, Athens, 1890, II, pp. 9-63; Ξ.Π. Φαρμακίδου, *Κύπρια Ἔπη*, Nicosia, 1926; R. M. Dawkins, "Some Modern Greek Songs from Cappadocia," *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 112-122; Δ. Α. Πετροπούλου, *Ἑλληνικὰ Δημοτικὰ Τραγούδια*, Athens, 1958, pp. 3-65. For recordings of Akritan heroic poems cf. my introduction to Folkways Library Album F. E. 4468 (see above note 4), pp. 7-8, 12-23.

⁴³ Cf. bibliography given in R. A. Hall, *Bibliography of Italian Linguistics*, Baltimore, 1941, pp. 398-405 and in N. Β. Τωμαδάκη, *Αἱ Ἑλληνικαὶ Κοινότητες τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ*, Ἀθηνᾶ, LVII, 1953, pp. 21-25; R. Weiss, "The Greek Culture of South Italy in the Later Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXVII, 1951, pp. 25-50; K. M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, C, 1956, pp. 2-17; S. C. Caratzas, *L'Origine des Dialects Néo-Grecs de l'Italie Meridionale*, Paris, 1958.

Rohlf's, to the Greek colonies in the sixth century B.C., at least to the Byzantine settlements of Greeks in Italy which commenced in the sixth century after Christ with the reconquest of Sicily and Southern Italy by Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narsis (534-554). This tide of Greeks joined a partly Greek population of peasants and shepherds persisting from antiquity and thus the knowledge of Greek became widespread again and has persisted with surprising vitality until recently, though it is now dying out. A similar example of the vitality of an oral survival of the Greek language and poetry may be seen in the settlement of Greeks in Cargese, Corsica.⁴⁴ These Greeks were a vigorous warlike group of families from the mountains of the Mané in Sparta who preferred exile to threatened subjugation by the Turks. They left their native land and settled in 1676 in Corsica. There they have preserved until modern times their Greek language and oral poetry which include ballads from the Digenes Akritas cycle. If one adds to these examples the vast number of modern Greek folksongs and folktales which contain themes and motifs from classical mythology, and survivals of classical religious beliefs and practises, as collected and commented upon by Schmidt, Polites, Lawson, Dawkins, Megas, and many others,⁴⁵ he will find in this *aurea catena* of the Greek tradition the most illuminating context in which to understand the continuity of the Achaean tradition from the days of Mycenae to the classical period, which is amply attested by the contents of the Linear B tablets.

The Achaean oral tradition cannot have died out in the mainland during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. As early as 1905 Nilsson⁴⁶ posited the existence, side by side with the heroic epic, of pre-Homeric oral literature composed in hexameters whose themes are practical arts, sailing and agriculture which emerge in the *Works and Days*. The Boeotian school of poetry with its emphasis on catalogues, genealogies, concern for the daily realities of practical life reflects the non-heroic aspects of Achaean oral poetry. It finds many parallels in the non-heroic oral poetry

⁴⁴ G. Glanzen, *Les Grecs de Cargèse (Corse)*, Leyden, 1951; H. F. Tozer, "Modern Greek Ballads from Corsica," *J.Ph.*, VI, 1876, pp. 191-205; cf. *J.H.S.*, III, 1882, pp. 354-360. P. L. Fermor, *Mani, Travels in the Southern Peloponnese*, London, 1958, pp. 99-111.

⁴⁵ B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1877; N. Πολίτου, *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων*, Athens, 1871; J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910; W. R. Halliday, *Folklore Studies Ancient and Modern*, London, 1924; D. C. Hesselung, *Charos*, Leyden, 1897; R. G. Moravcsik, "Il Caronte Bizantine," *Studi bizantini*, III, 1931, pp. 47-68; G. Megas, *Greek Calendar Customs*, Athens, 1958; R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek Folktales*, Oxford, 1953, and *More Greek Folktales*, Oxford, 1955, especially pp. 12-19. In 1953 I heard from a Cretan in the district of Sfakia a folktale which had the same theme as Herodotos' thief in the King's treasury (II, 121); for the survival of this theme cf. Dawkins, *More Greek Folktales*, p. 18. For the survival of the Alexander myth in modern Greek folklore cf. T. K. Σπυριδάκη, *Παραδόσεις καὶ δοξασίαι περὶ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου*, Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπονδῶν, IX, 1953, pp. 385-419.

⁴⁶ M. Nilsson, "Κάταπλοι," *Rh. Mus.*, LX, 1905, pp. 161 ff.

of other ancient and modern peoples which have been studied by the Chadwicks.⁴⁷ The study of the formulaic language of Hesiod, as we have seen, shows the presence of layers in the diction which go back to the early phases of Achaeian poetry. Even in Hesiod's own day we hear of contemporary mainland oral poets in the poetic contest in Euboea in which Hesiod himself participated. Their themes and diction would certainly be rooted in the mainland oral tradition which included the epic as the consciousness of the Achaeian heroic age reflected in the Theban cycle and in Hesiod's account of the heroic age show. Nor is Hesiod our only source for the survival of Achaeian poetry. Kinkel's *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* is a veritable thesaurus of epic poetry which shows the continuity of the epic on the mainland. Even if some of these poets are to be dated later than Homer and Hesiod their poems show a reworking of traditional themes and the use of traditional diction. The fact that in a ten-line fragment of the *Thebais*⁴⁸ we have seven oral formulae and that the non-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, composed sometime in the late seventh or early sixth centuries,⁴⁹ is 90% formulaic in its first hundred lines are indication that we are dealing with oral poetry. Until a systematic study of the formulaic texture of these fragments is made it cannot be known to what extent our surviving epic fragments are oral or literary, but the indications are that we are dealing with oral material emanating, like the Theban cycle, from the oldest layers of the Achaeian epic and revealing not only thematic independence from Homer but the vast repertory of Achaeian sagas.

It may be argued that the introduction of writing in the eighth century necessarily makes these epics literary. As we know from contemporary surviving oral traditions the knowledge of writing does not necessarily change at once long-ingrained habits of oral composition.⁵⁰ The art of writing, if familiar, may preserve an oral epic through dictation but it makes little or no difference to the practise of the oral art. The tenacity of the oral tradition⁵¹ existing even centuries after the printing press should make us wary of accepting the introduction of writing into Greece as the end of the oral tradition. It is hard for modern man who *reads* epics to realize that, in the period we are dealing with, an epic is natural only in an oral context. The long

⁴⁷ H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, Cambridge, 1932-1940, III, pp. 727-853.

⁴⁸ Fr. 2 (Kinkel); cf. Parry, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1930, p. 91.

⁴⁹ R. M. Cook, "The Date of the Hesiodic Shield," *Cl. Quar.* XXXI, 1937, p. 208.

⁵⁰ Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, "The Introduction of the Alphabet into Oral Societies; some case-histories of conflict between oral and written literature," *Προσφορά εις Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδη*, Salonika, 1953, pp. 516-524. For the difficulty of an oral bard composing with the aid of writing cf. Lord's experiment with a Yugoslav *guslar* who, trained in the oral tradition, failed miserably in producing a written poem, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXIV, 1953, p. 129. Singers even find it difficult to dictate their versions without the aid of the music.

⁵¹ For a comprehensive study of oral poetry cf. the monumental work of the Chadwicks', *The Growth of Literature*, Cambridge, 1932-1940, Vols. I-III.

rhapsode tradition is witness to this fact. That such was the case in Greece is seen in the recent study of Sealey⁵² who gives evidence that the practise of oral composition in heroic poetry continued until the fifth century, with literary composition becoming a serious rival in the field of the lyric by the middle of the sixth century. This conclusion finds corroboration for the longevity of the oral epic traditions not only in modern nations but as Professor Albright reminds us "even in such literate regions as Egypt and Babylonia, or later Iran, India, and China, literary composition was mostly oral."⁵³

The fragments of early Greek epic poetry and the surviving testimony about them show a widely spread oral atlas on the Greek mainland. In Corinth we have a considerable epic activity which is not surprising in view of the close connection between tyranny and the support it gave to epic poetry. The court life of the Bacchiadae and the presence of epic themes in early Corinthian vases explain the vitality of the epic associated with Eumelos (8th century?)⁵⁴ who is the author of *Corinthiaca*,

⁵² Sealey, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXX, 1957, pp. 312-351.

⁵³ *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 164. Just when the Homeric poems were committed to writing constitutes the major problem in recent Homeric studies. In dealing with this problem we must distinguish clearly between "preservation" and publication for a reading public. Three views hold the field: 1) Lord's suggestion of an orally dictated text by Homer himself to a scribe within his own lifetime, when writing is available for such a purpose (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXXIV, 1953, pp. 124-134). This would account for the excellence of the poems in their present status, a feature not warranted if we assume a later commitment to writing, for no bard tells a tale exactly as he heard it. (For a parallel we have in *The Song of Daskaloyiannes*, a Cretan heroic poem dated 1786, a detailed description of an oral bard dictating the text of his poem to a scribe, cf. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXXIII, 1952, pp. 233-236.) For other views of the commitment of Homer's oral text to writing in his own lifetime cf. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, pp. 11-14; Bowra, *Homer and his Forerunners*, Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 11-13; Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, pp. 140-141. 2) Commitment of the texts to writing after Homer's lifetime, sometime in the seventh century. For recent statements cf. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 526, Davison, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 6, 21. These texts at this time were not for a reading public but bardic texts for practising rhapsodes; cf. Krarup, *Eranos*, LIV, 1956, pp. 28-33. It is not clear what role the rhapsodes played, that of a bard capable of creating poems himself or the picture of the rhapsode that we get in the *Ion* of Plato. For the increasing tendency to regard the earlier rhapsodes as the former cf. Sealey, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXX, 1957, pp. 312-318. There is no doubt that the Homeric bardic texts could be recited faithfully. An illiterate old Cretan, age 90, not an oral poet, when tested from a printed text of the long Cretan epic-romance *Erotokritos*, which runs over 10,000 lines, recited *verbatim* passage after passage, selected by me from the written text at random. The real problem lies in connecting a faithful reproduction of Homer's oral text through oral transmission to a literary text in the seventh century. The practise of oral poetry is against such a *verbatim* transmission of an oral text. 3) A Peisistratid recension; for recent examinations of this problem cf. Davison, *loc. cit.*, and Sealey, *loc. cit.*; cf. also note 26 *supra*. Just when Hesiod and the mainland and non-Homeric Ionic epics were committed to writing is a problem left to sheer conjecture. Are their texts to be associated with the Homeric commitment to writing or later perhaps when, at the end of a dying tradition, people wished to preserve a faded glory through writing, a phenomenon observed in the eighteenth century and going on until today, when the commitment to writing (on disc or tape) has become a marked phenomenon in dying oral societies?

⁵⁴ Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, pp. 185-195; Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Litera-*

an annalistic epic, a *Bougonia*, a *Europia*, and a *Nostos*. We hear of another Corinthian epic poet, Aison, a mere name.⁵⁵ It is probable that the Corinthian epic contained themes reflected in early Corinthian vases, and dealt with old sagas on Sisypheos, Medea, and Glaukos-Bellerophon which Pindar used as sources in *Olympian Odes*, XIII.⁵⁶ Other parts of Greece show a similar survival of the Achaean epic. In Troizen we hear of Hagias who composed a *Nostoi* in five books.⁵⁷ In Boeotia we have a reference to Hegesinos associated with Askra, and to Chersias of Orchomenos, whose date is ca. 620 B.C.⁵⁸ We can assume in Boeotia a continuity of the epic from the time of Hesiod. In the mainland we have also the *Carmen Naupactium*, composed by Karkinos of Naupaktos, which seems to be connected with the Hesiodic school of poetry.⁵⁹ In Sparta we have in the eighth century the poet Kinaethon (to be distinguished from the rhapsode Kinaethos of Chios) who composed the *Telegonia*, an *Oedipodia*, the *Ilias parva*, and a *Heraclea*.⁶⁰ The fact that another poet from Sparta, Demodokos, took Herakles as his subject,⁶¹ and that we have other references to the epics *Minyas*, *Theseis*, and the *Thesprotia* shows that the mainland epic took regional heroes for its themes,⁶² even as modern Greek heroic poetry. The revival of the hero cult of Menelaos at Sparta in the eighth century shows a strong epic tradition which accounts for the survival in Sparta of the heroic ἀπερὴ and the epic diction in the elegies of Tyrtaios in the seventh century. The survival of the Achaean epic poetry in the mainland is aptly attested by these epics and epic poets of the eighth and seventh centuries.

The Achaean epic left some other mainland vestiges whose implications are just beginning to be fully understood by Homeric scholarship. These vestiges take the form of hexameter inscriptions containing noun-epithet formulae and other types of

tur-Geschichte, Munich, 1929, I, pp. 291-292, where he questions the date of Eusebios for Eumelos; for the heroic sagas on Protocorinthian and early Corinthian vases cf. Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-143; F. Brommer, *Bellerophon*, Marburger Winkelmann-Program 1952/54; T. J. Dunbabin, "Bellerophon, Herakles, and Chimaera," *Studies D. M. Robinson*, II, p. 1164.

⁵⁵ Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 291, note 2.

⁵⁷ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁵⁸ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 292. For the sagas in early Boeotian art cf. Hampe, *Sagenbilder und die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*.

⁵⁹ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-202; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-293; P. Mazon, *Hésiode*, Paris, 1928, p. xiv.

⁶⁰ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-198; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 293. For the existence of heroic sagas in Sparta in the seventh century cf. E. A. Lane, "Lakonian Vase Painting," *B.S.A.*, XXXIV, 1933-34, pp. 162-168; Davison, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 13-15. For a Pylian epic cf. F. Boelte, "Ein pylisches Epos," *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXIII, 1934, pp. 319-347; Wade-Gery, *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pp. 115-118.

⁶¹ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 293. For Herakles themes on Geometric vases, reflecting non-Homeric sagas, cf. Webster, *Lustrum*, I, 1, 1957, pp. 92-93.

⁶² Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-218.

formulaic diction. These inscriptions are found on stone and vases of the eighth century. Their date is concurrent with the composition of the Homeric epics in Ionia or in the interval before Homer's poems had sufficient time to cross over to the mainland. The Perachora inscriptions (750-650 B.C.) contain the formula Ἦρα λευφ[ώλενος], λευφολένωι [Ἦραι]⁶³ which come not from Homer but from the Achaian mainland epic. Furthermore, the formula *φεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι*,⁶⁴ found in the Mantiklos bronze, dedicated at the end of the eighth century, is a formula of the mainland epic, and the concluding formula of the second line, *χαρίφετταν ἀμοι[βάν]* is the mainland counterpart of Homer's formula *χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβήν*.⁶⁵ The hexameter inscription of the Geometric oinochoe from Athens,⁶⁶ dated not later than the end of the third quarter of the eighth century, *ὅς νῦν ὀρχηστῶν πάντων ἀταλώτατα παίζει*, not only shows proficiency in the use of the hexameter in Athens, the result of a long tradition of mainland poetry, but it contains a parallel survival in Athens of a metrical analogue of the Homeric formula, occupying the same metrical position,

οἱ δ' εἰς ὀρχηστύν τε καὶ ἰμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν (α 421, σ 304; cf. N 731, Ω 261)

If we combine this formula with that in another line of Homer,

ὅς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὔχεται εἶναι (A 91)

we have the creation of the entire formula of the Athenian inscription occupying the portion of the line up to the caesura (*ὅς νῦν ὀρχηστῶν*). The skill in hexameter composition in the eighth century is not confined to the mainland but extends even to the West where the Mycenaean civilization had spread. In Ithaca we have fragments of a hexameter inscription on a vase dated in the eighth century.⁶⁷ What is most surprising, however, is the cup of Nestor with a metrical inscription found in October 1954 in the excavation of the Necropolis of Pithecusa, a Euboean colony.⁶⁸ Dated on the basis of Geometric vases the inscription belongs to the eighth century:

Νέστορος: ε[...]: εὔποτ[ον]: ποτέριον·

ἡὸς δ' ἄ<ν> τὸδε π[ίε]σι: ποτερί[ο]: ἀντίκα κένον

ἡίμερ[ος: ἡαιρ]έσει: καλλιστε[φά]νο: Ἀφροδίτες

⁶³ P. Friedlander and H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1928, nos. 10, 34, where bibliography for each inscription is cited.

⁶⁴ *Epigrammata*, no. 35.

⁶⁵ *Odyssey*, γ 58.

⁶⁶ *Epigrammata*, no. 53; cf. Webster, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 39.

⁶⁷ *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1948, p. 82, pl. 34 (no. 490).

⁶⁸ G. Buchner and C. F. Fusso, "La coppa di Nestore e un' iscrizione metrica da Pitacusa dell' viii secolo av. Chr.," *Lincei Rendiconti*, X, 1955, pp. 215-234.

In this inscription Νέστορος occupies the same metrical position as it does in γ 452; *ἡδὲ δ' αὖν* is paralleled in Δ 306; *ἡμέρος ἡαίρέσει* is close to Γ 446, Δ 89, Ξ 328; and *καλλιστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης* is a noun-epithet formula found in *Hymn to Demeter* 251, 295, and Tyrtaios 2,1. This inscription reveals a surprisingly early instance of enjambment which attests the ability of the poet to pass beyond the coincidence of the thought and diction within the boundary of the same verse. These hexameter formulae found in inscriptions, whose date prevents influence from Homeric texts, are survivals on the mainland of the traditional technique of oral verse-making of the Achaeon epics.⁶⁹ The hexameters are committed to writing because they serve as dedications. As potsherds reveal the splendor of a lost world, so do these inscriptions with their inlaid oral formulae reveal the existence on the mainland of the Achaean epic which made possible these inscriptions and their technique in a century when Homeric influence is inconceivable.

The diction of the Achaean epic was an epic *koine* with a core of Arcado-Cyprian diction which was overlaid with Aeolic and later with Attic-Ionic. It is a traditional language in which early and late forms existed side by side. It pervades the mainland, Ionia, and the West. The fact that Tyrtaios, a Dorian, used in the seventh century the Attic-Ionic diction of epic poetry⁷⁰ shows how pervasive the influence of the Achaean epic was on both sides of the Aegean. Except for the survival of the epic *koine* in various parts of the mainland it would never have been possible for the Homeric poems to be introduced later to places like Sparta where the Doric dialect

⁶⁹ Cf. Wackernagel, *Glotta*, VII, 1916, p. 176.

⁷⁰ Though it is generally assumed that the Doric and the other western Greek dialects are the latest arrivals in the Greek peninsula, it is apparent that the Dorians were long enough in Greece to absorb traces of pre-Doric speech, i.e., Aeolian or Arcado-Cyprian (cf. C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago, 1955, p. 8) and to share in the Achaean culture. The Spartan Kleomenes is attesting to a historical truth when he tells the priestess on the Acropolis, ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι, ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός (Herodotos, V, 72). This and other references in Herodotos (I, 56,2; 57,3; VI, 95; VII, 94-95; VIII, 44,2) suggest that the Dorians were sufficiently long in Greece to absorb the Achaean *koine* in which to compose oral epics of their own in the seventh century, to understand the poetry of Tyrtaios, composed in the Homeric language, and Homer when he was brought by rhapsodes to Sparta. The cultural level of the Spartans before Lykourgos' military reforms must have been high enough to cultivate the epic no less than the fine arts as shown by the excavations at Sparta in 1912. The use of the Homeric dialect by the Dorians is no more odd than 1) the use of the Doric (not any specific Doric dialect but an artificial composite diction showing many of the Doric characteristics) in the choral lyric whether composed by a Dorian or a Boeotian like Pindar or an Ionian like Simonides and Bacchylides; 2) the use of Ionic by Hippokrates of Kos, a Dorian (cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 15); or 3) the use of the Lesbian dialect by Theokritos in three of his idylls. We must get used to the notion that the literary dialects in Greek literature are for the most part mixed and artificial and do not correspond to the spoken dialects or the mature dialect of the author. The Greeks had originally an oral *koine*, then later a variety of literary *koine* long before the Hellenistic *koine*. Greece, ever since the days of Homer, is a land where ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμυγμένη (Od. τ 175).

was the spoken language of the people. What made Homer pan-Hellenic in the sixth century was not the fact that the districts of Greece, which spoke dialects different from the Attic-Ionic, learned through schooling the dialect of Homer in order to hear and enjoy him; on the contrary, the rhapsode who spread the Homeric poems could find appreciative audiences only because these people had surviving a knowledge of the epic diction which they had never lost. It cannot be claimed that the epic dialect of Homer was adapted from Homer by the epic and elegiac poets of the mainland. The introduction of a new dialect involves an insurmountable obstacle in communication between the poet and his audience. The mainland had a tradition of an oral epic *kunstsprache* which must have been to the peoples of the mainland what the New Testament *koine* used by the Greek Church today is to the modern Greeks, who in everyday language use different dialects of the demotic. Yet by a continuity of oral tradition of hearing the Mass and the Gospel in church ever since the Early Church they by and large understand the New Testament *koine* though they do not speak it. Such must have been the case with the epic diction in all parts of Greece. It had come down to them from Achaean times and enabled them to understand the Achaean oral tradition in their mainland oral poets and in Homer, when rhapsodes spread his poems on the mainland.

Now that it is emerging with some clearness that the Achaean epic survived the Dorian Conquest we have a more satisfactory explanation for the presence in Hesiod of non-Homeric and Homeric formulae. The Homeric repetitions in Hesiod are the basic oral vocabulary of the Achaean epic, surviving in two streams after the Ionian migration—the Ionian in Homer and the mainland stream in Hesiod and the other early epic poets. Though the two streams join later in the mainland, we must not in our account of early Greek poetry indulge in *ὑστερον πρότερον* 'Ομηρικῶς.

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