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GENERAL EDITOR
James J. Sosnoski

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Steve Nimis

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

James J. Sosnoski

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James J. Sosnoski   (513) 523-8574
General Editor, **CEx**   or 529-2328
The Society for Critical Exchange
P.O. Box 475
Oxford, Ohio 45056

INTRODUCTION

STEVE NIMIS

In October of 1983, Wolfgang Kullmann of the University of Freiburg visited the campuses of several American universities to deliver lectures on the theory of "neoanalysis" in the study of Homer, a theory which, in contrast to the theory of oral-formulaic composition, foregrounds the "intertextual" relationships between the **Iliad** and the fragmentary epic poems nearly contemporary with it. Professor Kullmann's visit to the United States, it is hoped, signals the end of over a generation of silent dismissal by American classicists of this work by their European colleagues. Toward the end of making neoanalysis better known in America, where the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition has dominated, the

Society for Critical Exchange is publishing Professor Kullmann's lecture, "Neoanalysis and Oral Poetry Theory in Homeric Research," together with responses by several outstanding American Homerists, William Coulson, University of Minnesota; and William Hansen, Indiana University; Gregory Nagy, Harvard; Peter Rose, Miami University. Professor Kullmann's paper and these responses will give a clear picture of what neoanalysis is and how it is situated in the context of learned opinion on the nature of Homeric composition, itself the model for many discussions of the composition of early medieval narratives (**The Song of Roland, Beowulf,** Icelandic saga, etc.), as well as the oral traditions of many non-western cultures. In addition, Mark Clark of the University of Southern Mississippi has provided an annotated bibliography of important works on neoanalysis, which will be helpful to novice and specialist alike.

To those familiar with the vagaries of contemporary literary discussions, the opposition of the Parry-Lord theory and neoanalysis has a perhaps distressing familiarity about it. On the one hand, we have a position which argues that the Homeric poems are the unmediated oral-aural products of a homogeneous, non-individualized tradition, a tradition in which production is coeval with **present**ation. On the other hand, we have a position which argues that the poems are **written** and are the products of an individual genius **different** from his tradition — on the one hand an argument for the primarily oral nature of the Homeric poems, on the other an argument for their "secondariness" with respect to that oral tradition. Occasionally, the claims for one side or the other are explicitly grounded in presuppositions about the value of speech versus writing, claiming, for example, that what is written escapes the casual and accidental character of speech, and is hence superior in quality; or, alternatively, that writing disrupts the unmediated character of oral-aural presentation, introduces supplementary practices, and finally supplants real oral composition completely. I would like to briefly explore this opposition in the broader context of literary theory, taking my cue from various points made by the contributors to this volume.

Kullmann points out that neoanalysis and oral theory not only begin with different assumptions about Homer, but begin in different places, the former with larger thematic elements, the latter with smaller units of diction, to wit, noun-epithet combinations. Moreover, as Peter Rose points out, it is in these respective domains, and only there, that each theory is effective: formulaic analysis seems ill-suited to deal with anything larger than a line-long formula, but neoanalysis seems unable to account for the peculiar **economy** which Parry argued determined the use of noun-epithet combinations in the **Iliad** and **Odyssey.** Meanwhile, attempts to generalize the notion of a "formula system" to larger narrative

units by scholars such as Bernard Fenik (**Typical Scenes in the Iliad**) have produced abstract "grammars" of typical scenes and plot paradigms whose actual textual realizations involve such a dizzying variety of details that the very notion of "economy" becomes obliterated. There thus seem to be some aspects in which the notion of generative patterns have an especially fitting application to Homer, and other aspects in which such patterns are not particularly helpful. At the same time, the assumption of neo-analysts that Homer's texts were produced from or at least against the background of other specifiable literary works, and their attempt to identify transformations between the **Iliad** and particular texts, does not entirely face up to the special problems posed by Homer's "formulaic" poems. The result has often been reciprocal charges that the other side has focussed on what is contingent in relation to the real basis of composition.

William Hansen makes a more familiar distinction when he notes that the emphasis of the oral theorists has been synchronic, that of the neoanalysts diachronic; the former have investigated system, the latter, sources. The mediation between diachronic and synchronic studies has been one of the most persistent problems of contemporary analyses of various discourses. It was, of course, Saussure who suggested that any study which deals with **values** must necessarily split itself along two completely divergent paths: diachrony and synchrony; but that in language this was all the more so because it is a system of **pure values** which are determined by nothing but the momentary arrangement of its terms. In the discussion of synchrony and diachrony in Saussure's **Course in General Linguistics**, synchrony is clearly singled out as the more fundamental preoccupation of linguistics: linguistic change is fortuitous, and the specific results of such change become meaningful only in terms of their systemic relationships with other synchronic facts. That is, the actual functioning of linguistic facts in any given language state is to the historical change which produced those facts.

The bracketing of linguistic change (or more specifically, the question of origins) in the study of "system states" has analogues in most "structuralist" accounts of signifying phenomena. Studies of narrative models, for example, generally begin with a distinction between certain invariable features of a narrative system and the various contingencies which cluster around these invariable features in any specific example of narrative. Despite the heuristic value of such projects for understanding signifying phenomena, the nagging question has always been the status of whatever invariable elements are identified: are they historically of whatever invariable elements are identified: are they historically contingent (and hence only relatively invariable) or are they somehow ontologically prior (and hence absolutely invariable)? A radical version

of the latter position is exemplified by Michael Nagler (**Spontaneity and Tradition**), for whom the generative "Form" of the **Iliad** and **Odyssey** is a pre-cultural and pre-linguistic mental template, some sort of Chomskian universal. This "essentialist" option has been the object of many post-structuralist critiques which need not be rehearsed here; but the best structuralist studies have taken this critique into account.[1] Suffice it to say that the question of origins (which Saussure wrote was "not even worth asking") is the perennial blind spot in synchronic studies, and that the more moderate option (the identification of **relatively** invariable features of some discursive formation) necessitates some account of history.

Oral theorists do not, of course, ignore history, but history generally plays the same ancillary role as it does in synchronic linguistics. Thus oral theorists often refer to some fortuitous change in the Greek language (e.g. loss of digamma) which resulted in a particular configuration of a formula system; but if these diachronic facts are relevant to the differentiation of various language states, they are nevertheless not relevant to an understanding of how any one language state functions. As Saussure notes, "speaking (**parole**) operates only on a language state (**état de langue**), and the changes that intervene between states have no place in either state."[2] This principle implicitly underlies the Parry-Lord picture of the oral poet as a **presenter** who has at his disposal an inventory or stockpile of systematic devices whose prior history is virtually irrelevant for an understanding of the poet's use of them.

Neoanalysts, on the other hand, take a different view of change. For them change is significant, and a set of specific historical circumstances (the invention of writing and a particular poetic genius) are specifiable determinations in the production of the **Iliad**. Their attempt to chart these changes through source and influence studies consistently comes back to a notion of how the poet of the **Iliad** radically changed things and how these changes imply some historical trajectory which the poet has crystallized. Although Gregory Nagy does not focus on the same historical circumstances, he too tries to chart a trajectory of significant **change** which the **Iliad** crystallizes. Nagy in fact looks at the synchrony/diachrony relationship in a way opposite from Saussure: for Nagy diachrony is a meaningful structure with respect to which synchronic facts are secondary. Thus he notes below that "it is a mistake to equate 'diachronic' with 'historical,' as is often done. Diachrony refers to the potential for evolution **in a structure**. History is not restricted to phenomena that are structurally predictable." Here we have a notion of change as able to be mapped in terms of some series of essential "functions" (in Propp's sense) of a narrative scheme. Such narrative schemes,

familiar from the philosophy of history, are plentiful (the analogy of biological evolution, historical materialism, etc.). Implicit in such dia-chronic models is some notion of what is historically necessary and determined as opposed to all the messy contingencies which lie outside the explanatory power of the model. The model, that is to say, is not itself subject to the heterogenizing influence of time: it is, rather, ahistorical. The pinpointing of ahistorical moments in historicist models (in "vulgar Marxism," for example) is a significant critique which the best literary theorists have had to take into account.[3]

As "literary history" neoanalysis too has its ahistorical moments, to which several of the contributors below call attention. One can point especially to a lack of historical specificity with regard to the effect of the introduction of writing as well as to conceptions of individual genius and aesthetic quality which seem to stand above time and space. These are not necessarily fatal errors, as cyberneticians say, but they are all linked together by an "instrumental" view of language against which Saussure and other structuralists have leveled serious attacks. The result is a rather unsystematic account of the workings of "influence" and "sources," so that the creative labor of the poet remains mystified as the "je ne sais quoi" of genius. A more rigorous account of that creative labor would have to pay attention to oral theorists' careful analyses of Homeric diction, and it is very much to Kullmann's credit that he has taken this step. In any case, as accounts of poetic production neoanalysis and oral theory each seem to have methodological limits determined by their different treatments of history.

Nagy's distinction between history and diachrony seems very much to the point; we could go further and distinguish history from synchrony, understanding the word "history" in both cases to mean determinations which are unsystematic from the standpoint of theory. We would now be in a position to conjure up Thomas Kuhn's notion of a "paradigm" as a heuristic device with only sectoral validity, insightful only by a certain blindness, and everyone could go home properly chastened and comforted. But it is not enough to say that competing paradigms merely answer different questions better and that there is somehow a vanishing point of complementarity somewhere. If a theory sets up a certain hierarchy of questions and evidence, centralizing some and relegating others to the status of insignificant contingincies, then a second, competing theory, with its own hierarchical arrangement of questions and evidence, should operate a certain displacement on the first theory. The alternative, dismissal of the rival theory, is to remain obstinately "under a paradigm," with its concomitant blindness and insight, and hence to deserve all sorts of names which end with the suffix "-centric." It is, in the end, the very

notion of center and periphery, of the opposition of theory and "history," which is so problematic. Neoanalysis is important for American Homer-ists not because it resolves this or that anomaly, or because it is "truer" in some objective way, but because it focuses attention on that which has been marginalized for American Homerists: because it throws the wrench of "history" into the works.

Saussure is considered to be one of the two founders of the "science" of semiotics. His exemplary treatment of the systematic nature of lin-guistic value is the cornerstone of his contribution.[4] In his **Course**, the emphasis was on the **position** of a given sign in a **system** of elements from which values emerge on the basis of **difference**. From this notion pro-ceeds Saussure's famous dictum that language is a form not a substance, and semiotics has generally proceeded on the assumption that syntactic and semantic fields can best be understood as the interplay of a struc-tured sets of empty positions, in which signs are the consequences of the values issuing from these differential relations. That is, at the inter-section of sets of structured differences there will be an effect **similar** to the effect of substance. Systems of such "substance-effects" are all that is required for semiosis to occur, and the susceptibility of such a con-ception to formalization has made it a favorite and often fruitful form of semiotic inquiry. But as Wlad Godzich has recently reminded us, there is a crucial difference between this differentialist conception of a systemic **position** and an actual **inscription** which occurs in that position: for inscription always involves some materiality, which not only fulfills the positional requirement of chains of differences, but also, because of its materiality, exceeds that requirement.[5] The materiality of the inscrip-tion always brings with it the history of its previous placements, and that history obscures the play of a pure semiosis based only on differences. A relentless focus on **system** (whether diachronic or synchronic) remains blind to the gap between substance-effect and inscription, relegating that gap to the status of indeterminate contingency, devoid of any signifying power.

The Parry-Lord theory has been and continues to be an important force in investigating Homer as a system; but it often seems in danger of reification, of slipping from being a powerful heuristic device into being an unreflexive orthodoxy. Alongside such systemic studies there is a need to recognize what exceeds them. C. S. Pierce, the other founder of semiotics along with Saussure, noted that signs always stand in relation to other signs and not just in relation to the system in which it is inscribed. These "lateral" liaisons in which signs are constantly entangled cannot always be grasped deductively. If source and influence studies do not seem entirely satisfactory for theorizing these "lateral" connections

that escape the hierarchies of a rigorous application of oral-formulaic models, neoanalysts are still the ones who have most consistently foregrounded these connections for us. If neoanalysis cannot necessarily give us better answers, it can at least help us pose better questions. It can, that is, be allowed to operate its displacement on oral theory, just as oral theory and neoanalysis have both displaced prior formulations of the Homeric question.

Steve Nimis
Miami University

NOTES

1An exemplary case is Tzvetan Todorov's retrospective essay in **Introduction to Poetics**, tr. Richard Howard (University fo Minnesota Press: Mpls., 1981), 59-72.

2Saussure, **Course**, tr. Wade Baskin (McGraw Hill: New York, 1966), p. 89.

3See H. R. Jauss, **Towards an Aesthetic of Reception**, tr. Timothy Bahti (University of Minnesota Press: Mpls., 1982), pp. 3-45.

4For Saussure's treatment of linguistic value, which is more complicated than the summary treatment I give it here, see William Diver, "Substance and Value in Linguistic Analysis,"**Semiotexte**, 2 (Fall, 1974), 11-30.

5These points about substance-effect and inscription derive from a forthcoming article by Wlad Godzich, "The Semiotics of Semiotics," which was kindly made available to me by the author.

ORAL POETRY THEORY AND NEOANALYSIS IN HOMERIC RESEARCH

WOLFGANG KULLMANN

After the second World War, Homeric scholarship has taken two different turns, one in America and the other in most parts of Europe, particularly in the German-speaking countries. In America, the "oral poetry theory" propounded by Milman Parry has been predominant, while in Europe the approach which probably contributed most to Homeric research has been neoanalysis. Fortunately, the time of separate development is now over: several treatises on the oral poetry theory have been written in Germany, and neoanalysis has increasingly been taken notice of in the U.S. and in Great Britain. I only mention the research done by Mark Edward Clark and William D.E. Coulson and that of Malcolm Willcock. In spite of this recent development, which is much to be welcomed, no systematic comparison of the two theories and their respective results has as yet been made. It is only in a special area, the battle-scenes of the **Iliad**, that such a comparison of the methods of the two approaches already exists: Bernard Fenik has provided an important and fair examination from the point of view of the oral poetry theory. I shall now try to make a first attempt to confront the two approaches with each other on a general level. Due to the limitations of space, however, this examination is bound to be rather cursory. I propose, first, to summarize the main points of the two theories; then to compare the methods applied; and finally to discuss the respective conclusions about the main issues of Homeric scholarship. I shall give particular consideration throughout to the form of the large-scale epic and to the question "oral or written composition."

2

I begin by giving a summary of the two theories. The two approaches have completely different starting-points. In the oral poetry theory, as you all know, the first thing to be examined is the epic language, whereas neoanalysis starts from the thematic motifs found in the epics. Milman Parry began by examining the traditional epithets used by "Homer" and investigated the laws which determine their use. In doing field-work in Yugoslavia, where he explored the oral heroic poetry of the Serbic gulsars, Parry and his collaborators obtained a general view of this

poetic tradition, which subsists to the present day. In investigating poetic epithets, Parry came to valuable results in the area of Homeric scholarship by means of analogy. It appeared to be confirmed that the large amount of formulas in the language of the Homeric epics is characteristic of an oral poetic tradition, in which the singer is obliged to improvise when delivering traditional themes of mythology in metrical language. In the tradition of oral poetry, mythological themes may have existed for centuries, as A.B. Lord and other scholars have pointed out. It is only the specific chance version of the performance which can be called the singer's own achievement. Every time the singer delivers a song on a certain subject-matter he produces a version different from all the others that went before or after it. The singer is not conscious of his production of a new version. Always the same technique of oral delivery is used, and there is no original version.

The devices of this technique include not only the use of epic formulas (i.e., groups of words which are often repeated), but also the repetition of entire verses. Another characteristic feature of the technique of oral poetry is the recurrence of typical scenes or basic themes (which in German can also be called **Erzählschablonen**) such as arrival, eating, arming, battle scenes etc. A.B. Lord called them simply "themes." These events recur in very different narrative contexts. They are not necessarily composed of the same formulaic elements of language, but, as regards their contents, they are in most cases narrated according to the same pattern.

According to this theory, not even the **Weltbild** of the epics can have any individual features, rather the picture of the world is one of the feudal aristocratic society to which these epics belong.

Neoanalysis, on the other hand, is mainly concerned with the history of motifs. According to this approach, certain motifs which are found in Homer were taken from earlier poetry, and the constellations of persons as well as plots which appear in certain earlier poetry decisively influenced the poetic narrative of the extant epics. One of the main differences between the principles of the oral poetry theory and neoanalysis lies in the fact that neoanalytical scholars don't assume that the main contents of, say, the **Iliad** had been handed down by tradition for several centuries before this epic was written down. Instead, they think that the poetic composition is original, with many of the motifs and elements of plot having been taken from several epic contexts which can still be identified. Neoanalytical scholars don't believe that there has been a stock of motifs apart from the typical scenes (or "themes" as Lord says) such as eating, arrival, arming, etc. However, they think that there is an essential difference between the adoption of motifs in early

Greek epic poetry and similar occurrences in later literature. The original use of these motifs (i.e., the contexts in which they were originally used) can still be made out because the motifs are not thoroughly assimilated to their new context. Neoanalytical research mainly concentrates on the so-called Cyclic epics, which deal with the Trojan War in its entirety. Summaries and fragments of these Cyclic epics are extant. Although these epics are thought to have been composed after Homer, neoanalytical scholars think that a great part of their contents had been delivered orally a long time before the Homeric epics. Their record in writing may be posthomeric.

One of the main theses of neoanalysis concerns the invention of the **Iliad** as a whole. We shall proceed from this thesis as a starting-point. The central event of the **Iliad** is the death of Patroclus, who sacrifices his life by going to battle in place of Achilles, wearing Achilles's armour, in order to avert the defeat of the Achaeans. He is consequently killed by Hector. Achilles avenges his friend although he knows that, once Hector is killed, his own death by Paris will be inescapable. According to the neoanalysts, this story is no traditional myth, but an imitation of a narrative known from one of the Cyclic epics, the **Aethiopis**, which in its core must be pre-Homeric. In this epic, Memnon, the king of the Ethiopians, comes to the Trojans' aid in th tenth year of the war. In connection with this event, it is told that Antilochus, Nestor's son, who is another friend of Achilles, is killed by Memnon while trying to rescue his father from a dangerous situation in the battle. Subsequently, Achilles enters the lists. He had previously abstained from fighting against Memnon because Thetis had prophesied that Achilles would die if he killed Memnon. He now takes revenge upon Memnon for the death of his friend Antilochus; shortly afterwards he is killed by Paris with an arrow-shot, near the Scaean gate, as prophesied by his mother.

The similarities with the plot of the **Iliad** are startling: Achilles appears in both epics. In one case, his friend is Patroclus, and in the other, Antilochus, while his enemy is either Hector or Memnon. The sequence of the following motifs is the same in both epics: The prediction of Thetis, Achilles's abstention from fighting, the self-sacrifice of a friend of Achilles (Patroclus or Antilochus), Achilles's vengeance upon his enemy for the death of his friend and the death of Achilles (which is not, however, narrated in the **Iliad** but only predicted and given as a presentiment). In addition, the description of the death of Patroclus in the **Iliad** contains certain motifs which are also found in the **Aethiopis**, but in connection with Achilles and not with Antilochus, the character who corresponds to Patroclus. Apollo assists in the killing of Patroclus as he will in the killing of Achilles. Thetis and the Nereids, i.e., the mother and

the aunts of Achilles, mourn the death of Patroclus; whereas in the Aethiopis, they mourn the death of Achilles. In honour of Patroclus, there are festive funeral games, as there will be in honour of Achilles later on. In the **Iliad**, these motifs appear to contain fixed elements, which enable us to perceive beyond doubt that these motifs were taken from the mythological context of the **Aethiopis**. It is obvious, for example, that the motif of the Nereids participating in a lament for Achilles may have been invented as such, but scarcely their participation in a lament for Patroclus. And funeral games take place at the death of people of high rank such as **basilees**, but the motif appears to be secondary when it is connected with the death of a **hetairos** such as Patroclus. Due to lack of time, I can't go into the evidence for priority of the mythological context of the **Aethiopis** in more detail. In neoanalysis, in any case, it is considered to be a fact that what is narrated in the **Aethiopis** must have been narrated before Homer, if only in oral poetry. In the written version of the **Aethiopis** (which is possibly later) there may have been details which are secondary and were invented after the **Iliad** was composed.

3.

I now turn to the second issue, the comparison of methods. The two approaches don't contradict each other in all their components. The basic results of the research done by Parry and his followers were accepted by almost all Homeric scholars when they were known. Neo-analysts share the basic conviction that the necessities entailed by improvised poetry account for the formulaic character of the Homeric language and the so-called principle of economy, facts which can still be observed in the modern Serbo-Croatic epic poetry investigated by Parry. There is, however, one fundamental difference between the neoanalysts and the scholars adhering to the doctrine of oral poetry: the neoanalysts assume that there is a comparatively high degree of individual creation in the Homeric epics. They think that the Homeric poems were composed at the end of a period of oral poetry, and that they were composed by the help of writing. Such an assumption contradicts orthodox Parryism, since individual invention is no important factor in the Serbo-Croatian singers. The Parryists consider the formulaic character of the Homeric language as excluding the possibility of written composition. To the Parryists the assumption that the Homeric poems were composed in writing is a deadly sin.

The reaction of some of them to the similarities of motifs which were

pointed out by neoanalysis is as follows. They don't dispute these similarities, but rather think that, just as there was a stock-pile of formulas and typical scenes, there probably was another one of motifs and plots, such as the motifs of wrath, abstention from fighting, lament for a dead warrior, funeral games, abduction of a woman, unfaithfulness of a warrior's wife, etc. The singers, they claim, did not orient themselves by any single other epic but by a common store of motifs. My answer to this is twofold: I agree that **very** general motifs, such as wrath springing from lost honour, revenge, abduction of women and unfaithfulness of wives, may indeed have been used independently of one another in different epic contexts. I don't think, however, that they derive from a common store; I rather believe that in the heroic age they had their **Sitz im Leben**, as we say in Germany; i.e., that they were rooted in the conditions of life of the Heroic Age.

Things are different as far as more specific motifs or specific touches of general motifs are concerned. In this, the neoanalysts are the better Parryists. They don't think that the tradition of motifs, i.e., heroic mythology, was dealt with quite arbitrarily. This would leave unexplained the extraordinary coherence and the relative absence of contradictions in the whole of Greek heroic legends. If seen in isolation the self-sacrifice of Patroclus and the vengeance by Achilles upon Hector can also be accounted for without a reference to the self-sacrifice of Antilochus and the vengeance by Achilles upon Memnon. But if we keep the **Aethiopis** in mind, it seems impossible to explain the character and the behaviour of Antilochus in the **Iliad.**

In the **Iliad**, Antilochus is very scrupulously depicted in such a way as to render plausible his later self-sacrifice for his father, Nestor. It is he who delivers the news of the death of Patroclus to Achilles. In the games in honor of Patroclus, he is represented as being closely associated with Achilles. This relationship manifests itself in the kindness Achilles is exhibiting toward him when he confirms that Antilochus has won the second prize originally intended for Eumelos, the favorite, who had met with an accident during the race (XXIII 558 ff.). In the foot-race, Antilochus wins the third prize, half a talent of gold, which is doubled by Achilles. We get the impression that Antilochus is no less Achilles's friend than Patroclus had been. His character in the **Iliad** becomes most clear if we assume that the audience already knew that Antilochus will come to a tragic end similar to that of Patroclus. Neither does the picture of Achilles undergo any change by the adoption of the motif. This picture is only deepened: In tragic circumstances Achilles loses two friends, one after the other. Respect for the mythical tradition seems to be the cause for the fact that, although the death of Achilles is linked to

the death of Patroclus in the **Iliad**, it is not itself described in this epic. Obviously, the death of Achilles has been left out in consideration of the mythical tradition, where it was linked to the death of Antilochus. This is not ignored in the **Iliad**. The mortal arrow-shot of Paris in the direction of Achilles is not described subsequent to Hector's death.

Detailed neoanalytical examinations have shown that in the **Iliad** the mythological fate of all the major heroes is taken into account, and the heroes are given a character which makes plausible their subsequent fate not told in the **Iliad**, which is in many cases a tragic one. Conversely, transfers of motifs to different heroes occur only where a certain period of the life of a hero, or his whole life, hasn't been scheduled otherwise by mythological tradition. A figure of the myth is by no means a "typical element." According to neoanalysis, the composition of the **Iliad** is distinguished by the tendency to fill a certain niche (one might speak of an "ecological niche") within a wide mythological framework. While motifs can be transferred to other characters, the life and death of a hero can be transferred unchanged. The probable reason for this is that mythological characters were taken to be historic personalities.

According to neoanalysis, this respect for tradition combines with poetical invention. This invention, it is true, cannot be as free as it is the case in later literature; however, even when motifs from earlier contexts are adopted, original ideas are given scope.

The different ways of interpretation pursued by neoanalysis and oral theory shall be further illustrated by a characteristic example. In XI 369 ff. Diomedes is wounded by Paris in his foot and forced to leave the battle field. One is reminded of the **Aethiopis**, where Achilles is killed by an arrow-shot of Paris, which hits his heel. In both cases Paris hits an enemy at the foot. The oral theory, however, tends to deny a special connection with the **Aethiopis**, and to take the scene in the **Iliad** to be a typical scene; i.e., a scene composed of typical elements rather than elements taken from an identifiable context in the **Aethiopis**. Fenik (whose book **Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad** is extremely valuable for every Homeric scholar) argues as follows: All of the single elements of the scene in Book XI are also found in other scenes of the **Iliad**, the wound in the foot excepted. In the manner the scene is told in the **Iliad**, he says, it resembles the wounding of Diomedes by Pandarus in Book V 93 ff., more than the killing of Achilles by Paris in the **Aethiopis**. What happens in Book XI of the **Iliad** is this: Diomedes is wounded by Paris, Paris rejoices, Odysseus removes the arrow from the wound. In Book V, Diomedes is wounded by Pandarus, Pandarus rejoices, and Sthenelos removes the arrow from the wound. Wounding, rejoicing and removal of the arrow are parallel to Book XI. Although the figure of Paris is absent in Book V, this

hero, according to the Parryists, also appears as a dangerous enemy in other parts of the **Iliad**, and is therefore regarded as another typical element.

Neoanalysis cannot deny these facts established by the oral theory. It will try, however, to interpret them from the point of view of the respective context of the passages cited. As Schadewaldt has shown, the function of Book XI in the overall structure of the **Iliad** is to demonstrate that the Achaeans are bound to be defeated when fighting without Achilles. Their top leaders, Agamemnon, Diomedes, and Odysseus are wounded one after the other. This eventually leads to the intervention of Patroclus. In this framework, the wounding of Diomedes has special significance; for in all the fighting after Achilles' withdrawal from battle Diomedes figures as a substitute for Achilles. The manner alone in which Agamemnon reproachfully addresses him when reviewing the army in Book IV 365 ff., demonstrates the singular importance of this hero. Later on in his **aristeia** in Book V, he proves a worthy substitute for Achilles. He also avenges the breach of the truce upon Pandarus. It is he who objects to the Trojan peace-offer in Book VII 399 ff., opposes Agamemnon's plans of escape in Book IX 32 ff., belatedly criticises the petitionary embassy to Achilles in IX 696 ff., and considers a resumption of fighting to be meaningful even without Achilles. In Book XIV 109 ff., finally, he resumes his role as an admonitor. If it is to be shown that Diomedes in spite of all this cannot be a full substitute for Achilles, he has to be defeated by that Trojan hero who is going to vanquish Achilles later on: namely, Paris. That this is the meaning of the scene is emphasized by the similar wounding of the foot, which as such is only motivated by the context of the **Aethiopis**. This interpretation doesn't rule out the possibility of this scene in Book XI being technically composed of typical elements which don't derive from the **Aethiopis**, as far as the details are concerned. These details may include the rejoicing (of Paris) and the extracting of the arrow. There is full agreement with Fenik in that respect.

To the neoanalysts, such a scene can be entirely composed of traditional narrative elements and nevertheless be an individual variation of a certain motif. The poetical meaning of a motif has to be considered independently from the possibly typical character of the several elements of which it is composed. One single source can suggest the use of a motif even if the new shaping of this motif is partly accomplished by narrative elements which derive from completely different contexts or are typical. At the same time, this neoanalytical approach still shares some points with the oral theory. Individual variations of a motif also follow a previously shaped form, as do formulas, **versus iterati** and "basic themes." However, the adopted motifs are less rigidly used even in comparison with the

"typical scenes"; one might therefore speak of a "semi-rigid" adoption. It doesn't concern us here whether the adoption of a motif has indeed in every single case been going on in the way which is claimed by the neoanalysts. There is no doubt, however, that adoptions of this kind took place.

I repeat the results of the specific comparisons from the point of view of neoanalysis:

1. The core of the plot of the **Iliad**, the wrath of Achilles, is no traditional subject-matter of mythology, but an invention of one singer or poet, who thereby gives an individual shaping to one basic situation of the life in the Heroic Age. The frame of the plot of the **Iliad** is traditional: e.g., the general themes such as "Achilles, the Best of the Achaeans" (Gregory Nagy) or "Trojan War in its tenth year."

2. This invention is not as completely independent as in later literature, but is characterized in its details by the semi-rigid use of motifs taken from other identifiable epics or their oral predecessors.

3. The semi-rigid use of motifs is similar to the use of fixed formulas, **iterata** and typical scenes. This use, however, is not based on any stock of motifs.

4. In this respect, the conditions of contemporary Yugoslavian epic poetry afford no exact parallel to the facts of Homeric epic composition as described here. These facts are compatible with the main findings of the oral poetry theory, but not with the conclusions drawn from them, in as much as they go beyond merely stating the analogy of Serbo-Croatic epic poetry.

4

We now come to the different conclusions about the main issues arising in Homer. Let's return for a moment to the relations between the **Iliad** and the stories of Memnon. The way things are told in the **Aethiopis** differs strikingly and fundamentally from the way things are told in the **Iliad**. In the **Aethiopis**, the narrative of Memnon consists of four books which are to be contrasted with the 24 books of the **Iliad**. In the **Iliad**, things are told in the form of a **Grossepos**, as we say, i.e., of a large-scale epic. Its contents not only cover a period of time which is even smaller than that of the **Aethiopis**, but, moreover, what happens in the **Iliad** is of

much less importance to the Trojan War as a whole than what happens in the **Aethiopis**. The wrath of Achilles and his fight against Hector are not central events of the Trojan cycle of myths.

If we compare the few extant fragments of the Cyclic epics with the **Iliad** from the point of view of style, we realize the exceptional stylistic quality of the **Iliad**. This includes the poet's much greater fondness of details, his preciseness of narration and the exceptional profoundness of psychological shaping of characters and events. The impression made by the **Iliad** doesn't depend on the plot as such. As I pointed out earlier on, the motif of wrath is not an original one, because in the Heroic Age violations of honor and wrath were rooted in life. In the **Iliad** the motif of wrath is made unique by the manner in which it is narrated and linked to the frame of the whole Trojan War. The motifs shared by the **Iliad** and the **Aethiopis**, e.g., the withdrawal from fighting, the self-sacrifice and the vengeance for a friend which entails the giving-up of one's own life, are also not as such, as **facta bruta**, the elements which create the impression which is made by the **Iliad**. What constitutes the artistic rank of this epic is the special shaping of these motifs. As far as form is concerned, this includes retardations, which provide a view of the Trojan War as a whole, and, at the same time, of the individual's position in the world. Take the disastrous dream of deception, sent by Zeus to induce the top general of the Achaeans to attempt the attacking of Troy without Achilles. Take the petitionary embassy to Achilles, or the large number of hand-to-hand combats which involve heavy losses until Achilles resumes fighting. The connections between single events and the whole war belong to the central themes of the epic. In the very first verses of the **Iliad** the wrath of Achilles, i.e. one single emotion of a single man, is related to the whole process of events in a way which I think is unparalleled. The wrath, it says, brought about the death of innumerable Achaeans and was part of the plan of Zeus.

According to neoanalytic research, the treatment of the more special motifs points to the same direction. The majority of motifs found in the **Iliad** parallel to the subject-matter of the Cyclic epics are not just variations (i.e., mere transfers of motifs or elements of motifs to other persons) but rather "refinements". Deaths often change to "near deaths" which foreshadow the disaster to come. For example, take the difficult position of Nestor in Book VIII. There is no tragedy in his being rescued by Diomedes; but in the **Aethiopis**, Antilochus in similar circumstances dies the death of self-sacrifice in order to save his father. As discussed earlier on, Diomedes is only wounded by Paris in the **Iliad**, while Achilles is killed by him in the **Aethiopis**. In the **Aethiopis**, Zeus uses the scales of fate to weigh the lots of Achilles and Memnon, while in the **Iliad**, this has

become a recurrent symbolical action which characterizes Zeus. This can be shown from the four times the motif is used. In this case, the refinement lies in the abridged use of the motif.

We can also speak of the use of "refined" motifs whenever the poet of the **Iliad** uses speeches and actions to show certain traits of character which are in keeping with the deeds done by the respective hero or god in the source. In the **Iliad** the Judgment of Paris, for example, produces the after-effect that Hera and Athena intervene in the affairs of men according to their injured vanity. In their hatred for Troy they are inexorable. The goddesses even incur a conflict with Zeus in order to promote the victory of the Achaeans over the Troy of Paris, the one who had declared Aphrodite the winner of the beauty contest. In the mythological tradition Agamemnon appeared as an unfortunate figure, who had to sacrifice his daughter to be successful in his campaign against Troy, and who was killed when he returned home. In the **Iliad** he is depicted as a man who is by nature ill-fated. This becomes apparent in his quarrel with Achilles, in his disastrous deceptive dream in Book II, and in his resigned attitude toward the first defeats in Book IX. In the premonitions of Achilles and Priam at the restitution of Hector's body in Book XXIV the themes of the death of Achilles and the destruction of Troy are splendidly spiritualized. The premonitions of Andromache in Book VI and XXIV foreshadow the future fates of the Trojan women and children. This sort of transformation of mere facts into premonitions gives the story a special religious meaning. These premonitions demonstrate the tragic nature of the hero's fate much better than any mere relation of facts could do.

All this indicates that the position of the **Iliad** in early Greek epic poetry is in many respects a very special one. We can assume that the cyclic epics, as far as they concern the Trojan cycle of myths, more or less reflect the mythological subject-matter which was known to the poet of the **Iliad**, at least from oral poetry. We can best account for the particular structure of the **Iliad**, i.e., the treatment of an episode in the form of a large-scale epic, by assuming that this epic looks back upon a long oral tradition of epic poetry, but was itself composed with the help of writing, so that the poet could take his time in formulating it. Invention takes up a great portion of the subject-matter of the **Iliad**, so that Homer could consider his poem to be his "literary property."

The assertion that the **Iliad** was composed in writing is no necessary consequence of the neoanalytical approach. The results obtained in this approach do, however, suggest written composition. Before we proceed with this question, we should stress the fact that the elements of oral style, the presence of which in the **Iliad** is not denied by the neoanalysts,

are of course not abandoned at once when a transition from oral to written composition is made. This is especially true in times like those of Homer in which no extensive culture of writing existed. We make similar observations in schoolchildren, who often continue using the characteristics of oral composition when composing essays (use of parataxis, ring composition, repetitions of words or groups of words, etc.). Moreover, Homer's audience was expecting an epic with formulas, repetitions and "themes"; and oral recitation is made easier by retaining the traditional style.

We come to the question of how the **Iliad** reached its written form. In this, we cannot adduce Yugoslavian epic poetry because it never reached the transition to written poetry. In this case, the method of concluding by analogy fails completely. The **Iliad** has been handed down in a written form, but not the Yugoslavian epics. We should therefore examine those paradigms which are documents of a transition from oral to written composition. These paradigms can be found in the wide area of medieval epic poetry, written in languages such as Old French, Old and Middle High German, Old English and Icelandic. Many of the extant medieval epics still bear traces of earlier orality, in a way similar to the **Iliad** and the **Odyssey**. These epics, which obviously preserve ancient mythology, contain formulas and repeated verses which are characteristic signs of an originally oral tradition. The results of the "oral theory" have been extensively discussed by scholars of medieval literature, who have shown that the different heroic epics are connected with oral poetry in very different degrees. Even as a non-specialist I think it is important to take note of the research done in the field of medieval literature. Although there are great differences in the details, the following six general points can be made:

1. These heroic epics preserve the subject-matter of old legends. They are more or less firmly rooted in the tradition of oral improvised poetry but are at the point of abandoning this tradition. According to most scholars there is no doubt that e.g., the **Beowulf**, the **Chanson de Roland** and the **Nibelungenlied** were composed bu the aid of writing. An extreme break from the old tradition is made, for example, by the Latin **Song of Waltharius.** There is no doubt that it preserves ancient oral legends and transfers them to the language of literary Latin epic poetry. In other epic, the break with the oral tradition is obviously less extreme. In this, the degree of formulaic language offers no certain indication of the proximity to oral poetry as has been shown by American scholars of Anglo-Saxon poetry.

2. In these epics we often find semi-rigid adoptions of motifs taken from other contexts, which would correspond with neoanalytical findings in Homer. In the **Nibelungenlied**, for example, the motif of vassals is adopted from the old French epics on William (one can cite the figures of Hagen and Rüdiger).

3. There is a tendency to create large-scale epic structures by the help of writing, especially in the French and German areas.

4. The traditional subject-matter is used more or less freely in accordance with the poet's own ideas. The poet's individual view of the world is partially reflected in these epics. Characteristic features are Christian elements in pagan legends, such as in **Beowulf.**

5. In many cases the more original and pretentious transformations into the written form obviously date from an earlier time than other written epics of lower quality. The **Nibelungenlied**, for example, is earlier than the epic of Kundrun, although its literary rank is higher. In the same way, the **Chanson de Roland** seems to be earlier than other **chansons de geste.**

6. The authors who transfer traditional oral epic poetry to a written form already know existing written epics which can serve as models, mostly Latin ones, both Classical, such as Virgil, and Christian. Written versions of other oral poems in the vernacular languages could also serve as models. Is it possible to prove, or to consider as probable that the Homeric poems came into being in a similar way?

In most cases the similarity of the Homeric situation to the situation in the Middle Ages is obvious: We suggested a transition from oral tradition to written composition in Homer. The formulas seem more consciously and artistically used than in any oral poems. We claimed a semi-rigid adoption of motifs from other epics. The Homeric poems are large-scale epics, and there is a tendency toward original poetic invention. The contents of the Cyclic epics seem to be more ancient and nearer the legends of the oral singers than the contents of the **Iliad.** Nevertheless these epics have perhaps been written down later after the model of the written **Iliad** and **Odyssey.**

With regard to the originality of the **Iliad**, it should be added that originality appears not only in its structure, but also in the field of religion. The **Iliad** often explains the tragic fate of man by the arbitrariness of the gods, who are also responsible for the evils of man.

Quite another view of the gods is represented in the **Aethiopis:** both Memnon and Achilles are presented with immortality after death so that their tragic fate is mitigated. The religious conceptions of the **Odyssey** are also quite different from that of the **Iliad.** In the former the gods guarantee justice in the world, and only the unjust perish; while in the **Iliad** men are disproportionately punished by the gods for their faults, although they are without any substantial moral guilt.

The most disputable point in comparison to the epics of the Middle Ages regards the possibility that Homer knew a written model of another epic. While in the Middle Ages the existence of epics written in other languages prompted the transformation of oral epics into written forms, this doesn't at first strike one as being the case in early Greece. We know for sure that there were no epics written with Greek letters in any other language to inspire Greek poets to write down heroic legend. Nevertheless, a parallel to the heroic poetry of the Middle Ages can be found: according to findings in archaeology and in the history of religion, crafts and religious customs developed on a large scale in the eighth and seventh century B.C., the Orientalizing epoch of Greek culture. This is due to the influx of Oriental craftsmen and prophets. Obviously, things are similar with mythology. During this time, plenty of Oriental myths must have been taken up by the Greeks through the intermediary of the Phoenicians. These include the myths of Kumbarbi, which are reflected in Hesiod's **Theogony.** Parallels to the motif that Zeus gives rise to the Trojan War in order to decimate mankind are also found in Oriental epic poetry. One could take the epic of Atrahasis, which was recently cited in this connection by Walter Burkert; and one could also take related stories found in Egyptian and Indian literature.

The fact that direct adoptions of myths have taken place renders it probable that the Phoenicians, who gave the Greeks the knowledge of writing, the **Phoenikaea grammata,** also gave them the idea of written composition and inspired them to write down heroic poetry. It is true that we do not know of any Phoenician epics of this time, but they must have existed as we can see from the striking correspondences between Hesiod and both the Phoenician cosmology of Sanchuniaton, which is reported by Philon of Byblos, and the myths of Kumbarbi. One can also cite the old Phoenician texts found at Ras Shamra. In Homer's time, there had been written epics in the Orient for more than a thousand years. Together with writing the Orient may have transmitted to the Greeks the impulse to give a written shape to their own mythology.

I recapitulate the essential points of the last section: Serbo-Croatic epic poetry provides no parallel to the written form of the **Iliad.** An analogy can only be found in medieval epic poetry, where in most cases the

ancient legends were remodelled according to the ideas of the poet and written down after the model of the well-known Latin epics. Therefore I conclude with the hypothesis that things were similar in early Greece and that Oriental written epics provided a model for written composition, and await my critics.

Wolfgang Kullmann
University of Freiburg i. Br. (Germany)

ORAL POETRY AND NEOANALYSIS:
A POSSIBLE RAPPROCHEMENT?

WILLIAM D. E. COULSON

Professor Kullman's paper entitled "Oral Poetry Theory and Neonalysis in Homeric Research" presents a good review of the approaches currently taken by the English and German speaking countries to Homeric scholarship. These approaches at first may seem poles apart, if only for the reason that the scholars of one country take little notice of the work of their counterparts in another. But this polarization of ideas is beginning to change, and, as Kullmann points out, some scholars have written on the technique of oral poetry in Germany, while several works have appeared in Great Britain and the United States using the neoanalytical approach. The wider dissemination and use of these two approaches to Homeric scholarship has thus begun; the question now arises as to whether or not it is possible to effect a rapprochement between the two views. In order to attempt to do this, it is necessary to recapitulate certain points of the two theories.

The crux of the matter lies in the view one takes on how and why the Homeric poems were written down. The oralists believe that the poems were handed down from generation to generation in an oral tradition and were only written down at the end of this tradition with the introduction of writing. In constructing his poem, the oral poet depends upon formulae and stock motifs, and thus no one version is the same. The neoanalysts, on the other hand, do not believe that the contents of the poem were handed down through generations but think that their composition is original, although they concede that many of the motifs may have been taken from earlier epic contexts and situations. Their argument contends that poems of such creativity as the **Iliad** and **Odyssey** cannot have been the result of the rather haphazard system of oral composition but must have been the independent creation of one, or several, poets. The neoanalysts, therefore, do not deny that there was a tradition of oral poetry, for they admit that many motifs were taken from earlier epics or epic situations, as, for instance, the death of Sarpedon in Book 16 of the **Iliad,** which seems to be a conflation of the events surrounding the death of Memnon in the **Aethiopis.** These epics, according to the neoanalysts, were composed in the earlier Heroic, or Dark Ages, when there was no clear system of writing; since they admit to the priority of these epics

over the **Iliad**, they are forced to admit that the process of oral com- position was at work. On the other hand, the oralists obviously do not deny that at some point after a writing system had been adopted these epics were written down. The main difference between the two views here centers around the degree of creativity one assigns to the writing process. To the oralist, there is no creativity, since, say, the **Iliad** is simply an arrangement of formulae and stock motifs; to the neoanalyst, there is a great deal of creativity, since the **Iliad** is a poem of great impact and has a character quite different from the other poems detailing the events of the Trojan War.

Aristotle himself recognized the difference between the **Iliad** and the other poems of the Epic Cycle, when he writes in chapter 23 of the **Poetics**:

> So in this respect too... Homer may seem... divinely inspired, in that even with the Trojan War... he did not endeavor to dramatize it as a whole, since it would have been either too long to be taken in all at once or, if he had moderated the length, he would have complicated it by the variety of incident. As it is, he takes one part of the story only and uses many incidents from other parts, such as the Catalogue of Ships and other incidents with which he diversifies his poetry. The others, on the contrary, all write about a single hero or about a single period or about a single action with a great many parts, the authors, for example, of the **Cypria** or the **Little Iliad**. The result is that out of an **Iliad** or an **Odyssey** only one tragedy can be made, or two at the most, whereas several have been made out of the **Cypria**, and out of the **Little Iliad** more than eight.

To Aristotle, then, the **Iliad** has a character which distinguishes it from the rest of the Epic Cycle. This character is in its creativity, whereby the poem concentrates on one single event in the tenth year of the war, namely the anger of Achilles against Agamemnon and its consequences. The poem also delineates in detail the character of Achilles and portrays him as a human being with passions and feelings rather than as some remote feudal hero. The **Cypria**, on the other hand, portrays a wide panorama of events from the decision of Zeus to lighten the earth of men to the tenth year of the war; the poem is thus confined to a strict narration of events with little or no character development. Aristotle, thus, is the first to put forth an idea which becomes one of the mainstays of neoanalysis, namely the essential creativity of the **Iliad** over the rest of the poems in the Epic Cycle. The **Odyssey** also deals with the feelings and passions of a single individual, and in this respect it is similar to the **Iliad**. Whether or

not it is the product of the same poet is here not relevant. What is important is that both poems were the result of a heightened con- sciousness in the individual which also begins to appear in the art of the Late Geometric period and which rates individual feelings over mere events.

Since the neoanalysts must, perforce, admit of an oral tradition and, conversely, the oralists of an eventual conversion to written form, it seems that a major difference is in the view of how the poems were written down. If one were to consider Homer, or some such poet, as standing at the culmination of the oral tradition and as being responsible for the writing of the poems, then a possible rapprochement between orality and neo- analysis can be made. If Homer were steeped in the oral tradition but were also familiar with writing, this would bridge the gap, as it were, between the two views. The formulae and stock motifs of the **Iliad** isolated by the oralists are, in effect, similar to pieces of mosaic which can be put together to form a complete picture. The creativity of the poet appears in the way in which he puts these pieces together. The heightened consciousness of man's individualism in Late Geometric times might have been the cause for the poet's unique arrangement of these pieces. He can thus not only use the building blocks of the oral tradition but at the same time through the writing process create a poem of original dimensions.

Professor Kullmann suggests that the spur that caused the poems to be written down were Phoenician epics. It is true that at the end of the Geometric period there was an influx of oriental craftsmen and ideas into Greece. It has also been supposed that a result of this renewed contact between Greeks and Phoenicians was that the Greeks adapted the Phoe- nician alphabet to their own use. The problems with this theory are two- fold: first, there are no known Phoenician epics of the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C., although there are parallels between events in Hesiod's **Theogony** and Phoenician myths. But these are mere myths from the Phoenician cosmology which were not, as far as we know, related in the form of epic poetry. Second, recent archaeological evidence is beginning to show that the Greek awareness of the Phoenician script was not necessarily a sudden phenomenon brought about by renewed contact late in the Geometric period, but rather that there had been contact between the two peoples throughout the Dark Ages. The excavations at Lefkandi have shown that contacts with the Phoenicians go back as early as the Ninth Century B.C. More recently, there has been discovered in the KMF excavations at Knossos a single line Phoenician inscription of the Tenth Century. Admittedly, this inscription contains only a name and a patronymic, but it does show that the Phoenician alphabet appears in

Greece quite early. It is thus likely that the Greeks had been aware of the Phoenician alphabet for some time and that the development of the Greek writing system was a gradual one lasting several centuries rather than the sudden development usually imagined.

What is quite possible is that the urge to write down the Homeric poems is an internal one caused not so much by the new alphabet script as by the new type of individual epic. The themes of the **Iliad** and **Odyssey** with their concentration on character development do not lend themselves to oral recitation as well as do narrative events. This is not to underestimate the contribution of the Phoenicians, but, in the case of the Homeric poems, it is possible that the urge for written communication was dictated as much by the subject matter as by external influences, and that the poet, or poets as the case may be, used the conventional oral formulae and motifs in a new way which accounts for the individuality of the **Iliad** and **Odyssey**.

William D.E. Coulson
University of Minnesota

RESPONSE TO WOLFGANG KULLMANN

WILLIAM F. HANSEN

Following the publications of Parry, Lord, and others on the subject of Homer and oral poetry, many Anglo-American Homerists were so taken up in the excitement of rethinking Homer in terms of an oral poetics that not much notice was given to other approaches to the Homeric poems. It was easy, moreover, for "Parryists" to think of themselves as progressives and to regard others as traditionalists stubbornly clinging to outdated categories and assumptions about Homer in which a century of prolific scholarship had invested. On the other hand, scholars in the German-speaking countries were slow in acknowledging the implications or oral-poetic investigations for an understanding of Homer, though at the same time they were fashioning a new approach, Neoanalysis, which aimed to clear a common ground for Analysts and Unitarians. So it was that for several decades of this century two new approaches to Homer — one communicated mostly in English, the other mostly in German — developed more or less autonomously.[1] Not until the late 1960's and the 1970's have the Parryists and the Neoanalysts taken much notice of each other. So it is a welcome gesture when a Neoanalytic scholar of such prominence and geniality as Wolfgang Kullmann now undertakes to further the dialogue by (as he says) confronting the two approaches on a general level, and invites critics to respond.[2]

The field on which the Neoanalysts and the Parryists must inevitably do battle is that which has to do with recurrent themes, scenes, and what have been called "sequences"; that is, typical narratives on the level of episodes.[3] This is middle-magnitude narrative material, not patterned narrative on the highest level (whole songs) or patterning that is primarily verbal (formulaic diction and the like). The focus of each scholarly tradition has been different. The Parryists, following Parry's own interest in the moment of live oral composition, have focussed upon Homer as oral composer and consequently upon the techniques that enable a singer to compose in performance. In contrast, the Neoanalysts have tried to identify the motifs – the narrative ideas – that Homer borrowed; for the Neoanalysts, rather like the Analysts, seek the sources of the **Iliad**, although they also, like the Unitarians, hold to the view of a single, monumental poet. Tracking motifs from their presumed original contexts in prehomeric epic and legend to their alleged Homeric adaptations,

Neoanalysts approach the **Iliad** as historians of transformed motifs. Indeed, as Kullmann says, Neoanalysis is primarily concerned with the history of motifs. It is clear, then, that while the emphasis of the Parryists has been synchronic, the emphasis of the Neoanalysts has been diachronic. The former have investigated system; the latter, sources.

Now, Kullmann allows three kinds of recurrent narrative element. He accepts the oral-poetic notion of typical scenes and themes "such as eating, arrival, arming, etc."; that is, the kind of narrative unit that occurs with considerable frequency in Homeric epic and can almost always be described in a single word. Kullmann rejects, however, the notion that in addition to typical scenes and themes there is also a stockpile of "motifs and plots, such as the motifs of wrath, abstention from fighting, lament for a dead warrior, funeral games, abduction of women, unfaithfulness of a warrior's wife, etc." Instead, he argues, one must distinguish between "very general motifs" and "more specific motifs". General motifs, such as "wrath springing from lost honour, revenge, abduction of women and unfaithfulness of wives," may have appeared in different epics, not because they belonged to a poetic stockpile but simply because they were part of actual life in the Heroic Age. With regard to specific motifs, such as Paris' wounding of Diomedes in Book Eleven of the **Iliad**, the case is different still, and it is this kind of narrative element that really interests Neoanalysts. Kullmann argues that these narrative ideas are one-time poetic borrowings. In the present instance, the idea of Paris' wounding Diomedes with an arrow is Homer's adaptation of the idea of Paris' killing Achilleus with an arrow, which the poet got from the **Aethiopis** or its epic predecessor or the legend upon which it rests. Diomedes had to be wounded and removed from the battle because Homer needed to motivate Patroklos' intervention in the fighting, but Homer has Diomedes wounded specifically by an arrow-shot of Paris because Diomedes has been functioning as a lesser Achilleus. Kullmann grants that the poetic presentation of Diomedes' wounding can in fact take the form of a typical battle scene (in this case: A wounds B with an arrow, A rejoices, C removes the arrow from B), but the particular assailant and his weapon and the site of the wound have been inspired by Paris' slaying of Achilleus. Thus it is possible for a scene to be both a Neoanalytic borrowed motif and also an oral-poetic typical scene.[4] It appears that the crucial difference between the two approaches does not consist necessarily in mutually exclusive explanations for epic phenomena.

The real differences, I suggest, lie not so much in basic theory as in attitude. On one side of the field are those of us who are not attracted to a literate Homer who mines the **Aethiopis** for motifs to employ in a particular poem. I do believe, however, that Kullmann makes a con-

vincing case for the Neoanalytic tenet that most of the **Iliad** consists of episodes that are closer to fiction – mythological fiction – than to legend. Here I think that we must enlarge our notion of oral-poetic compositional techniques to accommodate transformations and extrapolations of legend motifs of the sort that the Neoanalysts have pointed out. One need not see this material as one-time Homeric transformations of motifs borrowed from particular epic poems, since it may have been a feature of a Greek singer's repertory that (for example) he sang certain themes in a stronger, tragic form as well as in a weaker, non-tragic form, as his song required. And if we view the relationship of stronger and weaker forms of motifs synchronically rather than diachronically, we also escape from having to assume, with the Neoanalysts, that the original use of a motif was a perfect fit; whereas when it was borrowed, it often was not completely assimilated to its new context. This model sounds dangerously like the "devolutionary premise", the idea, once common in folklore studies, that oral narratives degenerate in the course of their transmission.[5]

Now to the other side. Although Kullmann acknowledges the fact of oral poetry, perhaps because it would be difficult at this time for a serious Homerist not to take notice of it, he appears not to be greatly interested in it. This attitude may be related to two other features of his approach: first, his Homer has limited powers as an oral poet, and, second, his Homer can write.

Kullmann's Homer includes in his repertory the familiar typical scenes such as eating and arming, but not the general motifs, which allegedly were rooted in the conditions of life of the Heroic Age. Here I am forced to object that eating and arrivals and departures must also have had their **Sitz im Leben** in the Heroic Age, but this fact did not prevent them from becoming part of the poet's stockpile of scenes.[6] There seems, moreover, to be little room in Kullmann's conception of the poet's oral-composition skills for narrative routines of the sort that are less generic than eating, arming and departures, and so are not easily named in a single word. For example, I refer to the narrative pattern in the **Odyssey** noticed by Lord in which Penelope enters a room to rebuke someone, but she is herself rebuked or ignored and sent back to her room.[7] Many other such patterns have been pointed out by oral-poetic scholars. Nor does Kullmann's oral poet appear to have the oral-compositional techniques that would enable him to compose large-scale episodes. In sum, this is not a powerful concept of oral poetry. Is Kullmann's Homer so because he is also a writing poet and therefore need not rely wholly upon oral-compositional techniques? Or is this Homer a writing poet because Kullmann's notion of oral poetry is smaller than that which is necessary for a poet to compose an epic orally? I do not know.

which is the case, but I am suggesting that the modest Neoanalytic enthusiasm for the idea of oral poetry may have helped to fashion the image of a poet who possesses only elementary oral-poetic skills and who, as a consequence, would be inadequate to the task of composing an epic orally, with the result that he must be given writing materials.

I do not believe that Kullmann, despite some clever arguments, has succeeded in showing that the Homeric poems were probably composed with the aid of writing, nor do I myself believe that they were. Kullmann rejects the idea that Yugoslav epic poetry, much cited by Parryists, can properly be an analogue in this question. But the comparisons he makes between the Homeric epics and the Yugoslav epics seem not to be correct. It is true that the Yugoslav epic "never reached the transition to written poetry," if Kullmann means by this statement that South Slavic epics were not composed with the aid of writing, as he proposes the **Iliad** was; but of course it is not certain how the **Iliad** has come to have a written form, and this is what is at issue. If, however, he means only that the "Iliad has been handed down in a written form, but not the Yugoslavian epics," then this statement cannot be entirely accurate, for Yugoslav epics are today handed on both in oral and in written form. A difference between the case of modern Yugoslavia and that of ancient Greece is that we know how most of the written Yugoslav texts came into being, whereas for the Homeric texts we can only speculate. I think it plausible that virtually all oral epic texts are owed to the initiative of collectors; that is, that the impulse to create written texts typically originates among those who cannot create oral texts. Therefore, Lord's notion of the oral-dictated text, although it has its own difficulties, continues to be an attractive suggestion for scholars whose Homer did not write.[8] But in any case, as Kullmann says, a literate Homer, though suggested by the Neoanalytic position, is not a necessary feature of it.

William F. Hansen
Indiana University

NOTES

[1]See further Alfred Heubeck, "Homeric Studies Today: Results and Prospects," in **Homer: Tradition and Invention**, ed. Bernard C. Fenik (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), pp. 1-4.

[2]A fuller account of Neoanalysis is given in Kullmann's excellent article, "Zur Methode der Neoanalyse in der Homerforschung," **Wiener**

Studien N.F. 15 (1981) 5-42.

[3]See Wm. F. Hansen, "The Homeric Epics and Oral Poetry," in **Heroic Epic and Saga**, ed. Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), pp. 237.

[4]Bernard Fenik reaches the same conclusion in his **Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad**, Hermes Einzelschriften, Heft 21 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1968), p. 237.

[5]Alan Dundes, "The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory," **Journal of the Folklore Institute** 6 (1969) 5-19, especially p. 8: "A critical correlative of the devolutionary premise is the assumption that the oldest, original version of an item of folklore was the best, fullest or most complete one. A change of any kind automatically moved the item from perfection toward imperfection."

[6]If, moreover, the general motifs belonged to the life of the Heroic Age but not to the typical routines of the oral poets, there arises the problem of how the motifs were transmitted from the Heroic Age to Homer's own day, since the poet did not himself live in the Heroic Age. Kullmann seems to have changed the issue here from the relationship of epic material to the singer's repertory, to the relationship of epic material to the external world.

[7]Albert B. Lord, **The Singer of Tales** (New York: Atheneum, 1974), p. 172.

ORAL POETRY AND THE HOMERIC POEMS:
BROADENINGS AND NARROWINGS OF TERMS

GREGORY NAGY

The principles of "neoanalysis," as set forth by Wolfgang Kullmann, are supported most eloquently by his impressive successes in the actual exegesis of the Homeric poems. These successes, however, do not necessarily discredit the theory of oral poetry as set forth by Milman Parry and Albert Lord. I propose to argue that neoanalysis and the theory of oral poetry are at odds with each other only if oral poetry is defined too narrowly by the opponents of the theory—and if the Homeric poems are treated too broadly as a general type of oral poetry. What follows, then, is an attempt to sketch a concept of oral poetry that is broad enough to accommodate the exegetical breakthroughs of neoanalysis and to re-define the status of the Homeric poems as but one particular type of oral poetry.

I suggest that the most solid basis for inquiry into the very essence of oral poetry is that of cultural anthropology. From the vantage point of cultural anthropologists, myriad forms of poetry have functioned and continue to function in comparable ways in comparable societies without the aid of—in most cases without even the existence of—writing.[1] From this vantage point, then, we should not even be talking about oral poetry as distinct from poetry but rather about written poetry as possibly distinct from poetry. From the vantage point of our own culture, however, poetry is by definition written poetry, and what we need to do first is to broaden our concept of poetry. Even the English usage of **poetry** is then too narrow for our purposes, in that it excludes the element of melody as included in the word **song**. The semantic differentiation between **poetry** and **song** even affects the nomenclature of constituent elements that these two distinctly perceived media have in common: thus for example whereas poetry is said to have **meter**, song has **rhythm**. This distinction has a long history. It is already attested in the scholarship of the forth century B.C., where proponents of a rhythmical approach to poetry had an ongoing argument with proponents of a metrical approach.[2] The argument continues to this day, with the "metricians" emphasizing the patterning of long and short syllables in the text as it is composed and the "rhythmicians," the patterning of downbeats and upbeats in the song as it is performed. In the course of their argumentation, the rhythmicians

tend to define poetry in terms of song while the metricians tend to define song in terms of poetry. My position is closer to that of the rhythmicians, to the extent that the affinities between song and poetry in ancient Greece can be viewed in terms of an evolution of some kinds of song into something that is differentiated from song—let us call it poetry—so that song and poetry can then coexist as alternative forms of expression. In a forthcoming monograph entitled **Pindar's Homer**, I propose to set forth this view of ancient Greek song and poetry in detail, and for now I confine myself merely to sketching the basics.

Let us begin by considering the following forms of poetry, metrically classified in terms of verse-types:

1) dactylic hexameter (Homeric epic, Hesiodic wisdom poetry)

2) elegiac distich=dactylic hexameter + "pentameter" (as in Archilochus, Callinus, Mimnermus, Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Solon, etc.)

3) iambic trimeter (as in Archilochus, Hipponax, Semonides, Solon, etc.; also as in fifth-century Attic Tragedy and Comedy).

In each of these verse-types, I propose that the format of performance was **recitative** as opposed to **melodic**. This is not to say that such verses had no prescribed patterning in intonation (that is, pitch). It is only to say that such patterns in intonation were formally and functionally distinct from the patterns of intonation that we know as melody in song. On the level of form, the difference is probably not as drastic as would be suggested by the contrast of **monotone** with **song**; a contrast that seems descriptively more suitable is that of **chant** as opposed to **song**. The contrast between not-sung (or recitative) and sung (or melodic) is attested most clearly in fifth-century Attic Tragedy and Comedy, where the iambic trimeter of dialogue was spoken while a wide variety of other meters was sung, danced, and musically accompanied. That much is straightforward; what follows, however, is a matter of dispute. What I am proposing is that there was an absence of melody and of musical accompaniment not only in the iambic trimeter of Attic Drama but also in the iambic trimeter of the old iambic poets (Archilochus, Hipponanx, Semonides, Solon, etc.), in the elegiac distichs of the old elegiac poets (Archilochus, Callinus, Mimnermus, Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Solon etc.), and in the dactylic hexameter of Homer and Hesiod.

I recognize that this proposition may at first seem startling, in view of such internal testimony as Homer's bidding his Muse to **sing** the anger of Achilles (**Iliad** 1.1) or Archilochus' boasting that he knows how to lead off a choral performance of a dithyramb (**fr.** 120 W). Such evidence, however, is deceptive. For example, we may note that Homer also bids his Muse to **recite** the story of Odysseus (**Odyssey** 1.1). That is to say, the internal evidence of Homeric and Hesiodic diction tells us that the word **aeido** 'sing'

(as in Iliad 1.1) is a functional synonym of e(n)nepo 'recite, narrate' (as in Odyssey 1.1) in contexts where the medium refers to its own performance.3 For some, the functional synonymity of such words is proof that the narrative format has to be song—that the Homeric (and, presumably, Hesiodic) poems were sung and accompanied on the lyre.4 For others, however, the equating of a word that refers to strategies of narrating Homeric and Hesiodic poetry with a word that refers to the format of singing to the accompaniment of a lyre proves only that such poetry had such a format in some phases of its evolution.5 Self-references in Homeric and Hesiodic poetry may be diachronically valid without being synchronically "true."6
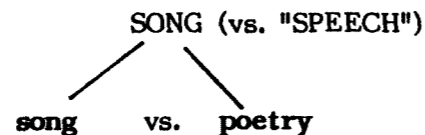
For example, the epic poetry of Homer refers to epic poetry as a medium that was performed in the context of an evening's feast. And yet, we know that the two epic poems of Homer, by virtue of their sheer length alone, defy this context.7 If we look for the earliest historical evidence, we see that the actually attested context for performing the Iliad and Odyssey was already in the sixth century not simply the informal occasion of an evening's feast but rather the formal occasion of a festival of pan-Hellenic or international (in the sense of "inter-polis") repute, such as the Panathenaia.8 The performers at such festivals were rhapsoidoi 'rhapsodes' who were legally constrained (in the case of Athens) to take turns in narrating the poetry in its proper sequence.9 Moreover, these rhapsodes did not sing the poems but rather recited them without the accompaniment of the lyre.10 The point that I am making about the context of performance applies also to the medium of performance: just as the Homeric testimony about the performance of epic by singers at feasts belies the synchronic reality of the performance of epic by rhapsodes at pan-Hellenic festivals, so also the Homeric testimony about the singer's singing to the accompaniment of the lyre belies the synchronic reality of the rhapsode's reciting without any accompaniment at all.11

Similarly with old iambic and elegiac poetry: the internal testimony may refer to such details as choral performance (as in Archilochus fr. 120 W) or accompaniment by the pipe (as in Theognis 241), but in point of fact the external evidence of historical testimony establishes that the archaic format of performing the iambics or elegiacs of poets like Archilochus or Theognis was simply recitative (see e.g. Aristotle Poetics 1447a29-b28, 1448a11, 1449b29; Plato Laws 2.669d-670a).12 Also, the professional performers of such poetry were not singers but rhapsodes. The crucial passages in this regard are Plato Ion 531a, 532a; Athenaeus 620cd, 632d.13 This is not to say that the references made in archaic iambic or elegiac poetry to choral performance or musical accompaniment are diachronically wrong: as we shall now have occasion to see, they are in fact

diachronically correct, and it is not without reason that even the performance of a rhapsode is from a traditional point of view an act of "singing."14 The point is only that such references are synchronically misleading.

We can be satisfied with the diachronic correctness of ancient Greek poetry's references to itself as song by noting that these self-references are traditional, not innovative. The formulas in Homeric poetry and elsewhere about the subject of singing and song have an ancestry going all the way back to Indo-European times.15 Even the word rhapsoidos 'rhapsode', designating the professional reciter of poetry, is built on a concept of artistic self-reference ("he who stitches the song") that is likewise of Indo-European pedigree.16 The institutional reality of formal competition among rhapsodes, immortalized for us in Plato's dialogue Ion (530a),17 seems to be a direct heritage of formal competition among singers, as reflected directly in passages like Homeric Hymn 6.19-20 and indirectly in the numerous myths about such competitions.18 There is enough evidence, then, to conclude that what the rhapsodes recited was directly descended from what earlier singers had sung.19 It is important to add that there is no compelling reason to believe that the medium of writing had anything to do with the traditions of the rhapsodes.20 In fact, there is positive evidence that their mnemonic techniques were independent of writing. In Hellenistic Alexandria, at a time when accentual notation was for the first time becoming canonical, there was a recording of certain archaic patterns of Homeric accentuation that were no longer current in the Greek of that period. These patterns can now be verified with the help of comparative Indo-European linguistics, leading to the conclusion that they were preserved through norms of recitation inherited by the rhapsodes. The factor of writing seems to be ruled out, since a textual tradition for the notation of accents was evidently lacking before Alexandrian times.21 Even in such matters of minute detail, we may infer that the oral tradition of the rhapsodes was inherited—albeit in an ossified or crystallized phase—from the oral tradition of the singers who came before them.22

Up to this point, I have used the term oral tradition only in a broad sense—to the extent that the medium of writing is not to be taken as a prerequisite for either composition or transmission. As we now approach the subject of oral poetry in particular, I will for the moment be more interested in the applicability of the term poetry as distinct from song to the oral traditions of ancient Greece. We have by now seen that a differentiation seems to have taken place which can be represented in the following diachronic scheme:

SONG (vs. "SPEECH")

song   vs.   poetry

By "SPEECH" I simply mean plain speech as opposed to some king of marked speech as formalized in SONG. On the level of phonology, what sets SONG apart from "SPEECH" would include differentiation in patterns of stress (potentially rhythm or meter) and pitch/intonation (potentially melody). In the next stage what sets song apart from poetry would include further differentiation on the level of pitch/intonation (melody), so that song would be "plus melody" while poetry would be "minus melody." Such an understanding of poetry as something derived from SONG and differentiated from song may run counter to the perspective of metricians who study Greek poetry and for whom song would be poetry set to music. That is to say, song would be for them the same thing as poetry plus melody. Whence such terms as "lyric" or "melic" poetry.

Of the two terms, "lyric" is the more elusive, in that it tends to be applied in current academic usage to practically all archaic Greek poetry except Homer and Hesiod. In the case of Classical Greek poetry, however, it is instructive to notice an interesting constraint against the application of the term "lyric": in current usage we cannot say that the iambic trimeter of Attic Tragedy and Comedy is "lyric" for the simple reason that it is patently recited as opposed to sung. As for what is sung, we call that "lyric" (or "melic") by way of opposition. In terms of our scheme, the opposition of "lyric meters" and iambic trimeters in Attic Drama is that of song vs. poetry. We may note the dictum of Aristotle (Poetics 1449a22; cf. Rhetoric 3.8.1408b33) to the effect that the thing that iambic trimeter seems to approximate most clearly is plain speech in real life. Thus the opposition of song vs. poetry not only recapitulates diachronically an earlier opposition of SONG vs. "SPEECH": it also imitates synchronically the actual opposition of SONG vs. "SPEECH" in real life.

Needless to say, the undifferentiated SONG as opposed to "SPEECH" can be imagined as potentially having had features that ranged all the way from what we see in differentiated song to what we see in poetry. Thus for example SONG may or may not have required melody.[23] On the other hand, song must be "plus melody" as opposed to poetry, which is "minus melody." From the standpoint not only of the history of Greek music in particular but also of universal typologies in the evolution of music in general, it is clear that such components of SONG as rhythm and melody could be further differentiated in terms of musical accompaniment and

dance. I view the reinforcing types of musical accompaniment and dance as diachronically primary and the contrastive types as secondary. My reasoning is that SONG is marked speech and that musical accompaniment and dance are further ramifications that can in turn be further differentiated as either reinforcing the song or contrasting with it (or, further, even parting with it altogether). This is not to say something altogether naive and pseudo-historical, such as "In the beginning there was song, which was both danced and instrumentally accompanied." Rather, it is to speak of diachronic potential: SONG, as a marked form of language, is structurally capable of generating differentiated sub-forms such as dance and/or instrumental music. To set up language as the diachronic foundation of dance and instrumental music is in line with Aristotle's view that the basis of musical rhythm is the syllable (Metaphysics 14.1087b33ff).[24] This view can be cited as fundamental to what I have written in an earlier effort:[25]

I am convinced by the linguistic evidence assembled by W.S. Allen (1973) showing that all phraseology has built-in rhythm. Poetic phraseology, of course, tends to stylize and regularize its own built-in rhythms, and I am proposing that it is these regularizations that result diachronically in what we call meter. Similarly, I would venture to say that poetic phraseology can also stylize and regularize its own built-in intonations, resulting diachronically in what we call melody. Where poetic phraseology combines meter and melody, we call the process song; or, to put it another way, song without melody is poetry. At this point, however, I should also draw attention to a matter of semantic confusion: whereas the stylized rhythms of poetry are called "meter," the stylized rhythms of song are called "rhythm." This mode of nomenclature is hardly appropriate to the traditions of Greek Lyric, where song seems to operate on the same principles of meter that we find in the purely recitative poetry of Greek Epic.

'Of course, song can be a vehicle not only for words but for dance as well, as again in the case of archaic Greek Lyric: dancing to the song is dancing to its rhythms (=meter) on the level of form and to its words on the level of content (cf. Koller 1954 on the inherited concept of mimesis). Moreover, I submit that the inherited words of Lyric themselves contain the rhythm from a diachronic point of view. Granted, rhythm and melody may become stylized to the point that they become abstracted from the words of song, in the form of instrumental music. But the perception of rhythm depends ultimately

on man's capacity for language (cf. Allen 1973.99-100).[26] In that sense, the very process of dance is related to the inner rhythms of language. The factor of stress, which seems to be the basis of rhythm in language, is psychologically perceived in terms of body-movement (Allen p. 100, where "stress" is intended in the broadest sense of the word).

To return to the subject of a differentiation of SONG into **song** vs. **poetry**: we see a synchronic use of such a differentiation in Attic Drama, where the opposition of **sung** or "lyric"/"melic" meters with the spoken iambic trimeter imitates the real-life opposition of SONG vs. "SPEECH." The imitation is effective: **poetry** actually seems closer than **song** to "SPEECH" in that it does not have specialized patterning in melody. And yet, if indeed it is to be derived from SONG, poetry is really one step further removed from "SPEECH": to repeat the diachronic scenario, I am saying that **song** is specialized by retaining and refining melody from SONG, while **poetry** is specialized by losing melody from SONG.[27] In terms of differentiation, some form of SONG had to lose melody so that **poetry** could be differentiated from **song**. In the case of Attic Drama, this form was the iambic trimeter, but that is not to say that this meter had to be the form that imitated "SPEECH": we know from Aristotle (**Poetics** 1449a21) that the trochaic tetrameter catalectic had been the earlier format of spoken **poetry** as opposed to **song**. But it seems that the conventions of Attic Drama allowed only one meter that could serve as the canonical format for imitating "SPEECH" at any one given time:[28] in attested tragedy, for example, the trochaic tetrameter catalectic is not isofunctional with the iambic trimeter—it is marked off from it by virtue of being associated with "scenes of heightened tension"[29]—and it is formally differentiated by being apparently delivered in a modified melodic form know as **parakatalogê**.[30] I would not argue, however, that iambic trimeter could not ever be sung after having become the imitative format of "SPEECH": there are sporadic traces, even in Attic Drama, of sung iambic trimeters[31] as also of sung dactylic hexameters.[32] The point is only that the appropriate way to imitate the single format of "SPEECH" with the multiple formats of "SONG"[33] is to contrast a single spoken meter with the plurality of sung meters.

The theory that **poetry** is a differentiated derivative of SONG can be supported by the ancient Greek metrical evidence as studied by the metricians themselves. From a metrical point of view, the meters of **song** (that is, "melic" or "lyric" poetry) are either **strophic**, consisting of periods that potentially build stanzas, or **stichic**, consisting of verses. Even from this descriptive account, we may intuit that the stichic meters

of lyric are a transitional point of differentiation, whereas total differentiation would be achieved in the stichic meters of non-lyric. It is these stichic meters of lyric that are actually attested as usable for extended narrative of a type parallel to epic, composed in the dactylic hexameter, stichic meter of non-lyric **par excellence**. A good example is Sappho **fr. 44**, a poem with a heroic setting: it is composed in a stichic meter (gl^{2d} in Bruno Snell's notation)[34] that is clearly cognate not only with various strophic meters of Lesbian lyric (for example gl^d in Sappho **fr. 94**) but also, it appears, with the dactylic hexameter itself (an even closer relative of the hexameter to be found in Lesbian lyric is a stichic meter known as pher^{3d} in Snell's notation).[35] It is such stichic meters of narrative "lyric," conventionally sung to the accompaniment of the lyre, that are doubtless more closely related than is the spoken meter of hexameter to the format of the South Slavic **guslar** who sings to the accompaniment of the **gusle**.[36]

Even the periods of strophic meters can be shown to be cognate with the verses of stichic meters in non-lyric. Let us take for example the periods of the strophic meters of Stesichorus, which are built from cola such as the following:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
a\ \breve{\smile}-\vee- & A\ --\vee\vee-\vee\vee- & L\ \breve{\smile}-\vee-\breve{\smile}-\vee- \\
 & A'\ \overline{}-\vee\vee-\vee\vee- & \\
b\ \breve{\smile}-\vee-\breve{\smile} & B\ \breve{\smile}-\vee\vee-\vee\vee-\breve{\smile}\ M\ \breve{\smile}-\vee-\breve{\smile}-\vee--\breve{\smile} \\
 & B'\ \overline{}-\vee\vee-\vee\vee-\breve{\smile} & \\
c\ -\vee- & C\ -\vee\vee-\vee\vee- & N\ -\vee----\vee- \\
d\ -\vee-\breve{\smile} & D\ -\vee\vee-\vee\vee-\breve{\smile}\ O\ -\vee-\breve{\smile}-\vee-\breve{\smile} \\
\end{array}
$$

These colon-shapes, arbitrarily labeled here as abcdAA'BB'CDLMNO, are not only prototypical of those found in, say, the so-called dactyloepitrite strophic meters of Pindar: they are also identical with some of the major colon-shapes that constitute the verses of the dactylic hexameter (CB'), the elegiac distich (CB'CC), and the iambic trimeter (bN). We could explore in more detail how the verses of these meters of **poetry** as opposed to **song** seem to have inherited other constituent elements as well from SONG (for example, I have already alluded to an affinity between the dactylic hexameter and the Lesbian stichic verse pher^{3d}).[37] But it is more important for now simply to emphasize that these meters of **poetry** are not only derived but also differentiated from the corresponding meters of **song**. As a "finishing touch" of differentiation between **poetry** and **song**, what can also happen is that the meters of **song** will avoid patterns that have been appropriated for **poetry**: thus for example the metrical repertoire of Pindar's dactylo-epitrite poetry contains the

ingredients needed to generate equivalents of the dactylic hexameter, elegiac distich, and iambic trimeter, and yet it is precisely these recitative patterns that the poetry consistently avoids.[38]

With any differentiation of **poetry** from **song** through the loss of melody, there would have to come about a new structural strain in the oral tradition. Melody can be an important feature in the mnemonics of oral tradition in song, as we know from the studies of folklorists who study the transmission and diffusion of song: to put it plainly, melody helps remember the words.[39] We are reminded of the anecdote about the Athenians captured after the débacle at Syracuse who ingratiated themselves with their Syracusan captors by singing passages from Euripides: these memorable passages were evidently parts from choral lyric, not iambic trimeter (as we see from the wording of Plutrarch **Nicias** 29.3).[40] In terms of a differentiation of oral SONG into oral **poetry** as opposed to oral **song**, I would offer this axiom: with the structural strain brought about by the loss of melody in poetry, there would come about, for the sake of mnemonic efficiency, a compensatory tightening up of rules in the poetic tradition. This tightening up would entail an intensification of both phraseological and prosodic regularities, such as what we see in the formulas and meters of Homer, Hesiod, and the old elegiac and iambic poets. I would also suggest that the conventional understanding of "formula," stemming ultimately from Milman Parry's study of Homeric diction, applies precisely to such regularities stemming from the differentiation of oral **poetry** from **song**; in order to account for the distinct regularities of oral **song** as opposed to **poetry**, the concept of "formula" would have to be considerably broadened.[41]

> On the basis of archaeological and historical evidence, A.M. Snodgrass—**The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to Eighth Centuries** (Edinburgh 1971) 421, 435 applies the concept of pan-Hellenism to the pattern of intensified intercommunication among the city-states of Hellas, starting in the eighth century B.C., as evidenced in particular by the following institutions: Olympic Games, Delphic Oracle, Homeric poetry. I have extended the concept as a hermeneutic model to help explain the nature of Homeric poetry, in that one can envisage as aspects of a single process the ongoing recomposition and diffusion of the **Iliad** and **Odyssey**: see [Nagy 1979.5-9]. I have further extended the concept to apply to Hesiodic poetry: [Nagy 1982.43-49, 52-57, 59-60]; also, to Theognidean poetry: [ibid. 52, 60-62]. It goes without saying that pan-Hellenism must be viewed as an evolutionary trend extending into the Classical period, not some **fait accompli** that can be accounted for

solely in terms of the eighth century. Thus various types of archaic Greek poetry, including the elegiac tradition preserved by Theognis, make their bid for pan-Hellenic diffusion. The most obvious reflex of this ongoing recomposition-in-diffusion is the ultimate crystallization of the Theognidea, composed not in the native Doric dialect of Megara but in an accretive Ionic dialect that is for all practical purposes the same as we see in the poetry of Solon, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and the other poets of elegiac.

By pan-Hellenic poetry, then, I mean those kinds of poetry that operated not simply on the basis of local tradition suited for local audiences. Rather, pan-Hellenic poetry would have been the product of an evolutionary synthesis of traditions, so that the Tradition that it represents concentrates on traditions that tend to be common to all locales and peculiar to none.[43]

Such a synthetic Tradition, which I set off by capitalizing the first letter, would require a narrower definition than is suitable for the kind of oral poetry/song described by Albert Lord on the basis of his fieldwork in the South Slavic oral traditions. The fundamental difference is that such a Tradition is in the process of losing the immediacy of the sort of performer-audience interaction that we would expect in the context of ongoing recomposition-in-performance. The teleology of this loss is attested: in the historical period, Homeric and Hesiodic as well as old elegiac and iambic poetry is being performed verbatim by rhapsodes at pan-Hellenic festivals.[44] Each new performance is ideally a verbatim repetition—no longer an act of recomposition. Earlier in the discussion, we had seen that the rhapsodes were direct heirs to earlier traditions in oral poetry; but now we see further that their role has over a long period of time become differentiated from that of the oral poet. Whereas the oral poet recomposes as he performs, the rhapsode simply performs. In contemplating the recitation of Homer by rhapsodes, I am reminded of the following description of the recitation of "historical" poetry in Rwanda society:[45]

> Unlike the amateur, who gesticulates with his body and his voice, the professional reciter adopts an attitude of remoteness, a delivery that is rapid and monotone. If the audience should react by laughing or by expressing its admiration for a passage that is particularly brilliant, he stops reciting and, with the greatest detachment, waits till silence has been re-established.

The differentiation of composer and performer is attested in many

cultures, as best reflected in the incipient semantic split of **trobador** as 'composer' and **joglar** as 'performer' in Old Provencal usage. In this case, there is still evidence of some overlap. In the case of Homeric poetry, by contrast, the notion of 'composer' is drastically retrojected, from the standpoint of the performers themselves, to a proto-poet whose poetry is reproduced by an unbroken succession of performers: Socrates can thus envisage the rhapsode Ion as the last in a chain of magnetized metal rings connected by the force of the original poet Homer (Plato **Ion** 533d-536d). More accurately, Ion is the next-to-last in the chain with relation to this audience, who would be the last link from the standpoint of the performance (**Ion** 536a). By implication, the magnetic force of the poetic formance (**Ion** 536a). By implication, the magnetic force of the poetic composition becomes weaker and weaker with each successive performer. Ion, then, by virtue of being the last or at least the latest reproducer of Homer, would also be the weakest.

Such a mythopoeic retrojection of the aspect of composition back to the strongest proto-poet of course belies the evolutionary progression of a Tradition where the aspect of recomposition gradually diminishes in the process of diffusion entailed by performance in an ever-widening circle of listeners. The wider the diffusion, the deeper the Tradition has to reach within itself: the least common denominator is also the oldest, in that a synthesis of distinct but related traditions would tend to recover the oldest aspects of these traditions. Given the ever-increasing social mobility of the poet,[46] who is teleologically evolving into the rhapsode, his cumulative exposure to a multiformity of traditions in a plurality of places is analogous to the experience of an ethnographer who attempts to reconstruct back to a prototype the distinct but cognate versions of traditions in different but neighboring locales. A synthetic Tradition is like a prototype of variant traditions, and the diachrony of its evolution thus becomes its own synchrony. Homeric synchrony is like this: it operates on the diachronically oldest recoverable aspects of its own traditions.[47]

It should be clear from what precedes that the concept of "pan-Hellenic" is not absolute: the degree of synthesis in the content of Homeric and other such poetry would correspond to the degree of diffusion in a pan-Hellenic context. Because we are dealing with a relative concept, we can also say such things as this: the poetry of the **Iliad** and **Odyssey** is more pan-Hellenic than the poetry of the Cycle. As I argue elsewhere, "the Cyclic epics are so different from the two Homeric epics not because they are more recent or more primitive but rather because they are more local in orientation and diffusion."[48] One of the great successes of neoanalysis as practiced by Wolfgang Kullmann is to show that any given Homeric treatment of a given tradition may entail a

refinement of that same tradition as attested in the Cycle. In terms of my argument, such refinements are a reflex of further pan-Hellenization in Homeric poetry as distinct from other related poetry. Thus I would deny that such refinements are due to the genius of a poet who stands out from among the rest.

I do not deny, however, the notion of "poets within a tradition," as Mark Griffith claims that I do.[49] I concede that an oral poet, in the context of performance, can execute considerable refinements in the act of recomposition. He can even appropriate the recomposition as if it were his composition **ex nihilo**: "this is my song." But I maintain that the gradual replacement of multiformity in local oral traditions by uniformity in pan-Hellenic oral Tradition leads to an internal idealization of the very concept of the composer. If indeed pan-Hellenization gradually eliminates opportunities for recomposition-in-performance, we should then expect a commensurate elimination of opportunities for successive generations of performers to identify themselves as composers. I am therefore not arguing generally, as Griffith claims,[50] that tradition creates the poet; rather, I am arguing specifically that the pan-Hellenic Tradition of oral poetry appropriates the poet, potentially transforming even historical figures into generic ones who merely represent the traditional functions of their poetry.

A hypothetical scenario for the appropriation of a historical person by the poetic tradition in which he is working would run as follows:

1. at a phase of the tradition where each performance still entails an act of at least partial recomposition, performer A publicly appropriates a given recomposition—in-performance as his own composition

2. at a later phase of the tradition, performer B stops appropriating his recomposition of the recomposition as his own composition and instead attributes it to his predecessor A; this attribution is then continued by his successors CDE...

3. in the process of successive recompositions by CDE..., the self-identification of A is itself recomposed often enough to eliminate the historical aspects of identity and to preserve only the generic aspects (that is, the aspects of the poet as defined by his traditional activity as poet).

Having recorded these qualifications, I now return to the concept of pan-Hellenic poetry. This concept, as we shall now see, helps explain why the oldest body of Greek literature to survive—the poetry of Homer and

Hesiod as also old elegiac and iambic—is representative of oral **poetry** as distinct from **song**. In the archaic and even the Classical period of Greece, it seems that the greatest diversity in epichoric oral traditions was on the level of song, with a wide variety of different melodic patterns native to different locales.[51] In view of this diversity, oral **poetry** as opposed to **song** was better suited for pan-Hellenic diffusion, in that prosodic and phraseological regularization would not violate localized perceptions of ethos as readily as would the synthesis of diverse melodic patterns. Although the melody of **song** would have promoted diffusion from the standpoint of mnemonic utility, it would also have impeded diffusion from the standpoint of contextual sensitivity. For oral song, the pan-Hellenic breakthrough would have arrived relatively later, with the advent of innovations in vocal and instrumental modulation.

The earliest attestations of Greek lyric proper, as represented by the compositions of Alcman, Stesichorus, Anacreon, Sappho, Alcaeus, and the like, would be reflexes of a new wave of pan-Hellenization as a result of such breakthroughs in melodic modulation as represented by the myths about Terpander's "invention" of the seven-stringed lyre. As in the pan-Hellenization of oral **poetry**, the later pan-Hellenization of oral **song** would entail a progressively restricted series of recompositions, in ever-widening circles of diffusion, with the streamlining of uniformity at the expense of multiformity. In this way, a pre-existing multitude of traditions in oral **song** could evolve into a finite Tradition of fixed lyric compositions suited for all Hellenes and attributed by them all to a relatively small number of poets. Although Wilamowitz was struck by the smallness of the number of poets to whom the canonical repertoire of Greek lyric compositions was attributed, he was ready to conclude that these were the only poets whose **texts** of lyric compositions had survived into the Classical period.[52] I would suggest instead that the smallness of their number is due to the pan-Hellenization of pre-existing traditions in oral **song**, just as the even smaller number of epic poets (Homer and the poets of the Cycle), for example, is due to the pan-Hellenization of pre-existing traditions in oral **poetry**. I would even suggest that the evolution of the Classics—as both a concept and a reality—was but an extension of the organic pan-Hellenization of oral traditions.

Once the pan-Hellenic breakthrough of oral **song** did happen, its diffusion would have been facilitated not only by the mnemonic utility of melody but also by the relative brevity of **song** as opposed to the potentially open-ended length of **poetry**. In any inherited distinction between SONG and "PROSE," we would expect that the pressures of regularization in SONG would tend to delimit the length of production in contrast with the potentially open-ended length of speaking the everyday speech

of "PROSE." So also in any differentiation of SONG into **song** vs. **poetry**, we would expect that **song** would be more clearly delimited in length of production by contrast with the potentially open-ended length of **poetry** in its imitation of "PROSE." It is beyond the scope of this presentation to examine the mode of pan-Hellenic diffusion for **song** as opposed to **poetry**. Suffice it to observe here that not only the propensity to brevity but also the fixity of melodic patterning in oral **song** would have thwarted the degree of variation-through-recomposition that had been possible in oral **poetry**. Thus there would be a propensity to much greater fixity of form in the diffusion of **song** as distinct from **poetry**.

As we now approach the Classical period, with its realities of historically attested authorship, we must ask ourselves where to draw the line between the generic composer and the real author. What has to happen, for a composer to preserve his historicity, is the arresting of the process of recomposition-in-performance wherein any self-identification of the composer is itself vulnerable to recomposition. So long as the city-state presides over the performance of **poetry** and **song**, the factor of recomposition cannot be arrested. It is only with the rise of the individual above the city-state, in the first instance through the advent of tyrants, that the individuality of the composer can be protected from being recomposed in the context of performance in the city-state. It is in fact the institution of tyranny, I would argue, that makes the difference between a Stesichorus and Ibycus. If the **vita** tradition of Stesichorus, both extrinsic and intrinsic to his poetry, strikes us as generic while the corresponding **vita** tradition of of Ibycus strikes us as at least in part historical, it is because, I submit, of the historical fact that Ibycus became a protege of the tyrant Polycrates. Just as the tyrant fixes his individuality in the collective memory, so too does the poet as the tyrant's protege.

In this sense, the medium of writing alone cannot achieve the fixation of a text. After all, a written record cannot by itself stop a process of recomposition in every performance. In the archaic period of Greece, however, such a process had in any case already reached a phase of crystallization, and the medium of writing was then on hand to record this ultimate phase. But what was still needed was an authority that went beyond the city-state—an authority that could make a composition definitive enough to defy recomposition. The tyrants had such authority, and this authority in turn conferred authorship.

Gregory Nagy
Harvard University

NOTES

1For a forceful presentation, see Zumthor 1983. At p. 34, the author stresses that oral poetry is not poetry minus writing. As an introduction to the fundamentals of oral poetry and oral poetry theory, the standard works remain and will remain Parry [1971] and Lord 1960.

2See Pöhlmann 1960.29-48, esp. 29-30, 47-48.

3Thus for example the aoidê 'song' of the Muses at Hesiod **Theogony** 104 is in the context of the poet's bidding them to 'recite' (**espete: Th.** 114) and to 'say' (**epiate: Th.** 115).

4For example West 1981, who notes at p. 113: "We cannot make a distinction between two styles of performance, one characterized as **aeidein**, the other as **enepein**."

5See Nagy 1974.11n29, with bibliography.

6I use the terms **diachronic** and **synchronic** not as synonyms for "historical" and "current" respectively. It is a mistake to equate "diachronic" with "historical," as is often done. Diachrony refers to the potential for evolution **in a structure**. History is not restricted to phenomena that are structurally predictable.

7For further exploration of this subject, see Nagy 1979.18-20.

8For a convenient collection of testimonia, see Allen 1924.226-227.

9**Ibid**. The factor of the rhapsodes' taking turns, as explicitly reported in "Plato" **Hipparchus** 228B and Diogenes Laertius 1.57, is apparently not taken into account in the arguments of Schnap-Gourbeillon 1982.720 against Nagy 1979.18-20 **et passim**.

10For testimonia about reciting rhapsodes holding a staff instead of a lyre, see West 1966.163 (though I disagree with his application of these testimonia to Hesiod **Theogony** 30). For an overview of the evolution from singer (**aoidos**) to reciter (**rhapsoidos**), see Nagy 1982.43-49.

11The iconographic testimony of vase paintings showing rhapsodes either with a lyre or with a staff can be viewed as a parallel phenomenon

of diachronic perspective on an evolving institution. (We may note too that the theogony **sung** by the local Muses of Helikon was simultaneoulsy **danced** by them: Hesiod **Theogony** 3-4, 8.) Conversely, the concept of rhapsode can be retrojected all the way back to Homer and Hesiod, as when Plato refers to both as rhaposodes (**Republic** 600d).

12Cf. Else 1967.37-39; on this point see also the arguments of Campbell 1964 and Rosenmeyer 1968.

13We must take some time, however, to note diverse strata of information in Athenaeus. For example, at 620c (= Clearchus **fr**. 92 Wehrli; see also West 1971.125), we hear that the poetry of Archilochus was recited by rhapsodes; similarly, we hear at 632d that the poetry of Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, and the like was composed without melody (cf. also Aristoxenus **fr**. 92 Wehrli + commentary). But we also hear at 620c (= Chamaeleon **fr**. 28 Wehrli) that the poems of Homer, Hesiod, and Archilochus could be sung melodically. I take it that this citation follows up on the immediately preceding discussion of **Homêristai** at 620b. The **Homêristai** are clearly distinct from the **rhapsôidoi** (see the useful references of West 1970.919), and they represent the innovative practice of taking passages that had been composed for recitation and setting these passages to music (cf. the references to Homer at Athenaeus 632d). For a survey of this new practice in the performance of drama, see Gentili 1979.26-31; on p. 26 Gentili notes: "So great is the ascendancy of song over speech that, in the [Hellenistic] revivals of tragic and comic texts of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., it even takes over the parts composed in iambic trimeters, intended originally for simple recitation." Once such a stage is reached, it becomes easy to reinterpret the diachrony of sung and recited meters that are obviously related to each other. For example, apparently on the basis of obvious parallelisms in meter and diction between Homer and Terpander, a composer of songs sung to the lyre, Heraclides Ponticus (**fr**. 157 Wehrli in "Plutarch" **de musica** 1132c) says that Terpander set his own poems and those of Homer to music. For further references, see West 1971.113n6. So also Steisichorus is described as having set **epea** to music)"Plutarch" **de musica** 1140f); such a claim can be understood in the light of the innovative tradition of **singing** Archilochus (again, Chamaeleon **fr**. 28 Wehrli in Athenaeus 620c). That we are dealing with an innovative tradition is maybe inadvertently suggested by Timomachus (**FGrH** 754.1 in Athenaeus 638a), who says that one Stesandros was the first to sing Homer to the lyre at Delphi; presumably, "Homer" had maybe not been **sung** before at Delphi, only **recited**.

14On this point, see West 1981.114n8.

15Cf. Nagy 1974.10n29 and 244-261.

16Durante 1976.177-79. On the concept of oimê as a sort of textual "fil d'Ariane," see Svenbro 1976.45n135.

17Cf. also Herodotus 5.67. For further testimonia, see West 1981.114n13.

18For example, the story of a contest between Arctinus and Lesches (Phaenias in Clement Stromateis 1.131.6); for bibliography on the "Contest of Homer and Hesiod" tradition, see Janko 1982.259-260n80; cf. also Dunkel 1979.252-253.

19For a more thorough exposition, see Nagy 1982.43-49.

20This is not to say that in historical times they could not have owned texts of what they recited (cf. Xenophon Memorabilia); in any case, it is clear that the rhapsodes recited from memory (Xenophon Symposium 3.6).

21Nagy 1976.223 and 1982.45 and 69, citing Wackernagel [1953] p. 1103; cf. also West 1981.114n12.

22Cf. Plato Phaedrus 252B. Cf. also the suggestive evidence adduced by Allen 1924.48 in connection with the transmission of the poetry of Hesiod.

23In other words, what counts as "poetry" for us may in a given culture count as "song" if there are no melodic prerequisites. In this light, I cite the following statement by Ben-Amos (1976.228; note that he uses the term "poetry" in the sense that I am using the term "SONG"):

> The existence or absence of metric substructure in a message is the quality first recognized in any communicative event and hence serves as the primary and most inclusive attribute for the categorization of oral tradition. Consequently, prose and poetry constitute a binary set in which the metric sub-structure is the crucial attribute that differentiates between these two major divisions. It serves as the definitive feature that polarizes any verbal communication and does not provide any possible intermediary positions. A message is either rhythmic or not. However, within the category of poetry, speakers

> may be able to perceive several patterns of verbal metrical redundancy which they would recognize as qualitatively different genres. For example, B. W. Andrzejewski and I. M. Lewis note that "the Somali classify their poems into various distinct types, each of which has its own specific name. It seems that their classification is mainly based on two prosodic factors: the type of tune to which the poem is chanted or sung, and the rhythmic pattern of the words." [Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964.46]

24See the comments on this passage by Pöhlmann 1960.30. For reinforcement of this view on the level of testimony about the actual performance of song, see Pratinas PMG 708 (in Athenaeus 617b-f) and Plato Republic 398d.

25Nagy 1979b.616.

26There is a particularly interesting example cited by Allen 1973.259n1: in the Luganda traditions of accompaniment, short syllables are regularly accompanied by one drumbeat and long syllables, by two drumbeats. See also Ong 1977.

27In a forthcoming study, R.J. Mondi notes the semantic differentiation in archaic Greek poetic diction of two words for 'lyre', kitharis and phorminx: whereas the kitharis is played by the kitharistês 'lyre-player' either solo or in accompaniment of the kitharôidos "lyric singer', the phorminx is played by the aoidos 'singer' as he accompanies himself. In terms of my present scheme, phorminx is to undifferenitated SONG as kitharis is to differentiated song.

28We may recall the primary nature of the opposition SONG vs. PROSE as discussed by Ben-Amos (quoted at n23).

29West 1982.78.

30Pickard-Cambridge 1968.158-160 (cf. also Comotti 1979.21). It may be misleading to some that West 1982.77 uses "recitative" to translate parakatalogê. See also n13 above, where I raise the possibility that this modified melodic form is an innovation.

31Dale 1968.86 and 208.

32Dale 1968.25-31.

33See again n23 for the quote from Ben-Amos.

34All of Book II of the canonical Sapphic corpus was composed in this meter: Hephaestion 7.7 p. 23.14-17 Consbruch.

35In support of a cognate relationship between hexameter and pher^{3d} (and, by extension, such stichic meters as gl^{2d}), see Nagy 1983b, with bibliography.

36Cf. West 1973.188: "If there was epic or heroic balladry in (say) 1600 [B.C.], its characteristic verse was most likely the glyconic [= gl in Snell's notation], whose cognates are used in Sanskrit and Slavic epic."

37For distinct reflexes of cB (as I have labeled it here) and pher^{3d} patterns in dactylic hexameter, see Nagy 1983b.

38Cf. Rosenmeyer 1968.230. Consider also the prosodic rules of sung dactylic hexameter as distinct from the prosodic rules of recited dactylic hexameter. There are similar patterns of distinction between the Lesbian stichic meter pher^{3d} and dactylic hexameter.

39Cf. Klusen 1969.72-83, cited in an interesting discussion by Rösler 1980.104n176.

40Cf. also Satyrus in **Pap.Oxy..** ix no. 1176 fr. 39 col. xix.

41See Nagy 1979b.614-619.

42Nagy 1983.90n31

43See further Nagy 1982.48-49.
44That rhapsodes cannot accommodate the Homeric compositions to the current political requisites of the audience is made clear in Herodotus 5.67 (on which see Svenbro 1976.44).

45Coupez and Kamanzi 1962.8, quoted by Finnegan 1970.6.

46On the built-in social mobility of the **aoidos** by virtue of his being a **dēmiourgos**, see Nagy 1979.233-234/

47On this point, I await further insights from a forthcoming article

by Pierre-Yves Jacopin and Leonard Muellner on the Hellenic concept of truth.

48Nagy 1979.8 14n1.

49Griffith 1983.58n82.

50**Ibid.**

51See Comotti 1979.15-25. The crucial word seems to be **nomoi** in the sense of "melodic formulas."

52Wilamowitz 1900.63-71; for bibliography on the reactions to this view, see Pfeiffer 1968.205n4.

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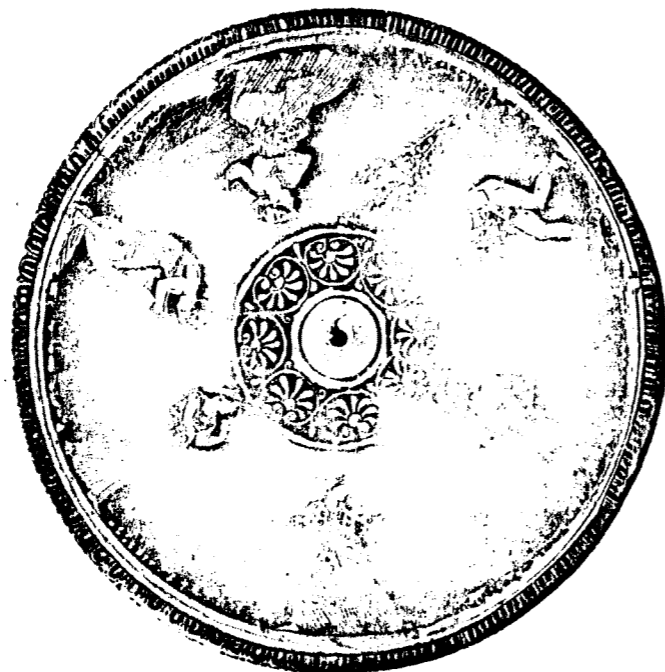
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POETICS AND HUMAN VALUES IN THE NEOANALYSTS' HOMER

PETER ROSE

We are clearly in Professor Kullmann's debt for his remarkably lucid, concise and dispassionate summary of the oral and neoanalytic approaches to Homeric poetry. There is no time for me to engage in adequately detailed arguments over specific features of his general characterizations of the two positions, much less the actual passages by which his advocacy of neoanalysis is supported. Quite apart from the issue of time, there is the embarrassing fact that I share the podium with Bernard Fenik, who to my mind has already offered in his concluding chapter of **Typical Battle Scenes** (1968) the most balanced and sympathetic critique of neoanalysis from the perspective of oral theory. My contribution then must be a sort of layman's direct response to the critical worth of the neoanalytic thesis as Professor Kullmann propounds it.

Let me state at the outset my sense that neoanalysis is an approach wedded to a relatively narrow thesis: i.e., the dependence of central features of the plot of the **Iliad** upon the **Aethiopis,** which has, as it were by accident — perhaps the accident of the taste and intelligence of its adherents — become the vehicle for a number of excellent critiques of some of the excesses of oral theory — critiques which, I believe, are in no way a logically **necessary** consequence of the original thesis.

What suggests this to me is the fact that a number of the key features of Professor Kullmann's critique are familiar from the work of scholars who have viewed themselves as fully **within** oral theory and not infrequently hostile to neoanalysis. For example, Professor Kullmann's sense of the originality of the **Iliad,** its unique scope as **Grossepos,** his belief that it comes at the end of, sums up and reacts in an independent way to a long tradition of less self-conscious oral poetry, is not far from Cedric Whitman's analysis in **Homer and the Heroic Tradition** (1958). Professor Kullmann's sensitive appreciation of the subtlety in characterization in the **Iliad** and the exceptional quality of its language strikes me as entirely compatible with the analysis of the View from the Wall scene in Bk III offered by Milman Parry's son Adam in "Have We Homer's **Iliad?**" (1966). Even the heresy — the "deadly sin" — of suggesting that writing shaped the **Iliad** was committed both by Adam Parry (1966:212f.) and by Joseph Russo (1976:49), in many respects a committed oralist. Finally, Professor Kullmann's focus on the differentiating sense of human mortal-

ity in the **Iliad** as opposed to the **Aethiopis,** where both heroes are granted immortality after their struggles, finds an echo in Jasper Griffin (1977:42), who is even gratuitously scornful of neoanalysis.

There remain, it seems to me, a number strengths as well as problems specific to the neoanalytic critique.

The very term "neoanalysis" virtually compels us to glance at least at its relation to the "analysis" whose paternity it thereby acknowledges. There is, to my mind, a certain irony in the neoanalysts' stress on the high **quality** of the Homeric poems to restore us to the analytic approaches which in the nineteenth century were so frequently employed to destroy the artistic unity of the texts we have by freeing them of alleged accretions and inept bumblings of lesser, presumably later authors.[1] The methodological emphasis on the recognition of "motifs not thoroughly assimilated to their new context"(Kullmann 1983:3) tacitly takes us back to detecting an inherent sloppiness and incompetence in a still literary author, even if the neoanalysts have abandoned such tactically alienating value judgments. Instead what Wimsatt (1954:3f.) dubbed "the intentional fallacy" combined with simple circularity seems absolutely central to the best analyses of the neoanalysts. I have in mind particularly Professor Kullmann's juxtaposition of Fenik's analysis of Book XI to Schadewaldt's analysis of the same book. Schadewaldt deduces the overall function of the book in the inner structure of the narrative as Schadewaldt himself conceives it, then proceeds to interpret the wounding of Diomedes in the light of this presumed authorial intention. In itself Schadewaldt's analysis is very appealing to the extent that it sets in high relief a specifically unexamined literary poetics. But it presupposes an essentially **unexamined literary** poetics.

The central issue posed by the juxtaposition of neoanalysis and Oral theory is precisely the poetics of Homeric composition. Milman Parry's analysis (1928 = Adam Parry 1971) of the noun-epithet phrase in Homer and his comparison with the role of such phrases in, on the one hand, literate poets like Vergil and Appollonius, who were self-consciously imitating Homer, and on the other, illiterate Yugoslav guslars or bards led him to the conclusion that there was a fundamental, radical difference between the two modes of composition. Literate conceptions of "originality" and the specific relevance of words and phrases to particular contexts had to be abandoned in favor of generic phrases chosen primarily to fit the meter under pressure of oral composition. The fact that Professor Kullmann differentiates the starting points of neoanalysis and oral theory by shifting the discussion to the history of **motifs** and declares that neoanalysts accept Parry's demonstration of the **economy** peculiar to oral composition does not entirely satisfy the lack of an account **within**

neoanalysis of that peculiar economy noted by Parry at the level of the noun-epithet phrases. Parry found, for example, that "out of 41 cases in which an epithetic word is used with Aeneas in the nominative, 35 exhibit an epithet of the measure short-short, and in 31 the whole expression has the measure short-short-long-long-long, and begins in the first foot."(p.32)..."many heroes...make their appearance in Homer; yet there is but one case in which two noun-epithet formulae of a single hero which have the same metrical value both contain an epithet peculiar to that hero...In Vergil we find that four epithets peculiar to Aeneas have the same metrical value"(p.33)

If there is indeed a different poetics at work in the choice of the individual phrase in Homer, the battle over the poetics of the larger structural units of the poems centers on the issue whether there is a fundamental homology between the psychology of composition in both the individual phrase and the larger elements or, as the neoanalysts argue, the process of Homeric composition on this level should be conceived in essentially literate terms. The process they posit for the utilization by Homer of the **Aethiopis** does not emerge as fundamentally different than the poetics of Vergil's use of Homer. A literate poet carefully studies a written model, then adapts, amplifies or abbreviates according to his own unique set of poetic purposes and ideological vision. Oral theorists like Fenik and Nagler (1974), whatever their significant differences, offer us a hypothetical model for grasping a specifically oral mode of composition on this larger level. It is not the case that only neoanalysis envisions a basic intertexuality: oral theory posits a radically different sort of intertextuality, one that implies many generations of interactions between heard versions of various stories. It does assume that the oral memory organizes such "texts" somewhat differently from the procedures at work in literate intertexuality. Professor Fenik's analysis, for example, of battle scenes suggests a degree of structural repetition that is unparalleled in the most "formulaic" of literate compositions, such as mystery novels or westerns (cf.A. Parry 1971:xlvii n.1). He found that in the course of two books (16 & 17) the following pattern occurs six times:1) a Trojan sees an enemy wreaking havoc among his men; 2) a Trojan is rebuked by a fellow-Trojan; 3) the two Trojans charge; 4) the Greek enemy, either alone or with a friend, sees them coming, expresses fear, but holds his ground just the same; 5) he may call for help; 6) the Trojans are beaten back (1968:3). It is certainly true, as Professor Kullmann's analysis suggests, that a focus on such regularities evokes at its worst a poetics of mere patterns functioning with a computer-like absence of taste or imagination and utterly independent of any specific life-experience. In the same vein Professor Kullmann expresses a legitimate

dismay at the potential homogenization of the human values presumed to be embedded in **oral** formulae as such. In particular Nagler's conception of mental "templates" or Nagy's declaration that the author of the Homeric poems is the oral tradition itself (1979:5f.) — a kind of ultimate intertexuality in which no historically or individually specific configuration of values determines any particular narrative strategies— suggests the dangers of the quest for self-activating mental and linguistic patterns. Moreover, despite the attraction of oral theory's attempted demonstration of a fundamentally homogeneous poetics at work on all three levels — formulae, type scene and plot — neoanalysis has rightly pointed to a kind of law of diminishing rigor — or one might say increasingly undemonstrable abstractness — in the move away from the noun-epithet formulae. Albert Lord, for instance, who testily chided his followers for considering phrases "formulaic" if they did not meet strict, statistical criteria of exact recurrence (1967), himself waxes distressingly vague and Jungian when it comes to discussing "formulaic" plot structures (1960:94 and n.15,p.285). Nagler's invocation of Eliade's pattern of withdrawal, devastation, and return (1974:131f.) is to me the nadir in this vein.

It must further be acknowledged that even if oral theory presupposes a vast interaction over many generations of oral "texts", in practice the demonstration of specifically oral poetics is inevitably, it seems, cast in terms of the internal juxtaposition of Homer against Homer or in terms of analogies with historically remote oral texts preserved by the "unnatural" means of dictation or mechanical recording. The great attraction of neoanalytic approaches is precisely that it offers the sole opportunity for confronting Homer's text —however composed or recorded — with texts from the same society not too removed in time from Homer. I confess I am somewhat uncomfortable with the sort of chronological two-step that Professor Kullmann's presentation implies — i.e. an oral, earlier **Aethiopis** which has to be inferred from the summary account of a presumably later written **Aethiopis.** Nonetheless, a juxtaposition of Homer and the totality of the fragments of the Cycle and the sort of comparisons of multiple versions of Greek myths with Homer's versions carried out, for example, by Kakrides (1971) offer a unique opportunity for situating the specific artistic choices, narrative strategies and exclusions exercised by Homer. The consequences of such choices and the whole range of what we have designated as poetics are not simply "artistic", but determine the presentation of human values, the specific ideological configuration of the complete poems we have.

Jasper Griffin, who explicitly rejects neoanalysis and accepts the assumptions of the Homeric scholiasts that all the fragments of the Cycle

reflect later poetry self-consciously reacting to the Homeric poems (1977:39), nonetheless makes extensive use of the fragments in an effort to set the specifically Homeric values and narrative techniques in sharp relief. While one may differ about the aspects he cites as differentiating Homer— e.g. cautiousness with fantastic elements, magic, transformations, an unrelenting focus on the mortality of human characters — his approach points up the fact that in general it is only the neoanalysts who have taken the Cycle seriously. If his chronological assumptions are correct, an extension of his approach might offer some grounds for exploring not merely a confrontation between the Homeric poems as if they were the products of unique and inexplicable genius and "inferior" later imitators, but a fundamental shift in the dominant ideology of the ruling element in Greece between, say, the eighth and seventh centuries. The cliche that the Homeric poems are simply "aristocratic" might be explored more concretely by a juxtaposition of all later surviving poetry of the archaic period,[2] focusing not merely on explicit political elements — Griffin notes for example the exclusion, apart from Thersites, of non-aristocratic characters from Homer's poetry — but less immediate reflections of the social hierarchy and individuals' sense of their options in it: i.e., views of the nature of divinity, of the afterlife, of the fixity or mutability of the phenomenal world.

Even if neoanalysis cannot demonstrate as necessary its central theses about the relation of the **Iliad** and the **Aethiopis,** its profound immersion in the world of the Cycle and the profuse variants of Greek myth make it a useful place to reassess not only the poetics of the larger components of the Homeric narratives, but the implicit values explored in those poems.

Peter Rose
Miami University

NOTES

[1] While in the current paper Professor Kullmann appears a fervent unitarian, in his own major contribution to the neoanalytic project, **Die Quellen der Ilias** (1960), he frankly acknowledges (pp. 4-5) that in principle neoanalysis can serve either unitarians or analysts of the old school.

2 Walter Donlan (1973) does offer a suggestive analysis of values in non-Homeric early Greek poetry, but omits the fragments of the Cycle; and of course many have attempted to discuss the political values in the Homeric poems.   What is required is to put together the evidence of the Cycle with the evidence examined by Donlan.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF NEO-ANALYTIC SCHOLARSHIP ON THE ILIAD

MARK EDWARD CLARK

The aim of this paper is to provide an extension of Professor Kullmann's essay in this same volume by suggesting further readings in Neoanalysis. Today the theory has become better known among American classicists than in the past, though it has found few advocates in the English speaking world. For less specialized scholars, however, who have not yet read the sizable body of neoanalytic literature, most of which is in German, some developments of the theory remain unknown. I hope that my discussion will also serve as a practical guide for such an audience.

At the end of the paper is a selected bibliography of neoanalytic and related scholarship. I shall not deal with every item in the bibliography. Some works, such as that by MULDER (1910), whose early attempts provided a basis for the neoanalysts, have already been summarized (J.A. Davison, "The Homeric Question, "A Companion to Homer, ed. A.J.B. Wace and F.H. Stubbings 1962, pp. 256-258. See also HEUBECK [1974], pp. 40-48, which contains a critical survey of Neoanalysis.) Likewise many of the conclusions of earlier neoanalysts, e.g., J. Th. KAKRIDIS (1944, 1949), PESTALOZZI (1945) and HOWALD (1946), can be found in subsequent studies. The same is true for others, such as REINHARDT (1938) and HEUBECK (1950), whose arguments have been used to support the theory. For our purposes it is better to consider more recent works which have reformulated and refined the theory. I have also thought it worthwhile to consider here several critiques of Neoanalysis in order to convey to the reader a flavor of the debate which has now arisen.

It is best to begin with SCHADEWALDT (1952), whose essay did much to publicize Neoanalysis. His purpose was to arrive at an idea of Homeric invention—"to glance over the shoulder of the poet"—by examining Homer's manipulation of the story of Memnon. The essential argument is that seven motifs in the Iliad were derived from the Aethiopis: 1) Nestor's rescue by Diomedes at Iliad 8.80f., corresponds to Antilochus' attempt to rescue his father from Memnon; 2) the weighing of the scales at Iliad 22.208f., and elsewhere, parallels the appeal made by Eos and Thetis for their sons' lives; 3) the removal of Sarpedon by Sleep and Death at 16.450f., is modeled upon the removal of Memnon's body; 4) the lament for

Achilles at 18.35f., is derived from the lament by Thetis and the Nereids at the time of his death; 5) at 18.95-96 (see also 11.794f., 16.36f.) Thetis' warning to her son of imminent death, if he kills Hector, is developed from her prophecy concerning Achilles' death in the story of Memnon); 6) the description of Patroclus' death, specifically the phrase megas megalôsti tanustheis at 18.26, is modelled upon the cyclic portrayal of the death of Achilles; 7) Achilles' attack upon Troy at 22.378f., after his slaying of Hector, parallels the action of the Aethiopis. It is at this last point in the Iliad, Schadewaldt argues, that Homer abandons the cyclic poem as model. These seven parallels or Prioritätsbeweise then lead Schadewaldt to an examination of Homeric invention. As all neoanalysts have concluded, Schadewaldt sees Homeric invention as the substitution of the cyclic figures Memnon and Antilochus with Hector and Patroclus. Homer thus expands upon the story of Achilles' death through the wrath theme and creates a more human and tragic version.

Critics of Neoanalysis have found Schadewaldt's emphatic position an attractive target. HOLSCHER's (1955) review of the second edition of Schadewaldt's essays contains a detailed critique of the seven major points. Hölscher finds the differences between the cyclic motifs and Homer greater than any similarities and he argues against the priority of the Aethiopis. It is possible, in fact, according to Hölscher, that the Aethiopis was modelled upon the Iliad, for instance, in the case of the hero's removal by Sleep and Death. For those Americans who are accustomed to envision the pre-Homeric story of Troy as an amorphous and undefinable tradition of oral poetry, the most objectionable aspects of Schadewaldt's exposition are his rigid reconstruction of the episodes of the cyclic poem, which is accompanied by a precise chart of Homeric parallels, and his insistence that the story of Memnon, the "Memnonis," was in written form before the composition of the Iliad.

The most important developments in Neoanalysis have come from KULLMANN who has provided new arguments and expanded the theory beyond the conception of Schadewaldt and others. In two articles (1955, 1956) on the will of Zeus, Kullmann explores the parallel between Iliad 1.5 and the Cypria. The plan of Zeus in the cyclic poem was to protect Gaia by decimating the population of mankind by means of the Trojan war. Zeus' intentions to destroy many men can be traced throughout the Iliad (2.3f., 35f., 11.52f., 12.13f., 13.222f., 19.86f., 270f.), though as a specific motif it should not be identified with the wish of Thetis to destroy the Achaeans. Rather, Achilles' anger converges with Zeus' plan in so far as it fulfills the continuing destruction of men. The cyclic fragment is independent of the Iliad and prior its treatment of the theme, since, apart from the reference to the protection of Earth, the older myth of the

Cypria seems to be reflected in Homer. The inconsistency between the will of Zeus and the wish of Thetis in the Homeric version further suggests a later development. Kullmann's reconstruction of the cyclic myth thus leads to a new understanding of Homeric manipulation. In the Iliad the will of Zeus functions as a consequence of Achilles' wrath and Thetis' request. Viewed from the background of the Cypria, moreover, Thetis' request represents a momentary episode in the larger story of Troy.

KULLMANN's Die Quellen der Ilias (1960) is a definitive and comprehensive study of the cyclic tradition and its relationship to the Iliad. He begins with a survey of references in the Iliad to events of the complete story of Troy. Early in the book we meet a defense of Neoanalysis. Several of Kullmann's arguments, which most often are directed towards Hölscher's critique of Schadewaldt, lead to new criteria and conceptions of what is meant by Homeric sources. Kullmann argues that it is the contents of the "Memnonis" (or the story of Memnon) which are pre-Homeric. Some Homeric events, such as the removal of Sarpedon by Sleep and Death, have lost their primary function in the Iliad and are best seen as parallels to the non-Homeric version. Thetis' lament is explained from the standpoint of oral poetics and the borrowing of verses, though the passage is still not fully appropriate for its position in the Iliad and thus should be viewed as influenced by the Aethiopis. This preliminary discussion moves to the real purpose of the book, the argument that the cyclic tradition as a whole, rather than the Aethiopis alone, provides a broad context for the Iliad. Kullmann builds upon REINHARDT's (1938) conclusion that Homer was aware of mythological events, such as the judgment of Paris, which makes intelligible the animosity of Hera and Athena towards the Trojans in Iliad 8.

A detailed prosopography of Homeric characters leads Kullmann to the question of invention. Traditional and well known heroes such as Achilles, Antilochus, Deiphobus, Paris, Glaucus and Aeneas had future roles to play in the subsequent stories of Troy. Hence Iliad the death of such heroes was precluded. Here Kullmann develops a novel and bold criterion for the invention of characters: the absence of a non-Homeric tradition and death in the Iliad. Apart from Patroclus, the Achaeans who die are all minor figures. Kullmann points out that the thirty-six minor characters who survived the battles of the Iliad had non-Homeric traditions. Of the ten Achaeans who perished, half are mentioned in non-Homeric sources, half are not, and the (Arcesilaus, Prothenor, Clonius, Diores, Medon) are presumed to be invented characters. Kullmann's criterion for invention has been severely criticized in reviews by COMBELLACK (1962) and PAGE (1961). Nevertheless, one seemingly insignificant figure, Lycomedes, who survives the Homeric battles (9.84,

12.366, 17.344f., 19.240) to have an unexpected place in the Little Iliad, does illustrate Kullmann's point.

Kullmann also corrects earlier neoanalytic views of invention. Patroclus was not a Homeric invention. Patroclus is unique in that he is the only important Achaean who dies in the Iliad. His non-Homeric role was in the Teuthranian expedition of the Cypria. According to Kullmann, this expedition and the story of the second gathering at Aulis are pre-Homeric. After reconstructing these stories from the Scholia (20.326), Pindar (Oly. 9.70f.) and iconography, Kullmann finds that some passages of the Iliad are intelligible in light of the expedition. Kullmann also agrees with Schadewaldt that Hector was probably an invention of Homer, though it is not entirely possible in this instance to arrive at definite conclusions. It is possible, moreover, that Proclus' identification of Hector as the slayer of Protesilaus is the result of the contamination of sources.

The catalogues of the Achaeans and Trojans receive a great deal of attention in Kullmann's prosopography. The catalogue of ships reveals inconsistencies in Homer's characters. In particular, some Achaean leaders in the catalogue do not reappear in the Iliad, whereas others who appear later are absent from the catalogue. The passage, moreover, reflects the entire story of Troy. Kullmann also argues that Homer knew a catalogue of Trojan allies and that, based upon the catalogues of the suitors of Helen, the tradition of revenge for the heroine was established before the Iliad (see 1.152f., 2.161f., 177f., 356, 590). These arguments lead to the conclusion that the Iliad represents a portion of the larger tradition of the Greek heroes, just as the poem represents an episode in the story of Troy.

Perhaps the most interesting and useful passage for American readers is Kullmann's discussion of the cycle itself. He examines the validity of Proclus' summation of the cycles and the possibility that these poems were intended to converge with the Iliad. Though the Cypria is independent of the Iliad, in some instances, such as the traditions of Briseis and Chryseis, Proclus' account was influenced by Homer. Nevertheless, the Cypria should be seen as preparation for the Aethiopis, the Little Iliad and the Sack of Ilion, rather than Homer, since various episodes of the Cypria anticipate the future events of the story of Troy. The plan of Zeus in the Cypria, as earlier argued, anticipates the entire war. The judgment of Paris and Cassandra's prophecy look forward to the fall of Troy. Likewise the catalogue of Trojans in the Cypria anticipates the arrival of Penthesilea and Memnon at Troy and Thetis' warning concerning her son's fate, which parallels the similar circumstances of Achilles' sealing his fate by meeting Hector. Kullmann sees such prophecies and oracles as typical properties which lend a deterministic character to the

cyclic poetry.

The largest section of the book contains a detailed outline of the episodes of Proclus' summary and parallels in the **Iliad**. This examination of the one hundred and thirty episodes leads to the conclusion that the mythological background of the **Iliad** as represented by the cyclic poems is much more extensive than previously thought. In the final chapter Kullmann deals with possible conceptions of the non-Homeric material, the historicity of the sagas, the date of Homer and interpretive remarks on the **Iliad**. Kullmann has greatly expanded upon the work of Schadewaldt and other neoanalysts. His exhaustive treatment of the cyclic fragments has proved useful even for those who have disagreed with the basic thesis of the book.

The range of SCHOECK's book (1961) is more limited to an examination of how the **Iliad** reflects motifs from the **Aethiopis**. Schoeck intends to develop from Neoanalysis a theory of Homer's composition in relation to the cyclic poem. He takes into account what he considers are the positive results of Parry's scholarship. Formulae, repeated verses and thematic patterns, in his view, suggest that the **Aethiopis** provided the framework and background of the **Iliad**.

The prophecy of Achilles' death in the **Aethiopis** and the battle for his body are essential for the plan of the **Iliad**. According to Schoeck, Achilles' death is instinctively linked with the wrath theme in the **Iliad**. The motif of Achilles as short-lived (**minynthadios, ôkymoros;** 1.352, 417; 9.410-11) and his mother's prophecy (11.794-795, 16.36-37, 18.94-96) indicate that the hero's death is assumed throughout the poem. Though Achilles' death is not directly imitated in the **Iliad**, the motifs surrounding it are present, e.g., the attack upon Nestor, Sarpedon's death, Hector's death and the recurring motif of the scales.

The Patrocleia has been an important focal point for the neoanalysts. For Schoeck the story of Patroclus affords the opportunity to view the definite patterns of themes and motifs. He connects this story with developments in Book 11, where it properly begins, and finds that Homer associated Thetis' prophecy with Achilles' anger (16.36-37, 49-59). The repeated pattern of Ajax's remaining or retreating in battle is suggestive of a model. The battle for Achilles' body, moreover, served as a proto-type for Homer. In the battle for Patroclus' body Schoeck discovers the earlier motifs of Odysseus and Ajax defending Achilles' corpse. Dio-medes' aristeia in the first third of the poem, furthermore, falls into the pattern of the cyclic tradition and parallels the story of Patroclus.

In a later article (1969) SCHOECK again argues that the structure of the **Iliad** reflects certain patterns of a previous tradition. The as-sociation of deities with their conflicting interests should by understood

in light of earlier myths. Hera's opposition to Zeus is derived from the story of Heracles. The animosity of Athena and Hera towards the Tro-jans must by understood in light of the judgment of Paris, while Poseidon's opposition to Troy is to be connected with the Laomedon myth. According to Schoeck, the **Iliad** blends these traditions. The first third of the poem, moreover, represents aspects of the previous stories. It is thus significant that Paris, Menelaus, Helen and Aphrodite appear together in Book 3. This grouping and the subsequent grouping of Hera, Athena and Aphrodite in the next book echo the earlier association found in the judgment of Paris and the rape of Helen. In Schoeck's view Homer has added the wrath theme and Thetis' request to Zeus, which serve as structural elements of the **Iliad**. Nevertheless, the aristeia of Diomedes, which represents a phase of Achilles' character, occurs within the dispen-sation of the sack of Troy, the **persis,** rather than within the literary plan of the **menis** theme. This structural peculiarity of the **Iliad** has been noted by other neoanalysts. KULLMANN (1955, 1960) himself has made a similar point that Books 2-7 of the **Iliad** represent elements of the previous dispensation of Zeus' plan to diminish the population of the earth. In these books as many Trojans are slain as Achaeans so that it is possible to say that Thetis' wish to favor the Trojans is not put into effect until Book 8.

A number of studies of individual motifs have also appeared since Kullmann and Schoeck. One of these is Th. J. KAKRIDIS' (1961) exam-ination of Achilles' arms. Kakridis draws a parallel between **Iliad** 18.334-335, where Hector's arms and head are demanded as revenge, and the description of Memnon by Philostratus (**Her.** 304). The non-Homeric tra-dition knows of only one set of arms for Achilles, whereas the **Iliad** represents the hero as having two, the first made at the wedding of Peleus (17.194f., 18.82f.) and the second after Patroclus' death. Both sets of arms were divine gifts and possessed similar properties, e.g. they both cause fear in enemies, fill the bearer with power and protect him from harm. Kakridis sees this last characteristic as comprising the motif of the impenetrability of divine arms. In the pre-Homeric saga Achilles' invulnerability was closely linked with his divine arms. This motif re-appears at **Iliad** 16.844-846, where Patroclus' arms are removed to make him vulnerable as he is stuck by Apollo, and later at 22.322f., where Hector is slain. This is, then, another instance in which Patroclus' manner of death is modeled upon the story of Achilles in the cyclic tradition. Some aspects of the Homeric version, nevertheless, differ from the cyclic pattern. Homer accentuates the loss of Achilles' arms and stresses the need for avenging Patroclus, thereby increasing Hec-tor's hybris. The silence of **Iliad** concerning the invincibility of Achilles

represents a tendency to reduce the magical elements of myth.

MUHLESTEIN (1972) also deals with the similarities between Patroclus and Achilles. His study combines the methods of the older analysts with the new. At Iliad 16.783f., Patroclus is struck by Apollo, wounded by Euphorbos and killed by Hector. In Book 17, where Menelaus protects the corpse of Patroclus, Euphorbus challenges him but is killed and stripped of his armor. Mühlestein argues that the complicated scene is modeled upon previous motifs from the cyclic tradition. Euphorbus is to be associated with Paris. His name indicates that he, like Paris, was earlier a herder (euphorbas). Numerous parallels between the two figures can be established, e.g., both were displaced on Mount Ida, served as herders, returned to win a notable victory, became rivals of Menelaus and favorites of Aphrodite, and finally by Apollo's help both struck down Achilles. Patroclus serves a double representation. As friend of Achilles he represents Antilochus, fulfilling Antilochus' death at the hand of Memnon (Hector), while as warrior he represents Achilles himself, dying at the hand of Paris (Euphorbus) and Apollo. Mühlestein concludes that Homer invented the figure of Euphorbus in order to create this second parallel. Yet he sees a discrepancy between Homer's portrayal of the death of Euphorbus and the representation of him in early iconography. This indicates to Mühlestein that the work of an editor is evident in the final literary version.

EBERT (1969) expands upon the study of the diapeira by Kullmann (1955), which connected the mutiny scene of the Cypria with Homer. Both Kullmann and Ebert see Achilles' role in the Cypria as similar to Odysseus' function in the Iliad, where he restrains the Achaeans during a time of crisis. Ebert, however, disagrees with Kullmann that Thersites did not figure in the mutiny scene of the cyclic poem. According to Ebert, Thersites' role there was active. Thersites' call to abandon Troy in the Iliad thus corresponds to his earlier role and the cyclic story provides the background for understanding his prominent position in the testing of the army. According to Ebert, moreover, iconographical evidence indicates that the non-Homeric tradition portrayed Thersites as a noble, related to Diomedes. It is only in the Iliad and in iconography influenced by Homer that Thersites assumes a shameful form and character. Homer has, then, manipulated the character of Thersites and changed the mutiny scene of the Cypria into a testing of the Achaeans. Ebert sees this manipulation as evidence of the poet's sociological and psychological awareness.

J. Th. KAKRIDIS' (1971) recent collection of essays contains lengthy remarks on Neoanalysis. In the "Introduction" he describes his own work as a reaction to the older school of analysis, which he sees as undermining

the poetic integrity of the Homeric poems. Nevertheless, Kakridis does not see the new analytic approach as offering a complete account of the composition of the Homeric poems. He himself does not think that the Iliad was composed orally or that the compositional process can be compared with the oral methods of the Yugoslavic epics.

Two of Kakridis' essays touch upon Neoanalysis. "Problems of the Homeric Helen" is an explanation of the inconsistent portrayals of this figure within the Iliad. Kakridis points out that Homer portrays Helen in two ways. At certain points she is seen as having willfully followed Paris, though now moved by shame (3.173f., 6.345f.). However, at 2.354f., and elsewhere this view is contradicted by the portrayal of her as having been violated. In this latter sense she is treated as an impersonal object, as one of the possessions (ktêmata) taken by Paris and as the reward of the duel in Book 3. Kakridis considers the discrepancy in light of the cyclic tradition (see Kullmann, Cypria 101f., and Appolodorus, Ep. 5.9). The discrepancy is due to the state of the myth which by Homer's time had not crystallized into its final form. Homer's portrayal of Helen may thus contain discrepancies, but this is due to the fact that the pre-Homeric tradition was inconsistent. Though the poet did not achieve absolute congruity in this tradition, his Helen is his own invention. The same approach is applied to difficulties of the figure of Helen in the Odyssey.

In "Aei philellên ho poiêthês?" Kakridis again explores questions of consistency in light of the pre-Homeric tradition. His beginning point here is the problem, raised by old analysts, of Homer's patriotism and his objective treatment of the Greeks and Trojans. Essentially the discrepancy is that, despite Zeus' promise to Thetis in Book 1, the Greeks do find success in the following battles against the Trojans (see also Kullmann [1960], Schoeck [1969]). The eventual fall of Troy was an indisputable part of the pre-Homeric tradition which the poet of the Iliad could not ignore. Nevertheless, within reasonable boundaries of the tradition Homer had the same poetic right to innovate as was later assumed by the tragedians and Pindar. Homer's invention was the interpolation of an episode describing the defeat of the Greeks into the story of Troy. It is significant that the only defeat in the mythical account of the war is that told by Homer. Kakridis reiterates his conclusions of earlier studies that the menis theme and the death of Patroclus were Homeric innovations. As plot elements these two innovations involve the question of the discrepancy of Achaean success.

WILLCOCK (1973) discusses the function of the funeral games in Book 23 and offers a modified new analytic interpretation of Antilochus' role in the Iliad. He envisions Neoanalysis as an approach which assumes particular connections, imitations and allusions in Homer to the cyclic tradition.

It thus differs from the Oral School which assumes a less specific relation-
ship of the Iliad to pre-Homeric material. Homer's characters in the
athletic events, such as Diomedes and Ajax, are "thematic" in that their
portrayal here is consistent with previous characterization in the Iliad.
Antilochus especially affords the opportunity to examine thematic paral-
lels between the Iliad and the Aethiopis. In the Iliad he is thematically
connected with Menelaus and Achilles. In Book 23 moreover, the youth
begins to assume the role of a substitute for Patroclus as Achilles' friend.
Willcock argues that references to Antilochus in the Odyssey (24.15-16,
76-79) indicate that the two versions of Achilles' friends became contam-
inated. He appeals to the oral tradition in order to explain the co-
existence of the two versions.

Two additional articles by KULLMANN have been major contributions
to the theory. The first of these is a discussion of Homer's treatment of
past and future (1968). Homeric references to events of the Trojan War
outside the scope of the Iliad again suggest the priority of the cyclic
poems. Kullmann points out that the contents of the cycles were ar-
ranged in chronological order. He assumes that their purpose, unlike
the Iliad, was to produce a chronology rather than dramatic art. It
seems logical to view the chronological narrative as the context out of
which arose the more complex dramatic narrative of Homer.

The Iliad reflects the course of the entire war in its allusions to the
beginning and end. For example, Helen's recounting of the Achaeans in
Book 3, which is better suited for the beginning of the seige than its ninth
year represents the early stages of the war. Patroclus' death, repre-
senting Achilles' own end, anticipates the end of the war. In the Iliad
elements of the cycle are thus transformed into situations understandable
only through the cyclic background, as Homer manipulates his own events
in coordination with events and characters from the cycle.

KULLMANN's (1981) lengthy article on the methods of Neoanalysis is
the latest and most significant discussion to date. He surveys the origins
of the school, noting that the unitarian view of Neoanalysis differentiates
it from the older analytic approach. The basic assumption is that the
configuration of persons and events from the previous tradition in-
fluenced the poetic form of the the extant epic. The task of the neo-
analyst is to clarify these corrections and motifs.

Kullmann then classifies themes and motifs. General themes, such as
the wrath of Achilles or revenge at the expense of ones own life, are
evident in the Iliad and belong to the heroic world. Particular themes
which are the subject of Neoanalysis differ from these general themes.
Particular themes are evident in repetition, modification or transferral
of characteristics from one figure to another. Though they are not

general themes, they become typical motifs. The role of Antilochus is
transferred to Patroclus, for instance, or the character of Epeius in the
Iliad is consistent with his subsequent role in the Sack of Ilion. Other
borrowings appear to be rigid. For example, in Book 19 the motif of
Achilles' cry, which brings Thetis and the Nereids to their lament, has not
been reworked in detail.

In the Iliad these motifs function in two ways. First, they are
generalized or transferred to other persons. Examples here include the
transference of Antilochus' death to Patroclus and Euchenor's death at
the hands of Paris at 13.660f., both of which seem to reflect Achilles' own
fate. Second, the motif may be qualitatively changed. This occurs when
the motif involves the same person with whom it was previously connected.
Nestor, for instance, is threatened in a manner similar to the assault upon
him by Memnon, though in the Iliad he does not lose his son. Motifs of this
type are thus sometimes weakened. For example, the attack of Diomedes
and Odysseus perhaps echoes the later robbery of the Palladion.

Kullmann also addresses here the question of Homeric composition.
He sees writing as important for Neoanalysis, since in written poetry it is
possible to blend the borrowed motifs into the context. He thus crit-
icizes aspects of the Oral School and argues for a written composition.
Nevertheless, Kullmann concludes that it is possible that the cyclic poems
were known only as an oral tradition at the time of the composition of the
Iliad and that the text of the cyclos was not yet firmly established.

One point in need of clarification is how the views of the neoanalysts,
especially those of Kullmann, compare with Reinhardt's position. In Die
Ilias und ihr Dichter (1961) REINHARDT combines an old analytic ap-
proach with elements of Neoanalysis. On some points, however, Rein-
hardt diverges from the neoanalysts and his criticisms of Schadewaldt
echo Hölscher's earlier critique (see especially pages 349-380). KULL-
MANN's (1965) review of the book is helpful in clarifying the differences.
Essentially the views of Reinhardt and Kullmann differ in their respective
conceptions of the state of the pre-Homeric corpus. Reinhardt conc-
eives of developmental stages in which the pre-Homeric corpus included
separate versions of the stories of Patroclus and Antilochus and Hector
appeared as the opponent of Achilles; moreover, he finds it necessary that
an early version of the Iliad existed. The poet of the Iliad was aware of
certain individual scenes form the cyclic tradition, e.g., Antilochus' death
and the accompanying episodes of Achilles' death, but the central figure
of Memnon was post-Homeric substitution. On the other hand, Kullmann
views the pre-homeric material as a comprehensive Trojan epic rather
than as a series of individual and independent episodes. While Rein-
hardt's views seem to represent a fundamental divergence from the

neoanalysts, according to Kullmann, Reinhardt's agreements with Pesta-lozzi and Schadewaldt were greater than his differences. The method-ology of reinhardt, in particular the search for older motifs which influenced our version of the **Iliad**, generally parallels that of the neoanalysts. His criticisms of Neoanalysis should not, then, be taken as a total dismissal of the theory, as it is sometimes claimed.

More substantial disagreements with the theory have come from DIHLE, **Homer-Probleme** (1970). In Dihle's critique (pages 9-44) Schade-waldt receives the most extensive criticism. For instance, the priority of the figure of Antilochus and Schadewaldt's interpretation of the kerostasia are rejected. According to Dihle, one cannot be certain that the kerostasia actually appeared in the **Aethiopis**. The removal of Mem-non by Sleep and Death, moreover, differs from the story of Sarpedon in that Memnon achieved immortality, whereas Sarpedon did not. Thus the two heroes are essentially different. The lament of Thetis in the **Iliad**, furthermore, could have been modeled upon any number of laments in the epic tradition rather than strictly upon the **Aethiopis**. Though Dihle rejects Neoanalysis, he does maintain that a canonical structure of the story of Troy existed for Homer.

Dihle is sceptical that parallels between the **Iliad** and the non-Homeric sagas can be argued with any specificity. He criticizes FENIK's (1964) interpretation of the Rhesus myth. According to Dihle, Rhesus' larger role in the non-Homeric story does not mean that it was also the older version. Contrary to Kullmann, Dihle argues that the term **basi-leus**, used to describe Zeus in the **Cypria**, points to a level of development of terminology which is not yet reached in the Homeric epic. Dihle also rejects the authenticity of verses such as **Iliad** 3.144 and 1.265 and thus attempts to undermine Kullmann's assumption that the Teichoskopia re-veals knowledge of the Dioscuroi, Theseus and Menestheus. Instead, Dihle argues that where the **Iliad** is connected with the sagas we are not compelled to assume a fixed written text and that where we can relate a distinct passage from the cyclic epics to an episode in the **Iliad** the cyclic version is derived from the conditions of the **Iliad** or is harmonized with the Homeric context.

In his review of Dihle, KULLMANN (1970) clarifies some points. He criticizes Dihle for focusing too much attention upon Schadewaldt and for failing to consider later developments in the theory. Kullmann gathers arguments which suggest that the **Iliad** was composed within a chrono-logical framework of the sagas, that it assumes the death of Antilochus and that it was influenced in a number of ways by the story of Achilles. Contrary to Dihle's insistence that Neoanalysis makes sense only in terms

of a written text, Kullmann allows for the possibility that the pre-Homeric versions were oral in form.

Neoanalysis thus continues to be controversial. In the English spea-king world the theory is beginning to find more adherents. For Ameri-cans, however, the methodology of source criticism and the search for poetic invention will doubtless be obstacles. Many will share Dihle's scepticism concerning the specificity of Homeric sources or the pos-sibility of arriving at exact conclusions in regards to Homeric invention (see COMBELLACK, 1976). Some American scholars, such as FENIK (1968, pp. 229-240), and more recently NAGY (1979, pp. 22-23, 31-33), have appreciated the source criticism of the neoanalysts and have found their results useful and worth considering, if not entirely convincing. As the theory becomes better known in America, it will find wider appreciation, though all the major points of Neoanalysis are not likely to be accepted without some modifications.

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University Honors College
University of Southern Mississippi

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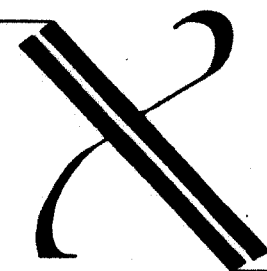
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