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HOMERIC ORIGINALITY: A SURVEY*

Preliminary Remarks

It is by now a commonplace to say that the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition has radically altered the direction of modern Homeric scholarship.[1] The purpose of this survey will be to reveal an aesthetic crisis which has arisen from this change of direction.

Milman Parry's proof of the orality of the Homeric poems has found general acceptance among English-speaking scholars. German critics have not attempted in earnest to disprove it, rather they have neglected it as a remotely conceivable alternative inadequate to account for the structural magnitude and complexity of the poems. Still, the tightly woven fabric of Parry's statistical analyses has not been successfully unraveled.

Oral theory has become our critical conscience. The most basic instinct of the literary critic is to approach a text as the original product of a single inventive genius. That genius is sought for in the disposition of words in patterns ascending from the most basic combination of subject and predicate through intricate and subtle convolutions of imagery to the deployment of large narrative blocks. The Parry-Lord theory has interrupted this process of detection and demanded that the critic take into consideration certain extraordinary circumstances which surrounded the production of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The doctrine of formulaic economy and scope establishes that composition of the great epics would not have been beyond the capability of a single oral poet. The tradition gave him access to virtually inexhaustible poetic resources. This, of course, puts the question of originality in an entirely new light. Parry had seen the implications of the theory and suggested a way to test them:

> to prove that there were one or many poets, and to show what passages were taken whole from the tradition and which were made anew out of single formulas or verses, we must turn to the study of other oral poetries where the processes of composition can be studied in actual practice and in a greater body of poetry than we have for the Greek epic. When, by the exact analysis of oral poems in reference to their tradition, we have grasped in detail just how the oral poet works, and what it is that makes a poem good or bad in the judgment of himself and his hearers, we shall then, but only then, be able to undertake to study the authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and to try to apportion that which is due to the tradition and that which is due to the author" (7: p. 47).

It is over just this apportionment that the aesthetic crisis has arisen.

The first seven sections (A-G) of the survey are intended to represent 1) the canon law of oral theory as it is reposed in the writings of Parry and Lord, and 2) critical reaction to the general import of the theory and to its more specific pronouncements on epithet, formula, theme, and comparative epic.

Sections H-K represent the field within which many post-Parry demonstrations of Homeric originality have been undertaken — that of structural criticism. If such small-scale elements as epithets and formulae are more readily conceded to the tradition, the same is not true of larger structural segments nor of the grand design itself. It is here that the hand of Homer has been most assiduously and feasibly sought.

The final section (L) refers the reader to several helpful guides to critical resources. In struggling with the Lernaean Hydra that is Homeric scholarship, one cannot of course aim for completeness. Certain areas have forcefully intruded themselves upon my attention but have been excluded for fear of vitiating the survey by hopeless dispersion. Valuable Neoanalytical studies[2] compatible with oral theory pay no attention to it. The sections on epithet and formula might have been expanded indefinitely by including material from the area of *Wortfeldforschung.*[3] Important investigations of the hexameter verse[4] might have supplemented those

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[2]Germany has produced the most ardent Neoanalysts; see e.g. H. Pestalozzi *Die Achilleis als Quelle der Ilias* (Erlenbach-Zurich 1945); W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias (Troischer Sagenkreis)* (Wiesbaden 1960); W. Theiler, "Ilias und Odyssee in der Verflechtung ihres Entstehens," *MH* 19 (1962) 1-27; and, an extreme example, G. Jachmann, *Homerische Einzellieder* (Darmstadt 1968; orig. 1949). See also A. Severyns, "Le 'lai de Méléagre' dans Homère," in *Miscellanea J. Gessler* (Duerne 1948) pp. 1132-35.

[3]For many examples, see Mette, item 213. It is interesting to observe that the Parry-Lord axiom concerning metrical utility as a primary determinant in the choice of words has not stopped critics from successfully extrapolating a conception of the Homeric *Weltanschauung* from specific word usages. See esp. A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values* (Oxford 1960), chaps. II & III: *moira, agathos, aretē;* " 'Honour' and 'Punishment' in the Homeric Poems," *BICS* 7 (1960) 23-32: *timē;* " 'Friendship' and 'Self-Sufficiency' in Homer and Aristotle," *CQ* 13 (1963) 30-45: *philos;* "Threatening, Abusing, and Feeling Angry in the Homeric Poems," *JHS* 89 (1969) 7-21: *neikeiein, ochtheō, chōesthai, meneainō, apeilein,* "I have tried to show, by means of a study of the manner in which Homer uses words, the nature of the Homeric field of values" (p. 7); and, most recently, *From the Many to the One* (Ithaca 1970): *physis, psychē, aretē.* Cf. W. Marg, *Der Charakter in der Sprache der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg 1938) pp. 43-79: "Homerische Ausdrucksweisen im Bereich 'Charakter';" W. C. Greene, *Moira: Fate, Good, and Evil in Greek Thought* (Cambridge, Mass. 1944) chap. II; W. Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture,* I (2nd ed. 1935; Eng. tr. G. Highet, New York 1945) chaps. 1-3; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) chaps. I-II. E. A. Havelock characterizes the "Homeric state of mind" in view of oral theory in his *Preface to Plato* (Oxford 1963) chaps. VII-IX.

[4]E.g. E. G. O'Neill, Jr., "The Localization of Metrical Word-Types in the Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 8 (1942) 103-78; H. N. Porter, "The Early Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 12 (1951) 1-63; H. J. Mette, "Die Struktur des ältesten daktylischen Hexameters," *Glotta* 35 (1956) 1-17; and H. Fränkel, "Der homerische und der kallimachische Hexameter," in *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* (Munich 1955; 2nd ed. 1960) pp. 100-156.

items (e.g. 52) which rely upon them directly or indirectly. Finally, book reviews could have offered a speedy means of precipitating differences of critical opinion.[5] But if my annotations were to aspire to be both more informative and more critical than those of *L'Année philologique*, sacrifices had to be made.

The Survey:

A. Milman Parry (1-13).
B. Albert Lord (14-22).
C. Other Theorists: Reassertion, Rejection, Revision (23-80).
D. Epithet (81-91).
E. Formula (92-122).
F. Theme (123-136).
G. Comparative Epic (137-149).
H. Structure: General Studies (150-162).
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K. Structure: The Geometric Analogy (192-203).
L. Bibliographies (204-214).

A. Milman Parry.

1. *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. A. Parry (Oxford 1971); hereafter cited as *MHV*. This volume brings together all of Parry's published works (see below, items 2-13) as well as his master's thesis and summaries of or extracts from his other unpublished writings. The late Adam Parry's introduction (pp. ix-lxii) is an important enhancement, providing detailed and interesting biographical information (one even learns on p. xxxvii of Parry's improvisational tales of Mickey Mouse and Winnie the Pooh in the sewers of Paris) together with a penetrating discussion of the evolution of Parry's thought and the force it has exerted on Homeric scholarship (considerable bibliography). Altogether an invaluable book — one only wishes it had appeared thirty years ago.

2. M. Parry, *L Épithète traditionelle dans Homère: Essai sur un problème de style homérique* (Paris 1928); trans. in *MHV*, pp. 1-190. Parry's doctoral thesis proved, by a statistical analysis of great precision, what had only been observed (by e.g. Heinrich Düntzer) previously — that the use of ornamental adjectives was determined by the metrical demands of heroic verse rather than by suitability of meaning. "I dealt with those formulas in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* which are made up of a noun and one or more fixed epithets, and showed that they were created to help the poet set the heroic tale to hexameters. . . . I also showed that the technique of the use of the noun-epithet formulas is worked out to so fine a point that it could be only for the smallest part due to any one man" (item 6: p. 73).

3. ——, *Les Formules et la métrique d'Homère* (Paris 1928); trans.

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[5]Compare e.g. Kirk's review of Lord, item 20 in *CR* 13 (1963) 19-21 with Lord's review of Kirk, item 143 in *AJP* 85 (1964) 81-85.

in *MHV*, pp. 191-239. A significant (and frequently overlooked) supplementary thesis which maintains that certain metrical irregularities — hiatus of short syllables and irrational lengthening of final short syllables — in the Homeric poems are the result of a rigid adherence to formulaic pattern in verse composition.

4. ———, "The Homeric Gloss: A Study in Word-sense," *TAPA* 59 (1928) 233-47; *MHV*, pp. 240-50. A demonstration that the ornamental epithet is capable of becoming so fused to its noun as to be virtually meaningless; the poet is concerned with metrical value and not with signification in his choice of an epithet. Hence, it comes about that he "can use as epithets words which are comprehended only by more or less distant associations with other words, and to which he is often forced to attach a meaning very remote from the main current of his thought" (p. 246).

5. ———, "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse," *TAPA* 60 (1929) 200-20; *MHV*, pp. 251-65. The first statement by Parry that it is the fact of oral composition which necessitates devices (in this case, unperiodic enjambement) to sustain improvisational versemaking. "Homer was ever pushed on to use unperiodic enjambement. Oral versemaking by its speed must chiefly be carried on in an adding style. The Singer has not the time for the nice balances and contrasts of unhurried thought: he must order his words in such a way that they leave him much freedom to end the sentence or draw it out as the story and the needs of the verse demand" (p. 215).

6. ———, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style," *HSCP* 41 (1930) 73-147; *MHV*, pp. 266-324. A key paper, perhaps Parry's best known work, establishes (again, by a careful statistical analysis) that formulaic repetition occurs with a much higher frequency in Homeric verse than elsewhere in Greek literature. This is the result of a long tradition which has sought to provide a fixed means of expressing ideas in the face of the demands of oral composition within a hexameter verse scheme. The poet's genius lies not in the novel expression of ideas but in his ability to utilize the method of expression provided him by the tradition. This realization entails "a new idea of poetic artistry" (p. 76).

7. ———, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," *HSCP* 43 (1932) 1-50; *MHV*, pp. 325-64. An application of oral theory to the problems of foreign, artificial, archaic, and dialectal elements in the Homeric poems.

8. ———, "The Traditional Metaphor in Homer," *CP* 28 (1933) 30-43; *MHV*, pp. 365-75. The use of fixed metaphor in Homer is to be understood as "an incantation of the heroic" (p. 42), a manifestation of the poet's fluency in the traditional *Kunstsprache*, not a symptom of creative sterility.

9. ———, "Whole Formulaic Verses in Greek and Southslavic Heroic Song," *TAPA* 64 (1933) 179-97; *MHV*, pp. 376-90. Written after Parry's first visit to Yugoslavia, this article establishes that the stichic character

of Homeric verse, and specifically the coincidence of whole sentence and whole verse, is something which it has in common with Southslavic heroic song. Parry's explanation is a reiteration of one of the most basic tenets of his theory of oral versification: "the art of the oral poet is largely that of grouping together whole fixed verses. These fixed verses themselves are, of course, no work of the single singer, but the gradual work of time and of countless singers ever seeking to cast their thought into the easiest mould" (p. 195).

10. ———, "The Traces of the Digamma in Ionic and Lesbian Greek," *Language* 10 (1934) 130-44; *MHV*, pp. 391-403. Oral theory is here enlisted to explain the difference in extent of digamma "traces" in Ionic and Lesbian Greek. The Lesbian poets may well have been following an oral tradition of lyric poetry, though not nearly so strictly as Homer follows that of heroic poetry.

11. ———, Review of W. Arend, *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer*, *CP* 31 (1936) 357-60; "On Typical Scenes in Homer" in *MHV*, pp. 404-7. See item 123.

12. ———, "The Historical Method in Literary Criticism," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 38 (1936) 778-82; *MHV*, pp. 408-13. This address, delivered before the Board of Overseers of Harvard College and published posthumously, reveals an important principle of literary theory which underlies much of Parry's work. After quoting a passage from ,Ernest Renan's *Future of Science* which had been the epigraph to *L'Épithète traditionelle* and which calls for a rigidly historical perspective, he remarks that "the remarkable thing about that point of view is that it is one which can never reach completely, but only come nearer to its attainment. The work upon it will never be done" (pp. 778-79).

13. ———, "About Winged Words," *CP* 32 (1937) 59-63; *MHV*, pp. 414-18. See item 94.

B. Albert Lord.

Milman Parry had asserted (7: p. 47) that a full understanding of what is traditional in the Homeric poems, as opposed to what can safely be ascribed to individual genius, could only be attained by the observation of the actual process of oral composition. To this end, he had undertaken field study in Yugoslavia in the years 1933-35, but died before he was able to write more than a few pages (contained in Lord, 17: pp. 37-40) of a projected book on the subject — *The Singer of Tales*. The untimely loss of so brilliant a student of Homer has been somewhat allayed by the happy fulfillment of Parry's legacy in the work of his disciple, Albert Lord.

14. A. B. Lord, "Homer and Huso I: The Singer's Rests in Greek and Southslavic Heroic Song," *TAPA* 67 (1936) 106-13. The existence of long heroic poems as sung by e.g. Avdo Medjedovitch in Yugoslavia provides us with a useful control in assessing the theory of relatively self-contained chants, rather like oral "chapters," in Homer. Lord finds that such a theory is invalidated by audience instability and other forces beyond the singer's control together with his propensity to diminish or expand his material at will and to break off at virtually any point in the narrative. See, however, 146: pp. 7-12, and 55: pp. 136-40, 232.

15. ———, "Homer and Huso II: Narrative Inconsistencies in Homer and Oral Poetry," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 439-45. Lord maintains that various Homeric inconsistencies are best accounted for by recognizing that they are a function of the oral method of composition. Themes tend to become crystallized into a set form and to be employed whether or not elements within them contradict other elements of the narrative. This is borne out by the observation of Southslavic practice.

16. ———, "Homer and Huso III: Enjambement in Greek and Southslavic Heroic Song," *TAPA* 79 (1948) 113-24. Necessary enjambement is much less in evidence in Southslavic song than in Homer (a 12.7% difference by Lord's figures). Stylistic, linguistic, and metrical factors are responsible. In all three areas, Homer possesses greater freedom and resources for propelling his narrative from one line to another.

17. ———, "Homer, Parry, and Huso," *AJA* 52 (1948) 34-44; *MHV*, pp. 465-78. A succinct description of the progression of Milman Parry's research into the nature of Homeric verse and of the circumstances which led him to an interest in the oral poetry of Yugoslavia. Contains a Complete Bibliography of Milman Parry.

18. ———, "Composition by Theme in Homer and Southslavic Epos," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 71-80. This essay, an outgrowth of observations in Yugoslavia, responds to W. C. Greene (42). "The art of composition by formula and theme, a highly developed and complex art, came into being for the very reason that there was no system of note-taking and yet there was a need for a technique of story-telling which allowed scope for the artistic imagination" (p. 80). Giving examples from Southslavic and Homeric poetry, Lord shows that certain minimum essential themes can be expanded by the addition of ornamental themes.

19. ———, "Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 124-34; also in *The Language and Background of Homer: Some Recent Studies and Controversies* (hereafter, *LBH*), ed. G. S. Kirk (New York 1964) pp. 68-78. Arguing for an illiterate Homer, Lord asserts that the oral dictated text adequately explains many of the artistic triumphs (and peculiarities) of the Homeric poems. Observing the differences between dictated texts and those mechanically recorded in Yugoslavia, he concludes that "the Homeric poems are what they are because they are the products of an oral technique with its abundant opportunities for freedom of creation, recorded by a method and under circumstances which bring into the fore the very best which an inspired poet can instill into them" (pp. 133-34).

20. ———, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass. 1960). A comprehensive and illuminating formulation of the new poetics which Parry had seen the need for thirty years earlier. Lord synthesizes oral theory with the findings of Parry and himself in "the living laboratory of Yugoslav epic" (p. 141). The work sheds light on the nature of oral composition and reasserts Parry's dictum that one should not lose sight of the circumstances of improvisational composition in analyzing the poetry of Homer: "we must not suddenly endow the oral poet with the mentality of the developed literary artist in a written tradition, with his sense of ownership" (p. 156). The oral poet is, in terms of actual performance, a

participant in a protean tradition and cannot be treated as if he were independent of that tradition.

21. ———, "Homer and Other Epic Poetry," in *A Companion to Homer* (hereafter, *CH*), ed. A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings (London 1962) pp. 179-214. An interesting paper summarizing many of the points more fully set forth in the author's *Singer of Tales*. More important are the last two sections ("Ritual and Magical Origins of Epic" and "The Purposes of Epic: History, Teaching, Entertainment") in which Lord allows himself to expatiate on some of the conscious and subconscious motivations operative in nearly every oral epic. A valuable study in comparative literature somewhat after the manner of C. M. Bowra (138).

22. ———, "Homer as Oral Poet," *HSCP* 72 (1968) 1-46. A critical dismantling of several misleading and, in Lord's view, downright erroneous arguments contained in *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. 20: "Homeric Studies" (see items 23, 52, 109, 117, 147). By a statistical analysis, Lord proves, yet again, that quantitative investigation of formulae can indeed enable us to differentiate the truly oral from the literary imitation. In the process, he debunks the impressionistic assertion by G. S. Kirk, C. M. Bowra, and A. Parry that Homeric poetry is formulaic to an extent that Yugo-slavian is not. Lord also adversely criticizes the "subjective" interpretations of Anne Amory (23) concerning the significance of horn and ivory in the *Odyssey*. He concludes with a plea for the cessation of the misapplication of the poetics of written literature to oral traditional poetry.

C. *Other Theorists: Reassertion, Rejection, Revision.*

23. Anne Amory, "The Gates of Horn and Ivory," *YCS* 20 (1966) 3-57. Miss Amory, discussing the much-analyzed passage at *Od.* 19.560-69, sees the gates of horn and ivory as part of, indeed the center of, a network of imagery which relies for its effect upon subtle connotations and nuances of meaning. Most important are pp. 35-40 in which the theoretical implications of such an analysis are weighed. The tendency to devalue the extent and complexity of Homeric artistry is shown to be a dangerous and unjustified deduction from the theory of oral composition. See item 22.

24. S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Berkeley 1938). This book is perhaps the finest example of pure literary criticism in English language Homeric scholarship. As is the case with Bowra's *Tradition and Design* (169), some of his reflections suffer from an ignorance of the basic tenets of oral theory. Bassett objects (pp. 14-19) to Parry's denial of Homeric originality and devotes a good deal of his book to the detection of such originality. In this respect, he shows himself (see esp. pp. 115-16) to be an ally of G. M. Calhoun (93, 94).

25. C. R. Beye, *The Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Epic Tradition* (Garden City, N.Y. 1966). "This book is principally designed for the non-specialist, particularly the many people today, both in college and out, who are discovering the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in translation" (p. vii). As such, its chapters on "Oral Poetry" (I) and "Epic Technique" (III) are fundamental, if not rigorously scholarly, introductions to the subject.

26. C. M. Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London 1945). An instruc-

tive treatise based upon the comparative method. The first chapter, "Some Characteristics of Literary Epic," is especially useful for its concise identification of the differing methods and values of oral and written epic. Cautioning against the implicit value judgment in such labels as "authentic" vs. "literary," Bowra suggests that the adjectives "oral" and "written" be substituted in any discussion of the types of epic poetry.

27. C. M. Bowra, *Homer and his Forerunners* (Edinburgh 1955). This Andrew Lang Lecture examines the prehistory of the Homeric poems. Bowra asserts that the Decipherment (two years earlier) provides no evidence of a written tradition of epic poetry. Changing his former position (a semi-literate Homer in item 138: pp. 240-41), he subscribes to oral theory with the provision that Homer must have been able to take advantage of writing through the dictated text (pp. 10-13); he is apparently unaware of Lord's crucial article (19). Highly compressed and informative, with sound evaluation of the extent of Mycenaean relics in Homer, the monograph is hardly superseded by Kirk's *CAH* fascicle (210).

28. C. M. Bowra, "Style," in *CH*, pp. 26-37. Bowra briefly characterizes the nature of formulaic style and emphasizes the need to understand the non-literary aspect of originality within that style. He admits the possibility of limited individual inventiveness and concludes with a vote for the theory of the oral dictated text (see 27).

29. C. M. Bowra, "Composition," in *CH*, pp. 38-74. This essay, important for its delineation of inconsistencies — from a literary point of view — which are symptomatic of the oral method of composition, includes a sound discussion of the question of Separatism. Bowra sets forth the premises of each side of the issue and opts finally for the Unitarian.

30. C. M. Bowra, *Homer*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones (New York 1972). Sir Maurice Bowra's final book will be published in America by Charles Scribner's Sons. His words are eagerly awaited.

31. R. Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley 1946). Chapter 1, "Literature Without Letters," describes the nature of oral literature along the lines established by Milman Parry. Carpenter, however, reverts to the theory of the Pisistratean recension. Against the illiterate Homer dictating his work (Lord, 19) and the semi-literate Homer polishing and transcribing (Bowra, 138), he posits that the poems were preserved orally by rhapsodes until the introduction of writing and adequate writing materials in the mid-seventh century.

32. P. Chantraine, "Remarques sur l'emploi des formules dans le premier chant de l'Iliade," *REG* 45 (1932) 121-54. Chantraine, in his review of Parry's theses (2, 3), was "the first scholar to acknowledge in print the value and importance of Parry's work" (*MHV*, p. xxiii n. 2). This article inspects formulae in *Il.* 1 and reasons that "l'unité de la phrase n'est pas le mot, mais la formule métrique qui occupe une place déterminée dans le vers et qui peut être répétée un nombre indéfini de fois. L'examen du texte homérique apporte donc une confirmation à la doctrine systématiquement exposée dans la thèse de M. Milman Parry" (pp. 136-37).

33. P. Chantraine, "La Langue poétique et traditionelle d'Homère,"

Confér. de l'Instit. de ling. de l'Univ. de Paris 8 (1940-48) 33-44. The conservative and artificial epic "language" must be analyzed with care since it preserves forms dating to Achaean epic (via Aeolic) which are occasionally applied to words of an altogether different linguistic stratum.

34. F. M. Combellack, "Contemporary Unitarians and Homeric Originality," *AJP* 71 (1950) 337-64. In a polemical treatment of the Unitarian tendency to define elements in the Homeric poems as products of the poetic originality of Homer himself, the author demonstrates that it is impossible to base such definitions upon fact. Our ignorance of the oral tradition which preceded Homer makes futile any attempt to detect Homeric invention.

35. F. M. Combellack, "Milman Parry and Homeric Artistry," *Comp Lit* 11 (1959) 193-208. Combellack here points out that "one result of Milman Parry's work on the Homeric style has been to remove from the literary study of the Homeric poems an entire area of normal literary criticism" (p. 193). Various critical attempts to confirm the presence of highly appropriate and consciously selected words or passages are vitiated by the discoveries of Parry. Abysmal pessimism.

36. A. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme* (Opladen 1970). Armed with a sound understanding of oral theory, Dihle postulates that the Neoanalysts are wrong in holding that an *Aithiopis* and other cyclic poems are precursors of various portions of the *Iliad*. Those portions were, in fact, conceived in writing and subsequently canonized in the Pisistratean recension.

37. G. E. Dimock, "From Homer to Novi Pazar and Back," *Arion* 2.4 (1963) 40-57. This paper proposes a bilingual Homer who could speak his native Greek (Ionic?) as well as a metrical, poetic language. His ability to think in the latter aligns him with the literate poet (Dimock selects Shakespeare as a parallel). The latter is possessed of a more flexible language, but one which is different only in degree from that of the oral poet. Thus it is quite possible that oral virtuosity in the poetic language and the facility to transcribe poetry conceived in that language are not mutually exclusive.

38. M. W. Edwards, "Some Features of Homeric Craftsmanship," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 115-79. In a revisionist approach to Parry's comments on enjambement (see esp. items 5 and 9), Edwards notes that the presence of clauses which begin at the final caesura would seem to impede composition and comprehension. Furthermore, the degree to which the meaning of a word, rather than its position, ensures emphasis has been underrated.

39. M. W. Edwards, "Some Stylistic Notes on *Iliad* XVIII," *AJP* 89 (1968) 257-83. Edwards grants the point made by Combellack (35) and others that our lack of knowledge about Homer's predecessors and contemporaries makes it impossible for us to ascertain which formulaic usages, if any, originate with Homer. He does, however, offer a close analysis of many lines in *Il.* 18 in an endeavor to prove that a comparison of Homer with himself can potentially reveal his genius for manipulating traditional material in novel ways.

40. B. Fenik, *"Iliad X" and the "Rhesus:" The Myth* (Brussels 1964). This monograph is a compelling example of Neoanalysis. The scholia to

Il. 10.435 contain two alternative versions (Fenik calls them "Pindaric" and "oracle") of the Rhesus myth which have certain cyclic/epic elements in common with the Euripidean (?) *Rhesus*. The play is probably dependent upon these "Pindaric/oracle" versions — versions which are older than *Il.* 10. This assumption allows us to understand better some of the inconsistencies or oddities which resulted from Homeric adaptation. Fenik is never recklessly confident — something which cannot be said for all Neoanalysts.

41. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums: Eine Geschichte der griechischen Literatur von Homer bis Pindar* (New York 1951; 2nd ed. 1962). Fränkel's discussion of Homer (pp. 7-132) is geared, somewhat after the manner of B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (Hamburg 1948; Eng. ed. 1953) to the discovery of the *Weltanschauung* of the poems and its recurrence in later philosophical thought. On the basis of epic themes in vase-painting, he places the poems in the 8th or, at latest, 7th century. However, he does not take a stance on the relation of Homer to this date of publication; i.e. one cannot accurately describe the tradition or Homer's place in it. The author is impressed by and makes much of parallels between Homer and Serbo-Croatian epic.

42. W. C. Greene, "The Spoken and the Written Word," *HSCP* 55 (1951) 23-59. Section II of this article faces directly the question of Homeric originality. Greene, in sympathy with Calhoun (93 and 94), balks at Parry's stringent interdiction (he cites item 6: pp. 138, 146) of the notion of individual originality in the composition of the poems. He maintains that it is to be found in their "supreme organization;" this, in turn, leads him, as it was to lead Bowra (138: pp. 240-41), to the conclusion that written notes at least were needed to facilitate the creation of the complex structure.

43. D. M. Gunn, "Narrative Inconsistency and the Oral Dictated Text in the Homeric Epic," *AJP* 91 (1970) 192-203. Certain narrative inconsistencies are inexplicable by theories of a literate poet transcribing or of transmission through verbatim memorization. Support for Lord's theory (19).

44. J. B. Hainsworth, "The Criticism of an Oral Homer," *JHS* 90 (1970) 90-98. A penetrating account of the way in which oral theory must affect our interpretation of Homer. Hainsworth distinguishes between performance and poem, suggesting that "the canons of orthodox criticism" are not wholly inapplicable to the latter. A valuable antidote to Combellack's pessimism (35).

45. C. Hardie, "In Defence of Homer," *G&R* 3 (1956) 118-31. Devoted primarily to demonstrating that the Analyst arguments are inconclusive, this paper "defends" Homer as the author of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Homer, in the first half of the eighth century, created his poems for certain great festivals (Apollo at Delos, Poseidon at Mycale, and Artemis at Ephesus); these poems, because of their excellence, were deemed worthy of preservation; the Phoenician alphabet provided the means for a written text to legitimize rhapsodic presentation by the Homeridae.

46. G. N. Hatzidakis, "Zur Beurteilung der homerischen Sprache,"

RhM 81 (1932) 97-103. Hatzidakis offers as explanation of the dialectal mixture in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the existence of pre-Homeric poems in both Aeolic and Ionic dialects. Gradually the former came to be suppressed, though Homer in transcribing the poems preserved Aeolic forms which were a) familiar within the epic tradition, and b) metrically useful (Hatzidakis was anticipated in this by Parry, 2: pp. 6-8).

47. E. Heitsch, *Epische Kunstsprache und homerische Chronologie* (Heidelberg 1968). This monograph points out that the theory of oral poetry necessitates the recognition of a prehistory during which various elements may either have coalesced into our *Iliad* before it was transcribed or have had independent existences before being incorporated into the written version. Heitsch feels that the poem was transcribed about 600 BC or later, since the mere possibility of literacy during the 8th century in no way implies a facility requisite to set down thousands of hexameter verses.

48. E. Howald, *Der Dichter der Ilias* (Erlenbach-Zurich 1946). Essentially an endeavor to distinguish between what is owed to the especial genius of Homer and what is owed to the *Vorgeschichte*. F. M. Combellack, in *CP* 44 (1949) 54, has called the latter "Homeric scholarship's familiar fairyland, peopled by the *Meleagergedicht*, the *Zorngedicht*, the *Memnongedicht*, and other fabulous creatures." Howald believes that the original genius of Homer can be perceived principally in the large-scale organization of the *Grossepos,* and in the psychological subtlety of character portrayal.

49. Lillian H. Jeffrey, "Writing," in *CH* pp. 545-59. Miss Jeffrey maintains that the Homeric poems could have been transcribed in the 8th century since the Phoenician alphabet and writing material — leather — were both available at that time. Support for Wade-Gery (77).

50. J. T. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949). A collection of Neoanalytical studies which treat of epic resources which may have been tapped by the monumental composer (Kakridis is firm on the point of a single creative and coordinating poet) of the *Iliad*. Our ability to detect material which was imperfectly assimilated into the *Iliad* makes it possible for us to discern the shape of such probable epic precedents as the *Meleagris, Aithiopis, Achilleis.*

51. G. S. Kirk, "Dark Age and Oral Poet," *PCPS* 7 (1961) 34-48. This paper became in essence chapter 6 of *The Songs of Homer* (143). The crucial point is that the circumstances of communal life in the "Dark Age" were sufficient to sustain oral poetry. Those who argue for transmission of epic from the Mycenaean age must admit to the possibility of creation as well.

52. G. S. Kirk, "Studies in Some Technical Aspects of Homeric Verse," *YCS* 20 (1966) 75-152. I: "The Structure of the Homeric Hexameter," II: "Verse-structure and Sentence-structure in Homer." I. offers refinements of the theories of H. Fränkel, E. G. O'Neill, and H. N. Porter. II. follows up the analyses of Parry (5, 9) and Lord (16) with regard to the occurrence of enjambement in Homer. Kirk formulates a system of categorization which allows for finer distinctions in ascertaining enjambement

and makes some attractive suggestions concerning the stylistic motivations underlying the employment or avoidance of enjambement.

53. A. Lesky, "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im homerischen Epos," in *Festschrift für D. Kralik* (Horn 1954) 1-9; also in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Bern 1966) 63-71. Lesky recognizes the vital insights which have been won by the comparative method in the study of oral poetry. However, he goes on to say, critics (he gives W. C. Greene, item 42, as example) remain unconvinced that the overall structure of the poems can be accounted for without positing a literate, or semi-literate poet.

54. A. Lesky, "Homeros," *RE* Suppl. 11 (1967) cols. 687-846. Sections I and II, "Oral Poetry als Voraussetzung der homerischen Epen" and "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit," provide an even-handed estimation of the significance of oral theory, its advantages and its limitations. Lesky also decries the relative neglect of Parry by continental scholars. Some key bibliography.

55. P. Mazon *et al.*, *Introduction à l'Iliade* (Paris 1948). Chapter IV, "La Langue de l'Iliade," by P. Chantraine is a succinct (34 pages) discussion of the nature and constitution of the epic *Kunstsprache*, dealing with dialectal peculiarities, the formulaic complexion of the poem, and the nature of oral composition generally. Chapter VI, by Mazon, treats structural oddities in the poem and argues for a Homer "qui a conçu le thème si fécond du *Dessein de Zeus* en combinant les trois motifs de la *Colère* d'Achille, de *deuil* qu'elle provoque, de la vengeance qui l'apaise" (p. 253). Mazon believes that Books 1, 11, 16, 18, 22, and 24 are the original constituents of the poem and that the other books were added subsequently, some perhaps by the original author, others certainly by different composers.

56. J. A. Notopoulos, "Mnemosyne in Oral Literature," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 465-93. Mnemosyne as "the personification of an important and vital force in oral composition." Static (i.e. rhapsodic) and creative memory are distinguished; the latter is evidenced in the ability of singers to create songs from a vast supply of formulae and themes contained in their memory. The obsolescence of Mnemosyne starts with the introduction of written literature. The last two sections in this three part essay are devoted to such problems as the oral tradition in Pythagorean thought and its influence upon Socrates.

57. J. A. Notopoulos, "Parataxis in Homer: A New Approach to Homeric Literary Criticism," *TAPA* 80 (1949) 1-23. Dealing with the paratactic style and mentality along the lines of B. A. van Groningen's *Paratactische Compositie in de Oudste Grieksche Literatuur* (see also item 155), Notopoulos warns that "it must be realized that the projection into the criticism of pre-fifth century literature of principles of criticism applicable to a later period has resulted in the misunderstanding of the physiognomy of oral epic poetry and the subsequent literature whose form oral poetry influenced" (p. 6). Field-work in Yugoslavia (Parry), Crete (Notopoulos himself), and elsewhere rather than *a priori* logical analyses ought to be used in approaching the Homeric texts.

58. J. A. Notopoulos, "The Generic and Oral Composition in Homer," *TAPA* 81 (1950) 28-36. Generic manifestation (e.g. Homer's characters

as generic types) is a function of linguistic formulaic typology. The paratactic style has its parallel in the generic typology of geometric and archaic art. See also item 198.

59. J. A. Notopoulos, "Continuity and Interconnexion in Homeric Oral Composition," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 81-101. "The oral poet, through the devices of foreshadowing, retrospection, ringcomposition, and the intimate ties that bind the audience to the epic material, compensates for interruptions in the recitation and for the inorganic parataxis of his material and method of composition" (p. 100). Notopoulos concurs with Calhoun (93, 94), Sheppard (87, 88), and others in seeing Homer's transcendence of the purely functional *raison d'être* of the formulaic diction. "We can detect evidence for the poet's overwhelming mastery of the traditional material to the degree that he can use formulas as the literary artist can use *le mot juste*" (p. 97).

60. J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer, Hesiod and the Achaean Heritage of Oral Poetry," *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 177-97. Our knowledge of oral composition teaches us that the existence of Homeric formulae in Hesiod should not be explained by a theory of imitation or literary influence. Rather, we should accept the continuation of Achaean epic tradition in two branches — Ionian and mainland — after the migration to Asia Minor. This removes the chronological obstacle to Herodotus' statement that Homer and Hesiod were contemporaries. Homeric formulae in Hesiod testify to a homogeneous *Kunstsprache*.

61. J. A. Notopoulos, "The Homeric Hymns as Oral Poetry: A Study of the Post-Homeric Oral Tradition," *AJP* 83 (1962) 337-68. The introduction of writing in the 8th or 7th century BC need not be conclusive evidence for the cessation of oral poetry. In fact, the oral tradition was potent in the creation of elegy and lyric as well as the Hymns and extended "at least as late as 504 B.C." (p. 339). Statistical analysis reveals a formulaic texture comparable both to Homer and Hesiod. We must subscribe to oral theory, since "Lord's decisive chapter [20: pp. 30-67] on the way formulae work in oral composition should bury the ghost of literary mimesis forever" (p. 360). The orality of the Hymns has been further confirmed in Mary L. Lord, "Withdrawal and Return: An Epic Story Pattern in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and in the Homeric Poems," *CJ* 62 (1967) 241-48; and in Patricia G. Preziosi, "The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite: An Oral Analysis," *HSCP* 71 (1966) 171-204.

62. Anne Amory Parry, "Homer as Artist," *CQ* 31 (1971) 1-15. A blistering rebuttal to Lord's critique (22: pp. 34-46) of her "Gates of Horn and Ivory" (23). Raising the question of a new poetics of oral poetry, she states: "we cannot justly say that the canons of written literature are entirely useless in dealing with oral poetry" (p. 13; cf. Hainsworth, item 44). Subjective interpretation is not illegitimate; it is, rather, a welcome alternative to statistical sterility in approaching the Homeric poems.

63. D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955). Page exhibits here an incredible aptitude for making an unpopular stance among English-speaking scholars appear to be founded upon absolute common sense and critical sanity. The bulk of the work analyzes structurally troubled

passages with a view to proving multiplicity of authorship. His final chapter, "The Method, Time, and Place of the Composition of the *Odyssey*," shows an assimilation of oral theory, taking a hard line on the question of poetic individuality (hard Parryism) though not subscribing positively to an illiterate Homer. Most significant is his case for the geographical isolation of the poems from one another — this on the basis of crucial differences of traditional vocabulary which preclude the possibility of composition by one poet or group of poets.

64. B. E. Perry, "The Early Greek Capacity for Seeing Things Separately," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 403-27. J. A. Notopoulos has called this contribution to the psychology of paratactic syntax and composition "one of the pillars in the structure of the new principles of literary criticism of oral literature" (57: p. 14). Perry is aware that *lexis eiromenē* is symptomatic of oral poetry but does not draw any conclusions with regard to circumstances of performance; rather, he concentrates on a definition of the primitive mentality vs. the artificial mentality (which is conditioned to compose with a view to overall coherence) — parataxis vs. hypotaxis.

65. K. Reinhardt, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter*, ed. U. Hölscher (Göttingen 1961). Edited after Reinhardt's death, this long (540 pages) and difficult book has some gaps in its book-by-book analysis. A Unitarian, the author conceives of the poem as having evolved over a long period of time but with no loss of coherence because of Homer's attention to cross-references, foreshadowing, and other structurally unifying techniques. The book also contains some cogent criticisms of the Neoanalytical position on the *Aithiopis* (pp. 349-90).

66. J. A. Russo, "Homer Against His Tradition," *Arion* 7 (1968) 275-95. There exists in Homeric poetry a tension between tradition and invention, a tension which can be discerned in the range of scenes from the wholly traditional and typical to the virtually atypical. Homer is able to twist tradition, his originality is "an eruption of a mighty and singular talent into wholly new realms of expression" (p. 278).

67. J. A. Russo and B. Simon, "Homeric Psychology and the Oral Epic Tradition," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29 (1968) 483-98. A provocative study which attempts to show that the peculiarities of the Homeric presentation of mental states is in fact a function of the circumstances of oral composition: "it is our opinion that the demands of the poetic performance, with its special rapport between audience and poet, encourage a psychological world-view which finds it most natural to portray private mental activity as a process of continuous interchange between persons" (p. 498).

68. W. Sale, "Achilles and Heroic Values," *Arion* 2.3 (1963) 86-100. An appreciation of the artistic depiction of Achilles, the article uses as a springboard the Analyst dissatisfaction (see esp. Page, 84: pp. 297-315) with the inconsistencies attendant upon the inclusion of Book 9 into the *Iliad*. The Unitarian game of showing inconsistency to be consistency.

69. G. Schoeck, *Ilias und Aithiopis: kyklische Motive in homerischer Brechung* (Zurich 1961). Schoeck, like the director of this dissertation — E. Howald (see item 48), is a member of the Neoanalytical movement. Those bits of information about the *Memnonis* which have been pre-

served by Proclus are used as a basis for fuller reconstruction which, in turn, enables us to distinguish "das Homerische in Homer."

70. R. Sealey, "From Phemius to Ion," *REG* 70 (1957) 312-51. Sealey believes in oral tradition and in composition by many poets (on the basis of Manu Leumann's *Homerische Wörter*) with precipitation of written texts occurring at the time when "publication" and book-trade first became possible in Greece: c. 550 — c. 450 BC, a date which has further confirmation in the theory of the Pisistratean recension. An appendix on "the structure of the 'Kalevala'" argues that structural unity need not imply unity of composition.

71. C. P. Segal, "The Embassy and the Duals of *Iliad* 9.182-98," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 101-14. The curious and inept use of duals in Book 9 — a phenomenon dear to the hearts of D. Page (84: pp. 297-315) and other Analysts — is an intentional device used to evoke an echo of a parallel episode in Book 1.327ff. "The ironic similarity of the two situations generates the repetition of formulas, even at the expense of a certain strain" (p. 105).

72. A. Severyns, *Homère* II: *Le Poète et son oeuvre* (Brussels 1943). Much of this book is taken up with inspection of the "mélange dialectal." Severyns accounts for the preservation of archaic elements by a theory of formulaic fossils embedded in the hexameter. In the last chapters, he dissolves some formulaic systems and concludes that Homer was a 9th century singer who composed the *Iliad* and probably the *Odyssey*.

73. A. Severyns, *Homère* III: *L'Artiste* (Brussels 1948). Severyns here adopts the Neoanalytical (Neounitarian?) technique of detection of pre-Homeric materials and points to Homeric originality in the novel effects which are achieved by the poet's control of antecedent epic resources (e.g. the "lai de Méléagre," the "lai de Bellérophon," and the stories of Nestor) as well as by his selection of materials suited to his own genius. A final chapter on similes finds evidence against the Separatists in the similarities of usage in both epics.

74. R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970). This most recent, and most comprehensive, collection of archaeological and topographical evidence relating to the Catalogue substantiates Page's conclusions (84: pp. 118-77) regarding the accurate preservation of information about Mycenaean political geography through oral poetry. The authors have found that a high proportion of the places mentioned in the Catalogue can be shown to have been inhabited in the Mycenaean era, while none can be shown not to have been inhabited.

75. Luigia A. Stella, *Il poema d'Ulisse* (Florence 1955). Chapter II, "La Tradizione Letteraria," of this broad-gauge work contains an argument for a literate Homer working within a literate tradition. Proof is at hand in the parallelism between Homeric epic and Near Eastern epic (e.g. *Gilgamesh, Enuma Elish*), assuming that the Near Eastern tradition is literate (but see pp. 45-48 of N. K. Sandars' Penguin edition of *The Epic of Gilgamesh*). This area of comparative epic deserves more attention than it has received. Extensive, briefly annotated bibliographies: pp. xiii-xiv, 57-83, 150-76, 232-48.

76. Sophia J. Suys-Reitsma, *Het homerisch Epos als orale Schepping van een Dichter-Hetairie* (Amsterdam 1955). This work is, to quote the last sentence of its appended English summary, an attempt "to regard Homeric epic as the oral creation of a *hetaireia* of poets gathered round a master of his art" (p. 114). Studies in oral theory have, she argues, made such a conclusion possible.

77. H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952). An exploration of the historical circumstances surrounding Homer and the composition of the *Iliad*. Wade-Gery defends a literate, creative Homer against the "assault" of Milman Parry, contending that writing material (animal skins) other than papyrus could have facilitated the composition or transcription of the *Iliad*. He even goes so far (p. 13) as to suggest that the Phoenician alphabet may have been introduced into Ionia for the express purpose of providing a notation for Greek verse!

78. T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958). In chapter 8, "Homer and His Immediate Predecessors," Webster treats such subjects as late elements in the poems, function and distribution of similes, typical scenes and special narratives, and, in a section on performance, takes up the question of oral composition. Setting 850 BC as a plausible date for the invention of alphabetic writing, he feels we must postulate a literate Homer; an original written version is essential to any theory of transmission through rhapsodic recitation.

79. D. C. Young, "Was Homer an Illiterate Improviser?" *MinnR* 5 (1965) 65-75. Young objects to a) the theory of formula by analogy as being useless for classification since virtually all words (to Young's thinking) qualify for this category, and b) the notion that formulae are a necessity and a hallmark of oral improvisation. The latter was proposed by Parry in "concocting his doctoral thesis" (this irreverent formula twice on p. 71). The cornerstone of Parry's theory "is an unconscionable libel against one of the supreme men of letters" (p. 75). Anne Amory Parry aptly characterizes this article as "puerile in argument and gratuitously insulting in tone" (62: p. 13 n. 1).

80. D. C. Young, "Never Blotted a Line? Formula and Premeditation in Homer and Hesiod," *Arion* 6 (1967) 279-324. Similar in argumentation to item 79, this paper maintains that illiterate poets are capable of producing non-formulaic verse, while, conversely, literate poetry exhibits formulaic technique. Young believes that Homeric formulae are not mnemonic but stylistic devices.

D. Epithet.

81. L. Bergson, "Eine Bemerkung zur Ökonomie der poetischen Kunstsprache," *Eranos* 54 (1956) 68-71. Certain epithets, synonymous and metrically equivalent, violate the rule of poetic economy because they are ornamental and devoid of any meaning essential to the context. Bergson selects *podōkēs-podarkēs* from Homer and *melaina-kelainē* from tragedy.

82. J. Defradas, "Épithètes homériques à valeur religieuse," *RPh* 29 (1955) 206-12. Defradas classifies the place-name epithets used in the Catalogue of Ships and chooses the category of "religious" epithets

hieros, dios, zatheos, egatheos) for further analysis. He holds that they are significant in their application; e.g. *zatheos* is appropriate to Killa because it was "un des principaux sanctuaires d'Apollon Smintheus" (p. 211). Categories not discussed (geographic, etc.) have been taken up by Page (84: pp. 123-24, 159-60) who finds that they are meaningful, but classifies the religious epithets as "noncommittal" (84: p. 160 n. 23).

83. Dorothea H. F. Gray, "Homeric Epithets for Things," *CQ* 61 (1947) 109-21; *LBH*, pp. 55-67. The generic use of epithet in Homer baffles the attempt to apply archaeological controls to the poems. Epithets which do not conform to traditional phraseology are perhaps derivations from "a new artistic development" (p. 121).

84. D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959). Chapter VI, "Some Mycenaean Relics in the Iliad," is a very scholarly study of the formular phraseology of the *Iliad* proving that it is likely to be a preservative of historical fact. The method is an application of Milman Parry's "law of economy" to several words and names in the poem. Page asserts the impossibility of knowing to what extent changes took place in the text of the *Iliad* in the period of oral transmission preceding the Athenian standard text of the sixth century.

85. M. W. M. Pope, "Athena's Development in Homeric Epic," *AJP* 81 (1960) 113-35. In an important appendix, "The Epithets of Odysseus in the *Iliad*, the *Doloneia*, and the *Odyssey*," Pope proves that a conscious control is being exerted over the use and creation of epithets to achieve a special effect. A qualification to one of Parry's most irrevocable laws.

86. Z. Ritook, "The Epithets for Minstrels in the Odyssey," *AAnt-Hung* 16 (1968) 89-92. Ritook's inquiry comes to the rather surprising conclusion that certain noncommittal (in my view) epithets (*erieros, heros, periklutos*) offer "a consistent picture" (p. 92) of the status of the minstrel.

87. J. T. Sheppard, "Zeus-Loved Achilles: A Contribution to the Study of Stock Epithets in Homer's Iliad," *JHS* 55 (1935) 113-23. This paper confronts head-on (see esp. pp. 116-17) Parry's theory of metrical utilitarianism: "formulae are often used as part of an ascending or descending series, in a pattern which, by repetition, variation and accumulation, emphasises the plain meaning of the words" (p. 114).

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88. J. T. Sheppard, "Great-Hearted Odysseus: A Contribution to the Study of Stock Epithets in Homer's Odyssey," *JHS* 56 (1936) 36-47. Attacking the Analytic school (he names Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz, and Berard), Sheppard discerns a significant sequence in the deployment of epithets in the *Telemachy:* "the whole progression swells to a climax" (p. 46). This paper, together with item 87, represents precisely the sort of criticism which the oral theorists have, for the most part successfully, interdicted.

89. W. Whallon, "The Homeric Epithets," *YCS* 17 (1961) 97-142. In a systematic examination of many significant epithets and epithet-groups undertaken for the purpose of disproving Parry's rule of metrical utility, Whallon evolves a concept of "epic matter" as a determining factor in the use of epithet. "The formulaic language and the epic matter of the Homeric poems must have affected each other as they were developed simultaneously over a long course of time. In this way the epithets came to possess both metrical and literary functions" (p. 135). A more thorough formulation of the thesis set forth by Calhoun (93, 94) and Sheppard (87, 88) twenty-five years earlier.

90. W. Whallon, "The Shield of Ajax," *YCS* 19 (1966) 7-36. This article is essentially subsumed into chapter 2 of item 149.

91. E. W. Williams, "Homer's Epithets," *C&M* 21 (1960) 1-14. Williams dispels some misconceptions propagated by M. Leumann's *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950) and T. B. L. Webster's *From Mycenae to Homer* (78), specifically with regard to the epithets *blosurōpis* (with Gorgo), *potnia, boōpis,* and *glaukōpis.*

E. Formula.

92. B. Alexanderson, "Homeric Formulae for Ships," *Eranos* 68 (1970) 1-46. Designed as a test of the theory of extension and economy, this article bears out Parry's statements concerning the former. As for economy: "an economic system of formulae was no doubt desirable for an oral poet, but such a system did not present itself of a sudden. It slowly developed by rejecting duplicates, but at the same time new duplicates must have appeared, to be rejected in their turn or to reject the older phrases. This struggle should appear crystallized in Homer and does so, I think, in the ship-formulae" (p. 43).

93. G. M. Calhoun, "Homeric Repetitions," *CPCP* 12 (1933) 1-25. Calhoun cautions against the application of erroneous criteria to the question of repetition and shows that formulae and formulaic lines are not the "mechanical repetitions" of a primitive improvisator. The oral poet simply composes with lines and groups of lines rather than with words. Bearing this in mind, we are as little likely to rebuke the oral poet with a lack of originality for not inventing new lines as we are to rebuke the modern poet for not inventing new words.

94. G. M. Calhoun, "The Art of Formula in Homer — EPEA PTE-ROENTA," *CP* 30 (1935) 215-27. In an endeavor to show that the use of a specific formula need not be determined solely by its metrical serviceability, Calhoun maintains that the expression "winged words" is used intentionally in situations of great animation or urgency. Pre-

dictably, this drew a rebuttal from Parry (13) who saw the paper as raising "the whole issue of whether we should read Homer as we read written poetry, which is for us the natural form of poetry, or whether we should not rather try to gain for our reading the sense of style which is proper to oral song" (p. 63).

95. F. M. Combellack, "Words That Die," *CJ* 46 (1950) 21-26. Combellack, allowing the justice of Parry's attack on Calhoun's position (see item 94), nonetheless holds that the phrase *epea pteroenta* cannot be totally devoid of meaning. Moreover, the usual interpretation of the words is incorrect: "Homer was not reminding his audience that words are quick things which fly from speaker to hearer, but that words are evanescent things which fly away and do not persist after being uttered" (pp. 24-25).

96. F. M. Combellack, "Some Formularly Illogicalities in Homer," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 41-56. This article explains that "the normal demands of the situation pull the poet into the use of words that do not fit the unusual case" (p. 44), thereby producing occasional glaring inconsistencies. Combellack concludes that modern theorists (Parry, Lord, Notopoulos) of oral poetry have enabled us to see that "the matchless splendor of the whole and of many of the parts and the sometimes flagrant bungling in the details may both come from the same supreme genius" (p. 56).

97. P. Considine, "Some Homeric Terms for Anger," *AClass* 9 (1966) 15-25. Considine here rectifies some false impressions left by the studies of other scholars concerning the words *mēnis, cholos,* and *ochtheō.* His clarifications are based upon a statistical analysis including an interesting table of stems of nine words for wrath and their frequency of application to divine and human agents.

98. J. A. Davison, "Quotations and Allusions in Early Greek Literature," *Eranos* 53 (1955) 125-40. A warning against the dangers involved in the identification of allusions to and quotations from earlier Greek authors in the writings of early poets. Our appreciation of formulaic diction makes necessary "a great many cross-correspondences to justify one in arguing that there may be a direct connexion between the work of one early poet and that of another" (p. 139).

99. W. Donlan, "Homer's Agamemnon," *CW* 65 (1971) 109-15. A demonstration (vs. Page, 63: p. 142) that Homer is capable of subtle delineation of character. Moreover, such delineation is facilitated rather than impeded by the formulaic quality of the epic; in effect, the paratactic style achieves a "masterful accretion of detail" resulting in "a psychologically coherent portrait" (p. 115).

100. M. W. Edwards, "On Some 'Answering' Expressions in Homer," *CP* 64 (1969) 81-87. A study in formulaic economy. Edwards shows that in certain irregular cases, the poet may have asserted his feeling for variation, euphony, or poignancy. "There remain, however, a few exceptional combinations of phrases for which there is no apparent explanation" (p. 87).

101. M. W. Edwards, "Homeric Speech Introductions," *HSCP* 74 (1970) 1-36. A systematic breakdown of formulae related to the intro-

duction of speeches, demonstrating the economy of formulaic expression. Included are anomalous forms which seem to indicate that the poet is capable of passing beyond traditional diction to achieve a desired effect. Cf. 103.

102.   R. Fitzgerald, "Postscript," in *Homer: The Odyssey* (Garden City, N.Y. 1961) 465-506.   Page 485 contains a paragraph which takes issue with two main points in the theory of his "teacher and friend" Milman Parry.   Fitzgerald feels that a) originality in detail should not be denied the poet on the basis of the formulaic character of the language, and b) perhaps the pervasiveness of formulaic pattern in the poem has been overbid.   These thoughts, coming from a translator of Fitzgerald's stature, cannot be taken lightly.

103.   H. Fournier, "Formules homériques de référence avec verbe 'dire'," *RPh* 20 (1946) 29-68.   In an inquiry imbued with the spirit of Parry's *L'Épithète traditionelle*, Fournier demonstrates that certain formulae introducing or closing direct discourse are chosen with an eye to metrical exigencies; semantic nuances are subordinated to meter.   Cf. 101.

104.   J. B. Hainsworth, "The Homeric Formula and the Problem of its Transmission," *BICS* 9 (1962) 57-68.   This paper anticipates Hainsworth's more exhaustive study (106) in arguing against the excessively rigid formulaic systems posited by the "hard" Parryists.   Various modifications — inversion, alternative forms, extension, separation — testify to inventive linguistic effort not allowed for by a theory of highly predetermined formulae.

105.   J. B. Hainsworth, "Structure and Content in Epic Formulae: The Question of the Unique Expression," *CQ* 14 (1964) 155-64.   Another reaction against the exaggeration of the amount of formulaic diction in Homer.   "The evidently large proportion of wholly isolated unique phrases in Homer implies some degree of creativity inspired only by context" (p. 163).

106.   J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968).   The formula systems are not all-pervasive in Homer; they only provide for the principal needs of oral composition.   "Some techniques for the rapid production of phraseology are a necessity" (p. 73). The author studies ways in which the poet voluntarily altered formulae to this end.   Such formulae exhibit flexibility.   A convincing revision, not a rejection, of Parry's work.

107.   E. Heitsch, "Eine junge epische Formel," *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 34-42.   This may be taken as an appendix to item 47.   Heitsch examines the formula *theòn meth' homēgurin allōn* which appears at *Il.* 20.142, *h.Apoll.* 187, *h.Dem.* 484, and *h.Herm.* 332.   Somewhat inapposite in *Il.* 20, it is probably a later occurrence than those in the Hymns, with the exception of that to Hermes.

108.   A. Hoekstra, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes: Studies in the Development of Greek Epic Diction* (Amsterdam 1965).   Like items 104-6, this is an antidote to the tendency to over-emphasize the formulaic rigidity of Homeric verse.   The author attempts to prove the existence in Homer of variations of more ancient formulaic "prototypes"

by an analysis of such phenomena as quantitative metathesis, initial digamma, N-movable, and other linguistic, prosodic, and stylistic peculiarities. Certain linguistic innovations are shown to have been effecting a decomposition of the traditional formulaic diction.

109. G. S. Kirk, "Formular Language and Oral Quality," YCS 20 (1966) 155-74. Kirk here expresses his misgivings about an assumption implicit in the studies of J. A. Notopoulos (he mentions items 60, 61, 146); specifically, the propensity to accept the mere presence of formula as sufficient evidence of the orality of a given poem. An examination of lines from the Batrachomyomachia, the Homeric Hymns, and other post-Homeric writings in which epic phraseology is found shows that qualitative rather than quantitative criteria must be used if we are to avoid the misidentification of literary mimesis as true oral composition.

110. P. Krarup, "Beobachtungen zur Typik und Technik einiger homerischer Gesprächsformeln," C&M 4 (1941) 230-47. Formulae used to introduce speeches should not be considered exclusively ornamental. Krarup inspects specific instances (e.g. ho sphin eu phroneōn agorēsato kai meteeipen) and finds that there are indeed calculated effects in the poet's usage. But see item 103.

111. G. Kurz, Darstellungsformen menschlicher Bewegung in der Ilias (Heidelberg 1966). This is substantially a doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Walter Marg. It is a thorough study of vocabulary and formular phraseology in the representation of all kinds of movements and postures in Homer: standing, sitting, sleeping, eating, conversing, etc. No conclusions are drawn as regards oral composition; the author is evidently unfamiliar with Parry and, generally, with works not in German.

112. W. W. Minton, "The Fallacy of the Structural Formula," TAPA 96 (1965) 241-53. Minton exposes the tendency — encouraged by Parry, Lord, Notopoulos, and Russo (see esp. 116) — to detect orality by recourse to a misleading and self-vitiating definition of formula. He argues, by a careful statistical analysis comparing the Iliad and the Argonautica, that the definition of formula as "a purely structural, metrical-grammatical unit" (p. 243) cannot be effectively employed to establish oral composition.

113. M. N. Nagler, "Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula," TAPA 98 (1967) 269-311. In a difficult but compelling essay, Nagler resolves the false questions of "traditional" vs. "original" and "normal" vs. "variant" by a theory of Gestalt and allomorph. He asserts: "all is traditional on the generative level, all unique on the level of performance" (p. 311). The Gestalt is a deep structure which erupts as a surface structure (allomorph or realization), i.e. a specific verbal expression. The poet exercises an "instinctive control" (p. 288) over these realizations. It is in this process that originality should be sought in the Homeric poems.

114. Adam Parry, "The Language of Achilles," TAPA 87 (1956), 1-7. The traditional and formulaic nature of the speech patterns available to the characters of the Iliad makes it possible for them to break with the assumptions of heroic society only by "misusing" the language it provides.

115. T. G. Rosenmeyer, "The Formula in Early Greek Poetry,"

Arion 4 (1965) 295-311. The most cogent part of this reaction to "hard" Parryism is the assertion of the possibility of purposive formula in Homer. "Parry's conviction that no noun-epithet formula in Homer could ever be regarded as more than generic is in conflict with the fact, equally stressed by Parry, that outside the epic the same or similar formulations are purposive" (p. 301).

116. J. A. Russo, "A Closer Look at Homeric Formulas," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 235-47. Russo enlarges the definition of the formula by bringing to bear the concepts of E. G. O'Neill, Jr., "The Localization of Metrical Word-Types in the Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 8 (1942) 103-78, and H. N. Porter, "The Early Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 12 (1951) 1-63. The result is a theory of formula as a metrical-grammatical unit (irrespective of verbal signification). By this definition, the formulaic nature of Homeric verse is more intense than has been thought. See item 112.

117. J. A. Russo, "The Structural Formula in Homeric Verse," *YCS* 20 (1966) 217-40. A response to Hainsworth's rejection (105: pp. 156ff.) of repeated phrasal or structural patterns as constituting formulaic usage. Russo points out the recurrence of such patterns in *Il.* 1.432-41, 480-87 and appends a list of common structural formulas. See item 116.

118. C. P. Segal, "Andromache's *Anagnorisis*: Formulaic Artistry in *Iliad* 22.437-476," *HSCP* 75 (1971) 33-57. By a close analysis of the control of formula in this passage, Segal provides a feasible proof that Homer "can utilize the resources of the system to an extraordinary degree" (pp. 52-53). Another denial of the opinion that tradition impedes originality — one of the more sinister implications of Parryism.

119. W. B. Stanford, "Euphonic Reasons for the Choice of Homeric Formulae?" *Hermathena* 108 (1969) 14-17. The author of *The Sounds of Greek* here suggests another possible determinant in the selection of formulae. The poet may have been at pains to avoid cacaphony (esp. sigmatism) and to create euphony (assonantal effects). The size of words may also have played a role.

120. S. Teodorescu, "Die formelhaften Wendungen bei Homer: Formel und Wiederholung," *RCl* 11/12 (1939-40) 38-91. An article which makes no mention of Parry but is addressed to a specific axiom of his theory. Teodorescu anticipates the arguments of later critics who would revise Parry's hard line on the question of meaningful formulae: "die Wiederholung ist mehr äusserlich und formal, die Formel inhaltlich und sinnhaft. Sie ist eine eigenartige Artikulation des Inhaltes selbst, der in einer auffallenden Form geprägt wird" (p. 38). A large number of examples are enlisted in support of the distinction.

121. J. A. K. Thomson, "Winged Words," *CQ* 30 (1936) 1-3. This much-discussed formula (see items 94, 95) is a metaphor drawn from archery. Thus, winged words are words which fly straight to the comprehension of the listener. Conversely, unwinged words (four occurrences in the *Odyssey*) are words not fully understood by the listener.

122. M. H. A. L. H. van der Valk, "The Formulaic Character of Homeric Poetry and the Relation between the Iliad and the Odyssey," *AC* 35 (1966) 5-70. A major study which takes issue with the Separatists.

A long section of astute literary criticism shows that differences in subject matter have obscured a very real similarity of artistic power in the poems. In another section, certain linguistic and formular discrepancies are shown to be insufficient (despite D. Page, item 63) to sustain the Separatist position.

F.   Theme.

123.   W. Arend, *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer* (Berlin 1933). Arend demonstrates beyond any doubt the existence of typical scenes and describes the extent to which the verses out of which they are constructed recur. Arming, eating, sailing, oath-taking, and other common themes are fully analyzed. More interesting is Parry's reaction in his review of Arend's book (see item 11). While happy with the scientific precision of the argument, he is disgruntled by Arend's ignorance of oral theory. Instead of resorting to "a philosophic and almost mystic theory" (11: p. 358), he might have better accounted for the typical scenes by pointing out that a rich oral tradition provides the singer with the means to improvise such scenes around core elements attended by greater or lesser adornment, as the poet felt necessary.

124.   J. I. Armstrong, "The Arming Motif in the *Iliad*," *AJP* 79 (1958) 337-54. A paper with important theoretical implications. Armstrong examines four occurrences of the "arming motif" in the *Iliad*: the arming of Paris (3.328-38), of Agamemnon (11.15-55), of Patroclus (16.130-54), and of Achilles (19.364-424). He finds that the poet in fact subtly manipulates the basic theme (or "long formula") with a view to the achievement of significant poetic effect in each instance. The theme exhibits a flexibility or tractability which testifies to a control of the epic material by the poet rather than a subordination of creative genius to metrical and grammatical convenience.

125.   C. R. Beye, "Homeric Battle Narratives and Catalogues," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 345-73. A consideration of the *androktasiai* of Homeric battle narrative reveals a definite pattern, "a rhythm of basic information, anecdote, and contextual information" (p. 367), which seems to be intrinsically related to the catalogue form.

126.   B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Description* (Wiesbaden 1968). An inspection of six books of the *Iliad* reveals a formulaic technique beneath narrative passages of a larger scope than those studied by Arend (123) or Lord (18). The theme (Armstrong's "long formula," see 124) is analogous to the short formula: "the poet's inherited diction and his inherited motifs and type scenes are two closely related aspects of a single traditional poetic style" (p. 229).

127.   W. Friedrich, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias: homerische Darstellungsweisen* (Göttingen 1956). Friedrich selects a particular class of typical scenes and subjects it to a rigorous aesthetic analysis. Noticing a clear stylistic divergence (his chapter headings are "Phantasmata," "Biotischer Realismus," and "Strenger Stil") in the handling of the theme, he draws the Analytical conclusion — stylistic variation is evidence of multiple authorship.

128. D. M. Gunn, "Thematic Composition and Homeric Author-ship," *HSCP* 75 (1971) 1-31. Starting from Lord's contention (20: pp. 93ff.) that differences in the working out of subsidiary themes can identify different singers, Gunn proceeds to show that there is a consistency in the handling of various themes ("Supernatural Visitant," "Guests for the Night," "Feasting") common to both epics which can only be the product of a single creative mind. Serbo-Croatian material is adduced as valida-tion of Gunn's method.

129. J. B. Hainsworth, "Joining Battle in Homer," *G&R* 13 (1966) 158-66. The economy of the formulaic diction in "a sequence of six minor themes, regularly juxtaposed and presented in the same sequence" (p. 166) within the major theme of joining battle permits us to infer that it is traditional and connected with improvisation.

130. W. F. Hansen, *The Conference Sequence: Patterned Narrative and Narrative Inconsistency in the Odyssey* (Berkeley 1972). This monograph investigates a large unit of narrative — the sequence — often composed of similar themes in similar arrangements. Four pairs of conference sequences are examined and inconsistencies within them are explained by recourse to Lord's theory (20: p. 94) that a tension exists between the song being sung and previous multiforms of the same theme. Hansen believes this hypothesis better accounts for the inconsistencies than the Analytical speculations of Page (63) and Kirk.

131. Mabel L. Lang, "Homer and Oral Techniques," *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 159-68. "A plea for more oral thinking" (p. 159). Miss Lang begins with a renunciation of the erroneous application of inappropriate (i.e. literary) critical principles to analysis of the Homeric poems; D. L. Page is used as whipping-boy. She then proceeds, more constructively, to argue that the Phaeacian episode is modelled on that of Odysseus' arrival and exploits at Ithaca. Any inconsistency involved in this pro-cedure is actually the result of "an incompletely homogenized mixture of themes" (p. 165) — an inevitable feature of oral composition.

132. W. Marg, "Kampf und Tod in der Ilias," *Antike* 18 (1942) 167-79. Marg notes that the one-on-one combat is the favorite narrative unit in Homeric battle description. The recurrence of certain typical elements enhances the poignancy with which the inexorability of death is conveyed. The helplessness of man in the face of an unavoidable destiny is especially moving.

133. B. B. Powell, "Narrative Pattern in the Homeric Tale of Mene-laus," *TAPA* 101 (1970) 419-31. A structural analysis, in the manner of Lévi-Strauss ("The Structural Study of Myth"), of the theme of death and rebirth of the hero. "This theme is fairly transparent in the case of Odysseus" (p. 431). Powell finds that it is reduplicated in the story of Menelaus (and Agamemnon) as told by Nestor in Book 3 and by Mene-laus himself in Book 4.

134. K. J. Reckford, "Helen in the *Iliad*," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 5-20. Reck-ford discovers "Homeric consciousness" in the "control and manipula-tion," "unequalled symbolic juxtaposition," and "subordination and trans-ference" of thematic "elements of production" as defined by the Parry-

Lord theory. He carefully interprets the role of Helen as it relates to the larger dramatic theme of the poem — the wrath of Achilles.

135. C. P. Segal, "Transition and Ritual in Odysseus' Return," *PP* 40 (1967) 321-42. Thematic repetition of various mythic motifs is reinforced and lent an aura of ritual by the "predictable, crystallized, 'ritualistic' expressions which make up the formula" (p. 342; cf. Parry, item 8). An interesting theory of a non-metrical function performed by the formula.

136. C. P. Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden 1971). The new poetics in action, based upon the work of revisionist adherents to the Parry-Lord theory (Armstrong, Bowra, Calhoun, Chantraine, and Russo are mentioned). "Our concern is to show how the corpse theme draws upon the rich possibilities of analogy and contrast in the plot situations of the *Iliad* and how it uses the repetition of or divergence from familiar formulaic patterns to point up nuances of meaning in the progression of the action" (pp. 7-8).

G. Comparative Epic.

137. C. M. Bowra, "The Comparative Study of Homer," *AJA* 54 (1950) 184-92. Bowra here presents in compact form an account of the merits of the comparative method for the study of heroic poetry. Included is a list of eight characteristics which identify the genre. A valuable abbreviation of the theoretical underpinnings of *Heroic Poetry* (138).

138. C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1952). A discussion of oral composition is contained in chapter 6, "The Technique of Composition: Language," dealing with a wide range of traditions: Assyrian (*Gilgamesh*), Homeric, Anglo-Saxon, Russian, and Yugoslavian, among others. Bowra diverges from Parry-Lord theory in postulating a semi-literate poet (pp. 240-41).

139. J. A. Davison, "Die homerischen Gedichte und die vergleichende Literaturforschung des Abendlandes," *Gymnasium* 61 (1954) 28-36. Davison briefly reviews the comparative studies which had been undertaken before Parry and then emphasizes the value of Parry's work, and that of his disciples Lord and Notopoulos, in helping us to understand the nature of oral composition. He goes on to suggest that the poems were sung by teams of rhapsodes at festivals (cf. items 45 and 77). He concludes with a caution against an unthinking comparison of Homer with lesser "primary" epics.

140. G. F. Else, "Homer and the Homeric Problem," *Univ. of Cincinnati Classical Studies* (Semple Lectures) 1 (1967) 315-65. This paper is in two parts, the second devoted to critical interpretations of various passages in the poems. In the first, Else surveys the salient features of the Homeric problem. His discussion of the theory of oral poetry contains a warning against a too rigorous comparison of modern oral poetry (Yugoslavian) with Homer — certain fundamental differences make this dangerous. Also significant is his assertion that the nature of Homeric composition "when it comes to marshalling the major elements in his grand design" (p. 338) is not essentially dissimilar to that of Virgil or Milton.

141. G. Germain, "Poésie d'Homère et poésie orale des Yougoslaves," *REG* 74 (1961) 469-76. A basic survey of recent developments.

142. G. S. Kirk, "Homer and Modern Oral Poetry: Some Confusions," *CQ* 10 (1960) 271-81; *LBH*, pp. 79-89. Kirk counters Lord's generalization (in item 19), on the basis of Yugoslavian practice, that nearly exact oral reproduction of a song is highly improbable. He feels that many of the circumstances (described on p. 278) of the singers within the ancient Greek epic tradition contribute to the likelihood that verbatim memorization was feasible, and that, therefore, the poems could well have been transmitted orally, with a high degree of exactitude, until their transcription in the 6th century. Pisistratus once again.

143. G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962). Part II, "The Oral Poet and his Methods," provides a particularly lucid description of the formulaic and thematic nature of Homeric composition, based on the work of Milman Parry. The author takes issue with Lord on two fronts: a) the extent to which the analogy of Yugoslavian poetry can be pressed into the service of Homeric criticism — Kirk feels that Homer is "creative" while the Yugoslavian poets are primarily "reproductive;" and b) the feasibility of the oral dictated text as a means of accounting for the reduction of the Homeric poems to written form — Kirk reasserts Carpenter's theory (without expressly mentioning him; see item 31) that the poems must have been preserved orally through rhapsodic recitation until the 6th century when transcription would have been possible.

144. J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer and Cretan Heroic Poetry: A Study in Comparative Oral Poetry," *AJP* 73 (1952) 225-50. Modern Cretan heroic poetry is important as a "laboratory of the creative oral composition which gives us opportunities to understand more intimately the relation of the poet to his audience and to the technique which he uses in shaping his material" (p. 226). In particular, points of similarity are the paratactic style and the high proportion of dramatic speeches. More subjectively, the Cretan *Song of Daskaloyannes* (Notopoulos' test case) "reveals a humanistic outlook on life akin to Homer's" (p. 250).

145. J. A. Notopoulos, "The Genesis of an Oral Heroic Poem," *GRBS* 3 (1960) 135-44. Notopoulos paraphrases "the *Doloneia* of World War II" (p. 140) as sung to him by a Cretan bard, Andreas Kafkalas, in 1953. The point of the article is "the metamorphosis of the facts of history into myth only nine years after the event" (p. 141). The facts of the abduction of the German general, Karl Kreipe, as set forth by one of the actual principals, W. Stanley Moss, enable us to see what "embellishments" have accrued to it in the process of its oralization. The value of comparison with the Homeric situation is obvious.

146. J. A. Notopoulos, "Studies in Early Greek Oral Poetry," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 1-77. I. "The Recitation of the Homeric Poems." Analyzing practices in modern Greek oral composition, Notopoulos holds that the book divisions of the Homeric poems are in fact units of recitation (but see item 14). He sees the Ionian aristocratic society as an important factor in the creation of poetry of the magnitude of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. II. "The Oral Atlas of Early Greek Poetry: A Study of the Cyclic Epics as Oral Poetry." Literary mimesis is an inadequate explanation of the

relation of Homer to the cyclic epics (cf. item 60). "They best fit into early Greek poetry as diverse manifestations of a very rich Greek oral tradition of poetry" (p. 37). III. "Toward a Poetics of Early Greek Oral Poetry." Of the many outcries (beginning with Parry himself, item 6) for a new poetics of oral literature, this is the most thorough and perceptive in its delineation of a) the findings of Parry and Lord (a convenient list of ten items), b) the problematic implications of those findings for the criticism of Homeric poetry, and c) the ways in which those implications can be coped with.

147.   Adam Parry, "Have We Homer's *Iliad?*" *YCS* 20 (1966) 177-216.   Parry enters into the critical controversy between Lord (19, 20) and Kirk (142, 143) concerning the validity of comparisons between Homer and modern Yugoslavian singers.   Arguing against Kirk, he contributes some thoughts on the question (initiated by his father) of traditional vs. individual.   He sees creative originality in selection and arrangement "within the clear framework of the tradition" (see esp. pp. 201-3, 211).   He does, however, conclude with a qualification of his support for Lord, pointing out that the impact of literacy upon the oral tradition in Yugoslavia should not be categorically applied to a basically different situation in 8th century Ionia.

148.   Ann C. Watts, *The Lyre and the Harp: A Comparative Reconsideration of Oral Tradition in Homer and Old English Epic Poetry* (New Haven 1969).   Chapter 1 is a painstaking reconstruction of the Homeric question and Milman Parry's profound effect upon it (the aesthetic implications of his theory are discussed as well).   Chapters 2-4, with appendices, tables, and charts, expose the baseless assumptions which underlie the utilization of the Parry-Lord theory in criticism of Old English poetry, especially *Beowulf*.

149.   W. Whallon, *Formula, Character, and Context: Studies in Homeric, Old English, and Old Testament Poetry* (Washington 1969).   A valuable exercise in revision of oral theory.   The chapters on Homer (1, 2) are less indebted to the comparative method than are those dealing with Old English and Old Testament poetry.   Chapter 1 examines epithets along the lines of item 89 (see above).   The greater portion of chapter 2 argues against D. Page (84) that the epithets for Hector and the words (*sakos* and *aspis*) for shield do not in fact carry distinctions which reflect Mycenaean times.

H.   Structure: General Studies.

150.   S. Bertman, "The *Telemachy* and Structural Symmetry," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 15-27.   Procedure and conclusions are the same as in item 151.

151.   S. Bertman, "Structural Symmetry at the End of the Odyssey," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 115-23.   Bertman's structural analysis indicates that the end of the *Odyssey*, 23.297ff. and 24 all, is stylistically consonant with the rest of the poem.   To omit lines 297ff. from Book 23 would jeopardize the concentric pattern within it.   Book 24 is similarly arranged in a tight concentric schema.   Further, the Books are structurally integral to the poem as a whole.

152.   G. Broccia, *La forma poetica dell' Iliade e la genesi dell'epos omerico* (Messina 1967).   The study of structure focuses on a practical considera-

tion — the pauses in a poem intended for public recitation at a festival. Without asserting dogmatically that the twenty-four book division (or any other canonical parceling) dates to Homer himself, he notes that the beginnings and endings of our Books can quite plausibly be held to represent places at which narrative sections abut and at which pauses might logically have occurred. See also Notopoulos, item 146 (pro), and Lord, item 14 (con).

153. E. Delebecque, *Télémacque et la structure de l'Odyssée* (Aix en Provence 1958). Certain peculiarities, especially the author's inability to represent simultaneous actions, can only be explained in light of the original performance. Delebecque uses the analogy of the theater (p. 145) in which the audience is capable of apprehending one action at a time. The treatment of time in the epic testifies to a literate Homer writing for a listening audience: "Il écrit, parce que son oeuvre est si achevée dans les détails qu'elle suppose des ratures, des retouches, des repentirs, toutes corrections, impossibles dans le vent de la mémoire, qui exigent une matière concrète où la pensée se fixe et s'efface. Il écrit, parce qu'il ne peut faire de tête les plus subtils des calculs du temps, et qu'il a besoin de coucher sur le papyrus ses schémas chronologiques, minutieux et malicieux" (p. 142).

154. F. Eichhorn, *Homers Odyssee: Ein Führer durch die Dichtung* (Göttingen 1965). A Unitarian argument from structure. The arrangement of the *Odyssey* with its various structural components ("Baugliedergruppen," "Bauglieder") is exfoliated on tables which occupy a good half of the book. One reviewer, in *CR* 16 (1966) 282-83, has called this dissection "a bit too gruesome for public exhibition to a general audience." Eichhorn deduces that a single ordering mind must underlie the poem.

155. B. A. van Groningen, "Elements inorganiques dans la composition de l'*Iliade* et de l'*Odyssée*," *REH* 5 (1935) 3-24. The arguments of both the Analysts and the Unitarians have made a false pre-supposition — that the Homeric poems can be approached as organic compositions. Without reference to Parry's studies, van Groningen maintains that the paratactic style is antithetical to such an interpretative metaphor. The genius of Homer is displayed in other areas than that of organic structure, notably in the "illusion" of unity and continuity which he so deftly sustains.

156. A. Heubeck, *Der Odyssee-Dichter und die Ilias* (Erlangen 1954). Heubeck contends that certain narrative tactics (among others, "Paradeigma-Stil," "doppelsträngigen Überleitung," "übergreifenden Verfügung") common to both epics manifest some essential differences which make it likely that the *Odyssey* poet had utilized the *Iliad* as a model in the development of his own narrative style.

157. A. Heubeck, "Zur inneren Form der Ilias," *Gymnasium* 65 (1958) 37-47. Homer inherited from his predecessors the form of the "Grossepos." His originality and creativity consisted in causing the abundant materials at hand to cohere around a central organizing and energizing episode — the "Achilleus-Zorn."

158. D. Lohmann, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin 1970). Lohmann's examination of the composition and arrangement
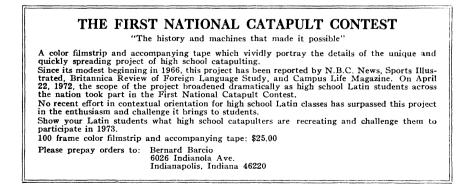
of speeches in the *Iliad* (cf. Myres, item 197) reveals pervasive structural patterning: ring composition, "Spiegelungstechnik." The "Baukastentechnik" (paratactic or adding style; see Notopoulos, item 57) which facilitates such elaborate patterns evolved as a mnemonic device. But Homer, because he was literate, employed it for aesthetic effect, not for assistance in improvisation. Lohmann does not refer to Lord's theory of the dictated text, though he includes *The Singer of Tales* in his bibliography.

159. W. A. A. van Otterlo, *Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung, und Entstehung der griechischen Ringkomposition* (Amsterdam 1944).

160. W. A. A. van Otterlo, "Eine merkwürdige Kompositionsform der älteren griechischen Literatur," *Mnemosyne* 12 (1945) 192-207.

161. W. A. A. van Otterlo, *De ringcompositie als opbouwprincipe in de epische gedichten van Homerus* (Amsterdam 1948). This series of studies has not only established the existence of small-scale patterns in Homer, it has also provided a basis for inquiry into larger structural underpinnings in Homer (see e.g. Whitman, item 203). 159 uncovers the presence of ring composition in various non-oral works (many examples from Herodotus); Homer is discussed only marginally and chiefly in connection with "Ritornellkomposition," a device described more fully in 160 (examples from Homer and Hesiod). Most important is 161, written (unfortunately) in Dutch. A French résumé (pp. 87-92) indicates that the work is divided into two parts, the first dealing with "le système annulaire de deux ou de plusieurs membres," the second with "la structure d'un seul membre" characterized by two functions: "anaphoric," and "inclusive." Convincing illumination of the texture of the poetic fabric.

162. J. T. Sheppard, *The Pattern of the Iliad* (London 1922). This book is rather elementary as literary criticism but occupies an important position as a pioneer work in the Unitarian school. Sheppard conceives of the *Iliad* as consisting of three "movements" with the *Doloneia* forming an interlude between the first and the second. This approach has since been developed and modified by Unitarian critics using a "new critical" method.

I.   Structure: Digression.

163.   N. Austin, "The Function of Digressions in the Iliad," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 295-312.   Austin illustrates the almost exclusively paradigmatic character of the digressions and tries to rectify our "failure to appreciate the fact that the degree of expansion in a digression into the past is dictated by a sense of urgency in the speaker's mind or is an expression of the dramatic tension of the moment . . ." (p. 310).

164.   B. K. Braswell, "Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*," *CQ* 31 (1971) 16-26.   Braswell contends that Homer exerts his inventive genius in altering certain myths with a view to creating plausible motivations for action within the poems.   Thus the invented story of Thetis assisting Zeus during a revolt of the gods effects a "demand for compensation" which sufficiently motivates Zeus' action on behalf of Achilles.

165.   Julia H. Gaisser, "A Structural Analysis of the Digressions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*," *HSCP* 73 (1968) 1-43.   In large-scale structural analysis, "the scale is not always consistent.   For the purposes of symmetry it is too easy to balance whole scenes against single lines, long speeches by short, and so forth.   In order to see what the poet is really doing, it seems more accurate to make a detailed examination of the poems within a small scale" (p. 2).   Miss Gaisser then proves that there is indeed careful arrangement in the digressions of each poem.   But the differences in kind of structural patterns (ring composition predominating in the *Iliad*, repeated theme in the *Odyssey*) indicate "the evolutionary nature of poetic style and the attendant need to modify stylistic techniques to suit narrative requirements" (p. 43).

166.   Julia H. Gaisser, "Adaptation of Traditional Material in the Glaucus-Diomedes Episode," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 165-76.   The poet is capable of originality in controlling traditional stories.   E.g. in the Bellerophon myth, elements are intentionally suppressed in order to bring it into alignment with a desired effect.

167.   Eva Sachs, "Die Meleagererzählung in der Ilias und das mythische Paradeigma," *Philologus* 88 (1933) 16-29.   Miss Sachs infers from post-Homeric sources "ein grosses Meleagerepos" which underlies the paradigm of Book 9 as told by Phoenix.   Further, such a hypothesis permits us to understand better Homer's use of tradition, since he has extracted from the Meleager-epic a specific motif and capitalized upon it in creating the *Menisgedicht* of Achilles.

168.   M. M. Willcock, "Mythological Paradeigma in the *Iliad*," *CQ* 14 (1964) 141-54.   Willcock investigates eight instances of paradigm in the *Iliad* and concludes that "the poet was perfectly prepared to invent even the central details of his paradeigma, to assimilate it to the situation to which it is adduced as a parallel" (p. 152).   Homer can radically adjust traditional mythological resources; this is a facet of his inventive genius.

J.   Structure: Simile.

169.   C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford 1930).   A work of great breadth and valuable insights.   The treatment of simile, unlike that of repetition, has not been devalued by forty years of investigation of oral poetry.   Bowra rejects the notion that Homeric simile

reflects a tradition dating to the Mycenaean era (cf. Schadewaldt, item 183), deciding that it is a much more "recent" development of the epic tradition (cf. item 185). Astute comments on the structural uses of simile, observing that they are employed for emphasis, transition, and, in the case of battle narrative, alleviation.

170. M. Coffey, "The Function of the Homeric Simile," *AJP* 78 (1957) 113-32. A highly concentrated and insightful survey of Homeric usage. The short, traditional similes and the long simple similes illuminate "at least one point of sensible data, a physical movement, appearance, sound; or . . . something measurable: space and distance, time or numbers" (p. 125). Other similes are more complex, illustrating "situations" (a series or nexus of movements) and temporary or permanent psychological characteristics.

171. H. Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (Göttingen 1921). A pioneer effort, providing many perceptive interpretations of individual similes. The general intent is to eliminate the tendency to search for precise points of comparison (*Vergleichungspunkte;* cf. Whitman, 203: p. 103: "the great epic simile, rising like a prismatic inverted pyramid upon its one point of contact with the action"). Rather we should perceive a less tangible, more emotional parallelism between action and simile. See Lee's criticism, 176: pp. 47-49.

172. C. Fries, "Zur Gleichnissprache des Odysseedichters," *PhW* (1934) 1437-40. After revealing the quantitative distribution and length of similes in the *Odyssey*, Fries remarks on differences in quality. In Books 5-8, "die strotzende Jugendkraft erhebt sich zu üppiger Gleichnissprache" (1437). This energy is largely lacking in other portions of the poem, though the four similes of Book 22 are effective in a somewhat different key.

173. R. Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit* (Tübingen 1952). This two-part study addresses itself first to the nature and effects of the similes. Hampe then turns to 8th century pictorial art, finding that its highly compressed mode of expression is shared with the similes (see esp. p. 39). The identification of Odysseus as the keel-rider on the Munich Jug (plates 7-11) has been endorsed by Webster (78: pp. 176, 205, pl. 28b).

174. G. S. Kirk, "Objective Dating Criteria in Homer," *MH* 17 (1960) 189-205; *LBH*, pp. 174-190. In the sections dealing with "late" linguistic phenomena, Kirk holds that similes should be looked upon as innovative and as having been "integrated into the monumental structure by the composer himself" (p. 202). Cf. Shipp, item 185.

175. D. M. Knight, "Dramatic and Descriptive Order in the *Iliad*," *YCS* 14 (1955) 109-22. Unfamiliar with the post-Parry oral poetics, Knight weakens many interesting readings by stressing a "great depth of implication" (p. 113) which is more validly seen in literary epic. His analyses are similar in spirit to those of Simone Weil (187).

176. D. J. N. Lee, *The Similes of the Iliad and the Odyssey Compared* (Melbourne 1964). Lee's book is statistically thorough-going, enabling one to identify such matters as subject, length (in feet), position of apodosis, and the particles or adjectives used in formation of each simile. His

comparative method yields these results: a) the similes of the *Odyssey* are more adroitly and judiciously employed than those of the *Iliad* — "the *Odyssey* remains a Nausicaa, *simplex munditiis*, while the *Iliad* is dowdy with an excess of pearls (many of them cultured) and diamonds (many of them only glass)" (p. 16); b) the similes of the *Iliad* are probably later than the *Odyssey* as a whole (see esp. p. 30).

177. F. Müller, "Das homerische Gleichnis," *NJAB* 4 (1941) 175-83. Noting several elements which appear exclusively in the similes (fishing in *Il.* 16.405-8, 24.80-82; horse-riding in 15.679-84; and the trumpet in 18.217-21), Müller argues for their recency as narrative constituents. He concludes: "das heroische Geschehen zur Zeit der Väter durch die Verbindung mit der Gegenwart von neuem lebending werden zu lassen, das ist es, was das homerische Gleichnis leistet" (p. 183).

178. J. A. Notopoulos, "Homeric Similes in Light of Oral Poetry," *CJ* 52 (1957) 323-28. This "essay-review" (of D. Petropoulos, *La Comparaison dans la chanson populaire grecque*) is an example of the interference of proselytism with sound scholarship. Eager to expound the virtues of the comparative method, Notopoulos applauds Petropoulos' demonstration of a long tradition behind the similes of modern Greek oral poetry and holds that a similar tradition can be posited for Homer. This is a precarious position in view of Shipp's proof (185) of the linguistic lateness of the similes. He also argues that Homer attains a "perfect congruence of the subject and object of comparison" (p. 327). This contradicts such authorities as Fränkel (171), Whaler (188, 190), Shipp (185), Bassett (24: pp. 166-67), and Müller (177).

179. A. J. Podlecki, "Some Odyssean Similes," *G&R* 18 (1971) 81-90. The similes are intentionally deployed by a master craftsman as "a unifying technique in such a long and necessarily diffuse poem" (p. 86). The linguistic lateness of the similes supports this contention.

180. M. W. M. Pope, "The Parry-Lord Theory of Homeric Composition," *AClass* 6 (1963) 1-21. A convincing revision of Parry's doctrine that the economy and scope of formulaic systems in Homer testify to minimal inventive contribution by the individual poet. Precise statistical analysis discovers a high concentration of original noun-epithet formulae in the similes.

181. D. F. Rauber, "Some 'Metaphysical' Aspects of the Homeric Simile," *CJ* 65 (1969) 97-103. Rauber's paper seems calculated to exasperate oral theorists. Completely disregarding their strictures concerning application of literary criteria to oral compositions, he asserts that the simile at *Il.* 12.278-89 is designed to demand intense concentration, and that "Homer is deliberately complicating the poetry" (p. 99). Homer as John Donne.

182. K. Riezler, "Das homerische Gleichnis und der Anfang der Philosophie," *Antike* 12 (1936) 253-71; also in *Um die Begriffswelt der Vorsokratiker*, ed. H. G. Gadamer (Darmstadt 1968) pp. 1-20. An inquiry into the philosophical implications of the mutual animation ("Beseelung") of elements in Homeric simile. Riezler selects some interesting similes (e.g. *Od.* 19.205-10; *Il.* 17.53-59; *Od.* 20.25-28) as well as a few pre-Socratic fragments. An insightful precursor to Bruno Snell's chapter (IX) on

the evolution from the comparisons of myth to the analogies of philosophy in *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (Hamgurg 1948; Eng. ed. 1953).

183.   W. Schadewaldt, "Die homerische Gleichniswelt und die kretisch-mykenische Kunst: zur homerischen Naturanschauung," *Festschrift für O. Regenbogen* (Heidelberg 1951); also in *Von Homers Welt und Werk: Aufsätze und Auslegungen zur homerischen Frage* (2nd ed. Stuttgart 1952; 4th 1966) pp. 130-54.   A denial of the similarity between Minoan-Mycenaean art and the Homeric "Gleichniswelt."   Choosing five examples of the former (the dolphin fresco at Cnossos, a boar-hunt fragment from Tiryns, the lion scenes on the dagger-blades from the fourth shaft grave at Mycenae, the Vaphio cups, and the "Glockenblume" jug at Phylakopi), he compares them to Homeric similes which have the same or similar subject matter.   He finds in every case that the similes reflect a much more realistic (at times brutally realistic) conception of the world.   Minoan-Mycenaean art reflects a dreamlike, phantasmagorical world of playful innocence; on the other hand, "die Natur der Homerischen Gleichnisse ist kein Garten Eden" (p. 144).

184.   A. Severyns, "Simples Remarques sur les comparaisons homériques," *BCH* 70 (1946) 540-47.   Severyns surveys all of the lion similes in Homer and, impressed with their vivacity and realism, comes to the conclusion that: "c'est que le monde d'Homère, — celui des comparaisons — n'est plus le monde épique où s'agitent ses héros.   Les grands féodaux de l'épopée ne sont qu'un souvenir, et si l'aède ionien les chante encore, c'est qu'une tradition, plus forte que ses préférences, le lui impose — la tradition créée par les aèdes achéens, dont lui-même est l'héritier" (p. 547).

185.   G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer* (Cambridge 1953; 2nd ed. 1972).   Over half of this book is devoted to an inspection of "the language of similes in the *Iliad*, and related questions."   Working from P. Chantraine's *Grammaire homérique* (Paris 1942), Shipp finds that the similes display a high proportion of late linguistic forms and relatively little archaism.   The characteristically Homeric simile (an extended exfoliation) is probably an outgrowth of more conventional and simple types.   Theories which associate a given category of simile with a particular period in the plastic arts (e.g. realistic nature similes/the inlaid dagger blade or the Vaphio cups; conventional short similes/geometric art) imply "an unproved dependence of poetry on the plastic arts" (p. 83).   Linguistic foundation for those who would see the hand of Homer in the similes.

186.   W. J. Verdenius, "L'Association des idées comme principe de composition dans Homère, Hésiode, Théognis," *REG* 73 (1960) 345-61.   Though it devotes more space to Theognis than to Homer and Hesiod together, this article does contain an interesting suggestion regarding an unusual simile at *Il.* 12.145ff.   (Polypoetes and Leonteus = wild boars).   The simile begins with one point of comparison, the attack, but "un détail accessoire de cette illustration, le bruit de leurs [i.e. the boars'] dents, suggère alors au poète un autre point de comparaison, qui s'ajoute au premier sans en être déduit, mais par la voie de l'association.   L'attention de poète se déplace vers cet autre point et c'est par là qu'il revient à la narration" (p. 347).

187.   Simone Weil, *The Iliad or the Poem of Force* (1941; tr. 1945, rpt. Wallingford, Pa. 1956).   This small book, written in France during World War II, finds in the *Iliad* a chronicle of the effects of a blind, dehumanizing Force.   The similes are not present to implement a celebration of *menos* (as found most notably in an *aristeia*); "as for the warriors, victors or vanquished, those comparisons which liken them to beasts or things can inspire neither admiration nor contempt, but only regret that men are capable of being so transformed" (p. 32).

188.   J. Whaler, "Grammatical *Nexus* of the Miltonic Simile," *JEGP* 30 (1931) 327-34.

189.   J. Whaler, "Compounding and Distribution of Similes in *Paradise Lost*," *MP* 28 (1931) 313-27.

190.   J. Whaler, "The Miltonic Simile," *PMLA* 46 (1931) 1034-74.

191.   J. Whaler, "Animal Simile in *Paradise Lost*," *PMLA* 47 (1932) 534-53.   Whaler's studies are not cited by classical scholars.   This is unfortunate since their comparative method makes them as enlightening for the student of Homer as for the student of Milton.   He has worked out a notation for symbolizing types of simile and degrees of homologation and heterogeneity (188 and, esp., 190: section III).   189 traces the tendency of similes to allocate themselves to certain types of narrative (cf. 169: p. 123) — e.g. battle narrative; see the charts on page 322.   188 shows what oral theory might lead us to expect — that Homer is not so concerned as later, literary poets are to vary the protasis-apodosis pattern in similes.   191 contains an interesting list of twenty bee-similes in fifteen works by thirteen authors, beginning with *Il.* 2.87-90 and concluding with *PL* 1.761-75 in strict chronological order.   Milton's simile is shown to be novel in its precise homologation and in its proleptic function.

K.   Structure: The Geometric Analogy.

192.   W. den Boer, "Le Rôle de l'art et de l'histoire dans les études homériques contemporaines," *AC* 17 (1948) 25-37.   The author outlines some of the pitfalls in Schadewaldt's theory (see item 199) of correspondence between the plastic arts and literature — propounded for the purpose of dating the *Iliad*.   Some of the analogies are, he maintains, true when one substitutes 5th century sculpture; moreover, notions about the depiction of personality are often truer of lyric than epic.

193.   G. Kahl-Furthmann, *Wann lebte Homer? Eine verschollene Menschheit tritt ans Licht* (Meisenheim am Glan 1967).   The thesis of this book is a Mycenaean Homer who may have set down his epics in Linear B!   This necessitates a denial of the analogy with geometric art (pp. 30-33 attack Hampe, item 173) and a promotion of the similarities between Homeric epic and Minoan-Mycenaean art (pp. 33-35 are addressed to the strictures of Schadewaldt, item 183) together with an estimate of the accurate representation of Bronze Age art work in Homer: "Schliemann . . . hat richtig gesehen" (p. 39).

194.   J. L. Myres, "The Last Book of the 'Iliad'," *JHS* 52 (1932) 264-96.

195.   J. L. Myres, "Homeric Art," *ABSA* 45 (1950) 229-60.

196.   J. L. Myres, "The Pattern of the Odyssey," *JHS* 72 (1952) 1-19.

197. J. L. Myres, "The Structure of the *Iliad*, Illustrated by the Speeches," *JHS* 74 (1954) 122-41. Structuralist criticism in these items has been carried to its mad conclusion. Myres, impressed by Sheppard's *Pattern of the Iliad* (162), engages in incredibly elaborate analyses, replete with diagrams and sketches of analogous patterns in Geometric art. Nor is that the only period used as a parallel: "the Homeric use of naturalistic similes perpetuates the technique and the repertory of Minoan sealstones, after these passed out of use" (195: p. 258). The complexity and detail of these studies are astounding and occasionally surreal — the reduction of "the 'Iliad' as a whole" to one circular schema is particularly memorable (194: p. 280). Later critics using the analogy of Geometric art seem conservative by comparison (see e.g. Schadewaldt, 199; Webster, 78; Whitman, 203).

198. J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer and Geometric Art: A Comparative Study in the Formulaic Technique of Composition," *Athena* 61 (1957) 65-93. Notopoulos has the distinct advantage of approaching the analogy from the perspective of oral composition. "The technique of *amor pleni* is a phase of parataxis which along with formulae constitute the essence of the Homeric and the Geometric art. Their structure shows parataxis, autonomy of the parts within a loosely strung unity, which enable the artist to indulge in filling-ornamentation" (p. 79). On the other hand, he does not go too far in pressing the analogy: "the mentality and technique of composition are the same in the Geometric age, the differences lie in the relative degrees of maturity which differ in the diverse expressions of the Geometric age in its various localities" (p. 93). Altogether a sane treatment.

199. W. Schadewaldt, "Homer und sein Jahrhundert," in *Von Homers Welt und Werk: Aufsätze und Auslegungen zur homerischen Frage* (Stuttgart 1944; 4th ed. 1966) pp. 87-129. Pp. 115-22 of this article discuss epic themes on Geometric vases and find a similarity of spirit with Homer. This is a part of Schadewaldt's case for dating Homer to the 8th century. Cf. 192.

200. K. Schefold, "Archäologisches zum Stil Homers," *MH* 12 (1955) 132-44. An exploration of the potential of art history for providing an effective control in the dating of elements within the Homeric poems. "Die beiden Stilstufen, die der Kurzepen Homers und die der kyklischen Epen, finden ihre genaue Entsprechung im Erzählungsstil der bildenen Kunst" (p. 134).

201. A. Stählin, "Geometrischer Stil in der Ilias," *Philologus* 78 (1923) 280-301. This essay, "mit einer Skizze," anticipates many of the insights of later critics. Having examined the battle sequences of the *Iliad* and plotted them schematically ("Plan der Ilias-Schlachten"), Stählin detects an arrangement which is useful in dating the poem: "deshalb kennzeichnet der lineare Stil, den wir in der Ilias finden, Homer als Zeitgenossen der geometrischen Kunst" (pp. 284-85). Further, though he makes no suggestions about oral composition, he believes that the structure should not be attributed to an intentional and painstaking conscious strategy, "vielmehr kann man von Homers Bewusstseinsstufe, von dem in ihm wirkenden Geist sagen, er geometrisiere immer" (p. 285; cf. item 64).

202. T. B. L. Webster, "Homer and Attic Geometric Vases," *ABSA* 50 (1955) 38-50. Webster cautions against the assertion by Hampe (173) and others (items 199, 203) that the Attic Geometric vases are illustrative of the *Iliad*. It is quite possible that subject matter which can be identified as epic is indebted to Attic poetry which shared a common heritage (of 500 to perhaps 700 years) with the Ionian branch from which it had divided some 250 years earlier.

203. C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958). This book is informed almost throughout by a conviction of the affiliation of symmetrical structure in Homer with Geometric art in the 8th century. The first chapter begins with a description of the Homeric Question and goes on to consider the impact of the theories of Milman Parry. In chapter IV, the problem of Homer's illiteracy is taken up. The author subscribes to Lord's theory of oral dictated texts (see item 19) producing an 8th century manuscript — something indispensable to a) the largely Geometric structure of the poems, and b) the possibility of reasonably accurate transmission via rhapsodic recitation.

L. Bibliographies.

In dealing with a massive body of critical materials such as the Homeric poems have generated, it is pleasant to receive expert guidance in the form of annotated and selective bibliographies. The following can save the unwary from the consumption of a great deal of chaff.

204. F. M. Combellack, "Contemporary Homeric Scholarship: Sound or Fury?" *CW* 49 (1955) 17-26, 29-55. Combellack lists some three hundred items of Homerica covering the years 1939-55, providing brief synoptic discussions of each of the areas included. "I present what is basically a discussion of trends in the main fields of Homeric activity, with references to individual works for the sake of offering a sampling of the various kinds of activity" (p. 18).

205. J. A. Davison, "The Homeric Question," in *CH*, pp. 234-66. A survey of the salient developments in the history of the question, beginning with the critical opinions of antiquity.

206. E. R. Dodds, "Homer," in *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*, ed. M. Platnauer (Oxford 1954) pp. 1-17, 31-35. Dodds arranges his survey into three divisions: i) "Homer and the Analysts," ii) "Homer and the Unitarians," and iii) "Homer as Oral Poetry." He is, as always, lucid and covers a great amount of material in a short space. He injects a sizable bibliography into sixty-eight footnotes. See Combellack's critique (204: 18-19).

207. J. B. Hainsworth, *Homer* (*G&R* New Surveys in the Classics No. 3; Oxford 1969). This combines the merits of Combellack and Dodds, giving a coherent over-view of several expansive areas of scholarship. Chapters are: I. "Text," II. "Comparison," III. "Craft," IV. "Art." Recency is an added advantage.

208 a-f. A. Heubeck, a: *Gymnasium* 58 (1951) 362-80; b: 62 (1955) 112-33; c: 63 (1956) 87-91; d: 66 (1959) 380-408; e: 71 (1964) 43-72; f: 78 (1971) 98-135. A series of "Fachberichte" offering a running com-

mentary on the largest segments of contemporary research. Sections on oral poetry are included in the last three *Berichte*

209. A. Heubeck *et al.*, "Neuere Arbeiten zu Homer und Hesiod," *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 54-81. Some fourteen reviews of books written between 1963-68.

210. G. S. Kirk, "The Homeric Poems as History," fascicle in *CAH* II xxxix(b), rev. ed. (Cambridge 1964). A marshalling of critical materials which will enable the reader "to assess with unsentimental accuracy the nature of the Iliad and the Odyssey as evidence" (p. 3). The section (II) on "The Iliad and the Odyssey as Traditional Oral Poems" treats the historical implications of oral theory and outlines some of the uncertainties of composition, reproduction, transmission, etc.

211 a-i. A. Lesky, a: "Der Forschungbericht, Homer I," *AnzAW* 4 (1951) 65-80; b: "Homer II," *AnzAW* 4 (1951) 195-212; c: "Homer III," *AnzAW* 5 (1952) 1-24; d-i: *Fortsetzungen* in *AnzAW* 6 (1953) 129-50; 8 (1955) 129-56; 12 (1959) 129-46; 13 (1960) 1-22; 17 (1964) 129-54; 18 (1965) 1-30; 21 (1968) 129-44 (this last by E. Dönt). Items a-c are collected in *Die Homerforschung in der Gegenwart* (Vienna 1952). Lesky's format is short and medium size reviews of significant books and articles.

212. A. Lesky, "Das homerische Epos," chapter III in *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 2nd ed. (Bern 1963); Eng. trans. by J. Willis and C. de Heer (2nd ed. New York 1966). Key bibliography is attached to Lesky's level-headed and scholarly summaries of modern research into the Homeric poems.

213 a-g. H. J. Mette, a: "Homer 1930-56," *Lustrum* 1 (1956) 7-86; b-e: *Nachträge* in *Lustrum*, 1 (1956) 319-20; 2 (1957) 294-97, 307-8; 4 (1959) 309-16; 5 (1960) 649-56; f: "Bibliographische Nachträge (1956-1966) zum Homer-Bericht Lustr. I, 7-86," *Lustrum* 11 (1966) 33-69; g: "Homer 1966-1971," *Lustrum* 15 (1970) 99-122. Mette's bibliographies are second only to *L'Année philologique* in completeness. Item 213a lists 725 titles. Eighteen *Abschnitte* cover a wide range of subjects; most exhaustive is VI: "Wortfeldforschung." References to dissertations, primarily German, are an added attraction. Very little annotation.

214. M. M. Willcock, "The Present State of Homeric Studies," *Didaskalos* 2.2 (1967) 59-69. A very brief appraisal of modern scholarship, touching upon works of indisputably primary importance. "All that I can offer is my own view-point, more literary than archaeological or linguistic" (p. 59).

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN   JAMES P. HOLOKA

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
ATLANTIC STATES, INC.

PROGRAM

of

SPRING MEETING

At the invitation of

DELAWARE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

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❧

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, APRIL 27-28, 1973

HOTEL DU PONT

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
ATLANTIC STATES, INC.

Spring meeting at the invitation of

DELAWARE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

Hotel du Pont, Wilmington, Delaware
April 27-28, 1973

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

9:00 A.M.   Registration, Foyer of the du Barry Room, Second Floor

9:30 A.M.   Executive Committee Meeting, Georgian Room

12:15 P.M.   Executive Committee Luncheon, Georgian Room

2:15 P.M.   Program Session, du Barry Room

> Professor Anna Lydia Motto, Second Vice-President of CAAS, presiding
>
> "Death in Euripides,"
> Professor D. Carroll Moulton, Princeton University
>
> "Theocritus 24: The Infant Heracles,"
> Professor Jacob Stern, The City College of The City University of New York
>
> "The Etruscans as Seen on their Vases" (illustrated), Dr. Dorothy Kent Hill, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

6:00 P.M.   Reception and Dutch Treat Cocktails, Foyer of the du Barry Room

7:00 P.M.   Annual Dinner, du Barry Room

> Professor Helen J. Loane, President of CAAS, presiding
>
> Address: "Romans on the Bay of Naples" (illustrated), Professor John D'Arms, The University of Michigan

SATURDAY, APRIL 28

9:00 A.M.   Registration, Foyer of the du Barry Room, Second Floor

9:30 A.M.   Program Session, du Barry Room

Professor Robert W. Carrubba, Editor of *CW*, presiding

"Satire: Classical Origins and Modern Genre,"
Professor John R. Clark, New York University

"A Study of the *Cena Trimalchionis*,"
Professor David Mulroy, Princeton University

"Vocabulary Enrichment for non-Latin Students,"
Mr. Wayne Bell, The Hill School

12:30 P.M.   Luncheon, du Barry Room

Professor Helen J. Loane, President of CAAS, presiding

Address: "Diocletian's Palace at Split: Problems in Urban
Archaeology" (illustrated),
Professor Michael R. Werner, The Pennsylvania State
University

2-2:30 P.M.   Annual Business Session of CAAS, du Barry Room
Professor Helen J. Loane, President of CAAS, presiding

GENERAL INFORMATION

ACCOMMODATIONS: Rate cards for the Hotel du Pont, 11th and Market Streets, Wilmington, Delaware, should be used, if possible, in making room reservations. If you do not use the rate card, you are advised to state that you are a member of CAAS. Reservations should be made directly with the hotel. Convention rates (discount for CAAS included): Single — $11; Double — $16; Twin beds — $18; Triple — $21.00.

ANNUAL DINNER: Reservations for the annual dinner must be made on or before April 22. All reservations must be accompanied by a check for $7.00 payable to CAAS and sent to: Professor Evelyn H. Clift, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 19711.

LUNCHEON: (Saturday) Reservations for the luncheon must be made on or before April 22. All reservations must be accompanied by a check for $5.50 payable to CAAS and sent to: Professor Evelyn H. Clift, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 19711.

REGISTRATION: All persons attending the meetings are asked to register promptly on arrival. On Friday and Saturday registration will be in the foyer of the du Barry Room. The registration fee is $2.00 for students; $3.00 for others.

PARKING: At the Hotel du Pont free parking for overnight guests is available at the Hotel Parking Authority which is located about half a block from the hotel. For those who are attending meetings, free validated parking is available at the same location from 5:30 P.M. Friday evening through the Saturday meetings.