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**PRINCIPLES OF THE
RECONSTRUCTION
OF A FRAGMENTARY TEXT**

(NEW STESICHOREAN PAPYRI)

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Книга посвящена обзору современных методов работы с текстами, дошедшими в поврежденном состоянии. На примере опубликованных за последние десятилетия папирусных фрагментов поэмы Стесихора «Разрушение Трои» автор предпринимает попытку реконструкции текста поэмы. Полученные в ходе филологического исследования результаты проверяются далее на основе Илионских таблиц, содержащих надпись «Разрушение Трои» по Стесихору. В качестве итога исследования предлагается издание текста поэмы. В приложении помещено краткое резюме книги на русском языке, а также сделанные автором переводы фрагментов Стесихора на русский язык. Книга может быть рекомендована всем интересующимся методами филологического анализа текста, а приложение может представлять интерес и для широкого читателя, поскольку творчество Стесихора, поэта включенного в канон десяти греческих лириков, известно в России только в объеме тех нескольких стихов, которые были переведены в начале века В. В. Вересаевым.

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PREFACE

The significance of Stesichorus (*ca.* 632–556 B.C.) for the history of Greek poetry and Greek thought cannot be assessed only by the number of the surviving fragments of his poetry. His inclusion in the Alexandrian Canon of ten Greek lyric poets gives but a general idea of his place in Greek culture. Recent studies have demonstrated the relevance of his stories for archaic Greek vase painting; his influence on Greek tragedy becomes more and more evident; his innovations within the genre of choral lyric were essential, so the bits and pieces of his legacy do not reflect to any extent his importance for Greek civilization.

For many centuries Stesichorus' poem *Iliou Persis*, «The Sack of Troy» (usually dated *ca.* 600 B.C.), was known only by its title and the nine words cited by Athenaeus (*Athen. Deipn.* 10.457). The discovery in 1969 of two large groups of Oxyrhynchus papyri (P. Oxy. 2619 and P. Oxy. 2803) has improved the situation considerably. Now we possess several authentic fragments of the poem.

In order to interpret this new evidence, we need to work out some kind of synthetic approach involving several fields of classical philology such as papyrology, dialect studies, textual reconstruction, and iconography. A reconstruction of this poem might become a really exciting endeavor since we have the opportunity to verify the results using the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, where the subject of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* is presumably represented.

In the present study I have applied two kinds of procedures to Stesichorus' poem: a reconstruction of the papyrus roll and a reconstruction of the history of the *Tabula Iliaca*, followed by an attempt at their interpretation. The combined results of both inquiries show substantial overlaps which seem to me quite suggestive and important.

Classical philology knows different types of reconstruction: those of text, contents, and perception. In recent years this method of historical and cultural inquiry has been introduced into the domain of «The History of Ideas», i.e., the investigation of ideological change and inheritance throughout the history of civilization. «Reconstruction» as a special methodological tool of scholarly research first appeared in the nineteenth century, comparative linguistics doing pioneering work. Its impact on classical philology concerned for the most part the studies of historical word formation and semantic evolution in Greek and Latin. I believe, however, that reconstruction should be applied as a universal method of scholarly approach to the study of so-called «dead» cultures and civilizations on a much larger scale.

When following this method of inquiry, we can either conduct «reconstruction for reconstruction's sake» or make an effort at combining the results of several independent (but complementary) reconstructions. The advantage of the former is that it can lead us to a «secondary» level of abstraction, but it may also cause doubts as to the feasibility of the achieved results.

In this work I attempted to pursue the latter kind of inquiry, combining different types of textual and cultural reconstruction, including the reconstruction of a piece of art (*Tabulae Iliacae*, produced in Rome at the beginning of the first century B.C.)

This research was first undertaken at the Institute of Linguistic Studies in St. Petersburg, Russia, and then was completed at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D.C. I wish, therefore, to express my sincere gratitude to Harvard University and the Senior Fellows of the Center for the grant, which made it possible to write this book.

I would also like to thank Professor Alexander J. Zajcev (St. Petersburg University) who supervised my first steps in classical research and all my colleagues who read the manuscript and contributed essential criticism and advice. Among others I should especially like to mention Professor Deborah Boedeker (co-Director of CHS), Dr. Jan M. Van Ophuijsen, Professor Dirk Obbink, Professor Eric Csapo, and Professor Mark Munn. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Gregory Bucher and Dr. Andrei A. Korolev for their enormous contribution in helping me translate this text into English.

PRINCIPLES OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A FRAGMENTARY TEXT: AUTHORSHIP, GENRE TRADITIONS, AND TEXTUAL TRADITION

When working with fragmentary texts it is not necessary to repeat all the principles of textual criticism or to formulate from scratch all its particular cases, rules and patterns. Specialized monographs concerning such matters are readily available. But it would be useful to formulate explicitly the particular principles, which we will follow in reconstructing the text of Stesichorus' poem.

1. At first we will interpret material as a whole. In our case this involves restoring the shape of the entire text on the basis of references by people who had read it in its original state as well as evidence supplied by the papyrus scroll. Only after that will we proceed to the interpretation of the individual fragments¹.

2. We will then pass from formal analysis to textual interpretation. This pattern of research is very prominent in the tradition of *emendatio* – when restoring a damaged text, the critic needs to understand first the grammatical structure of a phrase, and only afterwards propose a semantic interpretation. In our case, this principle has to be enlarged in scope since we are dealing with the *emendatio* of not merely a single sentence but of the text of a whole poem².

It is necessary to remember that «textual criticism is not an exact science»³, and «no one principle, no rule of textual criticism has universal application, except one: to stay close to the strict historical background and keep in mind the history of the text»⁴. We shall try to adhere to this rule, but in our work it is not always possible to restore the stages of the transmission of the text in the same way as historians and scholars working with medieval texts do. In this last case «the history of the text is actually the history of the people who made the manuscript»⁵. Sometimes these persons are known by name; even their biographies are documented. The changes of mentality and life in these periods are also more or less known. The difference in our case is that we have absolutely no chance to restore the history of the people who worked with Stesichorean manuscripts before and after P. Oxy. 2619 was written. Nevertheless some steps could be made in this direction, including a closer

¹ This principle is very close to that which B. M. Eichenbaum formulated in his 'Basic Textual Criticism» (Б. М. Эйхенбаум, Основы текстологии, in *Редактор и книга. Сборник Статей*. Вып. 3. Moscow, 1962, с. 80).

² Because it includes the reconstruction of the whole roll as well. This kind of reconstruction is nothing new. It has already been applied to the newly found Stesichorus papyri; see D. Page, «Stesichorus: The *Geryoneis* (P. Oxy. 2617)», *JHS* 93 (1973), p.148 ff.

³ M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart, 1973, p. 5.

⁴ D. S. Likhatchev, *Textual Criticism* (in Russian: Д. С. Лихачёв, Текстология. М.: Л., 1962), p.50.

⁵ D. S. Likhatchev, *Textual Criticism*, p. 48.

approach to the author's original text and the historical and cultural milieu in which the poem was created: the external history of the text of the poem, the place of Stesichorus in the history of Greek literature, the development of poetic techniques, the evolution of the language of choral lyrics⁶, and so on. All this can be assessed with a certain degree of reliability.

Before starting the work of reconstruction, it would be useful to draw a clear distinction between what is known and what is unknown (at present) and between what can and cannot be known from the evidence. This rule was well formulated by Gotfried Hermann: «Est quaedam nesciendi ars et scientia»⁷. The progress of knowledge not only opens new areas of scholarship, not only presents new data, but – what is important to realize – it also shows us the limits of the area within which it is possible to obtain reliable or scientifically arguable results, and beyond which our methods become irrelevant and insufficient. This boundary between the knowable and the unknowable is continually changing as our knowledge increases. For purposes of reconstruction we must first define what is knowable and what is unknowable. After that we can start reconstructing Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* by using linguistic models and data derived from textual linguistic analysis and correlating it with what we know of the poem's historical context.

It is quite superfluous to review at this point the historical and cultural environment in Archaic Greece. We should only like to stress an agonistic and innovative tendency in Greek culture at that time⁸. But at first it is necessary to summarize what we know about the poetic and social activities of Stesichorus.

⁶ In recent years West proposed to view Stesichorus as a purely cytharodic poet (M. L. West, «Stesichorus», *CQ*, 21 (1971), 302–314). His point of view has been disputed, most recently by G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer. The Lyric Possession of the Epic Past*, Baltimore – London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, p. 371, p. 97 and n. 80. Nagy finds his counterarguments in the triadic structure of Stesichorean compositions, which points to a persisting choral medium, and even in the name Stesichorus, «he who sets up the chorus». Stesichorus' poems were among the selected compositions of old lyric masters taught in the house of the cytharistes (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 964 f.).

⁷ To be precise, it was Erasmus of Rotterdam who first formulated this principle, and G. Hermann only reformulated it: «nescire quaedam magna pars sapientiae est», see G. Luck, «Textual criticism today», *American Journal of Philology*, 102, 2 (1981), 167.

⁸ А. И. Зайцев, *Культурный переворот в Древней Греции*. Ленинград, 1985. Now a German version is available: A. Zajcev, *Das griechische Wunder: die Entstehung der griechischen Zivilisation*. Konstanz, 1993 (= Xenia, Heft 30).

Stesichorus was much appreciated throughout antiquity – his name was included among the ten most famous Greek lyric poets. Tradition has preserved the years of his life (*ca.* 632–556 B.C.) and some facts from his biography⁹.

Stesichorus was his surname, meaning ‘Producer of choruses’¹⁰; by chance we know also his real name – Teisias. He was born in Italy or in Sicily into an educated family: one of Stesichorus’ brothers, Mamerkos, was a well-known geometer; another brother was a famous legislator¹¹. The name Teisias is an old one and native Greek, but his brother’s name, Mamerkos, is either a translation into one of the ancient Italic languages of a Greek name beginning with Ares-, or can be interpreted as a sign that the family was bilingual, e.g. his mother may have been of Italic origin. It seems that Stesichorus lived mostly in Himera (now Termini-Imerese), but he also travelled, and presumably visited Sparta. At least two of his poems, *Oresteia* and *Helen*, were written for a Spartan audience.¹² It is known that «Stesichorus not only saved Himera from tyrants, but also decorated it with words» (PMG 270). His compatriots liked him: his golden statue stood in Himera in Cicero’s time. Stesichorus’ portrait was always reproduced on the coins of Himera.

⁹ Cf. the definition «many ‘facts’ about Stesichorus’ life are as uncertain as Homer’s». in M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, London, 1981, 31 f.

¹⁰ The best collection of facts concerning Stesichorus’ biography and works is in P. Maas, «Stesichoros», *RE*, II Reihe. Bd. III, 2, Cols. 2458–2462, W. Schmid, O. Stalin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*. Bd. I. München, 1929. S. 469–489, J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros’ Fragmente und Biographie*. Leiden, 1919, pp. 99–112. In some respects (the data and historical interpretation) the book by A. Croiset and M. Croiset, (*Histoire de la littérature grecque*. Vol. II2. Paris, 1898, 309–328) is out of date, but some of its critical interpretations remain useful. A discussion concerning some of the newly published fragments is to be found in A. Lesky, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*. 3. Aufl. Bern; München, 1971, pp. 177–184; C.M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*. 2 ed. Oxford, 1961, pp. 74–129, and in M. Treu, «Stesichoros», *RE*. Suppl. Bd. XI. Cols. 1253–1256, in M.L. West, «Stesichorus», *CQ* 21 (1971), 302–314, in E. Tsisibakou-Vasalos, *Stesichorus and His Poetry*. Diss. Chicago, 1985.

¹¹ About the cultic value of his name see G. Nagy, *Pindar’s Homer*, 361–2 who brings in some «divine models for the role of chorus leader». His crucial examples are 1) PMG 938 [c] Στησίχορον ὕμνον ἄγοισαι (apparently «Muses», cf. C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque, I: Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale*, Rome, 1977, 107 n. 131) and 2). Terpsichore as *Stesichore* on the François Vase.

¹² First suggested by Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*² Oxford, 1961, 112–115 it was confirmed by West on the basis of his interpretation of P. Oxy. 2735, fr. 1 (M.L. West, «Stesichorus», *CQ* 21 (1971), 305). The most recent article is by A. Neschke, «L’Orestie de Stésichore et la tradition littéraire du mythe des Atrides avant Eschyle», *AC* 55 (1986) 283–301.

Alexandrian philologists divided his work into twenty-six books. His innovations¹³ in metrics and in subject matter were highly appreciated, and we can trace their influence throughout ancient literature. In modern literature, as far as I know, only Racine used a Stesichorean version of a myth¹⁴. In the English tradition, at least one word, «recant» (from Horace's *recano*, which represents a calque of Stesichorean παλινωιδέω), can be traced to Stesichorus¹⁵. Stesichorus was the first to write lyric poems on epic subjects, and for this reason Longinus named him «the most Homeric poet», Dio Chrysostomus – «Homer's imitator»; and Quintilian (Quint., *Inst. Or.*, 10.1.62) said «*Stesichorum (-us Mss.) quam sit ingenio ualidus, materiae quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem*». (PMGrF, TB 12).

The best known of his achievements in antiquity remained «Stesichorus' triad» – a special strophic unit with *strophe*, *antistrophe*, both metrically identical, and *epode* which differed greatly from them. The triad became so famous that it passed into legend in the proverb οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις – *literally*, «you do not even know Stesichorus' triad»¹⁶.

¹³ References (except Horacean) have not yet been collected. The latest that I know of are some parallels between Stesichorus (P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 16,9) and Tryphiodorus' poem (v. 497f.), which used to be dated fifth century A.D., but recently a papyrus of the third century has been found. At a later date only some citations were in use, see K. Jamieson, «Jerome, Augustin and the Stesichoran Palinodie», *Rhetorica*, 5 (1987), p. 23–48, and the discussion, concerning sources of the citation, in M. Davies, «Derivative and proverbial testimonia concerning Stesichorus' Palinodie», *QUCC* 41 (1982), p. 7–16.

¹⁴ J. Le Hir, 'Ombres et reflets temporels dans l'Iphigenie de Racine,' *Les études classiques*, 34 (1966), p. 39–50.

¹⁵ See D. Daube, 'Withdrawal: Five Verbs,' *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 7 (1974), p. 93–112.

¹⁶ This opinion is widespread, cf. e.g. M. L. West, «Stesichorus», *CQ* 21 (1971), p. 312–13. There is another view that this refers to three of his verses: «you don't even know the three famous lines of Stesichorus». M. Davies, 'The paroemiographer on τὰ τρία τοῦ Στησιχόρου,' *JHS* 102 (1982), p. 206–210 who especially studied this question admits also the 'triadic' explanation. I would like to stress the coincidence between the three-part unit (triad) and a kind of geometric organisation (remember Mamercus!), symmetric and algebraic, which occurs in Greek poetry before Stesichorus, but is widely represented in poetry only after Stesichorus: we find it always in Greek drama, Pindar's and Bacchylides' odes.

The collected works of Stesichorus were read as late as the first centuries A.D., as later epic poetry sometimes shows their influence¹⁷. During later periods we can find excerpts and quotations passed from one writer to another, which attest to the previous popularity of his poetry.

Only in the eighteenth century did the first edition of Stesichorus' fragments appear¹⁸. During the nineteenth century, as an outcome of studious work done by O. F. Kleine¹⁹ and Th. Bergk, an updated edition of his fragments was published and for many years it remained the basis for philological and linguistic studies²⁰. Bergk's work paved the way for Wilamowitz's great summary of the principles of the nineteenth century textual criticism²¹.

Very important points on Stesichorus' textual criticism can be found in the editions by E. Diehl²² and D. Page²³. The most recent edition by M. Davies²⁴ presents some new evidence about Stesichorus. The new Stesichorus fragments have been published as an appendix.

While interpreting Stesichorus' fragments we should certainly keep in mind all the enormous and difficult work that has been done within textual tradition. To restore a Stesichorean text – composed in a dialect – is a still more complicated task because of a tendency, common to all medieval manuscripts, to «iron out» all the dialectal peculiarities of the original version²⁵.

¹⁷ N.N. Kazansky, 'Two traditions about the meeting of Menelaus and Helen at Troy,' (in Russian) in: *Традиции и новаторство в античной литературе*. Ленинград, 1982, с. 62 - 68.

¹⁸ Jo. A. Suchfort, *Stesichori fragmenta in unum collecta certo ordine digesta et interpretatione illustrata. Cum epistola Heynii ad auctorem*. Gottingae, 1771.

¹⁹ *Stesichori Himerensis fragmenta. Collegit, dissertationem de vita et poesi auctoris praemisit* O. Fr. Kleine. Berolini, 1828.

²⁰ Th. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici Graeci*. Lipsiae, 1843 (Editio altera auctior et emendatior. Lipsiae, 1853; tertiis curis pars III, poetas lyricos continens. Lipsiae, 1867). Th. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici Graeci*⁴ Vol. III. Lipsiae, 1882; Th. Bergk, *Antologia lyrica*. Editio tertia. Lipsiae, 1883; *Antologia lyrica*. Post Bergkium quartum edidit Ed. Hiller. Lipsiae, 1890; *Antologia lyrica*. Quartum ed. Ed. Hiller. Emendavit atque novis fragmenta auxit O. Crusius. Lipsiae, 1907 (1897); Jo. Pomtow, *Poetae lyrici minori*. Vol. I. Lipsiae, 1885; J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie*. Leiden, 1919; J.M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*. Vol. I-II. London; New York, 1922.

²¹ U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker*. Berlin, 1906.

²² E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica Graeca*² Vol. II. Lipsiae, 1942.

²³ D.L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford, 1962; D. L. Page, *Lyrica Graeca selecta*. Oxford, 1968; D.L. Page, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*. Oxford, 1974 fr. S 88 - S. 147.

²⁴ *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Volumen I: Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus. Post D.L. Page edidit M. Davies. Oxonii, 1991.

²⁵ Among the studies of Greek dialectology, the most detailed analysis of the language of choral lyric is represented in A. Thumb and A. Kieckers, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialecte*. Vol. I. Göttingen, 1932, p. 218. Note especially M. Nöthiger's high appreciation of the papyri because of their retention of some of the Ionic forms, e.g. ῥηξήνωρ and ὀλεσάνωρ and also, τιν (but σε is also represented), ου, and the Doric omega (M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichoros und des Ibycus*. Zürich, 1971, p. 128).

During the last decades the number of Stesichorus' fragments has increased considerably thanks to new publications of the papyri: *Nostoi* (P.Oxy. 2360), *Syotherai* (P. Oxy. 2359), *The Sack of Troy* (P. Oxy. 2619 and P. Oxy. 2803), *Geryonais* (P. Oxy. 2617), *Eriphyle* (P. Oxy 2618), *Oedipodie* (P. Lille 76) and papyrus Scholia to melic poets, partly dealing with Stesichorus (PMG 193 and PMG 217)²⁶.

²⁶ Metrical interpretation of the new fragments has been dealt with in many publications, including R. Merkelbach, 'Zwei metrische Beiträge,' *Maia*, 15 (1963), p. 165–167 (concerning *Nostoi*); R. Führer, 'Zur metrischen Struktur von Stesichoros' Συοθήραι,' *Hermes* 97 (1969), p. 115–116 (here also about *Geryonais*); M. L. West, 'Stesichorus Redivivus,' *ZPE* 4 (1969), p. 135–149; R. Führer, 'Zum «Stesichorus redivivus»,²⁶ *ZPE* 5 (1970), p. 11–16 (both articles deal mostly with the metrics of *The Sack of Troy*, but not exclusively); D. L. Page, 'Stesichorus: P. Oxy. 2735 fr. 1, 2619 fr. 1,' *PCPhS* 15 (1969), p. 69–74; D.L. Page, 'Stesichorus: the «Sack of Troy» and the «Wooden horse» (P. Oxy. 2619 and 2803),' *PCPhS* 20 (1973), p. 47–65, E. Tsisibakou-Vasalos, 'The meter of Lille Stesichorus,' *GRBS* 28 (1987), p. 401–431; two works resume results of metrical research: M. W. Haslam, 'Stesichoran Metre,' *QUCC* 17 (1974), p. 7–57, and C. M. J. Sicking, *Griechische Verslehre*. Munich, 1993, p. 151–152.

Interpretation of the new fragments (mostly represented in D.L. Page, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*. Oxford, 1974 and *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Volumen I: Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus. Post D.L. Page edidit M. Davies. Oxonii, 1991.) is discussed in many articles, see: W. Peek, 'Die Nostoi bei Stesichoros,' *Philologus* 102 (1958), p. 169–177; B. Snell, 'Stesichoros' Συοθήραι,' *Hermes* 85 (1957), p. 249–251; T.B.L. Webster, 'Stesichoros' Geryoneis,' *Agon* 1–2 (1968), p. 1–9; M.L. West, 'Further Light on Stesichorus' Iliu Persis,' *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 262–264; R. Führer, 'Zu P.Oxy. 2803 (Stesichoros),' *ZPE* 7 (1971), p.265–266; M.L. West, 'Stesichorus' Horse,' *ZPE* 48 (1982) 86, F. Barmann, 'Zur Geryoneis des Stesichoros und Pindars Herakles-Dithyrambos,' *ZPE* 31 (1978), p. 33–35; N.N. Kazansky 'Nachalo poemy Stesichora «Razrushenie Troi»' (The beginning of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*), *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 2 (1976), p. 101; (in Russian; see also review in German: F. Tinnefeld, «Referat über zwei russische Aufsätze», *ZPE*, 38 (1980), p. 65–66); R. Führer, 'Review of D.L. Page, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*. Oxford, 1974,' *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 229 (1977), p. 1–44. Very important are also reviews concerning the publications of papyri. I indicate here only those which deal with the new fragments of *The Sack of Troy*: P.Oxy. 2619 was reviewed by J. Irigoin, *REG* 81 (1968), p. 244–246; Ll. W. Daly, *AJPh* 90 (1968), p. 237–240; B. Snell, *Gnomon* 40 (1968), p. 116–123; J. Mertens, *BO* 25 (1968), p. 339–341; Cl. Preaux, *Chronique d'Egypte* 42 (1967), p. 402–406. P.Oxy. 2803 was reviewed by W. Luppe, *Gnomon* 45 (1973), p. 321–330.

The importance of the newly found texts consists not only in the quantity of the new material; for the first time we have texts that are directly dependent on the Alexandrian tradition. As a result they reflect more adequately Stesichorus' dialect²⁷. For the first time – and the importance of this fact cannot be exaggerated – we have a more accurate grasp of Stesichorus' metrics.

Yet these new fragments do not represent exact texts of Stesichorus' original poems either. This is also true for the poem in question, *Iliou Persis*. The original text was written in one of the archaic Greek scripts, wherefrom a transliteration was made into Ionic, which became common for most parts of Greece from the fourth century B.C. The transliterated text may conceal not only a different phonetic system, but sometimes a misinterpreted text, or even wrongly divided words. The original text seems to have been written in the archaic Sicilian script, but the dialectal or alphabetic differences were unlikely to appear in the text due to the various places in which the text was originally performed. Archaic Sicilian texts (not very different from those from other parts of Greece) are known well enough²⁸ and they are quite helpful for the interpretation of some of Stesichorus' forms. Wilamowitz demonstrated that Alexandrian editors strove to restore the original sound of texts written in dialects²⁹.

Summing up, we are to examine a text composed by Stesichorus at the age of his maturity and performed in one of the Greek states (later I will argue that presumably the *Iliou Persis* was performed in Sicily). This text was written in a local alphabet. From this roll copies were made, including a transliteration into the Ionic alphabet. We do not know much about this transliteration; it was either done by the Alexandrians, or they had copies already transliterated. We do know that the most prominent Alexandrian grammarians worked on Stesichorus' texts, for example, Aristonicus (his name appears in the margin of P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 1 col.1). It seems likely that all of the fragments on the papyrus bear traces of Alexandrian criticism.

²⁷ For Pindar's text it is especially noted in the A. Hoffmann and A. Debrunner, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. Göttingen, 1953, p. 103: «wenn also Pindar AMEC oder EMEN schrieb, wie will man da entscheiden, ob er ἄμμες (episch) oder ἄμμες (dorisch), ἔμμεν (episch) oder ἔμμεν (dorisch) gemeint hat?»

²⁸ L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. London, 1961, p. 245–247.

²⁹ U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker*. Berlin, 1906.

There are some songs, which are not suited to choral performance. Yet it will not be true to say that a song created for a chorus cannot be sung by one singer, by a single voice. Choral song always and everywhere is part of folklore, and every culture uses this genre. We find mentions of choral performance in Homer. Choral songs are represented on the vase from Agia Triada. This point is quite obvious and does not require any commentary.

In Greece choral lyric became one of the most important literary genres. This is a rare phenomenon typologically unparalleled³⁰ in other cultures. Literary choral lyric begins with Alcman (according to tradition his ἀκμή was in the 630s B.C.). In Greece the genre of choral lyric became a literary genre at that particular period, presumably because, «men of Stesichorus' profession were needed everywhere as colonies multiplied and rites and ceremonies proliferated»³¹.

Then there is Xanthus, of whom only his name survives, and after him come Stesichorus and Ibycus, both preserved only in fragments. The most famous and later canonized period in the development of choral lyric is represented by Pindar and Bacchylides. An important role in the development of choral lyric was played by the choral parts of Greek drama³².

In order to describe the development of choral lyric we can admittedly start from folklore. It should be emphasized, however, that there is an essential difference between Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Pindar, and the Greek tragedy, on the one hand, and traditional folksongs on the other. This difference is manifest in the subject matter chosen for the songs, in their musical accompaniment, and also in their metrics. The difference is most easily seen when we examine metrical patterns and compare some ancient Greek choral folksongs with literary texts.

It seems that it is not necessary to use the evidence of Homer in the search for the beginning of choral lyric in Mycenaean Greece³³. Some very

³⁰ Eg. the text of Handel's Oratory is not considered in Europe to be a particular kind of literature.

³¹ A.P. Burnett, «Jocasta in the West: The Lille Stesichorus», *Classical Antiquity*, 7 (1988), p. 142 and n. 122.

³² John Herington, *Poetry into Drama. Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition*. Berkeley – Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1985.

³³ I use the word *literature* here to distinguish folklore from work not only composed under the influence of literacy, but in some significant points more advanced in comparison with traditional narrative. It does not mean that epic or lyric texts could not be composed orally. Rather, it indicates here the complexity and elaborateness of narrative.

From this point of view we may posit for the Mycenaean times only 'literacy' and folklore, 'traditional epic,' but not 'literature». It is possible that not only clay tablets were used as writing material, as has recently been argued by J.-P. Olivier (J.-P. Olivier, 'Des extraits de contrats de vente d'esclaves dans les tablettes de Knossos,' *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek presented to John Chadwick*. Salamanca, 1987, p. 479–498). Some themes of epic poetry can be restored using Mycenaean wall-painting. The role of literacy in the emergence of Homeric verse is still a matter of controversy: the idea of oral tradition was put forward by M. Parry (M. Parry, *The making of Homeric verse*. Oxford, 1971), versus literacy as a necessary precondition for

special Homeric forms and words cited in the book by K. Trümper³⁴ may have originated from some sort of sacral poetry, but from the point of view of literary genres we should admit that «the history of literature always represents the history of its making. It would be a mistake to think that the emergence of literature represents a process which ended in a prehistoric period and which we are able to understand only through the use of ethnographic materials concerning contemporary peoples, living traditionally in complete cultural isolation»³⁵. Choral lyric sometimes is seen as an offspring of a long and steady tradition, which had not experienced much change throughout its history. Linguistic research yields stimulating data, but we will not go into the details and disagreements about the particular dialect on which Greek choral lyrics are based³⁶.

composing such a long and sophisticated poem (the last attempt was by B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origins of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991). In both attempts at reconstructing the Mycenaean origins we find either literacy, or folklore, and never literature.

³⁴ K. Trümper, *Vergleich des Mykenischen mit der Sprache der Chorlyrik*, Bern – Frankfurt a.Main – New York, 1986

³⁵ М. И. Стеблин-Каменский, «Заметки о становлении литературы (к истории художественного вымысла)», in *Проблемы Сравнительной Филологии*. Сборник статей к 70-летию В. М. Жирмунского. Москва-Ленинград, 1964, с. 401–407.

³⁶ The beginnings of choral lyric represent, as does the making of Homeric verse, an arena of heated discussions. In recent decades, an idea of independent and isolated development of the genre in Greek literature has been proposed. There exists a point of view describing Stesichorus as a figure occupying a place apart in Greek literature, and belonging exclusively to a Sicilian tradition, which developed in isolation from the rest of Greece. This view denies all possible relations between Sicily and Greece: «in certo modo era Stesicoro la voce stessa del popolo di Sicilia» (A. Rostagni, 'Autonomia e suoigimento della literatura greca di Sicilia,' *Kokalos* 3 (1957), p. 9). C. Gallavotti argued for a local Sicilian origin of Stesichorean metrics looking for parallels to his new and very elaborated metrics in some Sicilian epitaphs (C. Gallavotti, 'L'iscrizione arcaica di Sicino e la metrica Stesicorea,' *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 25 (1977), p. 75–86). Such views are mostly based on the unusual and very innovative treatment by Stesichorus of subject matter in his poems (his use of local tales, cf. M. Davies, «Stesichorus' *Gerioneis* and its Folk-Tale Origins», *CA* 38 (1988), p. 277–290), and on facts that had been specially collected by ancient grammarians who overlooked all that was traditional in his treatment of myth, so that from their testimony Stesichorus appears to us as a poet notable for his innovations. The new papyri fragments demonstrate his innovative manner, too, but at the same time they also exhibit very traditional ways of developing subject matter. It would be better to admit both, traditional exposition and innovation. Researchers, who are inclined to stress only Stesichorus' individuality and uniqueness, tend to regard traditional details in his poems as a chance coincidence (A. Garzya, «La poesia greca nella Magna Grecia», *Le Parole e le Idee*, 10 (1968), p. 242). The most crucial example is represented by the fragment of Stesichorus' *Nostoi*, which appears to be greatly influenced by Homer' *Odyssey* 15, p. 113–119 (cf. W. Burkert, «The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.: Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros», *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World. Colloquium Sponsored by the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Symposium Sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Malibu, California, 1987, p. 51: «*Nostoi* 209 PMG reproduces almost word for word a crucial scene from the *Odyssey*. Stesichorus evidently knew exactly the Homeric text that we read. Stesichorus has thus become the clearest *terminus ante quem* for the text of Homer as we know it'). This

We shall limit ourselves to the enumeration (using M. Nöthiger's dissertation³⁷) of the essential trends in the development of the language of choral lyric genre from Alcman to Bacchylides:

1. The conjunction εἰ «if» in the fragments of Alcman, Stesichorus and Ibycus appears only in the Doric form αἰ; Simonides has the Ionic εἰ;

point of view has been opposed as these verses seem to be post-Aristarchean and do not allow a direct comparison (see: S. Reece, «Homeric Influences in Stesichorus' Nostoi», *BASP* 25 (1988), p. 1–8). F. Maltomini («Due note Stesicoree», *SCO* 34 (1984), p. 67–70) compared the same fragment to the *Il.* 22, p. 99–130.

In 1967 C. Pavese published an article in which he distinguishes between a Northern linguistic tradition, i.e. language of choral lyric, and a Southern one, i.e. the language of epic poetry (C. Pavese, 'La lingua della poesia corale come lingua d'una tradizione poetica settentrionale', *Glotta* 45 (1967), p. 164–185). He makes an assumption that choral lyric as a genre with its own language had existed already in Mycenaean Greece. C. Pavese's arguments are not based exclusively on language data. The metrics of the new Stesichorus fragments with a high percentage of dactylic cola made him formulate a paradoxical conclusion that the beginning of Greek lyric was dominated by dactylic meters (p. 183). Thus the perception of Stesichorus in antiquity is utterly neglected, and Alcman's papyri are neglected, too: in Alcman, the dactylic verses occur mostly in epic passages. A very careful and accurate survey of lexical relationship between choral lyric and the Mycenaean dialect is now available in C. Trümpy, *Vergleich des Mykenischen mit der Sprache der Chorlyrik*, Bern- Frankfurt a.Main-New York, 1986.

N. S. Grinbaum compares Pindar's language with that of the inscriptions of Thessaly, Attica, and Egypt. As a result (Н. С. Гринбаум, *Язык древнегреческой хоровой лирики. Пиндар*. Кишинев, 1973, с. 12), Grinbaum comes to the conclusion that in morphology «the coincidence of particularities common to Homeric and the Lesbian dialect is the basis of the dialect of choral lyric, and finds the most frequent parallels in Thessaly and in Lesbos» (p. 178) From the point of view of phonetics «the difference between Mycenaean and Pindaric consists in some elements of Aeolic, and partly Dorian dialects in Pindar, instead of Arcado-Cyprian particularities characteristic to Mycenaean» (p. 157). Sharing the common understanding of choral lyric as an extremely old genre, and its development as independent from epic poetry, N.S. Grinbaum concludes that the language of choral lyric goes back to the same source which may be termed the «literary language of the Mycenaean, or pre-Mycenaean (sic!) period which was reflected in both epic and lyric traditions». (Op.cit., p.10). In his latest monograph N.S. Grinbaum has slightly modified his opinion and finds «an Aeolean-Protoionian koiné, where Protoionic appears as an essential part» (N.S. Grinbaum, *The language of the Old Greek Choral Lyric (Alcman, Stesichorus, Simonides, Bacchylides)*. Tbilisi, 1986, p. 117 (in Russian), although, at the same time, he remarks that 'this does not mean that there are no Dorian dialectal elements in choral lyric' (p. 160). My conception differs from Grinbaum's in one very essential point: I see the evolvement of the language of choral lyric as included within the general process of Panhellenic cultural development, where choral lyric as a literary genre first appears.

Mycenaean exerted its influence upon different dialects, not only on the language of literary texts, but also of official documents, e.g. Doric. In choral lyric various aspects including metrics and music underwent numerous changes. Epic poetry is more traditional, and dactylic verse is not as variable as choral lyric. For this reason epic contains textual and cultural remnants going back to the (pre)Mycenaean period. By contrast choral lyric is more innovative, and less likely to preserve old linguistic particularities.

³⁷ M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichoros und des Ibykus*. Diss. Zürich, 1971.

Bacchylides has αἰ twice and εἰ 17 times; Pindar uses αἰ once and εἰ – 87 times³⁸.

2. The ending of Dat. pl. -εσσι, which is commonly assumed as Aeolean going back to the stem *-es/-os +si*, occurs in Alcman only twice in the dactylic lines, which makes one suppose epic influence³⁹. Simonides and Bacchylides use the ending -εσσι without any relation to the meter, and Pindar created two artificial forms, unattested and quite impossible in the epic tradition: ἐλεγχέεσσι and μεγαλοκευθέεσσι⁴⁰.

3. In the use of the conjunction ὅτε/ ὅκα Alcman prefers the form ὅκα (five to one), and Pindar prefers ὅτε (140 to three).

³⁸ Nöthiger's statistics are accurate enough, but sometimes newly found texts and newly joined fragments produces changes in numbers, e.g. his calculation of the endings of Gen.sg. of o-roots (-οιο : -ου = 1:3) is on the whole correct, though joining of fragments gave us two more examples of the ending -ου.

³⁹ Cf. A. Hoffmann and A. Debrunner, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. Göttingen, 1953, S. 94.

⁴⁰ Both with doubled suffix **-es-es-si*.

4. The preposition μετά in choral lyrics is represented only since Simonides. Earlier choral poets, including Stesichorus, use only πεδά. In Mycenaean we find both: me-ta-qe pe-i /meta k^ve spheis/ and pe-da⁴¹.

5. Simonides was the first to use -α- to mark the reflex of a contraction -α+ε-. Alcman, Stesichorus and Ibycus know only -η- as the reflex of the contraction in this case.

We can see a very strong tendency here: language forms marked for a specific dialect occur mostly in the early stages of the development of the choral lyrics, and in later periods more neutral and common forms are employed. This conclusion is consistent with an old observation made on the basis of the comparative study of choral lyrics that traits of a living language appear only in Alcman, with σιοί instead of θεοί – as was the case in Laconian⁴². In the fragments of Stesichorus we find at least three dialect forms which came from the living dialect: πέποσχα (PMG 261), which also occurs in another Sicilian poet, Epicharmus⁴³, and two dialect forms of the verb «to be»: εἶν (P. Oxy. 2617 fr. 4, col. 1,7)⁴⁴ and εἶμειν (P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 13, 4). We do not find genuinely dialectal forms of that type in Pindar and Bacchylides. We can agree or disagree with A. Meillet⁴⁵, who noted that «Doric» poetry did not exist at all, but Aeolic and Ionic poetry did. For no poet who composed in Doric was Doric his native dialect. Usually we find forms with the long -ā instead of the Ionic η, but it is not obligatory: the traces of digamma (preserved in Doric) in Stesichorus are found mostly in words and lines borrowed from epic poetry.

If we compare the change of dialect features with the geographical expansion of the genre⁴⁶ from the purely Laconian audience of Alcman (cf. the Laconian traits in his work) to the mixed audience which Stesichorus had in Sicily (and during his trips it grew ever more mixed), or even with the Panhellenic audiences at the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games

⁴¹ In pe-da wa-tu *peda wastu* «to the town», cf. pe-da-i-je-[ro KN Fh 2013, possibly *peda hieron*, see M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Second edition by J. Chadwick, Cambridge, 1973.

⁴² C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*. Chicago, 1955, p. 15.

⁴³ This was investigated in detail in dissertations of the XIX century: E. Mucke, *De dialectis Stesichori, Ibyci, aliorumque poetarum choricorum cum Pindarica comparatis*. Lipsiae, 1879; R. Holsten, *De Stesichori et Ibyci dialecto et copia verborum*. Gryphiswaldiae, 1884.

⁴⁴ F. Maltomini, «εἶν in Stesichoro e Solone», *SCO* 33 (1983), p. 336.

⁴⁵ A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*. 7-ème éd. Paris, 1965, p. 208–215.

⁴⁶ Another aspect of the same idea was pointed out by W. Burkert («The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.: Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros», *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World. Colloquium Sponsored by the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Symposium Sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Malibu, California, 1987, p. 51): «There is one feature of Stesichorean poetry that we find in Alcman and Ibycus as in Pindar and Bacchylides: there is no over reference to a specific place, person, or audience, no Hagesichora in Sparta, Polykrates at Samos, or Hieron at Syracuse».

which Pindar celebrated⁴⁷, this trend can be understood as a gradual loss of the special Doric traits. From this point of view, as Gregory Nagy put it, «The essence of Stesichorean lyric poetry is not that a given local version, as ordinarily formalized in the song of the chorus, has won out over the Panhellenic version, as formalized in the poetry of Homer. Rather it may be described as a local version in the process of making a bid for Panhellenic status»⁴⁸.

In this respect the characteristics of the language as given in the Byzantine excerpts are quite noteworthy: Pindar's poems represent the «common» dialect; Stesichorus, Ibycus and Alcman are seen as poets of the Doric dialect⁴⁹.

At the same time the language of the genre preserved many peculiarities without change, and not only in phonetics⁵⁰. There are at least two cases of word usage which are quite unusual beyond choral lyrics: only in choral lyrics does Athena have the epithet *σεμνά* (Stes. P.Oxy. 2619, fr. 15 b; Bacch. 13, 195; Soph. *OC* 1090; Eurip. *IT* 1492) and only in choral lyrics is the epithet *ἄγνός* applied to a deity: Stes. P.Oxy. 2619, fr. 18 *γαίδοχος ἄγνός* (Poseidon) and Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 653 *ἄγνός Ζεός*. Apparently there is a need for a special dictionary of choral lyric which would include not only Greek lyric poets, but lyric parts of tragedy as well, because both reflect the same tradition stemming from lyric poets.

Ionic forms in the language of choral lyrics may be understood as direct epic influence (M. Nöthiger, who especially worked on this question, noted that choral lyric does not know Ionic forms other than those represented in epic poetry). As for Aeolic forms, they may have three explanations: 1) we may suspect epic influence in this case, too; 2) we may expect an influence of the Lesbian Aeolic poetry; 3) a direct influence from an Aeolian dialect cannot be entirely excluded. It seems incorrect to explain all these cases as epic influence. Aeolic forms occur in the Doric dialect of Corcyra⁵¹, a *polis* which used Doric variety. For our purposes it is sufficient to note a special Aeolic stratum in the language of choral lyric, with different possible ways of penetrating into the language of the choral lyric.⁵²

⁴⁷ Victors at the Panhellenic games were from different parts of Greece. The custom of commissioning odes from the most famous poets for performances in the athlete's native state did make it easier for a the poet to compose odes in a more general dialect rather than in specific regional dialects.

⁴⁸ G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer. The Lyric Possession of the Epic Past*, Baltimore – London, 1990, p. 422.

⁴⁹ H. Stephan, *De Herodiani Technici dialectologia*. Diss. Argentorati, 1889, p. 106-126.

⁵⁰ That is a common place, cf. $\bar{\alpha}$ instead of η etc. See M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichoros...* S. 125.

⁵¹ Ed. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*. Bd. I. München, 1953 (1934), S. 110.

⁵² Including some direct influence during Sappho's visit to Sicily. This hypothesis is based on PMGF τ TA20 (Suda). This idea was put forward by B. Bascouls who wrote a book concerning the polemic in verses between Sappho and Stesichorus (B. Bascouls, *La chaste Sappho de Lesbos et Stésichore*. Algère, 1913). The abundance of conjectures and unnecessary emendations make the book useless.

The epic influence upon choral lyric was investigated by Manu Leumann⁵³ and C. Santini, who saw a considerable epic layer in the newly found papyri⁵⁴.

The problem of epic influence on choral lyric is closely related to the definition of Stesichorus as the «most Homeric» of the poets. Linguistic analysis does not confirm this opinion: Stesichorus only marks the start in the increase of epic elements in choral lyric⁵⁵. The «Homericity» of Stesichorus in antiquity was based not only on language forms. From the point of view of linguistics there are indeed some indications of Stesichorus' «Homericity», e.g. in the fragments of Stesichorus fifty-three compounds are found; among them, thirty-two are known from Homer, one from Hesiod, while twenty are not represented before Stesichorus. In the fragments of Ibycus there are half as many Homeric composita, and the number of compound nouns is comparable to that in Stesichorus – forty-six⁵⁶.

Something must be said here about the development of metrical structure in choral lyric. An important step in the evolution of metrics as we have already mentioned is the famous Stesichorean *triad*⁵⁷ (a unity including strophe, antistrophe, and epode). At present, now that many new papyrus fragments have been published, we can try to place Stesichorus' poems in the order of their metrical evolution as compared with the poems of Alkman and Ibycus.

⁵³ M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*. Basel, 1950. S. 19.

⁵⁴ C. Santini, 'Omerismi in Stesichoro,' *Giornale italiano di filologia e di istruzione classica*, 22, N 3 (1970), p. 71–76. This question was elaborated on the basis of P. Lille, where Homeric influence appears more prominently than in other poems, cf. A. D. Maingon, «Form and content in the Lille Stesichorus», *QUCC* 60 (1989), p. 31–56, A.D. Maingon, *Stesichorus and the Epic Tradition*, Diss., Univ of Brit. Columbia, 1978, Summary *DA* 39 1979; E. Tsibakou-Vasalos, «Two Homeric Formulae in the P. Lille Poem, θεοὶ θέσαν and ἀναξ ἑκάτερος Ἀπόλλων», *Glotta* 44 (1986), p. 165–184, who maintains that Stesichorus did know the Homeric epic. Cf. also F. Maltomini, «Due note Stesicoree», *SCO* 34 (1984), p. 67–70, and G. Vagnone, «Aspetti formulari in Stesichoro, Pap.Lille 76 abc; il desiderio di morte» *QUCC* 41 (1982), p. 35–42.

⁵⁵ M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichoros...* S. 129.

⁵⁶ M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichoros...* S. 188.

⁵⁷ Another explanation of *triad* as just three verses by Stesichorus see in M. Davies, The paroemiographer on τὰ τρία τοῦ Στησίχορου, *JHS* 102 (1982), p. 206–210.

Our calculations are based on the lines of the papyri; only one exception is made: variant of the *epitrite* – – ∪ – – which has been calculated as a separate unit⁵⁸. The papyrus lines are not always metrically justified⁵⁹, and the figures in the table below are in some respects inexact, but for our aims this level of accuracy is sufficient: when we compare the metrics of Stesichorus to the metrics of later poets, we can see that the majority of dactylo-epitrite verses occur in the poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides⁶⁰. A majority of lines composed in dactylic meter is characteristic of Stesichorus and Ibycus; after them a return to the epitrite as the original lyric meter is shown:

Poet, <i>poem</i>	Dactylic	Epitrite	– – ∪ – –
Stesichorus, <i>Oedipodie</i>	68%	20%	10%
Stesichorus, <i>Eriphyla</i>	≅ 85%	0%	≅15%
Stesichorus, <i>Nostoi</i>	≅ 89%	0%	≅11%
Stesichorus, <i>Oresteia</i>	≅ 92%	0%	≅8%
Stesichorus, <i>The Sack of Troy</i>	92%	0%	8%
Stesichorus, <i>Geryonais</i>	100%	0%	0%
Ibycus, PMG 282	100%	0%	0%

Behind the changes as shown by metrics lies the evolution of musical accompaniment. We have to postulate a special manner of musical innovation introduced in the archaic period by Greek poets. For choral lyric we do not have special and explicit indications in the ancient tradition, but we do have some indirect ones (the triad as a metrical and musical unity; in the middle of the fifth century B.C. Stesichorean songs seemed to be too archaic – presumably not only because of the words but because of the manner of singing). Some indications can be found within Stesichorean poetry, which makes use of the melody⁶¹ of the verse.

For Indo-European verse, comprising several independent traditions, we may postulate consonantal alliteration as an essential principle of verse-making⁶². Proto-Germanic alliterative verse is widely known and it is not

⁵⁸ This unit has been analyzed by B. Gentili, «Molossus + bacchius in the new Stesichorus fragment», *GRBS* 20 (1979), p. 127–131. M. Haslam («The Versification of the New Stesichorus (P. Lille 76abc)», *GRBS* 19 (1978), p. 37) noted that «this intense plonking coda has an unmistakable air of finality about it».

⁵⁹ See C. M. J. Sicking, *Griechische Verslehre*. München, 1993, p. 151–152.

⁶⁰ See *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. Pars II / Post Brunonem Snell ed. M. Maehler. Lipsiae, 1975, p. 162 sq.

⁶¹ I wonder why the melody of the verse is consistently neglected in the analysis of Greek literature, and why the attempts made at the end of the nineteenth century (cf. W. Wackernagel, *Poetik, Rhetorik und Stilistik*. 3. Aufl. Hgg. von L. Sieber, Halle, 1906, p. 578–585) are not developed in computer-assisted research.

⁶² T. V. Gamkrelidze and Vyach. Vs. Ivanov, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (in Russian: Т. В. Гамкрелидзе, Вяч. Вс. Иванов, *Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы*. Т. 2. Тбилиси, 1985, с. 837 сл.).

necessary to adduce examples⁶³. Comparable principles can be seen in the Celtic, Anatolian, and Italic traditions.

We cite only Hittite and Italic ones, as less known. A Hittite example from KUB XXX, 24, Vs. II, 1–4:

kunnawašši wellu(n)
D^DIštanuš ara iian hark
nu-war-ašši-ššan šarrizzi
hanari le k^wiški

«And this meadow, O sun-god, have rightfully
ordained for him!

Let none sequester it from him or contest it!»⁶⁴

This archaic text, part of a ritual, is organized on the basis of consonant alliteration

kunnawašši wellu(n) // 2 D^DIštanuš ara iian hark
nu-war-ašši-ššan šarrizzi // 4 hanari le k^wiški

The repetition of sounds proceeds throughout the entire text, sometimes as a direct repetition of sounds (*mnawa* : *nuwa*; *san* & *sar* : *stan* & *sar*), sometimes as an inverse repetition (*iian hark* : *hanari*).

Alliteration in the earliest Roman tradition is also well-known, cf. the famous verse of Ennius (fr. 109)⁶⁵:

O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti.

Presumably less known are alliterations in Umbrian, cf. the invocation of the god Grabovius in the Eugubian Tablets (VI a 33)⁶⁶:

*Di Grabouie, tio esu bue.
peracri pihacclu
ocreper fisiu totaper Iouvina
erer nomneper,
erar nomneper,
di Grabouie tio subocau.*

⁶³ Cf. W. Wackernagel, *Poetik, Rhetorik und Stilistik*. 3. Aufl. Hgg. von L. Sieber, Halle, 1906 p. 578–585 with parallels from the Latin poetry. Common Germanic alliteration is discussed in W.P. Lehmann, *The Development of Germanic Verse From*, Austin, 1956. For the Old English alliteration see: W. P. Lehmann, *Alliteration of Old Saxon Poetry*, Oslo, 1953 and W. P. Lehmann, *Alliteration of the Beowulf*, Austin, 1958.

⁶⁴ Translation by J. Puhvel (J. Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, Baltimore, 1989, p. 139). On the metrical structure see Vyach. Vs. Ivanov (Вяч. Вс. Иванов, 'Происхождение древнегреческих эпических формул и метрических схем текстов,' in Структура текста. Москва, 1980, с. 74.

⁶⁵ See: O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford, 1985, fr. 104 (109).

⁶⁶ A. Ernout, *Le dialecte ombrien*. Paris, 1961.

‘Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iuguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke»⁶⁷.

Here, an amazing ring-sound composition is represented (*Di Grabouie, tio esu bue* and *di Grabouie tio subocau; peracri* and *nomneper*; with the repetition of *per* in the central part of the prayer).

The Greek poetic tradition is different from this kind of consonantal alliteration and repetition of sounds. Vowels seem to take the dominant role in Greek poetry. Sometimes this is explained in relation to the history of the Greek language, by the loss of intervocalic *s, *y, and *w, or even by common changes in Greek phonetics, mostly in the consonantism. This point of view is not convincing, since it can be easily shown that the correlation between language changes and change in the sound pattern of verse is not a direct one. In the middle of the eighteenth century rules of syllabo-tonic versification were established in Russian replacing the purely syllabic verse borrowed in the sixteenth century from Polish. It represented another borrowing, this time from German versification, and at the same time the sound organization of verse was changed from a vocalic to a consonantal one, cf. A. Kantemir’s УМе неразУМный, пЛЮд недОЛгой наУки in syllabic versification and M. Lomonosov’s ode ДЕРзайте НЫне обоДРЕННЫ with a consonantal alliteration. We know that no decisive changes in the Russian language occurred at this time, but it was a time of theoretical research in different fields, including rhetoric, stylistics, and music. It seems to me that for Greek too it would be preferable to look for the background of the changes in sound organization not only in the history of language, but in melody and in the musical theory⁶⁸ of archaic Greece.

In comparing the role of vowels in hexametric poetry from Homer to Hesiod, I have got the impression that Hesiod had a stronger sound organization than Homer. I am not presenting my preliminary calculations here since they are based on a few hundred verses only, while what we really need here is a thorough computer search. But some examples can be adduced from archaic Greek poetry without complete calculations, e.g. in Theognis we often find a grammatical rhyme:

πολιοῦ	-	ἠπιάλου
πετρέων	-	ἠλιβάτων
δύναται	-	δέδεται
χαλεπήσ	-	πενίης

⁶⁷ Translation by W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*, (= Philological Monographs published by APA, n XVIII) 1959, p. 246.

⁶⁸ M. L. West, «Stesichorus», *CQ* 21 (1971), p. 310 mentions special relations between music and metrics. More explicitly A.P. Burnett («Jocasta in the West: The Lille Stesichorus», *Classical Antiquity*, 7 (1988), p.134) said that «the best hypothesis would seem to be that Stesichorus was a poet-composer who developed new combinations».

It is easy to see that these rhymes, which occur within ten verses (Theogn. 173–182), are based mostly on vowels.

Comparable verses are to be found in Stesichorus, with the same kind of sound organization:

PMG 212 τοιάδε χρῆ Χαρίτων
δαμώματα καλλικόμων
ἕμνείν Φρύγιον
μέλος ἔξευρόν-
τας ἄβρῶς
ἦρος ἐπερχομένου.

Choral lyric is more traditional and sometimes more conservative than elegy. Consonantal alliteration so dense that we cannot find a comparable example in elegy seems to appear in Alcman (PMG I, 36):

ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις.

Alongside this consonantal alliteration we find in Alcman a very distinct vocalic one, where not just vowels, but accentuated vowels are also used⁶⁹, and thus we can observe the intonation going up at the end of the following verses with the same meter:

PMG I,43 φαίνην. ἐμὲ δ' οὐτ' ἐπαινῆν
PMG I,53 Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ
PMG I,79 Ἀγησιχόρα παρ' αὐτεῖ
PMG I,81 θωστή]ριά τ' ἄμ' ἐπαινεῖ

More representative from this point of view is Alcman's hexametric line PMG 107:

Πολλαλέγων ὄνυμ' ἀνδρί, // γυναικί δὲ Πασιχάρηα

in which the sequence of vowels before the caesura (/u/ – /a/ – /i/) reappears after the caesura as well. But this example is not so typical as it was presumably cited because of its well-organized sounds. The same may be said of Stesichorus PMG 212. More compelling are those papyri of Stesichorus in which sound organization is closer to Homer than to Alcman. Of course this kind of investigation cannot but produce very rough results since a proper method for analyzing melody has not yet been sufficiently worked out. It should be noted that not only modern interpretators are engaged in this kind of research. The ancient Greeks themselves had the same feeling for euphonic pattern in their poetry. Crates of Mallos, whose summary is preserved in the Philodemus papyri, noted that good sound should determine the choice of word and that the place of tone within the word is important (cf. P. Herc. fr. 15b + P. Herc. 460 fr.16 coniunxit R. Janko). This notion was not peculiar to Crates: it repeatedly appears in Greek antiquity; some mentions, including *On*

⁶⁹ Cf. E. Wahlström, *Accentual Responion in Greek Strophic Poetry*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 47 (1970), p. 5–22.

Composition by Dionysius of Halicarnasus, show its importance for the interpretation of verse in ancient Greece⁷⁰.

Let us now consider a better known and investigated part of Stesichorean poetics – the subject matter of his poems. Here the evolution of his poetics is clear: before Stesichorus we do not know of any lyric poet (with, perhaps, the exception of Saccadas⁷¹) who filled the narrative with epic-like details. By this I mean such features as the length of a poem; Stesichorus' *Oresteia* was arranged by the Alexandrians in two books, which means that it was impossible for it to be contained in one roll. There is no indication that any other Greek lyric poet composed poems of such length.

Alcman often tells a myth, but he tells it briefly, more often just mentioning a mythological subject, rather than unfolding it in an epic narrative.

Quite a different method is used by Stesichorus. Telling a myth is the aim of his narrative and he tells it slowly and with many epic details. Take, for example, the verses of the Lille Papyrus with the *Oedipodia*, in which verses 201–230 (line numbers are marked in the margin of papyrus) represent a speech of Eteokles' and Polyneikos' mother⁷² who asked her sons to find a way to divide their inheritance; afterwards the sons draw straws, and then Teiresias speaks (vv. 256–291), and Polyneikos goes to Argos. We may compare this slow-moving action to the twenty opening lines of Alcman's *Partheneion*, which include ten different mythological subjects, each of them merely illustrating the main idea⁷³ of the *Partheneion*.

It should be stressed that after Stesichorus choral lyric does not exhibit this slow-going narrative at all: Ibycus, Pindar and Bacchylides as a rule choose only details of a myth and present them in a few verses – to tell a whole myth is not their aim. We must note that as was the case in the development of metrics here, too, we find a return to the initial stage of choral lyric.

This coincidence seems to be rather far-reaching. Stesichorus introduces direct speech into lyric poetry using the formula ὦδε δέ νιν π[οτέειπε and ὡς φάτο. At the same time metrics also changes: the first line of a strophe or epode where this formula appeared was inevitably a dactylic meter, and we actually find it in all Stesichorus poems. I am convinced that the triad with its strong strophic organization, including two different metrical units (one repeated twice as strophe and antistrophe, and another one – epode –

⁷⁰ R. Janko, «Crates of Mallos in Philodemus' *On Poems*» *APA Annual Meeting, Abstracts*. 125 (1993), p. 231. On Dionysius of Halicarnassus see also G. M. Messing, 'Sound symbolism in Greek and Some Modern Reverberations,' *Arethusa*, 4 (1971), p. 5–24.

⁷¹ Before Stesichorus the Sack of Troy presumably was the subject matter of a poem by Saccadas from Argos: see Th. Bergk (Th. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici Graeci*.⁴ Vol. III. Lipsiae, 1884, p. 203–204). D. Page does not mention Bergk's emendation, cf. PMG 199. Whether Stesichorus was the first or the second lyric poet to write about the Sack of Troy, he had predecessors among poets of the epic cycle.

⁷² PMGFr 222(b).

⁷³ From the point of view of typology, *Partheneion* represents a folk tradition, known in Slavic as «величание», an honoring with songs (and rites) of a person, quite common in many cultures.

concluding each triad) is also due to the epic subject matter of the poems and to the epic elements in his poems. A long text had to be divided into large units in order to be *sung* with the necessary variation. The metrics of the poems include the repetition not only of short and long syllables, but of pauses as well. Usually pauses in metrical structures coincide with an intonational pause, reflecting the syntactical structure of the phrase.

It is evident that in Stesichorus' poems dactylic and epitritic cola are not equally distributed within a strophe (antistrophe, epode): dactylic cola appear at the beginning of a metrical unit, and epitritic cola at the end of it.

In narrating an epic theme Stesichorus naturally used the epic narrative style, the most elaborated in the Greek literature of the period. His verse, though, and particularly the metrical and intonational division within a phrase, depends not only on the Homeric tradition, but on choral lyric as well. What sets him apart from Homer is the accumulation of epithets, metaphors and circumstantial objects in Stesichorus' fragments. One example will illustrate this peculiarity: In P.Oxy. 2619, fr. 1, Col. ii, 6

πρὸς ναὸν ἔς ἀκρόπολιν| σπεύδοντες [
 Τρῶες πολέες τε' ἐπικ[ου]ροι
 ἔλθετε ...

In Homer πρὸς ναόν and ἔς ἀκρόπολιν are found separately, nowhere occurring in close proximity. This kind of accumulation makes it even more difficult to understand the difficult syntax of choral lyrics.

The syntax of choral lyrics is very different from other genres of Greek poetry. As far as I know there is only one special study which focuses on this matter. It was written by Professor Olga M. Freidenberg in the 1930s during the period of N. Marr's «New Linguistics». The examples she adduced in her article «Melica and Iambica»⁷⁴ are much more interesting than her explanation of the development of human thought (she called the choral parts of tragedy pre-logical). Yet she managed to show very clearly the contrast between the complicated syntax of choral lyrics and the more straightforward syntax of iambic poetry (and we may add, of epic poetry, too).

This difference from epic syntax can be seen in Stesichorus' texts as well. It seems that the syntactic level of the text was little, if at all, affected by his intention to combine the poetics of choral poetry and epic into a single whole.⁷⁵ One may suppose that this was Stesichorus' original contribution, never again repeated in the history of choral poetry. After Stesichorus, poets

⁷⁴ О. М. Фрейдэнберг, Миф и литература в древности. М., 1978, с. 366–400.

⁷⁵ Homeric meter and syntax cover only part of Stesichorus fragments. Our knowledge about Stesichorus' syntax is insufficient because of the quality of the preserved papyrus fragments. I would hesitate to admit Haslam's formulation 'all this is just as in Homer' (M. Haslam, «The Versification of the New Stesichorus (P. Lille 76abc)», *GRBS* 19 (1978), p. 45), e.g. we will see some differences between the syntax of Stesichorus in P. Oxy. 2619 fr.15+ and Homeric.

pursued the traditional poetics of choral lyric⁷⁶ with the renewed rigour elaborating the «lyric» heritage⁷⁷.

In analyzing Stesichorus' fragments we must keep in mind these two different sources and distinguish two different traditions integrated in his poetry. Stesichorus used both, and their combination resulted in a novel poetic device which he skilfully introduced into his work. This conclusion is supported by Quintilian when he says (Quint., *Inst. Or.*, 10.1.62) «*Stesichorum ... epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem*». (PMGrF, TB 12).

However, Stesichorus' innovations in the sphere of the poetics of choral lyric did not produce a new genre. It seems that Th. Zielinski's law concerning the problem of time in epic worked not only for epic poetry, but for lyric poetry as well. Lyric poetry is characterized by still another law: lyric exhibits only a linear development of narrative with sometimes symmetrical but always chronologically linear development of subject matter where episodes follow one another in a direct succession. The inversion occurring in the composition of the *Odyssey* is unknown⁷⁸ in lyric poetry.

To sum up, it seems that epic influence is the strongest in Stesichorus' work as compared to other Greek lyric poets, and this influence is caused by the abundance of epic themes he elaborated. Epic influence is present both in his metrics, and in his poetics. Stesichorus was the first lyric poet to employ epic-style direct speech with introductory and summing-up formulas, both of which closely reflect the epic tradition.

⁷⁶ On the structure of epinikion see Michael Gasparov (М. Л. Гаспаров, 'Строение эпиникия,' in *Поэтика древнегреческой литературы*, Москва, 1981, с. 306); on the paeon see L. Käppel, *Der Paeon*, Tübingen, 1992.

⁷⁷ «The category of genre remains more substantial and essential than the category of authorship» as S. S. Averintsev has said (С. С. Аверинцев, 'Древнегреческая поэтика и мировая литература,' in *Поэтика древнегреческой литературы*, Москва, 1981, с. 4).

⁷⁸ Charles Segal (*Pindar's Mythmaking. The Fourth Pythian Ode*, Princeton, 1986, p. 72) makes a straightforward comparison of the structure of *Pythian* 4 with that of *The Odyssey*. В. К. Braswell (*A commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar*, Berlin-NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1988, p. 24) remarks that «Medea's speech (vv. 13-56) is in fact the second part of the Argonautic Myth, although it is told first. Clearly Pindar has placed this part of the Argonautic story first because of its importance for the claim of the Battiads to kingship in Cyrene». The coincidence is remarkable, but in *Pythian* 4 chronological shift is due to Medea who recalls past events and it does not occur, as in *The Odyssey*, in the author's narrative. For the list of possible interpretations, see in A. Hurst, «Temps du récit chez Pindare (Pyth. 4) et Bacchylide (11)», *Museum Helveticum* 40 (1983), p. 154–168, esp. p. 165.

We may assume that the different dialectal forms used by Stesichorus, whether they came from a living dialect or from other poetic traditions, each had its own specific stylistic function. No clear examples show it, except that the forms of living dialects occur mostly in direct speech. The comparison of choral lyric and dialectal inscriptions is an exciting field of research, which reveals boundaries between the known and the unknown. However the evidence provided by dialectal inscriptions, including Mycenaean, remains rather unhelpful for the practical purpose of restoring Stesichorus' poem. The search into Homeric and lyric traditions could be more fruitful for our reconstruction. At the same time there is possibility of finding in Stesichorus' text something unique that may date to the Sicilian tradition.

**«FINDING THE *ILLIOU PERSIS*»:
STESICHORUS IN POPYRI AND AT BOVILLAE
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SCROLL P. OXY. 2619**

In this chapter an attempt is made to reconstruct the *Iliou Persis* in its entirety, that is, to assign all of the surviving fragments to their place in the poem. Before the publication of the new papyri our knowledge of the poem was limited to nine words; the new papyri have increased the number of words considerably. After their publication many articles have appeared, but they concern primarily the interpretation of the individual lines of the text. Only a few of them deal with the reconstruction of the fragments, and there is only one paper that I know of whose author ventures a reconstruction of the volume (scroll) to which the fragments published as P. Oxy. 2619 belong. I mean R. Führer¹, who has attempted to reconstruct six of the fragments and locate them in the papyrus roll (S 105 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18, S 88 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1, col. i-ii, S 116 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 28, S 102 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 13, S 107 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 19, S 94 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 5). This reconstruction was based on the assumption that each column of the original scroll of P. Oxy. 2619 contained the same number of lines². M. L. West was not convinced by this simple solution of the problem: «The writing varies in size, and the figure was probably not constant»³. In a short paper published in 1981 and based on the same assumption, I offered my own reconstruction of the scroll⁴.

My idea of the reconstruction of the scroll is based on the conventional metrical interpretation of the fragments. M. L. West proposed his interpretation in the article «Stesichorus Redivivus»⁵ containing the analysis of P. Oxy. 2619 col. I, which has twenty-seven lines. In the course of his work he established that both the strophe and the antistrophe comprised eight verses each, and that the third part – the epode – was ten verses long. West compared the results with P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 16 and fr. 15b + 30 + 31, and proposed a reconstruction of the whole metrical scheme. The results were verified by the analysis of fragments 14, 19 and 32. In the following volume of *ZPE*, R. Führer⁶ suggested his own corrections, and West agreed with some of them⁷.

¹R. Führer, Review of *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*, ed. Denys Page. Oxford Univ. Press, 1974 (in *GGA* 229 (1977), p. 18).

²Ibid, p. 17.

³M. L. West, «Stesichorus Redivivus», *ZPE* 4 (1969), p. 137.

⁴*Rekonstrukcija poemy Stesichora «Razrusheniye Troi»*. in: *Struktura Teksta. Tezisy simpoziuma*. Moscow, 1981, p. 124–125.

⁵M. L. West, «Stesichorus redivivus», *ZPE*, 4 (1969), p. 135–6.

⁶R. Führer, «Zum “Stesichorus Redivivus»», *ZPE* 5 (1970), p. 14.

⁷M. L. West, «Further light on Stesichorus’ *Iliou Persis*», *ZPE*, 7 (1971), p. 262.

Under discussion were three points concerning the meter of the strophe: the resolution of the long to two shorts in the first foot of line 2, the quantity of the last syllable in the sixth verse and the cretic in line 3⁸. We can say that fairly general agreement has been achieved on this matter, although Malcolm Davies in the most recent edition of Greek melic poetry avoids the discussion⁹. D. Page disagreed with West's and Führer's reconstruction¹⁰, but his objections were mostly based on evidence provided by fragments of other Stesichorean poems. The present reconstruction is in agreement with that of West and Führer and partly uses the metrical interpretation by M. Haslam and C. J. M. Sicking¹¹. For practical considerations the arrangement of lines follows that of the papyrus:

ΣΤΡ.	1	- -̄ - - - - - - - /	1	dddd/
	2	(-̄) - - - - //	2	x dd //
	3	- -̄ - - - ; -̄ - - - //	3	d x s -//
	4	- - - - - ; - - - - - - - - /	4	ddxdd /
	5	- - - - - /	5	xdd /
	6	- - - - - - - - /	6	xddxs /
	7	- - - - - / -̄ - - - - -	7	ddxdd /
	8	- - - - - //	8	xs- //
’ΕΠ.	1	(x) - - - - - / (-) - - - - - /	1	(x)ddxdd-
	2	- - - - - / -̄ - - - - - /	2	xddxdd
	3	- - - - - //	3	xdd-
	4	- - - - - / -̄ - - - - - //	4	ddxdd-
	5	- -̄ - - - - //	5	dd-
	6	- - - - - / (-) - - - - :	6	ddxsx
	7	- -̄ - - - - /	7	dd
	8	- - - - - ; - - [x -] - - - - //	8	xsxsxs-
	9	- - - - - //	9	xdd-
	10	- - - - - - - //	10	xdd-

⁸ This scheme was also accepted by M. Haslam «Stesichorean metre», *QUCC* 17 (1974), p. 24.

⁹ *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Volumen I: Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus. Post D. L. Page edidit M. Davies, Oxonii, 1991.

¹⁰ Page D. «Stesichorus: P. Oxy. 2735 fr. 1, 2618 fr. 1, 2619 fr. 1», *PCPhS* 15 (1969), p. 69–74.

¹¹ See N. N. Kazansky «Nachalo poemy Stesichora “Razrushenie Troi»» (The beginning of Stesichorus’ *Iliou Persis* – in Russian) // *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 2 (1976) 101; C. M. J. Sicking, *Griechische Verslehre* (München, 1993), p. 151–152. Sicking’s notation is used in our text (s - - - -; d - - - -; ss - - - -; dd - - - -).

The strophe, antistrophe, and epode (the so-called Stesichorean triad) in *Iliou Persis* contained twenty-six lines. As the metrical analysis of P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1 shows, the papyrus column had either 27 or 53 lines¹². I have carefully examined all the volumes of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, searching for all literary texts written in characters of similar size. The scrolls written with «tall» characters usually include between 15 and 30 lines per column. The scroll of Pindar's Paean (P. Oxy. 841) contains only 15 lines per column; that of Sappho, 24 to 25 lines (P. Oxy. 2291); of Archilochus, 25 lines (P. Oxy. 2508); and the anonymous author of choral songs, 26 lines or a little more (P. Oxy. 2735). The scrolls inscribed with «small» characters rarely allowed more than 40 lines per column (with the exception of Hellenica Oxyrhynchia P. Oxy. 842 and «Pindar's Life» P. Oxy. 2438, having 42 and 46 lines, respectively, in one column). It is probable, therefore, that P. Oxy 2619 fr. col. I originally contained 27, not 53, lines.

It may be questioned whether each column of the text originally had 27 lines. The reason for this is that the metrical triad (strophe, antistrophe, epode) has to be repeated every 26 or 52 lines. This means that between Col. I, 27 and Col. II, 3 only two verses were lacking, and each column contained 26 + 1 verses. In papyrus scrolls we usually find variations $\pm 1-2$ lines¹³. Thus I propose (just in order to simplify the arithmetic) to *postulate* a scroll with all the columns containing twenty-seven lines on the average. Of course, this pattern is strictly hypothetical and should of necessity differ from the real scroll, which must have contained variations – the variation in the number of lines in columns having been one of them. It is very important that on the basis of this hypothetical pattern and our calculations we can easily predict these errors. There are corrections in the fragments, and the scribe could have made either mistakes or permissible variation not only in separate words or lines (one syllable is not in its place in fr. I col. II), but also in the number of lines in each column of the text. There are two possible types of error in the reconstruction suggested here:

- 1) The twenty-seven lines of fr. P. Oxy 2619 (fragment 1) were the scribe's mistake, and so are anomalous.
- 2) The twenty-seven lines of the fragment are typical for the scroll, but in a preceding or subsequent column or columns the scribe could have made mistakes.

I think the first possibility is not very likely. In the extant papyri of lyric poetry a column longer than twenty-six lines is unusual, so it is unlikely that a column contained as many as 28 or 29 verses. On the other hand, had a column originally contained only 26 lines, the scribe would have limited each column to just one triad; this is not the case, as the extant fragments show. The second variant is rather more plausible, but in this case the consequences are predictable since the number will always be divisible by 26. The probability of such a mistake made by the scribe increases for the fragments farther removed

¹² M. L. West, «Stesichorus Redivivus», *ZPE* 4 (1969), p. 140.

¹³ Cf. e.g. G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano*, 1983, p. 14–16.

from fragment 1. In the hypothetical scroll the metrical scheme will repeat every twenty-six columns, for reasons I discuss below.

Having discussed the mistakes possible under my reconstruction, I will now try to locate fragments of P.Oxy. 2619 in this hypothetical scroll, using only formal criteria. We can divide the fragments into three groups:

1. Fragments, which contain indications of their position within the scroll (e.g. upper margin of the scroll). R. Führer has already described this group of fragments¹⁴:

S 105(a)	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18	– Col. 16 – Führer
S 88	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1	– Col 18–19
S 116	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 28	– Col. 19 – Führer ¹⁵
S 102	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 13	– Col. 26
S 106	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 17	– Col. 6
S 107	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 19	– Col. 26
S 94	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 5	– Bottom of col. 1

2. Fragments, which are sufficiently large to be located generally in the matrix in the columns of the hypothetical scroll:

S 91	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 2	– Col. 2–13
S 99	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 10	– Bottom of col. 1 or 2
S 105 (a)	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18	– Col. 5–16
S 89	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 15	– Col. 1–7
S 104	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 16	– Col 21–26
S 118	= P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 32	cannot stay in Col.13–20

3. Fragments whose position within the scroll is indeterminate.

We see that two fragments, P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 13 and P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 19, though metrically they must fill the same position within the cycle, refer to different episodes in the poem and the fibers of the papyrus indicate that they come from different parts of the roll. We may therefore conclude that the scroll originally contained at least a portion of the second cycle, and perhaps more, up to 52 columns, each including an *intercolumnium* approximately 20 cm. in width (cf. P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1). A scroll of 10 meters is not uncommon, so Stesichorus' poem may have contained approximately 1400 verses. Making an assumption that the papyrus length was 10 m, we obtain a possible number of 50 columns (27 vv/pag.) within it. Such a lengthy poem is not improbable because Stesichorus seemed to be fond of writing long poems. It is well known that the Alexandrians divided Stesichorus' «Oresteia» into two scrolls («books», cf. e.g. PMG 214). Furthermore, the papyri show signs of a very slow development of the theme (the most graphic example is P. Lille containing the «Thebais» or «Oidipodeia»). This typically epic slow narrative is also found in P. Oxy. 2619, suggesting a poem of considerable length.

¹⁴ R. Führer, *GGA* 229 (1977), p. 18.

¹⁵ R. Führer (*GGA* 229 (1977), p. 19, Anm. 189) mentioned that E. Lobel did not support this suggestion.

Besides, we don't have any evidence that there existed more than one scroll of the *Iliou Persis*.

Such are the facts and the suggestions underlying my collation of the existing fragments of the poem in table #1. Let us now turn to the scheme of my hypothetical reconstruction of P. Oxy. 2619 in greater detail.

Basing my considerations on the column, which survives intact in fragment 1, I propose a papyrus scroll consisting of columns 27 lines long¹⁶. The scribe filled each 27-line page successively. The Stesichorean verse, however, is divided into 26-verse triads, each of which has a unique pattern. The first 26-verse triad filled all but one line of the page; the second triad filled the last line of column 1, and the first 25 of column 2, and so on. This would produce a unique metrical pattern with the full cycle repeated (if the poem was long enough) only after 26 *columns*; that is, the first verse of a triad begins with the first line only in columns 1, 27, 54 etc. Within any set of 26 successive *columns*, each twenty-seven-line column is unique from the point of view of its metrics.

It follows that if we possess any fragments of the papyri which give an indication of where exactly on the original scroll they were located (e.g., fragments which obviously contain a top or bottom verse of a *page*) we can fit them into their specific position within a 26-*page* cycle. Other similar pieces can then be placed in the same cycle or, if need be, in the second cycle, should it turn out that the number of verses contained in one cycle was exceeded. Other fragments may be placed within the matrix based upon metrical clues (cf. table 1). The more columns such a fragment contains, the more precisely it may be positioned.

Before seeing whether the results will bear out the assumptions made here, it is important to realize where and how errors may appear in our reconstruction.

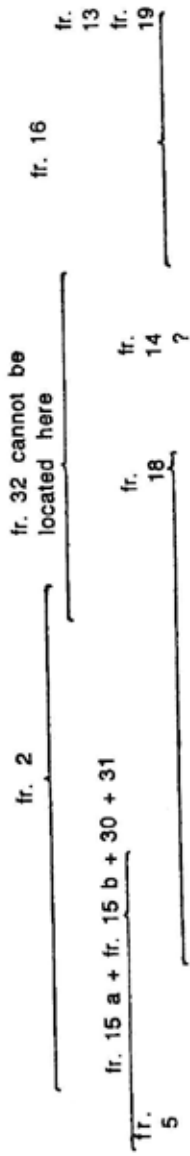
1) The extant 27-line column from P. Oxy. 2619 may be unique in comparison with the rest of the columns in the papyrus due to the scribe's breaking of the uniform arrangement of lines on each *page*.

2) Any fragment exhibiting a top or bottom line which ostensibly will fit into only one unique position within the matrix may in fact be, on simple metrical (as opposed to contextual) grounds, off by exactly one or more cycles (i.e., 26, 52 or more *columns*).

I will return to the hypothetical scroll after a review of the papyrus fragments.

¹⁶ The same kind of reconstruction is found in D. Page, «Stesichorus: The Geryoneis (P. Oxy. 2617)» *JHS* 93 (1973), p. 148. He suggests reconstructing a poem 1560 lines long, and uses for these purposes the same idea of a repeated sequence of metrical units within the column.

Table # 1



fr. 10	fr.	fr.	fr. 1
	14	17	col.
	?	?	1 & 2
1 'EP 'EP 7-10 6-10	2 'EP 'EP 7-10	3 'EP 'EP 8-10	4 'EP 'EP 8-10
5 'EP 'EP 9-10	6 'EP 'EP 9-10	7 'EP 'EP 10-10	8 'EP 'EP 10-10
9 'EP 'EP 11-10	10 'EP 'EP 11-10	11 'EP 'EP 12-10	12 'EP 'EP 12-10
13 'EP 'EP 13-10	14 'EP 'EP 14-10	15 'EP 'EP 15-10	16 'EP 'EP 16-10
17 'EP 'EP 17-10	18 'EP 'EP 18-10	19 'EP 'EP 19-10	20 'EP 'EP 20-10
21 'EP 'EP 21-10	22 'EP 'EP 22-10	23 'EP 'EP 23-10	24 'EP 'EP 24-10
25 'EP 'EP 25-10	26 'EP 'EP 26-10		

THE BEGINNING OF THE POEM *ILIOU PERSIS*
(S 89 + S 90 + PMG 200 =
P. OXY. 2619 FR. 30 + FR. 15B +15A + FR. 31 + PMG 200)¹⁷

To begin with, there is S 89 – three fragments joined by Barrett¹⁸ (P. Oxy 2619 fr.15b + 30 + 31). The following text includes reconstructions proposed by E. Lobel, Barrett, M.L. West and R. Führer. Lines 13–17 are reproduced with an approximate number of missing letters at the beginning:

S 89 1 . . .
 . . .]δρ[
 θεατυ[
 παρθεν[
 ἰμείρει[
 5 νῦν δ' α.εγ [χα]λεπῶς πα[ρὰ καλλιρούου
 δίνα[ς] Σιμόεντος ἀνὴρ [
 θ]εᾶς ἰ[ό]τατι δαεὶς σεμν[ᾶς Ἀθάνας
 μέτ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν του[
 []ος ἀντὶ μάχα[ς
 10 καὶ] φυ[λόπ]ιδος κλέο[ς].[
 εὐρυ]χόρο[ο]ν Τρο[ί]ας ἀλώσι[μον ἄμαρ
 []ν ἔθηκεν [
 []. εσσι πόνοι[
 []ραυτο[].υ[
 15 []. [] . [] . α[
 []ων[
 []. χθον[

Lines 6–8 are the clearest, and since we have general agreement concerning them, it is useful to begin here. At the end of l. 7, Barrett restored the name of Athena. This reconstruction, supported not only by the metrics of the poem, but also by the word σοφίαν in the next line, is convincing. In early Greek texts this word meant «cleverness in handicraft»: only one goddess, Athena, could give it to mortals. As A.-M. Malingrey has shown¹⁹, wherever Athena makes a gift of σοφία the word does not mean «learning» or «wisdom» but only the practical knowledge of some handicraft (*Il.* 15, 411–412; *Pind. Ol.* 7. 53–54). Based on this meaning of «handicraft», we must follow L. Lehnus²⁰ and understand the word ἀνὴρ as denoting Epeios, the builder of the Wooden

¹⁷ N. Kazansky, «The beginning of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*», *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 2 (1976), p. 100–107 (in Russian; see also review in German in *ZPE*, Bd. 38); as R. Führer wrote, the same idea to join fr. PMG 200 was the subject of his discussion with E. Lobel (published only in 1977 [*GGA* 229 (1977), p. 16]).

¹⁸ M. L. West, «Stesichorus Redivivus», *ZPE*, 4 (1969), p. 140–141.

¹⁹ A.-M. Malingrey, «*Philosophia*», *étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque*, Paris, 1961.

²⁰ L. Lehnus «Note Stesicoree», *Studi Classici e Orientali* 21 (1972), p. 54–55.

Horse²¹. Lehnus' interpretation is supported by Homer (τὸν (scil. δουράτειον ἵππον) Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ *Od.* 8. 493) and Quintus Smyrnaeus (δέδαεν δέ μιν (scil. Ἐπειόν) ἔργον Ἀθήνη *12.84*). The best interpretation of ἀνὴρ [θ]ξᾶς ἰ[ό]τατι δαεῖς σεμν[ᾶς Ἀθάνας]μέτ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν is that the man implied is Epeios. Further, we can try to interpret lines 13–15. In line 13, Lobel suggested two possible readings: «πόνοι[looks possible, though as a reading πολιοι[is more satisfactory». From the point of view of metrics, only ποιοι[is possible. Lobel deliberately marked the word «reading» in italics to distinguish it from a possible reconstruction. Attention should be paid to the rather obvious diagonal series of *lacunae* which runs all the way up to the presumed N in πόνοι[. This series of *lacunae* was caused by the distention of the papyrus, which made the right-hand side vertical stroke of the N come apart from the bottom of the diagonal stroke of the letter. Therefore we can infer that the degree of the distention is exhibited by the letter N, which fact should be taken into consideration in any reconstruction – approximately one letter space must be subtracted from all *lacunae*.

As a result these lines look as follows:

[(-) . - ∴∴∴] εσσι πόνοι[- - υυ - υυ - -

[∴∴∴∴∴] ραυτο[] υ[- υ - υυ - υυ -

15 [∴∴∴∴∴] . [] . . γα [- -

I deem it possible to accommodate here a quotation from *Iliou persis* in Athenaeus (PMG 200):

[(-) . - ∴∴∴] εσσι πόνοι[σι - υυ - υυ - -

[ῶικτιρε γὰρ αὐτὸ [ν] ὕδωρ αἰεὶ φορέοντα Διὸς

(15) [κούρα βασιλεῦσι]ν Ἀε[χαιῶν.

The word Ἀ[χαιῶν seems to come from the frequent Homeric formula βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν (cf. *Il.* 18, 36; 7,106) usually ending a verse, just as it does here in Stesichorus.

Let us now look at verses 9–12. I agree with Barrett's and West's syntactical interpretation of these lines: the subject of the narrative should obviously remain unchanged throughout all these verses. The subject is ἀνὴρ – Epeios in the adopted interpretation. The proposed join with fr. PMG 200 reinforces my argument.

At the same time their readings and the way they fill the *lacunae* seem to me very doubtful. This is their proposed reading:

.....ἀνὴρ[

.....

²¹ For a survey of mythological tradition concerning the building of the Wooden Horse see e.g. Ch. Vellay, *Les legendes du Cycle Troyen*, Monaco, 1957. Also, C. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses*, Oxford 1992.

10 [...].]ος ἀντιε μάχα[ς
καὶ] φυ[λόπ]ιδος κλέο[ς] ἀ[ρεῖθ]’ οὔνεκεν
εὐρυ]χόρο]ν Τρο[ί]ας ἀλώσι[μον] ἄμαρ ἄτερ
[λαῶ]ν ἔθηκεν.

Now for lines 9–10. There seems to be only one way to understand them: «instead of glory in the battle <...> (*adjective*) glory». I think that Epeios’ «glory» must necessarily have a definition. West’s supplement κλέο[ς] ἀ[ρεῖθ]’ οὔνεκεν seems to be unsatisfactory: at the end of the verse an adjective should be expected.

The reconstruction ἀλώσι[μον] ἄμαρ in the lines 11–12 in connection with verb ἔθηκεν does not seem likely either. We find very few examples of ἄμαρ ἔθηκεν «he fixed the day»: Ζεὺς ἦμαρ ἔθηκεν (Od. 5. 262; 12. 399; 15. 477). In Pindar’s Paean 6. 50–53 Apollo fixed the capture of Troy: ἄλωσιν ἔθηκε. In all the examples of this action, the agent is not human.

Instead of this, I propose the following:

v.11 εὐρυ]χόρο]ν Τρο[ί]ας ἀλώσι[μον] ἀκρόπολιν
αἰπά]ν ἔθηκεν

The word ἀκρόπολις appears in the poem (cf. P. Oxy. 2619, fr. 47) and falls exactly at the end of the verse. Homeric πόλιν αἰπήν (cf. Il. 13. 625) is extended by Stesichorus into ἀκρόπολιν αἰπήν in the same way as Homeric πρὸς ναόν and ἐς ἀκρόπολιν (used separately in epic poetry) appear together in Stesichorus’ πρὸς ναὸν ἐς ἀκρ[όπο]λε[ι]νε σεπεύδοντες (S 88 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr.1 col. ii). This kind of «extended formula» is a feature of Stesichorean poetics. It seems that the expression πόλιν αἰπήν associated with Troy was so familiar to Stesichorus’ audience that even *enjambement* could not make the audience misconstrue the words αἰπά]ν ἔθηκεν. The word αἰπά]ν exactly fills the lacuna at the beginning of line 12. The text may be saying that «Epeios enabled the capture of the most fortified part of Troy – its inner town».

Before we proceed to the first lines of the fragment and its interpretation as a whole, the question of the place of the fragment within the poem must be discussed. West in his article suggests that the fragment deals with Cassandra’s prophecy²². This interpretation depends most heavily on Barrett’s join of P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 30 + 15a,

 ]δο[
5 . .]αρ[.]χρυσ[
 θεὰ Τυδειδ[
 παρθενιο. [
 ἴμειρε [...]. .[

which, as West and Lobel have shown, is impossible²³.

In the opening lines of P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 30 there are no words which refer to Cassandra (West’s interpretation was based on θεὰ Τυδειδ[and παρθενιο. [, now abandoned).

²² M. L. West, «Stesichorus Redivivus», *ZPE* 4 (1969), p. 141.

²³ M. L. West, «Further light on Stesichorus’ *Iliu Persis*», *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 262.

In my view, these lines represent an hymnic invocation:

. . .]αρ[
θεὰ τὸ [
παρθεν[
ἴμειρ[ε

What we find here is a trivial phrase found in all invocations to the Muse (θεὰ is a very common word for a Muse; πάρθενε as an invocation appears in Stesichorean fragments; the Doric form of the pronoun τὸ (for σύ) is as expected; Stesichorus uses both, cf. fr. PMG 210). The fact that the Stesichorean *Iliou Persis* began with the Epeios episode is confirmed by the list of events in Proclus' *Chrestomathy*²⁴: among the events preceding the construction of the Wooden Horse we find the stealing of the Palladium, which we would not expect in the Stesichorean poem.

I venture to say that fragment S 88 = P. Oxy. 1619 fr. 15b contains the beginning of Stesichorus' poem, «The Sack of Troy». The episodes included in this poem differ little from the epic «Sack of Troy». In Proclus' *Chrestomathy* the construction of the Wooden Horse is represented as part of the «Little Iliad»²⁵.

I have been unable to confirm what follows by autopsy, but it seems possible to make a join of fr. S 88 and S 89. After this we can read two more letters in line 4: . .]αρ[.....]δο[

θεὰ τὸ [...]χρυσ[
παρθεν[...]αειδ[
ἴμειρ[ε [...]μω[

The shape of the break on the right side of fr. 15a = S 89 supports this suggestion, as do the distances between the lines. The last *omega* appears to be a little too big, but it was a custom to write a slightly larger letter at the end of a line, cf. fr. 32, l. 10. This join has yet to be verified, and so the words χρυσ[(cf. χρυσόπτερε πάρθενε PMG 193) and]αειδ[ε cannot be used yet as an argument for the interpretation of the fragment as an invocation. The suggestion concerning the invocation may be verified using line 5 of the fragment:

5 νῦν δ' α.εῖν [χα]λεπῶς πα[ρὰ κτλ.

In his commentary on the fragment Lobel wrote: «εῖν [χα]λεπῶς seems likely»²⁶. Barrett and West proposed completing the verse: νῦν δ' ἄσεν [χα]λεπῶς πα[ρὰ κτλ. adducing a verse from the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 10. 68): ἄσάν μ' ἔταιροί τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσιν τε ὕπνοις as a parallel.

At the same time, they mentioned two other possible readings: ἄιεν and ἄγεν. From the point of view of grammar, the proposed reconstruction is extremely improbable, since the verb ἀάω, when active, is only used transitively, with an accusative direct object; but there is no space for this direct

²⁴ Bethe E. *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*. Bd. II., Leipzig; Berlin, 1922, p. 253.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Part XXXII. Edited by E. Lobel with contributions by M. L. West and E. G. Turner, London, 1967, p. 44.

object in the papyrus. The reconstruction proposed by Lobel is possible, but one can see on the photograph that the lacuna is probably too small for the three large letters – *chi*, *alpha* and half of a *lambda*. If we abandon the metrical variant – – – υυ – and follow instead the normal meter – υυ – υυ – we could posit a text commonly occurring in invocations: νῦν δ' ἄγε, . [..].ε, πῶς πα[ρὰ κτλ.

The adverb πῶς with ἄγε occurs in Homer, cf. e.g. ἀλλ' ἄγε, πῶς μέμονας πόλεμον καταπαύσομεν ἀνδρῶν (*Il.* 7. 36). The same construction occurs also in the Lille Stesichorus fragments:

ἀλλ' ἄγε παῖδες ἐμοῖς μύθοις, φίλα [- υυ -]

ταῖδε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγὼν τέλος προφα[ίνω·

(fr. 222b, 218 = P. Lille 76 A i, 218).

There are therefore two possibilities here:

1) νῦν δ' ἄγε, . [verb in imperat.].ε, πῶς πα[ρὰ κτλ., or

2) νῦν δ' ἄγε, . [noun in vocative].ε, πῶς πα[ρὰ κτλ.

We should bear in mind the following consideration: the *lacuna* itself is rather small, of only a few letters' width. It must conform to the metrical pattern appropriate to its position within the triad, viz., [- υυ]. Further, there are traces of the first and last letter within the *lacuna*. The .[can be read as μ[, or ν[(Lobel, ad loc.).

Since ἀειδε and other verbs in the sense of «speaking» or «singing» are so common in this phrase, I have examined all the possible imperative forms. But only μέλπε can be restored, which is too large for the lacuna²⁷, so the idea of a noun in the vocative seems definitely more probable.

This is the most we can make of the internal evidence of the papyrus. There is also other documentation concerning the beginning of the poem. In 1971 Lobel published a number of fragments from the same poem (P. Oxy. 2803) the first of which contains on its verso the author's name and the title of the poem:

ΣΤΗ[ΣΙΧΟΡΟΥ

ΙΠΠ[

That the fragments published as 2619 and 2803 are part of the same poem²⁸ is confirmed by the identity of the metrics as well as the join of P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18 + P. Oxy 2803 (= S 105) made with masterly skill by West and Führer simultaneously.

The two titles of the poem may be explained in two ways:

1) ΙΠΠ[represents the original Stesichorean title, in contra-distinction to the presumably later title 'Ιλίου πέρις, which occurs on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, in Pausanias, and in Harpocration's Lexicon.

2) ΙΠΠ[is the title of one of the poem's parts only.

I believe there exists another solution, based on the chronology of the evidence. The earlier evidence occurs in the first century B.C.: the *Tabula*

²⁷ D. Obbink suggests πέμπε as in Emped. B 3,5. On the special relationship to Empedokles, see C. Gallavotti, «Da Stesichoro ad Empedocle», *Kokalos* 26–27 (1980–81), p. 413–33.

²⁸ See the articles by M. L. West and R. Führer in the seventh volume of *ZPE*.

Iliaca Capitolina, which according to A. Sadurska dates to the last quarter of the first century B.C.²⁹, and (probably) P. Oxy. 2803. On one of the panels of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* we find an inscription δούρηος ἵππος, but it refers only to the picture of the Wooden Horse, from which the Greek warriors are going out. It is hard to believe that this very specific inscription might be the name of the whole poem. The scroll of P. Oxy. 2803 represents a critical edition by Alexandrian scholars. In the margins we find the scholia with references to Aristonicus; in many cases the length of syllables and accentuation are marked. This scroll, I believe, also described the sacrifice of Polyxene on the tomb of Achilles (cf. P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 3 and 5 = S 135 and 137). In my opinion, this is another hint that the Stesichorean *Iliou Persis* began with the building of the Wooden Horse.

The two titles of the poem, I would suggest, were both used in the first century B.C., and I think it possible that sometimes they were combined into one:

Στη[σιχόρου] Ἰλίου Πέρσις ἢ
ἵππος Τρωϊκός.

The title on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* cannot be read without difficulties: Ἰλίου Πέρσις / κατὰ Στησίχορον / Τρωϊκός. The adjective Τρωϊκός lacks a noun. We can make a guess that one line in the inscription is lost and read it as: Ἰλίου Πέρσις / κατὰ Στησίχορον / [ἢ ἵππος] / Τρωϊκός³⁰.

Summing up our argumentation, we can say that fr. S 88 may have been the beginning of the Stesichorean poem. The first strophe contains an invocation to the Muse: θεά, πάρθενε, τύ; the beginning of the antistrophe marks the transition from the invocation to the topic: νῦν δ' ἄγε, . [..].ε, πῶς ... ἀνὴρ ... [εὐρυ]χόρ[ο]ν Τροϊάσ ἀλώσι[μον ἀκρόπολιν αἰπὰ]ν ἔθηκεν. We find the same kind of opposition in another Stesichorean invocation: Μοῖσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀποπαυσάμενα μετ' ἔμοῦ κλείοισα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαΐτας καὶ θαλίης μακάρων (PMG 210), which also contains the reference to the previous poem – a special literary device very different from Homeric ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα or Μῆνιν ἄειδε with a simple indication of the theme. This kind of reference to previous poems reflects not only expansion and accumulation of epic formulas, but is also an expression of the continuity of the author's own work – an intermediate step in the development from anonymous rhapsodic songs to the σφραγίς marking authorship. This is different in some points from the stereotyped endings of the Homeric hymns, which refer to the beginning of the *next* hymn.

The proposed interpretation of this fragment is based upon the hypothesis that the poem started with the Epeios episode. Here, too, we find a deviation from the epic tradition, where Epeios was a minor character, not very important for the main theme and often comic with his traits of δειλία. This

²⁹ A. Sadurska, *Les tables Iliques*, Warszawa, 1964, p. 19. This date was accepted by all the reviewers, see: E. Bielefeld, *Gnomon*, 37 (1965), p. 430–431; L. Manino, *RFIC* 95 (1967), p. 223–225.

³⁰ M. L. West in his article «Stesichorus' Horse» (*ZPE* 48 (1982), p. 86) made a remark about the existence of another poem with the title containing ἢ ἵππος, by Phormos Syracusios (Suda, s.v. Φόρμος Συρακούσιος).

tradition is partly present in the Stesichorean *Iliou Persis* as well (Epeios carrying water to the kings). At the same time Epeios appears as a central character who contributed greatly to the fall of Troy. I cannot determine what kind of audience Stesichorus' poem was intended for; I would suggest, however, that the performance was planned for Sicily³¹, perhaps Himera, part of whose population originated from Euboea (see below for the interpretation of Aeneas' departure for Italy, especially the representation of Aeneas' flight on an Euboean archaic coin *ca.* 525 B.C.³² in a Berlin collection, rather than for a Spartan audience³³).

The suggested interpretation of fragment S 88 + is as follows:

ΣΤΡ ¹	Desunt vv. 1–4	
	v.5	. .]αρ[.....]δο[θεὰ τυ[...]χρυσ[παρθεν[...]αιιδ[ἴμειρε [..]μω[
ΑΝΤ ¹ (5)	v.10	νῦν δ' ἄγε, . [..].ε, πῶς πα[ρὰ καλλιρόους δίνα[ς] Σιμόεντος ἀνὴρ [θ]εᾶς ἰ[ό]τατι δαεῖς σεμν[ᾶς Ἄθάνας μέτ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν του[- - υ - υ - υ - υ]ος ἀντὶ μάχα[ς
	(10)	καὶ] φυ[λόπ]ιδος κλέο[ς] α[- - υ
	v.15	εὐρυ]χόρ[ο]ν Τρο[ί]ας ἀλώσι[μον ἀκρόπολιν αἰπὰ]ν ἔθηκεν. [
ἘΠ ¹		[] εσσι πόντοι[σι - υ - -- υ - - [ῶικτιρε γα]ρ αὐτὸ [νε] ὕ[δωρ αἰεὶ φορέοντα Διὸς (15) [κούρα βασιλεῦσι]ν Ἀ[χαιῶν. v.20 - υ - υ]ων[- - υ - υ - - - υ - υ] .χθον[

5–12 P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 30 et fr. 15b coniunxit Barrett (vide West, *ZPE* 4 (1969) p. 140); P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 15a et fr. 15b coniunxit Kazansky 5]αρ[: West,]δρ[: Lobel 6–7 cf. χρυσόπτερε παρθένε PMG 193, 11 8 ι[etiam γ vel π legi possunt: Lobel 9 . [: μ vel ν: Lobel; -εν χαλεπῶς: Lobel; ἄσεν: Barrett et West; καλλιρόου: Barrett, καλλιρόους: West 11 θ]εᾶς: Lobel; ἰ[ό]τατι δαεῖς σεμν[ᾶς Ἄθάνας: Barrett; σεμνή Ἄθήνη: cf. Bacchyl. 13, 195; Soph. *O. C.* 1090 (lyr.); Eurip. *I.T.* 1492 (lyr.) 12 μέτ[ρα] et τοῦ[: Barrett 13 ἀντιε μάχα[ς: Barrett 14–16 P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 31 et fr. 15b coniunxit Barrett

³¹ See especially the articles in J. de La Genière (ed.) *Épéios et Philoctète en Italie. Données archéologiques et traditions légendaires*, Naples, 1991, which contains a good deal of evidence for the reception of Epeios in Sicily.

³² R. Texier, «A propos de deux représentations archaïques de la fuite d'Énée», *RA* 14, (1939), p. 16.

³³ Along similar lines M. Bowra argued that *Helen* and *Oresteia* were written and performed in Sparta (M. Bowra, «Stesichorus in the Peloponnese» *CQ* 28 (1934), p. 115–119).

(vide West, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 140); 14 ἀρεῖθ' οὐνεκεν: Barrett 15 Τρωας Π; εὐρυ]χόρ[ο]ν Τρο[ί]ας: Barrett 15–16 supplevit Kazansky; ἀλώσι[μον] ἄμαρ ἄτερ λαῶ]ν ἔθηκεν: West; ἀλώσι[μον] ἄστν: Tscherniak 17 b.: α, λ vel δ: Lobel; πόνοι[σι] vel πολιοι[σι]: Lobel; potius legendum πόνοι[σι] metri causa; [ἐν πάν]τεσσι πόνοι[σι] παρίστα: cf. *Il.* 10. 279, *Od.* 13. 301, Plut. *de Genio Socr.* 580 C 10 18–19 P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 15b et fr. PMG 200 coniunxit Barrett necnon et Kazansky (*Vestnik Leningradskogo Univ.*, 1976 = *ZPE* 38 (1980) p. 65–66); contra Lobel; 18 ἀεὶ: codd., αἰεὶ: Bergk 19 Ἀ[χαιῶν]: Kazansky ἀ[γαυοῖς]: Barrett; Ἀ[θάνα]: Führer

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE POEM

Having reconstructed the initial lines of the poem, we can now try to place them in our hypothetical scroll.³⁴ In the pattern presented above, P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 15b (= S 89) can be located within one of the first ten columns of a cycle but more probably in the first seven columns. It seems reasonable to start numbering from the seventh column as sometimes *scribes* did not use the top lines of the first column of text. However, one should keep in mind that between fr. 15b + (= S 89) and Fr.1 col. i (= S 88) there could have been six more columns (156 verses).

P. Oxy 2619 fr.1 starts at the earliest at verse 297 after the beginning of the fragment 15 +. This is based on the assumption that the poem began with a complete strophe at the top of a column. This would correspond to the beginning of col. 7. Metrical considerations would technically allow fr. 15 + (= S 89) to be at some point between columns 1 and 10. In the first column we find traces of a speech:

]ντι βίαι τε καὶ αἰχμᾶι
]πεποιθότες· ἀλλ' ἄγε δῆ.

The ending]ντι shows the Doric present. As we know, the historical present appears later and only in prose; we therefore cannot attribute the present form to third-person narrative³⁵. The dialogue also exhibits the exhortation ἀλλ' ἄγε δῆ.

In the next column, after Barrett joined P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1 and fr. 47, lines 6–11 can be read as follows:

³⁴ In all that follows, the line numbering of each fragment *per se* is to be distinguished from the consecutive verse numbering of the poem as a whole. Each verse in a fragment is given a unique line number depending upon where we decide it must fit within the metrical matrix in the hypothetical scroll.

³⁵ E. Schwyzer, A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*. Bd. II. München, 1953 (1939). S. 271–273.

πρὸς ναὸν ἔσε ἀκρ[όπο]λ[ι]ν σπεύδοντες [
 Τρῶες πολέεςε τ' ἐπίκ[ου]ροι
 ἔλθετε μη[δ]ὲ λόγο[ις] π]ειθώμεθ' ὅπως π[
 τὸν δὲ κατ[αίσιον] ἵππον -
 (10) ἄγγον ἄ[γαλ]μα [θε]ῶς - αὐτεῖ καταί-
 [σχ]ύνωμε[ν] ἀ]εικ[ε]λί]ως

These lines also belong to a speech³⁶. Here we have some indications of who the speaker is. Apparently it is one of the Trojans as in the previous column:]ντι βίαι τε καὶ αἰχμᾶι «They (approach) with force and lance», probably referring to Greeks storming the city. We may interpret these lines as a dialogue of two Trojans, one announcing the arrival of the Greek troops and the other giving an order to fight Greeks in the center of the city and overturn the Wooden Horse.

As our calculation shows, this fragment can be located somewhere after verse 281. The dialogue of the Trojans takes twenty-seven lines of col. I and fourteen lines of col. II. Such a long dialogue (forty-one verse) is quite noteworthy.

The narrative in this fragment finds very good parallels in P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18, a fact stressed by Lobel³⁷. As stated above, fr. 18 may be located within the range of columns 5–16 of our hypothetical scroll. However, E. Lobel, D. Page³⁸, and M. Davies³⁹ agreed that fr. 18 preserves the beginning of a column at the top. In our hypothetical scroll, this fragment still precedes P. Oxy. 2619 fr. I and represents verses 244 sqq. of the poem⁴⁰.

³⁶ A. A. Dunohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture*. American Philological Association, 1988 (=American classical Studies 15), p. 24 n. 57 proposes to interpret ἄγγον ἄ[γαλ]μα [θε]ῶς - αὐτεῖ καταί-

[σχ]ύνωμε[ν] ἀ]εικ[ε]λί]ως

as related to the rape of Cassandra episode, and translates «the pure *agalma* ... here we dishonor shamefully». It seems better to interpret ἔλθετε, μη[δ]ὲ λόγο[ις] π]ειθώμεθ' ὅπως ... καταί[σχ]ύνωμε[ν] ἀ]εικ[ε]λί]ως as an imperative, prohibitive μή ... π]ειθώμεθα and a subordinate final sentence with ὅπως. The translation then would run as follows: «go, Trojans, and you, many allies to the shrine within the (Trojan) acropolis and let us not listen to these words, for we have to dishonor there shamefully the Wooden Horse, this *holy agalma* belonging to the goddess». The word *Holy* has to be understood as «forbidden and placed out of bounds to human beings» within E. Benvenist's opposition between ἅγιος and ἱερός as containing «positive and negative aspects of the notion: on the one hand what is animated by a sacred power and force, on the other hand, what is forbidden and placed out of bounds to human beings» (see E. Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society*. Trans. by E. Palmer, London, 1973, p. 469 = Vol. 2, p. 207 of French edition).

³⁷ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Part XXXII. Ed. by E. Lobel, London, 1967.

³⁸ D. Page, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*, Oxford, 1974, p. 31, fr. S 105(a).

³⁹ Both D. Page and M. Davies note that the upper part of the fragment preserves the top margin of the roll; at the same time they are ready to follow M. L. West in reconstructing one more verse in the margins of the roll.

⁴⁰ Note that if West is correct in his suggestion that another verse ought to be considered in the margin of fr. 18 the fragment would fall at verse 217.

West and Führer joined P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18 and P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 11 (= S 105)⁴¹:

P. Oxy. 2619 fr.18 = (S 133)

] [
] [
ANT	- ω - ω -]τ'	ἐπικουρ[
	- - ω - ω]	Δαρ[
δαν-		]	λιποίσα [
			]	ματακα[
(5)]	[
			γαι]	αόχου[
			]	πίτνη πυ.[
]	[] [] [
EΠ		Δα]ναοὶ μεμ[αό]τες	ἐκθόρον ἴ[π]πε[ου		
(10)	- Ἐ]ννοσίδας[	γαιάοχος	ἀγνὸς ε[
	- - ω - γ]	ἀρ Ἀπόλλ[ων			
	- ω - ἰ]	ἀρὰν οὐδ']	Ἀ[ρταμῖς οὐδ' Ἀφροδίτα [
]	[] [
	- ω - ω]	Τερῶν, π[ρὶ]ν ἧ	Ζεὺς [
(15)		]	ατων [
		]	ου Τρώας.[]
			]	εμουσ[
			]	ιν ἄμερσ[
			]	... τοσα.[
ΣΤΡ			...		

The most recent editor, M. Davies, agrees with this join (S 105), though D. Page disagreed, noting that «]τες and ἴ[π]πε[ου monendum est, π[ό]λιν in 14 (π[...]νη) legi non posse»⁴². I agree with Page and Führer: the photograph of the papyrus shows clearly]νη, but according to Page the size of the *lacuna* is too large. A. I. Zajcev proposed to restore π[ρὶ]ν ἧ; this suggestion seems very likely to me and finds a good parallel in the Homeric use of πρίν without the particle γέ (*Il.* 2.355 etc.).

The reading of line 6 does not contradict the papyrus, where we find, as Lobel wrote, «faint traces comparable with the start of the left-hand and lower end of the right-hand strokes of α» – obviously, the reading is uncertain.

The problem of the joining of these two fragments does not appear to be very crucial for the present discussion. There are sufficient indications in P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 18 that the words]τ' ἐπικουρ[οι (in Homer, used in reference to the Trojans), Δάρ[δανοι and a list of deities helping the Trojans presumably

⁴¹ M. L. West, «Further light on Stesichorus' *Iliu Persis*» *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 263; R. Führer, «Zu P. Oxy. 2803 (Stesichoros)» *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 266.

⁴² D. Page, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*, Oxford 1974, p. 32, fr. S105(b); D. Page, "Stesichorus: the "Sack of Troy" and the "Wooden horse" (P. Oxy. 2619 and 2803)", *PCPhS* 18 (1973), p. 47–65.

reflect the speech of a Trojan, as was the case in col. i of fragment 1 (= S 88). I agree with the joining of the fragments made by West and Führer and interpret this fragment as the beginning of the speech of a Trojan warrior addressed to the Trojan leader, in which the narrative is interspersed with lamentations and takes up a good hundred verses. The relationship between fr.18 and fr. 1 was noted by Lobel in the very first edition.

Now we must review another join made by M. Haslam,⁴³ who compared lines 5–6 of P. Oxy. 2803:

] ᾱ
]ατα[]κασ-

and lines 3–4 of P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18:]λιποῖσα [
]ματακα[

and proposed to restore the following text:

]λιποῖσα [
]ματακασ[

It seems rather unlikely since the sequence of the letters is not indicative: the *alpha* at the end of a verse is very common, and many verses end with it. In P. Oxy. 2803 the reading]ατα[ι]κασ is also possible. In this case (specifically noted by Lobel), the join is impossible. It can also be proved by the collocation of P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18 (= S 105). The number of the line, A =100, written in the margin of P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 1 col ii, indicates that the verses of P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18 (= S.105) represent verses 63 sqq. of the poem. I believe that the first triad contained nothing but the description of the building of the Wooden Horse because it is not in the nature of Stesichorean poetry that a mere thirty verse piece should furnish room for the departure of the Greek troops from Troy, the Trojan festival, and the entry of the Wooden Horse into the city. Both Athenaeus and Eustathius tell that Stesichorus mentioned a hundred heroes hiding inside the Wooden Horse (*PMG* 199 (Athen. XIII 610 c) καὶ ἐὰν μὲν τίς σου πύθηται τίνες ἦσαν οἱ εἰς τὸν δούρειον (δούρειον codd.) ἵππον ἐγκατακλεισθέντες, ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου ἴσως ἐρείς ὄνομα· καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Στησιχόρου, σχολῆι γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἰσακατοῦ Ἀργεῖου Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος· οὗτος γὰρ παμπόλλους τινὰς κατέλεξεν. Cf. Eustath. Od. 1698, 2: φασὶ δὲ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν (scil. τὸν δούρειον ἵππον) καταβάντας τινὲς μὲν ὦν καὶ Στησίχορος ἑκατὸν εἶναι, ἕτεροι δὲ δώδεκα.

J. C. Vürtheim, who analyzed these particular pieces of evidence, came to the conclusion that out of the hundred heroes no more than three were named⁴⁴; and Haslam's reconstruction also suggests that this entire vast description was crammed into the same second triad.

⁴³ M. Haslam, «Stesichorean metre», *QUCC* 17 (1974), p. 33–34.

⁴⁴ J. C. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie*, Leiden, 1919, p. 42.

The location of P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 1 (= S 133) depends on verse 61. There are no clues, and only the suggested restoration of the name]Κασ/[σάνδρα may contain any indication about the topic, i.e. Cassandra's prophecy.

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 13 (= S 102) can also easily be placed; its position within the metrical matrix is in the 26th column of our imaginary scroll:

	]. δ' ἐπώμοσε σεμ[ν-
]]
	]εσθ', ἐγὼν δ' αυ [
]]
(5)	]γοῦ εἴμειν [
].. [
	]...εσαγυ [
	] φάος ἀελίου [
]]
(10)	γ]ὰρ [κ]ατ' αἶσαν [
	]. [ ]..λεψ[

The first seven lines of this fragment are from an epode and contain a speech:]εσθ', ἐγὼν δ' αυ [. Line 5]γοῦ εἴμειν seems to be the remnant of an *accusativus cum infinitivo*. Line 1 could read either]δ' ἐπώμοσε σεμ[ν- or Πάλλ]αδ' ἐπώμοσε σεμ[νάν. On the basis of this verse, West proposed that the contents of this fragment should be compared to Virgil (Verg., *Aen.* II, 153):

Sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas:
«Vos aeterni ignes et non violabile vestrum
 155 *Testor numen, ait; vos, arae ensesque nefandi,*
Quos fugi, vittaeque deum, quas hostia gessi;
Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura;
Fas odisse viros et omnia ferre sub auras,
Si qua tegunt: teneor patriae non legibus ullis».

The reference to the Aeneid is not very convincing: φάος ἀελίου and *Vos aeterni ignes*, referring to the light of *stars*, and Stesichorus' γ]ὰρ [κ]ατ' αἶσαν [compared to *Fas mihi* are dubious parallels. I doubt whether lines 8–10 of this fragment belong to a speech as they begin a new triad, while new papyrus fragments that contain speeches show that the end of a direct speech most often, if not always, coincides with the end of one of the three triad's units⁴⁵. As lines 8 sq. begin a new triad, they do not necessarily contain the continuation of the speech.

The choral parts of tragedy often have descriptions of the sunrise in which the phrase φάος ἀελίοιο *vel sim.* is found (cf. Soph. *Antig.* 100–101). In epic poetry λείπειν φεάος ἀελίου is also well attested, meaning «to leave the

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1 col. II (= S 88), l.14–15.

sun-shine» i.e. «to die»⁴⁶. It is impossible to indicate the specific context to which this fragment belongs. It may represent one of the many scenes of combat, but it could also refer to the early morning in the newly-captured Troy.

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 5 and fr.10 (= S 94 and S 99) can be placed at column-end in the imaginary roll with a high degree of probability:

v. 561(?)	]αγοραε[
	]ων [
	]μενο[
	]εντεσο [
(5)	]αγερθη[
	]ελογον[
	]αστασ[
] [
	. . .	
		] . κα . [
		] . ανωιφ[
] [
		]ν 'Αχαιοι [
(5)] [
] [
	. . .	

West suggests⁴⁷ that fr. 5 belongs to the column-end, and that line 7 of the fragment was the last one. In our hypothetical roll, metrical conditions permit two locations: either vv. 560–67, or 1262–69; likewise, fr. 10 can fit at vv. 563–67, 589–93, or just as likely, an entire cycle (i.e. 702 verses, 26 columns of 27 vv. each) later.

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 2 may be located in any of the columns 2 to 13 of our hypothetical roll. The contents of this fragment cannot be unambiguously linked to any particular episode of the poem:

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 2 (= S 91)	. . .	]α . . [
] . [
		] μέγα χωσαμ[εν-
		]αι [
(5)		]ματουτ[
		]εν . [
] [
		]μοιμε . [
		]ν μεγαλ[
(10)] [
		]πρι . μ[
		]ε . πε . [.] . [

⁴⁶ Cf. M. G. Ciani, *FAOS e termini affini nella poesia Greca*, Firenze, 1974.

⁴⁷ M. L. West, «Stesichorus Redivivus» *ZPE* 4 (1969), p. 137 n. 2.

(15)]κα []
] . . αντες α[] []
 φ]θιμ[

The possible reading of the name of Priam in line 11 is hardly an argument for referring this fragment to Priam's murder. The last line may be restored as φ]θιμ[εν or as ἴφ]θιμ[. Using our hypothetical roll, we could suggest that fr. 2 belongs to one of the triads between 2 and 8 or between columns 22–33.

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 17 (= S 106) may hold the initial letters of a column. In this case it should be located in column 6 of the hypothetical roll and represent verses 675–681; or 1377–1387 if it belonged to the second cycle of 26 columns, that is, to the last part of the scroll⁴⁸:

(5) . . .
] []
]πολεμ[]
]τεμ ε[]
]τεπο []
] εαμε ε[]
] ερον[]
] ειπ[]
 . . .

The subject of the restored line 7 of P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 32 (= S 118) (ἐκ)πέ]ρσαντες ἐυκτιμεε[ν renders it highly unlikely that it should be placed near the beginning of the poem (e.g., within the first 6 triads); it seems more likely that it belongs somewhere in triads 15–32 (vv. 385–852) or in triads 41–58 (vv. 1087–1734):

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 32 (= S 118)] []
] . εφω[]
]υδε ρέα[]
] []
]μωι βαρεα. []
 (5)]
 Τ]ρεοῖας κλεεννο[]
 (ἐκ)πέ]ρσαντες ἐυκτιμεε[ν]
]
 ἀ]νθρώπους κλέο[ς]
 (10)]να. []
 . . .

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 16 could be interpreted in two different ways (both indicated by Lobel in his first edition):

⁴⁸ The line numbers are calculated on the basis of line 1 being at the head of column 17.

1. Neoptolemus is abducting Hermione, daughter of Menelaos and Helen (cf. Apollod., *Epit.* IV, 14)⁴⁹.

2. What is meant is the deity Hermione (cf. Hesych. Ἑρμιόνη· καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ ἡ Κόρη ἐν Συρακούσαις)⁵⁰.

Both interpretations are based on the verses 10–11 of the fragment:

(5)] αἶψα . . [
 ἐ]ναργές [
]ν ἐτύμως αιθ. [
 ἡ]μιονους [
]υραν πρωπε[
]. [Κ]υπρογενῆς α[
] ἀλιπόρφυρον ἀγν[.ν
]αι μὲν ἐγὼν λέγω[
]οι ἀθάνατοι [
 (10)]λον Ἑρμιόναν τε[
 ἐ]γὼν ποθέω νύκτ[
 αἰ]γελοπόδαν [
]ν ὑφαρπάγιμον [
]υρομεναν κνακα[
 15]τα
 κ]ορυφαῖσι νάπαισ[
]ων στυγερόν [
]δα παῖδα φίλον ε[
]. ο λέγω μηδ' [
 20]ω . . ρο . . πω[ι][
]οντο γένοιτ. [
 . . .

The pronoun ἐγὼν, appearing twice in these lines, shows the conflicting nature of the dialogue. Page guessed that it is Helen speaking. That seems to be the best interpretation and I think it can be corroborated by the lines from Athena's speech to Helen in Tryphiodorus' poem (Tryph. 495):

Δειλαίη, τέο μέχρῃς ἀλιθροσύναι σε φέρουσιν
καὶ πόθος ἀλλοτρίων λεχέων καὶ Κύπριδος ἄτη·
οὔπω δ' οἰκτεῖρεις πρότερον πόσιν, οὐδὲ θύγατρα
Ἑρμιόνην ποθέεις·

The lines 10–11 of the fragment]λον Ἑρμιόναν τε[and ἐ]γὼν ποθέω νύκτ[seem to be the answer to Athena's reproach, which influenced Tryphiodorus: οὐδὲ θύγατρα Ἑρμιόνην ποθέεις. The epithet of Aphrodite (cf. [Κ]υπρογενῆς α[and] ἀλιπόρφυρον ἀγν[.ν) finds a good parallel in

⁴⁹ L.I.W. Daly, Review of *Oxy. Pap.* Vol. XXXII. *AJPh* 90 (1968), p. 238.

⁵⁰ D. Page, *Stesichorus: the «Sack of Troy»*, p. 56.

Tryphiodorus' poem: Κύπριδος ἄτη. Tryphiodorus' poem here has Menelaos reproaching Helen: the πόθος ἀλλοτρίων λεχέων καὶ Κύπριδος ἄτη which (according to this version) made Helen leave her husband and never feel any regret (οὐπω δ' οἰκτεῖρεις πρότερον πόσιν), either for him or for her daughter. Helen's reply is an attempt to justify herself, apparently very detailed (Ἰν' ἐτύμως αἰθ. I), describing the events of her abduction⁵¹. Ἰλον' Ἐρμιόναν might be an epithet of Hermione. Hermione in this fragment possesses two epithets: Ἰλον' Ἐρμιόναν and αἰγελοπόδαν⁵². In restoring this epithet, I have not reviewed all of the adjectives of two terminations: it is sufficient to see fr. PMG 249, from the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (*An. Ox.*, Cramer, I, 205, II): ἀνίψαλον δὲ παῖδα ἔφη ὁ Στησίχορος. The second occurrence of the same word shows that the word παῖς was part of the Stesichorean quotation as well. This second citation occurs in a lengthy explanation of the word (*An. Ox.*, Cramer, I, 309, 16): ὡς δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἴξω ἴξαλος, ... κοινίσω κοινίσαλος, οὕτως καὶ ἴψω ἴψαλος, ἀφ' οὗ παρα Στησιχόρωι· ἀνίψαλον παῖδα, τὸν (masculinum!) ἀβλαβῆ. The word παῖς can refer to a girl as well as a boy. My suggestion finds some support in Sappho's fragments. First, there is Κύπρι καὶ Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι τὸν κασίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι]⁵³ (fr. 5, 1–3). In Sappho's First Book we see Helen together with Hermione, who is designated by the word παῖς: (fr. 16) Ἑλένα [τὸ Ἰν' ἄνδρα τὸν [πανάρι]στον καλλ[ί]ποι]σ' ἔβα'ς Τροίαν πλέοι[σα] κωῦδ[ε] παῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων πά[μ]παν] ἐμνάσθη. Here we could presumably look for a trace of mutual personal influence after Sappho's visit to Sicily (if we agree with the earlier date for Sappho's life). The idea was suggested by B. Bascouls, who attempted to prove the existence of a real-life polemic between the two poets.⁵⁴ The idea was compromised by the great number of conjectures required to support the argument. P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 16 contains some coincidences with Sappho's First Book. Aphrodite is called [Κ]υπρογενῆς in both (cf. Sapph. 22. 16); Hermione occurs in Sappho 23, 4 Ἰ' Ἐρμιόνα τεαυ[τα, παν]νυχίσι[δ]ην 23, 13. Helen is described as Ἰξάνθαι δὲ Ἑλέναι σὶ εἰσι[κ]ην (23, 5); cf. P. Oxy 2619 fr. 14 .

At the same time, as D. Obbink pointed out to me, the word παῖς used twice (or even three times in a speech) in epic generally, though not necessarily, implies male children. I cannot account for the repeated use of παῖς in my interpretation, but παῖδα δ' ἀνίψα]λον Ἐρμιόναν τε[is at least a metrically unobjectionable restoration of the beginning of the line. For the particle δέ we find a parallel in line 8:]αι μὲν ἐγὼν λέγω[.

⁵¹ If this refers to the κτήματα πολλά mentioned in the *Iliad* (13. 626), – the treasure which Paris took from Menelaos' palace along with Helen – then the mention of the mysterious ἦμιονους in the fourth line could be interpreted as a reference to the stolen possessions. Eric Csapo communicated to me that there were relief representations of mules on an Etruscan sarcophagus showing the abduction of Helen. Mules might also suggest the wedding cart.

⁵² See J. Diggle, «Notes on Greek Lyric Poets» *CR* 20 (1970), p. 5.

⁵³ *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* ed. E. Lobel et D. Page, Oxford, 1955.

⁵⁴ B. Bascouls, *La chaste Sappho de Lesbos et Stésichore*, Algèrè, 1913.

As the comparison with the text of Tryphiodorus' poem shows, the restoration of line 10 is from Helen's speech to Menelaos. The last lines, however, remain obscure and allow of no definite interpretation. The explanation of the words]δα παῖδα φίλον [suggested by D. Page⁵⁵ remains unsatisfactory, and we must bear in mind that the fragment contains a dialogue in which]δα παῖδα φίλον [can be understood as a reference to a person other than Helen (cf. e.g. αἴψα δ' ἄρ' Αἰνείαν φίλον υἷον ἼΑγχισσαο, by an anonymous author, cited by Athen. XIV, 632 e).

We also find a speech in P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 19 :

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 19 = S 107

. . . .

ἰμερτὸν πρ[
 ὦδε δέ νιν π[οτέειπε·
 .] (.)ως ἀγαπαζ[
 δ]υσώνυμος[
 (5) . . .]ωδε τεκ[ν
 ἀλλ]όχοις[.][
 ὡς φα]το, τὰν[δ'
 [] . . [

. . . .

The reconstruction of line 7 proposed by M. West⁵⁶ shows that a woman participated in the dialogue. A few words in this fragment allow us to assign it to the dialogue of Helen and Menelaos (cf. ἀγαπαζ[, δ]υσώνυμος[, ἀλλ]όχοις, τεκ[ν]). Since fragment P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 19 found its place in column 26 of our hypothetical scroll, beginning from verse 1216 (47th triad), then fr. 16 should be located before it, in columns 21–25; we cannot specify the number of the verse beginning fr. 16 (it could be 1085, 1111, 1137, 1163, or 1189) but we can decide on the interpretation of it as the episode relating the meeting of Helen and Menelaos in Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*.

Let us now consider some other evidence and briefly review the history of the interpretation of the scene of Helen's meeting with the Greeks. We have two pieces of evidence: the scene on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, where Menelaos is represented with a sword in his hand speaking to Helen, kneeling by the shrine of Aphrodite; and a mention in the scholia to Euripides' *Orestes*, 1287 (PMG 201): ἄρα εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης κάλλος βλέψαντες οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς ξίφεσιν. οἷόν τι καὶ Στησίχορος ὑπογράφει περὶ τῶν καταλείπειν αὐτὴν μελλόντων. φησὶ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφεῖναι τοὺς λίθους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Joh. Vürtheim carefully examined both pieces of evidence and came to the conclusion that their coexistence in one poem was improbable⁵⁷. Two similar scenes with the same heroine and the same motivation

⁵⁵ D. Page, *Stesichorus: the «Sack of Troy»*, p. 58.

⁵⁶ M. L. West, «Stesichorus Redivivus», p. 141.

⁵⁷ J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie*, Leiden, 1919, p. 36–37.

(Helen's beauty) for her escape would have been strange in one poem. From this it was inferred that the representation of the Stesichorean poem in the *Tabula Iliaca* is inexact. All doubts concerning the *Tabula Iliaca* will be considered in the next chapter, and now we will only mention that this scene is one of the most popular in the vase painting of archaic and classical Greece. The scholia do not mention the poem to which it refers, and its incorporation into the *Iliou Persis* is a story in itself.

The first scholar to group the Stesichorean fragments in poems, rather than according to quotations in different authors, was Joh. Suchfort. In his edition this fragment (PMG 201) is attributed to another poem – a Stesichorean «Helen»⁵⁸, in which the Sack of Troy did not feature as an independent theme, but allusions were definitely made to the episode of Helen's narrow escape from death, though in a different way. The first to place it in the *Iliou Persis* was O. F. Kleine, who believed that this fragment and another one (PMG 190) might have come from the *Iliou Persis*⁵⁹. PMG 190 certainly retells Stesichorus' *Helen*. O. Kleine's arguments were as follows: since an attempt to stone Helen to death could take place only after the sack of Troy, the evidence of Schol. Eur. Or. 1287 (PMG 190) has to be embedded in *Iliou Persis*. Th. Bergk agreed with this argument while preparing his first edition of *Poetae lyrici Graeci*⁶⁰ and reproduced it without any commentary in the three editions that followed. The fragment was studied by many important scholars⁶¹, but its attribution to the *Iliou Persis* was never disputed. The argument presented by Kleine is, however, very weak. It happens that we know of two Stesichorean poems with the title «Helen» and the innovations peculiar to them. I suppose that this problem should be reassessed (with a new argument) and Suchfort's identification of Schol. Eur. Or. 1287 as referring to one of the «Helen» poems accepted. It seems to be related to PMG 187 and reflects a kind of symmetry in action: at the beginning of the poem (PMG 187) πολλὰ μὲν Κυδῶνια μάλα ποτερίπτουν ποτὶ δίφρον ἄνακτι, πολλὰ δὲ μύρσινα φύλλα καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνους ἴων τε κορωνίδας οὐλας and in contrast to this scene, a similar one with the opposite implications περὶ τῶν καταλεύειν αὐτὴν μελλόντων (PMG 201) would not be out of place in «Helen».

I believe that the fragments P.Oxy. 2619 fr.16 and fr.19 describe the meeting of Helen and Menelaos after the fall of Troy, and fr. PMG 201 contains another version, used by Stesichorus in one of his.

Now let us look at P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 14 (= S 103) once again. This fragment may be placed at the top of a column. In the upper part above line 1: []οντ.αραισ. . [there is a vacant space of seven millimeters, the normal distance between two lines plus half of the letter height. It is possible, of course, that the scribe left an interval between the lines a little larger than usual,

⁵⁸ Jo. A. Suchfort, *Stesichori fragmenta in unum collecta certo ordine digesta et interpretatione illustrata auctore...* Gottingae, 1771, fr. IX.

⁵⁹ O. F. Kleine, *Stesichori Himerensis fragmenta*, Berolini, 1828, fr. 27.

⁶⁰ Th. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici Graeci*, Lipsiae, 1843.

⁶¹ C. Robert, *Griechische Heldensage*. Vol. 1. Berlin, 1920, p. 424-426; A. Seeliger, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Heldensage bei Stesichoros*. Meissen, 1886.

but more probably this is the margin at the top of the roll. Führer interpreted the metrics as a strophe beginning at line 7 τ]αι δ' ἐκέλευσε τω...⁶² and this interpretation seems to be more likely than that offered by West⁶³; so we can try to place the fragment in column 5 of our hypothetical roll, where it would represent either verses 649–660, or, if in the second series of the metrical scheme, vv. 1351–1362⁶⁴. The interpretation of the text in this fragment remains uncertain:

. . . .

[]οντ. αραισ. . . [

[]ιτονδε λόχο. [

[]. ενα κυδαλέο[-

[]υντεχοντ. . . . [

(5) [ξ]ανθά δ' Ἑλένα πρ[

[βα]σιλῆος ἀοιδιμ. . . . [

[. . .]αι δ' ἐκέλευσετ. . . . [

[δ]αίωι πυρὶ καιομεν[

[. . .]πρησαντασε. . . . [

(10) . . . αμεν. . . . [

]. απο. [

. . . .

* * *

With a roll pattern of 27 lines per column, the suggested reconstruction admits the possibility of joining some of the papyrus scraps, viz., fr. 18 and fr. 1; fr. 16 and fr. 19.

After reviewing the fragments, we may claim that:

1. We have the beginning of the poem (verses 4–21).
2. We also have speeches of some Trojans – one announcing the attack of the Greeks, another giving commands. The verses fall after 244, but not beyond line 400.
3. We have a meeting between Menelaos and Helen (fr. 16 and 19 P. Oxy. = S 104 and S 107) – verses 1026–1223.
4. Some of the fragments may represent a description of the battle (verses 525–1215): P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 2 = S 91, fr. 5 = S 94, fr. 10 = S 99, fr. 14 = S 103, fr. 16 = S 104, fr. 17 = S 106, fr. 21 = S 109, fr. 23 = S 111, fr. 27 + 28 = S 115 + S 116, fr. 32 = S 118, P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 6 = S 138, fr. 7 = S 139.

These speculations need to be verified. This is attempted in the next chapter.

⁶² R. Führer, «Zum “Stesichorus redivivus”», p. 12.

⁶³ M. L. West, «Stesichorus redivivus», p. 139–140.

⁶⁴ If we assume West's interpretation of the metrics, we must place it in column 19 of our hypothetical roll.

THE *TABULA ILIACA CAPITOLINA* AND STESICHORUS' *ILIOU PERSIS*

The manner in which the story of the Fall of Troy is presented in archaic Greek literature is known well enough, but only «en somme»¹. The epitomae of later Greek mythologists, while recording all major events, do not give any details of the story or names of authors who treated the subject. Thus the reconstruction of the Stesichorean version is of paramount interest.

A presentation of Stesichorus' poem as a sequence of episodes is to be found only in the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, though a few of the episodes illustrated in the *Tabula* are also preserved in papyri fragments. It is mostly for this reason that the description of the *Tabula* is included in new editions of the Stesichorean fragments. This tradition has become so common, that we might entitle this chapter «Fragment PMG 205».

The tablet (25 x 28 x 1,5 cm) of white calcite, a stone very similar to marble, was found by a group of hunters in the vicinity of Rome (near Bovillae) in the 17th century. The first edition describing the tablet appeared in 1683², followed by many publications, both philological and art-historical. The latest edition by A. Sadurska³ is quite exhaustive and in fact can replace all the previous ones, but a bit of history would not be out of place here: we can just mention O. Jahn's edition⁴; dissertations by M. Paulcke and F. Noak⁵; two works by U. Mancuso⁶; a book by J. Vürtheim⁷; and a book by A. Seeliger⁸, and M. Schmidt⁹. As its starting point the discussion of the *Tabulae Iliacae* addresses the problem of the authenticity and authority of the Tablets with

¹ The main bulk of evidence concerns the epic *Iliou Persis: Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel. Vol. I., Leipzig, 1887, p. 49–52. A new edition, completely updated: *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta*. Pars I, ed. A. Bernabé. Lipsiae, 1988, p. 86–93; Bethe E. *Homer*. Bd. II., Leipzig, 1922; *The Homeric Hymns*, ed. by T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday and E. E. Sikes. 2 ed. Oxford, 1936, p. 424; Rzach A. *Kyklos*, RE Bd. XI (1922), Sp. 2405–2409; Lippold A. *Tabula Iliaca*, RE Bd. IV (1932.) Sp. 1886–1896.

² R. Fabretti, *De columna Traiani syntagma accesserunt explicatio veteris tabellae anaglythae Homeri Iliadem atque ex Stesicoro, Arctino et Lesche Ilii excidium continens*, Romae, 1683, p. 315–384.

³ A. Sadurska, *Les tables Iliques*, Warszawa, 1964.

⁴ O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, Bonn, 1883

⁵ M. Paulcke, *De Tabula Iliaca quaestiones Stesichoreae*. Diss. Regimonti Borussiae, 1897; F. Noak, *Iliu persis. De Euripidis et Polygnoti quae ad Troiae excidium spectant fabulis*. Diss. 1890.

⁶ U. Mancuso, *La «Tabula Iliaca» del Museo Capitolino*, Roma, 1911; U. Mancuso, «La lirica classica greca in Sicilia e nella Magna Grecia», *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Filosofia e filologia*, 24 (1913).

⁷ J. C. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie*, Leiden, 1919, p. 34–44.

⁸ A. Seeliger, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Heldensage bei Stesichoros*. Meissen, 1886.

⁹ M. Schmidt, *Troika*. Diss. Göttingen, 1917.

respect to the Stesichorean poem. Sadurska published twenty tablets¹⁰, five of which depict the Sack of Troy (*Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, New York, Veronensis I, Zenodotos', Veronensis II, and Homeric)¹¹. This raises an important question of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*'s reliability in reproducing the narrative of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*. The problem is crucial and must be scrutinized from every angle.

When looking at the Tablets the first impression is that of incongruity. On the one hand the composition is excellent: a line of ships curving upwards at the bottom of the central relief directs the viewer's attention to the central scenes and the inscription below. The scenes are vivid and symmetrically arranged. At the same time, the inscriptions are inaccurate, and the carved figures, though very expressive, are too small. Only those figures provided with inscriptions can be identified. There is also much to find fault with in the execution of the figures, and the quality of the inscriptions leaves much to be desired. Let us keep both contradictory impressions in mind. But one thing we can be sure of from the beginning: the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* is a copy and not an original work, which is likely to have been much larger. Besides, it was apparently the work of a very innovative artist with a good sense of architectonics and composition, marked by freedom in his placing of figures and balancing of scenes.

All this gives us reason to subject to scrutiny the now generally accepted standpoint of N. M. Horsfall.

In 1979¹² N. M. Horsfall analyzed the tablets, and came to a remarkable conclusion that the scenes have nothing to do with Stesichorus, but are entirely spun from the artist's imagination¹³. Horsfall was particularly interested in the appearance on the Tablets of the name Theodorus. This name is too common to be identified with any known person (the Theodorus of the Tablets was a craftsman, not the grammarian who summarized Greek myths). At this point Horsfall follows Sadurska's interpretation. According to Sadurska, Theodorus was a Greek sculptor active in the age of Augustus. Horsfall suggests a date somewhere between the mid-Augustan and the late Antonine period. Theodorus' origin is identified as Egyptian.

¹⁰ A. Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, Warszawa, 1964; A. Sadurska, *Mél. Michalowski*, 1966, p. 653–657.

¹¹ Several new publications have appeared: N. Horsfall, *JHS* 103 (1983), p. 144–147, published two new texts on the *Tabulae Iliacae* from the Collection Froehner (now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris), with some general observations on the *Tabulae*. S. M. Burstein, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), p. 153–162, published a fragmentary tabula now in the Getty Museum (*Chronica Graeca*: Excerpt from a narrative that dealt with the Persian War of 480–479 B.C.). Cf. *SEG* XXXIII, 1983, n. 800–802 and *SEG* XXIX, n. 993.

¹² N. M. Horsfall, «Stesichorus at Bovillae?» *JHS*, 99 (1979), p. 26–48 (cf. also the summary in *CQ* 1979, p. 375–376)

¹³ *SEG* XXIX, n. 993. *IG*. XIV, 1284–1293

Horsfall corroborated his idea of Theodorus being a craftsman by analyzing the term τέχνη, which is mentioned repeatedly in the inscriptions and treated by Horsfall in the sense of «finished product». It is rather curious that the texts of the metrical inscriptions differ from one tablet to another, but in all the versions key words such as μέτρον, σοφία, and τέχνη are present. Unchanged remains the composition of the central relief¹⁴, though the craftsman's verses do change. In one we find

τέχνην τὴν Θεοδ]ώρηον μάθε, τάξιν Ὀμήρου
ὄφρα δαεῖς πάσης μέτρον ἔχης σοφίας

In another one (2NY) we find the same key words:

τ]έχνην μέτρον ἔχης σο[φίας]

It is very significant that the inscriptions differ. N. Horsfall did a careful study of the word τέχνη, and noted that before Eudoxus there were no examples of τέχνη meaning «artifact»¹⁵. I am not certain that in this context we must really understand «know the artifact made by Theodorus» as opposed to «know the art». The same case can be seen in *Od.* VIII, 327:

ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι
τέχνας εἰσορόωσι πολύφρονος Ἡφαίστιο¹⁶.

Pace Horsfall the word τέχνη *does appear* in the fifth century B.C. with the meaning «work of art»¹⁷.

In the inscription on the *Tabula Capitolina* the name of Theodorus appears first, followed in the same line by that of Homer. If he had been a little-known artist he would hardly been given equal prominence with Homer; it stands to reason that Theodorus' fame must have been comparable to Homer's.

It seems quite odd that the name of Theodorus is not found in any other source – he treated very well known literary material and (to judge by the provenance of the extant *tabulae*) his works were popular in the neighborhood of Rome.

I do not think that those who commissioned the *Tabulae Iliacae* were anything like Petronius' Trimalchio, as Horsfall suggests. From my point of view, if the Tablets had been intended for a Trimalchio, the material would have been gold rather than modest calcite. But for the sake of discussion, let us imagine that the Tablets were meant for someone like Trimalchio. Still the question remains: why is the name of Theodorus mentioned in the same line as that of Homer? For example, a similar inscription by Mys has no mention of

¹⁴ Represented on some Tablets: 1A, 2 NY.

¹⁵ Cf. however the title in *ThLG*: τέχνη «Ars [Artificium]».

¹⁶ As H. Stephanus wrote «i.e. τεχνήεντας δεσμούς ut paulo post loquitur». (*ThLG* s.v.).

¹⁷ Following *LSJ* (p. 1785 τέχνη IV = τέχνημα) with references to Soph. *O.C.* 472 κρατῆρες ..., ἀνδρὸς εὐχείρους τέχνη, Soph. fr. 156 ὄπλους..., Ἡφαίστου τέχνη, cf. Strabo 14.1.14, P. Lond. 3.8, 54.4 (II A.D.), Paus. 6. 25. 1, al. Thrasymachus' epitaph is discussed below.

Homer, whose poem inspired the picture on the vase, cf. Athen., XI, 782 b:

γράμμα Παρρασίοιο, τέχνα Μυός. ἐμμὶ δὲ ἔργον
Ἴλιου αἰπεινάς, ἄν ἔλον Αἰακίδαί.

Whether for a Trimalchio or for a highbrow intellectual, it seems that the *Tabulae* were produced in numbers because Theodorus' work was as famous in Rome as Homer's poems. The *Tabulae* is just a copy of his work, a reproduction, a «post card» with a picture of a famous *chef d'oeuvre*, coming from a workshop in Rome, where at the end of the first century B.C. smaller copies of these famous pictures began to be produced to cater to the needs of private collectors. N. Horsfall suggests that Theodorus himself, or his apprentices, or probably all of them, were likely to be of Egyptian origin. Tybout¹⁸ added that the letters of the inscription carved above the palindrome ΙΕΡΕΙΑΙΕΡΕΙ on 4N (Shield of Achilles, Rome, Museo Capitolino) are arranged as a so-called «magic square» (see plate) having the form of a typical Egyptian-Syrian horn-shaped altar¹⁹. But this is not the only parallel. We can mention two «altars» formed with verses (Δωσιάδα βωμός and Βησαντίνου βωμός)²⁰, which contain a special kind of sophisticated joke or riddle (Μακροπτολέμου in [Theocritus'] Syrinx instead of Τηλεμάχου, or Πανός ματρός εὐνέτας in Dosiadas' *Altar* vs. 16 etc.)²¹. Thus in Theodorus' inscription we can see traces of a peculiar literary tradition. The origin of this kind of text²² is unknown, but it seems likely that they were in existence before Theodorus. These two verse-altars are apparently Greek precedents for the altar on the backside of the *Shield* Tabula.

In his discussion of Theodorus and his τέχνη, N. Horsfall made no mention of the coincidences between Theodorus' epigram and the newly-found Stesichorus papyri in which δαεῖς σεμν[ᾶς Ἀθάνας] μέτ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν του[is the source for the Theodorean epigram²³. The epigram has nothing to do with such poetry as Thrasy-machus' autoepitaph (Athenaeus, Deipn. X, 454 f)

«Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ ὁ Παριανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐν Χαλκηδόνι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θρασυμάχου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ μνήματος ἐπιγεγράφθαι τὸδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα:

τοῦνομα θῆτα ῥῶ ἄλφα σάν ὦ μῦ ἄλφα χεῖ οῦ σάν.
πατρὶς Χαλκηδών· ἡ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη»,

but shows that Theodorus was familiar with the first triad of the Stesichorean poem and composed a piece of poetry alluding to his own gift:

¹⁸ *SEG* XXIX, n. 993.

¹⁹ And he compares M. Rostovtzeff, *MDAI (R)* 26, (1911), p. 62–66 and W. Deonna, *BCH* 58, (1934), p. 381–447.

²⁰ *Anth. Pal.* XV, 25–26; *Bucolici Graeci* recensuit A.S.F. Gow. Oxonii, 1958, p. 171 sq. (Technopaegnia). I am grateful to G. Bucher for this reference.

²¹ Cf. Theocritus, ed. by A.S.F. Gow. Vol. II. Cambridge, 1950, p. 554 sq.

²² Represented in C. Haeblerlin, *Carmina figurata Graeca*, 2. ed. Hanover, 1887.

²³ L. Lehnus «Note Stesichoree» *Studi classici e orientali* 21 (1971), p. 54–55. The words μέτρον σοφίης occur also in Solon (fr. 1,53 Gentili-Prato) ἱμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος.

τέχνην τὴν Θεοδῶρον μάθε, τάξιν Ὀμήρου
ὄφρα δαεῖς πάσης μέτρον ἔχης σοφίας

and: τ]έχνην μέτρον ἔχης σο[φίας]

We have yet another point of disagreement with N. Horsfall's conclusions about Theodorus' *modus operandi*. No doubt, Theodorus had a complicated way of interpreting Stesichorus' poem. I disagree, however, with Horsfall's assumption that Theodorus was not familiar with it at all. According to Horsfall, what Theodorus did in his work was a contamination of various texts (such as *hypotheses* to Attic tragedies) and traditional art-forms (Hellenistic reliefs). One can easily imagine a good artist working with epitomae and not an original text, but I am convinced that using only epitomae it would have been impossible to organize the sculptured images the way Theodorus did.

Another question concerns the source for the inscriptions on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* referring to the Sack of Troy, «which is not, in any case, Stesichorus»²⁴. Here we can see that the sculptor did a poor job rendering a literary text. But at the same time it must be said that the direct influence of the beginning of Stesichorus' poem on the *Tabulae Iliacae* has been demonstrated by L. Lehnus. In my opinion, this is a substantial argument in defense of the authority of the *Tabulae*. The suggestion that the tablets were created for the Trimalchio-like *nouveau riche* is also contradicted by the locations where the tablets were found, all with one exception (Zenodotos' tablet was found in Gaul) in the vicinity of Rome. From the provenance of these tablets Sadurska concluded that they had belonged to people from the circle of Augustus, a suggestion with which subsequent reviewers have largely agreed²⁵. The people from the circle of Augustus would naturally have been well educated. Sadurska's argumentation is based on an earlier date than Horsfall's for the execution of the reliefs and for the places in which the reliefs were found. This can be further reinforced if we consider the educational level in Rome during the Augustan period²⁶. Good knowledge of early Greek literature was *de rigueur*, so it is quite likely that the owners of Theodorus' tablets had read the Stesichorean poems²⁷. We can infer that *ca.* 29 A.D. the pictures of *The Sack of*

²⁴ *SEG* XXIX, n. 993

²⁵ Cf. P. Veyne, *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*. 45 (1967), p. 642–643; L. Manino, *PRIC*, 95 (1967), p. 223–225; E. Bielefeld, *Gnomon* 37 (1965), p. 430–431; J. Marcadé, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 47 (1965), p. 249–250.

²⁶ In Roman schools Homer was to be used in all grades (cf. M. Hamdi Ibrahim, «The Study of Homer in Greco-Roman Education», *ΑΘΗΝΑ, Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐταιρείας* 76 (1976–77), p. 187–195).

²⁷ H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*. 6-ème éd. Paris, 1965, p. 247–248. In particular Marrou noted that Homer's poems were usually read in secondary schools, as was Hesiod. The program also included Alexandrian poets and early Greek lyrics: Alcman, Sappho, Alceus, Pindar and others. For these studies there were special text-books which included many Greek authors (Cf. E. Julien, *Les professeurs de littérature dans l'ancienne Rome*, Paris, 1885, p. 206). The «higher school» (the term is used in many books, e.g. I.I. Tsvetajeff, *Iz istorii Vysschych Schkol Rimskoi Imperii*. 2. ed. Moscow, 1902) also used to teach Greek lyric poetry.

Troy were popular in Rome. As early as 29 A.D. Marcus Philippus rebuilt the Hercules Musarum aedes built by M. Fulvius Nobilior after his campaign to Ambracia in 189 B.C.²⁸ Pliny (*HN* 35,144) mentions a certain Theorus, who painted a «bellum iliacum plurimis tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus». The Porticus Philippi is listed in the regional catalogues in Regio IX near the Porticus Octaviae. An attempt was made to identify Theorus with Theodorus, another painter mentioned by Pliny, but this seems unnecessary. In his list of the most famous artists Pliny mentioned Theodorus with no comment. We know of three or four artists named Theodorus (first in Herodot. I, 51; III, 41); two or three are also mentioned in the antique records of ancient painting²⁹.

The episodes concerning the Fall of Troy occupy the entire central relief of the tablet. Around it, we find scenes from the Homeric *Iliad* and the *Little Iliad* by Lesches. It seems improbable that the scenes of the *Iliou Persis* by Stesichorus were not closely related to the text of Stesichorus' poem. At the same time, they are not necessarily a simple illustration of the poem, methodically going step by step through the entire poem, but an artistic rendering of the poem. We would not, for example, expect a good screenplay to reproduce every detail of a novel; in the same way, we should not demand the identity of picture and text. We may wonder, of course, whether the presentation of the Stesichorean poem on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* has nothing at all to do with Stesichorus, or whether it reveals the reflections of an artist who based his work on the Stesichorean poem.

I will now try to demonstrate that the subject matter on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* is reliable evidence for reconstructing Stesichorus' poem³⁰.

Supposing that it was not only Trimalchios who lived in luxurious villas near Rome, we may assume that some of the copies were produced for the people of learning. Theodorus, whose name is found in conjunction with Homer, Arctinus and Stesichorus, must have been no less famous an artist in his day. Besides, he was an educated person, as both his citation of Stesichorus' verses and his alteration of the words in his verses show. His works were famous enough for people to collect copies of them.

Theodorus' name occurs also on the backside of the relief. It is very accurately inscribed in the square and can be read in different directions like a crossword puzzle.

It is time to turn our attention to the following questions:

1. What works of art are usually signed by the artist and signed in verse, and in what periods? Do we find parallels?

²⁸ Cf. L. Richardson Jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore-London, 1992, p. 187, 318.

²⁹ Diog Laert. II, 103, Plin. *HN*, 35, 146.; Lippold, *RE*, s.v Theodoros #200–203.

³⁰ In all the research concerning the *Tabula Iliaca* the notion of originality is neglected. From the 19th century on, it has been assumed that the Tablets are in fact a badly illustrated textbook for educational purposes or for a Trimalchio. This is not the case, however: these *Tabulae Iliacae* are simply copies of a famous picture.

2. What parallels can we find for a solid piece of marble divided into twenty-seven reliefs, as we see in the *Tabula Iliaca*?

3. Do we have any parallels for an author's name hidden in a «magic square» or an acrostic?

I believe that without answering these questions it is impossible to understand the *Tabula Iliaca*.

1. What works of art are usually signed by an artist, and signed in verse? Do we find anything similar?

Yes, we do. We have a parallel in relief (Athen. XI, 782 b):

Ἐνδοξοὶ δὲ τορευταὶ Ἀθηνοκλῆς, Κράτης, Στρατόνικος, Μυρμηκίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος, Καλλικράτης ὁ Λάκων καὶ Μῦς, οὗ εἶδομεν σκύφον Ἡρακλεωτικὸν τεχνικῶς ἔχοντα Ἴλίου ἐντετορευμένην πόρθησιν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

γράμμα Παρρασίοιο, τέχνα Μυός. ἐμμί δὲ ἔργον
Ἴλίου αἰπεινᾶς, ἂν ἔλον Αἰακίδαί.

I would like to draw your attention to the words σκύφον Ἡρακλεωτικὸν τεχνικῶς ἔχοντα Ἴλίου ἐντετορευμένην πόρθησιν, which give evidence about a painted relief on the subject of the Sack of Troy. It is quite clear, though, that this work treated only the final episode rather than the entire story of the Trojan War. Parrhasius' case is unique³¹.

In most cases we cannot learn the names of Greek and Roman painters or sculptors³² from their works for lack of signatures, but we do know the names of mosaic workers: it was customary for them to sign their pictures.

Martin Robertson discovered that mosaic did not originate in Greece. According to him, mosaic pictures containing a story first appeared in the fourth century Macedonia³³. There are only three floor mosaics found on Greek territories with a secure archaeological dating before the end of the fifth century (from Motya in West Sicily and a fragment from Corinth, both with

³¹ J. Boardman (*Athenian Red Figure Vases. The archaic period*. London, 1975) mentioned (n. 135) a Kalpis (Vivenzio hydria) by the Kleophrades Painter (The early fifth century: from 505 to 475 B.C.) representing Aeneas and Anchises; Ajax and Cassandra; Death of Priam, Andromache(?); rescue of Aethra. At the same time J. Boardman noted (p. 94): «This vase may represent not the first, and not the last occasion on which the Sack of Troy served as paradigm for the horrors of war: a savage act of victory and vengeance, inflicted by Greeks, even if only in myth history, but of which no Greek, from Homer on seemed particularly proud, and to which they repeatedly returned, as we might to the destruction of a Dresden, Coventry, or Hiroshima. No other Greek vase painter approaches this: the muralists could hardly have done it better».

³² This becomes manifest if we compare the number of discovered vases and sculptures to the number of those with the signature of the artist in such big collections as J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs*, Vol. I–II. Paris, p. 1953–1957, E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Osnabrück 1965 (1885), W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*,² Wien, 1887, T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, London, 1972.

³³ M. Robertson, *Early Greek Mosaic. Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (= *Studies in the History of Arts* 10, Washington, 1981), p. 241–260.

only an animal design³⁴). We find the first mosaics on mythological subjects and the first inscriptions naming the mosaicist in Pella, e.g. on the central panel of a mosaic featuring the rape of Helen with inscriptions³⁵. This tradition survived, and we find many inscriptions giving the artist's signature and the names of the represented characters on later mosaics. Ph. Bruneaux thinks that this custom came from vase painting and frescoes³⁶ but he does not mention any parallels. Inscriptions on mosaics can be seen in Delos (n 195 from the «Shrines of Syrian gods»). Many Delos mosaics contain an artist's signature (n 195, 349, 210). On # 210 the inscription [Ἀσκλη]πιάδης Ἀράδιος ἐποίησεν is legible only from the entrance to the room.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods mosaics appear throughout the Greco-Roman world, from Lebanon³⁷ and Cilicia³⁸ through the Greek islands³⁹, to Gaul and Spain⁴⁰. Mosaics were also found in Italy⁴¹. Roman masters often copied mosaics made in other countries, cf. the mosaic of the shrine of Fortuna in Praeneste (80 B.C.–200 A.D.) a copy of the work which was «Hellenistisch, und zwar alexandrinisch»⁴².

Mosaics often bear numerous inscriptions serving to identify the scene and make the picture complete (e.g. the mosaic of Alexander's life from Soueidié with inscriptions, II–III CE). Sometimes mosaics are decorated with a very complicated geometric design similar to the squares on the back of the *Tabulae Iliacae*. It should be noted that the arrangement of space on mosaics was very different from that in sculpture, bas-reliefs or vase painting. Sculptures and reliefs were sometimes arranged in zones showing events in linear fashion, as on Trajan's Column. On pottery and metalware, zones are arranged in a different manner and the number of zones containing pictures is far fewer. In addition, they are divided in two by the handle(s), while the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* was originally divided into three blocks.

Thus we may affirm that the idea of a rectangular frame containing 27 zones in relief with inscriptions and a big central part could hardly have been

³⁴ M. Robertson, *Early Greek Mosaic*, p. 241.

³⁵ Ph. Petsas, *Mosaics from Pella. La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, Paris, 1965, p. 41–56, fig. 6.

³⁶ «La mosaïque de galets, bien entendu, emprunte ce procédé à la grande peinture et à la peinture de vases» (Ph. Bruneau, *Les mosaïques*. (= Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'École Française d'Athènes. Fasc. 29) Paris, 1972, p. 71).

³⁷ M. Chebab, «Les Caractéristiques de la mosaïque au Liban». *La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*. P., 1965, p. 333–339 fig. 5

³⁸ L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien*. Verlag Aurel Bongers Reclinghausen, 1969. Bd. 1. Frühchristliche Mosaiken in Misis-Mopsuestia. See especially the mosaic on the wall p. 168 with a long inscription

³⁹ *Ateliers de mosaïstes Rhodaniens d'époque gallo-romaine. La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, Paris, 1965, p. 233–243; Ser. Chaitonides. *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène*, Bern, 1970, p. 16.

⁴⁰ J. Gómez Pallarès, «Nombres de artistas en inscripciones musivas latinas e ibericas de Hispania», *Epigraphica* 53 (1991), p. 59–96.

⁴¹ G. Begatti, «Alcune caratteristiche del mosaico in Italia». *La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, Paris, 1965, p. 15–28 fig. 6.

⁴² Ernst Pfuhl, *Mahlerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, München, 1923, p. 860.

borrowed from sculpture, toreutics or vase painting. This kind of spatial organization is especially typical of mosaics.

In wall painting we find the same principle of spatial organization as in vase painting (no frames: cf. e.g. the earlier Roman frescoes, which can give us a certain idea of the Graeco-Roman painting of the early Republic). One of these was found in a tomb on the Esquiline Hill in Rome (Palazzo Conservatori. Scenes of the war.) «It presents a military scene arranged in several zones above one another. The artist has used a creamy yellow background against which he has placed his figures on rigidly marked horizontal ground lines. In the upper panel, M. Fannius, apparently an Oscan or Umbrian, addresses a Roman soldier, Quintus Fabius (?) ap. 200 B.C.»⁴³. There is a division into zones, each representing a separate scene, and in this respect vase painting and wall painting differ from mosaics.

The general layout in mosaics is very special: quite often there are individual pictures joined together both physically and thematically, a style that juxtaposes pictures that are separate and joined at the same time. This arrangement is similar to the spatial organization we find on the *Tabulae Iliacae*: a geometrically organized space for each scene of the central relief and sets of scenes surrounding it on all four sides. I know of only one medium, which exhibits this kind of spatial organization: mosaics. Inscriptions also occur very frequently in mosaics⁴⁴, including votive ones: τῆς ἰλαρῆς τέχνης πολλάκις εὐξάμενος⁴⁵, on a mosaic at the top of which Phaedra and Hippolytus are shown with a cartouche held by two amours; in the middle is perhaps a bacchic procession, and at the bottom there are birds. Many figures have inscriptions indicating their names. We also find this metrical inscription:

NAOI[
Νέστορα τὸν φιλόκαλον κτίσιν
Δεῦρ' ἴδε τὰς χάριτας χαίρων, φίλε, ἄστινας ἡμῖν
τέχνη ταῖς ψήφοις ἔμβαλε πηξαμένη
τὸν Φθόνον ἐκ μέσσου καὶ ὄμματα Βασκανίης
τῆς ἰλαρῆς τέχνης πολλάκις εὐξάμενος.

⁴³ M. H. Swindler. *Ancient painting*, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1929, p. 364.

⁴⁴ J. Russel, *The mosaic inscriptions of Anemurium*, Wien, 1987, p. 46.

⁴⁵ cf. E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte Gréco-romaine*, Paris, 1969, p. 483–488 (pl. 84–87). Mosaique de Cheikh Zouède, découverte en 1913. Musée d'Ismaïlia. Comprend trois tableaux superposés et séparés par des inscriptions métriques.

The date of this mosaic is probably the fourth century A.D., as the fortress of Cheikh Zouède was built in the time of Trajan or Hadrian. The mosaic of Lord Julius of Carthage has the same composition as the central relief of the *Tabula Iliaca*⁴⁶, with three bands and three or four scenes in each and an inscription, DOM(INUS) IUL(IUS). This abbreviation appears on the scroll which one of the figures in the mosaic holds. In the center we can see a villa, and around it the space is organized in the same way as the central relief of the *Tabula Iliaca*.

I am not the first to suggest the Hellenistic period as a date for the masterpiece of which the *Tabula Iliaca* is a replica; T.B.L. Webster showed that the style represented in the Apotheosis of Homer (BM 2191, found at Bovillae) had originated in the second half of the second century B.C.⁴⁷ This relief is also very different from the usual compositional modes of the sculptural reliefs one can find both earlier and later, and may be compared to the *Tabula Iliaca*⁴⁸.

Summing up the results of our search for parallels to the composition of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, we can say that it does not stem from *bas-relief* but from mosaics. The frames between separate zones may reproduce the structure of the original mosaic. The names of the artists and depicted characters, as well as versification, are all most characteristic of mosaic architectonics.

Now let us turn to the second question:

2. What parallels can we discover for a sculptural work made of *one piece of* marble divided into twenty-seven reliefs? Actually there are no sculptural parallels to the composition of the *Tabulae Iliacae*.

3. And finally, turning to our third question: Do we have any parallels to the author's name hidden in a «magic square» or an acrostic?

⁴⁶ D. Parrish, «Two Mosaics from Roman Tunisia: An African Variation of the Season Theme», *AJA* (1979), p. 279–285. pl. 40 fig. 1.

⁴⁷ T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, London, 1964, p. 177.

⁴⁸ There are also similarities in those of its inscriptions which contain the name of the artist, Archelaos, and a text which is comparable in some aspects to that of the *Tabula Iliaca*: ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΙΛΙΑΣ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΜΥΘΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ ΦΥΣΙΣ ΑΡΕΤΗ ΜΝΗΜΗ ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ (E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (Osnabrück 1965 (1885) # 297, also found at Bovillae). The last two words presumably are separate ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and ΣΟΦΙΑ. But an interpretation as the gnostic ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ cannot be entirely excluded. In this case the Apotheosis of Homer may be understood in a gnostic context, and that can have many important implications concerning the sanctuary at Bovillae, and the *Tabulae Iliacae*, too. For the most part of my interpretation this suggestion is not essential, since Platonic and gnostic interest in the early Greek literary texts is well-known. A copy of a masterpiece without any gnostic background could serve as an example of gnostic interpretation in the same way, as the Homeric *Cave of Nymphs* in the *Odyssey* was interpreted from a Neo-platonic point of view by Porphyry.

N. Horsfall suggested that the «magic squares» on the back side of the *Tabulae Iliacae* were made for a real magic purpose, and he compared the inscriptions on the back side of the *Tabulae Iliacae* with Moschion's inscription⁴⁹ containing two «magic squares», one in demotic Egyptian and the other in Greek script. But there are also quite a number of differences: Moschion's stela (II–III A.D.) contains no reliefs, only «magic squares» and long texts in both Greek and Demotic⁵⁰. It is true that there are some similarities: the magic square itself (40 x 40 for Greek text on Moschion's stela) and some correspondence in the use of words within the metrical text. However, there is a difference. In the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* the inscription was not necessarily made by its owner *ex voto*. Note in particular the interpretation of verse IV, 36 Τάξιγὰρ εὐρών ποικίλως διατρέχουσιν ἔξις by E. Bernard⁵¹: «Τάξις est relatif à l'ordre qu'il faut suivre pour déchiffrer l'énigme de chaque carré», i.e. in these verses the reader is given instructions about how to decipher the inscription within the «magic square». In the *Tabulae Iliacae* τάξις Ὁμήρου means only that the structure of the narrative in the *Tabula* follows Homeric poems and in this case τάξις has nothing to do with the «magic» square on the *verso* of a *Tabula*.

I do not see anything particularly magical about the Moschion's «magic square»: the miracle itself is described in the verse-inscription and mentioned in the inscription hidden in the magic squares. But the square shape does not necessarily imply that it is magic: the same could have been expressed through a votive relief or picture, but clearly not all reliefs and pictures of this period were made for a magic or religious purpose, and vice versa «magic squares» may or may not serve magic ends.

We may note that on the *Tabula Iliaca* the word τάξις refers to Homer's *Iliad* and is not related to the *verso* of the *Tabula*. However, the magic squares on the reverse of some *Tabulae* are quite noteworthy and should be examined in the antique cultural perspective. As a rule these magic squares contain only the name of Theodorus, with the following exception: Horsfall carefully studied the inscription containing the palindrome IEPEIAIEPEI⁵², which may be read either as ἱερεῖα ἱερεῖ (Horsfall) or as ἱερεῖαι ἐρεῖ (C. Gallavotti: «the shield will speak to the priestess»⁵³ with a parallel of the speaking shield in *AP IX 116*).

Like Horsfall, we should also consider not only «magic squares» but palindromes as well. I believe that attention should be paid here not only to coincidences in square form and idea, but in wording as well. IEPEIAIEPEI is not a cliché like «abracadabra», and here we have an amazing repetition of

⁴⁹ N. Horsfall, «Stesichorus at Bovillae?» *JHS* 99 (1979), p. 29.

⁵⁰ E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine*, Paris, 1969, p. 413–428 n. 108.

⁵¹ E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine*, Paris, 1969, p. 424.

⁵² *SEG XXXIX*, 1992, n. 1073 (= *IGUR IV* 1615, cf. *SEG XXIX*, n. 993).

⁵³ C. Gallavotti, *BollClass.*, 10 (1989), 51, with n. 7

sounds, indicating that it is poetic and not common speech. Inscriptions of a similar nature are found in mosaics, e.g. ΚΑΛΟΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΙ in a fragmentary mosaic from Corinth⁵⁴, as well as inscriptions at Delphi and Tegea. This is «magic» only to the extent that there is a play on sounds; the words retain their normal meanings – and in this respect they are comparable with tablet 4N.

It should be stressed that this kind of inscription also occurs in mosaic floors of the Roman period in Greece (late III–IV centuries). There are also other striking parallels between the characteristics of *Tabulae Iliacae* and those of mosaics.

In short, I do not see any correspondence between Moschion's inscription and the inscriptions in the «magic squares» on the back sides of the *Tabulae Iliacae* in respect of their purpose and sense. Horsfall observed *prima facie* similarities between the «magic squares» on the *Tabula Iliaca* and the magical papyri. However, there are no «squares» in magical papyri⁵⁵, only triangles represented by vowel characters⁵⁶, a name written as a triangle⁵⁷, a diamond made of two triangles,⁵⁸ a heart,⁵⁹ a figure of a man⁶⁰ or even more complicated figures with various long inscriptions:

Δαμναμενευ, αβλαθαναλβα,
ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυονενεραβαβωεαι,
'Αβρασάξ, ακραμμαξαμαρι, Βαιινξωωξ⁶¹.

All these figures seem quite different from those we find in the *Tabulae Iliacae*: no magical squares and no readable inscriptions. The same use of «magical triangles» can be observed throughout the *Papyrologica Coloniensis*⁶²; Suppl. Mag. I–II contains many triangular inscriptions (the earliest is n° 67 I/II A.D.), but not a single square.

It is quite to the point to remark here that it is a well-established fact that the Homeric text was commonly used for fortune-telling⁶³, but we do not have

⁵⁴ S. E. Waywell, «Roman Mosaics in Greece», *AJA* (1979), p. 319–320.

⁵⁵ *Papyri Graecae Magicae* hrsg. und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. 2. Aufl. mit ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz durchgesehen und hrsgg. von Albert Henrichs. Bd. 1–2. Stuttgart, 1973–1974.

⁵⁶ P I, 13–19 = Berlin P 5025 A und B P V = *Pap gr.* XLVI BM, l. 83–90 represents two triangles formed by vowels. P XXXVII. 115–132, 244–255, P XLIII and Christian one P 2 represent the triangle.

⁵⁷ P VII l. 940–960 a name is written in a triangle.

⁵⁸ P XIII l. 835–842. And once there occurs a diamond with αβλαθαναλβα written twice.

⁵⁹ *RIV* = *Bibl. Nat suppl. gr.* 574, l. 409 sqq. represents an abracadabra and palindrome which should be written in a special way using a plate in the form of a heart.

⁶⁰ P II = Berlin P 5026, l. 166 the standing man without a head with letters denoting vowels inside.

⁶¹ Bd. 2. P VIII. 718–723 ; P XIX a = P. gr. 9909, l. 16–48; P LXII .

⁶² *Abrasax*. Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts hrsgg von R. Merkelbach und M. Totti. Bde 1–3; *Supplementum magicum*. I–II ed. by R.W. Daniel and Franco Malomini. (= Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Papyrologica Coloniensis* Vol. XVI, 1–2, Vol. XVII, 1–3).

⁶³ Cf. a long papyrus scroll (P. gr. CXXI BM = *PGM* P VII) with an inscription at the end τέλος ἔχει τῶν ἐπῶν Ὀμηρομαντείου ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι.

any evidence of any magical use of the *Tabulae Iliacae*.

In terms of sense Moschion's inscription differs from the *Tabula* as well: the title of a poem and the name of an artist (or sculptor) in the *Tabulae Iliacae* have little in common with the inscription on a stela made *ex voto* after a person's ailing foot was healed. It seems impossible to compare the inscriptions on the *Tabulae Iliacae* :

4N ἀσπίς Ἀχιλλῆος Θεοδώρηος καθ' Ὀμηρον. ΙΕΙΡΕΙΑ ΙΕΡΕΙ

2NY [Ἴλι]ῶς Ὀμήρου. Θεοδώρηος ἡ(ι) τέχνη.

3C Θεοδώρηος ἡ(ι) τέχνη.

5O [ἀσπίς] Ἀχιλλῆος, Θεοδώρηος ἡ(ι) τ[έχνη].

7Ti. [Ἴλίου Π]ῆρσις (Bua 11–12).

15B ἀνάκτων σύνθεσις οἱ συνθεσία

with Moschion's: Ὀσίριδι Μοσχίων ὑγιασθεῖς τὸν πόδα ἰατρείας.

It bears repeating that there is no correspondence whatsoever between the texts of the magical papyri, which amount to little more than variations on the theme of «abracadabra», and the precise message of the *Tabulae Iliacae*. It seems also that the *giuochi alfabetici*⁶⁴ which are found on the *Tabulae Iliacae*⁶⁵ cannot be compared to Moschion's inscription Ὀσίριδι Μοσχίων ὑγιασθεῖς τὸν πόδα ἰατρείας. Here I am reminded of J. Gwyn Griffith's quite explicit observations on wordplay: «It is not, therefore, surprising that among the earliest authors of acrostics in Greek are Philostephanus of Cyrene and Eudoxus of Cnidus. Alexandrian influence deriving from the Egyptian tradition may be present in both these instances, just as Semitic influence is likely in Aratus and Nicander, both from Asia Minor». Horsfall, who reviewed many acrostics in Greek literature, agreed with this observation and used it to reinforce his argument that Theodorus was an Egyptian.

Griffiths' deduction, however, seems to me unlikely, and it will thus be necessary to examine all the surviving Greek and Roman acrostics.

The first extant acrostic occurs in Homer (*Il.* 24, 1–5), forming a word (λευκή), which has no relevance for the Homeric text. We can thus agree with E. Vogt that «das Akrostichon bei Homer ist sicher Zufall»⁶⁶. It is interesting,

⁶⁴ M. Bua, *I giuochi alfabetici delle tavole Iliache*, Roma, 1971.

⁶⁵ From this point of view it is not very relevant that the appearance of magic squares was attested in Egypt at the end of the 2-nd mill. B.C. Cf. J. Gwyn Griffiths, «Arepo» in the Magic «Sator» Square», *CR* 21 (1971), p. 8: «The «Sator» square, of course, goes beyond palindrome, and the only exact precedent to the crossword appears in Egypt. J. J. Clère in *Chronique d'Égypte* 12 (1938), p. 35–58, in his article on «*Achrostiches et Mots croisés des anciens Égyptiens*», called attention to acrostic texts and also to a stela (BM 194) of the time of Ramesses VI, where the whole of the main text can be read either from right to left or from top to bottom. Recently this text has been republished by J. Zandee in *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, Leiden, 1966, p. 6, and in the same work he himself fully edits a partial example from the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1270 B.C.)».

⁶⁶ E. Vogt, «Das Akrostichon in der griechischen Literatur», *AA* 13, (1966), p. 80–97 Lit.; E. Vogt, «Akrostichon» *Lexikon der Alten Welt*. Zürich Stuttgart, 1965, p. 95. Ed. Countney, «Greek and Roman Acrostics», *Philologus* 134 (1990), p. 3–13.

however, that this acrostic turned up again during the Hellenistic period⁶⁷. For the end of the fifth cent. B.C. we have several testimonia of acrostics by Epicharmus (see DL, 8,78) and a surviving acrostic by Chaeremon:

Χρῆ τιμᾶν θ[
 Ἄρχῆ γὰρ θνητ[οῖς
 Ἰμείρου πάση[ς
 Ῥώμην τιμῶμεν μ[
 Ἥθους ἔχειν ὄσιον ζῆε
 Μῆ πᾶν κέρδος ὄρα [ῶ⁶⁸,

We have also some testimonia of acrostics by Dionysius Metathemenus (fourth cent. B.C., also mentioned in DL 8,78)⁶⁹, and Herakleides Ponticus (Fr. 13a-b Wehrli⁷⁰ ad loc.). Another genuine acrostic to survive dates from the fourth century B.C. U. Brand⁷¹ cites it as the earliest example of an acrostic verse: «Die frühesten Beispiele der hellenistischen Zeit finden sich bei Philostephanos (Kallimachos Zeit, ca. 300–240 v. Chr.), der im A. den Textanfang wiederholt, bei Nikandros (345–353), bei Aratos (783–788 Λεπτή)⁷² und im Einleitungsgedicht der Eudoxus zugeschriebenen “Technē” (um 190 v. Chr.)»⁷³. This Hellenistic material is not the earliest, however. We do in fact have examples from the fifth century B.C.: not only Chaeremon’s acrostic, but also instances collected in Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae* X, 453–455. I think Brand et al. have left them out simply because they are technically not acrostics. In fact they are «alphabetic puns». Athenaeus cites an incidence of play on letters from Callias (X, 454 a),⁷⁴ by Sophocles (Athen. 454 f), who introduced «one who danced the forms of the letters» (τὰ γράμματα παράγων

⁶⁷ It was noted in the Scholia to Homer, presumably of Alexandrian origin.

⁶⁸ First seen by R. Kannicht, this fragment (14b) is presumably from the «Centaur», cf. *Musa Tragica. Die griechische Tragödie von Thespis bis Ezechiel* (= Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft, 16 Göttingen, 1991), p. 162 and 290 Anm. 14.

⁶⁹ A. Kurfess, *Sieben Weissagungen*, 1951, p. 324 sq.

⁷⁰ Very sceptical, cf. F. Wehrli, *Schule des Aristot.* 7, S. 62 sq., 1,80

⁷¹ U. Brand, «Akrostichon» *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*. Bd. 1. Darmstadt, 1992, Sp. 313–317.

⁷² Cf. J. M. Jacques, «Sur un acrostich d’ Aratos» *REA*, 62, 1960, p. 48–61. Peter Bing (P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse, Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poetry*. Göttingen, 1988, p. 29 n. 39) accepts the interpretation by J. M. Jacques of Λεπταί as depending on Homeric Λευκή. Cf also Peter Bing, «A Pun on Aratus’ Name in Verse 2 of the Phainomena?» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 93 (1990), p. 281–285 and W. Levitan, «Plexed artistry: Aratean Acrostics», *Glyph*. 5 (1979), p. 55–68.

⁷³ U. Brand, «Akrostichon», Sp. 314.

⁷⁴ See Peter D. Arnot’s («The Alphabet Tragedy of Callias», *Classical Philology* 55 (1960) 178–180) remark: «The alphabet Tragedy seems to have enjoyed a considerable succès d’ estime to judge by the number of other, lesser, imitations; and history offers many examples of great works which have had their origins in insignificant trifles». See also И. М. Тронский. «Грамматическая трагедия» Каллия // Русско-европейские литературные связи. Сборник статей к 70-летию со дня рождения академика М. П. Алексеева. М.:Л., 1966. С. 332–339.

ὄρχουμένου) in a satyr play, *Amphiaraus*. For his *Theseus*, Euripides composed a speech containing a description of the letters of the alphabet (Athen., X, 454 b), including Ionic Η, used long before the official adoption of the Ionic alphabet in 403 B.C. The name of Theseus, which occurs in these verses also appears in an acrostic inscription from Sinope (see below) and we can attest here a kind of continuity, which is rather peculiar but undoubtedly literature-based. The most interesting parallel to the *Tabula Iliaca* is the above-mentioned epitaph of Thrasymachus⁷⁵ preserved in the book «*On epigrams*» by Neoptolemus of Parion:

τοὔνομα θῆτα ῥῶ ἄλφα σὰν ῖ μῦ⁷⁶ ἄλφα χεῖ οὔ⁷⁷ σάν.
πατρίς Χαλκηδών· ἥ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη⁷⁸.

This kind of literary joke is clearly a product of the first sophistic.

We can also see that it was *à la mode* to search for Homeric verses beginning and ending with the same letter (Athen. X, 458,a) or to look for verses whose first and last syllables form names: Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δύο καὶ δέκα νῆας. As E. Lobel showed⁷⁹, the name of Nicander appears as an acrostic in *Theriaca*, 345–353, and *Alexipharmaca*, 266–274. In imperial times, Dionysius, son of Calliphon, did the same (Dionysius Periegete 109–134 and 513–532)⁸⁰. Finally, there is an acrostic preface, in correct «tragic» iambics, to a treatise on astronomy by Eudoxus. Vv. 6–8 mean: «There is one line for each month of the year and each letter contains one day. The first letters of the line spell perpendicularly ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΗ («Eudoxus' Book of Rules»)»⁸¹. This is an outstanding work, since not only the first letters of the lines, but also all the letters in each line are designed to be significant.

⁷⁵ About his life see Kl. Oppenheimer, *RE*, 16 (1937), Sp. 584–592.

⁷⁶ ῦμ in manuscripts.

⁷⁷ This is a normal indication for /øe/, cf. Callias ap. Athen. X, 453 d: βῆτα οὔ βῶ (the O was pronounced and noted as οὔ).

⁷⁸ I am not sure that here we must understand τέχνη as «profession».

⁷⁹ E. Lobel, «Nicander's Signature» *Classical Quarterly* 22 (1928), p. 114. Cf. also W. Kranz. *Rh. Mus.* 104 (1961), p. 99.

⁸⁰ Leuve, *Philologus* 42 (1887), p. 175.

⁸¹ D. L. Page. *Literary papyri. Poetry*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1950, p. 467–469. First edition of this papyrus of the second century B.C.: Letronne. *Papyrus grecs du Louvre: Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques*. Vol. I, Paris, 1850, p. 46; Небо, наука, поэзия. Античные авторы о небесных светилах, об их именах, восходах, заходах и приметах погоды. Перевод и комментарий А. А. Роснуса. М., 1992. С. 124 сл.

In contrast with the literary perspective, the magic aspect of acrostics is poorly represented. There is only one acrostical oracle in the Hellenistic period, dating from 111/5–125 B.C. (Akrostichisches Orakel bei Phlegon, observations Mir, 10 (75, 28 Keller-Diels.)⁸². Acrostic oracles appear again only at the time of Julian the Apostate⁸³.

In sum, I do not think that this *jeu d'esprit* had any «magic» background in Greek literature, nor was there any «magic» in numerical acrostics⁸⁴; they show only a particular concern with form.

In Roman literature, the first and most famous acrostics occur in Ennius: «*Q. Ennius fecit*» (Cic. *de Div.* 2,III) and «*Italicus scripsit*», the latter forming the first and last few lines of the «*Ilias Latina*». Although it cannot be proved, it seems to be true that «Vielleicht noch vor Christus sind die Akrostichen in den Argumenten zu den Komödien des Plautus entstanden»⁸⁵. As in Greek literature, Roman acrostics depend on literary tradition. We can also add that they are equally represented in Augustan times (Vergil, *Aen.* 7.601–4)⁸⁶:

Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
Albae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum
Roma colit, cum prima movent in proelia Martem,
Sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum...⁸⁷

⁸² *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, hrsgg. von Th. Klauser. Bd. I. Stuttgart, 1950, p. 235.

⁸³ ГЕРМАНОВ – *Anth. Pal.* XIV, 148.

⁸⁴ Cl. Meillier, «Acrostiches numériques chez Théocrite», *REG* 102, (1989), p. 331–338, Н. В. Брагинская. Композиция «Картин» Филострата Младшего // Балканские чтения 2. М., 1992. С. 30–35 (in Russian: Nina V. Braguinskaya, «The composition of the *Pictures* by Philostratus Maior»).

⁸⁵ U. Brand, «Akrostichon», *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, hsg. G. Üding. Bd. 1. Darmstadt, 1992, Sp. 314–315.

⁸⁶ D. P. Fowler, «An Acrostic in Vergil (Aeneid 7. 601–4)?», *CQ* 33 (1983), p. 298. I am grateful to Ian Rutherford for this reference.

⁸⁷ Another acrostic in Vergil, *Georgics* I, 427–37, is less clear. However, it is accepted by the majority: «Thus it is difficult to resist the claim of Brown (1963) that at lines 429–31–33 V. created his own modified acrostic to much of Aratus, precisely at the point of translating the pertinent lines; they begin, with the order reversed, with the first two letters of the poet's full name: pu- ve- ma-. Line 429, like the first line of Aratus' acrostic, is the sixth line of the section: Vergil, *Georgics*, Volume 1: Books I–II. Ed. by R. F. Thomas, Cambridge, NY, 1988, p. 139. I am grateful to L. Käppel (Tübingen) for this reference, and for Chaeremon, too.

Martial (Epigram II, 86)⁸⁸ shows that this kind of poetry was still very popular in Rome a century later:

Quod nec carmine glorior supino⁸⁹
Nec retro lego Sotaden cinaedum,
Nusquam Graecula quod recantat echo
Nec dictat mihi luculentus Attis
5 Mollem debilitate galliambon:
Non sum, Classice, tam malus poeta.
Quid, si per graciles vias petauri
Invitum iubeas subire Ladan?
Turpe est difficiles habere nugas
10 Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.
Scribat carmina circulis Palaemon,
Me raris iuvat auribus placere.

In this epigram, acrostics are viewed from inside Roman culture as Greek borrowings. It is noteworthy that *carmen supinum* is a technical calque from Greek *acrostich(i)on* – «the upper poetry», just as *versus recurrens* corresponds to *palindrome*. Evidently the Romans realized very well that both poetic devices had been borrowed from the Greeks (cf. Nusquam *Graecula* quod recantat echo...). In the beginning of the first century A.D., acrostics were well represented in Greece, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 1795 (I A.D.) with a number of acrostic epigrams each beginning with a letter in alphabetic order, and P. Amh. 23.

Evidently such texts have nothing to do with superstitions or magic and in this they differ greatly from magic papyri. This is a kind of *jeu d'esprit*, much in currency in both Greek and Roman cultures. The origin is not necessarily Egypt, but Eastern origins seem very likely. In Greek culture from the fifth century B.C. on, letter-puns were popular among the sophisticated citizens of Athens; this tradition was very much alive throughout the

⁸⁸ We will use here the famous commentary of L. Friedlaender: *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri* mit erklärenden Anmerkungen von L. Friedlaender. Vol. I. Leipzig, 1886, p. 278–79.

⁸⁹ L. Friedlaender *ad loc.* «carmen supinum, Verse, die auch rückwärts gelesen werden konnten (Ovid. *Ex Pont.* IV, 5, 43: fluminaque in fontes cursu reditura supino): also versus recurrens oder reciproci. Von beiden Gattungen gab es mehrere Arten: Verse, die sich Buchstabe für Buchstabe rückwärts lesen liessen (καρκῖνοι Sidon. *Apoll. Epp.* IX, 14 illud antiquum «Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor». *CIL* IV, 2400 = Kaibel 1124 = Dübner. *Anth. Pal.* II, p. 608 ἤδη μοι Διὸς ἄρ' ἀπάτα παρα σοί, Διομήδη); Verse, die man Wort für Wort rückwärts lesen konnte (Verg. *Aen.* I, 8 Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso). Ganz besonders wurden Verse (Hexameter) gebildet, die rückwärts gelesen Sotadeen ergaben, oder Sotadeen, die rückwärts gelesen andere Verse gaben. Quint. IX 4, 90 Astra tenet caelum, mare classes, area messem – hic retrorsum fit Sotadeus, itemque e Sotadeo trimetros: caput exseruit mobile pinus repetita. Sotades hatte den Vers Il. X 133 durch Umstellung der Worte in einen Sotadeus verwandelt. Martial will sagen, er mache keine Verse, die rückwärts gelesen den von Sotades in den Κίχαιδοι angewandten gleichen».

Hellenistic period, and even during Imperial Roman times⁹⁰.

There is some evidence that acrostics also penetrated into the lower genres of poetry and prose that survive only in epitaphs⁹¹. There are a few elegiac verses with the acrostic forming the name of the deceased: «Auch in Grabschriften wurde die Wortakrostichis gerne angewandt; ein Beispiel aus Sinope: Θέμις, Ἥλιος, Σελήνη, Ἑρμῆς, Ὑδρήχοος, Σείριος»⁹². The best known example is an epigrammatic inscription (Kaibel 149. Rhenea in insula, nunc Veronae. *C.I.G.* 2321). In his commentary, G. Kaibel⁹³ noted: «Litterae vulgares – Ex meliore exemplo videtur expressum epigramma, cuius altera pars, quae ipsius mortuae res tractat, etiam minus scite facta priore; neque enim dicendi nec sentiendi elegans continuus est».

Σῆμα μὲν ἐν στήλῃ γλυπτῇ θέσαν, ἠνίκ' ἐγὼ μὲν
ἀελίου γλυκερὴν λείπον ἐπ' ἐσχατῆν.
'Ρηνείης δέ με δέκτο μυχὸς καὶ ἀλάμπειτον οὐδας
'Αἶδεω [λ]α[γόνων] κρῦψέ μ' ὑπὸ σκοτίων,
5 πατὴρ μὲν Δημοσθένης, ἑτέων δύο κεῖκοσί μ' οὔσαν.
ἴστε δέ με τριτάτην ἡματος ὀλλυμένην.
ὦ μητρὸς (σ)τυγερῆς καὶ ἀδελφεοῦ εἴνεκ' ἐμέιο·
νοῦσος ἀκωλύτωι μόρσιμον εἶλε τύχη

We can read the name of the deceased: ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ. Another inscription, G. Kaibel 726, also contains the name of a dead person, ΦΛΑΒΙΑ⁹⁴. To these examples⁹⁵ we should add acrostics containing the names of sculptors: G. Kaibel 1096 (Stratoniceae in Serapieo pariete *C.I.G.* 2722 coll. Add. II p.1108 – III cent. A.D.) in which «Boeckh ex versuum litteris extricavit Μέλιππος εὔρε», the name of a sculptor. Extremely interesting is the following inscription⁹⁶:

⁹⁰ E.g. Dionysius Periegetes' work, presumably from the time of Hadrian, then in the poetic works of Sidonius etc., and in inscriptions as well. On acrostics in Roman basic culture, see A. Antonio, «Gli acrostici nella poesia sepolcrale latina», *Athenaeum* 1 (1913), p. 288–294.

⁹¹ G. Graf, *RE* I, i (1893), Sp. 1200–07.

⁹² *ARW* 13 (1910) 475–8. Cf. *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, hrsgg. von Th. Klauser. Bd. I. Stuttgart, 1950, Sp. 236. See also above on the name of Theseus in the Euripidean fragment.

⁹³ G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Hildesheim, 1965 (Frankfurt a.M., 1879).

⁹⁴ Romae ad viam Latinam. *C.I.G.* Add. IV 9595 a. III vel IV seculi. Flavianum enim (hoc nomen intellexit Kirchhoff prioris carminis versuum initialibus litteris significari) Valentinianorum sectae cum marito addictam fuisse docta disputatione evicit Kirchhoff.

⁹⁵ Kaibel 226 and *CIG* 519 (Nubia), *Mélanges de Rome* 1895, p. 487 (Gastinel), *Philologus* (1895), p. 12 (Rohde).

⁹⁶ G. Kaibel 979 (In insula Philis. *C.I.G.* 4924 b).

Κάμ[ε] τὸν εὐτέχνου φωτὸς στίχον, ὦ φίλε, βῆμα
 τίμιον ἀμπαύσας ἔγμαθε καὶ χάρισαι
 λιταῖς ἱστορίαις λιτὸν πόνον, οἶα πέπαιγμαι
 οὐ κενὰ, μηνύων οὐπερ ἔφυν γενέτου·
 5 τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ πλώσας, φησί, ξένε, χεύματα Νείλου
 καιρὸν ἔχω φωνεῖν· ἰχαίρετε πολλά, Φίλαι·
 νικῶμαι πέτραις τε καὶ οὖρεσιν, ὦ καταράκται,
 κάγω ἔχω τεύχειν ἱστορικὴν σελίδα
 νοστήσας καὶ ἰδὼν Νικάνορα καὶ γένος ἄλλο·
 ρος κατάλοιπον ἔχω· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τέλος⁹⁷.

This inscription can be firmly dated to the Augustan period; cf. the inscription: Κατιλίου τοῦ καὶ Νικάνο[ρος ...] Καίσαρος, Φαμεν[ώθ] ιβ', ἐπὶ Νείλου στρατηγῶ⁹⁸. It is quite unique that the name has been composed from the initial syllables (all of them open except the -ρος in the final line) instead of single letters only. This epigram is of Egyptian provenance.

This kind of inscription is better suited for comparison with the inscriptions on the *Tabula Iliaca*: I believe that in both cases there is no attempt at magic or divination. The name of Theodorus is on the verso of the tablet, and it would be very strange if it were not merely the sculptor's signature.

In the Eastern Roman Empire epitaphs with acrostics were quite common, cf. the examples of M. Guarducci⁹⁹, who stressed that «Nato dal gusto delle cose artificiose ed arcane, così vivo fra i Greci specialmente nell'età ellenistica, l'uso dell'acrostico si estese facilmente da testi non sepolcrali anche a testi sepolcrali». She interpreted the acrostic as a «magic formula» needed for «una garanzia d'immortalità» for the dead person¹⁰⁰, and cited new prose inscriptions with acrostics¹⁰¹ (2nd and 4th centuries A.D.), and a hymn to Apollo¹⁰² (1st century B.C. – 1st cent. A.D.), which contains an acrostic with the name of the unknown poet Herodotus (or Herodorus), son of Artemon, from Seleucia on the river Eulaios¹⁰³. Of somewhat later date are the «alphabetic» oracles of Apollo Kareios (Ierapolis, Phrygia – 2nd century

⁹⁷ «Acrostichi lusu perfecto Κατιλίου τοῦ καὶ Νικάνορος carmen esse reperit Franz, *Mus. Rh.* III, 298 (1845), additque Haupt *Opusc.* III, 490 eadem effici nomina compositis primis quibusque cum ultimis versuum litteris» – G. Kaibel.

⁹⁸ Kaibel 978, p.13–14: Itaque annus est vel XV vel XX vel XXXIII Caesaris Augusti, i.e. a. Chr. n. vel 15 vel 10 vel 7.

⁹⁹ M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*. III. Epigrafi di carattere privato. Roma, 1974, 158 with bibliography.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. J. W. Zarker, *Orpheus* 13 (1966), p. 138–151.

¹⁰¹ L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, II, 1, Romae, 1972, n. 411

¹⁰² Highly significant is the discovery of an inscription from Susa: F. Cumont, *Mémoires de la mission archéol. de Perse*, 20, 1928, pp. 89–96, n.6.

¹⁰³ On the acrostic in particular cf. M. Guarducci, «Dal giuoco letterale alla crittografia mistica», *Miscellanea in onore di J. Vogt (Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt)*, cf. Perdrizet, *REG* 17 (1904), p. 350–360, L. Robert, *Hellenica 11–12* (1960), p. 428sq.

A.D)¹⁰⁴, contemporary with the appearance of acrostics in Christian inscriptions¹⁰⁵.

In a brief summary of the topic of acrostics and *giuochi alfabetici*, we can say that in Rome in the first few centuries A.D. this kind of word-puzzle was not uncommon: there are a number of *versus supinus* in Ovid, and an acrostic in Vergil. We also find a negative reaction in Martial, who indicates the Greek origin of this intellectual game. The inscriptions furnish examples as well (first cent. B.C. – first cent. A.D.). The tradition was alive during the Hellenistic period and we have evidence of its early borrowing into Roman literature (Q. Ennius and, possibly, Plautus). Such a constellation of names makes it obvious that this kind of verse was not intended exclusively for Trimalchios. There is a close parallel in some verses by Fortunatus¹⁰⁶, and in his poetry mysticism was not essential either.

The use of the alphabet for magic purposes was quite widespread¹⁰⁷, and in graffiti the alphabetic order is sometimes changed: α, β, γ, δ, ε̂ ζ̂ η̂ θ̂ κ, λ, κτλ., but, returning to the *Tabula Iliaca*, we may say that the magic purpose of this relief is not attested, and the magic character of the inscription, if any, does not seem to depend solely on the presence of an acrostic or «magic square». In the light of what we have learned, let us investigate the meaning of the inscription. I think the name of Theodorus and the title «The Sack of Troy» have nothing to do with magic. Still the artist's name incorporated in metrical inscriptions has to be accounted for.

The name of Theodorus, as has been argued, was wellknown in Augustan times. Quite a number of works are inscribed with his name. In point of composition the *Tabula Iliaca Rondanini* and *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* prove his outstanding talent. That he was popular is evidenced by the large number of surviving copies, (see below), and it seems likely that the original masterworks were mosaics and not sculptures: the *Tabulae Iliacae* were reproductions of a very large and famous picture¹⁰⁸. The inscription on the verso is in a quasi-stoichedon style, while the recto seems to be quite untidy.

The contrast between the verso with the «magic square» executed in stoichedon and the inaccurate inscriptions on the recto forces one to pose the question, why? The most reasonable answer seems to be that the inscription in the center of the recto is an integral part of the picture. What we have in the *Tabulae Iliacae* are copies of mosaics – the little figures, too small to be identified, and the inscriptions forming part of the picture are characteristic of

¹⁰⁴ M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca, IV. Epigrafi sacre pagane e Cristiane*, Roma, 1978, p. 101–103.

¹⁰⁵ M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca, IV.* p.380 sq., esp. 386: acrostic in a Christian inscription of the 2nd cent., cf. p. 488–489.

¹⁰⁶ See M. Graver, «*Quaelibet Audiendi: Fortunatus and the Acrostics*», *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 123 (1993), p. 219–245.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. e.g. F. Dornseiff, *Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, 2. Aufl., 1925.

¹⁰⁸ Mosaics as objects of luxury are discussed in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2. Aufl. München, 1897, p. 697–700

mosaics, not frescoes, or even vase painting¹⁰⁹. Here we are concerned only with the *Tabulae* containing the name Theodorus, though there are some *Tabulae* with texts on historical subjects, or even giving the exact number of lines in major Greek epic poems (*Tab. Borgia*), which encourages the speculation that the *Tabulae* could have been copies of different works of art, Theodorus' mosaics among them, as has already been suggested.

Now we must try to find evidence or least traces of evidence of the mosaic produced by Theodorus, and attempt to date this *chef d'oeuvre*.

The only description of a mosaic in ancient literature is in a passage from Athenaeus¹¹⁰, discussing the famous galley of Hieron II of Syracuse (c. 306–215 B.C.). Hieron invited the most famous artists of the day to decorate the ship; at the head of the project was Archias of Corinth: συνήγαγε δὲ καὶ ναυπηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τεχνίτας καὶ καταστήσας ἐκ πάντων Ἄρχιαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀρχιτέκτονα... (Athen. 206 f). The ship was built in six months as three hundred craftsmen worked on its lead tile overlay. Archimedes was charged with the task of launching her (Athen. 207 b), and for another six months the rest of the ship was built on the sea. The ship had three gangways; the middle was designed for access to the cabins. «Belonging to the middle gangway were cabins for men ranged on each side of the ship, large enough for four couches, and numbering thirty. The officers' cabin could hold fifteen couches and contained three apartments of the size of three couches; that toward the stern was the cooks' galley»¹¹¹. Then Athenaeus remarks (Athen. 207c-d) «ταῦτα δὲ πάντα (it is difficult to tell whether ταῦτα refers to the entire gangway or merely the officers' cabin and cooks' galley) δάπεδον εἶχεν ἐν ἀβακίσκοις συγκειμένον ἐκ παντοίων λίθων, ἐν οἷς ἦν κατεσκευασμένος πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος θαυμασίως» (Athen. 5. 207 c.). The interpretation of the last phrase is not as easy as it may seem. Ch.B. Gulick translates: «All these rooms had a tessellated flooring made of a variety of stones, in the pattern of which was wonderfully wrought the entire story of the Iliad». Ph. Bruneau proposed to interpret the words ἐν ἀβακίσκοις συγκειμένον ἐκ παντοίων λίθων, ἐν οἷς ἦν κατεσκευασμένος πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος θαυμασίως as referring to mosaic tables or panels, rather than some sort of mosaic technique¹¹². As a matter of fact a ship with the remnants

¹⁰⁹ Ph. Bruneau, *Les mosaïques*. (= Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'École Française d'Athènes. Fasc. 29, Paris, 1972). See e.g. Cat. n. 73 «Composition à deux champs contigus; losanges imitant des cubes en trompe-l'œil» (p. 174–176, fig. 85–86). More representative and containing the «magic square» are n. 145 and n. 300 (Roman Empire); Bruneau, p. 66 «Le motif de la mosaïque de l'Agora des Déliens est bien connu à l'époque impériale». The magic sign of Tanit is represented as well (cf. p. 233, n. 209).

¹¹⁰ K. M. D. Dunbabin, «Technique and Materials of Hellenistic Mosaics» *AJA* (1979), p. 265–277.

¹¹¹ Transl. by Ch. B. Gulick (Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, Mass.; London, 1937, p. 437).

¹¹² Ph. Bruneau, «Le sens de ἀβακίσκοις (Athénée V, 207 C) et l'invention de L'Opus tessellatum», *REG* 80 (1967), p. 325–330.

of mosaics was found at Nemi¹¹³, so it seems certain that the mosaic on the ship's gangway was not Hieron's invention, but a familiar form of decor taken to extremes. The dimensions of Hieron's ship are surprisingly large; I think that Ph. Bruneau's interpretation is correct¹¹⁴, and that the only way to produce such a big mosaic would have been in panels. At the same time I propose to interpret the words πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος not as «the entire story of the Iliad», but as «the entire story of the Trojan War», including episodes not represented in the Iliad, as is the case on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, in which many of the stories concerning the Iliad and Ilion are represented. The interpretation of μῦθος ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα as «the entire story of the Iliad» is not impossible (in this case, however, περὶ + Gen. would be expected), though «all the episodes of the Trojan War» seems to me more probable than the literal «entire story of the Iliad». This interpretation is an old one – we find it in Stephanus' Thesaurus: «ap. Athen. 5, [p.207, D, ex Moschione] πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος, *Fabulamentum de bello Trojano: inscriptum in pavimento quodam*»¹¹⁵.

The mosaic was famous in antiquity, but the name of the artist is unknown. The story was told by a «certain Moschion» who wrote a book about the history of the ship *Syracusia* and its decoration. The story of the wonderful ship built by Hieron II of Syracuse and given to Ptolemy in Athenaeus abounds in details but only a few names of the craftsmen appear. The ship was beached after only a few voyages, and it is possible that people later visited the place where she stood to look at her. The mosaic is securely datable to the second half of the third century B.C.; further, it is unlikely that Hieron II built the ship immediately after his accession. More probably the construction dates to the end of Hieron's life, before his death in 215 B.C.¹¹⁶, and certainly before the fall of Syracuse in 212.

It has already been proposed that Roman reliefs were modelled on mosaics, but the idea of comparing the *Tabulae Iliacae* with Hellenistic mosaics has never been formulated: «Hieron II also built a monster ship and rewarded the Athenian poet Archimelos, who celebrated it in nine elegant elegiac couplets, with 1,000 bushels of wheat. The officers' quarters had a mosaic floor, which represented “the entire story of the Iliad”. This is interesting as a kind of parallel to Homeric bowls, which are believed to derive from Alexandrian originals of the end of the third century. It is even possible that Ptolemy IV got the idea, if indeed it was his, from Hieron, because, when Hieron found that no Sicilian harbour could take the ship, he renamed it “Alexandris” and sent it as a present to Ptolemy»¹¹⁷.

¹¹³ Cf. G. Sangiorgi in: G. Ucelli, *Le navi di Nemi*, Rome, 1950, p. 225–231.

¹¹⁴ Cf. the objections in K. M. D. Dunbabin, «Technique and Materials of Hellenistic Mosaics», *AJA* (1979), p. 265–277.

¹¹⁵ *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* ab H. Stephano constructus. Vol. V, Parisiis, 1842–1846, p. 1252.

¹¹⁶ Theocritus, ed. by A. S. F. Gow. Vol. II, Cambridge, 1950, p. 305.

¹¹⁷ T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic poetry and Art*, London, 1964, p. 258.

I will try to refine this point (that is, mosaics as a source of inspiration for the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*), which is rather diffuse. We know of many pictorial representations of the Sack of Troy before the third century B.C., but they were something like photographs, illustrating only separate scenes. A picture containing all the events from the very beginning of the Trojan War to the days after Troy was sacked is something quite different, especially suited to the dimensions of a giant ship with a gangway on which πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος θαυμασίως (Athen. 5. 207 c.) was represented.

I suggest that Hieron's mosaic on this ship was the prototype for the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, and that Theodorus was one of the artists invited by Hieron II. This mosaic was famous in the third century B.C.¹¹⁸, and I think the artist must have already been famous enough for Hieron II to entrust him the decoration of the ship. Unfortunately, we know only a few names of the people associated with the building of the ship: Archimedes, Archias of Corinth, who directed the whole project, and Archimelos of Athens, who composed a poem celebrating the ship. The name of the artist who made the mosaic, though he was of course known to his contemporaries by his works, is nowhere explicitly mentioned. Hieron II's ship was renamed and given to Ptolemy, loaded with grain, and afterwards was pulled up on the shore (Athen., 209 b). It is possible that the remains of this ship stayed on shore for many years, but it seems that the mosaic decoration was completely lost as we don't have any extant examples of a mosaic composition with such an encompassing theme as «πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος», i.e., not just the subject of the *Iliad*, but *all* the myths related to the *Iliad*.

The description πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος could justifiably be applied to the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* since it also contains the myths surrounding the *Iliad*.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the artist who composed the mosaic for Hieron's ship was residing at the court in Syracuse; further, among numerous individuals named Theodorus there are three artists¹¹⁹: one mentioned by Polemo, the second an Athenian painter mentioned by Theophanes in his work on painting (DL, II, 8, n. 19 = II 103), and the third one mentioned by Pliny (H. N., 35, 146). None of them can be safely identified with the master who produced the *Tabula Iliaca*.

The composition of the *Tabula Iliaca* betrays an originality of conception, very different in its scope (it comprises the entire myth in synopsis) from traditional wall-paintings, which almost always depict only a single scene from a myth. The only wall-painting which is definitely connected with Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* contains a single scene, that of Epeios carrying water

¹¹⁸ As F. Susemihl (*Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 882, Anm. 224) wrote, «Vermuthlich gehört Moschion noch dem dritten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert an, aus dem er eine bekannte historische Thatsache mittheilt (Athen. 209 e), und dem die vom ihm angeführten Historiker angehören».

¹¹⁹ W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. 3. Aufl., Bd. I, Braunschweig, 1911, p. 490–491; Lippold, «Theodorus», *RE* s.v.

to the Achaians, mentioned in Athenaeus 10.456.e-f. There are also a few interesting innovations, for example, the combination of epic and lyric sources in a single picture. From the point of view of composition, we have the work of a great master.

It is time to sum up what we have observed so far about the inscriptions and composition of the *Tabula*. Literary jokes were familiar to Greeks from the fifth century B.C. and have nothing to do with magic; this is one of the directions taken by the first sophistic. Further, the composition of the *Tabulae Iliacae* is rather curious from a purely artistic point of view, since the small figures have little artistic interest, and the poorly arranged inscription with strange spelling contrasts strikingly with the stoichedon on the reverse; this can best be explained by taking the *Tabulae Iliacae* to be a copy of a mosaic. The general design – a number of smaller panels surrounding a large panel in the center – is characteristic of mosaic composition, the same is true for the border lines separating individual scenes. The name of Theodorus found on the tablet next to Homer's argues the same point since we usually find the name of a master on mosaics, but not on sculpture, and this seems to indicate that Theodorus' name was as glorious in painting as the name of Homer was in poetry. The sale of such a large series of copies of Theodorus' mosaics (i.e., the *Tabulae Iliacae*) would have been unlikely if his name had not been quite famous. The craftsmen who made the copies were not the best in Rome, they produced copies for art-lovers who wished to have a replica of a famous masterpiece¹²⁰.

With these considerations in mind I will make an attempt at interpreting the composition of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*.

N. Horsfall collected all the evidence available to show how inadequately the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* represents the contents of Stesichorus' poem¹²¹. Part of it is not relevant to the present discussion; and some of his suggestions are rather doubtful:

Only a couple of Achaeans are shown dragging the Wooden Horse, instead of the hundred in Stesichorus' poem. In my opinion, Stesichorus may

¹²⁰ Not all the *Tabulae* bear the name Theodorus, e.g. his name is absent from tablets where a text was represented: *SEG XXXV*, 1985, n. 1044, The «Borgia Table» 1st quarter of the 1st cent. A.D. *IG XIV 1292* (*CIG 6129*; Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, Warszawa, 1964, p. 58–61 no. 10K; cf. *SEG XXIX 993*; *XXXIII 800–802*). W. McLeod (*TAPhA* 115 (1985), p. 153–165) showed that the shortest possible restoration at the beginning of l. 5 is the author's name and demotic, plus a numeral, plus ἐπῶν καὶ plus Kypria plus ἃ ποιῆσαι Ἀρκτῖνοιν. Presumably we have here a kind of index, including title, author's name and demotic, and an indication of the poem's length, e.g., in l. 2 we find Danaides (author's name is omitted) – 6500 lines. This reconstruction is based on a parallel text, *IG XIV 1285 II verso*, 1292 recto. For further interpretation see *SEG XXXIX*, 1992, n 1072. *SEG XXXIII*, 1983, n 802 A (*IGUR IV*, 1633), republished by Burstein, *ZPE 77* (1989) 275/276 and by R. Merkelbach, *ibid.*, 277–280, both with commentary. The restoration is based on the identification by B. of LL. 1–3 as fragments of three non-consecutive sentences from a letter of Dareios to Alexander, found in the *Alexander Romance* (II, 17) and in *P. Hamb.* 129, LL. 31–56.

¹²¹ N. Horsfall, «Stesichorus at Bovillae?», *JHS* 99 (1979), p. 38.

not have named all of them, quite possibly (as J. Vürtheim has argued) he only named three, at the least¹²².

The names of Klymene and Medusa are mentioned in Stesichorus' text, but as they do not participate in the main episodes it is no wonder they are not to be found on the relief. As for the meeting of Menelaus and Helen, for this very scene we have a testimonium from a new papyrus (P.Oxy. 2619 fr.16 and 19 = S 104 and 107).

I suggest that the *Tabulae Iliacae* are merely poor replicas of a mosaic masterpiece. Now let us examine the scenes on the relief and attempt to interpret them.

¹²² J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie*, Leiden, 1919, p. 42.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CENTRAL RELIEF ON THE *TABULA ILIACA CAPITOLINA*

It is easiest to start our interpretation with the picture illustrating the first book of the *Iliad*. This is the only relief based on a text known in detail and exhibiting the traces of a vague «correspondence» or «equilibrium of scenes»¹. With this consideration we can now put into shape the laws of the composition in the relief (this applies exclusively to the relieves concerning the *Iliad*):

1) Scenes, which correspond to one another, may be out of chronological order and have their emotional coloring influenced by the «corresponding» panel on the opposite side of the relief. In this case, we can expect that the artist introduced some changes into the narrative, altering the emotional atmosphere and literary value of some scenes in order to develop his theme.

It is interesting to note that «Helen and Menelaus before the shrine of Aphrodite» and «Aeneas going to Hesperia» both represent corresponding scenes.

2) Without any notions of «balance» within a single panel, the action simply develops linearly from left to right.

The middle of the central relief on *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* is to be read from top to bottom:

- 1) The Greeks come out of the Wooden Horse;
- 2) Priam is killed;
- 3) The Trojans run from the city.

It is clear that the scenes on the left- and right-hand sides of this central column do not have the same kind of relationship to one another.

We can begin our interpretation from the upper band of the central relief. In the middle, we find the Greeks leaving the Wooden Horse (with the

¹ O. Jahn used the term «Symmetrie» to describe what actually appears to be, now that so many tablets have been found, a rather vague correspondence in the emotional impact and contents of scenes. This is not symmetry in the strict sense of the word, but a kind of «balance» of composition with regard to these corresponding scenes. It is easily demonstrated using the *Tabula Iliaca Rondanini* as an example. In its lower part, it is divided into four separate scenes:

- 1) part of a wall
- 2) Odysseus meets Hermes
- 3) Odysseus with a sword in his hand speaks with Circe
- 4) part of a wall

The meeting of Odysseus and Circe in section 3 is stormy and passionate: he holds a sword ??? and the moment is filled with drama. Section 2, the meeting of Odysseus and Hermes, has been deliberately made to «correspond» to, or perhaps, «balance» section 3 in a highly sophisticated chiasmic arrangement (the wall forms an integral part of the structure). The emotional content has also unexpectedly been made to correspond to section 3: Hermes is giving Odysseus moly, and yet the two are depicted as if locked in a death struggle! The artists' urge to create correspondences between tenuously related scenes is more of an urge to «deform» than a logical principle of arrangement.

inscription: δούρηος ἵππος²), Ajax (on the Table Αἴα[ς]), the son of Oileus, overtakes Cassandra, who is hiding in Athena's shrine. On both sides we find the scenes which A. Sadurska named «scènes incertaines»: on the left side a Greek warrior is leading a captured Trojan; on the right (here we must also use the NY Tablet as an aid to our reconstruction), two warriors are fighting, and one of the warriors is killed with a sword. Neither scene has an inscription, and A. Sadurska's supposition that the scene on the right shows a captured warrior takes no account of the «balancing» scene on the left depicting running men.

The sequence of scenes on the relief shows that the story in Stesichorus' poem begins when the Greeks exit from the Wooden Horse, the building of the Wooden Horse being omitted (the details of which are found in Tryphiodorus)³.

When we examine the upper band of the relief as a whole, we can see that «correspondence» plays an important role in the development of the subject. In the right-hand part of the relief (cf. the *Tabula Iliaca* from New York) there are two warriors; one heading for the city kills (with a sword) another standing near the walls Troy. This scene is without names, as is the «corresponding» scene in the left-hand part of the relief. I propose to interpret them as Trojan warriors who are hurrying to the acropolis of Troy (on the left), and Greek warriors bursting into the city (on the right). In support of this interpretation, we can use the interpretation of the relief depicting the first book of the Iliad, at the top of the *Tabula Iliaca*. Apollo is shown holding a bow; he is smiting mules, dogs and men with the plague. If the text of the first book of Iliad were unknown to us, we would say that Apollo smote only *one* mule, *one* dog and *one* man. It seems likely that in all the cases in which we do not have any inscribed name this is a special conventional sign for «many people» (though only one might be represented).

In the same way, the lonely figure of a slinger aiming at the Greeks who have come out of the Wooden Horse represents many Trojan slingers (possibly mentioned in P.Oxy 2619 fr I col.1,9 Παί]ονες ἀγκυλότοξοι).⁴

The development of the subject in the first band of the relief concerning Iliou Persis should then be interpreted in the following manner:

1. Greek warriors leave the Wooden Horse and start fighting on the Trojan acropolis; here belong also the scenes lacking any satisfactory interpretation, depicting battle on the acropolis.
2. The main forces of the Greeks are trying to enter the city (right part of relief).
3. The Trojan warriors run to the Acropolis (left part of the relief).
4. Ajax and Cassandra by the shrine of Athena.

This interpretation is based on the temporal development of the subject (I have already argued that a linear temporal development is to be expected for

² N. Horsfall, 'Stesichorus at Bovillae?', *JHS* 99 (1979), p. 38.

³ Tryphiod. 55–102.

⁴ And not «Archer derrière le temple d'Athéna – Scène incertaine» according to A. Sadurska (p.99).

Stesichorus, see above); the story switches over from Greeks to Trojans and back from Trojans to Greeks. This kind of development is very common in Stesichorean poetics, cf. the description of action in his poem *Συοθήραι*:

Str. ἔνθεν μὲν Λόκροι ...

Ant. ἔνθεν δ' αὖ Δρύοπ[ες] τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι

in which we find the same principle of description⁵.

It is interesting to note the coincidence of this principle with one, which is represented in archaic Greek literature. This kind of narrative, traversing from one side of the fighting to the other, was not uncommon and described by B. A. Van Groningen, who compared this kind of description to a pendulum⁶.

Another relief treats the story in the same way: in the center we see Priam killed and Hecuba captured; on both sides there are «corresponding scenes». The meaning of the scene on the left cannot be determined precisely (but parallels in vase painting make it probable that it is Odysseus and Polyxena)⁷. The other one is to be interpreted as the meeting of Menelaus and Helen (inscribed: ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης). Using the same mode of interpretation as in the upper band of the central relief, we have the following chain of events:

1. Priam's palace. Scenes of fighting, Neoptolemus kills Priam (cf. inscription on the *Tabula Iliaca Veronensis* IIb: [Νεοπτόλεμος ἀ]ποκτείνει Πρίαμον καὶ Ἀγένορα, Πολυπόιτης Ἐχέιον, Θρασυμήδης Νικαίνετον, Φιλοκτῆτης Διοπίθην. Διο -- --).

2. Odysseus and Polyxena.

3. Menelaus meets Helen by Aphrodite's shrine.

4. Hecuba and other Trojan women are captured.

The third band of the relief represents only three scenes: on the left-hand side Aeneas (inscription: Αἰνῆας) taking a chest with sacred objects from Anchises; Anchises turning to a Greek warrior running towards them.

In the central part of the relief Aeneas leaves through the Scaean gate holding Ascanius by the hand and carrying Anchises on his shoulders. Anchises carries the sacred objects. At the head of this group is Hermes, with Creusa behind them (inscriptions: Ἀ[γχ]είσης, Ἀσκάνιος, Αἰνῆας, Ἑρμῆς)⁸.

⁵ *PMG* 222.

⁶ B.A. Van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque*, Amsterdam, 1958, p. 114.

⁷ A. Sadurska, p. 99.

⁸ A. I. Zajcev pointed to a certain inconsistency here: Anchises gives the sacred objects to Aeneas and apparently he should die, but in the central scene Aeneas carries him on his shoulders and the sacred objects are still with him. This inconsistency does not necessarily imply that Theodorus willfully changed the story. Such inconsistencies are not rare especially when «rudimentary motives» break into the story (see Th. F. Zielinsky, *Rudimentary Motives in Greek Tragedy*, Odessa, 1912 – in Russian). In the episodes in question the source of «rudimentary motives» might be epic poem *The*

On the right-hand side Demophon and Acamas release their grandmother Aethra, who was taken to Troy with Helen; on the left there is an unidentified man sitting on the ground (inscriptions: Δημοφῶν, Αἴθρα).

Outside of the Trojan walls near Hector's tomb (inscription: Ἐκτορος τάφος), are the Trojan women and Talthybios speaking to them (inscription: Ταλθύβιος καὶ Τρωιάδες); Cassandra, Andromache taking Astyanax, Helen (inscriptions: Ἀνδρομάχη, Κασσάνδρα, Ἑλενος). The next scene is at Hector's tomb: Hecuba, embracing Polyxena, Andromache already without her son sits with her face hidden in her hands; Helen speaks with Odysseus (inscriptions: Ἑκάβη, Πολυξένη, Ἀνδρομάχη, Ἑλενος, Ὀδυσσεύς).

Outside the walls of Troy, Neoptolemus is sacrificing Polyxena on Achilles' tomb (inscriptions: Νεοπτόλεμος, Πολυξένη, Ἀχιλλέως σῆμα), in the presence of Calchas and Odysseus (inscriptions: Ὀδυσσεύς, Κάλχας); the figure standing on the left with no inscription represents yet again a large group standing in attendance⁹.

The final scene in the right-hand corner at the bottom represents the departure of Trojans led by Aeneas (inscription: [Σ]είλαιον Αἰνῆας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαίρων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν. Μισσηνός. Ἀγχίσης καὶ τὰ ἱερά. Ἀπόπλους Αἰνῆου). This episode is unlikely to have been described in Stesichorus' poem, since Dionysius of Halicarnassus made no mention of the Trojan connection of the Romans in the context of Stesichorus' poem, as N. Horsfall has already noted. Yet scenes with Aeneas were not unknown in Greek vase paintings of the end of the sixth century B.C.¹⁰ As for Anchises giving the Penates to Aeneas,¹¹ no such picture survives, while Aeneas' departure appears only once in a miniature contained in a book of Vergil (Vatican, ca. 420 A.D.). We know, however, that in Stesichorus' poem there were some references to Trojans after the destruction of Troy, for example, Hecuba, who was carried to Lycia by Apollo (PMG 198). As Stesichorus did mention Trojans after the sack of Troy it does not seem improbable that Aeneas appeared in his poem as Hecuba did. On the relief, Hermes leads Aeneas' family to the West as Apollo leads Hecuba in Stesichorus' poem. That Stesichorus mentioned Trojans after the sack of Troy is fairly certain, but as the

Sack of Troy of which only isolated fragments survive, in this poem Anchises presumably died in Troy.

⁹ A. Sadurska interpreted it as a «servant» («un serviteur se tient derrière Néoptolème» – Sadurska, p.29).

¹⁰ G. K. Galinsky (*Aeneas, Sicily and Rome*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1969, p. 122–140) attested the earliest monuments in Etruria, which seem to be of the sixth or even seventh century B.C. (cf. J. Poucet, «Énée et Lavinium. À propos d'un livre récent», *RBP*, 61 (1983), p. 153–155). A. Sadurska cites (p.99) many Greek examples: Vases grecs (Brommer, pp. 273–274); monnaie d'Éuboea à Berlin ca 525 av. n.è (R. Texier, «À propos de deux représentations archaïques de la fuite d'Énée», *RA* 14, (1939), p.16; monnaie d'Aineia, remontant avant 500 av.n.è. (B. Head, *Historia nummorum*, Oxford, 1911, p. 214); three terracottas from Etruria of the middle of fifth (?) century B.C., etc. The complete catalogue in F. Canciani, «Aineas», *LIMIC*, I,1, 381–396, #59–96, especially #59 and #93.

¹¹ «Scène unique», as A. Sadurska (p.99) observes.

evidence of later authors shows, in a fairly brief passage (cf. Paus. X 26.I, iii 174 Sp.: Κλυμένην μὲν οὖν Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου Πέρσιδι κατηρίθμηκεν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις. Paus. X 26.9, iii 176 sq. Sp.: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πριάμου θυγάτρασιν ἀριθμήσαι τις ἂν καὶ ταύτην (scil. Μέδουσαν) κατα του Ἰμεραίου τὴν ὠιδὴν Paus. X 27.2, iii 177 sq. Sp.: ἐς δὲ Ἐκάβην Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου Πέρσιδι ἐποίησεν, ἐς Λυκίαν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὴν κομισθῆναι Schol. Eur. Andr. 10, ii 249 Schw.: Στησίχορον μὲν γὰρ ἱστορεῖν ὅτι τεθνήκοι (scil. ὁ Ἀστυάναξ) καὶ τὸν τὴν Πέρσιδα συντεταχότα κυκλικὸν ποιητὴν (p. 138 Allen) ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥιφθείη· ὧι ἠκολουθηκέναι Εὐριπίδην; Schol. Lycophr. Alex. 265 ii 115 Scheer: Στησίχορος δὲ καὶ Εὐφορίων (fr. 56 Powell) Ἔκτορά φασιν εἶναι υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Schol. T Hom. II. 24. 258, vi 462 Maass: Στησίχορος Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόν (scil. Ἔκτορα) φησιν οὐ νοήσας τὴν ὑπερβολήν). One may strongly suspect that Aeneas' flight from Troy was indeed described by Stesichorus in his *Iliou Persis*. The Kalpis (Vivenzio hydria) by the Cleophrades Painter (the early fifth century: from 505 to 475 B.C.) represents Aeneas and Anchises¹². We know that in the beginning of the fifth century Athenians were familiar with Stesichorus' works. In Italy and Sicily the Trojan Legend was first actively revived in the 260s, perhaps on the occasion of Segesta's defection to Rome¹³. The *Tabula Iliaca* may have performed this function, but it will be argued below that it was later during the time of Hieron II. It is quite reasonable to suppose that a significant reference, however brief, would have been made to the Aeneas and Anchises episode in a work of art intended for a Roman audience¹⁴. Also it would seem strange, after Stesichorus had mentioned several Trojan women that he did not speak of the Trojans who escaped as well.

I believe that the scenes on the *Tabula Iliaca* present Stesichorus' poem exactly as we would expect a series of images to do. There was but one motif, which was expanded in comparison with Stesichorus: the scene of Aeneas' departure. An Euboean coin and another one from Ainea with Aeneas departing from Troy (dated to the end of the sixth cent. B.C.) may well reflect Stesichorus' version of the story. The Euboean connection of Stesichorus is explained by the fact that there were Euboean settlers on Sicily and is confirmed by linguistic data: we find the Euboean form εἶν instead of εἶναι in the new fragments of *Geryonais*, which has already been used to determine the «geographical» connections of Stesichorus¹⁵. This seems to be a likely

¹² J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period* (London 1975), n. 135.

¹³ G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1969, p. 188; Peter Toohey, «Politics, Prejudice, and Trojan Genealogies: Varro, Hyginus and Horace», *Arethusa*, 17 (1984), p. 11.

¹⁴ A. Sadurska, *Les tables Iliques*, Warszawa, 1964, p. 57. This hypothesis put forward by A. Sadurska met with agreement in most reviews of her book, cf. e.g. J. Marcadé, *Revue des études anciennes*, 47 (1965), p. 249–250. For new evidence cf. Peter Toohey, «Politics, Prejudice, and Trojan Genealogies: Varro, Hyginus and Horace», *Arethusa*, 17 (1984), p. 5–28.

¹⁵ M. L. West, «Stesichorus», *CQ* 21 (1971), p. 304.

interpretation of the presence of Aeneas in the Stesichorean poem, yet some objections remain. One of them concerns Misenus, who used to be regarded as belonging to the Roman antiquarian tradition; and we do not have any facts to argue that Misenus was represented in Stesichorus' poem. At the same time, N. M. Horsfall in his later publication come to the conclusion that «though Stesichorean elements cannot be excluded, the inscriptions of the *Tabula Iliaca* are evidently untrustworthy and cannot serve as a basis for reconstruction and speculations»¹⁶. I believe the *Tabula Iliaca* does not represent a set of independent scenes but a single story.

Our analysis of the *Tabula Iliaca* shows that the reliefs on the *Tabula* can be read in a particular way: the action develops successively from center to right in odd-numbered relieves, and to left in even-numbered ones; then towards the opposite side – and back to the center of the relief.

In contemplating the relieves I am reminded of the principle of the «pendulum» composition, well-known in archaic Greek literature. When the story within a single band of relief has returned back to the center (and thus is at the end), the action drops to the next level, to the center of the next lower panel of the relief, which thus commences a new narrative (e.g. from Greeks to Trojans; from Hecuba captured to Aethra released).

* * *

Let us now analyze the relationship between these two kinds of reconstruction; one based on papyri, and the other deriving from the interpretation of the *Tabula Iliaca*. On the left-hand side is the data obtained from the interpretation of the *Tabula Iliaca* based on the principles stated above, and on the right is the reconstruction based on the papyrus fragments:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. | Vv. 4–21 The poem begins with the mention of Epeios and Wooden Horse ¹⁷ . |
| the | |
| 2. Greeks exit the Wooden Horse. The battle on the Trojan acropolis. | |
| 3. The Greek troops arrive. | |
| 4. The Trojans run toward the acropolis ¹⁸ . | Vv. 244–322 – the speeches of Trojans |
| 5. Ajax and Cassandra by the Palladium ¹⁹ . | |

¹⁶ J.N. Bremmer, N.M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, 1987 (= *Univ. of London, Institute for Classical Studies*, Suppl. 52), p. 14.

¹⁷ The Wooden Horse is represented on the 1A. and 2 NY. Sadurska (p. 99) cites many representations in Greek art: Corinthian arybalos (*J.d.I.* 7 (1892), pl. 2; archaic Boiotian *fibula* (Hampe, p. 50 #101 pl. 2; Homeric cups (Courby, p.307 #34; p. 287 # 11 = Hausmann, p. 56 #32; p.57 # 45); Etruscan urn (Brunn, pl.68, fig.2). See A. Sadurska, «Equus Troianus», *LIMC* III, 1, 813-817.

¹⁸ The scene is represented on 1A, 2.NY, 3C. Another explanation (see Sadurska, 99): «Guerrier grec conduisant un Troyen»- «Scène incertaine».

6. The Palace of Priam. Battle scenes.²⁰ Neoptolemus kills Priam²¹.
7. Odysseus and Polyxena (?)
8. Menelaus meets Helen by the shrine of Aphrodite²². Vv. 1026–1223 – a dialogue between Menelaus and Helen
9. Capture of Hecuba
10. Demophon and Akamas free Aethra²³.
11. Trojans flee from the city²⁴.
12. A standing figure and a warrior (uninterpreted scene)²⁵.
13. Trojan women at Hector's tomb²⁶. Astyanax. Odysseus and Helen.
14. The sacrifice of Polyxena²⁷.

¹⁹ Only on 1A. Sadurska cites as parallels some Greek vases (Bromer, p.p.282-284), Olympian archaic shields with pictures on the border (Kunze p.8, #1.4 e, pl 7, p.10, # IV, 8 b, pl. 18, pp.161-163), some Etruscan mirrors (Gerhard, vol. IV, pls 399,400), Homeric cup (Courby, p. 307 # 34 = Hausmann, p.56 #32). See O. Touchefeu, «Aias II», *LIMC*, I,1, 336-350.

²⁰ «Quatres combats non identifiés et schématiques» (A. Sadurska, p.100)

²¹ Represented on 1A, 2NY 7 Ti. For parallels see A. Sadurska, p. 99: Greek vases (Bromer, pp. 331–333); Olympian shields (Kunze, p. 15, #X, 17 c, pl 31, 32, pp. 157–159); three Homeric cups (Courby, p. 286 # 9 a, b, c = Hausmann, p. 54 #17 a, b, c.); Boston relief which presumably is the Roman copy of a Greek masterpiece (J. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Cambridge-Massachusetts 1925, p. 176 # 99, 04.15 = M. Wiencke, *AJA* 58 (1954), p. 305. The complete list see in H. A. Cahn, «Aithra», *LIMC*, I 1, p. 420–431, especially #59–68. The earliest mention of this scene ca. 550 B.C. in #59.

²² Represented on 1A, 2 NY. Sadurska (p.99) cites: Greek vases (Ghali-Kahil, ## 26–37, 39–41,74–78,160–164); various objects (Ghali-Kahil, ## 24,38, 165–167, 196–197, 199–200); Clazomenian sarcophagi (Ch. Picard, «Scènes du cycle épique troyen», *RA* 23, (1914) p. 223), etc. For the complete list see L. Kahil, «Helene», *LIMC*, 498–563, 951, see #312–314. and esp. p. 560.

²³ Represented on 1A, 2NY. Sadurska (p. 99) proposes to cf. Bermond Montanari, «Aithra», *EAA*, 1 pp. 179–180 and see: Greek vases (Furtw.-Reichh., pls 25, 34; J. D. Beazley, *Red-figured Vase Painters*, Oxford, 1942, p. 171, #46, p. 387, #43, p. 418, # 1; J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red Figured Vases*, Cambridge 1919, vol. I, p.77, #9); Northern metope of Parthenon (Ch. Picard, *Manuel*, vol. II, P. 1939, p. 431 sq., fig. 178).

²⁴ Represented on 1A and 2 NY.

²⁵ I do not agree with A. Sadurska's interpretation (p. 99): «Guerrier grec supplié par un Troyen» with a parallel from a Roman sarcophagus (Robert, II, 3 pp. 71–72, pl. XXVI #63, fig. 63, 63a, 63b).

²⁶ «Femmes Troyennes sur la tombe d'Achille – scène unique» (Sadurska, p. 99). Note O. Touchefeu («Hector», *LIMC* IV 1, p. 482–498, esp. #130) whose interpretation, however, remains doubtful.

²⁷ A. Sadurska (p.99) cites many parallels: Greek vases (Brommer, pp. 298–299); *Etruscan sarcophagi, Orvieto* (G. Galli, Il sarcofago etrusco di Torre San Severo, *Mon. Linc.* 24 (1916), fig 7b, pl. II. Etruscan mirror, Orvieto (G. C. Conestabile, *Pitture Murali etrusche*, Firenze, 1865, p. 135, pl. 14 fig 2; Etruscan urn (Brunn, pl. 73.2) gemme d'Italie (Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 21, fig.51)

15. The Trojans after the sack of Troy.

These results must be verified at two points:

1. The first question concerns the 700 verses between vv. 322–1026 which described scenes involving Ajax and Cassandra, the battle at Priam's palace, and the killing of Priam, in relation to vv. 1–322 which described the construction of the Wooden Horse, Cassandra's prophecy, and the Trojans drawing the Wooden Horse into the city.

2. We have secure evidence about the volume of the papyrus scroll. As H. L. Pinner²⁸ has shown, the greatest length the roll was likely to be was 30 feet. If we assume that each column was 5–7 inches long (for these dimensions see P. Oxy. 2619, fr. 1), we will have about 60 columns filled with text, or 1621 verses²⁹. The second question concerns the possibility of fitting six episodes into the 400 verses starting from Menelaus' meeting with Helen to the end of the poem.

The disproportion does not seem to be so drastic here, as the poem incorporated both central scenes, important for the development of the subject (cf. the scenes of the killing of Priam, the meeting of Menelaus and Helen and Ajax – Cassandra³⁰ in 1) and other scenes in which the narration was sketchy, without detailed description or dramatic dialogues. This suggestion is based on several citations (cf. Paus. X 26.I, iii Κλυμένην ... κατερίθμηκεν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις; Paus. X 26.9, iii ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πριάμου θυγάτρασιν ἀριθμήσαι τις ἂν καὶ ταύτην; only twice do we find words like ἐποίησεν (Paus. X 27.2) or ἱστορεῖν (Schol. Eur. Andr. 10, ii 249 Schw.). All these fragments come from the end of the poem. There are many names of heroes and heroines, but it seems that in this part Stesichorus merely enumerated them in catalogue-style. Stesichorus' poem had a great impact on vase painting; Sadurska made a list of scenes in vase painting³¹ and noted that the only scene without any parallels in

²⁸ H. L. Pinner, *The World of Books in Classical Antiquity*, London, 1948, p. 14. For a differing opinion cf. e.g. W. G. Boruchowitch who thinks three meters to have been the usual length for scrolls (W. G. Boruchowitch, *V mire antichnykh svitkov* [the World of Ancient Scrolls], Saratov, 1976, p. 94). I share W. Schubart's view that scrolls averaged 7–10 meters (W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*. 2. Aufl. Berlin; Leipzig 1921, p. 52–53)

²⁹ Cf. John van Sickle («The Book-Roll and Some Conventions of the Poetic Book», *Arethusa*, 13 (1980), p. 7–9), who accepts 1000/2000 lines in the Alexandrian books and lists rolls with lyric poetry: Bacchylides 64 (Snell-Maehler), 1400 in margin, Pindar, *Olymp.* 1562, Stesichorus Geryoneis >1300, Iliad 23–24 1700 verses.

³⁰ J.-M. Moret (*L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italote. Les mythes et leur expression figurée du IVe siècle*. Vol. I, Rome, 1975, p. 54) notes that the killing of Priam became a central motif of vase painting. The scene of the meeting of Menelaus with Helen has many variants: Menelaus pursues Helen (Pottier E. *Vases antiques du Louvre*. Vol. II, Paris, 1901, p. 88); Menelaus talks with Helen next to the statue of Apollo or Aphrodite; unlike Cassandra, Helen is not kneeling: she is waiting for Menelaus, sure of winning him over (T. 1. S. 32–33).

³¹ A. Sadurska, *Les tables Iliques*, Warszawa, 1964, p. 99. C. Robert, *Bild und Lied. Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Heldensage*. Berlin, 1881.

Greek vase painting was the scene of the Trojan women at Hector's tomb³². The abundance of scenes on the subjects of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* in vase painting also demonstrates the popularity (and thus, possibly, the importance for the poem) of each scene in Stesichorus' poem. Both vase painting and the *Tabulae Iliacae*, where all major scenes take place inside Troy, and perhaps even the testimony of Dio Chrysostomus, who said «τὴν ἄλωσιν οὐκ ἀναξίως ἐποίησε» (PMG 203) using «ἄλωσιν» instead of «πέρσιν», focus on the capture, and not the destruction of Troy. At the very least we can say that in Stesichorus' poem, episodes describing the sack of Troy were more elaborated than events following the sack.

After the verification essay, as developed above, we present a tentative reconstruction of the text of Stesichorus' poem.

About the Stesichorean motives in Greek vase painting see also M. Robertson, «Geryoneis. Stesichorus and the vase painters», *CQ* 19 (1969), p. 207–221.

³² Confirmed by J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italique. Les mythes et leur expression figurée du IVe siècle*. Vol. I–II, Rome, 1975.

**THE TEXT OF STESICHORUS' POEM
«THE SACK OF TROY»**

Στη[σιχόρου] Ἰλίου Πέρσις ἦ
Ἰππ[ος] Τρωϊκός

Metrum:

ΣΤΡ. ¹ dddd x dd ² d x s - ³ ddxddxdddxdxs ⁴ ddxddxs-
ἸΠ. ¹ (x)ddxddd- ² xddxddd- ³ ddxddd- ⁴ dd- ⁵ ddxsxdd
⁶ xsxsxs- ⁷ xdd- ⁸ xdd-

ΣΤΡ.	¹ - ⚭ - υυ - υυ - υυ - / (⚭) - υυ - υυ - // ² - ⚭ - υυ - ; ⚭ - υ - - // ³ - υυ - υυ - / (-) - υυ - υυ - / ⚭ υ - υυ - υυ - / (-) - υυ - υυ - - υ - // ⁴ - υυ - υυ - / ⚭ - υυ - υυ - - υ - - //	¹ dddd x dd ² d x s - ³ ddxddxdddxdxs ⁴ ddxddxs-
ἸΠ.	¹ x - υυ - υυ - / (-) - υυ - υυ - - / ² - - υυ - υυ - / ⚭ - υυ - υυ - / - υυ - υυ - - // ³ - υυ - υυ - / ⚭ - υυ - υυ - - // ⁴ - υ ⚭ - υυ - - // ⁵ - υυ - υυ - / ⚭ - υ - - ; - υυ - υυ - / ⁶ υ - υ - - - υ - [x -] υ - - // ⁷ - - υυ - υυ - - // ⁸ υυ - υυ - υυ - - //	¹ (x)ddxddd- ² xddxddd- ³ ddxddd- ⁴ dd- ⁵ ddxsxdd ⁶ xsxsxs- ⁷ xdd- ⁸ xdd-

Titulus: στη [et ιππ [: P. Oxy 2803, fr. 1-verso = S 133 b; Ἰλίου Πέρσις κατὰ Στησίχορον Τρωϊκός: Tabula Iliaca Capitolina a 1-4;]ν καὶ Ἰλίου Πέρσις Tabula Iliaca Neo-Eboracia a 1; Ἰλίου Πέρσις[: Tabula Iliaca Sarti; Ἰλίου Π]έρσις: Tabula Iliaca Thierry; Ἰλίου Πέρσις: Paus. X, 27, 2; Harpocr. Lex. I, 165 sq. Di.

Metrum: M. L. West, 'Stesichorus redivivus', *ZPE* 4 (1969) 135; R.Führer, «Zum "Stesichorus redivivus"», *ZPE* 5 (1970) 14; M. West, «Further light on Stesichorus' Iliu Persis», *ZPE* 7 (1971) 262; D. Page, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*. Oxf., 1974, p. 24-25; M. Haslam, «Stesichorean metre», *QUCC* 17 (1974) 24 sq.; R. Führer, *GGA* 229 (1977) 10-18; C. M. J. Sicking, *Griechische Verslehre*. München, 1993, p. 150 sq.

Desunt versus 1–4

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 30 + 15b + 31 + 15 a + PMG 200 = S 89 + 90 + PMG 200

ΣΤΡ ¹ v. 5	<p>· · · · · . .]αρ[.....]δο[θεὰ τὸν [...] χρυσ [παρθεν [...] αειδ [ἴμειρε [...] μω[</p>
ΑΝΤ ¹ (5) v.10	<p>νῦν δ' ἄγε, . [...] ε, πῶς πα[ρὰ καλλιρόους δίνα[ς] Σιμόεντος ἀνὴρ [θ]εᾶς ἰ[ό]τατι δαεῖς σεμν[ᾶς Ἄθάνας μέτ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν του[---υ-υ- υ-υ]ος ἀντὶ μάχα[ς</p>
(10)	καὶ] φυ[λόπ]ιδος κλέο[ς] α[---υ
v.15	εὐρυ]χόρο]ν Τρο<ί>ας ἀλώσι[μον ἀκρόπολι αἰπὰ]ν ἔθηκεν . [
ΕΠ ¹	<p>[. εσσι πόνοι[σι -υ-υ-υ- [ῶικτιρε γὰ]ρ αὐτὸ]ν ὕδωρ αἰεὶ φορέοντα Διὸς (15) [κούρα βασιλεῦσι]ν Ἄε[χαιῶν. v.20 -υ-υ-υ]ων[---υ-υ-υ- -υ-υ-υ] . χθον[</p>

5–12 P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 30 et fr. 15b coniunxit Barrett (vide West, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 140); P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 15a et fr. 15b coniunxit Kazansky **5**]αρ[: West,]δερ[: Lobel **6–7** cf. χρυσόπτερε παρθένε PMG 193,11, καὶ σέ, πολυμνήστη λευκώλενε παρθένε Μοῦσα Emped. B 3. 3 **8** ιε[etiam γ vel π legi possunt: Lobel **9**[: μ vel ν: Lobel; -εν χαλεπῶς: Lobel; ἄσεν: Barrett et West; π[έ]μπε (Emped. B 3,5): Obbink; καλλιρόου: Barrett, καλλιρόους: West **11** θ]εᾶς: Lobel; ἰ[ό]τατι δαεῖς σεμν[ᾶς Ἄθάνας: Barrett; σεμνή Ἄθήνη: cf. Bacchyl. 13,195; Soph. *O.C.* 1090 (Iyr.); Eur *I.T.* 1492 (Iyr.) **12** μέτ[ρα] et τοῦ[: Barrett; cf. Tab. Iliaca Capitolina **b** 1 Τέχνην τὴν Θεοδ]ώρηον μάθε, τάξιν Ὀμήρου / Ὀφρα δαεῖς πάσης μέτρον ἔχησι σοφίας: Lehnus **13** ἀντίε μάχα[ς: Barrett **14–16** P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 31 et fr. 15b coniunxit Barrett (vide West, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 140); **14** ἀρεῖθ' οὔνεκεν: Barrett **15** Τρωας Π; εὐρυ]χόρο]ν Τρο<ί>ας: Barrett **15–16** supplevit Kazansky; ἀλώσιε[μον ἄμαρ ἄτερ λαῶ]ν ἔθηκεν: West; ἀλώσι[μον ἄστν: Tscherniak **17**] ε: α, λ vel δ: Lobel; πόνοι[σι vel ποιοι[σι: Lobel; potius legendum πόνοι[σι metri causa; [έν πάν]τεσσι πόνοι[σι: cf. *Il.* 10. 245; 279; *Od.* 13. 301; 20. 48 **18–19** P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 15b et fr. PMG 200 coniunxit Barrett necnon et Kazansky (*Vestnik Leningrad. Univ.* 2 (1976) = *ZPE* 38 (1980) 65–66); contra Lobel; **18** ἀεὶ: codd., αἰεὶ: Bergk **19** Ἄ[χαιῶν: Kazansky; ἄ[γαυοῖς: Barrett; Ἄ[θάνα: Führer

Desunt versus 22–60

P. Oxy.2803 fr.1, col 1 = S 133

ANT³ - ω ποτώλιχετο -]]ευι []
 v.65 (5)]a]

σάνδρα-]ατα[]Κασ-
]]
 v.70 (10)]]
 ΕΠ³]]
]]

61-73 P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 1, col. 1 (= S 133) **61** post ι nihil scriptum ut videtur
63 marg. []^επ.[**64** Schol.]καὶ θε(ω)ν προσώλιχετο Α^ρΝ^ι (= 'Αριστόνικος:
 Lobel), προσώλιχετο: apud Stesichorum exspectes ποτώλιχετο **66**]ατα[]κας vel
]ατα[ι]κας: Lobel,]Κασ-/]σάνδρα-: Barrett

Desunt versus 74-90

. . . . P. Oxy. 2803 fr.1, col. II = S 133

ΕΠ⁴ []
 v. 95 (5) []
 []
 v. 100 Α []
 10 []
 ° € []
 ' []

του Τρώας. [] μουσ[
]ιν ἄμερσ []
]...τοσα. []
 ΣΤΡ¹¹, v.260 . . .

244-259 P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 18 = S 133 **245** Δαρ/[δαν: Lobel **246** Haslam coniunxit P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 1, col. I = S 133, 5-6; quas ob causas mihi non persuaserit, supra exposui **249** γαι]αεόχου: West;] ε: α, δ vel λ legi possunt **250-259** P. Oxy. 2619 fr.18 + P. Oxy. 2803 fr.11 = S 105 coniunxerunt Barrett, West et independenter Führer, cf. *ZPE* 7 (1971) 262-266. Contra scripsit Page (*PCPhS* 18 (1973) 47 et *SLG* p. 32; accepit M. Davies **250** Δα]ναοὶ μεμ[αό]τες ἐκθόρον ἴ[π]π[ου: West, cf. Q.S. XIII, 58 **252** γ]ὰρ Ἄπόλλ[ω]ν: West **255** Τερῶν: Barrett;]ενη: papyr.; π[ρί]ν ἢ Ζεὺς: Zajcev; π[ό]λιν: West **258** ἄμερσ[: Barrett; πόλ]ιν ἰμερο[εσσαν: possis

Desunt versus 261-297

P. Oxy. 2619 fr.1 col. i = S 88

. . .
] []
]. γαλασαγα []
] []
 v. 300]ακον []
]τε. ομωσ []
 (5)]
 ο]ντι βίαι τε καὶ αἰχμᾶι
]πεποιθότες· ἀλλ' ἄγε δη
 v. 305]
 Παί]ονες ἀγκυλοτόξοι
 (10)]
].ς διάσταν·
]
 v. 310]ραπασιν
]ησων
 (15)] Ἀχαιῶν []
 ΣΤΡ¹¹] τέλος εὐρύο[πα]
]υναις
 v. 315 πτ]ολέμου [τε]λευτά[]
].ν πυκιν[άς] τε φρε[έ]νας
 (20)]
] ῥηξήγορα
 ὠτρ]υνε μέγαν φρ[α]σὶν ἐν
 v. 320] []
 μετέ]πρεπε καὶ πιν[υ]τᾶι []
 (25)] []

]εργον [] []
].οππολ[] []
] [] []

298–324 P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1 col. i = S 88 **298** αγαθ[; Führer **301**]τεδομωσ:
 Page **303** ο]ντι 3 pers. pl.: Lobel **303–304** cf. *Il.* 3.431; 18. 341; 12.135 **306**
 Παί]ονες: Lobel **311**].ισων: Lobel;]ησων: Page **313** τέλος εὐρύο]πα: Lobel;
 εὐρύο]πα / Ζεὺς: Page **315** vel π]ολέμου: Lobel **317**]εν (?) πυκιυ[άς] τε
 φρ[έ]νας: Lobel **319** ὠτρ]υνε: Page; φρ[α]σίν: Barrett; φρ[ε]σ: Lobel;
321 μετέ]πρεπε καὶ πιυ[υ]ταί: Lobel; πιυ[υ]ταῖ/σι: Page.

Desunt versus 325–326

S 88 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1 col. ii . . .

[]νο []
 [] [] []
 ΣΤΡ¹¹(5)τονδ[] δ. [] .υκλ. [] .μ.ε. []
 v. 330 πρὸς ναὸν ἕς ἀκρ[όπο]λ[ι]ν σπεύδοντες []
 Τρῶες πολέες τε' ἐπίκ[ου]ροι
 ἔλθετε μη[δ]ὲ λόγο[ις] π]ειθώμεθ' ὅπως π
 τὸν δὲ κατ[αίσι]ο]ν ἵππον -
 (10) ἀγγὸν ἀ[γαλ]μα [θε]ῆς - αὐτεῖ καται-
 v. 335 [σχ]ύγωμε[ν] ἀ]εικ[ε]λί]ως
 [..(.)]νιν δε[.....]. ἀζώμεσθ' ἀνάσ[σας]
 [..].ησον[]..[.]ρ []
 [.] [].. []..α[.] []
 (15) [ῶς] φά[τ]ο το. [] []
 v. 340 φ[ρ]άζοντο. [] . . .
 ἵπ[π]ον με []
 ω. [] .(.) []φυλλοφ[ορ-
 πυκινα[ί]σε πτερ[ύ]γεσσ
 (20) κίρκον τανυσίπ[τερον]
 v. 345 [ψᾶ]ρες ἀνέκραγον []
 [] .τε. []
 []

327–339 S 88 = P. Oxy. 2619 fr.1 col. ii et fr. 1a coniunxit Lobel; fr. 47
 (P. Oxy. 2619) adiunxit Barrett **327–339** P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 1 col. ii **330** suppl.
 Barrett **331** suppl. Lobel **332** suppl. Barrett; μεθασππως π: papyr.;
 ὅπως: West **333** κατ[αίσι]ο]ν: Barrett; κατ[άρσι]ο]ν: West; ἵππον: Barrett, cf.
 v. 341 adhortationem ducis repetens **334** suppl. Barrett **335**
 καται[σχ]ύγωμε[ν]: West; ἀ]εικ[ε]λί]ως: Barrett **336** μᾶ]νιν δε[]: West;
 ἀεζώμεσθ': Page; ἀνάσ[σας]: Barrett; **339** suppl. Barrett **341** ἵπ[π]ον μεγα[]ν:
 Barrett; μεν[]: Führer **342–344** suppl. Barrett **345** [ψᾶ]ρες: Barrett.

Desunt versus 347–513

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 13 = S 102

		. . .
v. 515	] δ' ἐπώμοσε σεμ[ν	[
]]	[
	] εσθ', ἐγὼν δ' αυ [[
(5)]]	[
	] γον εἴμειν [[
]]	[
v. 520	] . . . εσαγυ [[
	] φάος ἀελίου [[
]]	[
(10)	] γ] ἄρε [κ]ατ' αἴσαν [[
	] ] ] . . λεψ[[

515–524 P. Oxy. 2619 fr.13 = S 102 **515** ἐεπώμοσεε: Lobel; Παλλ]αδέε' ... σεεμ[νάν: Barrett; **520** μεεσαγύ: West; με legi non potuit **524** γ]ἄερε: West; [κ]ατ' αἴσεαν: Lobel

Desunt versus 525–1215

in quo spatio fr. 16 P.Oxy. 2619 (a versu 1059, 1085, 1111, 1137, 1163 vel 1189 incipit, vide supra), fortasse autem fr. 5, fr. 10, fr. 17, fr. 14. collocanda.

v. 561(?)	. . .	]αγορα[
	]ων [[
	]μενο[[
(5)	]εντεσο. [[
	]αγερθη[[
	]ελογον[[
	]αστασ[[
] [[
	. . .	[

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 5 = S94 fort. incipit a versu 561. (4) supra]εν littera α scripta; .[: μ veri sim. unde ὀμ[ῶς (7) ἀν]αστασ[: West.

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 10 = S 99

. . . .
] . κ α . [
] . . αν ω ι φ [
] [
(5)] ν ' Α χ α ι ο ι [
] [
] [
. . . .

P. Oxy. 2619 fr.10 = S 99 fort. incipit a versu 563 vel 589; confirmari nequit.

(1)] . : λ vel ν (2)] . : fort. ν (4) -οι vel -οι-/σι(ν): Page.

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 2 = S91

. . . .
] α . . [
] [
(5)] μέ γ α χ ω σ α μ [ε ν -
] α ι [
] μα τ ο υ τ [
] ε ν . [
] [
] μ ο ι μ ε ε [
(10)] ν μ ε γ α λ [
] [
] π ρ ι . μ [
] ε . π ε . [.] . [
] κ α [
(15)] . . αν τ ε ς α [
] [
φ] θ ι μ [
. . . .

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 2 = S 91 fort. inter versus 568 et 891 collocandum. (3) suppl. Lobel (6) . [fort. α Lobel (8) . [: h.v. pars inf. (11)] Π ρ ι α μ [: Lobel; confirmari nequit (14)] ω σ α ν τ ε ς ἄ [σ τ υ : Führer (16) ἴ φ θ ι μ : Führer; (ἀπο)φθιμεν- possis

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 17 = S 106

. . . .
] [
] πο λε μ
] τε μ . [
] τε πο . [
(5)] . α μ ε . [
] . ρ ο ν [
] . ι π [
. . . .

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 17 = S 106 fortasse a versu 676, si initium linearum continet, incipit.

. . . .

(5) []οντ. αραισ. . . []
 []ιτονδε λόχο. []
 [] .ενα κυδαλέο
 []υντεχοντ. . . . []
 [ξ]ανθά δ' Ἑλένα πρ[]
 [βα]σιλῆος ἀοιδιμ. . . []
 []αι δ' ἐκελευσετ. . . . []
 [δ]αίωι πυρὶ καιομεν[]
 [.]πρησαντασε. [] . []
 (10) . . . αμεν. . . . []
 [] . απο. []

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 14 = S 103 fortasse a versu 648 vel 999 incipit, si linea prima est summa volumine. (1) -τιααρ: Lobel; -ταεαρ: Page; -οντ' ἱεαραιεσε dividunt, sed obstat -τ' pro -θ' 5-6 supplevit Lobel

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 28 + 29 = S 115 + S116, fr. 21 = S 109, fr. 23 = S 111, fr. 32 = S 118, P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 6 = S 138 et fr. 7 = S 139 fortasse pugnam describunt.

PMG 205 (= Tabula Iliaca Veronensis II b)

[Νεοπτόλεμος ἀ]π[οκ]τείνει Πρίαμον καὶ Ἀγήνορα, Πολυποίτης Ἐχεῖον, Θρασυμήδης Νικαίνετον, Φιλοκτήτης Διοπίθην. Διο[μήδης--]

S 111 1

. . . .
 λα[ο-] . . . []
 πέρσαντες ἦ[κον
 ANT. καλλαδαπα[]
 αὐτοὶ καταξ[]
 5 .(.)αωναγε[] 5
 [] . [] εδ[]

. . . . P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 21 = S 109 3. suppl. Lobel
 P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 23 = S 111] . : ρ, φ vel υ et ο vel ω 2 suppl.
 Kazansky 3 κάλλα ut Alcm. fr. 35 PMG vel κάλλα 5 (.)αων: τάων
 possis

S 109 1

. . . .
 []] αεθαναε
 [] []
 [] πεδὰ Μυρμιδ[όνεσσι
 [] a []

P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 27 + 28
 (= S 115 + S 116)

. . . .
]ώσας πόλ[ι]ν []
 τ]έκος Αιακίδαν []
 []
 π]ερί άστυ ε ε[]
 (5)] . αι . [] σκαταφυ[]
]εντα[]
 Σκ]αμάνδριον α[]

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 27 + 28 =
 S 115 + S 116 Coniunxit
 Barrett 1 πόλ[ι]ν vel πολ[ύ]ν: Lobel
 αίστ]ώσας: temptat Führer 2 τ]έκος Αιακίδαν vel τ]έκος Αιακιδάν: Lobel
 4 suppl. Lobel; άστυαν[ακτ- legi nequit: Page 7 Σκ]αμάνδριον: Lobel;
 ά]νθρομόεντα: temptat Führer P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 32 = S 118 4 de βαρεα
 σ[τεναχ- cogitat Lobel 6]ρωιας : papyr.; Τ]ροίας: Page 7 et 9 suppl.
 Lobel

P.Oxy. 2619 fr. 32 = S 118

. . . .
] []
] . εφω[]
]υδε ρέα[]
 [] []
]μωι βαρεα . []
 (5) []

Τ]ροίας κλεινο[]
 (έκ)πέ]ρσαντες έυκτιμεε[]
 []
 ά]νθρώπους κλέφ[]
 (10)]να . []

	...]κα[]σ.[]].[].σ.ν τρισ[].ξβαν οπλ. [(5)]].ν αριστ[].δα].[]].[]].[...]	...].[]....[]....[] οτε [] (5)]ουδέ. 'ότο []]] έπασσύτεροι .· []]]αιδ[]ε χάριν [] (10)] [] ...]
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P.Oxy. 2803 fr. 6 = S 138 3 fort.]σεν 4]φ.σ: Page; λ[vel α[: Page 5 schol. inter lineas]οισ. .σ (έστιν)ων[/].ππ[.]..σ. [: Page 7]..: fort.]ρ: Page 8 schol. ut vid. P.Oxy 2803 fr. 7 = S 139 3]οτε: schol. ut vid. 4]ώμ: papyr. 5 fort. τοξο-; τοξοτ-, cf. lin. 6 schol. 6. schol. οβριμ[et τοξοτ. [].. 7 έπασσ: papyr. 9]αιδα χάριν: Barrett

P. Oxy 2619 fr. 16 = S 104 a versu 1059, 1085, 111, 1137, 1163 vel 1189 incipit. Probabiliter Menelai et Helenae conventum fr.16 et 19 describunt; eundem conventum continet Tabula Iliaca Capitolina inscriptione "templum Veneris" ('Ιερόν' Αφροδίτης) addita.

	...] αἰψα... [] έ]ναργές []]. έτύμως αιθ.[] ή]μιονου [] 5]υραν πρωπε[]]. [K]υπρογενής α []] αλιπόρφυρον άγν[.ν]αι μέν έγων λέγω[]]οι άθάνατοι [] (10) παίδα δ' άνίψα]λον 'Ερμιόναν τε[] έ]γων ποθέω νύκτ[] αι]γλοπόδαν []]ν ύφαρπάγιμον []]υρομεναι κνακα [] 15]τα κ]ορυφαἰσι νάπαισ []]ων στυγερόν []]δα παῖδα φίλον.[]].ο λέγω μηδ' [] 20]ω. .ρο. .πω[ι][]]οντο γένοιτ . [] ...]
--	--

P. Oxy 2619 fr. 16 + PMG 249 = S 104 1 fort. γαρ[2 suppl. Lobel 4 ἡ]μιονους: Lobel 5 πρωπε[: papyr.; πρῶ<ι> πε[: Lobel; πρωιτε[: possis 6 [K]υπρογενής: Lobel; ἄ[ν: West 9]οεὶ ἀθάνατοι vel θε]οὶ ἀθάνατοι: Lobel;]σι: Davies; ἀθανάτοι/σιν εἴκε]λον: Page 10 fr. PMG 249 adiunxit Kazansky 11 ἐ]γών: Lobel; νύκτα (νυκτί): Daly; νύκτας τε καὶ ἄμαρ (ἄματα): Page 12 αἰ]γελοπόδαν: Diggle; ἀ]ελλ<λ>οπόδαν: temptat Page 13 ὑφαρπάγιμον vel ὑφ' ἀρπάγιμον 14 σ]υρομέναν: Page 16 κ]ορυφαῖσιν ἄπαις: Lobel; κ]ορυφαῖσιν Ἄπαισ[ου: Mertens; κ]ορυφαῖσι νάπαις[τε: Daly; κ]ορυφαῖς ἵνα παῖς[: Zajcev 18 πε]δὰ παῖδα φίλον: Daly; .[: σ[Lobel 20 προλιπῶ: Page

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 16 et fr. 19 (= S 104, S 107)
inter qua nonnulli versus absunt in quibus Menelai et Helenae conventio
descripta; fr. 201 PMG ad alium poema Stesichori pertinet.

P. Oxy. 2619 fr. 19 = S 107

ἱμερτὸν πρ[
ᾧδε δέ νιν π[οτέειπε·
..]ως ἀγαπαζ
δ]υσώνυμος[
(5) v.1220 ..]ωδε τεκ[ν
ἀλ]όχοις[.][
ὡς φα]το, τὰν[δ'
[]..[

P. Oxy 2619 fr. 19 = S 107 1 suppl. Barrett 3 πεῶς: Barrett; dubitat Page; 4 δ]υσώνυμοσε[suppl. Lobel; 3–4 πῶς ἀγαπάζε[εαι, ἄ] δ]υσώνυμοσε[πάντεσσι ἀνθρώποισιν εἰμι: e.g. suppl. Slings, dubitat Kazansky 6. suppl. Kazansky 7 suppl. West

Post versum 1223 nonnulla fragmenta
ad finem poematis pertinentia collocanda sunt:

PMG 205: Δη(μοφῶν), Αἴθρα.

PMG 205 = *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* f (Sadurska, p.30).

PMG 205

Ἔκτορος τάφος. Ταλθύβιος καὶ Τρωιάδες. Ἄνδρομάχη, Κασσάνδρα, Ἐλενος, Ἐκάβη, Πολυξένη. Ἄνδρομάχη, Ἐλενος, Ὀδυσσεύς. Ναύσταθμον Ἀχαιῶν.

PMG 205 = *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* f (Sadurska, p.30).

PMG 197 Κλυμένα

PMG 197 (Paus. X 26.I, iii 174 Sp.) Κλυμένην μὲν οὖν Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου Πέρσιδι κατερίθμηκεν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις.

PMG204 Μέδουσα

PMG204 (Paus. X 26.9, iii 176 sq. Sp.) ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πριάμου θυγατράσι ἀριθμήσαι τις ἂν καὶ ταύτην (scil. Μέδουσαν) κατὰ τοῦ Ἰμεραίου τὴν ὠιδὴν.

PMG 202 Ἄστυάνακ

PMG 202 (Schol. Eur. Andr. 10, ii 249 Schw.) Στησίχορον μὲν γὰρ ἱστορεῖν ὅτι τεθνήκει (scil. ὁ Ἄστυάναξ) καὶ τὸν τὴν Πέρσιδα συντεταχότα κυκλικὸν ποιητὴν (p.138 Allen) ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥιφθεῖη· ὧι ἠκολουθηκέναι Εὐριπίδην.

PMG 198 Ἐκάβη

PMG 198 (Paus. X 27.2, iii 177 sq. Sp.) ἐς δὲ Ἐκάβην Στησίχορος ἐν Ἰλίου Πέρσιδι ἐποίησεν, ἐς Λυκίαν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὴν κομισθῆναι.

PMG 224 Ἔκτορα ... Ἀπόλλωνος

PMG 224 (Schol. Lycophr. Alex. 265 ii 115 Scheer) Στησίχορος δὲ καὶ Εὐφορίων (fr. 56 Powell) Ἔκτορά φασι εἶναι υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Schol. T Hom. Il. 24. 258, vi 462 Maas Στησίχορος Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόν (scil. Ἔκτορα) φησιν οὐ νοήσας τὴν ὑπερβολὴν.

Αἰνῆας

Tabula Iliaca Capitolina f (Sadurska, p.30): Αἰνέας Ἀ[γγ]λείσης, Ἀσκάμιος, Αἰνῆας, Ἑρμῆς. Αἰνῆας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίους ἀπαί[ρ]ων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν. Μισήνος. Ἀγχίσης καὶ τὰ ἱερά. Ἀπόπλους Αἰνήου. *Tabula Iliaca Veronensis* 1 d Αἰν[ή]ας.

P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 3–4 et fr. 5 = S 135–137 fortasse ad sacrificium Polyxenae pertinent.

Cf. in Tabula Iliaca Capitolina **f**

Ἀχιλλέως σῆμα. Νεοπτόλεμος, Πολυξένη, Ὀδυσσεύς, Κάλχας.

S 135 1

S 137 1

	[] ἴλκυ[	S 136 3	[] [
	[] [. . .] [
	[]θαλέας πα.[[] [
	ἤ]ρως Ἀχιλλεῦ[
	[] [[] [
	]δ' ἀφελεστε[
(5)	[] .αν πολυξε[[] [] [
	[] [[] [
	]ώσας πόλιν[
	[] .τοτεχε[[] [
	]ε δὲ τείχεος[
	[] .νᾶρ [. . .	
] [
	[] δ]ρακοῖσα [	]νας θρασὺν[
(10)	[] ἴ]χεν αἴ]ς ἀλόχ]οις] [
	[ ] [	] .θαυμα[
	[] κ[. .]οισι ν[	]ναν.[
	[] αἴ]σι.[. . .	
	[] [
	. . .		

P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 3–4 et fr. 5 = S 135–137 1 ε]ιελ-]ήελ: Lobel; negant Page et Davies 3 ᾗς: papyr. [] ρ[veri sim.; ᾗν; fort. Πολυξέ]να-8 ᾗρ| ᾗρ/[ξε: Lobel 9 suppl. Lobel 10 suppl. Lobel.

P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 4 = S 136 locavit Lobel 4 marg. schol. θ^επ[7 marg. schol. καὶ θε(ων) P. Oxy. 2803 fr. 5 = S 137 3 suppl. Lobel; εὔ] vel εὖ]ς: Davies 4]δ' ἀφελε στε[vel]δ' ἀφελεσ τε[: Page 6]ώσας: papyr.;]ώσαις: (ptc.) exspectaverit Page 7 τέι: papyr. 8 marg. Schol. μελαθ]ρ- 11] .: fort ν.

EPILOGUE

In this research we have meticulously followed the procedure normally chosen for the investigation of papyri fragments in a bad state of preservation and quotations found in later ancient authors. Both kinds of evidence require specific methods of research. As has been shown, a papyrus fragment has to be investigated not only from the point of view of paleography (though a vital and absolutely indispensable stage of research), but also from a variety of other points, and particular attention should be given to the papyrus scroll where the surviving fragments come from. This approach has given us a chance to join fragments standing in close proximity and, what is more important, to establish links between those located at some distance from each other and to prove that they belong to the same episode on the basis of their location in the adjoining columns of the reconstructed scroll. These attempts were preceded by a theoretical investigation based on the calculation of the number of lines in a column of a papyrus scroll and the total number of lines in a hypothetical metrical unit, called "hypothetical scroll" in our research. This was followed by the study of the metrical structure of each fragment and a definition of the boundaries of syntactic units, especially where the latter coincided with metric units

Only after these preliminary stages of research were completed did we proceed to the analysis of the content of the text itself: naturally enough, the more verses a fragment contained and the longer sequences of letters were in each line, the more trustworthy the analysis became. It is rather obvious that such analysis is built initially on key words, and each of them taken in isolation lends itself to various interpretations. This ambiguity in the interpretation of Stesichorean fragments was overcome through the search for an adequate context that could unite at least some of the key words into a meaningful whole. The text of the surviving fragments was examined from the point of its correspondence to the tradition – first of all, the tradition of epic poetry (i.e. Homeric, Hesiodic and later Greek epics). Mythological evidence of later periods was also considered as concerned lyric poetry.

This method of determining (or selecting) an appropriate context that could give sense to two or more key words is not a novelty: actually it is the corner stone of philological interpretation of the text. In this research, however, what makes it new is the way this method is applied: here the interpretational approach, among other things, helped to determine the contents of a fragmentary text and refer it to a certain episode. This work involved the comparison of hypothetical texts that could more or less conform to the surviving papyrus fragment.

A sequence of episodes, logically arranged in point of theme, compared with a sequence of fragments in the scroll under reconstruction presented a good opportunity for the cross-verification of the data. If there were alternatives the most plausible version was chosen.

These efforts yielded a sequence of partly reconstructed but still fragmentary texts, their consistency easily verified through a comparison with

the development of the plot. At the same time, the approximate sizes of the lacunae between fragments were determined. Fixing the size of lacunae, as has been shown, may be of particular value for the verification of the results of the reconstruction, especially when the surviving excerpt has preserved the general idea of the text and a sequence of episodes in consecutive order. In this case the size of a lacuna compared to the number of corresponding episodes serves to evaluate the plausibility of the achieved results.

In the present research, this double reconstruction was applied to papyrus fragments of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* (The Sack of Troy), involving cross-examination of material on the basis of the location of individual fragments within the reconstructed scroll, on the one hand, and their philological interpretation, on the other hand, which allowed us to double check our results.

The findings of the textual analysis are dealt with in a separate chapter, which also contains the critical edition of the text of Stesichorus' poem *Iliou Persis*.

The poem under consideration here served as a source of inspiration for works of art known as *Tabulae Iliacae* with the scenes showing the fall of Troy and the inscription: *κατὰ Στησίχορον*. The discussion of this piece of art takes up the whole of chapter 4, and the *Tabula Iliaca* (and in the first place *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*) is used for the verification of the results of the interpretation of Stesichorean fragments, though it is worth noting that the *Tabula Iliaca* also stand in need of a thorough interpretation from the point of view of both their composition and their use. These two problems are examined in Chapter entitled "The *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* and Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*". The analysis has proved that there is no complete correspondence of all details of the *Tabula Iliaca* and the reconstructed sequence of papyrus fragments. However, there is undeniable parallelism in some main points of the development of the subject. The interpretation of the text and the analysis of the sculptural representations on the *Tabula Iliaca* made it possible to verify the achieved results once again.

Bringing to a close my review, I take this opportunity to say that an attempt at reconstructing the Stesichorean *Iliou Persis* with the help of the mixed method of reconstruction, whatever its problems and difficulties has yielded some positive results.

This mixed approach gives clues as to where the resources for further development of textual analysis of papyrus fragments might lie. The work of reconstruction of a full text on the basis of surviving fragments is becoming more and more urgent on account of the new findings and publications that appear every year. These newly-found fragments are impatiently waiting for their turn to become texts, fragmentary, though still intelligible enough to set one thinking.

ВМЕСТО РЕЗЮМЕ

За последние десятилетия благодаря папирусным находкам расширились наши знания о творчестве Стесихора, поэта, которого античная традиция неизменно помещала в число десяти крупнейших греческих лириков. Если прежде можно было лишь догадываться об особенностях его творчества и о том влиянии, какое он оказал на последующую литературу, то сейчас многое прояснилось. Так, если в конце прошлого века У. фон Виламовитц постулировал, что в поэмах Стесихора была прямая речь персонажей, то теперь, после папирусных находок, мы знаем, что это обычный стесихоровский прием¹. Крупицы доступных нам знаний о Стесихоре есть смысл свести воедино в интересах не только историков литературы², но и историков античного искусства, античной культуры³.

Такой свод фрагментов сам по себе, без предварительной обработки, стоил бы немного. Поэтому при издании фрагментов предпринята попытка реконструировать каждую поэму. Это удалось, разумеется, не всюду; но переводчик стремился дать возможно более полную реконструкцию каждого из произведений.

Говорить специально о методах реконструкции здесь вряд ли уместно. На предыдущих страницах мы подробно пересмотрели шаг за шагом процедуру работы над фрагментами – папирусными, дошедшими до нас в поврежденном виде, и цитатами, сохранившимися у позднейших античных авторов. Оба эти вида источников требуют применения специальных методов работы. Как мы пытались показать, папирусный фрагмент должен быть осмыслен не только с точки зрения особенностей палеографии (работа, без которой никакое последующее исследование невозможно), но и по многим другим характеристикам, в частности – особое внимание должно быть уделено папирусному свитку, из которого происходят дошедшие до нас фрагменты. Результатом такого исследования явилась возможность соединять фрагменты не только физически, но и на расстоянии, относя их к одному эпизоду на основании того, что они располагаются в соседних колонках реконструированного свитка. Этим выводам предшествует чисто формальное рассмотрение, основанное на соотношении числа строк в колонке папирусного свитка и числа строк в метрическом единстве, – то, что в исследовании обозначено термином «hypothetical scroll». За этим следует определение метрической структуры каждого из фрагментов, а также границ синтаксических

¹ См. Göttingishen gelehrte Anzeigen, 164, 1900, S. 42.

² Ср. у М. Л. Гаспарова: «Из всех потерь, которые так болезненно чувствуются при восстановлении истории греческой лирики, потеря сочинений Стесихора – самая тяжелая. (Гаспаров М. Л. Древнегреческая хоровая лирика. – В кн.: Пиндар, Вакхилид. Фрагменты. М., 1980, с.344).

³ При ограниченности наших знаний об эпохе греческой архаики любая сводка фактов, любые новые данные приобретают исключительно важное значение.

единств, особенно там, где последние могут быть представлены в соотношении с метрикой.

Только после этих предварительных этапов исследования мы переходили к содержательному анализу текста, который, естественно оказывался тем надежнее, чем больше стихов сохранилось в отдельном фрагменте и чем длиннее оказывалась последовательность букв в каждой из строк. Нетрудно заметить, что содержательный анализ строится изначально на ключевых словах, каждое из которых, взятое по отдельности, дает широкий спектр контекстуальных значений. Преодоление интерпретационной неопределенности для отрывков из поэзии Стесихора достигалось за счет поиска и подбора контекстов, объединяющих несколько ключевых слов. Текст дошедших фрагментов рассматривался с точки зрения совпадения с традицией – в первую очередь с эпической поэзией (т.е. с гомеровским, гесиодовским, с поздним греческим эпосом), но также привлекались позднейшие мифологические свидетельства с учетом их вовлеченности в круг сюжетов, использовавшихся в греческой лирической поэзии.

Такой отбор (подбор) контекстов, объединяющих два и более ключевых слов, не является чем-то новым – на этом зиждется филологическая интерпретация текста. В нашем случае оказывается только несколько иной цель применения данной методики, при которой интерпретация служит еще и для определения содержания фрагментарного текста и его атетезы⁴, т.е. отнесения к определенному эпизоду. Такая работа основана на сопоставлении текстов, которые в той или иной мере могут быть наложены на дошедший папирусный фрагмент.

Логическая последовательность эпизодов при сопоставлении с чисто формальной последовательностью фрагментов в реконструированном свитке произведения дает возможность взаимной верификации данных. В случае, когда есть несколько вариантов решения, каждый из них взвешивается и выбирается наиболее правдоподобный.

На основании проделанной работы может быть получена последовательность реконструированных, но остающихся фрагментарными текстов. Важно, что результаты здесь можно проверить, сопоставив их с логикой развития фабулы произведения. Одновременно устанавливаются приблизительные размеры лагун между фрагментами. Установленные лагуны, как мы пытались показать, могут иметь особую ценность для верификации результатов реконструкции, особенно в случаях, когда до нас дошел эксерпт, сохранивший общее содержание произведения и сюжетную последовательность эпизодов. В этих случаях размеры лагун при сопоставлении с числом эпизодов, им соответствующим, позволяют оценить правдоподобность полученного результата.

⁴ А. Н. Егунов. Атетеза // Античный мир и мы. СПб., 1997

В представленном исследовании такая двойная реконструкция проводилась на основе папирусных фрагментов поэмы Стесихора «Разрушение Трои», причем перекрестная проверка материала с использованием данных о месте отдельных фрагментов в рамках реконструированного свитка, так и их филологическая интерпретации получают взаимное подкрепление и, одновременно, подвергаются взаимной проверке.

Результат текстологического исследования помещен в виде отдельного раздела, в котором представлено критическое издание текста поэмы Стесихора «Разрушение Трои».

Избранная нами в качестве объекта исследования поэма Стесихора послужила отправной точкой для художественных произведений, известных как Илионские таблицы. Интерпретация этого памятника выполнена в русле работ последнего времени, в которых при реконструкции сюжетов трагедии активно используется вазапись. В качестве одного из самых удачных исследований такого рода можно назвать работу Э. Вермейль, посвященную драме Софокла «Эгисф»⁵. Дошедшие до нас сцены из этой трагедии, изображенные на вазах, позволили составить представление о варианте мифа, который разрабатывал Софокл.

В случае с поэмой Стесихора «Разрушение Трои» мы располагаем рельефом, который содержит сцены, относящиеся к разрушению Трои с подписью κατὰ Στήσιχουρον. Мы посвятили отдельный раздел и использовали Илионские таблицы (в первую очередь – *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*) для проверки полученной интерпретации фрагментов произведения Стесихора, хотя Илионские таблицы и сами нуждаются в интерпретации как с точки зрения композиции, так и назначения. Эти два вопроса подробно рассматриваются в главе «*The Tabula Iliaca Capitolina and Stesichorus' "Iliou Persis"*». При анализе обнаружилось, что полного совпадения во всех деталях между интерпретацией сцен на Илионской таблице и реконструированной последовательностью папирусных фрагментов нет. Однако при этом вполне отчетливы совпадения в основных, так сказать, узловых моментах развития сюжета. Независимая интерпретация текста фрагментов при сопоставлении с анализом изобразительного материала дает возможность дополнительной перекрестной проверки полученных результатов.

В качестве итога исследования можно, вероятно, говорить о реальном приближении к воссозданию не дошедшего до нас текста поэмы Стесихора «Разрушение Трои» на основании имеющихся свидетельств, к интерпретации которых применен комплексный метод реконструкции.

⁵ E. Vermeule. *Baby Aigysthos and the Bronze Age*. – *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*. NS 33 (1987), p. 122–152.

Основные результаты проделанной работы читатель найдет в комментариях к фрагментам. Опущены лишь расчеты, показывающие соотношение метрической схемы поэмы с расположением фрагментов в разрушенном папирусном свитке. Такие расчеты предложены для «Разрушения Трои» и «ГерIONEИДЫ». Некоторые фрагменты отнесены не к тем поэмам, к каким их относит издание Д. Пейджа⁶. Это также регулярно оговаривается в примечаниях, где отмечены все случаи, когда переводчик отступал от традиционных чтений и реконструкций.

* * *

Свидетельства о жизни и творчестве Стесихора – это также фрагменты, на основании которых может быть предпринята реконструкция творческой биографии.

Стесихор родился, как сообщает словарь «Свида», в 37-ю олимпиаду (632 – 629 гг. до н. э.) и умер в 56-ю олимпиаду (566 – 553 гг. до н. э.). До того как он начал ставить хоровые песни, его звали Тисий (Τεισίας). Прозвище Стесихор буквально значит «устроитель хоров».

О семье, из которой происходил Стесихор, мы почти ничего не знаем. Традиция сообщает несколько имен, упоминая отца Стесихора: Эвферб, Эвклид, Эвфем, а также Гиет (Ύετος) и Гесиод. Предлагались доводы в защиту одного из этих имен: отмечалось, что Платон (Phaedr. 244 A) зовет его сыном Эвфема и что имя Эвфорб могло появиться в поздней традиции под влиянием стиха Христорора, написавшего, что Стесихора вскормила (ἔφερβε) сицилийская земля⁷; отмечалось далее, что имя Гесиод могло появиться не случайно: уже в античности отметили преемственность между Гесиодом и Стесихором⁸. Как видно по последнему примеру, в традиции наблюдалось переосмысление имен, а не простая путаница.

Имя матери поэта до нас не дошло, но известны имена двух братьев Стесихора – Гелианакт (Ἠλιαναξ), в дорийской форме (Ἄλιαναξ) и Мамерк (Μάμερκος). Имена Гелианакт и Тисий – это старые греческие имена, в то время как имя, начинающееся с Мамер- – особое, находящее параллели только в Италии. Даже если данное имя представляет собой италийскую кальку греческого имени, начинающегося с основы Арей-, все равно есть основание думать, что мать Стесихора не была гречанкой: только ее влиянием можно объяснить италийское имя сына. Все три брата отличались каждый на своем поприще. Гелианакт стал законодателем, Мамерк – геометром, а Тисий – поэтом.

⁶ Фрагменты Стесихора собраны в основном в двух изданиях Д. Пейджа: *Poetae melici Graeci* / Ed. Page D. Oxf., 1962 (далее – PMG); *Supplementum lyricis Graecis* / Ed. Page D. Oxf., 1974 (далее – S).

⁷ Ср. Vürtheim. Op. cit., S. 100.

⁸ Есть прямое свидетельство, что Гесиод упоминался у Стесихора; ср. PMG 269 (Argum. a in Hes. Scut. p. 267 Rzach).

Семья жила в одном из городов Великой Греции⁹. Обычно Стесихор называется Гимерским, однако по одному из свидетельств он жил в Матавре, локрской колонии на юге Италии (Steph. Byz., s. v. Μάταυρος). Это свидетельство еще раз подтверждает италийское происхождение имени Мамерк. Традиция связывает Стесихора с Гимерой, городом на северном побережье Сицилии. Там находилась золотая статуя поэта, которую видел еще Цицерон (Verg. II, 35). Изображение Стесихора украшало гимерские монеты.

Могила Стесихора показывали в Катане (Phot., s.v. πάντα ὀκτώ, Anth. Pal. VII, 75). Причиной переселения поэта из Гимеры считали его ссору с тираном Фаларидом Агригентским, происшедшую в последние десятилетия жизни поэта. Предостерегая сограждан от тирании, Стесихор написал басню. Существует попытка реконструкции этого текста, предпринятая Фр. Адрадосом¹⁰. Против деталей этой реконструкции можно высказать целый ряд замечаний, но то, что Стесихор не был чужд политике, представляется бесспорным.

Даты жизни поэта определенно не установлены: свидетельство словаря «Свида», называющего годы примерно 630 – ок. 555 г. до н.э., наталкивается на противоречие хроники «Паросского мрамора», отмечающей под 485 г. до н.э. первую победу Эхила, рождение Еврипида и «прибытие поэта Стесихора в Грецию». Та же хроника под 370/369 г. до н.э. указывает прибытие второго Стесихора, победившего в Афинах с поэмой «Циклоп» (PMG 841).

Разрешить эту хронологическую неувязку пытались неоднократно. У. фон Виламовитц пытался показать, что Стесихор просто не вошел в паросскую хронику¹¹, и постулировал в греческой литературе трех Стесихоров из Гимеры. Такое предположение маловероятно и сейчас исследователи склонны видеть в свидетельстве «Паросского мрамора» неточность или путаницу в датах. Нам представляется возможным видеть в этом свидетельстве неточность в форме выражения: отмечать, что «Стесихор из Гимеры прибыл в Элладу», кажется странным. Свидетельство о втором Стесихоре сообщает, что он поставил хоровое выступление и победил в соревновании хоров. Стесихор, нас интересующий, просто «прибыл в Элладу», т.е. не принимал участия в состязании хоров, не привез поэмы для постановки. Наконец, «прибыл в Элладу» при явной направленности «Паросского мрамора» на историю Аттики также не кажется слишком точной формулировкой. За этим текстом должно бы стоять сообщение о постановке поэмы (или поэм?) в хоровом исполнении, причем скорее всего именно в Афинах. Мы знаем, что во времена Писистрата и Писистратидов было распространено увлечение гомеровским эпосом. Нет оснований думать, что до начала тирании

⁹ Согласно одному из свидетельств Стесихор родился в Паллантии.

¹⁰ Adrados Fr. R. Neue jambische Fragmente aus archaischer und klassischer Zeit. – *Philologus*, 126, 1982, 2, S. 157 – 173.

¹¹ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff U. von. *Sappho und Simonides*. B., 1913, S. 233 – 239.

Стесихор уже успел стать популярным в Афинах. Период Греко-Персидских войн также не был благоприятным для хоровых постановок. Одновременно мы знаем, что в последней четверти V в. до н. э. обычай хоровых песнопений выходит из моды¹². Таким образом, если признавать за «Паросским мрамором» достоверность даты, то дата – 485 г. до н. э. – должна восприниматься как дата знакомства афинской публики с произведениями Стесихора, как дата первой постановки его произведений; на состязаниях произведения почти вековой данности никакого места не получали. Дополнительным аргументом позднего знакомства с творчеством Стесихора в Афинах может служить то соображение, что Писистратида вряд ли могли быть заинтересованы в популяризации творчества Стесихора или же, по крайней мере, той части творчества, которая была направлена против тирании.

Следует, впрочем, отметить, что датировка творчества Стесихора, даже если верна предложенная интерпретация хроники «Паросского мрамора», требует дальнейшего уточнения. О геометре Мамерке известно, что он занимал промежуточное положение между Фалесом (ок. 625 г. – ок. 545 г.) и Пифагором (ок. 540 г. – ок. 500 г.).

Разница в возрасте между братьями заставляла исследователей критически рассматривать сообщаемые «Свидой» данные. Так, отмечалось, что дата рождения Стесихора может быть на самом деле датой смерти Алкмана¹³, поскольку в хронологической последовательности лириков Стесихор следует за Алкманом. Попытки «омоложения» Стесихора предпринимаются и на основании косвенных данных¹⁴.

Есть основание думать, что кроме путешествий по Великой Греции, о чем сообщают античные источники, Стесихор предпринял путешествие в Пелопоннес, где ставил выступления хора¹⁵. Ряд произведений, например «Орестея» должен быть отнесен именно к этому периоду. Очевидно, что в Пелопоннесе Стесихор был приглашен не в начале творческого пути и не в самом конце жизни, когда он жил в Катане.

Прямых свидетельств античных авторов о творчестве Стесихора нет, но тем не менее попытаемся на основании косвенных данных проследить его эволюцию.

Первое, что можно сделать, – это определить, какая часть наследия поэта нам известна. «Свида» сообщает, что наследие Стесихора составляло 26 книг. Несомненно, такое деление принадлежит александрийским ученым и до определенной степени связано с издательской деятельностью александрийцев: можно думать, что книга соответствовала свитку папируса.

¹² См. Обширную подборку фактов в статье: Кудулите А. В. История текста Алкмана в античные времена. – *Literatura (Vilnius)*, XXV (3), p.10 – 11.

¹³ Vürtheim. Op. cit., S. 105.

¹⁴ Например, см. Bicknell P. The Date of the Battle of the Sarga River. – *Phoenix*, XX, 1966, p. 294 – 301.

¹⁵ Подробнее об этом см. Bowra C. M. Stesichorus in the Peloponnese. – *CIQ*, 1934, p.115 – 119.

До нас дошли названия произведений Стесихора. Посмотрим, как соотносится то, что мы знаем хотя бы по заглавию, с общим итогом творчества Стесихора:

Название произведения	Число книг	Название произведения	Число книг
Игры по Пелию	1	Эрифла	1
ГерIONEИДА	1	Эдиподия (?)	1
ЦЕРБЕР	1	Разрушение Трои	1
КИКН	1	Носты	1
СЦИЛЛА	1	Орестея	2
ОХОТА НА ВЕПРЯ	1	Елена и Палинодия	2
ЭВРОПЕЯ	1		

Как можно видеть, мы знаем только по названиям немногим более половины наследия Стесихора. Даже если включить в число произведений Стесихора приписываемые ему поэмы «Калика», «Ради́на» и «Дафнис», если предположить, что существовали отдельные гимны и пеаны и отдельная книга ямбов¹⁶, все равно можно сказать, что из наследия Стесихора нам известно не более двух третей. Мы не знаем, из чего состояла недошедшая до нас даже в названиях часть наследия. Осторожнее было бы говорить о том, что нам по названиям известна примерно половина произведений Стесихора.

Прямых свидетельств для составления хронологической последовательности создания даже известных поэм у нас нет. Однако благодаря папирусным находкам появилась возможность распределить поэмы Стесихора в порядке метрической эволюции в сопоставлении с Алкманом и с Ивиком¹⁷.

¹⁶ Это предположение принадлежит Фр. Адрадосу, ср. уже упомянутую его статью, а также книгу: Adrados Fr. *Historia de la fabula Greco-Latina*. Madrid, 1979.

¹⁷ О метрике Стесихора см.: Haslam M. W. *Stesichorean Metre*. – *Quaderni Urbinati*, 17, 1974, p. 7 – 54; Führer R. *Muta cum liquida bei Stesichorus*. – *ZPE*, 28, 1978, p.180; Commoti G. *Muta cum liquida nel nuovo Stesicoro* Pap. Lille 76 a, b, c. – *Quaderni Urbinati*, 26, 1976, p.59 – 63.

Автор, произведение	дактиль	ямб	– – ∪ – –
Стесихор, «Эдиподия»	68 %	20%	12 %
Стесихор, «Эрифилы»	ок. 85 %	0 %	ок 15 %
Стесихор, «Носты»	ок. 89 %	0 %	ок. 8 %
Стесихор, «Орестея»	ок. 92 %	0 %	8 %
Стесихор, «Разрушение Трои»	92 %	0 %	8 %
Стесихор, «ГерIONEИДА»	100 %	0 %	0 %
Ивик (PMG 282)	100 %	0 %	0 %

Представленные расчеты сделаны по строкам папируса; от этого принципа мы отступили, лишь выделяя последовательность – – ∪ – – (которая, заметим в скобках, представляет собой вариант эпитрита; в ряде фрагментов то, что у нас попало в ямб, на деле может быть также последовательностью эпитритов: – ∪ –). Папирусная традиция лишь спорадически выделяет последовательность – – ∪ – – в отдельную строку (так, она выделена в Р. Оху. 2619). Таким образом, данные этой таблицы приблизительны. Необходимо отметить, что даже будь эти данные исключительно точны, нет оснований считать развитие стесихоровского творчества каким-то прямолинейным наполнением метрики дактилем и анапестом с целенаправленным изживанием других размеров. Разумеется, это не так. Но определенную ценность эта таблица сохраняет, относя к полярным по метрике «Эдиподию» и «ГерIONEИДУ». Любопытно, что рядом с «Эдиподией» стоит ее сюжетное продолжение – поэма «Эрифилы».

Уже давно было отмечено, что поэмы Стесихора легко группируются по циклам. Конечно, невозможно утверждать, что Стесихор всегда создавал поэмы, сюжетно продолжающие одна другую, но это в достаточной степени вероятно; по крайней мере вероятно, что близкие по сюжету произведения имели и сходную метрическую схему. Поэмы,

относящиеся к фиванскому циклу мифов, отличаются от цикла поэм о Геракле (судить, правда, можно только по метрике «ГерIONEИДЫ»), которая почти полностью основана на дактиле и анапесте.

Троянский цикл мифов и аргосский цикл ближе всего между собой в метрическом отношении. Если иметь в виду, что именно для аргосского цикла поэм Боура предполагал спартанскую аудиторию, можно думать, что представленная таблица в какой-то мере действительно приближает нас к эволюции стесихоровского творчества.

Попробуем теперь верифицировать, насколько это возможно, полученную последовательность поэм. Данных для верификации немного, но все же они существуют.

Некоторые данные содержит языковой материал. Неоднократно отмечалось, что диалект Стесихора – не чисто дорийский. Обращалось внимание на сильное влияние со стороны эпоса. В последние годы высказывалось мнение, будто бы до 504 г. до н. э. Гомер был в Великой Греции неизвестен¹⁸. Это мнение исключает культурный обмен между греческим Востоком и греческим Западом, при том, что путешествия были обычны, Сафо была в Сицилии, торговый обмен с западной частью Средиземноморья шел через Великую Грецию. Мог ли торговый обмен никак не затронуть обмена духовными ценностями? Это кажется маловероятным. Бесспорно другое: эпос на греческом Западе никогда не играл той роли, какая ему была отведена на греческом Востоке.

Стесихор недаром был назван «наигомеричнейшим»: в его поэмах достижения гомеровского эпоса оказались слитыми с хоровой лирикой, придав лирическим произведениям развернутую фабулу эпического повествования; одновременно сохранялось разнообразие мелодий и интонаций, превосходившее то, что можно постулировать для эпоса. Речи персонажей, диалоги, взятые из эпоса, попав в лирический жанр, звучат по-новому, более живо и, если не более индивидуально, то более фольклорно.

Наряду с традиционными, литературными языковыми формами у Стесихора встречаются и формы, которые объяснимы лишь из живой стихии языка полиса. Уже давно отметили как «сицилийскую» языковую черту форму $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\sigma\chi\alpha$, засвидетельствованную у Стесихора (PMG 261) и Эпихарма. Новые папирусные фрагменты добавили еще две такие формы: инфинитивы от глагола быть $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (в «ГерIONEИДЕ») и $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ (в «Разрушении Трои»). Первая из этих форм находит параллели в говорах Эвбеи, а вторая представляет собой особенность некоторых дорийских

¹⁸ Стронники этого взгляда говорят о древней, восходящей еще к микенскому времени традиции, близкой к эпической, но с нею не тождественной: ср. «северную» и «южную» традиции в терминологии К. Павезе (Pavese C. *La lingua della poesia corale come lingua d'una tradizione poetica settentrionale*. – *Glotta*, 45, 1967, S. 164 – 185. С этим трудно согласиться. Нет сомнения, что хоровая лирика свои традиции имела, но становление хоровой лирики как литературного жанра неразрывно связано со всем ходом развития греческой архаической литературы и без эпического влияния, конечно, дело не обошлось.

диалектов¹⁹. Очевидно, что форма $\epsilon\iota\nu$ была рассчитана на аудиторию, в значительной части состоявшую из переселенцев с Эвбеи. Можно думать, что такая аудитория была у Стесихора в Гимере, городе, основанном переселенцами из Халкидики на Эвбее. Можно думать, далее, что «ГерIONEИДА» была написана для постановки в Гимере.

В той же «ГерIONEИДЕ» Геракл путешествует на Крайний Запад к Острову Блаженных в чаше (ладье) Солнца. Сам по себе этот мотив широко распространен. Здесь можно вспомнить и о ладье египетского бога Ра, и о хеттских представлениях, отраженных в известной хеттской молитве²⁰, которую долго использовали как исторический источник при определении пути, каким хетты пришли в Малую Азию: предполагалось, что только на побережье Каспийского моря хетты могли видеть встающее из моря солнце²¹. На самом же деле речь идет о распространенных представлениях о мироздании. Эти представления отражены и в гомеровских поэмах, ср. Od. 3, 1 «Гелиос с моря прекрасного встал...». Насколько можно судить, представление о солнечной чаше ко времени Стесихора отошло на второй план²². Видимо, «философские» и космогонические вопросы волновали Стесихора, свидетельством чего осталось упоминание им планеты Месонух²³, занявшей определенно положение в представлениях Пифагора. Столь подробного описания движения солнца, какое демонстрирует «ГерIONEИДА», в греческом эпосе нет. Можно было бы думать, что интерес к этому предмету оживился после солнечного затмения 585 г. до н. э. и что эта деталь также подтверждает сравнительно позднюю датировку «ГерIONEИДЫ».

Этические взгляды Стесихора можно проследить по вновь опубликованным фрагментам.

Во фрагментах «ЭДИПОДИИ» мы находим противопоставление $\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ / $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ «вражда» / «любовь». И одно и другое от богов; то и другое определяет человеческую жизнь. Позднее в философии Эмпедокла это противопоставление станет основой для понимания природы. У Стесихора это скорее психологическое обоснование человеческого

¹⁹ Наиболее полная работа о языке Стесихора принадлежит М. Нетигеру (Nöthiger M. Die Sprache des Stesichorus und des Ibicus. Diss. Zürich, 1974). Здесь использован материал, изложенный далее.

²⁰ Русский перевод Вяч. Вс. Иванова см. в книге «Луна, упавшая с неба» (М., 1977), с. 105: «Господин мой, Бог небесный Солнца, / Человечества пастух! Из моря / Ты приходишь в вышину, небесный...».

²¹ См., например: Гамкрелидзе Т. В. Хеттские языки и вопрос о переселении в Малую Азию индоевропейских племен. – Труды Ин-та языкознания АН ГрузССР. Сер. Восточных языков. II. Тбилиси, 1957, с. 48.

²² Carena C. La cosmologia di Thalete e la coppa solare dei poeti ionici. – Rivista Rosminiana (Domodossola), 56, 1962, p. 22–32. Речь здесь может идти о простом совпадении независимо от воспринятых взглядов. О восточных истоках представлений Фалеса см. Лебедев А. В. Демииург у Фалеса? – В кн.: Текст: структура и семантика. М., 1983, с. 51–66. Там же см. литературу.

²³ См. Bicknell P. J. The Planet Mesonux. – Apeiron, II, 1968, 2, p. 10 – 12.

поведения²⁴. Более детальное обоснование человеческого поведения, поиск, причины для каждого события можно видеть во многих произведениях Стесихора.

Было бы неоправданным искать в поэмах Гомера, почему погибла Троя. Так решили боги:

«Будет некогда день, и погибнет великая Троя,
с нею погибнет Приам и народ копыеносца Приама»
(Илиада, IV, 164 – 165, пер. Н. И. Гнедича).

Для Стесихора этого объяснения недостаточно. Идет смертный бой между греками, ворвавшимися в Трою обманом, и троянцами. Обе стороны имеют равные шансы на победу. Там, где Гомер удовлетворяется объяснением «таково решение богов», Стесихор ищет причину божеского решения и нравственного обоснования победы и поражения своих героев. Не найдя этого обоснования в мифологической традиции, он вкладывает это нравственное обоснование в поступки своих героев, заставляя их совершать действия, которые позднее будут квалифицированы как ἔβρις: троянцы гибнут, спасая родину, но гибнут оттого, что «им ли бояться владычицы гнева», т.е. от непочтения к божеству. Мотивация действия, нравственная пружина, заложенная в традиционную фабулу, меняет эпическую констатацию факта на объяснение самого факта, нравственное обоснование события.

Приведем еще пример. Почему Герион гибнет от стрелы Геракла? Между Герионом и Гераклом идет смертный бой. Обе стороны имеют равные шансы на победу. Герион гибнет, спасая свое стадо, но гибнет потому, что захотел стать одним из олимпийских богов, гибнет от собственной ἔβρις, заставляющей богов приговорить его к смерти в этом поединке.

Пройдут десятилетия, прежде чем ἔβρις станет основным объяснением всех несчастий, поражающих как одного человека, так и всю общину. Здесь уже наличествуют зачатки того, что позднее даст ощущение личной вины, губящей государство. В гибели Трои повинен предводитель троян, произнесший позорящие Афины слова, в Троянской войне виноваты Елена и отчасти ее отец Тиндарей, совершивший нечестие по отношению к Афродите. Его нечестие отмщается в его дочерях, но отмщается.

Мы видим, что в дальнейшем развитии греческой литературы именно эти нравственные идеи зреют и крепнут, причем характерно, что их расцвет совпадает с расцветом полиса. Вряд ли это совпадение можно назвать случайным: развитие моральных понятий, в том числе понятия о личной вине, губящей государство, идет параллельно с развитием других (в том числе и менее привлекательных) сторон полисной идеологии.

²⁴ Godolphin F. R. Stesichorus and the Origins of the Psychological Treatment of Love. – Capp's Studies, 1937.

Пройдет несколько десятилетий, и именно в Великой Греции будет предпринята попытка создать государство на основе пифагорейского союза, преследовавшего в первую очередь цели нравственного совершенствования.

Нельзя также не отметить, что у истоков создания полисной идеологии стоит не эпос, а лирика, более чутко, чем эпос, откликавшаяся на сиюминутные вопросы, продиктованные политической ситуацией. В этом отношении поэмы Стесихора принадлежат к лирическому жанру.

Философские воззрения Стесихора по дошедшим до нас свидетельствам не очевидны. Вероятно, есть смысл объединить все, что мы знаем об особенностях его мировоззрения, и посмотреть на эти данные сквозь призму досократовской философии.

Уже упоминалось о противопоставлении *νεῖκος* /φιλότης как этической основы миропорядка, в смене которых проходит человеческая жизнь; в дальнейшем эти понятия лягут в основу картины мира, созданной Эмпедоклом. Упоминалось и о попытках сопоставить представления о солнечной чаше-ладье с космологией Фалеса и о возможных связях круга идей, лежащих в основе «Палинодии», с предпифагореизмом.

Хочется обратить внимание еще на два обстоятельства. Тема воскрешения из мертвых, засвидетельствована в «Эрифиле». Капаней, согласно мифологической традиции, сражен молнией Зевса в момент, когда, взойдя на фиванскую стену, закричал, что и молния Зевса его не заставит отступить. Вероятно, до этого момента рассказ Стесихора во многом традиционен: Капаней гибнет, и вместе с ним гибнет Ликург (другие авторы его не причисляют к участникам похода – в этом первое отступление от мифа). Через некоторое время оба воскресают. Этот мотив был настолько нов, что приковал к себе внимание многих комментаторов: целых пять свидетельств говорят о воскрешении Капанея и Ликурга. До Стесихора греческая литература воскрешения мертвых не знала. Можно, конечно, предположить, что в основе стесихоровой инновации лежат вполне конкретные наблюдения над шоковым состоянием при близком попадании молнии, с другой стороны, за этим же стоит осмысление обморочного состояния как смерти. Другим наблюдением, принадлежащим Стесихору, является усиленное внимание к снам. Конечно, и до Стесихора знали, что «сны от Зевса бывают» (Илиада, I, 63), но сон Клитемнестры недаром привлек внимание такого знатока сакрального, каким был Плутарх.

Можно видеть, что интерес Стесихора к естественнонаучным и психологическим, как мы бы сейчас их квалифицировали, данным проникал и в его произведения. Нельзя исключить, что эти интересы Стесихора хотя бы отчасти были связаны с деятельностью его братьев и что здесь открывается некоторая возможность проникнуть в темы, волновавшие современное Стесихору образованное общество.

В литературе, начиная с Ю. Н. Тынянова, часто делят писателей на архаистов и новаторов²⁵. Даже бегло оглядев историю античной литературы, можно прийти к выводу, что античные «новаторы» (в тыняновском понимании слова) до нас почти не дошли. Но и Стесихор до нас «почти не дошел». Кто он? «Архаист» или «новатор»?

Большая часть свидетельств, восходящих к античным грамматикам, отмечает инновации: поэт выступает как новатор в метрике (им составлена триада), в сюжетосложении (многие сюжеты лишь благодаря Стесихору приобрели популярность, например Герион, изображения которого до VI в. до н. э. на вазах не обнаружены), в мотивации поведения героев и пр.

Одновременно общими фразами подчеркивается и его приверженность традиции: такие определения, как «наигомеричнейший» (у Лонгина), «поддержал лирой бремя эпической песни» (у Квинтилиана), подчеркивают преемственность стесихоровского творчества и отсутствие резкого противопоставления предшествующей традиции. Часто и эти свидетельства числят среди инноваций поэта, замечая, что Стесихор включал эпические средства в арсенал средств лирической поэзии. Традиционны многие названия его поэм; относительно «Орестей» античные грамматика отменяли, что она представляет собой переделку поэмы Ксанфа. Самым интересным и доказательным обсуждением стесихоровского метода явилось бы сопоставление поэм Ксанфа и Стесихора. К сожалению, о Ксанфе не сохранилось даже свидетельств. Единственная возможность проверки – это анализ папирусных фрагментов, поэтика которых позволяет установить зависимость Стесихора как от гомеровских поэм (особенно показательны здесь речи персонажей и выражения, вводящие и заключающие прямую речь), так и от традиции хоровой лирики.

Слияние этих двух традиции обогатило хоровую лирику, но нового жанра не создало; Стесихор остался поэтом, создававшим произведения для хора. Именно эти две традиции составили основу его творчества. Стесихор как «новатор» выступает только в поздней античной мифографии, но одними инновациями творчество его не исчерпывается. Наряду с новыми трактовками мифов им разрабатывались и вполне традиционные сюжеты.

Бесспорно, новой в истории греческой литературы была триада, состоявшая из строфы, антистрофы и эпода. Антистрофа повторяла полностью метрическую схему строфы, метрика эпода была особой. Это членение поэтического текста нашло продолжение в хоровых частях трагедии и в хоровых произведениях таких поэтов, как Пиндар, Вакхилид и др. Триада получила такую известность, что вошла в присловье

²⁵ Тынянов Ю. Н. Архаисты и новаторы. Л., 1929.

οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στήσιχόρου γιγνώσκεις »ты не знаешь триады Стесихора»²⁶.

Обращает на себя внимание свобода, с которой обращался Стесихор с мифами. Не только вариации, не только изменения мотивов, но и создание совершенно противоречащих исконному мифу сюжетов отличают его творчество. Именно в этом качестве Стесихор может быть признан источником и основой для построения ряда греческих трагедий. Отчасти и комедия обогатилась за счет Стесихора, например, образ Геракла-обжоры может представлять собой переосмысление «трехведерной чаши», из которой Геракл пьет у кентавра Фола («ГерIONEИДА»).

Влияние Стесихора в греческой литературе более всего можно проследить в трагедии. Помимо того, что значительная часть свидетельств о Стесихоре восходит к схолиям трагедии, новые папирусные фрагменты демонстрируют правдоподобные мнения о влиянии Стесихора на становление и развитие древнегреческой трагедии. Можно утверждать, что в истории древнегреческой литературы Стесихор представляет собой важный этап, определивший во многом развитие всей греческой драмы. В настоящее время доказать это положение можно лишь отчасти и лишь для греческой трагедии. Между тем не следует забывать и о специфически греческом явлении афинской драматургии – о сатировой драме. В становлении этого жанра стесихоровское творчество, вероятно, сыграло также не последнюю роль (подробнее об этом см. прим. к «Палинодии»).

Стесихор занимает прочное место в истории греческой литературы благодаря александрийскому канону десяти лирических поэтов. Канон имел значение не столько научное, сколько педагогическое. Именно с эпохи эллинизма знакомство с произведениями Стесихора считалось обязательным для любой школы²⁷. Из Греции это перешло и в Рим, где при изучении греческих авторов с учениками читали Стесихора. Именно благодаря этому в римской литературе можно обнаружить следы стесихоровского влияния, например у Горация (см. прим. к «Елене»).

В александрийском Музее были собраны сочинения поэта. Над текстом его поэм работали крупнейшие филологи того времени, в том числе Аристоник и Зенодот.

Можно думать, что сюжеты, разработанные Стесихором, были популярны в местной вазописи²⁸ и что эта традиция, подкрепленная если не знанием текста, то по крайней мере знанием сюжета, играла значительную роль в распространении знаний о Стесихоре. К концу античности обе эти традиции послужили источником для

²⁶ Мы придерживаемся традиционного толкования. О понимании этого текста как «ты не знаешь и трех строчек Палинодии Стесихора» см. первый раздел английского текста, прим. 16.

²⁷ Marrou H.-J. Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité. 6-me éd. P., 1965, p: 247–248.

²⁸ См., например, Moret J.-M. L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italote: Les mythes et leur expression figurée au IV siècle. V. I–II. Rome, 1974.

мифологических разысканий. Большая часть свидетельств, дошедших до нас, восходит именно к этому времени.

С этого момента Стесихор известен только специалистам, хотя дошедшие фрагменты его произведений публиковались начиная с XVI в., когда Этьен поместил Стесихора в приложении к изданию Пиндара²⁹. К этому изданию восходит единственный случай влияния Стесихора на литературу Нового времени – восходящая к Стесихору версия мифа была использована Расином в «Ифигении»³⁰.

²⁹ Pindari Olympia. Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, ceterum octo lyricorum carmina... Anno 1560 excudebat Henr. Stephanus. V. II, p. 72–74.

³⁰ Le Hir J. Ombres et reflets temporels dans l'Iphigénie de Racine. – Les études classiques, 34, 1966, p. 39–50.

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ¹

СТЕСИХОР. ФРАГМЕНТЫ

ПОГРЕБАЛЬНЫЕ ИГРЫ ПО ПЕЛИЮ

Пелий убил своего брата Эсона и завладел царской властью в Иолке. Из семьи Эсона избежал гибели один Ясон, ставший воспитанником кентавров. На двадцатом году Ясон вернулся в Иолку искать царства. Пелий отправил его в Колхиду за золотым руном. Ясон со спутниками отплыл на корабле Арго, добыл руно и вернулся в Иолку с женой, дочерью царя Колхов волшебницей Медеей. Медея посоветовала дочерям Пелия вернуть отцу молодость: разрезать его на куски, сварить и оживить волшебным зельем. Когда две первые операции были совершены, Медея не дала волшебного зелья. Сын Пелия Акаст изгнал Ясона и Медею, похоронил останки отца и устроил погребальные игры, в которых приняли участие лучшие герои Греции.

Были кулачные бои, в начале поэмы упоминалось снаряжение кулачных бойцов:

PMG 180 ...ремни, поглотившие руку...

В колесничных состязаниях участвовали Диоскуры:

PMG 178 чад Подарга резвых – Гарпага и Флогия (братьям)
Гермес для ристания дал,
а Гера – Киллара и Ксанфа.

Соревновались и в метании копья:

PMG 179 b Амфиарай в прыжках, а в метании копий
был Мелеагр победитель.

Не ясно, какое место занимали в поэме стихи:

PMG ...деве приносят
полбяной каши с сезамом, печений,
сладких лепешек и светлого меда.

Боура (Bowra С. М. Greek Lyric Poetry. Oxf., 1961, p.102) полагал, что «дева» – это дочь Пелия Алкестида, выходящая замуж за Адмета.

ГЕРИОНЕИДА

Поэма воспевает один из подвигов Геракла – похищение быков Гериона.

¹ Публикуемые переводы с древнегреческого и комментарии печатались в ВДИ, 1985. №2 и в сборнике «Древнегреческая мелика» (М., 1988) под редакцией М. Л. Гаспарова.

S 87 = PMG 186 (Schol. Hes. Theog. 287) Герион – сын Каллирои, дочери Посейдона², и Хрисаора. Стесихор говорит, что у него было шесть рук, шесть ног и крылья.

PMG 299 (Atgen., XII 513 A) ...новые поэты изображают Геракла разбойником и говорят, что он странствовал, имея при себе лишь палицу, львиную шкуру и лук, – а впервые изобразил его таким Стесихор из Гимеры³.

Стадо Гериона пас Эвритион.

S 7 = PMG 184 ...напротив Эрифии славной⁴,
где с гор среброносных струятся
токи Тартесской реки

² Схолий называет Гериона внуком Океана, но фрагмент S 14 показывает, что Стесихор считал его внуком Посейдона.

³ Геракл занимал значительное место в творчестве Стесихора; помимо «ГерIONEИДЫ» была еще поэма «Кикн», о которой мы знаем из схолия к Олимпийским песням Пиндара X, 19 (PMG 207) «Кикнова битва: Стесихор в произведении, озаглавленном «Кикн», говорит, что Геракл побегал, но потом убил Кикна, сына Арея... Кикн, сын Арея, жил у прохода в Фессалию и отрубал головы проходящим чужестранцам, желая из голов соорудить храм Аполлону (Арею?). поэтому он злоумыслил проходящему Гераклу, а когда произошла битва, Геракл обратился в бегство (Арей пришел на помощь своему сыну Кикну). Но позже, когда Кикн оказался один, победил Геракл». Подробнее об этой поэме см. Dawe R. D. Stesichorus, fr. 207 Page. – Proceeding of the Cambridge Philological Society, 198, 1972, p.28 – 80. С подвигами Геракла связаны и поэмы «Цербер» (PMG 206) и «Сцилла» (PMG 220), судить о содержании которых можно лишь по заглавию. В какой-то поэме упоминалась смерть детей Геракла; ср. PMG 230 (= Paus. IX, 11, 2). «Они (фиванцы) показывают могилу детей Геракла и Мегары и рассказывают об их смерти то же, что и Стесихор Гимерский». Характерно, что Геракл ни в одной из поэм не проявляет у Стесихора черт, противоречащих образу героя, созданному в других поэмах. Это можно видеть не только по отсутствию свидетельств, но и в прямом указании на традиционность Стесихорова Геракла; ср. PMG 231 (= Plut. de malign. Herod. 14) «Но из древних мужей, занимавшихся словесностью, ни Гомер, ни Гесиод, ни Архилох, ни Писандр, ни Стесихор, ни Алкман, ни Пиндар ни слова не сказали о египетском Геракле или о Геракле финикийском, но все почитали Геракла беотийца и одновременно аргосца». Сравнению образа Геракла у Стесихора и Пиндара посвящена статья: Barmann F. Zur Geryoneis des Stesichorus und Pindars Herakles-Dithzrambos. – ZPE, 31, 1978, S. 33 – 35, а также Cajatti G. Il mito di Ercole in Stesicoro. Roma, 1941.

⁴ Эрифия – мыс и острова, закрывающие Гадитанский залив. Тартесская река, позднее Бетий – совр. Гвадалквивир. Знакомство греков с этими землями относится к детству Стесихора. Предполагается, что западный цикл подвигов Геракла сформировался в VIII – VII вв. до н. э., причем в традиционно греческие представления о Геракле органически вошли подвиги финикийского Мелькарта.

многоструйной, в расселине скал
родила его мать...

В Эрифию или на какой-то другой остров прибыл Геракл:

S 8 он по волнам бездонного моря приплыл
на остров прекрасный⁵. Там боги
населники, там Геспериды в чертогах золотых
обитают.

S 86 = PMG 183 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 211) Стесихор в «ГерIONEИДЕ»
называет какой-то остров в Атлантическом океане Серпедонией⁶.

Геракл прибыл на запад в чаше (ладье) солнца⁷:

S 17 = PMG 185 Уже сын Гипериона сильный
собирался взойти во золотую ладью,
чтобы в ней, низойдя Океаном,
побывать бы в пустынности черной ночи
заповедной
подле матери, подле супруги своей,
подле милых детей.
А сын Зевса направился в рошу священную,
в кущи лавровые.

Возможно, что воспользоваться солнечной чашей Геракла надоумили
кентавры. Во всяком случае, Геракл пировал у кентавра Фола⁸:

S 19 = PMG 181 (Athen., IX 499 A) Стесихор называет кубком чашу,
бывшую у кентавра Фола, вместо того чтобы сказать «кубковидная». О
Герacle он говорит:

...кубок взяв – преогромную чашу в три
меры, он выпил
поднесенное Фолом с водою вино...

Папирусные фрагменты позволяют наметить еще одну сюжетную
линию⁹. Как показывают следующие два фрагмента (предполагается, что
это диалог Герииона с Меноитом, пастухом Аидова стада), Гериион

⁵ География западной окраины Средиземноморья представлялась еще достаточно
туманно. В Атлантическом океане помещали Остров богов, вход в Аид
(последнему могла способствовать и близость названий Тартесс ь Тартар).

⁶ Серпедон – герой, павший под Троей и по традиционным сказаниям связанный с
малоазийским побережьем; перенесение его на запад не имеет
удовлетворительного объяснения.

⁷ Представление о ночном пути Солнца по Океану засвидетельствовано и у других
поэтов архаической Греции; ср. Carena C. La cosmologia di Thalete e la coppa solare
dei poeti ionic. – Rivista Rosminiana (Domodossola), 56, 1962, 1, p.22 – 32.
Возможно, к этому же кругу представлений относится и хеттская молитва, в
которой говорится, что «солнце встает из моря».

⁸ Высказывалось предположение, что Геракл нашел кентавров около Паллантия в
Аркадии, ср. S 85 = PMG 182 (= Paus., VII, 3, 2) «также и Стесихор Гимерский в
«ГерIONEИДЕ» упомянул город Паллантий».

⁹ Последовательность фрагментов в папирусном свитке восстановить не удается,
ясно лишь, что поэма заключала более 1300 стихов, ср. fr. S 27.

посягает на то, чтобы стать одним из олимпийских богов¹⁰. Боги, собравшись на Олимпе, назначают ему смерть.

S 10 (речь Меноита)

Но, мой друг, помяни и мать Каллирою
и пылкого в бранях
Хрисаора.

S 11

...в ответ же ему
Произнес многомогущий потомок
Хрисаора бессмертного и Каллирои:
«Не смущай мне отважную душу слова-
ми о хладе смертельном Аида
и не...
Ибо если бессмертен мой род, то вовек не ста-
рею, пребуду всегда сопричастником жизни
Олимпа

стр.

.....
Если же я обречен достигнуть до старости
страшной, –
мимолетным жильцом, не причастным к уделу
блаженных богов, –
то не лучше ли ныне и сразу мне все претерпеть,
что судьбою дано...»

ант. 3

.....
возразил Хрисаорову сыну:
«Но блаженным богам да не будет любезно
такое
(слово твое...»
... про наших коров
.....

Далее происходит диалог Гериона с Каллироей. Сохранилась речь Каллирои к Гериону:

S 13

эп

«...несказанно страдав, несказанно терпев,
родила я тебя ...
(И теперь), Герион, я твои обнимаю колена.
Моею грудью ты вскормлен...»

¹⁰ Этот мотив вины Гериона перед олимпийскими богами представляет собой, возможно, собственно стесихоровскую инновацию.

Вероятно, Герион остается неколебим в своем решении. Собравшись на Олимпе, боги решают его участь:

..... у Зевса-царя.
стр. Светлоокая дева Афина-богиня прорекла Герионову деду, отважному духом: «Коней повелитель, памятлив будь о своем обещаньи»
Раз обещав,
не желай Гериона от смерти избавить...»

Геракл убил Эвритиона и угнал стадо. Герион настигает его¹¹.
Происходит битва:

S 15

стр. 60,5 ...⟨Геракл⟩ жребий смерти ужасной уже ощущал у себя на челе.
.....убийцы мужей,
пестрой Гидры взял яд.....

ант 60

..... кровью и желчью, которые та изрыгнула в миг смертных страданий, он стрелу напитал и нежданно врагу изловчился попасть в переносье. Божеством предназначенный путь свой стрела совершила, лишь у самого темени вышла и мышцы с кости совлекла.

эп. 60

Тут на грудь, на покрытые кровью запекшейся члены багряная хлынула кровь. Голова Гериона склонилась долу, как мак, отцветая, когда он вдруг потеряет красу свою нежную, разом все лепестки осыпая.....

Геракл со стадом Гериона прибывает в Тиринф¹².

ЕЛЕНА

PMG 190 (Schol. A Nom. II, 2, 339) Когда собрались свататься к Елене самые родовитые и прекрасные юноши Греции, Тиндарей, отец ее, стал

¹¹ Ср. в стихе 1266 «бегство».

¹² Исследователи часто помещают встречу с кентаврами в конец поэмы, полагая, что Геракл пировал с ними на обратном пути, возвращаясь по суше в Тиринф.

опасаться, что, объявив жениха, всех остальных сделает своими врагами. Говорят, поэтому он взял с них общую клятву, что, если будет нанесена обида мужу Елены, все немедленно за него заступятся. Затем отдал Елену Менелаю. Вскоре Елена была похищена Александром и все, кто дал клятву, приняли участие в походе. Рассказ у Стесихора¹³.

Значительное место в рассказе Стесихора занимало описание свадебных торжеств

PMG 189 (Argum., Theogr. XVIII) Эта идиллия представляет эпиталамий Елены. В ней кое-что взято из «Елены» первого Стесихора¹⁴.

Сохранилось описание свадебного поезда:

PMG 187 горсти яблок кидонских¹⁵ бросали царю в колесницу,
сыпали ворохи миртовых листьев,
роз и фиалок венки, пучки ячменных колосьев...

Вероятно, было подробное описание приданого

PMG 188 ...для омовения ног серебра самородного чаша...

Далее описывалось похищение Елены Парисом

¹³ К «Елене» относят, как правило, и фрагмент PMG 191 (Paus., II, 22, 6) «рядом с храмом Владык находится посвященный Еленой храм Илифии. Когда Тесей с Перифоем пошли на феспротов, Афидну взяли Диоскуры и увезли Елену в Лакедемон. Говорят, что она была беременна; родив в Аргосе, основала храм Илифии, а родившегося ребенка отдала Клитемнестре. Клитемнестра уже вышла замуж за Агамемнона, сама же она впоследствии вышла замуж за Менелая. Об этом говоря творцы поэм Эвфорион Халкидский и Плевронский Александр, а прежде еще Стесихор Гимерский именно поэтому согласно с аргосцами говорил, что Ифигения была дочерью Тесея».

¹⁴ ... из «Елены» первого Стесихора. Т. Бергк (Bergk Th. Poetae Iyrici Graeci. III. Lipsiae, 1882, p. 217) предлагал исправление «...из первой «Елены» Стесихора». Неизвестно, были ли две поэмы под названием «Елена», но была «Палинодия» (или даже две «Палинодии»), которую могли путать с «Еленой». Был также и второй, младший Стесихор, о котором говорит только Паросская хроника: в год 370 – 368 Стесихор-Второй Гимерский победил в Афинах с поэмой «Циклоп» (PMG 840, 841).

¹⁵ Кидонскими плодами называли айву.

PMG 223 ...за то, что однажды царь Тиндарей¹⁶
Киприду, дарящую кроткую нежность,
забыл, совершая всем богам¹⁷ приношение.
Гневом пылая, она
обрекла дочерей Тиндарея дважды и трижды
замуж выйти и мужа покинуть¹⁸.

В конце поэмы Елена возвращается к Менелаю. Вероятно, была сцена, контрастировавшая с описанием свадебного поезда:

PMG 201 (Schol. Eur. Or. 1287) подобно и Стесихор пишет о тех, кто собирався побить Елену камнями. Он говорит, лишь увидели лик ее, уронили камни на землю¹⁹.

¹⁶ Тиндарей – отец Елены и Клитемнестры. Возможно, в поэме перечислялась полная генеалогия Елены, ср. PMG 227 (= Ps-Apollod., Bibl. III, 117) «Периер был сын Кнорта; он женился на дочери Персея Горгофоне, как говорит Стесихор, родил Тиндарея, Икария, Афарея и Левкиппа.

¹⁷ Всем богам – это может быть отзвуком микенского культа *pa-si te-o-i = /pansi theoihi/*.

¹⁸ Как попытку психологического объяснения любви рассмотрел этот фрагмент Godolphin F. R. B. *Stesichorus and the Origins of Psychological Treatment of Love*. – *Capps Studies*, 1937.

¹⁹ Этот фрагмент обычно вслед за Клейне относят к «Разрушению Трои» (Kleine O. F. *Disstratio inauguralis de vita et poesi Stesichori*. Jenae, 1825; idem. *Stesichori Himerensis fragmenta*. Berolini, 1828, fr. 27). Уже Фюртгейм (Vürtheim J. *Stesichoros Fragmente und Biographie*. Leiden, 1919, S. 36 – 37) указал, что в пределах одной поэмы и побиение Елены камнями и попытка Менелая убить Елену мечом не могли соседствовать. Новые папирусные фрагменты «Разрушения Трои» подтверждают эту точку зрения. Есть основания вернуться к точке зрения Сухфорта (Suchfort Jo. A. *Stesichori fragmenta in unum collecta certo ordine digesta et interpretatione illustrata auctore...* Göttingae, 1771, fr. IX), который относил данный фрагмент к поэме «Елена». Подробнее об этом см. Казанский Н. Н. Две традиции о встрече Менелая и Елены. – В кн.: *Традиции и новаторство в античной литературе*. Л., 1982, с. 62 – 68.

PMG 193 (P. Оху XXIX, fr. 26, col. I) ...порицает Гомера за то, что изобразил в Трое Елену, а не ее призрак, а во второй порицает Гесиода.

Есть две различные палинодии, как пишет Хамелеон²¹. Начало одной:

«Приди богиня к хорам благосклонная...»

а другой

«Златокрылая дева...»²²

Сам же Стесихор говорит, что в Трое был призрак, а Елена оставалась у Протея²³.

²⁰ Палинодия букв. «Обратная песня». Значение этого произведения для архаической Греции еще не оценено. Между тем именно со Стесихора начинается та свобода психологической вариации мифа, которая и определяет вершины греческого драматического искусства. Характерной чертой этого нового жанра «противопений» (но не пародий!) было обязательное соблюдение основы мифа, т.е. Елену можно заменить призраком Елены, но причиной Троянской войны продолжает быть именно Елена. Сатирическая драма, о которой мы обычно забываем, говоря о греческой драматургии, для классической античности имела чрезвычайную важность; уже в эллинистическую эпоху отношение к ней изменилось и одновременно изменился весь подход к мифологии. Это могло произойти только потому, что в эту эпоху уже любое произведение на мифологическую тему, к какому бы жанру оно ни относилось, допускало ту степень свободы в трактовке сюжета, какую в классическую (а тем более в архаическую) эпоху могли иметь лишь сатирические драмы и «обратные» драмы с сюжетом, вывернутым наизнанку.

²¹ Хамелеон из Гераклеи Понтийской – автор утраченных произведений историко-литературного и философского содержания. Принадлежал к школе перипатетики.

²² Свидетельство папируса о двух «Палинодиях» Стесихора вызвало обширную литературу; ср. Bowra C. M. The Two Palindodies of Stesichorus. – *CIR*, 13, 1963, p. 245 – 252; Doria M. Le due Palinodie di Stesicoro. – *La parola del passato*, 18, 1963, p. 81 – 93; Sisti P. Le due Palinodie di Stesicoro. – *Studi Urbinati de Storia*, 39, 1965, p. 301 – 313; Smotricz A. Utrum Stesichorus duas Pslinodias coscripsit. – *Meander*, 20, 1965, p. 445 – 450; Woodbury L. Helen and the Palindodie. – *Phoenix*, 21, 1967, p. 157 – 176; Leone P. La Palindodia di Stesicoro. – *Annali della Faculta di lettere e filosofia della Universita de Napoli*, 11, 1964 – 1968, p. 5 – 28; Eire A. L. Estesicoro, autor de Palindodias. – *Esclas*, 18, 1974, p. 313 – 347; de Marino F. Un proemio secondo e le due Palindodie di Stesicoro. – *Belfagor*, 35, 1980, p. 72 – 77. Единого мнения по поводу достоверности данного свидетельства еще нет.

²³ Протей – морское божество, связывавшееся с островом Фарос у берегов Египта. Менелай, возвращаясь из Трои, вынудил его дать пророчество (ср. *Od.* 4, 351 sq.). Как можно видеть, Стесихор расширил этот гомеровский эпизод. В «Елене» Еврипида героиню доставляет к Протею Гермес.

PMG 192 (Plato Phaedr. 243 A) Есть для погрешающих против мифов о богах древний способ очищения, неизвестный Гомеру, но о котором знал Стесихор. Лишившись за хулу на Елену зрения, он не остался в незнании своей вины, как Гомер, но приобщенный к Музам, узнал вину и сразу исполнил:

Все неправда в рассказе этом:
Ты на борт кораблей не ступала,
Никогда не бывала ты в Трое,

а исполнив всю так называемую «Палинодию», моментально прозрел²⁴.

²⁴ Популярность этого рассказа в античности была велика: первая строка «Палинодии» стала пословицей; к Стесихору в конечном итоге восходит английский глагол *resane* (D. Daube, 'Withdrawal: Five Verbs,' *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 1974. Vol. 7. P. 93 – 112) помимо

Платона об этом эпизоде упоминают Исократ, Дион Хрисостом, Павсаний, Филострат в «Жизни Аполлония Тианского», Аристид в речах, Максим Тирский, Иоанн Цец, Дионисий Галикарнасский, Словарь Свиды. В римской литературе мы находим упоминания у Цицерона и Горация. О последнем см. Lindo L. I. Horace's seventeenth Epode. – *SIPh*, 64, 1969, p. 176 f. Не меньшей популярностью пользовался рассказ Платона и в новое время (ср. работы, специально ему посвященные: Frietzsche Fr. V. De Palinodia Stesichori. – *Index lectionum Universitatis Rostock.*, 1837, 4, p.4 sq.; Geel J. De Stesichori Palinodia. – *RhM*, VI, 1839, p. 1 – 15; Pisani V. Elena e l'Εἶδος – *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*, 1928, p. 478 – 499; Alsina Clota J. La Helena y la Palinodia de Estesicoro. – *Estudios clásicos*, IV, 1957, p.157 – 175).

Единого мнения по поводу этого фрагмента также нет. Слишком прямолинейное суждение о «Палинодии» как о произведении, которое должно заглазить невыгодное впечатление об авторе, решившемся порицать Елену, спартанскую героиню, в спартанской же аудитории, сейчас оставлено. Указывалось на возможные связи этой поэмы Стесихора с пифагорейским учением; ср. Detienne M. La légende pythagoricienne d'Hélène. – *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 152, 1957, p. 129 – 152.

89 + PMG 200 ²⁶	
стр. 1, 6	Богиня... Дева воспой..... будь благосклонна.
ант 1	Ныне поведай о том, как у ясных стремнин
10	Симоентских крутящихся волн волею грозной Афины-богини мужу смертному ²⁷ было дано видеть меру и суть мастерства...

²⁵ Общая последовательность фрагментов основана на реконструкции свитка поэмы, которой посвящена английская часть этой книги, подкреплена последовательностью сцен в так называемой «Илионской таблице», рельефе последней четверти I в. до н. э., носящем заголовок «Разрушение Трои по Стесихору». Вокруг этого памятника, найденного в XVII в. (Farbetti R. De columna Traiani syntagma accesserunt explicatio veteris tabellae anallythe Homeri Iliaden atque ex Stesichoro Arctino et Lesche Iii excidium continens. Romae, 1683, p. 315 – 384), развернулась широкая полемика, в первую очередь по вопросу о достоверности рельефа и его соответствии поэме Стесихора. Наиболее важные работы конца XIX – начала XX в. опирались на издание О. Яна (Jahn O. Griechische Bilderchroniken. Bonn, 1873). Эти работы (Noak F. Iliupersis. De Euripidis et Polygnoti quae ad Troiae excidium spectant fabulis. Gissae, 1890; Paulcke. De Tabula Iiaca quaestiones Stesichorae. Diss. Künigsberg, 1897; Mancuso U. La «Tabula Iiaca» del Museo Capitolino. Roma, 1911) построены на той части материала, которая была известна до появления книги А. Садурской (Sadurska A. Les Tables Italiques. Warszawa, 1964), которой удалось построить, дополнив новыми находками рельефов бывший в обращении материал, стройную классификацию произведений, часть из которых подписана именем Феодора. отождествить его с известными художниками не удается, но, как кажется, многие из рельефов представляют собой копии мозаик. На последнее мог бы указывать и «магический квадрат», в котором имя скульптора читалось во всех направлениях (см. Bua M. I giochi alfabetici delle Tavole Iiache. Roma, 1971). Папирусные находки, можно думать, решили вопрос о достоверности таблиц окончательно. Как показал Л. Ленус (Lehnus L. Note Stesichoree. – Studi classici e orientali, 21, 1972, p. 54 – 55), в качестве стихотворной надписи под рельефом, содержащим также и иллюстрацию к Гомеру, Феодор поместил стихотворную перифразу из поэмы Стесихора:

Здесь Феодора искусство, событий строй по Гомеру,
чтобы увидеть ты смог меру и суть мастерства.

²⁶ Перевод по тексту, представленному в последней главе данной книги.

²⁷ Мужу смертному – Эпею, строителю деревянного коня. Гомер говорит о нем как об отважном герое, отличившемся в кулачном бою; поздняя мифография изображает его трусом; нельзя исключить, что именно эти строки Стесихора подали повод к перетолкованию образа героя.

15 Не славою браней и битв, но славою иной
наделенный. Троянскому граду с высокой
стеною
эп. 1 плен он измыслил.
Трои паденье трудами Эпея свершилось...
Зевсова дочь пожалела его,
ахейских царей водоноса.

Далее Стесихор пел о том, что троянцы решают, что делать с оставленным греками творением Эпея – деревянным конем. Кассандра пророчит беду (ср. стихи 64-66 = S 133, 4 – 7 ...подошла... Кассандра.....)

PMG 199 (Eusthath. Od. 1698, 2) ...Стесихор говорит, что вошли в деревянного коня сто человек, а другие – что двадцать.

PMG 122 (Athen., XIII, 610 C) А если кто спросит тебя, кто был заперт внутри деревянного коня, ты правильно назовешь имена одного-двух и то не по произведению Стесихора, ибо это трудно, а по «Разрушению Трои» Сакада(?) Аргосского; этот всех перечислил.

Сохранился фрагмент речи троянского вестника:

S 105 (b) 250 ...данаи²⁸
горящие яростью бранною ринулись вдруг
из коня.
...ни земли колебатель,
Трои священной защитник – Энносид...
ни Аполлон...
255 ни Афродита....
ни Артемида святая
...не идут нам на помощь.
Верно, Зевс решил город разрушить.

Вестник говорил и о вступлении в Трою основного войска греков (S. 88, col. I, 6 sq. = стих 302 ... они идут напролом/ ...вождям своим повинуюсь. Давайте/...) и об оказанном им сопротивлении, ср. стих 305 «...леанийцы криволучные» (они сражались на стороне троянцев). Слово «конец войны» (стих 315) и, возможно, упоминание Зевса (стих 314), вероятно, контрастировали со следующей речью троянского предводителя:

²⁸ Перевод сделан по тексту с отступлением от издания Пейджа, на основании соединения фрагментов М. Уестом и Р. Фюрером (West M. L. Further Light on Stesichorus 'Piu Persis. – ZPE, 7, 1971, 3, S. 262 – 264; Führer R. Zu P. Oxy. 2803 (Stesihoros). – ZPE, 7, 1971, 3, S. 265 f.), причем ориентирован на восполнения Р. Фюрера. Перевод последнего стиха предположителен.

PMG 202 (Schol. Eur. Andr. 10) Стесихор повествует, что Астианакт умер.

PMG 198 (Paus., X, 27) О Гекубе Стесихор в «Разрушении Трои» пел, что Аполлон перенес ее в Ликию.

Вероятно, данное свидетельство связано со следующим:

PMG 224 (Schol. Lycophr. Alex. 265) Стесихор и Евфорион говорят, что Гектор был сыном Аполлона³².

НОСТЫ (ВОЗВРАЩЕНИЯ)

Название этой поэмы единожды засвидетельствовано у Павсания:

PMG 208 (Paus., X, 26, 1) Стесихор пел в «Ностах»³³, что Аристомаха, дочь Приама, была женой Критолая, сына Гикетаона.

Сюжет поэмы должен соотноситься с одноименной поэмой эпического цикла, в которой повествовалось о судьбе греческих героев, возвращавшихся из Трои. Как видно из единственного папирусного отрывка, судьба Одиссея была едва ли не в центре повествования³⁴. Отправляясь под Трою, Одиссей оставил Телемаха младенцем. Выросший сын отправляется на поиски отца и прибывает к Менелаю и Елене.

³² Илионская таблица оканчивается сценой отплытия Энея в Италию. Было ли упоминание об этом у Стесихора, мы не знаем; предполагалось, что эта сцена, хорошо соответствовавшая официальной версии происхождения римлян, могла появиться на рельефе в угоду политике Августа (см. Marcade J. Рец. на: Sadurska A. Les Tables Piiques – REA, 67, 1965, p. 249 – 250), но в изобразительном искусстве она известна намного раньше (см. параллели в английской части книги).

³³ Текст несколько испорчен, но восстановление Гейне «в «Ностах»» можно считать бесспорным.

³⁴ Влияние эпоса на творчество Стесихора иногда пытаются отрицать, опираясь на сомнительное свидетельство о то, что Гомер был неизвестен в Сицилии вплоть до V в. до н. э. Эпическое влияние в этом фрагменте отрицал только Garzya A. La poesia greca nella Magna Graecia. – Le Parole e le Idee, 10, 1968, p. 242.

PMG 209 P. Оху. 2360 col. I.....
 ...божий знак жена младая зрит – Елена
 и, обратясь к Одиссееву сыну, такое промолвила слово:
 «О Телемах, ты сюда как вестник Олимпа приспел,
 пустыней эфира в наш дом с небес низойдя.
 громко крича,
 что на вашем пороге явился сам Одиссей.
муж
промыслила дева Афина
само по себе дверное кольцо заскрипело.
тебя задержу ненадолго.
ты настолько сын отца твоего
увидев тебя, Пенелопа.....»

ЭДИПОДИЯ (?)³⁵

Царь Эдип отрекся от престола и проклял своих сыновей, Этеокла и Полиника, наследников Фиванского царства. Между братьями возникла вражда, кончившаяся братоубийством. Мать Этеокла и Полиника (традиция называет ее Иокастой и Эпикастой; ее имя в поэме Стесихора не упомянуто) и прорицатель Тиресий пытаются положить конец возникшей между братьями вражде.

ант. 10 201 ... страдания не множь сраженной горем,
 не угрожай мне бедой,
 грядущую скорбь предрекая.
 эп. 10 Нет, не навеки вражду
 205 бессмертные смертным дают; на земле священной³⁶
 нет ни распри неизбывной,
 ни неизменной любви; переменчивый ум человеку
 даруют боги.
 Твои предвещанья, о Аполлон, сребролукий владыка,
 210 пусть не все свершатся.
 стр. 11 Если ж судьба мне узреть, как сына сын убивает³⁷,

³⁵ Папирусный текст был опубликован в 1974 г. Перевод сделан на основании изданий: Parson P. The Lille Stesichorus. – ZPE, 26, 1977, p. 22 ff; Bollack J., Judet de la Combe P., Wismann H. La républiaue de Jocaste: Papyrus Lille 73 et 76 a,b, c. – Publications de l'Université de Lille III. Supplement au Cahier de Philologie 2. Avril 1977, p. 1 – 17. См. также: Рыжкина З. А. Новый вариант фиванского мифа: «Фиваида» Стесихора. – ВДИ, 1984, № 3, с. 112 – 118.

³⁶ На земле священной – чтение Боллака.

³⁷ Перевод по тексту Боллака.

- если судьбы моей нити так спряли Мойры,
лучше бы сразу кончиною страшной жизнь завершилась,
прежде, чем здесь, во дворце,
- 215 мне, стонущей тяжко от боли, плача, видеть
мертвыми милых детей
иль град в полоне вражьей рати.
- ант. 11 Дети, прислушайтесь к слову разумному матери
вашей³⁸,
Спору детей я нашла исход невраждебный.
- 220 Жребию долю доверьте, с волею Мойр согласуясь,
Пусть остается один
в отеческих Фивах³⁹ царить, владетель дома,
сын же другой пусть уйдет
со стадом, с золотом отцовским.
- эп. 11 225 Так, разуменьем моим,
по вещему слову пророка избежите
предреченных скорбей лютых.
Если же город и отпрысков юных Кадма владыки
Кронид возлюбит⁴⁰,
- 230 пусть на долгие годы отдалит несчастья и беды,
судеб немилость.
- стр. 12 Молвила, так говоря, богине подобная, в доме
распря детей прекращая словом ласки.
С нею вместе Тиресий... Он же...
- 235 жребии тотчас встрясли⁴¹.
По первому жребию – доля домом править,
градом фиванским владеть
и всю область фиванской.
Жребий другой – уходить, серебром и золотом владея,
- 240 прочие Кадмова рода взяв богатства.
kozy стада и отары овечьи...
.....табун.....коней.
- Следующие стихи содержат напутственную речь Тиресия
(стих 256 «...слово сказал:)
«.....»
263многое ради вас
.....суждено, чтоб случилось

³⁸ Перевод по восстановлению М. Уеста (West M. Stesichorus at Lille. – ZPE, 29, 1978, p. 3).

³⁹ В отеческих Фивах – восполнение Дингла (Dingle J. Stesichorus P. Lille 76, 220. – ZPE, 35, 1979, p. 32) (несколько менее удачно приведенное Парсоном восстановление Баррета «у стремнин Диркейских».

⁴⁰ Перевод по восстановлению: Sting S. Stesichorus Thebaid 228 – 231. – ZPE, 30, 1978, S. 37.

⁴¹ Стихи 235-241 переведены по восполнению Д. Пейджа (опубликовано у Парсона, см. прим. 35).

.....владыки Адраста
пусть отдаст прекрасную деву.
»
 эп. 291 Так многославный прорек⁴². И тотчас царевич-
 изгнанник чертог покинул.
 Милому вслед Полинику фиванские лучшие люди
 шли...

Далее следовало описание путешествия Полиника к царю Адрасту (295... вышел к великой стене/, 299... к Истму пришел/, 302... к городам прекрасным Коринфа/). Полиник женится на дочери Адраста и идет в числе семи героев против Фив. Можно думать, что поэма кончалась братоубийственной смертью⁴³.

ЭРИФИЛА

Пять свидетельств, объединенных в Стесихор 194, показывают, что в поэме «Эрифиле» Стесихор упоминал о смерти Капаней и Ликурга⁴⁴ при осаде Фив и последующем их воскресении.

Единственный папирусный фрагмент содержит описание пира у Адраста.

S 148... промолвил, к нему обращаясь, Адраст, герой могучий:
 «Алкмеон, почему ты застолье оставил, прекрасную песню,
 встав, зачем прервал ты?».
 Так сказал он. Тут, ему отвечая, промолвил сын Амфиарая,
 Арею любезный: « Милый, ты пей и свой дух улади
 пированьем...»⁴⁵.

⁴² Стихи 291-293 переведены по восполнению Д. Пейджа.

⁴³ Если правильно предположение Ф. Адрадоса (Adrados Fr. Propuestas para una nueva edición e interpretación de Estesicoro. – Emerita, 46, 1978, 2, p. 251 – 299; особенно 273), особой поэмы «Эдиподия» не было; данный фрагмент должен быть отнесен к «Эрифиле». Метрика этих двух поэм проявляет действительно большую близость; однако отождествить метрическую схему «Эрифилы» и «Эдиподии» не удается.

⁴⁴ Капаней, один из предводителей похода Семерых против Фив, согласно распространенной версии мифа уже поднялся на стены города и закричал, что даже молния Зевса его не заставит отступить; тут же был убит молнией Зевса. Ликург, царствовавший в Немее, обычно не причисляется к участникам похода Семерых.

⁴⁵ Алкмеон, сын Амфиарая, участник похода Эпигонов. Сохранившийся фрагмент, возможно, относится к одной из двух сцен: либо Адраста уговаривают предпринять новый поход против Фив, либо Алкмеон и Амфилох собираются убить Эрифилу (т.е. фрагмент относится к событиям после второй Фиванской войны).

PMG 228 (Eustath. II. 316, 16) Амфилох у него (Стесихора) говорит:
мой дед Мелампод богоравный
Мелампод – это отец Антифата, Оикла и Амфиарая, от
которого Амфилох⁴⁶.

ОРЕСТЕЯ⁴⁷

- PMG 210 Муза, о войнах забыв,
ты нынче славишь со мной
женитьбы счастливых богов,
мужей застолие,
блаженных пиры.
.....
- PMG 211 ласточки слышен когда
щебет весенней порой
.....
- PMG 212 Время пришло оживить
в честь милых кудрявых Харит
фригийскую нежную
песнь – гимн им во славу
спеть: наступила весна.
.....

Действие поэмы происходит в Лакедемоне:

PMG 216 (Schol. Eur. Or. 46) Гомер говорит, что царский дворец Агамемнона был в Микенах, а Стесихор и Симонид (fr. 44) – что в Лакедемоне.

Агамемнон, вернувшийся из Трои, убит женой Клитемнестрой. В обычной версии мифа Клитемнестра мстила за принесение в жертву дочери Ифигении. У Стесихора был, вероятно, иной мотив ее действий:

⁴⁶ Этот фрагмент отнес к «Эрифиле» Т. Бергк. Не исключена принадлежность этого фрагмента к «Ностам» или «Разрушению Трои» (это основной аргумент Д. Пейджа против отнесения фрагмента к «Эрифиле»).

⁴⁷ Античные филологи разделили текст этой поэмы на две книги, о чем свидетельствует папирусный отрывок PMG 214 (= P. Oxy. 1087 II, 47), в котором приведена глосса с указанием на вторую книгу «Орестей», и PMG 213 (= Ann. Bekker, II, 783) «во второй «Орестее» Стесихор говорит, что Паламед изобрел буквы». Сюжет этой поэмы разрабатывался и до Стесихора, в том числе и авторами хоровых песен; ср. PMG 229 (= Athen., XII, 513 A) «у Стесихора много переделок из Ксанфа, например так называемая «Орестея»».

PMG 215 (Philodem. de pietate, I, 24) Стесихор в «Орестее» следует за Гесиодом в том, что Ифигения, дочь Агамемнона, – это та, которую мы теперь зовем Гекатой.

PMG 191 (Paus., II, 22, 6) ...еще Стесихор Гимерский одинаково с аргосцами говорит, что Ифигения – дочь Тесея (и Елены).

Орест возвращается на родину отомстить за смерть отца; Аполлон дает ему лук:

PMG 217 ... дам я тебе этот лук –
 он рукою моею изукрашен,
 мощный, без промаха бьющий».

Орест встречает свою кормилицу.

PMG 218 (Schol. Aeschyl. Cho. 733) Кормилицей Ореста он (Эсхил) называет Килиссу, Пиндар – Арсиною (Puth. XI, 26), а Стесихор – Лаодамею.

Клитемнестра видит пророческий сон.

PMG 219 (Plut. ser. num. vind. 10, III, 412) Сон Клитемнестры Стесихор передает так:

 Ей же пригрезилось: змей к ней ползет
 и кусает в самое темя,
 вдруг обернулся и стал
 рода Плисфенова царь⁴⁸.

ОХОТА НА ВЕПРЯ

От поэмы, описывавшей охоту на Калидонского вепря, сохранился фрагмент, перечисляющий участников охоты:

PMG 222 (= P. Оху. 2359 fr. 1)
 ...Фестиады⁴⁹
 ...их чада и милые жены ос-
 тались сидеть во дворце. Тем временем
 доблестный Клитий и с ним Прокаон быстроногий
 оба... явились.

⁴⁸ Плисфен – отец Агамемнона, дед Ореста.

⁴⁹ Фестиады – Прокаон и Клитий – убиты Мелеагром во время охоты на Калидонского вепря. О них упоминает только один схолий (Schol. T Hom. II, 9, 567).

Эврионион⁵⁰ же из Фтии пришел,
...в длинной одежде⁵¹ ...
...Илата⁵² разумного сын...
.....
Отсюда локры пришли⁵³ ...
сели копейщики...
милые дети... любезные
сердцу ахейцы...
и рьяные в битвах Фокеи сыны, и те, кто живет
в изобильно родящей пшеницу
Беотийской земле.
Оттуда дриопы и храбрые в битвах му-
жи-этолийцы...
.....

Собственно к охоте относится только фрагмент:

PMG 221 (= Athen., III 95 D) Стесихор говорит в «Охоте на вепря»:
...он всю мордой
зарылся в землю.

ИЗ НЕИЗВЕСТНЫХ ПЕСЕН

Вероятно, у Стесихора была поэма с теогоническим сюжетом:
PMG 239 (E. M. 772, 49) Тифон: Гесиод (Theog. 821) производит его
генеалогию от Геи, а Стесихор – от Геры, которая якобы, злобясь на
Зевса, одна родила его.

PMG 233 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV 1310) Первым Стесихор сказал, что
Афина явилась из головы Зевса в полном вооружении.

Ср. свидетельство оксиринского папируса (P. Oxy. 226, II, 18):

...у Стесихора о рождении:
...на землю широкую,
прыгнув, явилась Паллада
доспехом блистая...

⁵⁰ Эврионион (не путать с упоминаемым в «ГерIONEИДЕ»!) по ошибке был убит Пелеем.

⁵¹ Судя по эпитету, называлось имя матери Эвриониона.

⁵² Илатид – Кеней, сын Илата, – лапиф из Гортины в Магнезии, участвовал в Калидонской охоте и в походе аргонавтов.

⁵³ Высказывалось сомнение в том, что следующий отрывок относится к той же поэме; вероятность, однако, велика – это две соседние колонки одного свитка.

Сохранилось несколько обращений к Музе:
PMG 240 Каллиопея приди, звонкоголосая...
PMG 250 Стесихор называет Музу
 хороводящая

Остальное представлено разрозненными фрагментами:

PMG 235 (Schol. T. Hom. II. 6, 507) Стесихор говорит о Посейдоне:
 гулкокопытных коней повелитель

PMG 266 (Eustath. II. 1441, 16) Стесихор говорит:
 из всех мужей нахрабрейший.

PMG 232 (Plut. de E ap. Delph. 21, III, 24)... а первым еще Стесихор:

 хоровода песни
 для Аполлона милы
 и пляски хора.
 Тяжкие стоны и плач –
 Аида доля.

PMG 244 (Stob. Ecl. IV 56, 15) Из Стесихора:
 оплакивать мертвых совсем бесполезно, вовсе
 ненужно...⁵⁴

PMG 244 (Stob. Ecl. IV 58, 5) Из Стесихора:
 но лишь умрет и благодарность сгинула.

СОМНИТЕЛЬНОЕ

Стесихору приписывают еще три песни: «Дафнис»⁵⁵, «Калика»⁵⁶ и «Радина»⁵⁷. Сохранилось начало «Радины»:

⁵⁴ Эти два фрагмента явно связаны с жизнью полиса. Второй из цитируемых Стобеем отрывков – возможно, морализаторское, в стиле Феогнида, осуждение современного Стесихору общества. Первый фрагмент явно носит политическую окраску: начиная с IV в. до н. э. почти во всех греческих полисах начинается борьба с излишней пышностью похорон (известна нам из надписей, ср. IG, XII, v. I, 593, Кеос, конец V в. до н. э.) и с неумеренным выражением скорби, против чего направлен один из законов Солона. Вероятно, оба фрагмента относятся к недошедшей о нас публицистической поэме.

⁵⁵ PMG 279 (= Aelian., Var. hist. X, 18) «Пастух Дафнис», по словам одних, был возлюбленным Гермеса, а по словам других – его сыном. Имя свое он получил вот почему. Дафниса родила нимфа и подкинула под лавровым деревом. Коровы, которых он пас, были, как рассказывают, сродни Гелиосовым, упоминаемым Гомером в Одиссее (XII). Когда в Сицилии юноша пас свои стада, какая-то нимфа полюбила его, так как Дафнис был красив, юн, со щеками, покрытыми первым

PMG 278 Звонкоголосая дочь Зевеса, Муза,
про детей Самийского града начни
песню под рокот лиры твоей струнной.

отроческим пухом, то есть находился, как где-то говорит и Гомер, в самой лучшей для прекрасных отроков поре (Илиада, 24, 348). Она потребовала от Дафниса зарюка не любить кроме нее никого и грозила наказать его слепотой, если он нарушит свои обещания. Такой у них был между собой уговор. Спустя некоторое время дочь какого-то царя воспылала страстью к юноше, и он под влиянием опьянения обо всем забыл и сблизился с девушкой. Так возникли пастушеские песни; в них рассказывалось о несчастье потерявшего зрение Дафниса; Стесихор из Гимеры был зачинателем этого рода поэзии» (перевод С. В. Поляковой).

⁵⁶ PMG 277 (= Athen., XIV 619 D) «Аристоксен в четвертой книге об искусстве говорит, что в древности женщины пели какую-то песню «Калика». Это было произведение Стесихора, в котором девушка по имени Калика влюбилась в юношу Эватла и молилась Афродите, чтобы он женился на ней. Когда юноше презрел ее, она бросилась со скалы. Горе охватило Левкаду. Поэт очень умно и тонко изобразил нрав девушки, которая не любым способом хотела сближения с юношей, но молилась, чтобы стать, если возможно, законной женой Эватла, а если это невозможно, – уйти из жизни».

⁵⁷ Все три поэмы вряд ли принадлежат Стесихору, как показал Rose H. J. Stesichorus and the Rhadine Fragment. – CIQ, 1932, p. 88 – 92.

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