

DIOMEDES' GENEALOGY AND ANCIENT CRITICISM

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The Homeric poems were cited, quoted, or alluded to by ancient authors probably more than any other works. Indeed, in surviving texts as disparate as Callianax's medical treatises of the third century B.C.E. and the literary efforts of the fifth-century C.E. Neoplatonist Proclus, references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* occur. In authors as different in perspective and purpose as these, the uses of Homer will, not surprisingly, be just as various. Callianax, for example, seems to have cited Homer to comfort patients frightened of death, explaining that even heroes like Patroclus had to die.¹ Such uses of the epics have no more than a superficial purpose—to add a literary flourish or to display literary erudition. But two other kinds of authors use Homer for very different reasons: for some, the text of Homer is the focus and their concern is to establish what the poet really said, while, for others, Homer is the authority cited to strengthen an argument. While the former goal may be regarded by some today as mistaken, it was important in antiquity. What is striking about these two large groups of authors is how seemingly little effect the one, those interested in establishing the text of Homer, had on the other, those using Homer as an authority for other questions. To illustrate this, I've focused on a passage from Homer that was quoted and discussed by more than one author in antiquity.

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- 1 For Callianax, see von Staden 1989.478–79. For Proclus's use of Homer, see Lamberton 1997.48, 54.

In *Iliad* 14.113–21, in response to Agamemnon's plea for advice from any leader gathered in council, Diomedes stands up to speak. He begins by giving his genealogy, in verses as printed in van Thiel's 1996 edition:²

- πατρὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ γένος εὖχομαι
εἶναι,
Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβησι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε.
115 Πορθεῖ γὰρ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο,
ῥ' ἔκεον δ' ἐν Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι,
Ἄγριος ἡδὲ Μέλας, τρίτατος δ' ἦν ἱππότης
Οἰνεύς,
πατρὸς ἐμοῖο πατὴρ· ἀρετῇ δ' ἦν ἔξοχος αὐτῶν.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι μέινει, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς Ἄργεϊ
νάσθη
120 πλαγχθείς· ὥς γάρ που Ζεὺς ἤθελε καὶ θεοὶ
ἄλλοι.
Ἄδρήστοιο δ' ἔγημε θυγατρῶν . . .

I declare that I am by birth from a noble father,
Tydeus, whom the heaped earth has covered in
Thebes.

There were three blameless sons born to Portheus,
and they lived in Pleuron and steep Calydon,
Agrios and Melas, and the third, Oeneus the
horseman,
the father of my father. In manliness he surpassed
them.

But while he lived there, my father dwelled in
Argos,
having wandered, for thus somehow Zeus and the
other gods wished it.

He married the daughter of Adrastus . . .

Diomedes' purpose in giving his genealogy before he offers any advice is to establish that he is worth listening to, despite his youth. His performance of

2 Allen and Monro's OCT edition varies only in details: καλύπτει (114), οἴκεον (116), ὧς (120).

his genealogy shows that he knows how to speak, an ability important for an Homeric warrior, and that he is descended from an heroic family.

The surviving scholia preserve the remnants of what must have been a lengthy debate over these lines. If we work through this material, we see that, although some comments concern language, vocabulary does not seem to have been what troubled ancient scholars about these verses. Indeed, much of Diomedes' genealogy uses phrases that are very common in such speeches. Parallels for the opening verse include:

πατὴρ δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γένος εὐχεται ἔμμεναι υἱός
(*Od.* 21.335)

πατὴρ δ' εἴμ' ἀγαθοῖο, θεὰ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ
(*Il.* 21.109)

Κάστωρ Ὑλακίδης, τοῦ ἐγὼ γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι
(*Od.* 14.204)

Together with *Il.* 14.113, these verses illustrate those flexibilities analyzed by Hainsworth 1968: the genitive singular masculine can take the form ἀγαθοῦ or ἀγαθοῖο, depending on whether the poet wishes to end the phrase at the masculine or feminine caesura. There is also the flexibility to use words of a completely different grammatical nature. In *Od.* 21.335, the noun and adjective are separated by the preposition ἐξ, while in *Il.* 21.109, they are separated by the verb εἴμ'. The formula εὐχομαι εἶναι / εὐχεται ἔμμεναι has its own flexibility in verb forms of different shapes.³

These verses, though parallel in construction, are put to different uses. In *Il.* 21.109, Achilles declares not only that he is the son of a good father, but also that he has a divinity as a mother. Other heroes, unable to trace themselves back to a god, use a verse like *Il.* 14.113. In *Od.* 14.204, Odysseus tells one of his lying genealogies and begins the verse with the names of his father and grandfather.

The bT scholiast on 14.113 comments only on the fact that Diomedes chooses to open his genealogy with his father (Erbse 1969–88):

113. πατὴρ δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ (καὶ ἐγὼ γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι)·
καίτοι ἴδια ἔχων λέγειν ὅμως τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς προβάλλ-

3 As Muellner 1976.78 has demonstrated, the use of εὐχομαι here is secular, meaning "to say proudly, accurately, contentiously." See also 71–72.

λεται· τούτω γὰρ αὐτὸν συνέκρινεν Ἀγαμέμνων (cf.
4.372–400). **BT**

Even though having his own affairs to argue, nevertheless
he brings forward in his own defense those of his father;
for Agamemnon compared him to his father.

Presumably, the scholiast knows the scene at *Iliad* 4.368–400 where Agamemnon rebukes Diomedes by comparing him unfavorably to Tydeus. In that scene, Diomedes remains silent and even hushes up Sthenelus's reply, but now he responds.

14.114 opens with a runover proper noun, Τυδέος, which is followed by a relative clause, a very typical construction in Homeric verses.⁴ The language in the second half of the verse also has parallels:

ἀλλά με τεθνηῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτοι
(*Il.* 6.464)

ἀμφὶ πυρὴν· εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν
(*Il.* 23.256)

τῶ κέ οἱ οὐδὲ θανόντι χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν
(*Od.* 3.258)

These other three occurrences of *χυτὴ* . . . *γαῖα* in Homer again reveal the flexibility of formulae in the change of case and the alternation of prepositions.

Despite the seemingly unexceptional nature of the language and construction of 14.114, the scholiasts, as preserved in Venetus B, comment at length on everything from vocabulary to the story the passage refers to. On language, the scholiast notes:

114a. Τυδέος, (ὃν Θήβησι *χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κάλυπεν*)·
ὅτι *χυτὴ γῇ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιχεομένη*, οὐ καθολικῶς,
ὥς μέλαινα καὶ φερέσβιος. **AI** Ζηνόδοτος δὲ ἡθέτει,

4 This construction is particularly common in lists, whether genealogical or otherwise. See, for example, *Il.* 1.2. See also Higbie 1990.8, 35, 61, 125–26. The construction with a run-over proper noun followed by a relative clause has been described by Hoekstra 1969.34 as “a syntactic type of enjambement which is likely to be traditional” and appears quite frequently in lists, especially the catalogue of ships (2.535, 626, 669, 770, 827, 850).

παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει δὲ οὐκ ἦν. **AT** τὸ δὲ κάλυψε
Ἰωνικῶς. **A**

114c. <καλύπτει>· γράφεται “κάλυψε.”

114a. That the term *χυτή* is earth heaped over corpses; it is not used generally, like *μέλαινα* and *φερέσβιος*. Zenodotus athetized it, but it was not in Aristophanes' [text]. The form *κάλυψε* is Ionic.

114c. *κάλυψε* is written.

The scholiast begins with a comment on language, what we today would call formulae: he notes that the poet uses the term *χυτή* only to characterize earth mound into a tomb and that adjectives like *μέλαινα* or *φερέσβιος* are used as generalized epithets of the earth. The adjective *χυτός* does, indeed, occur only four times in Homer and each time it modifies *γαῖα* used as a funeral mound.⁵ When *μέλαινα* is applied to *γαῖα* in Homer, the phrase refers to burials of sorts (*Il.* 2.699, 17.416), to the earth darkening from blood spilled in battle (*Il.* 15.715, 20.494), the earth as nurturer of men and plants (*Od.* 11.365, 19.111), and the earth as it surrounds Tantalus in the underworld (*Od.* 11.587).⁶

Oddly, perhaps, in light of the scholiast's remark, *φερέσβιος* does not occur at all in our editions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It does modify *γαῖα* once in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (341), in the description of the effects of Hera's prayer on the earth, and once in the *Theogony* (693), where it is part of a description of the effects of Zeus's fury on the earth.

From here, the scholiast turns his interest to Alexandrian opinions on this verse, noting that Zenodotus athetized it, but that it was not in Aristophanes. More typically, these two Alexandrian scholars were noted as having done precisely the reverse: Zenodotus is said to have removed the line, but Aristophanes is said to have retained it while noting, through the use of a sign in the margin, that there was some question about it. Some modern Homerists, Athorp most recently (1980.118, n. 138), have emended this scholion, reversing the names, but as there is no difficulty noted in the text, I do not see any reason to make so drastic an alteration for consistency's sake.

5 See the discussion below for the four examples in Homer.

6 In Homer, *νόξ*, *νεφέλη*, *νηῦς*, and *κήρ* may also be *μέλαινα*.

Why did these ancient scholars either question or remove this verse? Although the scholia offer no direct explanation, I would suggest that they did not object to either the language or grammar, but they knew another version of the events that conflicted with the one referred to here:

114b. Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβησι (χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν)·
 ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τοὺς τραγικοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μετηνέχθησαν
 οἱ περὶ τὸν Καπανέα. **Τ** Ὀμηρικὸν δὲ ταῖς παρεκβάσεσιν
 διαναπαύειν τὸν ἀκροατὴν. τὸ δὲ Θήβησι δύνатаι καὶ
 ἐπίρρημα εἶναι καὶ ὄνομα. **bT** ὁ δὲ Τυδεὺς Οἰνέως καὶ
 Περιβοίας τῆς Ἰππότου· ὃς ἀνεψιὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας
 Οἰνεῖ Λυκωπέα καὶ Ἀλκάθουν ἀπέκτεινεν †ἀγρόθι†,
 σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἄκων καὶ τὸν πατράδελφον Μέλανα
 (συνεδαίνυτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς) καὶ φεύγων τὸν φόνον ἦκεν
 ἐς Ἄργος καὶ καθαρθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀδράστου γαμεῖ Δηϊπύλην
 τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ. **Τ**

That it is not as the tragedians, that those with Capaneus were transferred to Eleusis. It is Homeric that the listener takes a rest by the digressions. The word Θήβησι can be both an adverb and a noun. Tydeus was the son of Oeneus and Periboia, daughter of Hippotes. He killed his cousins Lykopes and Alkathoos who were plotting against Oeneus †in the field†, and also with them unwillingly his paternal uncle Melas (for he was feasting with them). He fled the murder and came to Argos. Purified by Adrastus, he married Deipyle, his daughter.

Here the scholiast cites unnamed tragedians as sources for an alternate story about the burial of the Seven against Thebes: according to these tragedians, the forces with Capaneus who attacked the Cadmean citadel and died were buried not at Thebes but at Eleusis.

The scholiast then explains how it was that Tydeus, originally from Aetolia, migrated to Argos, where he married a daughter of Adrastus. This meant he became a brother-in-law to Polynices, who had also married into the royal family of Argos, and thus Tydeus joined the expedition against Eteocles. The reason that Tydeus had to leave Aetolia, according to the scholiast, was because he had killed two relatives who were plotting against his father and, seemingly, a third family member unwillingly. This story

pattern is very common in Homer: often someone kills a relative, either intentionally or by accident, then flees into exile.⁷ Depending on which version of the story one reads, the names, relations, and numbers of the men whom Tydeus killed vary, but the outlines of the story remain the same.⁸

Although the scholiast on 14.114 refers only vaguely to unspecified tragedians, Plutarch in his life of Theseus offers much more detailed information about differing versions of these mythical events.⁹ He reports (*Theseus* 29.4–5):

[Θησεὺς] συνέπραξε δὲ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων, οὐχ ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ, μάχῃ τῶν Θηβαίων κρατήσας, ἀλλὰ πείσας καὶ σπείσάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι· Φιλόχορος δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως γενέσθαι πρώτας ἐκείνας· ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πρῶτος ἀπέδωκε νεκροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἡρακλέους γέγραπται. ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς δείκνυνται, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων περὶ Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ τοῦτο Θησέως Ἀδράστῳ χαρισισμένου. καταμαρτυροῦσι δὲ τῶν Εὐριπίδου Ἰκετίδων οἱ Αἰσχύλου Ἐλευσίνιοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰντα λέγων ὁ Θησεὺς πεποιήται.

[Theseus] carried out together with Adrastus the removal of the bodies of those who fell beneath the Cadmea, not as Euripides has it in his tragedy, by having bested the Thebans in battle, but by persuasion and truce. This is

7 E.g., Tlepolemus killed his great-uncle, then went into exile (*Il.* 2.661–65); Theoclymenus, pursued by those who seek revenge for his having killed a relative, asks for refuge with Telemachus (*Od.* 15.224, 272–78). See Higbie 1995.185, n. 54.

8 See Gantz 1993.334–35 for the most accessible collection of the ancient evidence. In some versions of the story, as, for example, in *Il.* 14.117, one of Tydeus's uncles is named Agrios (see also Apollodorus 1.8.5); this may help explain the problem in the text of the scholion over the form ἀγρόθι, or it may be that this family is to be associated with events in the fields. In this context, the name “Meleager” is suggestive; it is etymologized by schol. bT on *Il.* 19.543: Μελέαγρος δὲ παρὰ τὸ μέλειν τῆς ἄγρας. See also the problems over the Calydonian boar experienced by other family members.

9 See Neils 1987 for a discussion of Theseus's Isthmian exploits and the slaying of the Minotaur, although she does not discuss any of these versions of Theseus's intervention at Thebes.

what most say. Philochorus says that this was the first truce for the removal of bodies, but that Herakles first returned the dead to the enemy is written in some sources about Herakles. The graves of most are shown in Eleutherae, but those of the leaders are in Eleusis, which Theseus did as a gesture of goodwill toward Adrastus. The *Eleusinioi* of Aeschylus contradicts Euripides' *Suppliants*; in Aeschylus, Theseus is portrayed saying these things.

Plutarch seems to have had several sources available to him concerning this deed of Theseus, but most of those he cites have either been completely or partially lost. The single exception is Euripides' *Suppliants*, in which the Thebans give up the bodies of the Seven only after Theseus defeats them in battle, while, in Aeschylus, Theseus negotiates a truce with the Thebans for the return of the dead. Aeschylus's play, *Eleusinioi*, has been completely lost, without even any surviving fragments (with two tiny possible exceptions), so we are dependent on Plutarch's remarks for our understanding of it (Radt 1985). It is frustrating that Plutarch accepts Aeschylus's version over Euripides' without explanation.¹⁰

With 115, Diomedes begins the narrative of his genealogy, tracing himself back to his great-grandfather, as is very typical.¹¹ From the remarks of the T scholiast: [Πορθεῖ] οὕτως δισυλλάβως. ἐπίτηδες δέ, εἰ μὴ εὐκαίρως, οὐ μένεται Τυδέως ὁ ποιητής, "[Portheus] is thus disyllabic. Deliberately, if not felicitously, the poet does not mention Tydeus," we can infer that the manuscript on which the scholiast is working does not have line 114. The scholiast characterizes the omission as "deliberate" because, we presume, the omission means that Diomedes does not have to remind his audience of Tydeus's failure to take Thebes and his disgusting violence in his final moments of life. But at the same time, the scholiast believes this omission to be "not felicitous," perhaps because it was traditional at this point in genealogies for the speaker to name his father.

If, indeed, 114 were not included in this version of Diomedes' genealogy, as the scholion would suggest, then the passage would look like this (14.113, 115–18):

10 Is this because ancient scholars (like modern) regarded Euripides as an innovator and thus believed it more likely that Aeschylus told the older version of the story?

11 See Higbie 1995.93, 95, 99–100, Thomas 1989.124–31.

- 113 πατὴρ δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ γένος εὖχομαι
εἶναι,
115 Πορθεῖ γὰρ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο,
ῥ' ἔκεον δ' ἐν Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι,
Ἄγριος ἦ δὲ Μέλας, τρίτατος δ' ἦν ἱππότης
Οἰνεύς,
πατὴρ δ' ἐμοῖο πατήρ· ἀρετῇ δ' ἦν ἔξοχος
αὐτῶν.

I declare that I am by birth from a noble father.
There were three blameless sons born to
Porthus,
and they lived in Pleuron and steep Calydon,
Agrios and Melas, and the third, Oeneus the
horseman,
the father of my father. In manliness he
surpassed them.

In terms of construction, 113 can certainly continue straight into 115, in just a different sort of adding enjambement, between clauses rather than within a clause (Higbie 1990.28–41). But the removal of 114 has two consequences: Diomedes' father, Tydeus, is not named anywhere in the passage nor is there any mention of his place of burial. This latter detail is not a piece of information typically included in Homeric genealogies, but it may be particularly relevant to Diomedes and the argument he wishes to make here. Verses 115ff. identify Diomedes' family, but not his father, as we might expect from 113, if 114 is omitted.

The traveler Pausanias happens to preserve *Il.* 14.114 embedded in his discussion of his tour of Thebes. As he is shown over the notable landmarks of that city, he remarks (9.18.2):

Θηβαίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες Τυδέα φασὶν
εἶναι τὸν ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, ταφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ
Μαίονος, καὶ ἐς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ λόγου παρέσχον τῶν ἐν
Ἰλιάδι ἔπος, “Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβησι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα
καλύπτει” [*Il.* 14.114].

Those of the Thebans interested in antiquities say that
Tydeus is buried here and that he was buried by Maeon.

They offer as evidence of this belief the line from the *Iliad*, “Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβησι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει.”

Thebans interested in antiquities¹² show Pausanias a mound that is said to be the burial place of Tydeus, and they quote a verse of Homer to support their claim, namely, *Il.* 14.114, the very line said to be either questioned or removed by the Alexandrian scholars and not present in all texts. Included also is the detail that Tydeus’s burial was undertaken by Maeon, presumably because Tydeus had spared him on the embassy he made to Thebes in which Tydeus killed all who took him on except for Maeon.¹³

If *Il.* 14.114 is part of a version of the epic sung at Thebes, it is possible that some feature of the Theban landscape prompted the locals to cite or sing such a verse, or that the verse prompted the locals to identify the landmark accordingly, or that some political controversy inspired the verse. Herodotus’s description of how Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, reorganized the rhapsodic competitions in his city may provide a parallel for the preservation of this line in Thebes. According to Herodotus, after Clisthenes fought with Argos, he did not allow rhapsodes to sing the Homeric poems in competition because they glorified Argives and Argos (5.67.1). Clisthenes also sought to realign Sicyon’s loyalties in the story of the Seven against Thebes from the attackers to the defenders: he tried to remove the *heroon* of Adrastus of Argos from the agora in Sicyon, but when Delphi prevented that, he got permission from Thebes to establish a *temenos* for Melanippus inside the *prytaneion* at Sicyon. Melanippus and Dionysus became recipients of all the sacrifices and festivals that the Sicyonians had previously granted to Adrastus.¹⁴

Just as Clisthenes of Sicyon seems to have understood the power of the heroic past (both the Trojan War and the Theban cycles), so, too, Thebes

12 Habicht 1985.145, n. 19 cites five places, including this one, where Pausanias uses a similar phrase: 1.1.4, 1.27.4, 7.18.2, 8.14.12, 9.18.2.

13 Homer has Agamemnon tell this story briefly in his rebuke of Diomedes (*Il.* 4.368–400).

14 Herodotus explains why Clisthenes chose this particular hero (5.67.3): ὡς ἔχθιστον ἐόντα Ἀδρήστω, ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεὸν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνει καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα (“so hated was Adrastus, who killed his brother Mecistes and his son-in-law Tydeus”). According to Herodotus, Adrastus had been the focus of such honors from Sicyon in the first place: when Polybus, ancestral ruler of Sicyon, died without an heir, he left the kingdom to Adrastus (5.67.4). Later in this discussion, Herodotus notes that some, at least, of Clisthenes’ changes were short-lived: sixty years after his death, the tribal names were changed and a fourth tribe was named after Aegialeus, son of Adrastus (5.68.2).

may have used that same mythical past in a public issue. Although no trace remains of the controversy or circumstances that may have prompted either the performance or the preservation of *Il.* 14.114, the verse and the entire passage were perhaps put to some political use in Thebes.¹⁵

If Tydeus, at least, was buried at Thebes, then the city is released from the charge of not properly honoring the dead, even enemy dead, because it observed the appropriate rituals for them. This kind of issue became important in later Greece. Since Pausanias heard this verse in Thebes in the second century C.E., and since it was also part of some Homeric text said to have been seen by Zenodotus in the third century B.C.E., then the editorial work of Zenodotus and Aristophanes seems to have had little or no effect on the text of Homer accepted in Thebes, at least as far as this verse is concerned. This is not surprising, since it is known from other sources that differing versions continued to circulate, especially those, we might imagine, with particular local significance.

Pausanias does not comment that this version of events, in which one, at least, of the Seven against Thebes, was buried beneath the citadel, is contradicted by other accounts. This he does do on occasion but not here, though there may be an inconsistency that he does not note in his account of the Attic landscape. As part of his tour of Attica, Pausanias was taken to see the sights of Eleusis, which included the tombs of at least some of the Seven against Thebes (1.39.2):

καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τάφοι τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Κρέων γάρ, ὃς ἐδυνάστευε τότε ἐν Θήβαις Λαοδάμαντα ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν Ἑτεοκλέους, οὐ παρήκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀνελομένοις θάψαι· ἵκετεύσαντος δὲ Ἀδράστου Θησέα καὶ μάχης Ἀθηναίων γενομένης πρὸς Βοιωτούς, Θησεὺς ὥς ἐκράτησε τῇ μάχῃ κομίσας ἐς τὴν Ἑλευσινίαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔθαψε. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν λέγουσιν ἐθελονταὶ δοῦναι καὶ συνάψαι μάχην οὐ φασι.

15 For another example of the power of the mythical past in contemporary debate, see Higbie 1997.279–308. See also the discussion cited by Strabo (9.2.32 [C412]) over the interpretation of *Il.* 2.505, in which the contingent from Hypothebes is mentioned: as Strabo observes, some identify that name with Potniae and claim that Thebes did not participate in the Trojan War because the city had been abandoned because of the expedition of the Epigonoι, while others claim that Hypothebes refers to the fact that the citizens had not rebuilt the Cadmea, so were living below.

And after this are the graves of those who marched against Thebes. For Creon, who was in power in Thebes then, as regent for Laodamas the son of Eteocles, did not permit the relatives to remove and bury the bodies. Adrastus supplicated Theseus, and there was a battle between Athens and the Boeotians. When Theseus defeated them in battle, he brought the bodies to Eleusis and buried them there. The Thebans say that they willingly allowed the removal of the bodies and that there was no battle.

Pausanias's version of events after the attack on Thebes agrees with Euripides' *Suppliants*, as summarized by Plutarch, in stating that the Thebans gave up the bodies of the enemy dead only after they had been bested in battle by Theseus. Pausanias does note that the Thebans disagree over precisely this issue of whether they willingly allowed the bodies of enemies to be buried, but he is not clear about the locations of the burials. In his Theban tour, he refers to this grave alone of the Seven, important because Tydeus was buried in Thebes as a mark of the respect granted him by the Theban Maeon whose life he saved. Pausanias's description of his tour in Attica suggests that, in the Athenian tradition, all Seven were buried at Eleusis, but he gives no names.

In verses 116–17, Diomedes continues the narrative of his genealogy. He gives his family's homeland, which is an important piece of information in a genealogy, though not essential in the way that a patronymic is, then follows this in 117 by naming three sons of his great-grandfather. He traces further only the line that leads to him, through the last name on the list, Oeneus, the only one to receive an epithet, though *ἱππότης* is not uniquely his.¹⁶ This is the order of the lines, as indicated from a remark of the A scholiast on 116: οὗτος ὁ στίχος μεταξὺ κεῖται. τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς “Ἀγριος ἡδὲ Μέλαις” [14.117], “This verse occurs between. The next is “Ἀγριος ἡδὲ Μέλαις” [14.117].

As Pausanias quoted *Il.* 14.114 in his discussion of the Theban landscape, so, too, did Strabo quote 14.116–17 when discussing the ethnic origins of some Greek tribes (10.3.1 [C462–63]):

16 In *Il.* 9.527ff., Phoenix tells another story about this family, of Meleager, son of Oeneus, killing the Calydonian boar. Although Oeneus is the father of both Tydeus and Meleager, they have different mothers—Althaea for Meleager and the daughter of Hippotus for Tydeus (she is not named in Homer, but is identified as Perioboea in other sources).

τοὺς δὲ Κουρήτας τῶν μὲν Ἀκαρνᾶσι, τῶν δ' Αἰτωλοῖς
 προσνεμόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκ Κρήτης, τῶν δ' ἐξ
 Εὐβοίας τὸ γένος εἶναι φασκόντων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος
 αὐτῶν μέμνηται, τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἐπισκεπτέον.
 οἴονται δ' αὐτὸν λέγειν Αἰτωλοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀκαρ-
 νᾶνας, εἴπερ οἱ Πορθαονίδαι ἦσαν

Ἄγριος ἡδὲ Μέλας, τρίτατος δ' ἦν ἱππότης Οἰνεύς·
 ὄκκεον δ' ἐν Πλευρώνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι.

αὗται δ' εἰσὶν Αἰτωλικάι πόλεις ἀμφοτέραι καὶ φέρο-
 νται ἐν Αἰτωλικῷ καταλόγῳ . . .

Concerning the Kouretes, some classify them with the Acarnanians and others with the Aetolians. Some say that the tribe came from Crete and others from Euboea. But since Homer mentions them, his lines should be considered first. They believe, he says, that they were Aetolians rather than Acarnanians, if the sons of Porthaon were

Agrios and Melas, and the horseman Oeneus was the
 third;
 they lived in Pleuron and steep Calydon.

These are both Aetolian cities and are included in the Aetolian catalogue.

We do not know whether 114 occurred in Strabo's version of the *Iliad*, but he does reverse the order of 116 and 117 in this passage. If we accept the reversed arrangement of these lines, then our passage looks something like this:

πατρὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ γένος εὐχομαι
 εἶναι,
 [Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβησι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε.]
 115 Πορθεῖ γὰρ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο,
 117 Ἄγριος ἡδὲ Μέλας, τρίτατος δ' ἦν ἱππότης
 Οἰνεύς,
 116 ὄκκεον δ' ἐν Πλευρώνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι,
 118 πατρὸς ἐμοῖο πατήρ· ἀρετῇ δ' ἦν ἕξοχος
 αὐτῶν.

I declare that I am by birth from a noble father,
[Tydeos, whom the heaped earth has covered in
Thebes.]

There were three blameless sons born to
Portheus,
Agrios and Melas, and the third, Oeneus the
horseman,
and they lived in Pleuron and steep Calydon,
the father of my father. In manliness he
surpassed them.

In English, the order of the lines does not work at all, but in Greek it is a different matter. 115 is naturally followed by 117, which names the three sons referred to in that line. 117 is then linked to 116 in adding enjambement, but the problem may lie in the join of 116 to 118. The latter begins with an appositive, *πατὺρ ἐμοῖο πατήρ*, which is attached to a phrase more than a verse back, *ἱππότηα Οἰνέυς* (117).

Guided by the principle of using Homer to explicate Homer, we find two possible parallels for this gap between two elements in the clause. As part of his false genealogy to Penelope, the disguised Odysseus states (*Od.* 19.179–82):

ἐνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς,
πατὺρ ἐμοῖο πατήρ, μεγαθύμου Δευκαλίωνος.
Δευκαλίων δ' ἐμὲ τίκτε καὶ Ἴδομενῆα ἄνακτα.

and there Minos
for nine years ruled, a companion of great Zeus,
the father of my father, great-spirited Deucalion.
Deucalion sired me and lord Idomeneus.

In a clause beginning at the bucolic diaeresis of 179, Odysseus names his grandfather, Minos, then expands on that in 180, linking Minos with Zeus. In 181, the place of Minos in this fictive family tree is clear, as Odysseus characterizes him with the phrase *πατὺρ ἐμοῖο πατήρ*, a phrase that we have seen Diomedes use in *Il.* 4.118 but without then naming his father in the second half of that verse, as Odysseus does here. In these lines, Μίνως is separated from the appositive, *πατὺρ ἐμοῖο πατήρ*, by a complete verse,

but that verse is grammatically part of one clause that stretches from the bucolic diaeresis of 179 to the end of 181. Μίνως is the only subject of the verb, βασίλευε, of 180.

A second possible parallel for this arrangement of verses comes from the catalogue of ships, in the entry for the Arcadians. The poet is explaining why a group of Greeks, land-locked in the middle of the Peloponnese, would have ships to contribute to the expedition (*Il.* 2.612–14):

αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
νῆας ἐϋστέλμους περάαν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον,
Ἀτρείδης, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφί θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.

Agamemnon, lord of men, gave to them
well-benched ships to cross over the wine-dark sea,
the son of Atreus, since naval matters were not a
concern to them.

The formula ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων is separated from its appositive, the patronymic Ἀτρείδης, by an entire verse. As in *Od.* 19.179–82, the intervening verse is grammatically part of the same clause and there is only one subject, Ἀγαμέμνων, for the finite verb.

We return, then, to the third version of Diomedes' genealogy, as perhaps preserved by Strabo. Did Strabo quote from memory and reverse the lines or did he have a different version of the text? On balance, although there is no way to be sure, I would suggest that he reversed the lines. I suggest this because of his starting point, οἱ Πορθαονίδαι, the sons of Porthaon or Portheus, which leads quite naturally into a verse naming all three. When this pair of verses is removed from its context, the order is irrelevant, because the lines work well with each other in either order.¹⁷

This issue of burial for the Seven against Thebes continued to be debated throughout Greek history because it became incorporated into other issues: where were the defeated buried, at Thebes or Eleusis? Did the victorious Thebans willingly allow the enemy dead to be buried or were they defeated first in battle by the Athenians, led by Theseus?¹⁸ These were

17 Allen 1924.263 notes that Strabo also transposes *Il.* 3.188–89 in 12.3.24 (C552). See also *Il.* 2.690, 691, as quoted by Strabo (13.1.7 [C584]).

18 This defeat may have been the reason why Thebes didn't participate in the Trojan War. See n. 15 above.

important questions because they reflected on Athenian and Theban religious behavior. Athens, indeed, regularly cited the burial of these men as one of the traditional past glories of the city. But in authors like Herodotus and Xenophon, the honor was granted to all of Athens communally and not specifically to Theseus, suggesting a democratic tinge to the memory.¹⁹

From this investigation of Diomedes' speech and the ancient responses to it, we can appreciate that Diomedes' performance of his genealogy is as notable for the stories it omits as for those it tells, as the scholiasts themselves observed. Diomedes overlooks his father's crimes and exile, and simply states that Tydeus wandered to Argos, married a daughter of Adrastus, and was part of the Seven against Thebes. Nor does Diomedes refer at all to the victory of the Epigonoι, perhaps because, strictly speaking, this is not part of his genealogy.

We also discover that these lines were of some scholarly interest in antiquity not because of their language but because of their contents. The varying responses to these verses reflect in part the purposes of the writers, whether their primary focus was to explicate the text of Homer or whether they were interested in some issue to which the evidence of Homer could be brought to bear. For geographers like Strabo or Pausanias, Homer was an authority, in some ways the pre-eminent authority (though not infallible), whose evidence could determine an argument. Such arguments could be over the ethnic divisions in Greek prehistory or about the burial sites of heroes. The local antiquarians whom Pausanias and others met in the various sanctuaries and towns of Greece similarly regarded Homer as an authority, though they did so with the bias of hometown pride. Thus they might retain verses that had centuries earlier been athetized or removed by Alexandrian scholars. For scholars like Zenodotus or Aristarchus, the text of Homer was itself the focus of attention and other sources, such as the tragedians, were used to re-establish what they understood to be Homer's very words. Ironically, Aristarchus and his colleagues seem to have had little effect on the texts of Homer available throughout the Greek world and used by many different kinds of readers.

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19 See Hdt 9.27, Xenophon *Hell.* 6.5.38ff., esp. 46f., Xenophon *Mem.* 3.5.8ff., Pindar *Ol.* 16.15 + schol.