THE JUDGEMENTS OF PARIS AND SOLOMON

> τὸν δ᾽ ἐλεαίρεσκον μάκαρες θεοὶ εἰσορόωντες,
> κλέψαι δ᾽ ὀτρύνεσκον ἐύσκοπον ἀργεϊφόντην.
> ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοις μὲν πᾶσιν ἑήνδανεν, οὐδέ ποθ᾽ ῞Ηρῃ
> οὐδὲ Ποσειδάων᾽ οὐδὲ γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ,
> ἀλλ᾽ ἔχον, ὥς σφιν πρῶτον ἀπήχθετο ῎Ιλιος ἱρὴ
> καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ᾽ ἄτης,
> ὃς νείκεσσε θεάς, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο,
> τὴν δ᾽ ᾔνησ᾽ ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.

In this article I return to a passage, Homer, *Iliad* 24.23–30, which has long fascinated scholars, myself included, and seek to make better sense of it than has hitherto been achieved. In the longer run I do this by setting the passage, together with the story it presupposes, against a wider background, drawing on analogous (but often over-looked) material not only from Greek, Roman, and later European literature, but also that of the Orient. I begin, however, by adopting what may seem almost the opposite method of approach to this grand sweep, by concentrating the gaze upon a single word in line 29. A single word, but I believe it provides, once it is rightly understood, a key to the original significance of the story of Paris' judgement.

I

The verb νεικέω in this passage has long been a source of perplexity: as the scholia[1] protested, it does not mean 'judge' but 'insult'. Some scholars have consequently gone so far as to infer a version in which Paris *did* verbally abuse Hera and Athena.[2] By contrast, the *communis opinio* at present would seem to be that the verb concentrates on the feelings of the two goddesses in question, who might, it is supposed, feel 'insulted' at Paris' failure to reward them.[3] But the whole logic of the story, and the Iliadic passage's own stress, concentrate upon *Paris'* guilt. As Macleod's comment-ary[4] observes ad loc., 'there is a powerful antithesis between the accumulated' refer-ence to *sacred Troy and Priam and his people* 'and the single' genitive Ἀλεξάνδρου. 'The gods' anger with one citizen and his folly affects the whole city'. Given this, we are bound to be more interested in the verb's subject than its object.

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[1] Erbse's edition, vol. 5.522. I was too complacent in *JHS* 101 (1981), 57 when I claimed that 'no one today will be very disturbed' at the relevant phrase. See further W. Beck's article s.v. νεικέ(ι)ω (i) in *Lexikon d. frühgr. Epos*, 3.305 ad fin.

[2] So, for example Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 65 (1930), 242 = *Kl. Schr.* 4.510 or H. J. Rose, *Humanitas* 3 (1950/1), 281ff. (cf. his *Handbook of Greek Mythology* [London, 1958⁶], 107). Note too T. C. W Stinton, *Euripides and the Judgement of Paris*, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Suppl. Paper 11 (1965), 3, n. 4 = *Collected Papers on Greek Tragedy* 19, n. 9: 'there may well have been a version in which Paris added insult to injury by open abuse'.

[3] Cf. A. W. H. Adkins, *JHS* 89 (1969), 20: 'When Paris gave his judgement that Aphrodite had won, the other two goddesses naturally felt his words to be hostile' (approved by my article, cited above n. 1). Also I. J. F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalisers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (Amsterdam, 1987), 120 (the words represent 'implicit embedded focalisation') as translated by P. V. Jones, *Homer: German Scholarship in Translation* (Oxford, 1997), 20: '29–30 are to be read not as "documentary" evidence but as Athena and Aphrodite's [rather Hera's] thoughts on the matter'.

[4] C. Macleod (Cambridge, 1982), 88.

Perhaps we need to give more thought than the above approaches allow to the story-patterns inherent in the Judgement of Paris. What sort of story does it represent? Karl Reinhardt[5] notably compared it with the tales of Heracles at the Crossroads[6] and Christ's temptation in the wilderness, all three representing the hero's[7] initial (and decisive) choice of life (or lifestyle).[8] The comparison is illuminating, so far as it goes. To go further, we must first engage in some undemanding arithmetic.

In Heracles' choice of life, the hero is confronted with *two* choices, in Paris' with *three*. Why the difference in numbers? Heracles comes face to face with two extreme and antithetical options, representing the choice between pleasure and duty. The notion of two opposed styles of life embodied in two antithetical characters is reminiscent of that other dichotomy beloved of folk-tale and fairy-story: the two contrasting brothers.[9] Amphion and Zethus,[10] Cain and Abel,[11] Eteocles and Polyneices, all personify this antithesis, as, originally, did Hector and Paris.[12]

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[5] K. Reinhardt, *Von Werken und Formen* (Godesburg, 1948), 11 = *Tradition und Geist* (Göttingen, 1960), 16 ≈ *Homer: German Scholarship in Translation* (n. 3), 170.

[6] Prodicus B 2 DK = Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.29ff. On this, J. Alpers's dissertation *Hercules in Bivio* (Göttingen, 1912) is still well worth consulting, as (on the story's *Nachleben*) is Erwin Panofsky's *Hercules am Scheideweg*, *Stud. d. Bibl. Warburg* 18 (1930). Cf. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London, 1967²), 81ff., 205ff., 270ff. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles²* 1.101 thought Prodicus devised his story by transferring the relevant motifs from Paris to Heracles, and O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 4 (1937), 59, n. 24, supposed Prodicus to have been influenced in his invention by the famous account of the two paths in Hes. *Op.* 286ff. (see below, n. 33).

[7] Practising Christians have regarded Christ as their 'hero' (see Gerard Manley Hopkins's *The Wreck of the Eurydice*, antepenultimate stanza [line 111] and a sermon delivered on 23 November 1879, in *The Sermons and Devotional writings of G. M. H.*, ed. C. Devlin [Oxford, 1959], 34); and there are senses in which Christ is a folk-tale hero: see Alan Dundes's article 'The hero pattern and the life of Christ', *Essays in Folkloristics* (1978), 223ff. = *Interpreting Folklore* (1980), 223ff., though this has nothing on the significant parallels between Christ and Heracles (see my remarks in *CQ* 38 [1988], 289–90).

[8] For a more general study of 'die Wahl . . . zwischen mehreren Lebenswegen', see Reinhold Merkelbach's 1970 lecture 'Achill, Herakles und Paris (oder: Äussere und innere Motivierung der Entscheidung bei den Griechen)', reprinted in his collected essays, *Hestia und Erigone* (Stuttgart, 1996), 1ff.

[9] See in general Max Lüthi's article, s.v. 'Bruder, Brüder', in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 2.846–7 (on 'Zweibrüdermärchen' and 'Zweibrüderschema'). Note his stress on the polar extremes (typical of the world of folk-tale) which such contrasting pairs can embody (p. 845). See further E. Brunner-Traut, s.v. 'Ägypten' (1.195ff.) on the Ancient Egyptian tale of the two brothers True and Untrue. D. J. Ward, 'The separate functions of the Indo-European divine twins', in J. Pühvel (ed.), *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans* (Berkeley, 1970), 193–4, adduces from the *Mahabharata* the twin heroes Nakula and Sahadeva, the former an 'heroic, handsome warrior', the latter 'of a sweet, peaceful temperament and . . . associated with domestic duties and with the care of cattle'. Cf. p. 196 on other contrasting twins from world literature, and the remarks of C. Scott Littleton in the same volume, pp. 234ff., on Hector and Paris.

[10] See in particular Jean Kambitsis, *L'Antiope d'Euripide: édition commentée* (Athens, 1972), xxii ff. ('L' homme tranquille et la cité'). Cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* 3 (Oxford, 1933), 107: in an *agon* in Euripides' play 'Zethus upbraided Amphion for his uselessness and effeminacy, and Amphion defended the pursuit of music and philosophy, the discussion passing . . . beyond its original subject, music, to a debate on the value of wisdom and virtue.'

[11] See A. Scheiber's article, s.v. 'Abel', in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (1.11ff.); Claus Westermann's commentary on Genesis 4.1–16 (English translation [1 pp. 279ff.]), T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament* (London, 1969), 51ff. and 341ff. Compare too Esau the aggressive hunter and Jacob the docile shepherd (cf. Westermann, 2.414–15; Gaster, 163–4 and 366–7).

[12] So Reinhardt (n. 5), 16 ≈ 171: 'the story appears too didactic to be heroic'; and the modes of

In the Judgement story, Paris, by contrast, gets *three* visitors. Why? It is relevant, but not sufficient, to observe that three is the archetypal number in fairy-story and folk-tale:[13] Christ in the wilderness is subjected to three successive temptations by one individual—Satan. Paris, on the other hand, receives three successive temptations, yes—but each is from one of three individuals: Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. Perhaps we should reflect a little more carefully on the exact nature of these stories.

By using the word 'temptation' we have already come nearer the solution. This class of story, as we saw above, can be viewed as involving a significant *choice* for the hero's future life. It can also be viewed as involving a *test* or temptation[14] that he must overcome if he is to thrive. Such initial tests play an important part in the findings of Vladimir Propp's influential book, *The Morphology of the Folktale*.[15] According to chapter 3 of this (dealing with 'the functions of *Dramatis Personae*'), soon after the hero leaves home as part of his quest, he 'is tested, interrogated, attacked etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper'. Proceeding to exemplify this generalization, Propp observes that in some versions of this pattern, a 'donor greets and interrogates the hero. . . . Direct testing is absent, and interrogation assumes the character of an indirect test. If the hero answers rudely he receives nothing. But if he responds politely he is rewarded with' a magic agent or helper, as outlined above.

The observation that, in this type of (indirect) test, the hero may answer rudely and receive nothing, inevitably reminds us of one of the most familiar patterns in folk-tale throughout the world: the three brothers or sisters who go on a quest, with the two elder siblings failing and the third winning through. The pattern is almost too familiar to require instancing, but as a reminder I adduce, from the brothers Grimm, the story of the *Water of Life*.[16] Eldest, second, and youngest brother ride out successively on

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allegory or parable are too alien to the *Iliad's* outlook (cf. my remarks in *CQ* 45 [1995], 2 and n. 4). On the aspect of 'allegorical choice' in the Judgement of Paris, see Stinton (n. 2), 7 = 21. Among the analogues he cites for this are the 'three-sister tales' represented by Cinderella and by Lear and his daughters. These two tales, with their depiction of a heroine's 'triumph over sibling rivals', have been compared with each other by, for example, Alan Dundes in his essay '"To Love my Father All": a psychoanalytic study of the folktale sources of *King Lear*'). See A. Dundes (ed.), *Cinderella*, Garland Folklore Casebooks 3 (New York and London, 1982), 229ff. (origin-ally published in *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 40 [1976], 353ff. = *Essays in Folkloristics* [1978], 207ff.).

[13] See e.g. Max Lüthi's articles, s.v. 'Drei und Dreizahl' and s.v 'Dreigliedrigkeit', in *Enzyklo-pädie des Märchens* (3.851ff. and 879ff.); Axel Olrick, 'Epische Gesetze der Volksdichtung', *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 51 (1909), 1ff. ≈ 'Epic laws of folk narrative', in Alan Dundes (ed.), *Interpreting Folktale* (Berkeley, 1980), 129ff. with bibliography on 3 = 133, n. 4; A. Dundes, 'The number three in American culture', *Every Man His Way: Readings in Cultural Anthropology* (Berkeley 1968), 401ff. = *Analytic Essays in Folklore* (1975), 206ff. = *Essays in Folkloristics* (1978), 129ff. = *Interpreting Folklore* (1980), 134ff., etc. The three goddesses have also been interpreted by George Dumezil in the light of his famous tripartite ideology of Indo-European races. See e.g. his 'Les trois functions dans quelques traditions grecques', *Hommage à Lucien Febvre* (Paris, 1953), 2.25ff. and C. Scott Littleton, 'Indo-European themes in the *Iliad*', in *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans* (n. 9), 233–4.

[14] πειράζω is the relevant verb in the synoptic gospels' account of Christ's temptation: see W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison (edd.), *The International Critical Commentary on Matthew* (Edinburgh, 1988), 1.355.

[15] First published in Russian 1928 (English translation, 2nd edn with introduction by Alan Dundes, Austin, TX, 1968). The following quotations are from 39–40 of the latter.

[16] Tale number 97 ('Das Wasser des Lebens') in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm* (= J. Bolte und G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* [Leipzig, 1917], 2.394ff.). English translation in R. Manheim, *The Penguin*

their quest and encounter a dwarf who asks where each is going. The first two merely insult him ('Little shrimp, it is nothing to do with you' ['Du Knirps, das brauchst du nicht zu wissen']) and, predictably enough, meet with no success. The third and youngest brother replies politely, and is rewarded with advice essential for the achieving of his quest.[17]

In this primeval and world-wide pattern, then, we find three brothers successively encountering one figure, whom they insult or respond politely to, thus determining the success or failure of their quest. In view of the figure's function within the tale, he or she may be regarded as a 'tester' or 'helper'.[18] It is hard not to see a similarity with the story of the Judgement of Paris, especially as recounted in *Il.* 24.29–30. The pattern of two initial and consecutive insults followed by final approval leading to success is identical. But the three brothers have been contracted into one, whereas the tester or helper figure has been expanded into three. A similar process may perhaps be seen in the story of Perseus' encounter with the three Graeae: one hero there meets up with three helper figures whom he compels (by stealing their shared eye) to provide crucial information for the success of his quest for Medusa's head.[19]

I have just suggested that Paris in this context economically combines within one individual the originally three brothers of the folk-tale quest. In another context, he is to be seen as one half (Hector being the other) of the antithetical pair of brothers mentioned above. It has been proposed[20] that such contrasting pairs represent an *externalization* of the contradictions of a divided soul, and a similar explanation might be advanced for the three goddesses of the Judgement of Paris.[21] But there is more to be said of their folk-tale significance.

Complete Grimm's Tales (London, 1977), 339ff. Further references in Ashliman (as cited below, n. 27), no. 550–1 (118–19) and my article in *Prometheus* 18 (1992), 219, n. 9.

[17] Note that the elements of three brothers on a quest can so be arranged that it is the *youngest* brother who does the insulting. Thus in R. Th. Christiansen, *Norske Folkeeventyr* ≈ *Folktales of Norway*, trans. P. S. Iversen (London, 1964), no. 71 (English trans. 169ff.), the two elder brothers are distracted from their task of guarding seven foals by an old hag spinning with a distaff, who coddles them and provides them with a false alibi (she is [see below, n. 27] an 'ambivalent helper'). The youngest brother declines to be so waylaid and rejects offers of rest with the cry 'kiss my arse!' (or its Norse equivalent).

[18] For a general survey of the three-brother pattern, see Lüthi (n. 9), 850; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction* (London, 1905), ch. 13 ('The clever youngest child'), esp. 366ff. For the helper figure, see in general K. Horn's article s.v. 'Helfer' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (6.772ff.).

[19] For the Graeae as helper figures, see my remarks in *CQ* 38 (1988), 283, n. 32. The economy and compression will be all the greater in this instance if (as W. R. Halliday, *Indo-European Folk-tales and Greek Legend* [Cambridge, 1933], 133 with n. 1 suggested) the original form was that of the sequence 'old, older, oldest', whereby 'the hero is told to make enquiries of some aged being, who sends him on to a yet older relation, who sends him on to a third, yet older and wiser', For this pattern, cf. H. Lixfeld's article s.v. 'Alten: Die drei Alten' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (1.383ff.). But folk-tales themselves sometimes compress in the way here envisaged. Cf. Italo Calvino, *Fiabe Italiane* (Rome, 1956) ≈ *Italian Folktales*, no. 134 (English trans. [London, 1980], 467–8) for an instance of the four winds as helper figures living together and helping the hero together (the usual sequence sees the hero sent from one to another). Cf. Propp (n. 15), 74–5.

[20] Cf. Lüthi (n. 9), 857–8: 'Für die Schule C.G. Jungs, die in Mythen und Märchen im wesentlichen Darstellung innerseelischer Vorgänge sieht und deshalb die Figuren als Teile ein und derselben Person deutet, ist das Familien- und damit das Brüder-Schema ein bes[onders] naheliegendes Interpretationsobjekt: Die Familie ist eine überzeugendere Chiffre für die vernachlässigte Seelenfunktion, in unserer Kultur für das Fühlen, das sich im Märchen komplementär Geltung verschaffe. . . . Es leuchtet ein, dass die Aufspaltung einer Person in verschiedene Potenzen . . . schon an sich eine Differenzierung und damit auch eine Bewusstseinserweiterung mit sich bringt.'

[21] For the Judgement of Paris as an *externalization* of choice, cf. Merkelbach (n. 8), 13 = 7.

We saw above that one way of interpreting their roles is as the folk-tale helper figure or figures who regularly aid the hero at an early stage of his quest. Propp, the relevance of whose *Morphology of the Folktale* we have also seen, observes that the hero who responds positively at the relevant stage of his quest, is rewarded with a gift that will expedite it (a magical agent or the like). Here we should note that, according to Proclus' summary, the direct sequel to the Judgement of Paris in the Epic Cycle's *Cypria* was that Aphrodite advised Paris to build a fleet and then provided her son Aeneas as a sailing companion. Thus equipped, Paris sailed away to Sparta and carried off Helen.[22] The vestiges of an original folk-tale may be here detectable, just as (on Uvo Hölscher's showing)[23] they may be detectable in the next major episode of the same epic, when, once again very consistently with the Proppian scheme, an act of 'villainy'(Paris' act of betrayal) precipitates an initial 'lack' (specifically of Helen), which in turn unleashes the heroic quest which is the Greek expedition to Troy.

However, the juxtaposition of these two folk-tale sequences within the *Cypria* reminds us of some of the complexities involved: if Paris is formally the 'hero' of the first sequence, he is the 'villain' of the second. It is perhaps in keeping with this paradox that the 'reward' from Aphrodite, the gift that expedites Paris' quest, should, according to the *Iliad's* account, be something so ambivalent as $\mu\alpha\chi\lambda o\sigma\acute{v}\nu\eta$, 'randiness' (Macleod) (24.30).[24]

This is an apt reminder that helper figures in folk-tale quests are frequently 'ambivalent' in various senses. For instance, the Graeae whom we cited above, the Old Man of the Sea in some of Heracles' labours,[25] or Telephus in the Teuthranian expedition which serves as prelude to the Trojan War,[26] are all initially hostile to the hero and must be rendered more helpful by the application of force or guile. It is interesting that Paris' encounter with his three 'helpers' has exactly the reverse effect as far as Hera and Athena are concerned, converting them to lifelong enemies.

Folk-tale 'helpers', especially female helpers,[27] can be ambivalent in other ways, offering advice or aid that seems beneficial at the outset, but is in the long run destined

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(Compare Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*, where three aspects of the divided soul of nineteenth-century man, the ascetic or religious, the sensual, and the intellectual, are bodied forth by the three brothers. The novel's themes of incest and parricide mesh well with the concerns of folk-tale: see Lüthi [n. 9], 851–2, 853, etc.). That helper figures in folk-tales are similar *externalizations* ('the spontaneous objectivization of the archetype') was argued by, for instance, Jung (cf. n. 20) in his essay 'Zur Phänomenologie des Geistes im Märchen', *Eranos Jhb.* 14 (1945) = *Symbolik des Geistes* (Zurich, 1948), 400ff. ≈ 'The phenomenology of the spirit in fairytales', *The Collected Works* 9.i (*The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*), 217ff.

[22] See my edition, *EGF* 31.12ff.

[23] *Die Odysee: Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman* (Munich, 1988), 58ff.

[24] See my article (n. 1), 576–7.

[25] See my remarks in *CQ* 38 (1988), 277–8.

[26] See my remarks in *ZPE* 133 (2000), 9–10.

[27] On 'ambivalent helpers' in general, see e.g. K. Horn's article s.v. 'Helfer' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (6.775): 'Gestalten der niederen Mythologie, Tote, helfende Natur . . . sind ambivalent.' Cf. ibid., 781–2: 'feindliche Helfer und Schenke, Teufel als Helfer . . . in einem gewissen Sinne sind fast alle Märchenhelfer ambivalent'. A striking instance is Rumpelstiltskin: see Max Lüthi, *Antaios* 12 (1971), 419ff. and my remarks in *Prometheus* 28 (2002), 2 for this figure's paradoxical veering between the antithetical rôles of 'helper' and 'opponent'. Lüthi's article also analyses (425ff.) a comparable group of *ambivalent female helpers* represented by the three old spinning women (see D. L. Ashliman, *A Guide to Folktales in the English Language Based on the Aarne–Thompson Classification System* [London, 1987], no. 501, p. 103) in a tale related to that of Rumpelstiltskin. Having helped the heroine to gain a husband by spinning on her behalf, they seem to convert to opponents by demanding an invitation to the wedding, but reconvert to helpers when they convince the husband that spinning makes a woman ugly and deformed.

to bring the hero ruin. A version of this pattern is exploited to comic effect by Aristophanes in his *Clouds*,[28] when at lines 1458ff. the chorus abruptly reveal to Strepsiades that they have been luring him on to disaster so that he may learn the bitter truth that heaven's laws must be obeyed. It may seem a long journey from this play to Shakespeare's *Macbeth*; but the three sisters or witches of that tragedy actually occupy precisely the same role, that of female helper figures who are ambivalent ('fair is foul and foul is fair') and who seem to offer the hero a fine prospect but in reality lead him on to destruction. As Macbeth himself finally exclaims (V.viii.19ff.):

> And be these juggling fiends no more believed
> That palter with us in a double sense;
> That keep the word of promise to our ear
> And break it to our hope.

Three women were, of course, part of the relevant tradition long before Shakespeare. His source Holinshed notoriously described how,[29] 'as Macbeth and Banquho journeyed towards Fores . . . suddenlie in the middest of a laund, there met them three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world'. After their ambivalent utterances (Macbeth 'shall reigne indeed, but with an unluckie end') they disappear, and Holinshed adds that 'afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromanticall science'.[30]

Shakespeare's own treatment strongly hints at the diabolical associations of the three, that they are leagued with the Devil ('I pull in resolution; and begin / To doubt th' equivocation of the fiend / That lies like truth' [V.v.412ff.]).[31] Such an equivalence almost brings us back full circle to our initial remarks on Satan, the tempter and tester of Christ, as an ambivalent helper figure. Thanks to the three sisters,[32] Satan enjoys

[28] Cf. A. Köhnken, *Hermes* 108 (1980), 154ff.

[29] I quote from G. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (London, 1973), 7.494–5. On Shakespeare's use of folk-tales see the bibliography in Dundes (n. 12).

[30] By associating them with the 'elder world', Holinshed clearly establishes the three women's credentials as creatures of the 'Otherworld', a frequent source of helpers in folk-tale (see Horn and Lüthi as cited in n. 27 above. For Old Men of the Sea, in the case of some of Heracles' labours; for the Graeae, in the case of Perseus' quest for Medusa's head; and Skrymir in the *Prose Edda* of Norse literature as also representing otherworld helpers, see my remarks in *CQ* 38 [1988], 284ff.). The notion that the three were perhaps 'nymphs or fairies' is also highly suggestive, for nymphs often feature likewise as helpers in folk-tale. In Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F16ᴬ they help a perplexed Heracles to find the apples of the Hesperides by suggesting he consult Nereus: cf. J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Los Angeles, 1959), 331–2.

[31] Thus, in the story of Perseus, the Graeae (see above, n. 19) were originally identical with their sisters the Gorgons (see Fontenrose [n. 30], 285–6). Or in Heracles' tenth labour, Nereus, Old Man of the Sea, is a *Doppelgänger* of Geryon (see my remarks in *CQ* 38 [1988], 280ff.) and in Snorri Sturluson and Saxo Grammaticus' account of Thor's journey to Utgard, the giant Skrymir who shows the way is the giant king himself, Utgardloki, in disguise (my article as cited, 284ff.). Similarly, Rumpelstiltskin, in the fairy-story named after him, combines qualities of both 'helper' and 'opponent': see Lüthi (n. 27).

[32] Another female trio from world drama whose role coincides with that of 'ambivalent helpers' are the Three Ladies associated with the Queen of the Night in Mozart's (and Schickaneder's) *Magic Flute*. They have recently been shown to derive 'at one remove from Chrétien de Troyes's Arthurian romance *Yvain* or *Le Chevalier au Lion* (*c.* 1177)': see D. D. R. Owen and Peter Branscombe in the latter's *Die Zauberflöte* (Cambridge Opera Handbooks [1991]), 7ff. In this original, however, they are far less ambivalent, whereas in Mozart's masterpiece, though they provide the hero with the various Proppian magic agents (see n. 15),

better luck with Macbeth, who early admits that (unlike the tempted Christ) 'mine eternal jewel [have I] / Given to the common Enemy of Man' [III.i. 67]).

Paris too succumbs and makes the wrong choice. Like Macbeth he embarks along 'the primrose way to th' everlasting bonfire' (II.iii.20–1).[33] Or so he did originally. But Homer, with his aversion to the simplicities of the folk-tale, has so arranged things that, at the end of the epic, the originally 'good' brother is dead, the 'bad' brother alive and flourishing. Given the terms of this original contrast, if Paris has made the choice of a life of pleasure, one might expect Hector to have opted for the life of duty. And although, of course, there is no such event as a Judgement of Hector, the narrative of the *Iliad* certainly shows this hero enacting (or re-enacting) a comparable decision in a manner that strongly recalls his brother's choice. For at *Il.* 6.251ff., we find, if not three goddesses, at least three women successively tempting Hector by offering him alternatives to his perceived duty: as one scholar has put it,[34] 'each of them tries to get him to stay with her and not go back to the battle . . . all three represent the same temptation, in nicely calculated variety and crescendo: the temptation to turn his back on the terrible world of fighting and death, and linger in the delightful company of loving women and their plausible justifications'.[35]

In the second of his three encounters with women, at lines 355–6, Hector is bidden to sit down by Helen, who reminds him of the ἄτη (356) that has taken possession of herself and of Paris. The same three words that refer to Paris' ἄτη recur at *Il.* 24.28, of the Judgement of Paris. One might, perhaps, expect Hector's encounter with *Helen* and her lover to bring forth some such reminiscence. Not so Hector's final and climactic encounter with his wife Andromache. And yet this moving meeting has rightly been seen as presenting a sort of 'debate' between two views of life, or two worlds: the husband warrior, with his duty to the battlefield; and the wife and mother, with her existence centred on house and home:

The two speeches present an archetypal "dispute" . . . Andromache speaks from an archetypal calling as a wife, nurturer, and preserver of life. Her realm is the house, the family . . . in Hector, male heroism speaks. . . . All his efforts are directed towards duty and glory.[36]

including the flute itself, which aid him in his quest, they are ultimately shown as aligned with the powers of darkness. (Against the once popular notion that the ambivalence is an *incidental* product of a change of mind during the work's composition see Anthony Besch in the book cited above, 199ff.). Mozart's piece has long been recognized as a 'quest opera', so the ambivalent helpers are very much at home.

[33] These words are uttered by the character who gives his name to the 'Porter Scene', but they are obviously of thematic relevance to Macbeth himself. They relate to our argument because what Shakespeare elsewhere calls 'the flow'ry way that leads to the broad gate and the great fire' (*All's Well that Ends Well* IV.v.50) derives ultimately from Hesiod's picture of the two paths (*Op.* 286ff.: cf. Becker [n. 6], 87–8), which has been associated (see n. 6) with Heracles' choice at the cross-road.

[34] J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford, 1980), 6, following W. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk* (Leipzig, 1965⁴), 212ff. ≈ *Homer: German Scholarship in Translation* (n. 3), 128ff. In spite of his suggestive use of the word 'temptation', Griffin does not make the link with the Judgement of Paris, identified by Reinhardt as a 'temptation' ('Versuchung': see n. 14 above).

[35] See Schadewaldt (n. 34), 216 ≈ p.131. Of course, just as Homer shuns the folk-tale simplicities of the black and white contrast between a good and a bad brother, so he does not limit himself to a merely schematic contrast of duty vs. family in the encounter of Hector and Andromache: see e.g. S. Murnaghan, *CA* 11 (1992), 242ff.

[36] Schadewaldt as cited in the previous note, 217–18 ≈ 132–3. For the motif of the *débat*, see Radermacher's commentary on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 336ff. and Gaster (n. 11), 53ff. (text) and 343–4 (notes), commenting on the subcategory of it represented by the antithesis of smith and

One cannot fail to be reminded of the antithetical attitudes to life summed up in the folk-tale's contrasting pairs of brothers, or its scenes of a decisive heroic choice of life. At any rate, Hector's successive encounters with his mother, sister-in-law, and wife provide more convincing evidence than any yet cited,[37] outside of *Iliad* 24, that Homer was acquainted with the tradition of the Judgement of Paris. The circumstances that distinguish the tripartite encounters of Paris and Hector neatly symbolize the contrast between the two and their ways of life. The goddesses come to Paris simultaneously while he is sitting alone on Mt. Ida with his sheep (the passive life). Hector, on the other hand (the active life), meets successively the three women who most matter to him because *he* goes to encounter *them,* moving with purposeful speed through Troy. Characteristically, in the second of the three scenes, Hector finds Paris *seated* in his chamber (*Il.* 6.336).

If we now turn to another perennially puzzling feature of Homer's Judgement of Paris, we may find that it, rather unexpectedly, takes us back to our initial point of departure, the verb νεικέω. Poseidon's presence in the company of Hera and Athena is undeniably perplexing.[38] That in *Il.* 21.436ff. he reminded Apollo of their treatment at the hands of Laomedon must, one still feels, somehow be relevant. (Reinhardt[39] compared the two accounts of how two goddesses and two gods came to hate Troy and described the latter as 'a more pious counterpart to the Judgement of Paris'.) That goddesses should be seen naked by a mortal with impunity (contrast Athena's treatment of Teiresias or Artemis' of Actaeon) might be thought a great humiliation. There may therefore be a contrived linking here of the three goddesses and two gods in question: each set of deities has been insulted by a member of the Trojan royal family who treats them as if there were no gap between mortals and gods. If the surprising occurrence of Poseidon's name at *Il.* 24.26–7 jolts the audience into recalling *Il.* 21.436ff., they may also recall that in that passage Laomedon is said to have 'insulted' (same verb) the two gods (the details of bodily mutilation threatened are given at lines 452ff.).[40] If we then assimilate the two successive insults to two sets of deities delivered

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herdsman in the story of Cain and Abel (see above n. 11), 'the rivalry of professions'. As Gaster observes, 'the antagonists can also be rival metals, e.g. copper and silver . . . or they can be Sea and Land . . . or seasons like Spring and Summer, as in the final scene of Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost.* . . . Or again, they can be plants, like the date palm and the tamarisk in an early Mesopotamian fable . . . or animals, as in other Mesopotamian texts' and in Aesop's fables (cf. K. Horn's article s.v. 'Freundschaft und Feindschaft' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* [5.298]). For a fuller survey of 'fables or contest literature' such as the palm and tamarisk represent, see W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), 150ff.; M. L. West, in *Melammu Symposia* 1, edd. S. Arno and R. M. Whiting (Helsinki, 2000), 96–7, on what he calls 'disputation'. Also B. E. Perry, Introduction to the Loeb Babrius and Phaedrus (1965), xxvi–vii with n. 1 (cf. T. Karadagli, *Fabel und Ainos: Studien zur gr. Fabel, Beitr. z. kl. Phil.* 135 [1981], 39ff. and 54) on Callimachus' fable of the olive and the laurel.

[37] See Reinhardt (n. 5), 26ff. ≈ 181ff. on *Il.* 5.418ff. and 21.416ff. (Cf. Richardson's commentary on *Il.* 24.23–30 [Cambridge, 1993], 278). With the technique here alleged, compare what Ø. Andersen has called 'the representation of earlier stages of the war by their transformation into episodes in the actual plot' (in *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry*, edd. J. M. Bremer et al. [Amsterdam, 1987], 2).

[38] See, apart from Davies (n. 1) 58, Jones's Introduction to *Homer: German Scholarship in Translation* (n. 3), 19.

[39] As cited above (n. 5), 35 ≈ 190, n. 21.

[40] Laomedon has received Apollo and Poseidon in human guise and failed to recognize them. This reminds one of the widespread folk-tale motif whereby gods or angels wander the world in disguise, rewarding those who entertain them kindly, and punishing those who do not. Compare the stories of the birth of Orion (see J. Fontenrose, *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the*

by two generations of the royal house of Troy, generations separated by the first sack of the city, we may begin to appreciate just why the Judgement of Paris is finally mentioned where it is.[41]

I do not, therefore, agree with the scholar[42] who recently suggested that 'Poseidon is forgotten' by the time we reach 24.29 ('θεάς is telling', he claims). But that same scholar is right to stress the *flexibility* of Homer's use of myth, especially in the context of the reference to Poseidon at 21.436–7. There Poseidon himself is made to remind Apollo how he was unpaid herdsman for Laomedon while Poseidon built Troy's walls, whereas at 7.452, the same god is made to claim that both he and Apollo built the walls of Troy.[43] The idea of two individuals collaborating to build a city's walls is reminiscent of the story of Amphion and Zethus at Thebes,[44] as is the picture of Apollo as herdsman. Amphion and Zethus, like Hector and Paris, exemplify the contrasting brothers, the two incompatible choices of life, the active and the passive: a reminder of this tale, in this context, would be far from inappropriate.[45]

II

I now turn to the enlightenment that Oriental story—patterns may supply for the Judgement of Paris. When Reinhardt's study of this tale first appeared, in separate pamphlet form, it was reviewed by Franz Dornseiff,[46] an early and in some ways 'wild' exponent of the importance of detecting oriental influences upon early Greek literature. In connection with Heracles at the Crossroads, Dornseiff thought it was important also to cite 'an ancient oriental *schema* showing signs of Egyptian influence'[47] which appears in the Old Testament: (The) Proverbs (of Solomon) 8–9, with

Huntress, University of California Publications in Classical Studies 23 [1981], 6–7 and 24–5) and the conception of Isaac in the Old Testament (cf. Genesis 1.16 with Westermann's commentary ad loc. [English translation 2, 275–6] and Gaster [n. 11], 156ff., these scholars citing world-wide parallels). It was a variant of this motif that Wilamowitz (n. 2) supposed to underlie the Iliadic version of the Judgement of Paris. But as Reinhardt (n. 2) saw, while the motif fits the pattern of hostile reception of one or more gods by some mortals and friendly reception by others, it is hard to see how and why one and the same mortal would be hostile to two, but friendly to one, deity in disguise.

[41] If even so crude and unpolished a poem as the Hesiodic *Shield* can exploit the device of postponing until its end the reason for Apollo's hatred of Cycnus (cf. F. Solmsen, *Hermes* 93 [1965], 3 = *Kl. Schr.* 1.18, n. 4), then surely we may accept the likelihood that the poet of the *Iliad* could more effectively exploit the like device.

[42] Jones (n. 38).

[43] For this sort of phenomenon, 'episodes for which there are two conflicting versions in the *Iliad* ', see Ø. Andersen, 'The making of the past in the *Iliad* ', *HSCP* 93 (1990), 25ff. (though he does not discuss this particular instance).

[44] See n. 10 above.

[45] My earlier article (above, n. 1) ended in a contrast with the close of Vergil's *Aeneid* to which D. Feeney, *CQ* 34 (1984), 184 reasonably objected. A more valid contrast with the same epic would observe how Vergil goes out of his way to engineer a clear reference to the Judgement of Paris at the earliest possible opportunity (1.26ff.: *manet alta mente* [scil. Iunonis] *repostum | iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae | et genus invisum, et rapti Ganymedis honores*). The difference from Homer's reticence is noted by Macrob. *Sat.* 5.16.10.

[46] Franz Dornseiff, *Deutsche Literatur Zeichnisse* 11 (1932), 1440 = *Kl. Schr.* 1 (Antike und Alter Orient), 125.

[47] 'Ein altorientalisches Schema, das in den ägyptisch beeinflussten Salomosprüchen in der Einleitung über die beiden lockenden Wirtinnen Klugheit und Torheit benutzt ist' (Dornseiff [n. 46], 1441 = 126). For a general introduction to the topic of 'wisdom literature', see West's commentary on Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978), 3ff., and especially 8ff. (Egyptian) and 14–15 (Hebrew), and General Index (391), s.v. 'Solomon, Proverbs of, Wisdom of', and his *The*

its picture of Wisdom and Folly as two women who call to passers-by in the street. There is certainly something to be said for this comparison: Folly and Wisdom do, after all, constitute female personifications who represent antithetical and contrasting world-views. The comparison becomes all the more persuasive if we realize that, in the words of one commentator on the passage,[48] 'the choice between' the two entities, 'is one between life and death'. This is especially true of the passage (9.18) which describes the fate of the gullible man lured into the house of Folly: 'he knoweth not that the dead are there; and that her guests are in the depths of hell'.

But I suspect there is an even more illuminating passage to be adduced from the Old Testament, a passage that must relate somehow[49] to the one just quoted. I am, of course, thinking of the Judgement of Solomon (1 Kings 3.16–28).[50] Here we find many of the elements common to Heracles at the Crossroads and (mutatis mutandis) the Judgement of Paris. For we are dealing with a crucial *choice* between two women made by the hero at an early stage in his existence.[51] And (like Heracles' but unlike Paris') it is the right (that is a wise) choice and one emblematic of his future career.

It may be countered that the two women of Solomon's Judgement differ from the female figures in the stories of Paris or Heracles by not being relevant personifications: for instance, one does not obviously symbolize Wisdom and the other Folly. But if we take the story in its wider context, this objection loses most of its force. Solomon's Judgement follows immediately on from an episode that might be epitomized as 'Solomon's Choice of Wisdom' (1 Kings 3.5–15).[52] In this, God appears to the hero in

East Face of Helicon (Oxford, 1997), 76ff., 94–5, 306ff. For a handy recent anthology in English of some Egyptian specimens, see R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940–1640 B.C.* (Oxford, 1997), 203ff. For more on the Israelite material and its affinities with Egyptian and Babylonian analogues, see W. McKane's Old Testament Library commentary on Proverbs (London, 1970), 51ff.; J. L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Atlanta, 1981); S. Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom* (Oxford, 1994); K. Dell in *Text in Context*, ed. A. Mayes (Oxford, 2000), 348ff. On the treatment of 'Lady Wisdom' in particular, see K. M. O'Connor, *The Wisdom Literature* (Minnesota, 1990), 59ff.

[48] McKane (n. 47), 367. Compare my remarks above (p. 37) on the 'infernal' consequences of Macbeth's encounter with his three witches or nymphs.

[49] The usual assumption is that 'Solomon's legendary wisdom', as exemplified in the judgement and his preceding request to God, 'resulted in a number of later works' exemplifying Wisdom literature 'being attributed to his authorship': so D. Cox in B. M. Metzger and M. D. Coogan, *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (Oxford, 1993), s.v. 'The Book of Proverbs' (624–5), etc. Cf. n. 52 below. For a general introduction to Solomon, see L. K. Handy (ed.), *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium* (Leiden, 1997).

[50] The folk-tale affinities of this narrative have long been apparent: see e.g. J. Gray's commentary ad loc. (Old Testament Library [London, 1964], 122–31), referring to its 'vivid direct speech and frequent repetitions'. For collections of analogues in the most basic sense (i.e. stories involving the motif of the 'disputed child'), see J. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 2.570–1; Gaster (n. 11), 491ff. and (notes) 551. The latter cites the Chinese variant where the 'chief of the city orders the child to be pulled out of a circle drawn in chalk on the ground' (493), which inspired Bertolt Brecht's famous play *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (1948).

[51] 'I am but a little child' says Solomon himself in the immediately preceding episode (3.7), though this mainly refers to the gap between man and God. Josephus (*Ant.* 8.211) says he succeeded David at the age of fourteen (on Josephus and the Old Testament, see L.H. Feldman, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 66 [1995], 1ff. = *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible* [London, 1998], 570ff.) and certain manuscripts at 1 Kings 2.12 specify twelve years.

[52] Cf. J. Bowker, *The Complete Bible Handbook* (London, 1998), 131: 'the wisdom granted to Solomon . . . is very specific: it is the understanding of how to rule and judge the nation. . . . The later rise of "wisdom literature" associated the term with certain types of literature, and probably provoked a shift in the understanding of Solomon's famed wisdom.' The close link between dream and judgement is stressed by e.g. Crenshaw (n. 47), 21.

a dream[53] and bids him 'Ask what I shall give thee.' On being asked for wisdom (which is granted) God praises Solomon because he has not requested such superficially more alluring benefits as (i) long life; (ii) riches; (iii) the life of his enemies. (As reward he includes (ii) into the bargain and promises (i) also, 'if thou wilt walk in my ways'.)

In other words, from the two directly juxtaposed episodes in the early career of Solomon, there emerge most of the elements we have already come to recognize in the life choices of Paris and Heracles, only they are organized slightly differently. Paris and Heracles encounter a plurality of women who variously embody different types of lifestyle: the two heroes make their choices between them, for good or ill. By contrast, Solomon makes his choice of type of life first (in intimate communion with God). Only then does he encounter the two relevant women whose request for a decision between them gives him the opportunity to manifest externally the fruits of the choice he has already made. In the Greek tales the choice between women is (also) the choice of an abstract quality, a good or vicious lifestyle. The Old Testament episodes present *in succession* elements that the two Greek stories present *simultaneously*. But what Merkelbach[54] has, with reference to the Greek material, called the 'externalization' of the process of making a decision is common to all three narratives.[55]

<div align="center">III</div>

After this exploration of the gains to be had from visiting what has been called the 'east face of Helicon', let us finally return to that mountain's western face. Quite literally, for there are striking similarities between Paris' encounter with the three relevant goddesses and the two separate encounters with the Muses allegedly experienced by two poets, Hesiod and Archilochus. To begin with the meeting recounted in the proem to Hesiod's *Theogony* (lines 22ff.), the poet is sitting in solitary state, looking after his sheep on Mt. Helicon, when the Muses appear to him, just as Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite suddenly manifest themselves to the shepherd Paris alone on Mt. Ida. The same is not quite true of Archilochus, according to the inscription in question:[56] he is on his way to the market, after all. But the element of aloneness is still there (we are told he has risen early in the morning to go on his errand) as is the rustic setting: Archilochus is taking a cow to market, the Muses seem to be coming from the fields. Furthermore, Hesiod's encounter was already

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[53] Jung (n. 21), 401 ≈ 217–18, observes the similarity between the helper figure (or 'spirit-type') of folk-tales and of actual dreams, and notes further (412 ≈ 225–6) that when the folk-tale helper is depicted as 'a helpful old man', he may be representing God in some cases. This is highly relevant (and suggestive), given the potentially analogous helper figures in the Choice of Heracles and the Judgement of Paris.

[54] Merkelbach (n. 8).

[55] It has plausibly been suggested (e.g. by H. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichstschreibung und Prophetie* [Berlin, 1921], 198) that, in the original form of the Judgment of Solomon, the two women (random 'harlots' in the version we now have) were actually two *wives* of Solomon. If so, at least one wheel would come full circle: for a Jewish fable ('The ram and the ten ewes') preserved by an author from the mid-thirteenth century A.D. recounts how a ram is enamoured of two of his ewes in particular, and how they are at odds, with one maligning the other as a worthless whore. Haim Schwarzbaum, *The Mishle' Shu' alim (Fox Fables) of Rabbi Berechiah Ha-nakdan: A Study in Comparative Folklore and Fable* (Kiron, 1979), 369ff. has argued that the two ewes represent rival wives, of whom the one virtuously disposed emerged victorious in the original story. And he finds the closest analogue for this schema to be Heracles at the Crossroads.

[56] T4 (Mnesiepis Inscriptio) E1 col. ii.22ff. in Tarditi's edition of Archilochus.

interpreted in antiquity as in effect a dream or vision,[57] and the language describing the Archilochean meeting points very much in the same direction.[58]

The two traditions share with the Judgement of Paris the motif of a significant life—choice made at an early stage in the career of the mortal involved. Paris opts for a life of pleasure, Hesiod and Archilochus for poetic careers. Like the three goddesses of the Judgement, the Muses can be assimilated with the female helper figures beloved of folk-tale: they bequeath Hesiod a staff and Archilochus a lyre, which might be thought more or less equivalent to the 'magical agents' or the like which, as we have seen, folk-tale donors or helpers bestow on the hero who successfully surmounts the test or temptation they set. Are they also, as in the case of the Judgement, 'ambivalent' helpers? It may seem not; but Hesiod's Muses notoriously announce (lines 27–8) their capacity for speaking 'the truth, or falsehood similar to the truth' (compare the 'fair is foul and foul is fair' of Macbeth's ambivalent helpers) and Archilochus' Muses are also not what they seem. The poet initially takes them for country wenches, only realizing the truth when he finds his ox gone and a lyre at his feet. In this context it is worth further remarking that Paris is often depicted in art as playing the lyre when his three goddesses come upon him,[59] and that the two verbs with their polar opposition which Homer uses to summarize the act of judgement ('insult' and 'praise', respectively) appropriately convey the contrasting powers of a poet (in particular one like Archilochus, with his numerous compositions of invective or abuse).[60]

In the preliminaries to his discussion of 'The Tradition of General Knowledge', the late Sir Ernst Gombrich observed 'how refreshing [it] would be to hear a person ask "But what is the Judgement of Paris?"' He was in fact talking about 'the barriers of snobbishness' which once fostered the notion that 'not to know about that classical myth excluded you from a self-appointed élite', and the question he envisaged was perfectly simple and literal.[61] 'What is the Judgement of Paris?' can, however, be given a more profound and searching thrust, taking one into unexpected and unpredictable areas, as I hope the present enquiry has shown.

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[57] See West's commentary on Hes. *Th.* 22–34 (158–9); C. W. Müller, *Rh. Mus.* 128 (1985), 102.

[58] Note the verb δοκέω (with LSJ s.v. I.1.a) at line 28 of the relevant inscription (above, n. 56). On the latter verb, see e.g. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 105 and 122, n. 15. Jung (n. 21) asserted the similarity (sometimes equivalence) between folk-tale's helper figure and the dream figure who appears and gives advice to the relevant hero. One therefore further thinks of a third poetic initiation, Homer's appearence to Ennius *in a dream* (cf. West as cited in the previous note; Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* [Oxford, 1985], 164ff.). This tradition is alluded to at the start of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, which itself has some formal similarities to the schema in question (a vision promising a great future if virtue be followed recalls Heracles at the crossroads: cf. the elder Scipio's *eius temporis ancipitem video quasi fatorum viam* at 4 [12]). But note that Raphael's *Dream of Scipio*, now in the National Gallery, London, is more plausibly taken to be not (as, with differences of detail, by Panofsky and Wind [n. 6]) Pleasure and Virtue appearing as two female personifications to the sleeping Scipio the Younger of Cicero's dialogue, but as the *Elder* Scipio visited by two manifestations of Justice personified, one more severe, the other more humane: see Mab van Lohuizen-Mulder, *Raphael's Images* (Mirananda-Wassenaar, 1977).

[59] See *LIMC* 8.204ff.

[60] Compare also Stesichorus with his successive poems *abusing* and then *praising* Helen (testimonia in *PMGF* 1.177–8). For the importance of praise and blame in oral poetry, see e.g. C. Grottanelli, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 14 (1986), 148ff. On ambivalent Muses, see Müller (n. 57), 101, 108, and G. Luck, *Horizonte der Humanitas* (Willi Festschrift [1960]), 86 = *Ancient Pathways and Hidden Pursuits* (Ann Arbor, 2000), 73.

[61] E. Gombrich, *Ideals and Idols* (London, 1979), 10.