

THE STRUCTURE OF HOMERIC CATALOGUES

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The great catalogues of Greeks and Trojans which are found before the outbreak of the fighting in the *Iliad* have been much studied from the point of view of the history of the Greeks and their knowledge of the peoples of Asia Minor. So far, however, little has been done to apply to these catalogues the results of recent studies of the techniques of Homeric composition, which have identified the recurrent structural patterns which are the basis of early epic poetry and act as framework for the various kinds of elaboration. The following study analyzes the entries which compose the Greek and Trojan catalogues of *Iliad* 2 into their component elements, much as Homeric type-scenes have been analyzed, and separates the passages of expansion from the basic structure.¹ Other catalogues in Homer and Hesiod are then analyzed in a similar way, to compare the basic structural elements with those already found, and finally a few further Homeric scenes are examined which are based upon the catalogue form and can be better appreciated if their underlying structure is understood.

For the sake of clarity it may be best to state my assumptions and conclusions at the beginning. The same component elements occur in the Greek and Trojan catalogues of *Iliad* 2, but in the Trojan entries fewer elements are used (apart from the omission of the number of ships) and there is much less elaboration. This difference can be seen at once from the Table of the elements in each entry (at end of article). Nevertheless, because of this similarity of elements these

¹ On structural analysis of Homeric scenes the fundamental works are W. Arend's *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer* (Berlin 1933), B. Fenik's *Typical battle scenes in the Iliad* and *Studies in the Odyssey* (Wiesbaden 1968 and 1974) and M. N. Nagler's *Spontaneity and Tradition* (Berkeley 1974). See also the bibliographies in my "Type-scenes and Homeric hospitality," *TAPA* 105 (1975) 51–72, and "Convention and individuality in *Iliad* 1," *HSCP* 84 (1980) (forthcoming).

two catalogues are more closely associated with each other than with any other Homeric or Hesiodic catalogue. This may mean only that they belong to the same traditional genre of catalogue, but it creates at least a presumption that they took their present basic form at the same time. They are also alike in that enjambment rarely occurs in the structural elements themselves, but is confined to the elaboration; whereas in most other catalogues it is used more freely. I accept the arguments of others that the portions listing place-names and epithets (element 1 below) are likely to be traditional and perhaps very old, as some of the place-names could not be identified in the archaic period.² But the ease with which these parts may be separated from the elements which give the names of the leaders and the number of ships means that the latter items need not necessarily have been originally attached to the place-name list; this may have been compiled as a survey of places for voyaging or for festival participation,³ and (particularly since verbs are included) may originally have continued without interruption by leaders' names or number of ships. These, then, cannot necessarily claim the same antiquity as the place-names. In particular, the ship-numbers which are given in the middle of the entry were probably altered at least in position, and perhaps also in form, to accommodate passages of elaboration which are closely associated with the context of *Iliad* 2, and so in these instances at least there is no reason to consider the information as older than the composition of the *Iliad* itself. Considering these facts, and also the disparities between the information contained in the catalogues and the rest of the *Iliad*,⁴ it seems to me the most plausible hypothesis that at some date prior to, but not long before, the composition of the monumental *Iliad* a catalogue of the Greek forces which fought at Troy was composed (possibly by the *Iliad*-poet) using some traditional information of high antiquity (the place-names) and some of which we cannot tell the date (the leaders' names and the number of ships); then a similar catalogue of Trojan forces was composed in the same style, though here much less traditional information was available and little (if any)

² See especially D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959) 120–24.

³ Suggested respectively by M. P. Nilsson, "KATAΠΛΑΟΙ (Beiträge zum Schiffskataloge und zu der altionischen nautischen Litteratur)," *RhM* 60 (1905) 161–89, and A. Giovannini, *Études historiques sur les origines du catalogue des vaisseaux* (Berne 1969). See also E. A. Havelock's *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963) 176–80 and *The Greek concept of justice* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 59–67.

⁴ See Page (above, note 2) 124–44.

use was made of contemporary Ionian knowledge. These two catalogues were incorporated into the construction of the monumental *Iliad*, the Greek one being lightly modified by the insertion of additional items of elaboration (to suit the context) and the changes in the entries (especially the position of the ship-numbers) sometimes necessary to accommodate them. A few further additions and deletions have been made at a later date.⁵

I. THE GREEK AND TROJAN CATALOGUES IN *ILIAD* 2.

A. *Basic structural elements*

Κρητῶν δ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,	= element 4
οἳ Κνωσὸν τ' εἶχον Γόρτυν τε τειχιόεσσαν,	= element 1
Λύκτον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀργυρόεντα Λύκαστον,	
Φαιστόν τε Ῥυτίον τε, πόλεις ἐὺ ναιεταώσας,	
ἄλλοι θ' οἳ Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο.	
τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευε	= element 2
Μηριόνης τ' ἀτάλαντος Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ·	
τοῖσι δ' ἅμ' ὀγδώκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἔποντο.	= element 3

This entry (*Il.* 2.645–52) contains the usual information about where the people lived, who their leader was, and how many ships he brought, preceded by a line giving the name of the whole nation. The component parts will be treated as elements 1–4 below, followed by 3 further elements which combine two or three items of the information.

⁵ R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby in the most recent book-length study, *The Catalogue of the ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970), think that "the Catalogue probably originated in an attempt by oral poets contemporary with the historical Trojan War to record in their songs the names of the princes who took part and the places from which their forces came" (169). R. M. Cook, "Two notes on the Homeric Catalogue," *SMEA* 2 (1967) 103–09 is more inclined to stress Ionian knowledge. Besides the standard studies (G. Jachmann, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias* [Köln 1958]; V. Burr, ΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ [*Klio Beiheft* 49 (1944)]; T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* [Oxford 1921]) see also, for a more literary approach, C. R. Beye, "Homeric battle narrative and catalogues," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 345–73 (making the basic distinction between "basic information," "anecdote," and "contextual information") and "A new meaning for ΝΑΥΣ in the Catalogue," *AJP* 82 (1961) 370–78; B. Powell, "Word patterns in the Catalogue of Ships (B494–709 [sic])," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 255–64; R. Hope Simpson, "The Homeric Catalogue of Ships and its dramatic context in the *Iliad*," *SMEA* 6 (1968) 39–44; and M. van der Valk, "Bemerkungen zum homerischen Schiffskataloge," *Festschrift F. Zucker* (Berlin 1954) 349–71.

1. “Those who dwelt in *X* and *Y* and . . .” The pronoun *οἱ* followed by *δέ* or *τε* introduces place-names in the accusative and forms of a number of verbs of roughly similar significance (*ἔχειν*, [*ἀμφι*]-*νέμεσθαι*, *ναίειν*, *ναίεσκειν*, *ναίεταάσκειν*).⁶ The string of place-names may be limited to one verse (511, 546, 757, 840) or extend to as many as 13 (496–508), but verbs are always included, usually about every second line. In addition to epithets short relative clauses may be included, and twice the elaboration of one place-name extends to several verses (Athens 547–51, the river Titaessos 752–55).

This is the commonest element in these catalogues, found in all but two of the Greek entries and in 6 of the Trojan for a total of 102 verses.⁷ In most cases it begins the entry, but is occasionally preceded by element 4.

2. “Their leader was *X*.” The pronoun of the preceding element 1 is picked up by *τῶν*, and one or more personal names or patronymics follow, together with a verb (*ἄρχειν*, *ἄρχος εἶναι*, *ἄγειν*, *ἡγεμονεύειν*, *ἡγείσθαι*).⁸ This element is found in 18 of the Greek entries and 5 of the Trojan, often followed by genealogical elaboration or by further personal names.⁹

Of particular interest are three cases where the number of ships is added in enjambment, dependent on the verb of leading. They are: 586–87, Menelaus’ 60 ships, where the second verse is completed by

⁶ Powell’s item I B abc = II A (above, note 5). Powell’s analysis differs from mine in that he divides the entries in the Greek catalogue into three groups, then breaks down the components of each group; I prefer to use the same kind of analysis as is applied to type-scenes, and so have identified the common elements in all the entries of the two catalogues, considering them the basic structural units from which each entry is composed.

⁷ This figure does not include the verses of elaboration following lines 546, 751, and 824, or the enjambling verb after 757. This element also occurs in the Cauconian entry quoted by Strabo from Callisthenes (855ab; see Allen [above, note 5] 159) which also appears in the pre-Aristarchean papyrus of the Catalogue (S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* [Köln 1967] 42, 49–50) and is regular in form.

⁸ Powell’s item II B (1) abc.

⁹ In 758 and 826 the element begins only at the A caesura, to accommodate an enjambling word; in the latter case the early papyrus omits the enjambling word and gives the normal full-verse form, which I would prefer to read (against West [above, note 7] 49). My count includes the Epeian entry, 615 f., where three instances of this element are preceded by a unique couplet (618–19) splitting the people and the ships into four groups; on this see element 7 below.

one of the three references in the Catalogue to the location of the troops (ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο) and three further verses follow expanding on the king's desire to rescue Helen; 609–10, Agapenor's 60 ships, followed by further phrases about the number of the Arcadians and three verses explaining that their ships were given them by Agamemnon; and 718–19, Philoctetes' 7 ships, where there follows a similar statement about the number of troops and eight verses explaining the absence of Philoctetes and giving the genealogy of Medon his substitute. Sixty ships present no metrical problem (ἐξήκοντα with or without a digamma can be accommodated after τοῖς δ' ἄμα or τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' in the same verse-form as ὀγδώκοντα at 568 and 652) and I think that the common feature of these entries which induced the poet to attach the number of ships directly to the leader in this manner is his desire to insert the information ahead of the elaboration, which can then round off the entry. Other examples of this early insertion of the number of ships, when the elaboration goes beyond simple genealogy, will appear below.

The information about Philoctetes, Menelaus, and the land-locked Arcadians is not closely associated with the *Iliad* itself, though it is of course with the Trojan War. It may well have been added to the Catalogue, and the number of ships moved up out of the way, at the time the Catalogue was placed in the *Iliad*; but this cannot be proved.

3. "With him (them) followed (were ranked) *n* ships." The commonest form is τῷ (τοῖς) δ' ἄμα - ⚭ - ~ μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο, which occurs 12 times, with numerals for 40 (9 times), 80 (twice) and 50 (once). For numerals which begin with a short syllable the form τῷ (τοῖς) δὲ ~ --- γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο is used, three times for the numeral 30 and once for 90.¹⁰ Once a different form is used for Odysseus' 12 ships (637), presumably because of the metrical shape of the numeral; the only other example of this number is that of Ajax's ships (557), where element 7 is used instead.

This element ends its entry, except in two cases (524, followed by the location of the Phocians; 534, followed by further definition of the Locrians) which will be discussed with element 4. Of special interest is the phrasing for the 50 ships of the Boeotians (509–10):

¹⁰ Powell's item I C (1) and (2) = II C.

τῶν μὲν πεντήκοντα νέες κίων, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστη
κούροι Βοιωτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι βαῖνον.

The *ἄμα* of the first form quoted above has been replaced by *μὲν*, and after the mid-verse caesura is substituted a shorter expression which makes room for the insertion of the final phrase, which begins at the C caesura and leads on in enjambment to the verse giving the number of men in each ship. The same phrasing is found in similar contexts at *Il.* 16.169, giving the number of men in each of Achilles' ships, and at *Od.* 9.159 (with *ἐς* for *ἐν*), where Odysseus allocates nine goats to each of his twelve ships. The phrasing thus seems to be standard, a formula which can be used on any suitable occasion, not a fossilized survival retaining information from the remote past; and the use of a pause at the C caesura and following enjambment suggests that the passage may not be older than the rest of the *Iliad*.¹¹ It may have been given its present form in order to round off the impressive length of the first entry with an indication of the number of troops marching out to battle.

Eleven of the Greek entries are wholly composed of elements 1, 2, and 3, often with elaboration of the second. Sometimes, however, these elements are prefixed by the name of the people and their leader, by use of one of the next two elements.

4. "Of the *X* people *Y* was the leader." This element is found six times in the Greek catalogue and seven in the Trojan, always as first

¹¹ On 509–10 see also Beye, *NAUS* (above, note 5) 374–75, and R. Hope Simpson, *SMEA* 6 (1968) 41, note 9. Some years ago I drew attention to the importance of the C caesura, the wide variety of phrases or words which occur in the constricted space between it and the end of the verse, and the frequency with which the poet ignores the easy, traditional way of ending the verse with a standard expression and instead begins a new sentence or clause which runs over into the next verse; and I suggested this may be "a sophistication of the epic style associated with the zenith which epic reached at the time of Homer himself" ("Some features of Homeric Craftsmanship," *TAPA* 97 [1966] 115–79, esp. 174–76). I cannot prove that this kind of enjambment was less common before Homer—though it is not found (for instance) in the standard verses in type-scenes of sacrifice and meals, which he may have inherited—but I believe it may have been so, and hence draw attention in what follows to its absence from the structural elements of the *Il.* 2 catalogues and its frequent occurrence in the elaboration there and in the catalogues of Hesiod and the *Hymn to Apollo*. The question awaits further study.

line in the entry. In the Greek catalogue it is always followed by element 1, and emphasizes the common unity of the people from a number of townships.¹²

In this element the name of the people stands first, with some emphasis,¹³ and it is used to bring in the name ahead of the long “those who dwelt in *X*” series of the Boeotians (494) and the shorter series of the Phocians (517), Locrians (527), Aetolians (638), Cretans (645) and Paphlagonians (851). This last instance is the only case in the Trojan catalogue where this element is followed by element 1, and in the other six it is probably used for lack of names of townships.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that in the case of Idomeneus (645) and Prothoos (756) the element 1 which follows this element 4 is itself followed as usual by element 2, “their leader was *X*,” thus giving the leader’s name twice over. This is kind of accidental ring-form, caused by use of overlapping elements. A similar overlap occurs in 636 (see below).¹⁵

In two cases an entry begins thus with the name of the people and also ends with a further reference following the number of ships (element 3) which usually concludes the entry. In the first case, that of the Phocians (525–26), the verses link them with the Boeotians in one of the few references to location, and may well have been added

¹² Powell’s item I A abc. Nilsson and van der Valk in particular have discussed this prefixing of the name of the people (above, notes 3 and 5). In three cases the name of the people is preceded by *αὐτάρ*, apparently for metrical reasons (in 856 the name of the people cannot begin the verse; in 844 it cannot if followed by the essential *δέ*; in 517 rearrangement without *αὐτάρ* seems impossible).

¹³ The emphasis given by placing a word first in both verse and sentence is obvious in (for instance) *ἄλματι δ’ . . . , δίσκῳ δ’ αὖ . . . , πῆξ δ’ αὖ . . .* (*Od.* 8.128–30) and *ἵπποι μὲν μέγ’ ἄρισται . . . , ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ’ ἄριστος . . .* (*Il.* 2.763, 768).

¹⁴ In 816 and 819 the name of the people is put first to distinguish Hector’s Trojans from the Dardanians of Aeneas, and no township-name is appropriate. The other instances are the Magnesians (756; Hope Simpson and Lazenby say “It is no wonder that no towns are named for so restricted an area” [above, note 5, 151]), the Thracians (844), the Halizones (856), Mysians (858), and Maonians (864); if 855ab are accepted into the text the Cauconians may be added. It is reasonable to suppose that the old Greek traditions knew nothing of the townships of these remote peoples, and the Ionian bard did not choose either to invent them or to use any contemporary knowledge he may have had; see especially Cook (above, note 5).

¹⁵ Nilsson (above, note 3) 163–64 said “in Wirklichkeit kann die doppelte Erwähnung Kretas nur als eine doppelte Redaktion verstanden werden,” but I am not sure that element 4 could not have been placed before the regular 1 + 2 + 3 by the same poet.

for political reasons at some time later than the composition of the *Iliad*. In the other (535), the Locrians are specified as “those who live *πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης*.” This has sometimes been taken to mean that the composer does not know of the western Locrians, but is much more probably an indication that the composer of the verse *does* know of others of the same name and is carefully differentiating these Locrians from the others.¹⁶ It is very possible that this verse too was added later than the composition of the *Iliad* to clarify a reference which was thought ambiguous, and so both references are probably accretions to the normal pattern of elements in the entries.

5. “*X* led the *Y* people.” The sense is much the same as in element 4, but the hero’s name stands first and receives the emphasis. There is one example in the Greek section and six in the Trojan. In the Greek instance, *αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦγε Κεφαλλήνας μεγαθύμους* (631), the composer probably wanted to name the Cephallenians at the head of the entry, as in the case of the Boeotians and others listed in element 4, before identifying the islanders separately with the following element 1 (the name is used as a generic term for Odysseus’ men at *Il.* 4.330). But the name cannot stand first in the line, or follow *αὐτὰρ* there, and so it is impossible to tell whether metrical convenience or desire for emphasis on Odysseus placed his

¹⁶ Allen says “There is no hint of another section of the race, of colonies . . .” (above, note 5, 53); Hope Simpson and Lazenby are cautious: “The Catalogue only recognises the *eastern* Locris . . . The omission of *western* Locris should not be surprising . . .” (above, note 5, 49–50). The quotation of the Argos entry in the *Certamen* (289–301) adds two further verses following the number of ships, which I dismissed as post-Homeric on the grounds that the phraseology is not paralleled elsewhere. This view was challenged by an anonymous reader, who argued (a) that *Cert.* 301 = Parke-Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.6; W. E. McLeod (*TAPA* 92 [1961] 317–18) dates this to the first half of the 7th century, but J. Fontenrose (*The Delphic Oracle* [Berkeley 1978] 276–78 and 121 [his Q26]) denies this antiquity and so the recurrence proves nothing (McLeod indicates that the line is found in Homer, which is misleading as the *Certamen* is its only authority); (b) *ἐν δ’ ἄνδρες* (*Cert.* 300) recurs at *Il.* 9.154, 296; but I think the phrase too short to prove anything; (c) *ἐστιχόωντο* (*Cert.* 300) is at the end of a verse 8 times in the *Iliad*; but O’Neill’s tables 22 and 29 (*YCS* 8 [1942] 147, 151) show that in Greek hexameters a word of this metrical shape generally occurs in this position, so this is no indication that the verse is archaic; (d) “*δαήμων* with the genitive seems to be Homeric;” certainly it occurs so twice in the *Odyssey*, but neither occurrence has any parallel with the expression in *Cert.* 300. My own view is based on the lack of parallels in Homer to *πολέμοιο δαήμονες* in the middle of the verse, to *κέντρα πολέμοιο* in any position, and to *λινοθώρηκες* in the plural and before the mid-verse caesura.

name ahead of theirs in the verse. As with Idomeneus and Prothoos (see element 4) the normal following sequence of elements 1 and 2 brings repetition of Odysseus' name in 636.

Two of the Trojan instances are followed by an element 1, giving the name of Larisa as home of the Pelasgians (840–43) and Miletus, Mt. Phthires, the Maeander and the headland of Mycale as home of the Carians (867–75), though these must have been known to Homer as Greek.¹⁷ In the other cases (846, 848, 862, 876) the name of the people may stand in place of township names, as with element 4; in these cases too the name of the people cannot stand first in the line. In 842 and 870 use of element 2 again results in repetition of the leader's name.

Finally, there are two elements which combine the number of ships with other information.

6. “*X* led *n* ships.” This grouping of leader and ships in the same verse is found three times, replacing elements 2 and 3. In 576 the verse follows a longish series of element 1, and the hundred ships of Agamemnon are mentioned first in the line, perhaps to emphasize their great number; four lines of glorification of Agamemnon follow, and it is likely that the ships are mentioned early so that these verses may end the entry. A similar verse structure is used in 685 for the 50 ships of Achilles, which is followed by the nine verses explaining his absence and that of his followers, after which the usual “with him followed 50 ships” would have sounded odd indeed. These entries suggest that the verses which here give the number of ships were composed at the same time as the elaboration which ties the Catalogue to the particular circumstances of *Iliad* 2. The remaining example is 713, the 11 ships of Eumelus, for which I suggest no explanation other than metrical convenience.¹⁸

¹⁷ On this problem see Allen (165–66) and Cook (both above, note 5).

¹⁸ ἑνδεκά νηών fits neatly between the C caesura and the verse-end, like innumerable other phrases in Homer, and the temptation to place it in that position may have been very strong. The only other numeral of this metrical shape in the Catalogue is the nine ships of Tlepolemus (654), which is placed in a different position in the verse. Possibly Agamemnon's 100 ships also presented a problem metrically, but I doubt if that is the main reason for their position early in the entry. In Achilles' case of course the standard verse (as in 556) is metrically possible.

7. “*X* led *n* ships from *Y*.” There are four cases where all the information of elements 1, 2 and 3 is packed into one short sentence.¹⁹ In three of these the verse structure is similar; *Αἴας δ’ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας* (557), cf. the Nireus entry (671) and that for Gouneus (748). The number of ships varies, but can easily be adapted to fit at the end of the verse.²⁰

Nobody knows much about Nireus’ Syme,²¹ the leader himself is never heard of again, and the triple epanalepsis of his name is strange.²² The Gouneus entry is fairly long, and includes a regular element 1 which is uniquely preceded by a verse grouping the people together, τῷ δ’ Ἐνιήνες ἔποντο μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοί. The only parallel to this is at 542, which follows element 1 and the hero-name. Ancients and moderns alike have failed to locate Gouneus’ home in Cyphos or his followers the Enienes and Perrhaebi²³ (not to mention his river the Titaressos). In both cases I would suggest that an originally very brief entry has been enlarged by additional material of unknown origin which was vague enough not to conflict with anything else; this may have been done at the time of composition of the Catalogue.

The notorious Ajax entry (557–58) is similar to these in form, but the one verse of the element is followed only by the reference to the location of the troops beside the Athenians. Salamis is a small place, but a one-verse entry in the Catalogue would be unique (even if a hero of Ajax’s stature could be so summarily dismissed), and it is likely that the location-verse was added to the Catalogue for political reasons at a date later than that of the monumental composition, and the original material somehow dropped out of sight. The parallels with similar entries suggest that the original elaboration might have focussed on either the hero himself or a physical description of his island.²⁴

¹⁹ Powell’s item III.

²⁰ The version giving Gouneus 12 instead of 22 ships presumably ended *δυοκαίδεκα νῆας εἴσας*; see Allen (above, note 5) 130, note 1.

²¹ Including Allen (103) and Hope Simpson and Lazenby (121; both above, note 5).

²² J. Crossett (*CJ* 64 [1969] 243) thinks it is comic relief.

²³ See Allen (130), Hope Simpson and Lazenby (149; both above, note 5).

²⁴ The Ajax entry in the Hesiodic Catalogue of the Suitors of Helen (fr. 204.44–51 M–W) contains a section formed on the pattern of element 1; this is the only use of this element that I know of outside *Il.* 2. It lists a considerable amount of territory which in the Greek catalogue is included in the entry following Ajax’s, that of Diomedes; it also includes Megara, which is not in the *Il.* 2 catalogue, and Corinth, which is there given to Agamemnon. The phraseology is also very similar to that of the Diome-

In the fourth example of this element (Tlepolemos) it spreads over two verses (653–54), perhaps because of the length of the hero's name and patronymic; and the name of the people and of the island too are included, as well as the number of ships. These lines are followed by a normal element 1 (655–56) (which could well have begun the entry) and then by element 2 (657) which of course repeats the hero's name. Then follows the longest elaboration in the catalogue, the 13-verse account of Tlepolemos' birth and arrival in Rhodes, in which is repeated the triple tribe-division which has already figured in element 1 (668; 655). This close link between the element 1 and the elaboration suggests that the first two verses (element 7) were composed at the same time as the lengthy elaboration, and the compact form of element 7 was used so as to include the number of ships before the long history of the hero began.

Here may also be mentioned the peculiar Epeian entry (615–24), which begins with a normal element 1 but then adds a couplet stating that there are four leaders with ten ships each, and also introducing the group-name of the Epeians (618–19). Then the names of the leaders are introduced in three successive forms of element 2, linked by μέν and δέ instead of the τε and καί usual in this catalogue. It would appear very possible that a normal entry was modified for some political reason by the addition of 618–19 and the slight modification of the forms of element 2, and at the same time the number of ships was eliminated from the conclusion of the entry and included in the supplementary couplet, together with the group-name.

des entry, though the sequence is different (of course the initial οἱ γὰρ ἔχον of Hesiod is metrically identical with the Homeric οἱ δ' [or τ'] ἔχον [581, etc.]). Connection between the passages, or at least a common source, is also very strongly suggested by the κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν in 562 (= Hes. fr. 204.47, a v.l. in the Homeric text) which is unneeded, unique in its repetition of the subject of the sentence, and may well have at some time replaced an epithet for Mases; see my article (above, note 11) 168, note 139. In the Hesiodic entry, however, Ajax seems not to rule this territory, but to propose to plunder it and offer the booty as his gift for Helen; Wilamowitz said "Aias . . . auf seiner kümmerlichen Insel Salamis freilich keine Schätz besitzt; aber er getraut sich, das Vieh seiner Nachbarn zu erbeuten, und das bildet sein Angebot" (*BKT* 1.31). The Hesiodic poet has taken over material from another kind of catalogue, one similar to or identical with our Greek catalogue, and used it for a different—and piquant—purpose; just as he shows humor in having his wily Odysseus offer no gifts at all since he had no hope of winning Helen (see below).

Combinations of the above seven elements complete the structure of the Greek and Trojan catalogues in *Iliad* 2. It can readily be seen from the Table (at the end of article) that the commonest form in the Greek catalogue is elements 1 + 2 + 3, preceded by the name of the people and leader (element 4 or 5) when the poet wishes to group the people together before beginning the list of place-names. The structure is changed, by use of the more compressed elements 6 or 7, if he wishes to conclude the entry with a long or emphatic passage of elaboration.

For the Trojans, with no ships to be mentioned and fewer place-names, element 4 or 5 alone (combining people and leader) is commonest. Elements 1 and 2, however, occur quite frequently, and the similarity of the two catalogues is striking, compared with the difference between these two and other surviving catalogues (to be discussed below). This must mean that both represent a traditional genre of catalogue, not necessarily that the form of the Trojan is modelled upon that of the Greek.

B. *The elaboration of the elements*

The commonest kind of elaboration²⁵ is an account of the leader's genealogy or some other information about him (including his absence, in the three well-known cases). Occasionally there may be comment on the place or the people; in the Trojan catalogue this is often a simple "far from [home]." Usually the elaboration is added in segments of one or more complete verses whose addition or omission would leave no trace, and it is thus impossible to tell on structural grounds alone whether it is likely always to have been connected with the verses giving the name of the people or leader or has been added to them. Often, however, within the elaboration is found a strong pause at the C caesura of the verse and following enjambment, a structure which is usually absent from fixed elements of type-scenes.²⁶ I think this is slight evidence for the contemporaneity of the passages of elaboration with the rest of the *Iliad*.

The following points of special interest may be noted in the elaboration.

²⁵ Beye uses the term "anecdote" (in his "Battle narrative"), Powell the term "augment" (both above, note 5).

²⁶ See note 11 above.

547–51. The long and unusual elaboration of Athens is introduced by a pause at the C caesura and enjambment which puts the verb in the following verse, followed by a padding phrase to reach to the B caesura (ὄν ποτ' Ἀθήνη / θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ). Several examples of phrases of this shape have been identified in the Homeric poems.²⁷ It is possible that the enjambling phrase took the place of some final epithet; but since Erechtheus' patronymic does not seem metrically suitable for this position the whole of 547 may belong to the following section. The presence of this enjambment, the unusual content of the elaboration, and the absence of more than one verse of element 1 support the view that the names of other townships of Attica have been dropped from the list and replaced by this section, perhaps because of the synoecism. If this has happened, it was presumably later than the monumental composition.²⁸

594–600. The elaboration of the Pylian entry is introduced by an enjambling phrase starting at the C caesura, suggesting that it has displaced an epithet or another name; Hope Simpson and Lazenby wonder if the verse once ended Οἰχαλίην τε.²⁹ Two further cases of this kind of enjambment occur in the passage (597, 599).

628. It is noteworthy that the generic epithet Διὸς φίλος, though used 17 times in the *Iliad*, is never found in the *Odyssey*, Hesiod, or the *Hymns*.³⁰ This is another link between the elaboration and the rest of the *Iliad*.

681. Preceding element 1 in the Achilles entry is the unparalleled verse νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον . . . The

²⁷ A considerable number of examples are given in *TAPA* 97 (1966) 150–52.

²⁸ Hope Simpson and Lazenby (above, note 5) 56 cautiously suggest alternatives (“lines referring to some of the other places in Attica . . . either dropped out accidentally in the course of transmission or were deliberately omitted at some point in order to project the synoecism back into the heroic past”). On the whole entry see J. Sarkady, “‘An unreliable guide:’ Bemerkungen zur Rolle von Athen im homerischen Schiffskatalog,” *ACD* 12 (1976) 3–7, and on the content of the elaboration R. M. Frazer Jr. in *Hermes* 97 (1969) 262–66.

²⁹ Above, note 5, 85.

³⁰ See *TAPA* 97 (1966) 163–64.

scholar who has written most recently on the subject, Robert Drews, considers (with considerable support, ancient and modern) that “the line is not part of the entry on Achilles’ kingdom (682–685), but rather a proem which introduces the entire Thessalian section (682–759) with which the Catalog closes.”³¹ The verb of which τοὺς is the object must be supplied from ἐρέω in 493 or ἔσπετε in 484. Certainly a new geographical section of the catalogue begins here, and Drews’ view may very well be right. I think, however, that the following points are worthy of consideration:

- a. Other new geographical divisions are introduced without any kind of proem; the first and fourth by the name of the people (Boeotians 494, Cretans 645), the second and third by element 1 alone (Argos 559, Dulichium 625). No other early Greek catalogue known to me has such a restart.³²
- b. Besides this “proem,” the other unique feature of this entry is that not only the leader but the troops too are absent; the poet’s ranging eye sees not a substitute leader ranking the men, but a yawning gap where the Myrmidons, Hellenes and Achaeans (684) ought to be. It is natural to look for some connection between these two peculiar features of the entry.
- c. The combination νῦν αὖ or νῦν δ’ αὖ³³ always occurs in the middle or at the end of a speech. At the end of a speech, it has a strong adversative force (as well as a temporal one) contrasting with what has gone before; “[Patroclus knew how to be gentle to all men when he was alive,] *but now* death and fate have come

³¹ “Argos and Argives in the *Iliad*,” *CP* 74 (1979) 111–35, esp. 117–18. Jachmann (above, note 5) 184–89 takes the same view, but thinks that this whole section is put last, instead of following Locris or Euboea, because if it did the obscure leaders of entries 1–3 and 5, and the “diminished” Ajax of 4, would be followed by three major heroes (Achilles, Protesilaus, Philoctetes) who were not even present. This of course implies that the whole structure of the catalogue depends on the context of *Iliad* 2.

³² The divisions are those of Allen (above, note 5) 39–40. A minor point is that if Drews is right, after 681 the particle in the following verse should really be ῥ’ instead of τ’ (cf. 632). There seems to be no MS evidence for this reading.

³³ If there ever was any distinction in meaning between these two combinations it seems impossible to recover it. MSS vary, and editors regularize to one or the other form. Ebeling and his collaborators (*Lexicon Homericum* [Leipzig 1885]) apparently used texts printing one form for the *Iliad* and the other for the *Odyssey*. I am grateful to Professor David Packard for supplying me with a computer-generated list of all Homeric occurrences of these combinations of particles, and of those mentioned in note 35 below.

upon him" (*Il.* 17.672 = 22.436) may serve as example.³⁴ But in the middle of a speech, the words introduce a new idea, and then this new idea itself leads on to some further contrast, result or explanation: Diomedes says "He is proud enough at any time; *and now* you have thrust him further into his pride. *But* let us leave him alone . . ." (*Il.* 9.700).³⁵

The usage suggests that $\nu\hat{\nu}\nu$ $\alpha\hat{\nu}$ here not only introduces a new idea (Achilles' men, instead of those of the previous entry) but also *looks forward to some further contrast or expansion*, i.e., to the sentence beginning with $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ (686). Line 681, both by its dependence on $\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (493) or $\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (484), and by the particles $\nu\hat{\nu}\nu$ $\alpha\hat{\nu}$ (which elsewhere occur only in direct speech), introduces the poet's own voice; but this is done not because the verse embraces the whole of the remainder of the catalogue, but because the poet is drawing attention to the big contrast which is coming—the next troops to be introduced are *not there*. The meaning will thus be not Pope's "Now, Muse, recount Pelasgic Argos' powers / From Alos . . ." (approved by Drews) but "*Now this time* those who dwell in Pelasgic Argos and Alos . . . [are looked for,] *but* they were not of a mind for battle, for . . ." This interpretation does not necessarily conflict with the idea that Pelasgic Argos comprehends all the following areas, but I think it makes it less easy to use 681 as evidence for this view; and if accepted, the interpretation given above means that 681 must be dated to the same period as the elaboration explaining the absence of Achilles and his men.

686–94, 699–709, 719–28. The three entries with absent leaders begin with element 1. The Achilles entry then mentions ships and

³⁴ Cf. also *Il.* 11.367 = 20.454, 14.262, 17.672 = 22.436; the same verse as these last at 17.478 does not conclude the speech but has much the same sense.

³⁵ Telemachus says "I have lost my father . . . *and now* there is a greater evil . . . [since] the suitors are . . ." (*Od.* 2.48 f.); Penelope complains "[first I lost my husband,] *now in addition* my son the winds have carried off . . . *and yet* no-one woke me" (*Od.* 4.721), and again "[first I lost my husband,] *now in addition* my son has gone . . . for *him* I grieve, for *him* I fear" (*Od.* 4.814). See also *Od.* 13.303, 5.18, 14.179, 16.35, 13.149. The usage of $\nu\hat{\nu}\nu$ (δ') $\alpha\hat{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ ($\alpha\hat{\nu}\tau'$, $\alpha\hat{\nu}\theta'$) was also checked, with similar results. The words never stand first or last in a paragraph, and often introduce a new idea which itself leads on to another; see especially *Il.* 3.67 f., 4.321 f., 11.363 f. = 20.450 f., 13.628 f., 22.172 f., 252 f., 23.643 f.

leader (element 6), and then after a couplet explaining the absence of these troops (686–87) goes on to tell the tale of Achilles and Briseis, concluding with a forecast of his future return (694).

The third of these entries, that of Philoctetes (719–28), is close to this, and mentions ships and leader, number of men (with implied contrast to those of Achilles?), and gives them a descriptive phrase to match their leader (which Zenodotus did not like); it then goes on to state the absence of the leader, elaborate on the reason for it, round it off in ring form (724), and put in a forecast of the future, as with the Achilles entry. Then in 726 a new element appears, “but they had a leader, though they longed for the other,” and Medon is named and his parentage described.

The second entry (Protesilaus, 695–710) differs from these in that it passes straight from the leader’s name (without ships) to the statement of his death at the hands of a nameless Trojan. Then follows the same element as in the Philoctetes entry, “but they had a leader . . .” (703) and Podarces is named and his birth given. Then something very odd occurs; with two successive enjambling verses (707–08) Protesilaus is introduced again, and again follows the element “but they had a leader . . .” (709). The poet seems to be in imminent danger of telling us that he is Podarces, born of . . . and so on, repeating like a stuck phonograph record or a recurring decimal. Fortunately, however, the number of ships has not yet been given, and it breaks into the circle (710). This is the only case where the number of ships is left to the end after elaboration of such length; perhaps this has resulted in some way from the peculiar repetition within the elaboration.

745. After the elaboration of the birth of the first leader (741–44) a second leader is introduced and given his own genealogy. The same thing happens, in the same phraseology, in the Trojan catalogue (822). Like the similar lines praising Agamemnon and Hector (577–78, 817–18), this shows the verbal as well as structural parallels between the two catalogues.

831–34. The genealogy of Adrestus and Amphius includes two cases of enjambment after a pause at the C caesura, perhaps indicating a link to the *Iliad*-poet (see note 11 above).

II. OTHER CATALOGUES IN HOMER AND HESIOD

For regularly repeated complex structure, as well as for length, the closest parallel to the catalogues of *Iliad* 2 is the Catalogue of the Suitors of Helen from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (frs. 197–204 M–W). Each entry consists of three elements: (1) “From X came-as-suitors Y;” (2) an account of the gifts he brought; and (3) his intentions. A good example (with a negated second element) is the Odysseus entry (fr. 198.2–6 M–W):

ἐκ δ' Ἰθάκης ἐμνάτο Ὀδυσσῆος ἱερῇ ἴσ,	= element 1
νιὸς Λαέρταο πολύκροτα μῆδεα εἰδώς.	
δῶρα μὲν οὐ ποτ' ἔπεμπε τανισφύρου εἵνεκα κούρης·	= element 2
ἦδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ὅτι ξανθὸς Μενέλαος	= element 3
νικήσει, κτήνῳ γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατος ἦεν.	

In the surviving fragments the first element can be made out nine times.³⁶ The account of the gifts is visible eight times, and the intentions or thoughts of the hero nine times.³⁷

The striking difference between this catalogue and those of *Iliad* 2 is in the frequency of enjambment between the elements (not just in elaboration); for example, in fr. 204.41–43 it occurs between first and second and second and third elements, and at 204.54 parts of all three are squeezed into one verse (. . . / μνάτο· πολλὰ δὲ δῶρα δίδου· μάλα δ' ἤθελε θυμῷ / . . .). This may partly be due to the intentions of the suitors being invented by the poet and untraditional in form, and partly to the descriptions of the gifts, which though often formulaic in phraseology are short and can easily be adapted to different positions in the verse.

Many catalogues are formed of successive introductions of personal names, each followed by a certain amount of elaboration. Though the system of analysis I follow here terms this a single repeated element

³⁶ In the form quoted, at frs. 198.2–3, 199.4–6, 200.3, 204.56–57. The personal name appears before the place-name in 197.6–7a and 204.44–45a, and ἀντάρ precedes the place-name and the very long title of Elephenor in 204.52–54a. The name of the people stands instead of a place-name in 198.9–10a. The verb of another entry survives at 204.41a, and another may have begun at 200.10 f. On the Ajax entry see note 24 above.

³⁷ Gifts, frs. 197.1–2, 198.4 (negative), 198.10b–11, 199.9 f., 200.4–6, 204.41b–42a, 204.45b, 54 (middle of verse). Intentions, frs. 198.5–8, 198.12 f., 199.2–3, 199.9b, 200.1–2, 200.7–9, 204.42b–43, 204.46–51 (see note 24 above), 204.58–63.

followed by elaboration, rather than a series of two consecutive elements, the difference is more one of terminology than substance. The longest is the catalogue of Myrmidon chiefs as they form up for battle in *Iliad* 16. This leads off with a stylish introduction which begins and ends with Achilles himself (168, 172) and rhetorically repeats “fifty were the swift ships . . . fifty the men in each . . . five the leaders . . .” Then follow five entries, on the pattern “of the *n*th squadron the leader was *X*,” plus elaboration about his genealogy; in the fourth the elaboration is omitted, and the fifth has not even a verb—a progressive diminution in length of entries which is often observable. Achilles is brought in again to round off the whole (198). The strictness of the form is emphasised by the total absence of the names of tribes or places or of positioning on the battlefield.

Similarly formal and graceful is the catalogue of Zeus’ love-affairs in *Iliad* 14, which after a “negative” introduction (“never have I been so much in love . . .” [315–16]) similar to the declaration of Paris to Helen (*Il.* 3.442) extends the following “not even when . . .” part into a catalogue; the first three entries have one verse each of elaboration about the resulting offspring (317–22), the fourth combines two names and has two separate verses about the children (323–25), the fifth has no elaboration at all (326), and the sixth (327) beautifully rounds off the whole by pausing at the C caesura to introduce Hera herself, οὐδέ σεῦ ἀντῆς / . . ., before the whole paragraph is concluded with “as *now* I love you.” The form (like the sense) retains traditional material (the catalogue element) but modifies it in highly sophisticated fashion for purely aesthetic purpose and appeal.³⁸

Verbal repetition, as well as structural, appears in the list of deities who suffered pain (*Il.* 5.382–404), which begins with Dione’s exhortation to the wounded Aphrodite, τέτλαθι, introduces the list with πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τλήμεν and continues with a series of 3 entries each beginning with τλή (385, 392, 395) and containing elaboration in the form of temporal clauses. A final gnomic couplet rounds off the catalogue (403–04).³⁹

³⁸ In view of the clustering often apparent in Homeric vocabulary, it is worth noting that one of the few similes using negative criteria occurs fairly close to this passage: *Il.* 14.394–401.

³⁹ Beye (“Battle Narrative,” above, note 5) 365 draws attention to the Panyassis version (*EGF* fr. 16, p. 261) which has two verses of verb + name only, then one of elaboration, then a fourth (final?) verse which includes verb, name, and elaboration.

A number of lists of personal names occur with little or no elaboration, but still including repeated verbs like the place-name lists of *Iliad* 2. Typical is the list of nine volunteers to fight Hector (*Il.* 7.161–169), which begins (at the mid-verse caesura) with a general introduction of the nine and goes through the individual introductions with ὦρτο δὲ . . . , τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' . . . (three times), ἄν δὲ . . . , and has a conclusion at 169. Similar are the lists of heroes following Diomedes (*Il.* 8.261–67) and of the Phaeacian nobles who go off to the athletics (*Od.* 8.110–20). The catalogues of personal names in Hesiod are rather different in style.⁴⁰

Lists of place-names are less common, and none bears any resemblance to those of *Iliad* 2. The list of places visited by Apollo and his Cretans in the *Hymn to Apollo* (421–29) is less regular in form than the personal-name lists, beginning (at mid-verse) with three verses of place-names dependent on ἵκανε, continuing with two more after βῆ δὲ παρὰ, and concluding (after a temporal clause) with two further series of names standing as subject to πέφαντο. The only other long list of place-names is that of places visited by Leto in the same hymn (30–45), which begins ὅσσους Κρήτη τ' ἐντὸς ἔχει καὶ . . . and continues without further verbs for fourteen verses to the conclusion τόσσον ἐπ' . . . ἵκετο Λητώ. This is paralleled on a smaller scale by the list of towns offered by Agamemnon to Achilles, in the accusative case (*Il.* 9.150–52 = 292–94). Similar long lists of personal names and epithets without verbs are found in ancient epic, though there is only one large-scale example in Homer.⁴¹

⁴⁰ The *Theogony* has a number of catalogues in which the entries are fairly uniform in structure and size but without verbal repetitions. Cf. the list of seven goddesses who (1) were united with Zeus and (2) bore him offspring, in two-element sequence (886–923); the offspring of other divine unions, in the form “From *X* and *Y* was born *Z*” followed by elaboration (930–44); the marriages of gods, plus elaboration (945–55); and the section on the offspring of goddesses and men, which has an introduction (965–68), nine entries of the form “*X* lay with *Y* and gave birth to *Z*” followed by more or less elaboration, and a conclusion (1019–20).

⁴¹ The Nereid names, *Il.* 18.39–48. I have noticed long verb-less lists of personal names in the nominative at *Theog.* 243–62, 349–62, *Hymn to Demeter* 418–24; more briefly, *Od.* 22.241–43, Hes. fr. 10.2–3 M–W; in the accusative, long list at *Theog.* 338–45, and more briefly, *Il.* 5.677–78, 11.57–60, 12.193, 13.790–92, 16.415–17, 17.216–18, 21.209–10, and in a set pattern following “who first, who last did he (they) kill?” at 5.705–07, 8.274–76, 11.301–03, 16.694–96; also *Theog.* 134–36, 227–30. At *Theog.* 273–76 a short accusative list leads to a relative clause which has a short nominative list. At *Od.* 22.266–68 and 283–85 are lists of alternating nominative and accusative names (one man kills another), with which may be compared the more complex and elaborated structures at *Il.* 15.328–42 and 14.508–22. Beye’s “contracted

The essential regularity of all the Homeric catalogues discussed above can be emphasized by contrasting the catalogue of Greeks which starts at *Il.* 13.685.⁴² A list of five peoples (Boeotians, Ionians, Locrians, Phthians, Epeians) is followed by two verses (687–88) not of elaboration but of narrative content (“they could not hold back Hector”), as if the catalogue were to be confined to this name-list. Then comes, however, the first entry (no. 2 on the list), the Athenians/Ionians, who are left grammatically obscure at the C caesura whilst an enjambling sentence introduces their leader Menes-theus, who is “followed” (again with a pause at C caesura and enjambment) not as usual by his people but by three other leaders. At the C caesura again begins the second entry, the Epeians (691), with their leaders unconnected by any verb. Then a preposition brings in the Phthians and their leaders, who receive five verses of elaboration, four of them found again at *Il.* 15.333–36. A kind of concluding couplet (699–700) rounds off the Phthians and at last mentions the Boeotians, the first on the original listing. There is, however, no real end to the section, for the Locrians have still not been brought in, and instead the narrative continues with an account of the activities of their leader Ajax and an explanation that they were not in the forefront at all (712–21). There is no parallel for this oddness of introduction and conclusion of the section, its lack of regular repeated elements, and its constant use of breaks at the C caesura for structural divisions.

form” of Achilles’ *aristeia* at *Il.* 20.503 (“Battle narrative”, above, note 5, 365) is ingenious but sounds to me like an uneasy middle way between name-lists uninterrupted by verbs and the full version with separate sentences.

⁴² It has been much criticised by scholars, especially Page (above, note 2, 133). Fenik (*Battle Scenes*, above, note 1, 153) says “The introduction of a catalogue here is totally unmotivated and . . . occurs in a situation different from that of any other catalogue, long or short, in the rest of the *Iliad*.” The short catalogue of Trojans at *Il.* 12.88–104 is not so odd as this, but is less regular than that of the Myrmidons (see above) and the grouping of names and elaboration is ill-balanced. Two verses of the elaboration also occur in the *Il.* 2 Trojan catalogue (12.96–97 = 2.838–39) and there are other parallels in the Aeneas entries (12.98–100, cf. 2.819–23); here the weakness of γε in 12.99 without the preceding οὐκ οἶος (which is present in 2.822) makes it possible that this entry was abbreviated from the *Il.* 2 version, but the formulaic nature of all the phrases makes interdependence impossible to prove. ἄμα τῷ (τῇ) γε is preceded by οὐκ οἶος (-η, -ην) ten times in Homer, but there are several other examples where it is not (*Il.* 2.557, 817, *Od.* 10.208, 17.62 = 20.145).

III. CATALOGUE FORM AS A BASIS FOR NARRATIVE

A catalogue has been considered above as a series of "entries," which may be as short as a simple proper name or may consist of several elements in a standard order, each of which may be followed by elaboration. This kind of structure may be used not only as a more or less self-contained episode, but for essential narrative parts of the poem. If the number of elements is large and the number of "entries" fairly small, the result may be considered alternatively as a repeated type-scene, as in the case of the successive encounters of Agamemnon in the Epipoleis,⁴³ the successive awakenings of the Greek leaders at the beginning of the Doloneia,⁴⁴ and the successive contests of the funeral games of Patroclus.⁴⁵ The distinction, if one is needed, is that in normal repeated type-scenes (as for instance the successive launchings and dockings of the ship that bears Chryseis home in *Iliad* 1) similar elements are not repeated in close proximity.⁴⁶

The account of the heroines who appear to Odysseus in *Od.* 11.225–329 is still recognizably a catalogue, with a general introduction (225–34) and a series of nine "entries," each beginning with ἴδον (εἶδον) and the personal names followed by a relative clause.⁴⁷

⁴³ The five "entries" (*Il.* 4.231–421) are based on the structure: arrival of Agamemnon; the situation he finds; his reaction; his speech; the chief's response; and the feelings of Agamemnon as he departs. In Nestor's case the situation is expanded by his famous directions for chariot-fighting (303–09). Odysseus shares his "entry" with the Athenians, who could be removed from it (an Athenian insertion?) by the excision of 327–28 and 338 and the alteration of a few words in 329 and 339. The final "entry" has the variation that Sthenelus answers instead of Diomedes, is rebuked by the latter (411–18), and his words lead directly into the build-up for his *aristeia* in Book 5; Agamemnon's departure is omitted.

⁴⁴ The structure is: one hero finds the other; addresses him; he responds; and gets dressed, picking up a spear. The series begins with the curiously interwoven "entries" of Agamemnon and Menelaus, in which the latter awakes, dresses, and sets off *during* the dressing of Agamemnon; on the whole episode see Brigitte Helwig, *Raum und Zeit* (Hildesheim 1964) 132–34. In the Nestor "entry" there is (as usual) a lengthy conversation (73–136), but in the following "entry" his address to Odysseus is not given in direct speech. The last "entry" is limited to one verse (179).

⁴⁵ Each has the structure: setting-up of prize; speech of Achilles; coming-forward of the competitors; contest; award of prizes. In the last contest, in which Agamemnon is involved, the speech of Achilles is postponed until after the coming-forward of the competitors.

⁴⁶ See Arend (above, note 1) 79.

⁴⁷ The series begins with "Then first I saw *X*" (235), continues with forms of "After her I saw *X*" (260, 266, 305) and "And *X* I saw" (281, 298), and concludes (as

This elaboration extends to 23 verses in the case of the first entry, gradually diminishing in length as the series goes on. A concluding couplet, again with ἴδον, rounds off the episode (328–29). At the furthest limit of catalogue form, or perhaps beyond, may be placed the successive adventures of Odysseus in the Apologue, which are five times divided from each other by the refrain ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι ἦτορ.⁴⁸ In this case the narrative material, besides its large scale, is not formally an “elaboration” of the introductory “element” of each section.

The most superbly artistic development of the catalogue form must be the Teichoscopia, in which the listing of some of the Greek leaders is amplified into a scene of great psychological insight and emotional effect. The introduction is formed by Priam’s calling Helen to look at her former husband and friends (*Il.* 3.162–63), beautifully elaborated (as he sees her expression of pain) by his immediate kind remark that he does not hold *her* to blame for Troy’s sufferings (164–65). He then begins the series of repeated elements by questioning her about Agamemnon. Helen responds, prefacing her answer by words expressing her misery and regret for her past actions (171–80). Priam then comments on her answer, comparing the present situation with great occasions of the past. Then the second “entry” begins with Priam’s question about Odysseus (191–98); Helen answers with a short description of him; and this time the comment comes from Antenor, the famous comparison of the oratory of Odysseus and Menelaus. A third time Priam inquires, the speech-introduction (225) identical in shape with that of his previous question (191); Helen answers again, her words trailing off into her anxious and self-reproachful thoughts about her missing brothers; and the final comment this time comes in the voice of the poet himself, in the incomparable couplet which tells of their death far away and completes the picture of Helen’s isolation and loss (243–44).⁴⁹ Within the framework of three “entries,” each of three

elaboration diminishes) with “*X* and *Y* I saw, and [lovely] *Z*” (321, 326); a different form is used at 271 to emphasize “The *mother* of Oedipus I saw . . .”

⁴⁸ *Od.* 9.62, 105, 565, 10.77, 133. In three cases the following verse is also the same (9.63, 566, 10.134), but it is omitted after 9.105 and 10.77 because no men have been lost. It is not clear if the line is thought of as beginning or ending the episodes; it seems to look forward, but the conventional book-division between 9 and 10 is put *after* it. A similar refrain-like beginning for the entries is found in the account of the places visited by Apollo (*Hymn to Apollo* 229, 239, 277, cf. 281–82), which begins as little more than a bare list of names (216–20) and then adds increasing amounts of elaboration (8 verses for Onchestus, 31 for Telphousa).

⁴⁹ Well brought out by Adam Parry in *YCS* 20 (1966) 197–200 (= *Essays on the*

“elements,” which nominally “catalogues” the heroes attacking the city (cf. the scenes in Aeschylus’ *Septem* and Euripides’ *Phoenissae*), the poet has conveyed not only some interesting information about the Greek leaders but also the most startling characterization in the *Iliad*, that of the grief-stricken and lonely Helen. Confirmation of the repeated structure that underlies the composition can be seen at line 191, the new speech-introduction which separates Priam’s concluding speech in the first “entry” from his initial question in the second; it might indeed be argued that a modern novelist might perhaps place a break here (“He paused, wrapped in memories of the past; then rousing himself, his eyes fell on another conspicuous figure, and he turned to Helen again with a question; ‘. . .’”), but with Homer I think it more likely that the poet’s sense of his structural form is the reason for the new beginning for the next “entry.” It is in this kind of artistic adaptation of the traditional catalogue form that the hand of the individual poetic genius appears.

Iliad, ed. J. Wright [Bloomington 1978] 13–15). I have suggested that the three different forms of “Helen answered” used in this scene may be an intentional and untraditional effect of variety (*CP* 64 [1969] 81–87).

TABLE
Structure of the Greek and Trojan Catalogues
of *Iliad* 2.494–759, 816–77.

Entry	People	Starts at verse	Elements present							Number of men	Place in line
no.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1	Boeotians	494	x		x	x				x	
2	Orchomenians	511	x	x	x						
3	Phocians	517	x		x	x					x
4	Locrians	527	x		x	x					
5	Euboeans	536	x	x	x						
6	Athenians	546	x	x	x						
7	Salaminians	557							x		x
8	Argives	559	x	x	x						
9	Mycenaeans	569	x					x			
10	Lacedaemonians	581	x	x							x
11	Pyliaus	591	x	x	x						
12	Arcadians	603	x	x						x	
13	Epeians	615	x	x					x	x	
14	Dulichians	625	x	x	x						
15	Cephalenians	631	x	x	x		x				
16	Aetolians	638	x			x	x				
17	Cretans	645	x	x	x	x					
18	Rhodians	653	x						x		
19	Symeans	671							x		
20	Coans etc.	676	x	x	x						
21	Myrmidons	681	x					x			
22	Phylaceans	695	x	x	x						
23	Pheraeans	711	x					x			
24	Methoneans	716	x	x						x	
25	Oechalians	729	x	x	x						
26	Ormenians	734	x	x	x						
27	Lapithae	738	x	x	x						
28	Enienes	748	x						x		
29	Magnetans	756	x	x	x	x					
i	Trojans	816				x					
ii	Dardanians	819				x					
iii	"Aphneians"	824	x	x							
iv	Adrestians	828	x	x							
v	Percoteans	835	x	x							
vi	Pelasgi	840	x	x			x				
vii	Thracians	844				x					
viii	Cicones	846					x				
ix	Paeeoneans	848					x				
x	Paphlagonians	851	x				x				
–	[Caucones]	855a	[x]			[x]					
xi	Halizones	856				x					

TABLE
Structure of the Greek and Trojan Catalogues
of *Iliad* 2.494–759, 816–77.

Entry	People	Starts at verse	Elements present							Number of men	Place in line
no.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
xii	Mysians	858				x					
xiii	Phrygians	862					x				
xiv	Meiones	864				x					
xv	Carians	867	x	x			x				
xvi	Lycians	876					x				