THE ANONYMOUS CERTAMEN HOMERI ET HESIODI:
A POSSIBLE ANTECEDENT TO THE LITEPARY
AGON IN ARISTOPHANES' RANAE

A Thesis

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Three Devices of the Literary Agon</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Certamen: Date and Transmission of the Text</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Certamen</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The Literary Agon in the Ranae</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to institute a critical examination and comparison of the anonymous Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi and the literary agon in Aristophanes' Ranae.

Since an inquiry of this nature embraces such a potentially vast area of literary criticism, I have endeavored to limit myself severely to distinct parallels between the two works. To this end I have purposely avoided any discussion, save in passing reference, of the more vexed and indeterminate problems of Homeric scholarship such as the Homeric Question and the contemporaneousness of Homer and Hesiod.

The difficulties in the present investigation are many and obvious. The two works under consideration are the products of two entirely different and unique literary forms separated from each other by a considerable number of years and technical refinements. The Ranae is a conscious literary effort, the polished creation of Athens' most successful comic playwright; the Certamen is a patchwork of quotations and epic folklore of dubious authorship and even more dubious literary merit. Textual questions in the Aristophanic corpus,
while far from being settled incontrovertibly, have at least been stabilized and confined by scholia and external subsidia. 1

In contrast, the dispute over the text, manuscripts, and papyri of the Certamen has become so heated and self-consuming, particularly in recent years, that it has all but occluded any consideration of the composition as a work of literature.

Finally, although we are reasonably sure at what dates the Ranae was written and produced and are familiar, both through Aristophanes and other contemporary writers, with the critical social and political problems which beset Athens in the waning days of the Peloponnesian war, we have only the most tenuous evidence for establishing a date of composition for the Certamen in order to understand the social milieu of which it was a product.

In regard to the agon "proper" of the two works, the problem is only somewhat less muddied. In each case the agon is an entity within a larger literary piece in which it plays an ostensibly subordinate role. But in the Ranae this role is a major one and is the natural outcome of the earlier portions of the play. In the Certamen the agon is not inextricably bound up with the loose jumble of biographical information which follows and precedes it.

I should make it clear at the outset that short of a new and necessarily startling papyrus find neither this nor any other thesis can conclusively assert that Aristophanes pirated the Certamen for his
debate scenes in the Ranae. However, as the title implies, I would like to establish the basis of a conjecture that Aristophanes did borrow quite liberally from the basic format of the Certamen and perhaps went so far as to use, though in rather haphazard fashion, one particular element to resolve his own problems of plot and theme.

Despite the fact that the charge of plagiarism was not infrequently voiced among the ancients, it does not appear to have carried with it the same social opprobrium found in the term today. The Greeks in particular were evidently more interested in originality of style than in originality of material and general structure. It is worth noting that Alexandrian scholarship, which prided itself on its ability to detect imitations, spurious letters, and other forms of literary peculation, made a careful distinction between the conscious imitation of good, Attic models (μυησις) and outright theft (κλοπή). The intricate question of contaminatio in Plautus and Terence illustrates very clearly that wholesale borrowings from Greek authors had become a quite prevalent and acceptable practice in early Republican literature and was frowned upon only when multiple plagiarisms created a disjointed plot structure or were considered generally inappropriate.

To a similar extent the entire corpus of epic literature, particularly after the recension of Peisistratus in the latter half of the sixth century, seems to have lost any exemption from plunder at Athens. Single lines and whole passages were often appropriated, sometimes
without ascription, by the comic poets and the use of a humorously reworked passage of Homer or Hesiod was probably considered to be the mark of a man’s learning rather than an indication of a lack of originality.

Although Aristophanes was on at least one occasion the target of a plagiarism charge,⁴ there exists no ancient evidence that he modeled the agon in the Ranae after the Certamen. Consequently, to hypothesize a connection between the two works is, even under the most favorable circumstances, a purely speculative matter. In the chapters which follow I have heeded Socrates’ advice to those who would doubt the precariousness of debating with any certitude the words of dead poets,⁵ περὶ πράγματος διαλεγόμενοι ὃ ἄνυνατον ἐξελέγαν.

In the absence of any documentary proof of such a connection, there remain only two areas of consideration—possibility and probability. The former I will discuss in my first two chapters, beginning with an examination of the several genera which constitute the critical portions of each of the two works.

I consider certain ones of these literary genera quite unique in their lack of any specific origin. They seem rather to be the spontaneous products of a marriage between oral folk myth and written literature, frequently undergoing a process of continual change and development through the refinements of the latter until the individual genus becomes a canonical literary form in its own right.⁶ In some
instances those genera which appear to have undergone the greatest literary influence reach this stage bearing the least resemblance to literature. 7

This examination will serve two purposes. First, it will illustrate the mutual indebtedness of both works to their several cognate genera. Secondly, it will help to distinguish in what manner the works are uniquely similar to each other in their handling of these genera. It will entail not only a brief discussion of basic literary vehicles—the literary agon, the Rätsel or riddle, and the capping of lines—but also a consideration of the important "Heraufholung" and "Unterweltszenen" motifs. 8

Furthermore, in order to establish a basis of possibility for a conjecture of this sort, it is necessary to consider whether the agon in the Certamen antedates the composition of the Ranae. In other words, we must try to answer the following questions: was the Certamen available for Aristophanes' use 9 and, if it was, what was its form at that time? Consequently, I have devoted the second chapter of this paper to an examination of the manuscript tradition, papyri, dating, testimonia, and authorship.

In the remaining chapters I have attempted to get at the core of the question by investigating the basis of probability through an examination of the critical portions of each of the two works. This is in turn followed by a brief summary and conclusion.
Scholarly contributions to the study of the Certamen have been disappointing. Since the time of Allen, practically nothing in the English language has been published on the subject. Moreover, much of what has appeared in German both prior to and after Allen's work has concerned itself almost exclusively with textual problems or has attempted to use the Certamen as subsidiary evidence for the settling of the Homeric Question.

The basic works from which I have culled much of my preliminary material are those of Nietzsche, Rzach, Meyer, Busse, Allen, and Vogt. I have also used the redoubtable Wilamowitz in considering several points.10

No examination of this topic can be made without some acknowledgment of the very important investigations of Konrad Hess,11 whose work represents both the most recent and the most farsighted treatment of the Certamen.

Works of general reference were only moderately helpful in providing some background for the problem, but for this purpose Schmid and Pauly-Wissowa were the most useful.12 Lesky deals with the Certamen only in passing reference and H. J. Rose does not even mention it. Finally, I regret that several books and articles which might have shed some light on this thesis were inaccessible, chief among these being Rzach's Teubner edition of Hesiod.13
For the text of the *Certamen* itself I have consulted the editions of Allen, Wilamowitz, and Evelyn-White. All quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from Allen's Oxford edition which contains a somewhat larger apparatus than that of Wilamowitz. There are relatively few differences among the three texts, but where necessary I have called attention to a variant reading which could possibly affect an interpretation of interest to this paper.

I have used both Allen and Wilamowitz for the text of the Flinders Petrie Papyrus, but have again preferred to quote from Allen's version which follows Mahaffy's readings more closely and is considerably more conservative about conjectured readings where there are gaps in the papyrus. For the readings of the Michigan papyrus I have followed the *editio princeps* of Winter, though in at least one instance I have indicated a variant reading suggested by both Dodds and Kirk which incorporates an even earlier reading by Körte. Page's text of the Michigan papyrus in the appendices of Evelyn-White's Loeb edition follows closely that in Winter's original article.

For the text of the Hesiodic corpus I have used Paley and Wilamowitz, but have quoted Wilamowitz.

I have consulted the editions of Hall and Geldart, Radermacher, and Stanford for the text of the *Ranae*, but in all cases have quoted from Stanford. For the passage from Aristophanes' *Pax* I have used the excellent edition of Platnauer.
In quoting ancillary classical sources and testimonia I have generally followed readings in the Oxford or Teubner series, except in some few instances, so indicated, where it has been necessary to consult texts of a more specialized nature—e.g., the Suda, Apostolius, and Edmonds' edition of the comic fragments. Other sources will be listed under individual chapter headings or cited as they occur.
Notes: Introduction

1. For a discussion of these questions and a mention of the deficiencies in the Hall and Geldart text in the Oxford series, see K. J. Dover, "Greek Comedy," 96-129 in Platnauer's Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1954) and C. T. Murphy, "Survey of Recent Work on Aristophanes," CW 49 (1956) 201-211. Platnauer's edition of the Pax is reported to be the first in a series of individual Oxford texts similar to those published for Euripides.

2. On plagiarism in antiquity, see J. D. Denniston's article s.v. in the OCD; and, for a fuller treatment of the subject, cf. E. Stemplinger, Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur (1912).

3. For a thorough but bewildering definition of this term, see chap. vii in G. E. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy (Princeton University Press, 1952); much depends upon the interpretation of the verb contaminare--"spoil" or "blend"?

4. He recriminated in a similar vein; for a discussion of this and the relation between the Ranae and other plays of Old Comedy, see Denniston, loc. cit., and chap. iv, infra.


6. A good example of this is the Faust theme; it is, of course, very easy to say that Testamentary Good and Evil underlie the plot, but it still does not explain how or when the "barter" motif became incorporated within it.

7. E.g., the Alterratio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi; for a brief discussion of this and later forms of catechesis, see chap. i, infra.

8. My use of several such German literary terms in the sequel should not be ascribed to an infatuation for German classical scholarship, but rather to a grudging admiration for the compendiousness of its vocabulary; it is simpler to say "Heraufholung" in place of "a bringing-back-out-from-below".

9. Pax 1282 alone does not prove this; however, when used in conjunction with other evidence, it may help to answer the question. See chap. ii, infra.

Allen's "Lives of Homer," JHS 32 (1912) 250-260 and 33 (1913) 19-26, reflects that author's earlier views on the Certamen which were later incorporated within his book with very few changes; consequently, I have not cited it and a mention of "Allen" infra refers to the Origins and Transmission.


11 Konrad Hess, Der Agon zwischen Homer und Hesiod (Winterthur, 1960). Hess's work is a 66-page dissertation from the University of Zürich which I acquired unavoidably late in the progress of this paper; I have only skimmed much of what he has said about the Certamen in general, preferring to concentrate on that aspect in which I have discovered we hold a common but independently-arrived-at view: a connection between the Certamen and the Ranae. Hess has not made full use of all the available evidence in his treatment of this idea—understandably so, because it occupies a very small portion of a much larger and extremely well-developed discussion of the entire Certamen and its literary influence.

12 For the Certamen: W. Schmid, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur I. i. 253-254; E. Bethe, s.v., RE i. 867-869; W. F. J. Knight, s.v., OCD 23; Albin Lesky, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur (Bern, 1958). General references to the Ranae in RE and Schmid will be mentioned at the beginning of chap. iv.


Johannes Ehlers, De Graecorum Aenigmatis et Griphis (Prenzlau: Mieck, 1875).

J. P. Mahaffy, The Cunningham Memoirs of the Royal Irish Academy, No. 8 (Dublin, 1891).
H. Munding, Hesiods Erga in ihrem Verhältnis zur Ilias (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1959).

Konrad Ohlert, Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen (Berlin: Mayer-Müller, 1886).

Hubert Piron, Le Certamen, Oeuvre d'un Compilateur Postérieur à Hadrien (Thèse de Licence, University of Liège, 1940).

W. von Schadow, Legende von Homer, dem fahrenden Sänger, ein altgriechisches Volksbuch (Potsdam, 1950). Of this work there are three reviews, two of which are brief and unimportant: R. van Pottelbergh, "Schadow, Legende von Homer," L'Antiquité Classique 19 (1950) 440 and H. Dupret, Les Études Classiques 18 (1950) 509. The third would probably have been very helpful, but it was not available in the U. S.: F. Dornseiff, "Zu Schadow 'Legende von Homer'," Gnomon 20 (1944) 136ff.

Valentin Rose, Anecdot Graeca et Graec-Latina (Berlin: Dümmiers Verlag, 1864).

Alois Rzach, Hesiodi Carmina, editio maior (Leipzig: Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1902--a new Teubner edition is promised for an unannounced date).


CHAPTER I

THREE DEVICES OF THE LITERARY AGON

The critical portions of the two works under consideration in this paper are composed of three distinct literary devices: the riddle, verse "capping", and the question-and-answer dialogue. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss very briefly the principal characteristics of these devices and to note certain aspects of their development.

From one point of view this examination can be as hostile to the conclusions of this paper as I trust that it will be helpful. The recognition of the universality of each of these devices immediately obviates a comparison of our two works on the basis of any one of the constituent genera which would appear in both. On the other hand, a simultaneous and similar use of all three genera in each of the two works would distinguish them from all predecessors and at the same time provide a strong basis for comparing just the two works, particularly if the works in question were to employ these genera for the similar purpose of literary criticism.
The development of the agon itself as a vehicle of literary criticism is too broad a subject to be discussed here. There is little doubt that the ἀγών σοφίς had its origins in the ἀγώνες ἀθλητικοί and on subsequent occasions enjoyed equal rank with athletic contests at festivals and exhibitions.¹

We are familiar with mythological singing-matches—Linus and Apollo, Calchas and Mopsus, the Sirens and the Muses—which may antedate this historical origin and may, in fact, be only the reflection of the competitive spirit, ἀγώνισμος evident in many areas of Greek life.²

A third type of agon which can be called "literary", though often this must be understood as a very loose interpretation, is that which appears as a canonical part of Athenian Old Comedy.³ The various conjectures about its origins are too involved to permit their discussion here, but it is apparent from the extant plays of Old Comedy—and by this we actually mean from the plays of Aristophanes—that there were relatively few literary elements in the agon sections of Greek comedy, though at a later date some of the constituent devices of literary debate such as the riddle found their way into New Comedy and even into Roman drama.⁴ The most important exception, of course, is the agon of the Ranae.
Of more immediate interest are the three genera themselves. Although they do not appear simultaneously in a work of literary criticism (excluding the Ranae and the Certamen), it can be observed immediately that a combination of any two may frequently appear in works which are meant to provide a literary entertainment, though by no means a serious criticism. The riddle is the most popular of the three and also the most susceptible to change.  

Like many elements which originate among the folk, it is impossible to trace the origins of the riddle. Riddles are universal and quite old (Sampson's riddle to the Philistines in Judges 14:12-14). The popular riddle or Volksrätsel was probably superseded very early by the literary or Kunsträtsel, though certain interesting examples of the former, which I will mention below, still survive. Riddles are frequently the vehicles for misunderstood oracular advice in the Greek historians and it is this use of the riddle, to subserve the plot of a much larger formal literary work, which is best known. Less famous but of apparently more popular appeal are the large collections of riddles collected by self-styled aenigmatologists who made the art a science by their careful definitions of what constituted a riddle and what subjects best fitted their trade. An entire book of the Palatine Anthology (xiv) was given over to the listing of more than one hundred riddling oracles and arithmetical problems. It should be noted that the Certamen and the Melampodia contain one each of the latter type.
Riddles of late Greek literature and of the Byzantine period show a tendency towards brevity and succinctness of expression which naturally increased the difficulty of solution. The form became even more canonical under Symphosius in the fifth century A.D., and it was Symphosius who provided many of the examples for the classification of riddles which later were to appear in the Anglo-Saxon Exeter book of the eleventh century.  

A survival of an earlier form of Volksrätsel can be found in the present-day Schnaderhüpfer-Rhythmus which probably originated in a traditional dance but, following the nineteenth century, broke away from this tradition and became an epigrammatic monostrophic song. The Schnaderhüpfer is indigenous to the Alpine areas of southwestern Germany and is used in a number of forms today. One of these involves a contest between two people who not only pose riddles in verse, but extemporaneously answer in verse the riddles of their opponent, a combination of two of the elements named above.  

The second element, the capping of lines, is of course a device employed most notably in pastoral poetry and the handling of this device in Theocritus and Vergil needs no comment here. It is worth recalling, however, that in Vergil's third Eclogue the amoebean singing is concluded with two riddles, another example of the combination of two of the three basic elements. In Vergil the art of resolution of both meaning and meter is considerably more delicate than elsewhere,
including examples in the Certamen and the Ranae, because the theme can expand indefinitely or a new one can be brought in. There is, too, a much greater appearance of "extemporaneous" singing here than in earlier forms of the singing-match which employ the riddle and line capping.

Line capping, moreover, is closely connected with the third of our genera, the Frage-und-Antwortspiel, which probably comes from the dialogue of the classical sense, but begins in medias res and is composed of self-contained units of question and answer, frequently, though not always, of an ethical nature. This genus very quickly became popular in Christian literature, primarily because the easily-remembered form could be adapted for instructional purposes at a time when a large number of the uneducated were to be received into the Christian faith. This form of catechesis was not without its secular parallels, the altercationes, the most famous of which is the Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti. The work is anonymous and the MSS show some signs of addition and tampering. The dialogue purports to be a learned disputatio of seventy-three questions posed by the emperor to Epictetus. The questions are of a widely variant character and are brief: "Quid est Oceanus? Quid est Dies? Quid est Homo? Quid est Mors? Quare Venus Vulcano nupta est?" Parts of the disputatio resemble Hesiod's brief and cryptic ethical interrogation in the
Certamen. Of a similar nature is a work attributed to Juan Timoñeda in the sixteenth century, the Lazarillo, which poses a number of questions in catechetic form but of an obviously aenigmatic nature: "What is the distance from Heaven to Hell? What is better than a golden coach?"

A very early form of the catechesis is found in Plutarch, curiously enough in the same book of the Moralia which later sights a passage from the Certamen which is aenigmatic but not in the form of the Frage-und-Antwortspiel:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ti πρεσβύτατον;} & \quad \chiρόνος \\
\text{Ti μεγιστον;} & \quad κόσμος \\
\text{Ti κοινότατον;} & \quad \thetaάνατος \\
\text{Ti κάλλιστον;} & \quad ϕῶς
\end{align*}
\]

This is more the form of the brief "what-is-best" advice sought by Hesiod in earlier portions of the Certamen. On the other hand, Radermacher makes note of the similarity between the final advice scenes in the Ranae, the passage in the Certamen, and certain Tyrolian Märchen in which are regularly asked, "Was ist das Schönste, das Stärkste, das Reichste?"

I have tried to show above in greatly abbreviated form the universal and frequently interwoven nature of the three literary genera which appear in both the Certamen and the Ranae. Before a conclusion can be reached, it will be necessary to examine how these are used in the two works and how they are connected with the plot of each.
Notes: Chapter I


5 Schultz, "Rätsel," RE I A. i. 62-125, discusses the Certamen and the Rätsel at 96.

6 Herodotus i. 66 and many others.

7 Athenaeus x. 448-453, mentions Clearchus of Soli who specialized in riddle-books.

8 EGF 152 and chap. iv infra for comparable lines in the Certamen.

9 Symphysius also solved the "riddle of the lice" which stumped Homer. Cf. A. Taylor, The Literary Riddle Before 1600 (Berkeley, 1948) 52ff.; P. F. Baum, Anglo-Saxon Riddles of the Exeter Book (Durham, N. C., 1963). Baum arranges the riddles as they were in the A-S text, by subject. The book was donated, oddly enough, by a bishop, Leofric, to his cathedral library, without the removal of a small number of obscene riddles.

11 Theocritus, v, vi, viii (xxvii); Vergil, Ecl. iii, vii, viii.


F. W. A. Mullach, *FPhG* I. 518-521, provides the text for the *Altercatio*.


15 Radermacher, *op. cit.*, 337.
CHAPTER II

THE CERTAMEN:
DATE AND TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi is one of a collection of eight ancient lives of Homer which are all very probably derived from the same source.\(^1\) The lives vary greatly in length and in literary quality, but share much common ground both in the sources from which they derive their information and in the facts they relate about the life of Homer.\(^2\) With the exception of the pseudo-Herodotean life, the Certamen is the longest of the lives, possibly the most interesting, and certainly the most erudite.\(^3\)

As the title suggests, the Certamen centers about an account of a competition in hexameter poetry between Homer and Hesiod on the occasion of funeral games for Amphidamas, King of Chalcis,\(^4\) whose brother Paneides is among the other prominent Chalcidians judging the ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών. The competition or agon is preceded and followed by a considerable amount of information, much of it conflicting, about the life, birth, and death of each poet. It is evident, though certainly less so in the eristic portion of the account, that the work is a cento of
miscellaneous facts and details which became increasingly adorned as they gradually found their way into the final version. Lesky, who defines the type as a form of popular and national folk myth, compares its loose construction with that of the early compilations of Aesopica.\(^5\)

Schmid, in assigning a sixth-century date to the origin of what he terms a "Synkrisis-Legende", describes the construction as "eingeraht in das altvolkstümliche Motiv des Streitgesprächs und Weisheitstreffens".\(^6\) Allen considers the disjointed construction a result of the ὑπόμνημα from which information in the other lives had been drawn. It is generally agreed, however, that its style is less dependent and illogical than the style in which the other lives, in particular the pseudo-Herodotean life, are composed.

The oldest extant manuscript of the Certamen, a fourteenth-century Florentine codex (L = cod. bibl. Laurentianus, lvi.1) which also contains fragments of rhetoric from Menander of Laodicea (3rd cen. A.D.) and a collection of the Stratagems of the Macedonian rhetorician Polyaenus (ca. A.D. 162), was copied in the sixteenth century by Henricus Stephanus (S = cod. Leidensis).\(^7\) The first collation of the readings in MSS L and S was by Nietzsche in 1871.\(^8\) The title of the work given in L was περὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀγῶνος αὐτῶν.

The unnamed compiler of the Certamen inadvertently dates his composition by a curious reference to an oracle sought by the Emperor
Hadrian, 10 οπερ δὲ ἀκηκόαμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας περὶ Ὀμήρου, ἐκθησόμεθα. The reading ἀδιανοῦ in both L and S was corrected, presumably by Stephanus, who had made the error in the second MS, or by a later hand.

Despite Stephanus' penchant for making uncritical emendations in his readings, there is no reason to question his correction of ἀδιανοῦ, an apparently meaningless word, to Ἀδριανοῦ. 11 Wilamowitz, Lesky, and others agree that the compilation as it stands in the later manuscript was a creation of the Empire and accept A.D. 117 as a terminus a quo, though it is interesting to note that Wilamowitz is the only scholar to base his decision on general linguistic evidence as well as on the Hadrian citation. 12 More tenuous evidence for a relatively late date of compilation, though certainly not as late as the time of Hadrian, may be indicated in the several references to epic stichometry. 13 This might imply access to the πνεύματος of Callimachus at a date subsequent to the founding of the Alexandrian library.

Good evidence for a considerably earlier date for at least a portion of the Certamen is found in one of the Flinders Petrie papyri edited in 1891 by Mahaffy. 14 The papyrus, discovered at Gurob, Egypt, has been dated by Mahaffy and others to the third century B.C. In two incomplete columns it contains about 15 thirty-six lines which in a
slightly variant form narrate some of the central portions of the 
Certamen in MSS L and S, including two passages, though again in 
somewhat different wording, quoted by Plutarch and attributed to the 
Certamen. 16

Although several of the readings and conjectures by Allen differ 
from those of Wilamowitz, the versions of this papyrus in both editions 
still provide many words, sometimes whole lines, in common with our 
manuscript version of the Certamen. The strong parallels moved 
Mahaffy to comment that "the Contest was not an invention of Hadrian's 
age, but existed in much the same form four hundred years earlier". 17

In 1925 excavations carried out under the auspices of the 
University of Michigan at Karanis, Egypt, led to the discovery of a 
papyrus fragment which Winter, who published the editio princeps, 
described as being of the second or early third century A.D. 18 The 
writing, consisting of twenty-three lines in the final column of a papyrus 
roll, contains a somewhat reworded version of the last ten lines of the 
Certamen, but preserves almost exactly the riddle propounded to 
Homer by the young fishermen prior to his death. 19 In addition, the 
roll is terminated by the interesting subscription [‘ΑΛΚΙ]δάμαντος 
περὶ Ὀμήρου. Lines 15-25 which immediately precede this sub-
scription are entirely new, though in recounting in a much briefer form
the manner of Homer's death they retain the same peculiar reason
(πηλοῦ) for Homer's fatal stumble. 20

The Michigan papyrus has been the focal point of considerable
debate among papyrologists. While it is generally agreed that the
first fourteen lines of this papyrus resemble so closely the same pas-
sage in the Certamen that either direct interdependence or a common
source must be recognized, there is very little agreement about the
remainder of the roll and in particular the ascription to Alcidamas.

Körte, Page, Vogt, and Kirk have published their own versions
of the Michigan papyrus and have offered, along with their readings and
conjectures, many new suggestions, some of which differ considerably
from those of Winter. 21 In addition, Kirk argues very convincingly
that lines 1-14 are not the work of Alcidamas, but an interpolation from
a commentary which was the main source for the Certamen and the
other lives. He also concludes that the portion of the papyrus new to
the Certamen probably mentioned a contest between Homer and Hesiod
from which Alcidamas may have quoted, but that the account of this
contest existed before Alcidamas who was not responsible for the com-
piation of the graphic portions of it. 22

Both direct and oblique references to the Certamen, while pro-
viding relatively little information upon which either authorship or date
can be based, attest a widespread familiarity with the work throughout
antiquity. 23
It is reasonably certain that a passage in Lucian is of the latter variety. A somewhat more veiled allusion may be in a papyrus fragment of Corinna in which Mt. Helicon and Mt. Cithaeron are competitors in a musical contest.

Among the testimonia which give direct reference to the Certamen are two citations by Hesiod himself. In one Hesiod boasts that he gained the victory and carried off the prize, a handled tripod, to Mt. Helicon where he dedicated it to the Muses. Plutarch twice refers to the contest in his Moralia and attributes the story to Lesches of Mytilene, whom he quotes. Dio of Prusa (Chrysostomus), a sophist living in Rome in the reign of Domitian, cites the contest and quotes the inscription with which Hesiod dedicated the tripod at Mt. Helicon. The third-century rhetorician Flavius Philostratus mentions some of the biographical data of the Certamen and refers to Hesiod's victory. The Latin grammarian Aulus Gellius makes brief mention of the inscription on the tripod, but does not elaborate upon the contest. Themistius, the fourth-century philosopher, discusses the reasons for Hesiod's victory; Libanius, the sophist and teacher of St. Basil, alludes to the tripodic inscription in his discussion of Socrates' Apology. Pausanias says that the tripod was one of several which had been dedicated at Mt. Helicon. One of the latest references to the Certamen is found in the works attributed to Apostolius, a fifteenth-century collector of proverbs.
Quotations from the Certamen occur frequently in other ancient sources and often without attribution. Three passages appear in the Palatine Anthology without any mention of a source. The fifth-century anthologist Stobaeus cites a two-line maxim from the Certamen, and Johannes Tzetzes (12th cen. A.D.) quotes a line of the contest in his scholia on Lycophron. Four passages in variant form occur in the pseudo-Herodotean life.

One of the most curious and, in terms of this paper, most important instances of the use of an unattributed quotation is found in Aristophanes' Pax:

\[\omega\varsigma\ \eta\ \mu\epsilon\nu\ \delta\alpha\iota\iota\nu\nu\nu\tau\upsilon\ \beta\omicron\omega\nu\ \kappa\rho\epsilon\alpha\ and\ \kappa\alpha\iota\chi\epsilon\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \iota\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \varepsilon\iota\kappa\lambda\nu\nu\ \iota\delta\rho\omega\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\\epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\ \epsilon\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon\eta\epsilon\nu.\]

The occurrence of this passage naturally provokes the following questions: (1) What was Aristophanes' source for the lines—the Certamen itself or an older and more established piece of epic literature now lost, and (2) if the passage was taken from the Certamen, how did the version used by Aristophanes compare with the one we have today?

Allen asserts that the passage is not from the Certamen, but from some portion of early epic literature which would have become fairly canonical by the fifth century and consequently easily recognized by an Athenian audience familiar with Homer, Hesiod, and the Epic Cycle, but not with a late cento. Through an observation of Busse,
Allen adduces another reason why he feels the lines were taken from familiar epic poetry.

Busse cites as indecent two lines of a passage which occur in an earlier portion of the agon proper:  

\[ \text{oút' áro soi ge patήr émlēn kai pótria múttηr.} \]
\[ \text{σῶμα τό γ' ἐσπεῖραυτο διὰ χρυσήν Ἀφροδίτην.} \]

Allen develops Busse's suggestion further and argues that a work which might include these lines would be unlikely material for the ancient classroom and unsuitable for Athenian children to commit to memory. On the other hand, both Wilamowitz and Meyer presume that the agon in the _Certamen_ was current in fifth-century Athens and that Aristophanes was familiar with it.  

The weakness in Allen's argument is, of course, his assumption that a child's acquaintance with an innocent and instructive passage necessarily implies a schoolroom use of the entire work from which the passage was taken. One can easily suppose that "offensive" passages in standard works used in the classrooms of antiquity would be deleted in much the same way that similar passages were removed from many school editions of classical authors in the nineteenth century.  

A further reason for believing that Aristophanes borrowed his passage from the _Certamen_ is the observation that, with five exceptions, all of which are noted by the scholia as well-known passages, none of
the lines attributed to Homer and Hesiod in the Certamen are extant in the corpus of either poet. 43

In further support of his theory, Allen clearly assumes that Alcidamas, whom he accepts as a compiler only, is "later than Aristophanes".

There are two reasons for rejecting this statement as evidence for Allen's conjecture on Aristophanes' source. We have only a vague floruit for Alcidamas, but we do know from two sources that he was a pupil of Gorgias. 44 Dodds, in his edition of the Gorgias, discusses the evidence for dating the dramatic time of the dialogue and Gorgias' first and only visit to Athens. 45 On the basis of the esteem with which Gorgias was regarded, at least through the evidence of Plato's characters, we can assume that Gorgias was then at the zenith of his career and that Alcidamas could have been his pupil as early as 427 B.C. Aristophanes' Pax was produced at the City Dionysia in the spring of 421. 46 Since we have no evidence of how old Alcidamas was when he studied under Gorgias, we cannot preclude the very slight possibility that he was writing at this time. There is also the view stated by some authorities that the orator Aeschines was a pupil of Alcidamas, a consideration which would also tend to indicate a late fifth- rather than merely fourth-century floruit. 47

Secondly, even if we reject a version of the Certamen by Alcidamas prior to the production of the Pax--it is quite difficult to
reject any version by Alcidamas—we cannot overlook the possibility that the Certamen existed in the fifth century in a form compiled by one of Alcidamas' immediate predecessors, also of the Gorgianic school. Wilamowitz has even suggested that the version current in Athens in 421 might predate the fifth century.48

On the basis of what little we know about Alcidamas, there is strong reason to believe that he did make a compilation of the Homeric lives, even though it may have been after the production of the Pax in 421. First, we have three individual pieces of evidence which connect his name with the Certamen, one of which, the subscription to the Michigan papyrus, has been discussed above. The others, one a specific mention in the Certamen itself (240) and the second an attribution by Stobaeus following a passage in the Certamen (78-79), appear to confirm this.49 There is also much to be said for internal evidence of another sort. Kirk notes that the writing in the second half of the Michigan papyrus seems to be in accord with the tortuous style for which the orator was criticized by Aristotle.50 Though the Certamen as we have it in the MS is less pretentious in style, the evidence connecting the papyrus and the MS is difficult to refute. We can also assume that a conflation of this sort would involve far less of the individual compiler's own writing. On the other hand, both Edwards and Allen suggest that Alcidamas may have written a large portion of the Certamen as a rhetorical exercise.51 Allen's opinions are
particularly interesting; he considers that Alcidamas may have written
the work as a veiled criticism of post-Homeric epic writers who
specialized in the ambiguities which characterize the many parts of the
Certamen. He concludes that Alcidamas used the traditional contest
between the two poets as a vehicle to convey criticism on badly
composed epic verse.

On the other hand, Nietzsche sees in the "Improvisationsspiele"
of the Certamen a close connection with Alcidamas' branch of the
Gorgianic school which split from the followers of Isocrates on this very
point.\textsuperscript{52} Alcidamas had led the orthodox members of the group away
from the more deliberate prose of the Isocratean branch and had empha-
sized improvisation in oratory.

Who Alcidamas' more distant predecessors were is harder to
discern. Plutarch attributes a part of the Certamen to Lesches and
Allen shows some inclination to this view.\textsuperscript{53} Both Wilamowitz and Kirk
note that a similar poetical agon was supposed to have taken place
between Lesches and Arctinus of Miletus, the cyclic poet. The informa-
tion is provided by Clement of Alexandria.\textsuperscript{54} Of course the fact that
Lesches' debate provides almost too convenient a doublet of the
Certamen might be one reason for rejecting his authorship.

Regardless of authorship, a subject which will be discussed
later in the Conclusion, it is fairly safe to concur with Lesky and Hess
that the many constituent but scattered portions of the work were
composed prior to the sixth century, but were compiled in different versions at a later date. Hess, like Wilamowitz, feels that at least one of these versions had become established prior to 421 B.C.\textsuperscript{55}
Notes: Chapter II

1 Allen, op. cit., 11-41 discusses the lives in detail. The other seven are as follows: the pseudo-Herodotus, Plutarch (divided into parts I and II in Allen's O.C.T. edition), Proclus (in the Chrestomathia), three anonymous lives numbered IV, V, and VI, and the life in the Suda. The numbering of the lives in Allen differs from that of Wilamowitz, except for the anonymous lives which are listed according to Westermann in both editions. Allen and G. S. Kirk in CQ 44 (1950) 149-167 agree that all the lives are different versions of the same source and that VI is the best representative of this source. Both Allen and Kirk illustrate the stemmata. Wilamowitz' edition contains the Hesiodic lives.

2 Cert. 337-338 (Homer's epitaph) = Plut. 73-74, IV. 24-25, V. 51-52, VI. 63-64, the Suda 54-55, ps.-Herod. 515-516.

Cert. 265-270 (Midas' epitaph) = ps.-Herod. 135-140.

Cert. 326 (the question of the Fischerrätsel) = Procl. 100, IV. 20, V. 40.

Cert. 328 (the answer of the Fischerrätzel) = Procl. 100, Plut. 67, IV. 22, V. 42, VI. 61, the Suda 206, ps.-Herod. 499.

Both Kirk and Allen summarize the biographical facts of all the lives in tabular form with a side-by-side comparison.

3 The pseudo-Herodotean life is long and diffuse. Allen notes that the dialect is late literary Ionic. He dates the life in the Antonine period.

4 Plutarch Sept. Sap. Conv. 153f., says that Amphidamas was killed while fighting with the Eretrians over possession of the Lelantine plain. For Amphidamas cf. Hiller v. Caertringen, RE s.v. Nr. 7, I. Hess conjectures that the circumstances of his brother's death may have affected Pandeides' decision—an important point which I consider in the Conclusion.

6 Schmid, op. cit., 254. Lesky, op. cit., 88 also refers to it as a "Synkrasis".

7 Allen, op. cit., 20; Nietzsche, op. cit., 28, 237-249, discusses the entire textual tradition. Nine hypotheses of Demosthenes' speeches were found in the same MS—cf. Schöll, Hermes, 3 (1869) 274-275.

8 Acta Societatis Philologae Lipsiensis (1871) 1ff.—not available at this writing.

9 This is the title given in L and S, which as Busse indicates (op. cit., 106) describes the contents and is probably not the original title of the MS from which L was copied. Nietzsche (op. cit., 239) shows that it was Stephanus' abbreviation of this title into Θυμήρου καὶ Ἡμιοδοῦν αὐτῷ or Homer et Hesiodi Certamen from which we derive the present form. Schöll, in Hermes 7 (1873) 232, mentions a third MS (E) in a 1573 edition of Stephanus in which the last four words are written in minuscule letters. This is probably an error and not an attempt to suggest the original title. Nietzsche also shows that Stephanus divided the Certamen into chapters with an appropriate title over each.

10 Cert. 32-33.

11 Hall, A Companion to Classical Texts (Oxford, 1913), remarks upon the infelicities of Stephanus' scholarship and quotes Scaliger who described him as a person who 'quidquid dissipet immutat et corruptit'. Stephanus' emendations and general treatment of the MSS is discussed in Schöll, Nietzsche, and Busse, ibid.


13 Cert. 256 (Thebais), 258 (Epigoni), 275-276 (II., Od.). Allen in O.C.T., p. 186, "Satis autem doctus fuit qui tot auctores citaverit atque potissimum Callimachi tabulas in loco celeberrimo adierit".


15 Allen and Wilamowitz number the verses differently; Allen divides the text into two columns and a total of 48 lines.

16 Plutarch Sept. Sap. Conv. = Cert. 97-101. The speakers are reversed in Plutarch's version and there are some different letters and words. In both these points the papyrus agrees more closely with our MSS than does Plutarch. Allen does not conjecturally supply as many words as Wilamowitz, but leaves blank spaces, an indication, I assume, that words from the MS which are expected to fit in these spots will not fit the gaps.

17 Mahaffy, quoted from Winter, _op. cit._, 122.

18 Winter, _op. cit._, 120-128. Written on the verso of an account or bill. There appear to be a number of grammatical errors and the writing is careless. Cf. Page in the Loeb edition, 625-627. Vogt again prints this papyrus next to the text of the Certamen, _op. cit._, 208. There is a brief description in Pack, _loc. cit._. Cf. Barber, _loc. cit._, and W. M. Edwards, New Chapters, Ser. ii, 118. Körte, _Archiv für Papyrforschung_ 8 (1927) 261-264, has a different version upon which Kirk bases some of his arguments.

19 Kirk, _op. cit._, 157-159, notes an interesting point. The Fischerrätsel (Cert. 326-328; in other authors, see n. 2 supra) occurs in Heraclitus (fr. 56 Diels, cited by Hippolytus, _Refutatio_ 9, 9. 6) in a prose version which ridicules Homer's stupidity in not answering the riddle. There is no account here of his subsequent accidental death. Kirk, basing his opinions on the archaic style and the abuse of Homer, believes that the fragment is genuine and not a late invention in Heraclitus. This could possibly be evidence that at least part of the Certamen existed in some form in the late sixth century. The interlocutors of Homer here are boys, not fishermen or fisherboys or, as in one reading of the MS, hunters (cf. n. 39, chap. iii, _infra_). The latter is probably an emendation by some sceptic who did not believe that lice inhabited seashores. Wilamowitz suggests that the scene may actually be in the Arcadian hill country instead of at Ios.

20 Cert. 334. The last section of the papyrus, which Kirk believes to be a late addition, is a brief encomium of Homer and an injunction to pass on his works ἄφικσι τὰ ἱστορίας μνήμης an interesting early reference to the oral tradition.
21 An important instance in line 20:

Page reads ἀποδίδο[ν τες το γε]νος αὐτοῦ
Winter reads ἀποδίδῳ[μεν αγ]ὼν αὐτοῦ

Kirk agrees with Winter that the reading is logical, but contingent on the presupposition that Alcidamas wrote a Certamen. Körte, Page, and Kirk observe that Winter’s reading requires an article to make sense (in the context of the remainder of the whole sentence). A third suggestion by Dodds, CQ 46 (1952) 187-188, follows Page but reads the participle as a singular, attributing the piece to one man, again suggesting a connection with the single name in the subscription. It should be noted, however, that all but Winter are reading from photographs.

22 Kirk, op. cit., 153, cites an underlying lack of continuity between the first and second portion and doubts the genuineness of the first because of a frequency of hiatus which Alcidamas was supposed to have avoided and because the language is late Greek (e.g., vocabulary: Polybius, Diodorus, Philodemus) and not fifth-century. He agrees with Winter that the rest may be by Alcidamas or someone quoting from him. The subscription, according to Winter, is certain.

23 Wilamowitz, op. cit., 396, cautions, "Wo die Geschichte im Altertum berührt wird, hat man kein Recht, die Benutzung unserer Kompilation anzunehmen."

24 Lucian, Vera Historia ii. 22. 11, mentions a contest between Homer and Hesiod which Hesiod again wins despite Homer’s popularity among the dead.

25 Corinna, fr. 47 Diehl. It is difficult to date this work despite the fourth-century Boeotian spelling, and Corinna’s date is uncertain. Helicon is defeated and falls over its own precipice. Perhaps this alludes to a struggle between the two schools of Boeotian poetry.

26 Hesiod fr. 265, a scholium on Pindar Nem. ii. 1; Erga 650-658.


28 Dio Prus. Or. ii. 11.

29 Philostr. Heroic. xviii. 2.
30 A. Gellius iii. 2. 3.

31 Themistius Or. xxx. 348 c.

32 Libanius Apologia Socratis (Declamatio ii) 65.

33 Pausanias ix. 31. 3, 38. 4.

34 Apostolius, Centuria xiv. 11 in E. L. Leutsch, Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum II (1958) 606.


36 Cert. 78-79 = Tzetzes Lyc. f. 3. 21-23, Stob. Floril. cxx. 3. This is an extremely well-worn commonplace. Cf. Theognis 425-478, Bacchylides v. 160, Sophocles O. C. 1224-1227, Euripides fr. 285, Alexis fr. 141. 14, Cicero Tusc. I. 48. 115, H. W. Smyth, Greek Melic Poets (1899) 409, thinks the passage is original with the Certamen. For the purposes of this paper it would be very convenient to concur with Smyth, but I regret that I cannot. This passage, like certain genera, contains the nucleus of an idea too obvious and too spontaneous of expression to be termed "original" with any poet. Cf. text in chap. iii.

37 One of these passages, Cert. 265-270, is the presumptuous epitaph of Midas attributed by Simonides (fr. 57) to Cleobulus, the tyrant of Lindos. Even if Simonides wrongly attributes it, his own knowledge of it is interesting in terms of dating the Certamen. Cf. text in chap. iii.

38 Aristophanes Pax 1282-1283, Certamen 107-108. Cf. text in chap. iii. The wording in the first line differs. Trygacus is asking Lamachus' militant son to sing of anything but war and suggests the first line, finishing it with an allusion to civilian life. Lamachus' boy then recites the whole passage, bringing in the military aspect. Commentaries are unenlightening: Blaydes' edition notes, "utrum ex aliquo poemate epico sint petiti an ab Aristophane ad normam poeseos Homericae compositi non apparat". Platnauer notes the similarity but says no more than, "These lines are borrowed from the Certamen Homerit et Hesioidi." Scholia in Döbner discuss changing the first word in 1283 to fit an iambic trimeter acatalectic since the MS inserts half the line.
39 Allen, _op. cit._, 23.

40 _Cert._ 115-116. I can't quite see Busse's point (_op. cit._, 116) that these lines represent an "Unkeuschheit".

41 Wilamowitz, _loc. cit._, 405, "Wie alt das Volksbuch, der Agon, ist, kann man nach seiner Bezeugung durch Aristophanes nur so weit schätzen, dass wir noch in das sechste Jahrhundert gehen müssen." Cf. E. Meyer, _Hermes_ 27 (1892) 378.

42 E.g., W. W. Merry's editions of Aristophanes.

43 _Od._ ix. 6-11 = _Cert._ 84-89; _Il._ ii. 559-568 = _Cert._ 289-299; _Il._ xiii. 128-133 and 339-344 = _Cert._ 191-204.


44 Just how vague a set of dates we have is indicated by Blass, _Die Attische Beredsamkeit_ (Leipzig, 1892), who says, "Von den Lebensumständen dieses Mannes sind wir nur sehr dürftig unterrichtet", (343). Cf. the _Suda_ s.v., and Athen. xiii. 592 c. Alcidamas was the son of Diocles, a writer of music in Elea of Aeolis. Three works, all lost, are attributed to him, one of which is considered spurious. The most important of these works was the _Mousetou_ which was supposed to have contained the _Certamen_.

Cf. Solmsen, _Hermes_ 67 (1932) 133-144, for a discussion of the extant fragments of Alcidamas.


46 Platnauer, _op. cit._, ix, xv.

47 Blass rejects, as does Brzoska (_RE_, s.v., i, 1533-1539), the report that Aeschines was A.'s pupil. Brzoska says the assumption rests on an arbitrary inference of similarity in style and the extemporaneous technique.

48 Wilamowitz, _loc. cit._, 405 (see n. 41 _supra_).

49 _Cert._ 240: ὃς φησίν Ἀλκιδάμας ἐν Μουσείῳ
_Stob._ _Floril._ cxx. 3.: ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλκιδάματος μουσεῖου

Allen notes, however, in his apparatus that there are variants for both these readings in the MSS.
Aristotle Rhet. 1406a. Aristotle accused Alcidas of being redundant and obscure.

Edwards, op. cit., 118; Allen, op. cit., 24-25.

Nietzsche, op. cit., 220, makes an interesting conjecture in regard to Alcidas' motives for using the Certamen: "... es ist jener Wettkampf das grosse Einleitungsstück im Lehrbuch des Alcidas, in dem, durch das berühmteste mythische Exempel, das Wesen der Gorgianischen Beredsamkeit als uralt dargestellt werden sollte. Der grösste und weiseste Dichter, Homer, wird als Zeuge und Repräsentant jener Künst des Extemporirens ... ."


Very little is known about Lesches of Mitylene. The Ilias Parva is attributed to him. Allen, op. cit., 27, regards Lesches as the ultimate author of the Certamen: "Lesches, one and indivisible, could only write verse. Prosé was not in his day. He therefore narrated the contest between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis in a poem from which Plutarch quoted in the first century after Christ, and out of which Alcidas, centuries before, composed ... . It seems, then, safe to say that the tradition of the rivalry between the Homeric and Hesiodic schools can be traced to a Lesbian cyclic poet of the eighth century. A poem also appeared to be the source of the Herodotean life. The Lesbian poem contained a contest in amoebean verse: it was probably only an episode in the poetical life of Homer. In the fourth century Alcidas, whose interest was in style, expanded the incident into a rhetorical exercise conveying criticism on the post-Homeric epopeei. That he repeated Lesches' couplets cannot be proved, but it seems not improbable."

Allen thinks that Lesches also employed the work as a criticism of his predecessors in the epic cycle on the basis of their stylistic ambiguities.

Clement Al. Strom. 1. 131. 6.

Hess, op. cit., 66, "Übernommen hat unser Sophist erstens die Frage- und-Antwort-Spiele des Wettkampfs selber, die, als Wettkampf irgendwelcher Rhapsoden, im wesentlichen schon vor 421 fixiert waren, zweitens die aus bedeutend älterer Zeit stammenden, zum Teil von dem Rhapsoden ausgestalteten legendären Biographien Homers und Hesiods."
CHAPTER III

THE CERTAMEN

Bethe has noted that the *Certamen* falls into four distinct parts:¹

Eine Zusammenstellung über die Abkunft der beiden Dichter und dem Anfang einer Homervita, die Schilderung ihres Wettkampfes, die Erzählung vom Lebensende des Hesiod ... der Schluss einer Homervita.

The "Abkunft" which begins the work is both the most confusing and the least interesting of these parts. It is keynoted by the statement ὁμηροῦ καὶ Ἡσιοδοῦ τοὺς ἑλεστάτους ποιήτας πάντες ἄνθρωποι πολιτάς ἰδίους εὖχονται λέγεσθαι and continues with a compendium of conflicting evidence for the birthplace, parentage, and age of each poet. The place of birth for Hesiod is easily enough settled by the poet's own statement (*Erga* 639–640), after which various claims for Homer's origin are advanced, including those of Smyrna, Chios, and Colophon. As has been noted previously, a great deal of this information is also to be found in the other lives; thus, here there is some rewording of what must have been taken as the canonical facts of Homer's life, along with a few startling and amusing additions such as

39
the Colophonian claim to be able to show to tourists the schoolhouse in which Homer began the *Margites* (17). The two versions of the origin of Homer's name are also related with a faint hint of Herodotean scepticism.\(^2\)

The detailed outline of the several views on Homer's parentage does indeed read like a "Volksbuch", a term which Wilamowitz applies frequently and aptly to the biographical data. Almost all the names of both his supposed father and mother are "significant".\(^3\) He is variously the offspring of a river (Meles),\(^4\) a muse (Calliope),\(^5\) and a mortal woman for whom four names (Metis, Cretheis, Themista, and Eugnetho)\(^6\) are provided. Interspersed among the less well-known facts of his birth is the familiar claim that he was an Ithacan descended from Telemachus (23). This is, in fact, the word of the oracle sought by the Emperor Hadrian at Delphi, which our compiler accepts on implicit faith διὰ τέ τὸν πυθημένον καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον\(^7\) and because Homer had glorified his grandfather, Odysseus. Our compiler quotes sources common to the other lives--Hellanicus, Callicles, Eugaion, Cleanthes, and Democritus of Troezen--but not infrequently punctuates his information with a rather more vague ἔννοια λέγοντιν. The biographer attempts by the use of a lengthy and complicated genealogy to prove a familial relationship between the two poets (44), then introduces a convenient but important "Entschuldigung" for their
contest, a spurious claim of contemporaneity, τινὲς δὲ συνακ-
μάσαι φασίν αὐτοῦς, 8 and adds the statement that they met in
Boeotian Aulis at the funeral games for Amphidamas (55). 9

The reason for Homer's presence in the immediate neighborhood
of the funeral is explained by a typically oblique Delphic prophecy which
Homer failed to understand and which subsequently led to his death: 10

ἔστιν "Ἰος νήσος μητρὸς πατρίς, ἡ σε θαυματὰ
dέξεται: ἄλλα νέων παιδῶν αἰτήγμα φύλαξαι.

Prominent among the judges is Paneides, the brother of the
deceased king, whose name may easily be interpreted as an instance of
qui nomen ab re habet, particularly if we examine the MS evidence and
the reading by Philostratus 11 and then consider the final outcome of the
agon, 12 which is anticipated by νικήσαι φασι τὸν Ἡσιόδον τὸν
τρόπον τοῦτον. 13 The agon proper then begins with Hesiod asking
in a manner which combines both a brief form of the " Frage-und-
Antwort" and an expanded form of catechesis (75ff.):

νυὲ μέλητος "Ομηρε θεῶν ἀπὸ μῆδα εἶδος
εἰπ' ἄγε μοι πάμπρωτα τῇ φέρτατόν ἐστι βροτοῖς;

Homer replies: 14

ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φθύσαι ἐπιχειροῦσοιν ἀριστοῦν,
φύτα δ' ὀμῶς ὑκίστα πῦλας Ἄιδαο περὶσσαί.

Hesiod again asks:
to which Homer again answers: 15

The very nature of the contest predicates an assumption that both here and later the words of each poet are going to be in the form of "Improvisationsspiel" of the familiar pastoral amoebaean singing match. This assumption is corroborated by the absence of extant Homeric and Hesiodic lines, with some few notable exceptions, one of which occurs supra. The only alternative to the unhappy conclusion that Homer (or the biographer) was violating the rules of an extemporaneous match is a suggestion made by Allen and others that all the lines are from parts of the epic corpus now lost. On the other hand, the whole problem of the niceties of sportsmanship and fair play may be deliberately avoided by our biographer's statement subsequent to this exchange in which he says that the verses recited by Homer were so admired by the audience that they were called "golden" and were from that day on recited at public sacrifices and libation-offerings. 16
Hesiod, however, becomes annoyed with the ease with which his adversary answers his questions and propounds the following riddle:\textsuperscript{17}

\[\text{Μοῦσα ὁγε μοι τά τ’ ἐδύτα τά τ’ ἐσοφεμένα πρὸ τ’ ἐδύτα τῶν μὲν μηδὲν ἤειδε. οὐ δ’ ἄλλῃς μνήσαι ἀοιδῆς.}\]

which Homer caps with:

\[\text{οὐδὲ ποτ’ ἀμφὶ Δίδος τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι ἀρματα συντρίψονσιν ἐρίζουτες περὶ νίκης.}\]

It should be noted that this exchange involves both the capping or finishing of a verse and the answering of a riddle. The capping in this case, however, is not, unlike verses which follow, necessary to complete the meaning of the question, but only the interpretation of the expected answer.

At this point Hesiod recites some ἀμφιδολοι γνώμαι or statements of doubtful meaning which require that Homer ἦλθον καθ’ ἐνα ἔκαστον συμφώνως ἀποκρίνασθαι.\textsuperscript{18} The instructions which immediately follow the challenge and precede the passages explain the order of the speaker and may very well be, as Kirk points out, a gloss,\textsuperscript{19} ἐστὶν οὖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Ἡσιόδου, ὁ δὲ ἐξῆς Ὀμῆρου.

\[\text{ἐκπυμνοῦ ἐπειθ’ εἰλοντο βοῶν κρέα καὐχένας ἵππων ἐκλυνοὺ ἱθρώνταις, ἐπεὶ πολέμου κορέοθην.}\]

καὶ θρύγες, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ νυσσὶν ἀριστοὶ ἄνδρας ληστήρων ἐπὶ ἁκτῆς δόρποι ἐλέασθαι. 110

\[\text{‘Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέλυσεν ἄπ’ ἂννω καμπύλα τόξα χεροῖ βαλὼν λοίσιν ὅλων κατὰ φύλα γιγάντων.}\]
οὐτός ἄνηρ ἀνδρός τ' ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀναληκτὸς ἐστι μητρὸς, ἐπεὶ πόλεμος χαλέπδος πάσης θυσίας γυναιξίν

οὐτ' ἄρ σοι γε πατὴρ ἐμίγη καὶ πότυμα μήτηρ· ὁμα τὸ γ' ἐσπελαυτο διὰ χρυσῆν Ἄφροδίτην.

αὐτὸς ἔπει διήθη γὰρ ἠρτέμις ἵοχείρα Καλλιστῆς κατέπεφεν ἀπ' ἄργυροι βιότο.

ὡς οἱ μὲν δαμηνοτο πανθηροῖς, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες οἰκοθεν, ἀλλὰ παρεῖχεν ἄναξ ἄνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.

δείπνου δείπνησασθες ἐνι σποῆς αἰθαλοσση σύλλεγον ὡστάλη λευκά δίδως κατατεθυμότος παιδὸς ἄπερθυμϊν δαρπηδόνος αὐτιδεῖοι.

ἡμεῖς δ' ἄν πεδίου συμβύω καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῶς ἰσομέν ἐκ νησίν ὅδιν ἀμφ' ἑσοίμην ἔχοντες φόρμανα κυνήγευτα καὶ ἀλανέας δολίχαλος.

ὃς τότ' ἀριστής κυψήλη περισσυὶς τῆλάσσης ἀσμονοὶ ἑσυμένεις τε ἀπερίμαν ὡσιδοι οἰμαν.

Κολχῖς ἔπεισ' ἵκοντο καὶ Ἀιήτην βασιλῆα φεύγουν, ἔπει γίγνωσκοι ἀνέστησιν ἢδ' ἀθελίστου.

αὐτὁς ἔπει σημείαν τε καὶ ἔκπιον οἶδας τῆλάσσης ποτοπορεῖν ἡμεῖλλον ἐνοσέλιμων ἐπὶ νησίν.

τοῦτον δ' Ἀρτέμιδος μεγάλ' εὐχετῷ πάσην ὀλέσθαι μηδὲ ποτ' ἐν πόντῳ, καὶ φωνῆσας ἐποὺς ἢδα.

ἐσθητ' ὦ ἐξειρονέ, καὶ πίνειτε· μηδὲ τὸς δῆμον οἰκαδε νοσθήσεις φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν πημανθέμες, ἀλλ' αὐτίς ἀπημονεῖς οἰκαδ' ἱκοΰσθε.

Again, it is difficult to say whether the lines spoken by each are supposed to be from the established works of each poet or whether they are extemporaneous passages. What is important to note, however, is that each bewildering passage spoken by Hesiod is resolved by the succeeding lines interjected by Homer and that in addition to clearing up
the ambiguity caused in the first part by a delayed predicate, the lines spoken by Homer also conform in terms of meter. It is also interesting to observe the paradox of the content of each poet's lines; Hesiod's questions appear to be quite unconnected with any aspect of agriculture or rural life, but in almost every case they evoke an appropriately martial reply by Homer and in at least two instances the questions themselves contain obvious allusions to military affairs. In Hesiod's questions we would expect to find just the opposite. This exchange seems to be particularly absurd when we consider the motives for Paneides' selection of a victor.

Hesiod then propounds what appears to be a simple question (140ff.):

τοῦτο τι δὴ μοι μονὴν ἔρισμένας θυσίας καταλέξων,
πόσοι οὖν ἀμφατοὶ Ἀτρείδηςιν ἐς Ἰλίον ἔλθων Ἀχαιοί;

But Homer answers διὰ λογισμὸς προθεμάτωσι:

πειρήκοις ἠστον πυρὸς ἐσχάρας, ἐν δὲ ἐκάστῃ
πειρήκοις ὅρελοι, περὶ δὲ κράα πειρήκοις
τρίς δὲ τρικόσιοι περὶ ἐν κράας ἠστον Ἀχαιοί.

This entire exchange has, of course, a very strong parallel in the debate between the seers Calchas and Mopsus in which Mopsus correctly determines the number of figs in a wild fig-tree. 21

Our biographer's commentary on Homer's solution is marked by his scepticism, τοῦτο δὲ εὑρίσκεται πλῆθος ἀπιστοῦ at the number of men who sailed on the Trojan expeditionary force. 22
Jealous at the rapidity with which Homer answers, Hesiod then interrogates him on certain ethical subjects. Here the manner of questioning changes from an eristic "Frage-und-Antwort" to an almost deliberate catechism which is weighty with maxims but devoid of literary merit, similar to the formal catechesis found in alterationes mentioned supra. It is, in fact, this characteristic which makes Wilamowitz doubt their genuineness and regard them as a late accretion.  

υλε μέλητος ὁμηρὸς εἰ περ τιμωσί ςε ουνοι, ὡς λόγος, ψυχιστοι δίδαμεν μέγαλοι δύνατες, λέξιν μέσρον ἐταμίμως ο τι δή θυστικοὶ καλλιστόν τε καὶ ἐχθηστοι ποθέω γὰρ ακούσαι.

'Ἡσιὸδ' ἔγγυος Δίου ἔκτυμα με ταῦτα κελευεῖς εἴπειν· αὐτὰρ ἔγινό μάλις τοι πρὸφρων ἁγορεύον. καλλιστόν μὲν τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἔσται μέστρον εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῷ, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἐχθηστοί ἀπάντων. ἀλλά δὲ πάντ᾽ ὅ τι οὕθ' θυμῷ φίλον ἔστιν ἔρωτα.

πῶς ἄν ἀριστ᾽ οἰκοντο πόλεις καὶ ἐν ἡθεὶ πολεις; εἰ μὴ κερδάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐθέλοιευ, οἱ δ' ἁγαθὸν τιμώτω, δικη δ' ἀδικοίσιν ἐπείη.

ἐφήσεθαι δὲ θεοὶς ὅ τι πάντων ἔστιν ἀμείνου; εὔνοον εἰναι ἑαυτῷ [ἀεὶ] χρόνου ἐς τῶν ἀπαντά. 165

ἐν δ᾽ ἐλαχίστῳ ἀριστον ἐχεῖς ὅ τι ψεται εἴπειν; ως μὲν ἐμὴ γνώμη φρένες ἐσθλαί σώμασιν ἄνδρῶν.

ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἀνδρεία δυναται τί; κοινὰς ὀφελείς ιδίοις μόχθοις πορίζειν.

τῆς ὀφεις δὲ τι τέκμαρ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώποις πέφυκεν; 170 γιγνώσκειν τα παρόντα δρέως, καίρῳ δ' ἀμ' ἐπεσθαί.

πιστεύσαι δὲ βροτοῖς πολεί τρεῖς άξιον ἔστιν; οἷς αὐτὸς ἱσόδοὺς ἐπὶ πραθεστοίν ἐπηται.
After Homer has successfully matched Hesiod, the assembled Greeks urge that Homer be declared the winner. But the judge Panaides steps in at this point and tells each of them τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποιήματων εἶπεῖν.24 Hesiod begins and recites a portion of the Εργα 25 which deals with the determination of ploughing and harvesting days by the rising and setting of the Pleiades. Then Homer narrates a characteristically martial scene from the Ἰλιάδα in which the two Ajaxes, leading the Greeks, close in battle with the Trojans.26

Our biographer has selected the respective passages with some care. Each best represents its author in subject and in vocabulary, and for the first time in the whole agon the competitors are striving not to match each other in a game of literary "oneupmanship" but to offer in contention on an equal but different footing the merits of their respective poetic art. To the audience the decision is again a unanimous approval of Homer and a demand that he be crowned the victor. Then Panides does a strange thing. Despite the fact that Homer has won the popular vote and has also captured all the earlier "heats" of the contest, he awards the crown to Hesiod, saying that27 δεκαλιον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ γεωργίαν καὶ εἰρήνην προκαλούμενον νικάν, οὐ τὸν πολέμους καὶ οφαγὸς διέξιόντα.
In other words, Paneides has based his decision on a moral precept which, no matter how commendable for its intrinsic merit, is completely irrelevant to the avowed purpose of the contest and irreconcilable with both the prowess Homer has shown in earlier stages of the agon and the final popular acclaim after the recital of the "finest passages" of each poet.

This discrepancy quickly became proverbial and was succinctly stated by Apostolius 28 who coined the term Παυλίδου ψήφος and said of it ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαθῶς ψηφιζομένων· ο νάρ Παυλίδης Χαλκίδης τῆς ἐπ. Ἐν Ριπι δασιλεῖς δὲν Ἰονίδης κατὰ Ὀμήρου ἐψηφίσατο.

After gaining the victory, Hesiod took with him the bronze tripod which he had won and dedicated it to the Muses of Mt. Helicon (212–213). But beforehand, he went to the mainland and approached the Delphic oracle with a view to dedicating the first fruits of his triumph to Apollo. As he approached, the oracle became inspired and with its notable ambiguity warned Hesiod to stay away from the Νεμεῖον κάλλιμον ἀλος 29 or suffer death. Like Homer before him, Hesiod misread the prophecy and, interpreting the Nemean grove as the one located in the Peloponnesus, he stayed away from the area and settled in Locris with Amphi- phrases and Ganyctor, the sons of Phegeus. He did not know, says our biographer, that the whole area was sacred to Nemean Zeus (228).

After he had stayed in the area somewhat overlong, his hosts, thinking that he had seduced their sister, killed him and threw his body
into the sea between Locris and Achaea. The murder was attended by a miracle, says our author. On the third day after the homicide, the victim's body was brought to land by some dolphins. A local festival for Ariadne was then being held and the corpse created a serious stir. After a suitable mourning and burial, the townspeople began to hunt for the murderers who anticipated a lynching by escaping in a small fishing smack. En route to Crete, however, Zeus sank men and boat with a thunderbolt. A somewhat different version, that of Eratosthenes, is related, in which Ganyctor's sons, Ctinenus and Antiphus (whose names are certainly more appropriate to the deed), killed him and were sacrificed by the seer Eurycles for breaking the bonds of guest-friendship. This version adds that the seduced sister hanged herself afterwards and also states that she was not violated by Hesiod, but by one of Hesiod's traveling companions, a certain Demodes, who was later killed.

It is not unlikely that the alternate version was invented by a Boeotian who wished to clear the name of a local poet. Some Orcho-

menians later and on oracular advice exhumed his body and reburied him in their country with an appropriate epitaph which Pausanias recalls seeing.

After completing the narrative of Hesiod's death, the Certamen returns to the considerably less interesting "Schluss einer Homervita"
and relates the poet's wanderings after the contest. Of note is the mention of two works, the Thebais and the Epigoni,\textsuperscript{33} falsely attributed to Homer, but marked by the interesting citation of their length which may, as has been stated earlier, be an indication that the compiler of the Certamen, or at least this later portion of it, had available the records of the Alexandrian library. The stichometry of the two major epics is also mentioned with an accuracy which appears to confirm this idea.\textsuperscript{34}

During the final and peripatetic years of his life, Homer visited Athens, Argos, Corinth, and Delos. For Xanthus and Gorgas, the sons of Midas, he is reputed to have written the following epitaph, which, as has already been noted supra, was attributed to Cleobulus and attacked by Simonides:\textsuperscript{35}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{γαλκή παρθένος εἶμι, Μίδου δ' ἐπὶ σήματος ἤμαι.} \\
\text{ἐξ τ' ἄν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δέσφερα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ} \\
\text{καὶ ποταμοὶ πλῆθωσι, περικλύζῃ δὲ ἁλλασσα,} \\
\text{_PEDNES δ' ἀνίων φαίνη λαμπρὰ τε σελήνῃ,} \\
\text{αὐτοῦ ἡδε μένουσα πολυκαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ} \\
\text{σημανέω παριστάσι Μίδης ὅτι ἡδε τεθαπταί.}
\end{align*}
\]

At Athens he recited some new lines which do not appear in our version of the Homeric corpus,\textsuperscript{36} then went on to Corinth. At Argos he recited a portion of the Iliad,\textsuperscript{37} a rather undistinguished passage
from the Catalogue, notable, however, because it immediately follows the two lines thought by the ancient critics to have been interpolated by Solon or Peisistratus to support the Athenian claim to Salamis.\(^{38}\)

After another recitation in Delos (the Hymn to Apollo), he was made an honorary citizen of the Ionian states, then sailed to Ios to enjoy his retirement. One day as he was sitting by the sea he noticed some youths who were returning from a fishing excursion and asked of them:\(^{39}\)

\[ \text{ἀνδρεὶς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης ἀλιττορεῖς ἦν ὅ' ἔχομεν τι;} \]

To which they replied:

\[ \text{ὁοι' ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθα, ὁο' οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα.} \]

Not understanding their cryptic answer, Homer asked them what they meant and was told that they had been unsuccessful in their fishing, but that while engaged in fishing they had acquired a number of lice and consequently τῶν φθειρῶν οὐς ἔλαβον καταλιπεῖν, οὔς δὲ οὐχ ἔλαβον ἐν τοῖς ἰματίοις φέρειν. Remembering the earlier oracle which he had been unable to understand at the time, Homer realized that he had come to the end of his life. After writing his own epitaph, he started to walk away from the spot, slipped on some mud, and expired two days later. The epitaph over his grave in Ios, quoted throughout the other lives (337-338):

\[ \text{ἐνωάδε τὴν ἑρήν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει ἀνδρῶν ἥρων κοσμήτορα θεῖον ὁμηροῦ.} \]
Notes: Chapter III

1 Bethe, loc. cit., 897, 48-53.

2 Cert. 29-32: Blindness or Captivity (Hostage).

3 E.g., Μαλονα, Δυσσαγραν, Τευμαχον.

4 Cert. 5.

5 Cert. 26.

6 Cert. 24.

7 Cert. 41.

8 Cert. 54.

9 Or Chalcis in Euboea or Delos; if all the conflicting views were to be laid end-to-end, they might span the narrow Euboean gulf which separates the first two: Chalcis = Hesiod Erga 650; Plut. Quaest. Conv. 674f, Sept. Sap. Conv. 153f and viii. Hom.; Philostr. Her. xviii. 2. Delos = Hes. fr. 285. Nietzsche and Page read Chalcis, Allen and Wilamowitz read Aulis. The MSS say Aulis. In an undisputed passage thirteen lines later our author refers to the other judges who were τινες τῶν...Χαλκιδέων.

10 Cert. 59-60: for Kirk’s discussion of the "Fischerrätzel", the textual difficulty, and the attribution to Heraclitus, see chap. ii, n. 19.

11 L = πανοιδῆς Philostr. Her. xvii. 2 = πανιδῆς. On the name, Aly, RE, s.v., XVIII. ii. 583, also notes the significance, "Alleswisserei".

12 The athletic origins of the ἄγων σφιγκας are not neglected here: Cert. 65 mentions other contestants in ρώμη καὶ τάχει.

13 Cert. 71.

14 For a comparison of this commonplace with similar lines in Theognis and Bacchylides, see chap. ii, n. 36.
Rohde, Rhein. Mus. 36 (1881) 566 and Hess, op. cit., 14, note that the fragment of a lost dithyramb of Praxilla (fr. 2 Dibel) contains a similar sentiment put in the mouth of Adonis who is being interrogated by the inhabitants of the underworld shortly after his arrival there. The use, however, of this passage as a link between our two works is obviously too dubious to be considered, though I consider the coincidence quite striking.

Od. ix. 6-11: Odysseus prefacing his remarks to Alcinous.

Cert. 91: a hint at a later interpolation?

Cert. 97ff.: this line is quoted by Plutarch Sept. Sap. 154a and attributed to Lesches; in Plutarch the order of the speakers is reversed and the wording is different. For this and the reading in the Flinders Petrie papyri, see chap. ii, n. 16. Homer is required τὸ ἄπορον λόγον.

Cert. 104ff.

Kirk, loc. cit., 157, n. 1; both Wilamowitz and Nietzsche reverse the order of Cert. 111-112 (which would make very little sense); cf. passage from Aristophanes Pax, supra, and Cert. 107-108.


The debate between Calchas and Mopsus is attributed to Hesiod by Strabo xiv. 1. 27, Hesiod fr. 160 (Rzach), EGF, Melampodia 177; for the type of mathematical riddle, see the reference to Athenaeus in chap. i.

Our compiler is evidently fainthearted when it comes to higher arithmetic for he never finishes the line which should yield the incredible figure of 112,500,000 men. On the basis of these figures the quartermaster problem which faced Agamemnon must have been considerably greater than that of Xerxes with his paltry five-million men. There are also textual problems which Allen notes in the app. crit.

Cert. 178.

Erga 383-392.

xiii. 126-133 and 339-344: this passage is itself a cento of two passages from the same battle.

Cert. 208.

Apostolius 11 (saec. xiv in Leutsch, Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum II, 606). The sentiment echoes Philostr. Her. xviii. 2 and Themistius Or. xxx. 348 c. Lafaye, De Poetarum et Oratorum Certaminibus Apud Veteres (Paris, 1883) 2, says "Unde commenti sunt postea grammatici agona illum inter Homerum Hesiodumque Chalcide coram Ganycitore et Panide, Amphidamantis filio et fratre, commissum, quo victoriam Panis [sic] Hesiodo, quamquam [sic] inferiori, tribuisset, ita et proverbii loco dicerent Panidis judicium, qui judicium ab ignaro aut iniquo homine factum vellent significare." Schmid, op. cit., 254, considers the decision a reflection of the war-weary fifth century in which the work may have been composed. Cf. Hess, op. cit., 66, who also interprets the decision in terms of a later "Zeitgeist". Nietzsche, op. cit., 220, is more specific: "... durch die sprichwörtliche Urteilslosigkeit des Kampfrichters Paneides wird trotzdem Hesiod bekränzt. So zeigt sich Alcidamas auf das Ersichtlichste gegen Hesiod eingenommen, zu Gunsten des grossen Improvisators Homer."

I feel that motives similar to those expressed supra may also explain the curious outcome of the Ranae and indicate a strong connection between these two works. Cf. the remarks in the Conclusion.

Cert. 222.

Cert. 240: for variants and the specific attribution to Alcidamas, see chap. ii, n. 49.
31 Eratosthenes of Cyrene (ca. 275–194) was a successor to Apollonius Rhodius as librarian at Alexandria and the author of a short epic Anterinyes which dealt with this incident; he is probably not the ultimate source for the more favorable account.

32 Pausan. ix. 38.4; also Anth. Pal. vii. 54.

33 Cert. 256, 259.

34 Cert. 275-276: the figures are given in round numbers; 15,500 and 12,000 lines, respectively.

35 Cert. 265-268: see chap. ii, n. 37.

36 Cert. 281-285.

37 ii. 559-568; Cert. 300-301 are not in the Homeric passage, Allen (O. C. T.) says, "versus fortasse Hesiodi".

38 ii. 557-558: Ajax beaches his ship.

39 Cert. 326ff.: this too, though not a part of the central agon, is a Rätsel of the literary type; for the discussion of the text and the Fischerrätsel, see chap. ii, n. 19. I prefer this reading to Ἐηρ-Ἠτορές which makes less sense here.
CHAPTER IV

THE LITERARY AGON IN THE RANAE

In this chapter I will examine certain important aspects of the debate between Aeschylus and Euripides which constitutes not only the formal Agon of Aristophanes' play but also the entire second half of it. Since these aspects are ones primarily of method and structure, I have subordinated not only most of the specific criticisms of both tragedians but also have omitted a discussion of a large portion of the play which precedes the Agon. I feel that it is necessary, however, to focus briefly on the scene which occurs at Heracles' house because of its importance in regard to the essential contradiction at the end of the play. Although it may not seem to be immediately pertinent, I have also reviewed briefly the circumstances under which the play was produced, the evidence for its production date, the conjectured sources for the setting of the Agon, and Aristophanes' attitude towards his two antagonists. These are all of at least tangential importance for my conclusion.

The Ranae was first produced at the Lenaean festival in Athens during the winter of 405 B.C. and obtained first prize. We learn from

56
the extant hypotheses that the play was brought out in the name of Philoneides and that the parabasis was so greatly admired by the audience that a second production was granted. This production presumably took place not too long afterwards, though our sources give no indication of a precise date.

The winter of 405 B.C. was not the likeliest time for arousing a comic and festive spirit in an Athenian audience. Athens' military fortunes were gradually diminishing in the wake of a "world war" that had been grinding on for twenty-five years. Even the naval victory a year earlier at Arginusae had been tarnished by an unhappy aftermath. A city that had seen a plague, a Cleon, an oligarchical revolt, and the complete disaster of its Sicilian expeditionary force was in no mood to laugh. An almost annual invasion of Attica had forced the rural population into the urban surroundings with which they felt little kinship and the consequent curtailment of agrarian commodities had resulted in stringent economic measures and the concomitant decline of ethical standards which Aristophanes himself had begun to deride years earlier in what he considered its first manifestations, the educational system. Six months after the first production of the Ranae Athens was decisively beaten at Aegospotami.

In what must have been an atmosphere of unbelievable despondency Aristophanes set out to humor an audience with a subject that had nothing at all to do with war.
To be sure, the Ranae does not completely ignore the times. Wartime allusions, particularly to the painful subject of the previous year's naval victory, are frequent, as are the more personal attacks on political figures such as Archedemus and Theramenes. The greatly admired parabasis (674-737) is itself nothing less than a deadly earnest plea for unity and wise leadership. But these references are quite subordinate to the poet's principal aim—literary criticism.

The fundamental instrument of satire in Old Comedy, humorous exaggeration, hinders a clear insight into Aristophanes' real feelings in regard to Euripides in much the same way it does towards Socrates. Most scholars agree that Aristophanes did not deal maliciously with Euripides. Twenty years prior to the Ranae, in the Acharnenses, Euripides' predilection for dressing his heroes in beggars' rags was lightly ridiculed. In 410 in the Thesmophoriazusae, Euripides reached a tentative truce with womanhood after considerable satire of his heroines and the parodying of lines from his better-known works dealing with women. The parodies indicate a thorough familiarity with, possibly a touch of admiration for, Euripides' plays.

In the Ranae Euripides is dealt with at greater length and with much more seriousness. Aristophanes' treatment is by no means condemnatory, although it is certainly critical; he appreciates the improvements which Euripides introduced into tragedy, the ingenuity of his plots and the subtlety of his characters.
As in the case of Socrates in the _Nubes_, we have no way of clearly determining whether Aristophanes actually believed the words he put in the mouths of his characters who impute to Euripides the decay of moral thought and tone in literature of the period. Aristophanes was too astute a judge of human beings to hold the writings of one man responsible for the behavior of a citizenry as varied and complex as that of Athens, though the several contradictions implicit in Dionysus' final choice of a poet do not make this point very clear. Aristophanes' broad streak of conservatism is much in evidence in his attacks on Cleon and his apparent dislike of innovation in music and literature (_Nubes_ 961ff.). Platnauer's inference of a "natural" conservatism is, however, incompatible with the poet's obvious willingness to momentarily shed the garb of a _laudator temporis acti_ and lampoon his _Μαραθωνικός_ whenever he finds it convenient (_Acharnenses_, _Vespae_) to do so. Nor do the scenes in Hades suggest an overwhelming fondness for the writings of Aeschylus. The parody of Aeschylus' style is too accurate and too carefully manipulated to imply anything but a rejection of the involute and highly artificial structure, the high-flown words and tautologies of the older poet.

Of one thing we can be sure: the subject matter and general tone of the play were far removed from the battlefields of the Peloponnesian war. So was the "dramatic" setting.
Although Aristophanes' use of an "Unterweltszene" was undoubtedly the most unique handling of the motif, there is considerable evidence that it was not the first time in ancient drama that it was used. Pherecrates had produced ca. 424 B.C. a play entitled Κραταραλοτνον in which the "flounders" were supposed to represent the coinage or small change available in Hades. Edmonds, noting a mention of Jocasta, feels sure the scene is the underworld. Another of Pherecrates' plays, the Μεταλλης was produced sometime between 431 and 415. The extant fragments preserve a glowing description of a Hades brimming with sausages, cooked eel, legs of lamb, and porridge. The actual scene of the play is believed to be a mine—hence the name—from which one of two female speakers have emerged en route to the upper world from below. A brief fragment of Cratinus' Ἀρχολοοςασι produced sometime in 449, hints at a poetical contest between Archilochus and several of the epic poets in the underworld; another of Cratinus' plays, the Χροσοςεσευς features an attack on contemporary education, satirizes the relationship between Pericles and Aspasia, and alludes to the return of a ghostly Solon to the upper world. A fragment from Photius has preserved a brief prayer from an unnamed Athenian who asks that:

ἡμιν δ' ἄνεισι διδροσ οῦ τάγαθα
tοις ή νεθέρει εχονοι την πάλιν ἦλεως.

The passage is reminiscent of the injunction of the chorus at the end of
the Ranæ (1530). The quotation is attributed to the Κωμάσταξ of Phrynichus produced at the Dionysia of 414. ⁹

The play which bears the closest resemblance in terms of both the "Heraufholung" and "Unterweltszenen" motifs is the Δήλοι of Eupolis which was probably brought out in the spring of 411. ¹⁰ The similarities between the two plays seem to have confused Valerius Maximus (vii. 2. 7) and moved Radermacher to comment:¹¹

Gewiss wird bei der Betrachtung der Schluss-Szenen die Erinnerung an die Demen des Eupolis geweckt. Dieser Dichter hatte die grossen Staatsmänner Athen aus dem Hades zurückkehren lassen, damit sie Stellung nähmen zur politischen Entwicklung Athens.

On the basis of a large number of scholia and frequent mention in ancient authorities--Athenaeus, Plutarch, Stobaeus, Pollux, Harpocratism, and the pseudo-Longinus--and the discovery of a fifth-century A.D. papyrus, Körte and Edmonds have reconstructed what must have been the gist of the plot:¹² an Athenian, perhaps Nicias, brings back to Athens from Hades the four great statesmen of Athenian democracy--Aristides, Miltiades, Solon, and Pericles--to assist in the troubled affairs of the city and to formulate new legislation. The four enter the world of the living through clouds of steam issuing from a bath house and parade through the streets of Athens. After a banquet shared by the four leaders, representing the dead Demes, and several politicians alive in Athens at the time (the living Demes), there develops at
the dinner table an agon in the form of a political debate which Alcibiades wins.

It is not known how the play ended, but at some point in the final scene Alcibiades marries the personified spirit of Reconciliation. It is interesting to note that the name Αἰαλλαγή serves in a similar personification in two of Aristophanes' plays, the Aves (989) and the Lysistrata (1114). The Lysistrata was produced in the same year, but there is no indication which play was written first.14

Similarities can also be seen in individual passages: the complaint of an unidentified speaker about the lack of orators (fr. 99) matches the complaint of Dionysus (72-73) to Heracles. Murray notes that Ranæ 1460-1466 is cited by Van Leeuwen as coming from a speech of Pericles in the Demon.15

The two playwrights were good friends; nevertheless, there is some indication that they traded abuse on the issue of plagiarism: in the Nubes (553) Aristophanes accused Eupolis of corrupting the plot of the Equites with a superfluous drunk scene in his Maricas;16 in turn, Eupolis charged his "bald-headed" friend with ingratitude for not recognizing his contributions to the Equites;17 a scholiast on the Equites 1288 notes the similarity in Eupolis' Bάπτα Ἐκ (fr. 454) and another on 528 quotes Cratinus who makes the charge of plagiarism. There is every reason to believe that mutual borrowings of this sort took place frequently among the comic poets and that Aristophanes was no exception.18
Even the title of the Ranae indicates an indebtedness; at least two plays entitled Βάτραχοι were produced at Athens, one certainly before Aristophanes' play of that name.19

If an underworld setting was a different, though borrowed, dramaturgical device, it was also a logical necessity for Aristophanes in this play. Born ca. 485-480 B.C., Euripides had produced his first play in 445, one year after Aeschylus had died at Geia.20 In 406 Euripides died at the court of Archelaus in Macedonia, an event marked by Sophocles' appearance at the theatre in mourning. A few months later Sophocles himself died. Although a ruling of the archons permitted the staging of any of Aeschylus' plays after his death, there is no evidence that Euripides competed with any of these posthumously produced works. Consequently, Hades was the only possible location where the antipodes of the tragic art could meet for a debate. The debate itself is a result of Euripides' forceful seizure of the tragic throne, but the spectators' first glimpse of the literary duel is occasioned by the journey of the god Dionysus to the underworld, a fortuitous vehicle which nevertheless consumes almost half of the play up to the parabasis (674).21

Dionysus, clad probably in a lion skin and accompanied by his impertinent slave, Xanthias, is on his way to Hades to bring back one of the tragic poets because, as the patron of the art, he feels there is no one left at Athens who can write tragedy.
The pair knock at Heracles' house. Heracles had made the trip once and while Dionysus has no intention of dognapping, he feels that it is to his advantage to look like the hero and to get appropriate directions from him. To Heracles' questioning, Dionysus articulates his reason for going, 22 δέομαι ποιητοῦ δεξιοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ όνειρε̣' εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ὁντες μακαρί. Heracles suggests several live poets, among whom he mentions the undutiful son of Sophocles, Iophon. But Dionysus has already made up his mind ten lines earlier by saying that τοιουτοῦ τοῦν με δαιδάπτει πόθος Εὐριπίδου. As for Sopho-
cles, he says that he will first see what Iophon can do without the assistance of his father. 23 Heracles offers three unpleasant alternatives for getting to Hades, each a different form of suicide, then soberly outlines his own route. The master and slave depart and, after several humorous adventures en route, they arrive in the underworld where they encounter the irascible doorkeeper Aeacus. Aeacus, believing one or the other of the pair to be the very Heracles who had carried off Cerberus, holds an inquisition. The episode is ended when Aeacus, unable to determine god from man because of their several exchanges of identity, summons them both before Pluto who settles the dispute.

In the second half of the play, Xanthias and Aeacus are seen standing outside the palace. A sudden uproar from within stirs the curiosity of Xanthias who asks what all the noise is about. 24 Aeacus answers succinctly Αἰσχύλου καὶ Εὐριπίδου then elaborates:
It seems that upon his arrival Euripides captured the affections of the criminal element in Hades and because of his sudden popularity decided to claim the tragic throne occupied by Aeschylus. The incumbent was willing to yield the honor to the very latest arrival, Sophocles, but that poet withdrew his claim, though holding it in abeyance in the event Euripides should defeat Aeschylus.25 The issue, as Aeacus points out, will soon be settled since Pluto has decided ἀγὼνὸν ποιεῖν αὐτίμα μάλα καὶ κρίσιν κἄλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης.

Xanthias asks how the contest will be decided and by whom. To the former Aeacus replies that their poetry ταλάντῳ σταθμήσεται and by a number of other, equally unusual tradesmen's tools (798ff.). As for a judge, this was at first a difficult choice, says Aeacus, but Xanthias' master was finally selected as the most qualified candidate. The chorus (814-829) then sings a short introduction to the debate, contrasting the lofty-worded Aeschylus with the clever-witted Euripides. The contestants enter with Dionysus who punctuates their preliminary fustian with appropriate comments on their relative merits. After an interlude of prayer by the combatants (Aristophanes here takes the opportunity of mocking the younger poet's religious scepticism), the debate begins in earnest.
The agon itself is much too lengthy and involved to permit a thorough treatment here; besides, a good deal of it lies outside the scope of this paper and is concerned not only with the specific criticism of the plays of the two tragedians but also the more general aspects of literary criticism. A very adequate treatment of these topics is to be found in Murray's discussion of Aristophanes' works and in the individual commentaries of Stanford, Radermacher, and, to a lesser extent, Merry and Tucker. There are, however, certain observations of a more general import in addition to those specific examples cited below which are worth comment.

First, many of the passages and solitary lines quoted by the two antagonists do not occur in our editions of their works or are of plays which have been lost and whose titles we know only through mention in other ancient authors or in post-classical commentaries. This is less the case with Aeschylus than with Euripides; the prologues (1126ff.) of Aeschylus which are cited for their obscurity and redundancy are from the Oresteia which must have been very familiar to Aristophanes' audience. On the other hand, in the "oil-flask" scene (1180ff.) and the lines which immediately precede it, only one out of the eight individual passages quoted by Euripides is from an extant work.27

Second, it is important to note that in addition to the considerable self-esteem with which each poet regards the purely artistic side of his
work, both poets take for granted the didactic function of tragic poetry.

Each poet confirms his opponent's tutorship in a specific area of instruction, but attempts to subordinate it to his own. Thus, Euripides claims (959-967, 971-979) that he has advised the citizens in practical affairs so that they might better control their οἰκεία πράγματα through the use of logic and clever thinking. Aeschylus accepts this, but belittles the actual results of this advice, saying that Euripides has made market-place loafers (1015), unfaithful spouses (1050), and incestuous siblings (1081) of his pupils, whereas he, Aeschylus, had raised the level of drama to a noble plane and filled it with men (1016) breathing δόρυ καὶ λόχας καὶ λευκόλόφους τρυφαλείας καὶ πήλημας καὶ κυμίδας καὶ θυμός ἐπιβολοὺς who had in turn raised the moral standards of the Athenian community. But Euripides also feels that he has done just this. When asked by Aeschylus τίνος οὖνεκα χρῆ θεαμάζειν ἄνδρα ποιητήν he replies (1009):

δεξιότητος καὶ νουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίωνς τε ποιούμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

Finally, an exasperated Aeschylus, dipping into a bit of literary (and pre-literary) history counters with the following credo (1029ff.):
On the artistic level we should, as Murray suggests at one point, exercise caution in accepting many of the criticisms which Aristophanes places in the mouths of his rival tragedians.\textsuperscript{28} Often they are more captious than enlightening and were probably interspersed between more serious commentaries on style and diction to hold the attention of the audience. Hence, the humorous refrain (1285ff.) \textit{τοφλαττοθρατ \ τοφλαττοθρατ} of Euripides' parody of an Aeschylean melody partakes more of comic exaggeration than of absolute accuracy.\textsuperscript{29} Similarly unfair is Aeschylus' attack on Euripides' liberty with meter in the musical roulade (1314) \textit{ειειειειλισσετε} his penchant for dramatic "doubling" as (1338) in \textit{φόνια φόνια} and the whole nonsensical monody of Glyke's theft of the cock (1331ff.).

Of more immediate interest is that part of the agon in which Aeschylus systematically "destroys" Euripides' prologues\textsuperscript{30} \textit{λημνέλειοι}:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Δίγυρωτος, ώς \δ\ πλειστος \ξσπαρται \λόγος,}
\textit{ξύν πασι οιοντα \γαυτ\λω \πλάτη}
\textit{"Άργος κατασχόν -- λημνέλειοι ἀπάλεσεν.}
\end{quote}
Precisely what sort of criticism was intended in this exchange is not known. The generally accepted view is that it parodies the metrical monotony of Euripides' verse by inserting a tribrach in the fourth foot which the "cap" ἀπόλεσεν fits perfectly in each instance. Stanford suggests that the mention of the ἀπόλεσεν alone might be an allusion to Euripides' passion for pedestrian, everyday items with which he infuses his tragedies. It is also possible that it pokes fun at the syntactical monotony of Euripides' verse since all but one passage begin with a proper name. The method, however, is both a clear and familiar instance of "capping".

A similar case of "capping" is probably indicated several lines later (1264ff.) when Euripides attacks the tautology of his rival's lyrics by interjecting ἱεροῦ six times into a passage compounded of Aeschylean rhetorical questions.
Exhausted by Aeschylus' long-windedness in the "cock-theft" parody, Dionysus halts the recitation and Aeschylus suggests that each of them recite his own verses into the scales (1365ff.). With Dionysus holding the scales Euripides leads off with the famous opening lines of the Medea:  

Ev. εἰδ' ὤφελ.'Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθει σκάφος.  
Ai. Ἐπερχεῖτε ποταμὲ βουνόμοι τ' ἐπιστροφαὶ.  
Ev. οὐκ ἔστιν Πειστὸς ἱερὸν ἀλλ' ἀλήθινον λόγον.  
Ai. μόνος θεῶι γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δώρων ἔργων.  
Ev. σιάρηρας ἡ ἔλαβε δεξιὴς ἄρα τ' ἱερὸν.  
Ai. ἕφ' ἀρματος γὰρ ἄρμα καὶ νεκρῷ νεκρὸς.

There are three things worth noting about this recitation. Stanford and other editors indicate that, with the exception of the Medea, the remainder of Euripides' lines come from lost works--Antigone, Meleager--as do all three of the passages of Aeschylus--Philoctetes, Niobe, Glaukos Potniesus. The lines from the Medea seem to be quite awkward here because they are so well known to us now and because they are followed by lines of works known to us in name only. This, of course, may not have been the case with an Athenian audience. I would like to conjecture that the close juxtaposition of one very familiar passage with five relatively new ones (to us) indicates that the remaining lines were actually as famous as the first at the time that the Ranae was produced. Tragic lines quoted earlier in the debate do not seem to
follow this pattern; there, the lines from extant works are as few, but, though recognizable, are not nearly so well known. Also, we hear considerably less of the lost works mentioned earlier than we do of those mentioned last. The Antigone, Meleager, Philoctetes, and Niobe deal with familiar themes and there is no reason for believing that an allusion to them would go unnoticed. To be sure, the Meleager and the Antigone occur in earlier citations—but in company with lesser known plays whose themes are somewhat more obscure.

Second, and closely connected with the above, I would propose that the lines, if they were all as well known as those from the Medea, might very easily be considered excellent by their own authors. The scale scene, therefore, might be interpreted as an evaluation of quality as well as weight.

Third, and most obvious, is the fact that the passages as I have arranged them "cap" each other nicely, even though each line could stand alone: the first pair is nautical, the second, religious, and the third, martial in tone.

Dionysus refuses to make a choice between the two tragedians—they are both his friends—besides, he says τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι σοφὸν τῷ δ’ ἡδομαὶ. Pluto asks him why he will not do that thing ἄπερ ἤλθες οὖνεκα. Obviously embarrassed by this question, Dionysus consents to make the choice contingent upon one final test. He
precedes his instructions for this test, however, with an extremely curious statement ἐγὼ κατηλέου ἐπὶ ποιητήν, which suggests that in his flustered mood he has forgotten what he had said earlier (66, vid. sup.) to Heracles. He then explains (1419) why he wants a poet:

ἐν’ ἡ πόλις σωθείσα τοὺς χοροὺς ἀγη
dρότερος οὖν ἂν τῇ πόλει παραπέσῃ
μᾶλλον τι χρηστόν, τούτου ἄξειν μοι δοκῶ.

Dionysus asks two specific questions (1422, 1436), the first of which, concerning Alcibiades, is answered by Euripides,

μισθὸ πολίτην, ὅστις ὅφελείν πάτραν
βραδὺς πέφυκε μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτειν ταχύς,
basti πόριμον αὖτῷ τῇ πόλει δ' ἀμήχανον.

then by Aeschylus,

ἢ χρὴ λέοντος σχύμον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν
ὴν δ' ἐκτραφῇ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

A confused-but-punning Dionysus finds the one has spoken σοφῶς, the other σαφῶς. He puts the second question περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἤρτων ἐχετον σωτηρίαν, which Euripides answers with four riddles of only slightly decreasing obscurity—only by the last one does Dionysus understand what he is saying:

εἰ τις πτερώσας Κλεόκριτον Κινησία,
αἰροῦν αὖρα φλαγιὰν ὑπὲρ πλάκα.

εἰ μαμαχρίεν καὶ ἐχουτες ἄγλας
ῥαύνοιεν ἐς τὰ βλέφαρα τῶν ἐναυτῶν.
Dionysus then turns to Aeschylus who answers more succinctly but still in riddles:

πῶς οὖν τις ἄν ὀφείλει τοιαύτην πόλιν, ἦ μήτε χλαίνα μήτε σιθρὰ συμφέρει; 

tίνα γηρ ὅταν νομίζωσι τίνα τῶν πολεμῶν εἰρήνει σφέτεραν, τί πλὴν ἰδρέαν τῶν πολεμῶν, πόρου δὲ τὰς ναύς ἀπορίαν δὲ τὸν πόρον.

A thoroughly baffled Dionysus is asked by Pluto which poet he will take with him. Abandoning all his tests and weights he decides that he will choose ὅπερ ἡ ψυχὴ θέλει. Euripides, anticipating his defeat, cries out, ἐμεμυμένος ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οὐς ἀμοιδῶς ἦ μὴν ἀπάξειν μ' ὀικαῖ', αἰροῦ τὸν φίλους. Dionysus' reply is a page torn from Euripides' own book of casuistry, ἡ γλῶττ' ὀμόκλ', Ἀισχύλου δ' άλοχομαν.

The play is virtually ended on this note of sarcasm. Pluto offers some advice of his own for Athens, then all enter the palace for the traditional feasting—a procession of victory celebration which marks the Exodos.
The ending of the play, specifically Dionysus' final decision, has puzzled many commentators. As Stanford points out:  

"Euripides is not rejected for any clear inferiority in poetic skill or political sagacity . . . Dionysus' judicial remarks are ambiguous and his final decision is based on flagrantly frivolous grounds . . . Aristophanes may have intended his more sympathetic hearers to be sorry for Euripides' largely undeserved defeat."

Stanford attributes the decision to Dionysus' character which he describes as "supple, fickle, wayward, panicky, opportunistic and unscrupulous". Employing a little casuistry of his own, Stanford attempts to rescue Aristophanes from an inconsistency:  

"Instead of a carefully constructed plot, Aristophanes often uses one general idea as the foundation of his play. In planning Frogs, for example, he seems to have thought something like this: 'Let's send Dionysus off to Hades in search of a poet, give him plenty of adventures and surprises, have a contest between Euripides and Aeschylus, decide it quite whimsically, and end up with the usual victory scene'."

I find Stanford's view too patently "slick" to be acceptable. Alkins has come to what appears to be, at least tentatively, a more logical explanation of the choice when he says that "it is based on neither moralistic, nor utilitarian, nor didactic grounds, but rather on the aesthetic appeal to his whole nature, and this after all is the ultimate criterion of all literary values".  

A third alternative suggestion, my own, will be discussed in the Conclusion which follows.
Notes: Chapter IV

1 In competition with the Musae of Phrynichus, which took the second prize, and the Cleophon of Plato, which won third place.

2 Of the four hypotheses (Hall and Geldart, O.C.T.), two (I, III) provide information about the production of the Ranae. There is no indication why Aristophanes did not bring the play out under his own name; at this time he had an established reputation and there seems no logical reason for the "coyness" to which he had alluded earlier (Nubes 518ff.). Hypotheses I, 33 and III, 36 cite Dicaearchus as their source. The topical references in the parabasis would preclude a performance of the second version after Aegospotami in the following year and since it was the parabasis which attracted such attention, we can assume that little or no revision was done in that portion, although other parts may have been revised. Stanford suggests the City Dionysia of the same year. On the other hand, if the parabasis was changed to fit the events post-Aegospotami, we can have no idea how long after 405 the second version was produced. This is, of course, extremely important if we wish to entertain the idea (as I do in the Conclusion) of the priority of a version of the Certamen compiled by Alcidamas. In the case of one of Alcidamas' predecessors, this is not so critical a point.

The Ranae appears to have enjoyed along with two other plays by Aristophanes a great popularity in late classical and Renaissance times which helped to preserve it from the precarious survival of the other eight. The eleven which we have represent the critical judgment of Symmachus (fl. A.D. 100). Of the 237 MSS of Aristophanes, 148 contain the Plutus, 127 the Nubes, and 76 the Ranae. The earliest complete text of the Ranae is preserved in the Ravenna MS of the eleventh century which is the only MS to contain all of the eleven. A number of papyrus fragments survive (A.D. 100-600) as does a first-century Rhodian inscription which contains a portion of the choral interlude at 454ff.

Cf. Schmid, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, I. iv. 333-361, for a complete analysis of the play.

3 Thus Xanthias refers to the manumission of slaves who served as oarsmen at Arginusae (33), shipboard life (48ff.), and the chorus considers the subject at length at 693ff.
4 M. Platnauer, "Aristophanes, OCD, s.v. (1949). Platnauer sums him up well, "Nor are his the attacks of a fog or a Philistine. Stripped of their 'comic' exaggeration they are the criticisms of a man who realized that much of what is called progress often ends in a cul-de-sac."


6 Edmonds, fr. 108-109; Athenaeus (vi. 268 e), with a sharp eye out for this sort of gluttony, preserves the lines. Edmonds conjectures that the silver mines at Laurium are meant.

7 Edmonds, fr. 2, 6; Edmonds dates the fragment on a mention of Cimon who is supposed to have "died recently". Schmid, loc. cit., 334 n. 4, notes that the play also shares with the Ranae the theme of the "Dichterwettkampf".

8 Edmonds, fr. 228; Edmonds dates the play 436-431.

9 Edmonds, fr. 17 a; Stanford notes that a similar line in the Ranae is part of a regular formula (1462) for the sending up of gifts from the underworld.

10 Edmonds, fr. 90-131 and the appendix, 978; Edmonds dates it just before the establishment of the Four Hundred and about seven months before Alcibiades' recall. But Norwood dates it between 418 and 415.

11 Radermacher, op. cit., 336.

12 Athenaeus iii, 106 b, ix. 408 d; Plutarch Alcib. 13, Peric. 24; Stobaeus Flor. 43. 9, Pollux 7. 7, 163; Harpocrates 138. 15 and Longinus Subl. 16. 3.

13 The fragments were part of the large Menander papyrus published in 1911 by G. Lefebvre. Körte discusses the papyrus and its relation to our knowledge of the play in Hermes 47 (1912) 276-313, as do Norwood (Greek Comedy, 1931, pp. 179-181) and Edmonds, 978. On the basis of the new discovery, Edmonds has restored most of the play in his appendix.

14 The Lysistrata was produced at the Lenaean festival which came at the end of January or the beginning of February in the Athenian calendar. I prefer Edmonds' date for the Demoi. Nicias does not have to be alive to conduct the statesmen.
G. Murray, *Aristophanes* (1933) 120 (note). At 1431 Radermacher, *op. cit.*, 340, attempts to explain a tautology with a similar suggestion: "Da liegt anscheinend eine Verwechslung mit Eupolis Demen vor."

Edmonds, *fr.* 180-204.

Edmonds, *fr.* 78.


Callias won fourth prize at the Lenaean festival *ca.* 429-426. The title alone survives, but there is inscriptional evidence of the first century A.D. from Rome; Edmonds, 173. The other play is attributed by Aristophanes (Equites 523) to Magnes.

Aristophanes' title is derived from a short scene (209-268) which has very little to do with action that has preceded it or will follow. Some editors suggest that the chorus of frogs is really the chorus of initiates in disguise. The play could as easily have been called The Initiates or The Debaters.

The account which puts Euripides' birth in 480 is probably, like much of his ancient biography, convenient but apocryphal.

The discrepancy between Dionysus' avowed purpose in going to the underworld and his subsequent choice of a poet is important and will be discussed later in this chapter and in the Conclusion.

*71-72:* The last half of this line is from Euripides' *Oineus* (lost) from which Aristophanes had borrowed earlier for the *Acharnenses*.

This may be a veiled suggestion that Iophon collaborated with his father, whom he later tried to have probated by an Athenian court. The second story is familiar, but the hint of the first is new here.

Aristophanes has temporarily demoted Aeacus from judiciary to ostiary, which must have greatly amused a mythology-minded audience. Xanthias' query (755) is part of, but quite unconnected with, the earlier portion of a mutual back-slapping scene with Aeacus. Coming at the end of a long sentence and rather suddenly, at that, it was probably occasioned by a gradually increasing noise off stage—perhaps two people screaming at each other.
J. H. Kells in CR 78 (1964) 232-235, resorts to a game of musical thrones in an attempt to clear up the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun. It seems that some editors think the seat was big enough for two poets.

This is no doubt a hit at Euripides' fondness for a measured logic—or perhaps his love of shopkeepers' slang.

Antigone (1182), Archelaus (1206), Hipsipyle (1211), Steneboia (1218), Phrixus (1225), Meleager (1238), and Melanippe Sapiens (1244). Line 1232 is from Iphigenia Taurica.

Murray, op. cit., 122: I believe, however, that Murray may carry this point a bit far when he applies this to the "oil-flask" scene.

The possession of the music which accompanied the lines might clear up this point.

1205ff.: I have made a cento of the relevant passages here, removing Dionysus' humorous interjections.

Stanford, op. cit., 174, discusses the alternative views.

Stanford thinks the name and an early participle constitute the humor. I do not. If we accept his suggestion we are still at a loss to explain where the tag line fits into the joke.

Again, it is worth noting that four out of the five passages are from lost works. I say "probably indicated"—there is no way of knowing whether the repetitions occurred in the originals or whether Aristophanes is again stretching a point and a word to incredible limits.

Here, as at 1205ff., I have constructed a patchwork of the passages which are recited from 1382, omitting Dionysus' amusing quotation of a line from Telephus—also martial in tone.

Stanford mentions that Aristarchus rejected 1437-1441 as 'vulgar and cheap for Euripides'. Since the lines do not appear to be from the extant corpus, it is more likely that Aristophanes, who was frequently vulgar but never cheap, wrote the lines himself. Some editors suggest problems in the MS. I have again employed patchwork.
1469: Dionysus in fact did not swear an oath. Euripides' outburst, nevertheless, is very suspicious. Obviously he could not have overheard the conversation with Heracles.

37 Hippolytus, 612.

38 Stanford, op. cit., xxix.

39 Ibid., xxv.

40 Atkins, op. cit., 32. Murray, op. cit., 134, suggests the "glow of Marathon".
CONCLUSION

As has been stated earlier, it is impossible to prove categorically that Aristophanes patterned the agon of his Ranae after the Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi. There are, nevertheless, a number of considerations which I believe provide the basis of a quite reasonable conjecture that he did borrow portions of the Certamen and may have employed one element in particular to resolve the plot of his play.

The first of these considerations is the matter of relative dating for the two works, which must naturally precede any examination of internal evidence. It is, of course, foolish to consider the use of one literary work by the author of another if there is reason to suppose that the first work was not yet available in some form for that author to see and to use.

As I have indicated, there is no disagreement on the date of the production of the Ranae. On the direct evidence of two of the four extant hypotheses which provide an archonship, we can definitely establish the date as 405 B.C. This is further confirmed by scholia and by the evidence of literary contemporaries. Although there is some doubt about

80
the date of the second production which is cited by ancient sources, modern scholarship has accepted the traditional and well-attested date for the first.

In Chapter II I have discussed the evidence for dating the Certamen and have cited the several views on its authorship. I consider the following assumptions to be reasonable:

First, in the form in which we now possess it, the Certamen is a compilation made, as Wilamowitz suggests, within at least a decade of Hadrian's rule, from 117 to 138 A.D. In support of this claim we have not only the document's specific mention of Hadrian, but also the independent statement of Plutarch who cites two passages from the work and attributes it to an author of considerably earlier date. It is not likely that Plutarch outlived Hadrian's rule. The compilation, however, is based on epic biographical material which predates Hadrian and the Antonine period by at least three centuries. From the evidence of the Flinders Petrie papyrus we can certainly conclude that at least some of this material was in an established form sometime in the third century B.C. Moreover, if we accept the three specific attributions to Alcidamas--Stobaeus, the citation in the Certamen itself, and the subscription of the Michigan papyrus--this date can be pushed back to at least the middle of the fourth century on the evidence which makes Alcidamas, for whom we have no dates, a contemporary of Isocrates,
whose death falls sometime after the battle of Chaeronea in 338. If we are willing to accept the more dubious statement that Alcidamas was Aeschines’ teacher, this date can be pushed back even farther, perhaps to ca. 360.

We also are told that Alcidamas was the pupil of Gorgias, a fact which might tend to confirm what is suggested by the mention of Aeschines.

On the evidence of the quotation in Aristophanes’ Pax, we have good reason to date at least the riddle portions of the Certamen to 421. This of course may preclude Alcidamas’ authorship of this version, but does not preclude a version of the Certamen by one of Alcidamas’ immediate predecessors, also of the Gorgianic circle. It also does not rule out the possibility that Alcidamas’ revision was current in Athens prior to the production of the Ranae but after the Pax. As for the specific passage mentioned in the Pax, I deduce both from its graphic nature and from the use to which Aristophanes put it that it is not from the canonical epic corpus but from either a version by one of the sophists or an even earlier version for which Allen, following Plutarch, suggests Lesches as an author. I find it difficult to believe that the aenigmatic portions of the work could precede by many years the duller, more prosaic parts which are concerned with the biographies of Homer and Hesiod. In a work of this sort it is these sections which would be expected to breed the more anecdotal material. In turn, the more
quotable passages would become popular and would tend to occlude the
more monotonous sections which would be revived in a later compilation.

From the available evidence we can reasonably assume that the
Certamen in a relatively polished form or, as Hess has said, "fixed"
form, antedated the production of the Ranae by at least sixteen years,
perhaps more.

We must then consider certain pieces of internal evidence which
demonstrate a striking parallel between the two works.

To begin with, both contain an agon which, though in each case
carried on under considerably different circumstances, is patently
literary in purpose and in form. The agon in each instance employs
the three basic literary genera which I have discussed earlier (I)--
the riddle, the Frage-und-Antwortspiel, and the capping of lines. This
fact alone is not, of course, conclusive because we have seen that
these elements are the constituents of many other forms of debate from
the spirited amoebaean verse of pastoral poetry to the much less inter-
esting form of catechesis in the altercationes of the Christian period.
Nor is the riddle a particularly unusual device; we have seen instances
of it standing alone, as in the case of an entire book of Greek poetry
(Palatine Anthology, xiv) or as an element in eristic folk song (the
Schnaderhüpfe) even in modern times. Then too, the literary agon
itself is, as Atkins and others point out, a very old technique of literary
criticism, current both in Greece and at Rome already at a date which precedes both our works. Even the mythological singing-match shows evidences of the same techniques.

There appear to be, however, no examples of an agon admittedly literary in nature and containing all of these elements simultaneously—with the exception of the two we are discussing.

In the individual treatment of these constituent parts, there are also similarities: in the Certamen Hesiod proposes to Homer a number of verses of uncertain meaning which Homer then resolves both from the standpoint of meter and sense; in the Ranae there is a strong parallel in the "oil-flask" scene when Aeschylus completes a prologue of Euripides with a passage which suits both meter and sense.

In the Certamen Homer submits to a catechetical interrogation on ethical subjects which, as they continue, become briefer and more cryptic. In the Ranae both contestants are asked two specific questions which affect the well-being of Athens; the answers of both poets are obscure, Euripides' more so.

In the Certamen Paneides demands that each poet recite his "best" passage; Homer then quotes a long battle scene from the Iliad and Hesiod, a characteristically pastoral and didactic passage from the Erga. So too, Aeschylus and Euripides are asked to "weigh" their lines in a scale before Dionysus. As I have indicated previously, there
is good reason to consider this a doublet of the same scene in the _Certamen_--a weighing of "best" lines. It is also interesting to note that these few lines spoken for their "weight" dovetail nicely and seem to cap each other in meaning, though not in meter.

It is also important to consider the source of the lines spoken by the individual poets in each of the two works. In the _Certamen_ the final "best" passages are the only ones of any length which survive in the epic corpus; similarly, in the _Ranae_ many of the passages spoken by both poets are from works which are lost. A notable exception is Euripides' recitation of the beginning lines of the _Medea_--and this occurs in the weighing scene at the end of the agon. In both the _Certamen_ and the _Ranae_ these final scenes indicate a departure from the extemporaneous character which marks the scenes which have preceded them.

Perhaps the strongest parallel lies in the outcome of each contest: in the _Certamen_ Paneides, despite the fact that he may be in name "Alleswisser", makes his decision on purely emotional grounds which are inconsistent with what has occurred earlier. In a similar way Dionysus, the god who should be the most discerning judge of tragic literature, not only forgets his avowed reasons for coming to Hades, but makes his final choice on the basis of a hastily conceived "liking" for one of the poets. Quite incidental to this decision but amusing to
note, as does Stanford, is that the chair of poetry also goes empty (unless we assume that by default Sophocles gets it, as suggested earlier), and that it was the chair of poetry which had been the original reason for the debate.

A purely personal conjecture suggested by an incidental but unrelated statement of Hess may provide the answer, at least in part, to the underlying motive for each decision.

In discussing the authorship of the Certamen Hess notes that one of the purported authors, Alcidamas, had lived through a period of intermittent warfare (the Messenian war); Hess makes a point of attributing Paneides' judgment to the pacifism of the compiler. On the other hand, Nietzsche argues that Alcidamas, if he did compile the Certamen, would have felt a strong affinity with Homer for the reasons which I have mentioned earlier in this paper. How, then, is it possible to explain a decision that would conflict with the personal view of the author or compiler—that is, if we are to assume that the compiler interjected his own views into the work with which he was dealing? There is something to be said for both views. Amphidamas, whose death occasioned the contest between Homer and Hesiod, was killed fighting against the Etrurians. It would be possible to assume that the author or compiler of the work, whether or not he was Alcidamas or an earlier writer who had nonetheless lived in wartime Greece, might
easily view the motives of his arbiter, Paneides, as his own. Consequently, though he might have an artistic preference for Homer, he would himself make the choice as Paneides did because Hesiod represented the arts of peace.

I would like to suggest that a similar type of motivation lay in Dionysus' decision. Throughout the debate Dionysus extols the cleverness of Euripides. I have mentioned previously that it is possible to regard this as Aristophanes' view also. Why then would the decision fall against Euripides? Particularly in wartime Athens, the choice of a poet who spoke "shaking-horse-plumed-helmets" would be an unhappy one.

But as the poet makes clear, what is needed most at that time is the strong leadership necessary to conclude a peace, and it is the advice of Aeschylus which comes closer to this ideal.

A third important point to be noticed is that both pairs of poets are, within their respective fields, at once the best and the most opposite; Homer represents the best in heroic epic but he is not of the school of didactic epic which Hesiod fostered. Euripides, though a tragedian like Aeschylus, nevertheless represents a development of the tragic art far from the attainments of the older poet.

In close connection with this idea we must also consider the artificially promoted contemporaneousness of each pair. In the Ranae
the underworld is the only likely place where Aeschylus and Euripides can debate their art with any sort of mature outlook. We cannot, of course, be sure that the ancients shared our modern doubts regarding the contemporaneousness of the two epic poets, but the possibility of such a doubt is worth considering; likewise, we should bear in mind that a funeral on the straits of Euboea may have been readily accessible to Hesiod, but considerably less so to the Ionic Homer, whether we assume that Smyrna or Chios was his birthplace. In both cases there seems to be a straining of the chronological probabilities as well as the geographical.

Finally, there is the interesting observation made at Ranae 1034 when Aeschylus attempts to summarize the didactic purpose of tragedy. Here the conflicting views of the epic poets, the contrast between peace and war upon which Paneides based his decision, are clearly outlined by Aeschylus' praise of both men.

Above all, we can certainly not be put off from our suspicions by any reverence for Aristophanes' integrity. The poet had obviously not had any qualms about borrowing from his contemporaries and I suspect that the whole idea of the combined "Heraufholungen" and "Unterweltszenen" featured in the Ranae may have been borrowed from several plays which preceded, as I have indicated, his own production. As my Introduction has said, this must not be considered plagiarism in
our sense of the word. The artistic merits of the *Ranae* and particularly of the agon in the *Ranae* so far outweigh any comparable claims to artistry by the author of the *Certamen* that we ought to feel indebted to Aristophanes not only for his selection of a model but also for his considerable embellishment of it.
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90


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