

Richard Hunter, *What first? What last? Lists and the sense of order in Greek culture*

1

Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥ' ἕζοντο, ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ' ἕδρας·
 Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μῶνος ἀμετροεπῆς ἐκολῶα,
 ὃς ἔπεα φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ἦδη
 μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεῦσιν,
 ἀλλ' ὅ τι οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοῖον Ἀργείοισιν (215)

ἔμμεναι· αἴσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε·
 φορκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα· τῷ δέ οἱ ὦμῳ
 κυρτῷ ἐπὶ στήθος συνοχωκότε· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε
 φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλὴν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.
 ἔχθιστος δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ μάλιστ' ἦν ἠδ' Ὀδυσῆϊ· (220)
 τῷ γὰρ νεικεῖσκε· τότ' αὐτ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δίφῳ
 ὀξέα κεκλήγων λέγ' ὀνειδέα· τῷ δ' ἄρ' Ἀχαιοὶ
 ἐκπάγλως κοτέοντο νεμέσσηθέν τ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.

Homer, *Iliad* 2. 211-23

Now the others sat down and were restrained in their places, only there still kept chattering on Thersites of measureless speech, whose mind was full of a great store of disorderly words, with which to revile the kings, recklessly and in no due order, but whatever he thought would raise a laugh among the Argives. Ugly was he beyond all men who came to Ilios: he was bandy-legged and lame in one foot, and his shoulders were rounded, hunching together over his chest, and above them his head was pointed, and a scant stubble grew on it. Hatredful was he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, for those two he was in the habit of reviling; but now with shrill cries he uttered abuse against noble Agamemnon. With him were the Achaeans exceedingly angry, and indignant in their hearts.

2

Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὰς πρώτας γενέσεις τῶν ζώων καὶ φυτῶν μηδαμῶς ὀλοκλήρους
 γενέσθαι, ἀσυμφυέσι δὲ τοῖς μορίοις διεξευγμένας, τὰς δὲ
 δευτέρας συμφυομένων τῶν μερῶν εἰδωλοφανεῖς, τὰς δὲ τρίτας τῶν ἀλληλοφυῶν
 κτλ.

Empedocles A 72 D-K = D151 L-M

Empedocles: the first generations of animals and plants were not at all born as complete entities, but were disconnected, with parts that had not grown together; the second ones, when the parts had grown together, had the appearance of phantasms; the third ones, when the parts had grown in conformity with one another ...

trans. L-M

πολλὰ μὲν ἀμφιπρόσωπα καὶ ἀμφίστερνα φύεσθαι,
 βουγενῆ ἀνδρόπρωρα, τὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἐξανατέλλειν
 ἀνδροφυῆ βούκρανα, μεμειγμένα τῆι μὲν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν
 τῆι δὲ γυναικοφυῆ σκιεροῖς ἠσκημένα γυίοις.

Empedocles B 61 D-K = D156 L-M

Many creatures were born with faces and breast on both sides, man-faced ox-progeny, while others again sprang forth as ox-headed offspring of man, creatures compounded partly of male, partly of female, and fitted with shadowy parts.

trans. KRS 1983: 304

3

ΣΩΚ. Ἡ πολλοῦ δεῖν ἔοικε ποιεῖν ὅδε γε ὁ ζητοῦμεν, ὃς οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τελευτῆς ἐξ ὑπτίας ἀνάπαλιν διανεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἄρχεται ἀφ' ὧν πεπαυμένος ἂν ἤδη ὁ ἔραστῆς λέγοι πρὸς τὰ παιδικά. ἢ οὐδὲν εἶπον, Φαῖδρε, φίλη κεφαλή;

ΦΑΙΔ. Ἔστιν γέ τοι δὴ, ὦ Σώκρατες, τελευτή, περὶ οὗ τὸν λόγον ποιεῖται.

ΣΩΚ. Τί δὲ τᾶλλα; οὐ χύδην δοκεῖ βεβληῖσθαι τὰ τοῦ λόγου; ἢ φαίνεται τὸ δεύτερον εἰρημένον ἕκ τινος ἀνάγκης δεύτερον δεῖν τεθῆναι, ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν ῥηθέντων; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔδοξεν, ὡς μηδὲν εἰδότι, οὐκ ἀγεννῶς τὸ ἐπιὸν εἰρηῆσθαι τῷ γράφοντι· σὺ δ' ἔχεις τινὰ ἀνάγκην λογογραφικὴν, ἢ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐφεξῆς παρ' ἄλληλα ἔθηκεν;

ΦΑΙΔ. Χρηστὸς εἶ, ὅτι με ἠγεῖ ἰκανὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνου οὕτως ἀκριβῶς διδεῖν.

ΣΩΚ. Ἀλλὰ τότε γε οἴμαι σε φάναι ἂν, δεῖν πάντα λόγον ὥσπερ ζῶον συνεστάναι σῶμά τι ἔχοντα αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μήτε ἀκέφαλον εἶναι μήτε ἄπουν, ἀλλὰ μέσα τε ἔχειν καὶ ἄκρα, πρέποντ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ γεγραμμένα.

ΦΑΙΔ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

Plato, *Phaedrus* 264a-c

Soc. He certainly does not at all seem to do what we demand, for he does not even begin at the beginning, but undertakes to swim on his back up the current of his discourse from its end, and begins with what the lover would say at the end to his beloved. Am I not right, Phaedrus my dear? *Phaedr.* Certainly that of which he speaks is an ending. *Soc.* And how about the rest? Don't you think the parts of the discourse are thrown out helter-skelter? Or does it seem to you that the second topic had to be put second for any cogent reason, or that any of the other things he says are so placed? It seemed to me, who am wholly ignorant, that the writer uttered boldly whatever occurred to him. Do you know any rhetorical reason why he arranged his topics in this order? *Phaedr.* You flatter me in thinking that I can discern his motives so accurately. *Soc.* But I do think you will agree to this, that every discourse must be organised, like a living being, with a body of its own, as it were, so as not to be headless or footless, but to have a middle and members, composed in fitting relation to each other and to the whole. *Phaedr.* Certainly.

4

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν
στάντων μὲν Μενέλαος ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὦμους, (210)

ἄμφω δ' ἐζομένω γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μήδεα πᾶσιν ὕφαινον
ἦτοι μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευε,
παῦρα μὲν ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος
οὐδ' ἀφαρματοεπής· ἢ καὶ γένει ὕστερος ἦεν. (215)

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολὺμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεὺς
στάσκεν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας,
σκῆπτρον δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηγὲς ἐνώμα,
ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν αἴδρεϊ φωτὶ εὐικώς·
φαίης κε ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὐτως. (220)

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὅπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἶη
καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν εὐικότα χειμερίησιν,
οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος·
οὐ τότε γ' ὦδ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ' εἶδος ἰδόντες.

Homer, *Iliad* 3.209-24

When they mingled with the assembled Trojans, Menelaos with his broad shoulders rose above him as they stood, but when they were sitting, Odysseus was the more distinguished. When they were weaving their words and devices to all assembled, Menelaos indeed spoke fluently; his words were few, but very clearly spoken, since he is not a man of many words nor a rambler, and also younger by birth. When Odysseus of many guiles leaped up, he stood looking down with his eyes fixed on the ground,

and he moved his staff neither back nor forwards, but he held it unmoving and seemed like an ignorant man. You would have said that he was sullen and merely a fool. When, however, he sent forth his great voice from his chest and words flowed like snowflakes in winter, then no other mortal could compete with Odysseus, and then we were not so struck by his appearance.

5

εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι καὶ δένδρε' ἐϋκτιμένην κατ' ἀλωῆν
εἶπω, ἅ μοί ποτ' ἔδωκας, ἐγὼ δ' ἤτευν σε ἕκαστα
παιδνὸς ἐών, κατὰ κήπον ἐπισπόμενος· διὰ δ' αὐτῶν
ἰκνεύμεσθα, σὺ δ' ὠνόμασας καὶ ἔειπες ἕκαστα.
ὄγχνας μοι δῶκας τρεῖσκαίδεκα καὶ δέκα μηλέας,
συκέας τεσσαράκοντ'· ὄρχους δέ μοι ὄδ' ὠνόμηνας
δώσειν πεντήκοντα, διατρύγιος δὲ ἕκαστος
ἦην; ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν,
ὀπότε δὴ Διὸς ὤραι ἐπιβρίσειαν ὑπερθεῖν.

Homer, *Odyssey* 24.336-44

And come, I will tell you also the trees which you once gave me in our well-ordered garden, and I, who was only a child, was following you through the garden, and asking you for this and that. It was through these very trees that we passed, and you named them and told me of each one. Pear-trees you gave me, thirteen, and ten apple trees, and forty fig trees. And rows of vines, too, you promised to give me, even as I say, fifty of them, which ripened one by one at separate times—and upon them are clusters of all sorts—whenever the seasons of Zeus weighed them down.

6

σοὶ δ' ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμὸς ἐπετράπετο στονόεντα
εἶρεσθ', ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος στεναχίζω.
τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω;
κήδε' ἐπεὶ μοι πολλὰ δόσαν θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες.
νῦν δ' ὄνομα πρῶτον μυθήσομαι, ὄφρα καὶ ὑμεῖς
εἶδεν', ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἔπειτα φυγῶν ὑπο νηλεῆς ἡμαρ
ὑμῖν ξεῖνος ἔω καὶ ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίων.

15

Homer, *Odyssey* 9.12-18

But your spirit has determined to ask about my grievous troubles, so that even more must I groan in lamentation. What then shall I recount first, what last? Many are the troubles which the gods of heaven have given me. First, I shall tell you my name, that you may know it, and that, if I escape the day of destruction, I may be your guest-friend, though I live far from here.

5

αἰ δ' ἀγέροντο
ψυχαὶ ὑπέξ Ἐρέβευς νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων·
νύμφαι τ' ἠῖθεοὶ τε πολύτλητοὶ τε γέροντες
παρθενικαὶ τ' ἀταλαὶ νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι,
πολλοὶ δ' οὐτάμενοι χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείησιν,
ἄνδρες ἀρηῖφατοι, βεβρωτώμενα τεύχε' ἔχοντες·
οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ βόθρον ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
θεσπεσίη ἰαχῇ· ἐμέ δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ἦρει.

(40)

Homer, *Odyssey* 11.36-43

Then there gathered from out of Erebus the ghosts of those that are dead, brides, and unwed youths, and toil-worn old men, and frisking girls with hearts still new to sorrow, and many, too, that had been

wounded with bronze-tipped spears, men slain in battle, wearing their blood-stained armor. These came thronging in crowds about the pit from every side, with an astounding cry; and pale fear seized me.

6

Ἵσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπω μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ἵσση
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, Ἴν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

Homer, *Odyssey* 11.315-16

They yearned to pile Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion, with its waving forests, on Ossa, so that heaven might be scaled.

7

οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὦδε θεᾶς ἔρος οὐδὲ γυναικὸς
θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσαν,
οὐδ' ὀπότη' ἠρασάμην Ἴξιονίης ἀλόχοιο,
ἢ τέκε Πειρίθοον θεόφιν μῆστωρ' ἀτάλαντον·
οὐδ' ὅτε περ Δανάης καλλισφύρου Ἀκρισιῶνης,
ἢ τέκε Περσῆα πάντων ἀριδείκετον ἀνδρῶν· 320
οὐδ' ὅτε Φοῖνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο,
ἢ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν·
οὐδ' ὅτε περ Σεμέλης οὐδ' Ἀλκμήνης ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,
ἢ ῥ' Ἡρακλῆα κρατερόφρονα γείνατο παῖδα·
ἢ δὲ Διώνυσον Σεμέλη τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσιν· 325
οὐδ' ὅτε Δήμητρος καλλιπλοκάμοιο ἀνάσσης,
οὐδ' ὀπότε Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος, οὐδὲ σεῦ αὐτῆς,
ὡς σέο νῦν ἔραμαι καὶ με γλυκὺς ἕμερος αἰρεῖ.

Homer, *Iliad* 14.315-28

... for never yet has desire for goddess or mortal woman so shed itself about me and overmastered the heart within my breast—not even when I was seized with love of Ixion's wife, who bore Peirithous, the peer of the gods in counsel; nor of Danaë of the fair ankles, Acrisius' daughter, who bore Perseus, preeminent above all warriors; nor of the daughter of far-famed Phoenix, who bore me Minos and godlike Rhadamanthys; nor of Semele, nor of Alcmena in Thebes, and she brought forth Heracles, her son stout of heart, and Semele bore Dionysus, the joy of mortals; nor of Demeter, the fair-tressed queen; nor of glorious Leto; nor yet of yourself, as now I love you, and sweet desire lays hold of me."

8

ὑμνεῦσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἥρην
Ἄργεῖην, χρυσεόισι πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαυῖαν,
κούρην τ' αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην
Φοῖβόν τ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν 15
ἠδὲ Ποσειδάωνα γαιήοχον ἐννοσίγαιον
καὶ Θέμιν αἰδοίην ἐλικοβλέφαρόν τ' Ἀφροδίτην
Ἥβην τε χρυσοστέφανον καλήν τε Διώνην
Λητώ τ' Ἰαπετόν τε ἰδὲ Κρόνον ἀγκυλομήτην
Ἥῳ τ' Ἡέλιόν τε μέγαν λαμπρὰν τε Σελήνην
Γαῖαν τ' Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν καὶ Νύκτα μέλαιναν 20
ἄλλων τ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἑόντων.

Hesiod, *Theogony* 11-21

... sending forth their very beautiful voice, singing of aegis-holding Zeus, and queenly Hera of Argos, who walks in golden sandals, and the daughter of aegis-holding Zeus, bright-eyed Athena, and Phoebus Apollo, and arrow-shooting Artemis, and earth-holding, earth-shaking Poseidon, and venerated Themis and quick-glancing Aphrodite, and golden-crowned Hebe and beautiful Dione, and Leto and Iapetus and crooked-counseled Cronus, and Eos and great Helios and gleaming Selene, and Earth and great Ocean and black Night, and the holy race of the other immortals who always are.

9

Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλεια τε Μελπομένη τε
 Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε
 Καλλιόπη θ' ἢ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων.
 ἢ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.
 ὄντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κοῦραι μέγαλοιο
 γενόμενόν τε ἴδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων,
 τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσση γλυκερὴν χεῖουσιν ἔέρσην,
 τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα

Hesiod, *Theogony* 77-84

Clio and Euterpe and Thalia and Melpomene and Terpsichore and Erato and Polymnia and Ourania, and Calliope — she is the greatest of them all, for she attends upon venerated kings too. Whomever among Zeus-nourished kings the daughters of great Zeus honour and behold when he is born, they pour sweet dew upon his tongue, and his words flow soothingly from his mouth.

11

[The poet] says that he heard these things from Clio and also heard about the birth of the Charites, that they were born of Dionysus and the Naxian nymph Coronis, after he himself had first said that according to some they are said to be the children of Hera and Zeus, according to others of Eurynome, the daughter of Okeanos, and Zeus, according to others of Euanthe, the daughter of Ouranos, and Zeus. [The poet] took this story from Agias and Derkylos [two Argive historians]. It is also told in Aristotle's work on the constitution of the Parians.

Callimachus fr. 7a Harder

12

οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ', οἱ δ' Ἰκάρῳ ἠνεμοέσση
 φάσ', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος εἰραφιῶτα,
 οἱ δέ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινήεντι
 κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,
 ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβησιν ἄναξ σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι (5)
 ψευδόμενοι· σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
 πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων κρύπτων λευκώλενον Ἥρην.
 ἔστι δέ τις Νύση ὑπατον ὄρος ἀνθέον ὕλη
 τηλοῦ Φοινίκης σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτιοιο ῥοάων

Homeric Hymn to Dionysos (1) 1-9

... for some say it was at Drakanos, some on windy Ikaros, some on Naxos, O scion of Zeus, Bull god, and some at Alpheios the deep-swirling river that Semele conceived and bore you to Zeus whose sport is the thunderbolt, while others, Lord, say that it was at Thebes you were born. All false! The father of gods and men gave you birth far from humankind, to conceal you from white-armed Hera. There is a place

Nysa, a mountain most high, burgeoning with forest, in a distant part of Phoenicia, almost at the waters of the Nile.

13

οἶδα Γέλ[α] ποταμοῦ κεφαλῆ ἐπι κείμενον ἄστ[υ]
 Λίνδοθεν ἀρχαίη [σ]κιμπ[τόμενο]ν γενε[ῆ],
 Μινώην καὶ Κρηῆσ[αν], ἴ[να ζείον]τα λοετ[ρὰ]
 χεῦαν ἐ[π'] Εὐρώπης υἱεῖ Κ[ωκαλί]δες·
 οἶδα Λεοντίνους .δεδρα[].....[(50)
 καὶ Μεγαρεῖς ἕτεροι] τοὺς ἀ[πέ]νασσαν, ἐκεῖ
 Νισαῖοι Μεγαρηῆς, ἔχω δ' Εὐβοίαν ἐνισπε[ῖν]
 φίλατο κα[ῖ] κεστ[ο]ῦ [δ]εσπότ[ι]ς ἦν Ἔρυκα·
 τῶν οὐδεμιῇ γὰρ ὄτ[ι]ς πο[τὲ] τεῖχος ἔδειμε
 νωνυμνὶ νομίμην ἔρχ[ε]τ' ἐπ' εἰλαπίνην.

Callimachus fr. 43.46-55

I know of the city lying at the mouth of the river Gelas, boasting its ancient descent from Lindus, and Cretan Minoa, where the daughters of Cocalus poured upon the son of Europa boiling water for his bath. I know of Leontini . . . and the Megarians sent out there by the other Megarians, those of Nisa; and I can speak of Euboea and Eryx, beloved by the mistress of the charmed girdle. No one whoever once built a wall for any of these cities comes to its customary feast without being named.

14

ὁμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω
 ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
 αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας εἴκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους
 πηγοὺς ἀθλοφόρους, οἱ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο.
 οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ὃς τόσσα γένοιτο, (125)
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτῆμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο,
 ὅσσά μοι ἠνεύκοντο ἀέθλια μώνυχες ἵπποι.
 δώσω δ' ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας
 δώσω δ' ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας
 Λεσβίδας, ἃς ὅτε Λέσβον ἐυκτιμένην ἔλεν αὐτὸς
 ἐξελόμην, αἱ κάλλει ἐνίκων φύλα γυναικῶν. (130)
 τὰς μὲν οἱ δώσω ...

τρεις δὲ μοί εἰσι θυγατρὲς ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτῳ
 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα, (145)
 τῶν ἦν κ' ἐθέλησι φίλην ἀνάεδνον ἀγέσθω
 πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω
 πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσ' οὐ πά τις ἐῖ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί·
 ἑπτὰ δὲ οἱ δώσω εὔναιόμενα πτολίεθρα
 Καρδαμύλην Ἐνόπην τε καὶ Ἰρὴν ποιήεσσαν (150)
 Φηράς τε Ζαθέας ἠδ' Ἀνθειαν βαθύλειμον
 καλὴν τ' Αἴπειαν καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν.

Homer, *Iliad* 9.121-31, 144-52

In the presence of you all let me name the glorious gifts: seven tripods that the fire has not touched, and ten talents of gold and twenty gleaming cauldrons, and twelve strong horses, winners in the race, that have won prizes by their fleetness. Not without booty would that man be, nor unpossessed of precious gold, who had wealth as great as the prizes my single-hoofed horses have won for me. And I will give seven women skilled in noble handiwork, women of Lesbos, whom on the day when Achilles himself took well-built Lesbos I chose out for myself from the spoil, who in beauty surpassed all the tribes of women. These will I give him ... Three daughters have I in my well-built hall, Chrysothemis, and Laodice, and Iphianassa; of these let him lead as his own to the house of Peleus whichever one he will, without bride price; and I will in addition give a very rich dowry, such as no man ever yet gave with his daughter. And seven well-peopled cities will I give him, Cardamyle, Enope, and grassy Hire, and sacred Pherae and Antheia with its deep meadows, and fair Aepeia and vine-clad Pegasus.

15

ἐχθρὰ δέ μοι τοῦ δῶρα, τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴση.
οὐδ' εἴ μοι δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσάκις τόσα δοίη
ὄσά τέ οἱ νῦν ἔστι, καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλα γένοιτο, (380)
οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
αἶθ' ἑκατόμυλοὶ εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἄν' ἑκάστας
ἄνδρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν·
οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε, (385)
οὐδέ κεν ὧς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει' Ἀγαμέμνων
πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λώβην.

Homer, *Iliad* 9.378-87

Hateful in my eyes are his gifts, I count them at a hair's worth. Not even if he gave me ten times and twenty times all that now he has, and if yet other things should be added to it from somewhere, not even though it were all the wealth that goes to Orchomenus, or to Thebes of Egypt, where treasures in greatest store are laid up in men's houses—Thebes which is a city of one hundred gates from each of which sally out two hundred warriors with horses and chariots—no, not even if he gave gifts as many as sand and dust, not even so will Agamemnon any more persuade my heart until he has paid the full price of all the outrage that stings my heart.

16

σοὶ δ' ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμὸς ἐπετράπετο στονόεντα
εἴρεσθ', ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος στεναχίζω.
τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω;
κήδε' ἐπεὶ μοι πολλὰ δόσαν θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες. 15
νῦν δ' ὄνομα πρῶτον μυθήσομαι, ὄφρα καὶ ὑμεῖς
εἶδετ', ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἔπειτα φυγῶν ὑπο νηλεὲς ἦμαρ
ὑμῖν ξεῖνος ἔω καὶ ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίων.

Homer, *Odyssey* 9.12-18

But your spirit has determined to ask about my grievous troubles, so that even more must I groan in lamentation. What then shall I recount first, what last? Many are the troubles which the gods of heaven have given me. First, I shall tell you my name, that you may know it, and that, if I escape the day of destruction, I may be your guest-friend, though I live far from here.

17

ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον τίνα δ' ὑστατον ἐξενάριξαν
Ἴκτωρ τε Πριάμοιο πάϊς καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης;

Homer, *Iliad* 5.703-4

Whom then first, whom last did Hector, the son of Priam and brazen Ares kill?

ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον Τρώων ἔλε Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων;

Homer, *Iliad* 8.273

Whom then first of the Trojans did excellent Teucer take?

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
ὄς τις δὴ πρῶτος Ἀγαμέμνωνος ἀντίον ἦλθεν
ἢ αὐτῶν Τρώων ἢ κλειτῶν ἐπικούρων.

Homer, *Iliad* 11.218-20

Tell me now, Muses with your Olympian homes, who first faced Agamemnon, either of the Trojans themselves or their renowned allies?

ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριξας,
Πατρόκλεις, ὅτε δὴ σε θεοὶ θάνατόνδ' ἐκάλεσαν;

Homer, *Iliad* 16.692-3

Whom then first, whom last did you kill, Patroclus, when the gods summoned you to your death?

18

itaque ait Aristoteles, cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatae longo intervallo iudiciis repeterentur, tum primum, quod esset acuta illa gens et controversa natura, artem et praecepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse, nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte, sed accurate tamen et discripte plerosque dicere ...

Cicero, *Brutus* 46 = Aristotle fr. 137 R = 125 Gigon

Aristotle says that in Sicily, after the expulsion of tyrants, when after a long interval restitution of private property was sought by legal means, Korax and Tisias the Sicilians, with the acuteness and controversial habit of their people, first put together an art and precepts; that before them, while many had taken pains to speak with care and with orderly arrangement, no one had followed a definite method or art.

19

Sicily ... was ruled as a tyranny by Gelon and Hieron, very savage tyrants, who violently strengthened their tyranny over the Syracusans to the point where the Syracusans prayed to be released from this cruel slavery. It is said that the tyrants indulged their savagery to the extent of forbidding the Syracusans to utter any sound at all, but to signify (σημαίνειν) what was appropriate and what any of them might need by means of their feet, hands, and eyes. It was in this way, they say, that dance-pantomime (ὄρχηστική) had its beginnings. Because the Syracusans had been cut off from speech (λόγος), they contrived to explain their business with dance-figures (σχήματα). Because, then, the Syracusans were ruled so harshly and savagely and because they prayed to Zeus the deliverer to free them from this cruel slavery, Zeus, acting as both saviour and deliverer, liberated the Syracusans from tyranny by destroying the tyrants. Then, since the citizenry (δῆμος) among the Syracusans feared that they might in some way fall upon a similar tyrant, they no longer entrusted their government to a tyrant, but wanted themselves to have absolute control over all things.

There was a Syracusan called Korax who observed how the *dēmos* was by nature an unsteady and disorderly thing, and realising that it was speech (λόγος) by which human character is properly ordered (ῥυθμίζεται), he intended to encourage the *dēmos* in the right direction and away from the wrong through speech. Coming into the assembly, where all the people had gathered together, he began first to calm the

troublesome and turbulent element of the *dēmos* with soothing (θεραπευτικοί) and flattering words, which he called introductions (προοίμια). After he had calmed and silenced the people, he began to give the people necessary advice and to speak as though narrating (ὡς ἐν διηγήσει), and after these things to recapitulate (ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι) and call to mind concisely what had gone before and to bring before their eyes at a glance what had previously been said (εἰς σύνοπτον καὶ ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγειν). The first of these he called 'introductions', the second 'contests' (ἀγῶνες), the third 'epilogues'. By a display (ἐπιδειξάμενος) of the tasks of rhetoric (ἔργα ῥητορικῆς), this man, Korax of Syracuse, persuaded the Syracusan *dēmos*, and that [i.e. persuasion] is the purpose (τέλος) of our art.

Prolegomena 4.11-13, pp. 24.10-26.8 Rabe

20

ἢ νῆ Δί” ἔφη “πιστευτέον ἐκείνῳ τῷ θρυλουμένῳ, ὡς ἡ δημοκρατία τῶν μεγάλων ἀγαθῆ τιθηνός, ἣ μόνη σχεδὸν καὶ συνήκμασαν οἱ περὶ λόγους δεινοὶ καὶ συναπέθανον; θρέψαι τε γάρ, φασίν, ἰκανὴ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν μεγαλοφρόνων ἢ ἐλευθερία καὶ ἐπελπίσαι καὶ ἅμα διεγείρειν τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα φιλοτιμίας. ... οἱ δὲ νῦν εἰκόκαμεν” ἔφη “παιδομαθεῖς εἶναι δουλείας δικαίας, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ἔτι φρονημάτων μόνον οὐκ ἐνεσπαργανωμένοι καὶ ἄγευστοι καλλίστου καὶ γονιμωτάτου λόγωννάματος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν” ἔφη “λέγω, διόπερ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κόλακες ἐκβαίνομεν μεγαλοφουεῖς.

Longinus, *On the Sublime* 44.2-4

‘Are we really to believe the hackneyed view (ἐκείνῳ τῷ θρυλουμένῳ) that democracy is the kindly nurse of genius and that – speaking generally – the great men of letters flourished only with democracy and perished with it? Freedom, they say, has the power to foster noble minds and to fill them with high hopes, and at the same time to rouse our spirit of mutual rivalry and eager competition for the foremost place. ... But in these days we seem to be schooled from childhood in an equitable slavery, swaddled, I might say, from the tender infancy of our minds in the same servile ways and practices. We never drink from the fairest and most fertile source of eloquence, which is freedom, and therefore we turn out to be nothing but flatterers on a grand scale’.

21

nec enim in constituentibus rem publicam nec in bella gerentibus nec in impeditis ac regum dominatione devinctis nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. pacis est comes otique socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia.

Cicero, *Brutus* 45

For the ambition to speak well does not arise when men are engaged in establishing government, nor occupied with the conduct of war, nor shackled and chained by the authority of kings. Upon peace and tranquillity eloquence attends as their ally; it is, one may say, the offspring of well-established civic order.

22

ΦΑΙΔΡ. Καὶ μάλα που συχνά, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ γ' ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις τοῖς περὶ λόγων τέχνης γεγραμμένοις.

ΣΩΚ. Καλῶς γε ὑπέμνησας. προοίμιον μὲν οἶμαι πρῶτον ὡς δεῖ τοῦ λόγου λέγεσθαι ἐν ἀρχῇ· ταῦτα λέγεις—ἢ γάρ; τὰ κομψὰ τῆς τέχνης;

ΦΑΙΔΡ. Ναί.

ΣΩΚ. Δεύτερον δὲ δὴ διήγησίν τινα μαρτυρίας τ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ, τρίτον τεκμήρια, τέταρτον εἰκότα· καὶ πίστωσιν οἶμαι καὶ ἐπιπίστωσιν λέγειν τόν γε βέλτιστον λογοδαίδαλον Βυζάντιον ἄνδρα.

Plato, *Phaedrus* 266d5-e5 (trans. H.N. Fowler, adapted)

Phaedrus A great many things remain, Socrates, the things that are written in the books on the *technē* of speeches.

Socrates Thank you for reminding me. You mean that there must be an introduction first, at the beginning of the discourse; these are the things you mean, are they not?—the niceties of the *technē*.

Phaedrus Yes.

Socrates And the narrative must come second with the testimonies after it, and third the proofs, and fourth the probabilities; and confirmation (πίστωσις) and further confirmation are mentioned, I believe, by the man from Byzantium, that most excellent artist in words.

23

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις οἷς ἔχομεν οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων διαφέρομεν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐπορίαις καταδεέστεροισι τυγχάνομεν ὄντες· ἐγγενομένου δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ πείθειν ἀλλήλους καὶ δηλοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουλευθῶμεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνελθόντες πόλεις ὠκίσασαμεν καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα καὶ τέχνας εὔρομεν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ δι' ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένα λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας.

Isocrates, *Nicoles* 5-6

For in the other powers which we possess we are in no respect superior to other living creatures; nay, we are inferior to many in swiftness and in strength and in other resources; but, because there has been implanted in us the power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire, not only have we escaped the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man which the power of speech (λόγος) has not helped us to establish.

24

nam fuit quoddam tempus cum in agris homines passim bestiarum modo uagabantur et sibi uictu fero uitam propagabant, nec ratione animi quicquam, sed pleraque uiribus corporis administrabant; nondum diuinae religionis, non humani officii ratio colebatur, nemo nuptias uiderat legitimas, non certos quisquam aspexerat liberos, non, ius aequabile quid utilitatis haberet, acceperat. ita propter errorem atque inscientiam caeca ac temeraria dominatrix animi cupiditas ad se explendam uiribus corporis abutebatur, perniciosissimis satellitibus.

quo tempore quidam magnus uidelicet uir et sapiens cognouit quae materia esset et quanta ad maximas res opportunitas in animis inesset hominum, si quis eam posset elicere et praecipiendo meliorem reddere; qui dispersos homines in agros et in tectis siluestribus abditos ratione quadam compulit unum in locum et congregauit et eos in unam quamque rem inducens utilem atque honestam primo propter insolentiam reclamantes, deinde propter rationem atque orationem studiosius audientes ex feris et immanibus mites reddidit et mansuetos.

Cicero, *De inuentione* 1.2-3

For there was a time when men wandered at large in the fields like animals and lived on wild fare; they did nothing by the guidance of reason, but relied chiefly on physical strength; there was as yet no ordered system of religious worship nor of social duties; no one had seen legitimate marriage nor had anyone looked upon children whom he knew to be his own; nor had they learned the advantages of an equitable code of law. And so through their ignorance and error blind and unreasoning passion satisfied itself by misuse of bodily strength, which is a very dangerous servant.

At this juncture a man—great and wise (*magnus uir et sapiens*) I am sure— became aware of the power latent in man and the wide field offered by his mind for great achievements if one could develop this power and improve it by instruction. Men were scattered in the fields and hidden in sylvan retreats when he assembled and gathered them in accordance with a plan; he introduced them to every useful and honourable occupation, though they cried out against it at first because of its novelty, and then when through reason and eloquence they had listened with greater attention, he transformed them from wild savages into a kind and gentle folk.