THE πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης FORMULA IN EARLY GREEK POETRY

by

JILL KATHARINE SIMMONS

(Under the direction of Dr. Charles Platter)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula as it appears in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, as well as two later instances of the phrase in fragments of epic and elegy. The collocation is here examined for the ways in which its use in Homer demonstrates a clear and consistent conformity to the poetic purpose of emotional revelation and amplification. The Iliadic use of the phrase contributes to the thematisation of grief and the establishment of the sea as a locus for poetic expression in Greek epic. Later uses of the formula in the *Odyssey*, in the Hesiodic material, and in fragment 13 of Archilochus draw on the psychological effect of the phrase's Iliadic use to evoke the volume of epic lament. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation provides an important example of how oral-traditional vocabulary develops meaning through reuse, and highlights the function of the sea as normative Homeric landscape.

INDEX WORDS: Greek poetry, Oral-Traditional Formula, Greek epic, Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Cypria, the sea, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Works and Days,* Metapoetic, Nautilia

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INTRODUCTION

"Listen! you hear the grating roar
Of pebbles which the waves draw back, and fling,
At their return, up the high strand,
Begin, and cease, and then again begin,
With tremulous cadence slow, and bring
The eternal note of sadness in." – Matthew Arnold

"We may sink and settle on the waves. The sea will drum in my ears." – Virginia Woolf

The last several decades have brought about scholarship that reflects changing attitudes towards the language of archaic Greek poetry. As an understanding of the nature of early poetic reliance on traditional, orally-expressed formulaic vocabulary has grown, so too has the understanding of the depth and flexibility of this conventional vocabulary. From the strict limitations described by Milman Parry's early approach to rhapsodic materials has developed a much more sensitive view of the purposes and methods of early Greek poetic composition. Scholars like John Miles Foley and Gregory Nagy have recognised the deep nuance and the important aggregation of inheritance that underlies the impact of the early Greek poetic vocabulary. In this thesis I hope to make a small contribution to this body of scholarship through the discussion of one archaic poetic collocation. I will examine the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase as a part of the inherited oral-traditional vocabulary of the early Greek rhapsodic context. Usually rendered in English as 'the loud-roaring sea' or 'the resounding sea,' this evocative but understudied formula performs a significantly more complex poetic function than is permitted by such a translation. The phrase has regularly been interpreted as a basic set piece in ancient epic, having little impact beyond its position as a locator for narrative action. By expanding on a deeper meaning of this phrase, with particular respect to psychological and metapoetic impact, I

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hope to contribute in some small way to a broader dialogue on the weight of the oral-traditional vocabulary that defines early Greek poetry. In suggesting such a forceful meaning for a phrase generally considered to be shallow in its poetic functioning, my analysis adds to the scholarly understanding of formulas as strongly expressive and deeply nuanced. I point to the use of the individual collocation as highly valuable for its ability to contribute to the poetic effect of a scene, as well as to the broader patterns of thematisation within a work or genre.

This thesis begins with a consideration of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula in Homer. The collocation clearly stands within the theme of sorrow set on the shore of the sea, a repeated element of the Homeric landscape. This dramatic notion of grief as echoed by the sounds and motions of the sea rings widely even through much later poetry, as in the lines quoted at the beginning of this introduction. These much later authors manifest a strongly Homeric construction, wherein the sea is used as a device for the representation of human emotion. The loud-roaring sea is one of a number of means by which the archaic rhapsode depicts the connection between natural forces and psychological or emotional elements of his characters and narrative. The particular impact of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation is such that it provides a reflection and amplification of turbulence and sorrow expressed in human voices, actions, and emotions. In the first chapter, I explore this view, first through discussion of the relevant scholarship on oral-traditional formula and some etymological commentary. This background establishes the underlying force of the formula, in which are contained implications of the sea's violence, noise, and size. I then turn these considerations to the support of specific claims about the use of the resounding sea in Homer. I examine the six instances of the phrase in the *Iliad* and the two instances of its use in the *Odyssey* in order to unfold a high level of consistency between them. Particularly in the Iliadic uses of the phrase, there is a regular use of

the phrase as an amplification of the sounds of grief and chaos. In contributing to the thematisation of these elements, the loud-roaring sea functions as a definitive locus for the Iliadic narrative of loss and the emotions surrounding it. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase serves as an expression and augmentation of the emotional themes that so define the *Iliadic* story, and thus the formula contributes to the establishment of the sea as the ultimate setting for the Trojan War and related epic narrative.

Also in the first chapter, I turn from the Iliadic to the Odyssean uses of the phrase, and in my analysis I suggest a high level of consistency. Even in view of similar use, however, I find it necessary to highlight certain differences in the implementation of the formula that point to a developing conception of the loud-roaring sea following the composition of the *Iliad*. I suggest that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula has already begun to progress slightly from its earlier use in the Iliadic context, and that the Odyssean singer seems be drawing on this context in his own usage. The advancement in the phrase's use becomes clearer in the second chapter, wherein I discuss the Hesiodic use of the formula. I examine the Nautilia, a section within the *Works and Days,* and, taking into consideration the meta-poetic circumstances of Hesiod's so-called digression on sailing, I suggest that the phrase contributes to the programmatic nature of the passage. The Homeric implications of the Nautilia are important for the argumentation around metapoetic commentary, as well as to my own consideration of the use of the phrase in Hesiod. I point up the thematisation of voice and poetic authority in the Hesiodic material, which is reinforced by the poet's use of a phrase that conjures the Iliadic voicing of emotion and chaos. I further highlight the way that the Hesiodic poet reinforces his authority by means of a formula with a connection to the distant, epic past, just as he repeatedly connects himself to the distant, because divine, imagery of the Muses. The Hesiodic poet also constructs his authority through

the idea of foreignness, as expressed in geographic and dialectal references. Distance is thus expressed in both poetic and personal terms, which contrasts with the way in which Hesiod is carefully present before his audience, as is clear from his deictic language and personal references. This careful negotiation between distance and immediacy is also evident in the vividness of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula as a setting, which stands in juxtaposition with the formula's evocation of the epic imagery of Homer. The collocation serves to turn an expression so clearly reminiscent of Homeric epos to the expression of Hesiod's own poetic goals.

In my final chapter, I examine two instances of the phrase in later Greek poetry. I first consider an instance of the loud-roaring sea in the fragmentary tradition of the *Cypria*, highlighting how strongly it differs from the Homeric usage. I propose that this offers a glimpse into an epic tradition that did not consistently or necessarily use the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase as it is seen in the two Homeric poems, and thus that its use in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is actually quite remarkable. I draw on the supporting evidence of other early dactylic hexameter uses of the formula that echo the evidence of the *Cypria* in implementing the phrase without the aural and psychological effect of the Iliadic usage. I suggest that the Homeric implementation may be a unique innovation; it is also possible that it may draw on an earlier tradition, in which case it is still significant that the Homeric use is so consistently true to a uniform purposing of the phrase. I then turn to further fragmentary evidence in a consideration of the resounding sea in Archilochus 13. In this use I find significant consistency with the Homeric context, though the formula is clearly implemented in a more poetically complex, layered manner. I suggest that this points to the developing poetic circumstances in later elegy and lyric poetry, in which the diction of Homeric epic is both reused and reimagined. In this vein, I briefly discuss a few ways in

which the noise and the emotional impact of the sea are wielded in later Greek poetry. I aim to highlight how the sea in Greek poetry must be understood as a powerfully evocative tool that prompts and reflects human emotion. As the sea in Homer functions as a powerful locus for poetry, so it remains in later material.

HOMER'S EPIC LANDSCAPE:

THE EMOTIVE IMPACT OF THE πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης COLLOCATION

This chapter considers the ways in which the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula contributes to the poetic construction of emotive themes in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The collocation contributes to the theme of sorrow as set on the seashore, an important, recurring element of the Homeric narrative. It is perhaps not surprising that such a violent and mysterious entity as the sea has for so long been used as a literary construction by which human emotion may be revealed and represented. Such manifestations of psychological turmoil and human grief pervade the physical and metaphorical landscape of archaic Greek epic and are figured therein by numerous means. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation is one of the many tools used by the archaic rhapsode to communicate the link between physical forces and the human psyche. I will demonstrate that the formula appears only in contexts in which it serves to reflect emotive themes through the representation and amplification of human noise, action, and emotion, particularly as enacted in instances of sorrow and chaos.

I will begin this discussion with a brief consideration of contemporary scholarship concerning the oral-traditional formula, in order to locate the subsequent analyses within the context of formular composition and the epic register in archaic Greek poetry. Such a foregrounding will enable a linguistic examination of the collocation under discussion. I will elaborate on the etymological and morphological resonances of the phrase that point to its poetic implications. I will discuss the ways in which the collocation draws out themes of noise, as well

as those of size, movement, and turmoil. I will then turn to the Homeric evidence,[1] where the

phrase occurs six times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*. I will first examine the evidence in

the *Iliad* to demonstrate that the collocation occurs in contexts that evoke the underlying

meanings of the phrase. I will consider the instances of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula in

the order in which they appear so as to unpack the implications of the aural, physical, and

psychological elements of the passages containing the collocation. This chapter will demonstrate

that the phrase contributes not only to the persistent Iliadic theme of grief or loneliness as

manifested on the sea shore, but also more generally to a consideration of the pervasiveness of

loss and psychological turmoil in the *Iliad*. I will then turn to the two instances of the phrase in

the *Odyssey* to consider how these examples draw on and perpetuate the Iliadic use of the

formula in question. While no one instance of the collocation would be sufficient for the drawing

of such broad conclusions as discussed here, the rarity of this form and its recurrent specificity of

purpose in echoing and amplifying the voices and actions of the Iliadic characters must point to

the deliberate invocation of a unique poetic strength. Ultimately I will argue that the 'loud-

roaring sea' draws on and develops the theme of human suffering as it pervades Homeric epic. It

will be shown that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης is demonstrative of an epic tradition in which

the scale of human grief is as deep and as forceful as the sea.

Implications of the Oral-Traditional Formula

It is first necessary to situate this analysis within a discussion of the oral-traditional

formula in Archaic Greek poetry. I follow Milman Parry in his seminal definition of formula as

"an expression that is regularly used, under the same metrical conditions, to express a particular

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[1] I will refer regularly to the 'Homeric' material in discussing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. I do not include
under this label the so-called Homeric Hymns. A discussion of these materials, their later date, and their

essential idea."[2] In practice the formula functions as a lexical item retained in the vocabulary of a singer, who borrows and develops the metrical vehicle inherited from his predecessors. Albert B. Lord's work has further established the idea of "traditionally intuitive meaning" in formulaic expression, such that any individual lexical item must be understood within the context of traditional usage and deeply established poetic vocabulary.[3] It is most crucial to understand the formula as a referent that brings up a store of implications and ideas that call back to the use of that particular word or phrase in its previous iterations in other or earlier poetry, and thus to prior poetic and narrative contexts of that word or phrase. Deeply encoded in any use of a formula is the underlying idea or the embedded qualities governed by the word(s) used. Michael Nagler offers the term 'allomorph' to refer to something that is "derivative not of any other phrase but of some preverbal, mental, not quite real entity underlying all such phrases at a more abstract level."[4] Nagler's terminology would draw on the possibility of reforming, rephrasing, and recontextualising a lexical item that retains, in its underlying form, a singular purpose or idea. In this sense, a formula presents a set of concepts and descriptors that have been constructed by and within the tradition, such that its use in a poem stretches out through the historical and (perhaps more importantly) the narrative past to evoke a deeply specific meaning that collects nuance from each reuse. As John Miles Foley elaborates,

> "traditional elements reach out of the immediate instance in
> which they appear to the fecund totality of the entire tradition,
> defined synchronically and diachronically, and they bear
> meanings as wide and deep as the tradition they encode...
> traditional referentiality, then, entails the invoking of a context
> that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work

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[2] Milman Parry, *L'epithèt traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928), 16; cf. Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 4.
[3] Lord, *Singer,* 66.
[4] Michael N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition: A Study in the Oral Art of Homer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 12.

itself, that brings the lifeblood of generations of poems and
performances to the individual performance or text."[5]

The use of any one traditional formulaic word or phrase is thus supported by a deeply nuanced

and heavily layered corpus of formulaic vocabulary that is both lexically and contextually

referential.

As Foley suggests, the performative quality of the formula is crucial to its function. It is

in the telling of a story and the experience of that story, the evocation of image, of great and

distant peoples, places, and actions, that the power of a formula is determined. As Egbert Bakker

has written, in any instantiation of a formula,

> "we shall be concerned with linguistic reflexes of a notion of
> truth in which the past is not so much an event referred to as a
> state of mind in the present, an act of remembering, not so
> much in the sense of a retrieval of a "fact" from memory as in
> the sense of a re-experience of an original experience that took
> place in another time."[6]

This analysis of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation will proceed from the understanding

of such experiential and codified implications of the phrase. From such a platform we may

develop an understanding of the sea as a symbol that necessarily forms the landscape not of any

one poetic scene but of an echoic series of narrative loci that inform and develop each other.

It is also important to note that the phrase in question must be considered in its full form,

as composed of two separate but compositionally joined lexical units. It will be neither useful nor

even possible to separate the two words. I follow Foley in his discussion of *sêma* as key elements

of the Homeric language:

> "The smallest meaningful unit in a noun-epithet phrase is neither
> the noun nor the epithet, but their combination – neither one part

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[5] John Miles Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington
and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 7.
[6] Egbert J. Bakker, *Pointing at the Past: From Formula to Performance in Homeric Poetics* (Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 2005), 92.

> nor the other but the phrase as a whole… To settle on any other
> unity as the bearer of traditional meaning is to misperceive the
> expressive rules of the traditional medium and ultimately to deny
> Homer's art."[7]

The formulaic unit that denotes both the 'sea' and its quality of 'resounding-ness' must therefore be taken holistically in order to fully appreciate the means by which both elements communicate this specific piece of rhapsodic imagery. To examine the πολυφλοίσβος unit on its own would rob it of the maritime demarcation that renders its onomatopoeic effect so evocative. Doing so would also ignore its formulaic specificity – the word never occurs in Homer without the immediately subsequent element, θαλάσσης, always in the genitive. To consider only the idea of the θάλασσα is equally unhelpful. θάλασσα occurs in various case forms a total of 42 times in the Iliad and 79 times in the Odyssey, rarely as a part of the πολυφλοίσβος epithet. A complete analysis of θάλασσα in its own right would necessarily demand a larger scope than the project undertaken here, in turn requiring a consideration of numerous purposes for the sea. Rather, the rarity of the collocation of the two elements implies a highly specific implementation of the sea in its function as 'resounding.' Together the two words form a lexical entry with highly particular and concentrated implications that have not, until now, been adequately explored.

This phrase in its full form is a metrically specific collocation, only ever occupying the (entire) second half of a line, indeed dominating the line in which it is used.[8] It is often preceded

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[7] John Miles Foley, *Homer's Traditional Art* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 212. Concerning Indo-European poetic epithet constructions M. L. West writes that "the epithet adds nothing essential to the sense or especially relevant to the context, but expresses a permanent or ideal characteristic of the thing" (Martin L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)*,* 83-84). This first part is known to be untrue of the loud-roaring sea, particularly because we will see that πολυφλοίσβος contributes repeatedly to the local onomatopoeic effect of its poetic contexts. Certainly it does, however, also contribute to a deeply ideal construction of the sea, as will be demonstrated in the linguistic examination below.

[8] Bakker has noted that Homeric poetic units, "often easily recognizable as syntactic and semantic atomic wholes, tend to coincide with the half lines of Homeric verse, before and after the middle caesura. Homeric discourse thus appears to proceed in little blocks of information or parcels of experience that

by particular words that metrically facilitate its use – most often the accusative singular forms

θῖνα "banks") or κῦμα ("waves"). It is necessarily a purposeful formulaic choice, as opposed to

what Bakker has termed a "peripheral element."[9] This notion of peripherality entails the

sidelining of a phrase's semantic sense in favour of its technical or functional purpose. While the

collocation does serve as a basic landscape marker, the sense of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης

formula runs far deeper. It is certainly not the case that this collocation is simply one of many

possible designations for the sea, chosen when a large enough space in a line needs to be filled.

The Homeric evidence discussed below will demonstrate that there are other phrases of various

sizes used in similar metrical contexts to describe the sea, also in the genitive, which bring their

own unique thematic influences to bear on a given narrative instance. The πολυφλοίσβοιο

θαλάσσης formula will instead be established as a powerful and very particular poetic

collocation that rises above metrical convenience or simple reference to the obvious maritime

setting of Homeric epic.

The Linguistic Evidence

An examination of the etymology of the πολυφλοίσβος element of the πολυφλοίσβοιο

θαλάσσης collocation offers a substantial beginning for a discussion of the word in its poetic

context. The existing analyses of the word allow for the elaboration of a set of underlying

meanings that will inform the archaic Greek use of the phrase as a whole. The origin of the word

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match the working memory of human consciousness… Each [half-]line represents a single detail that is often visual, a focus of vision and of consciousness, shifting with each moment and each new verbalization." Bakker, *Pointing at the Past,* 68-9. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης form is a strong example of this, in which two long words communicate the setting not as an addition to a line or as a secondary concern, but as a primary, dominant element of the line. The 'resounding sea' thus presents forcefully.

[9] "The peripheral status of an expression in Homeric diction entails two important properties. Peripheral elements have to be (i) neutral with respect to their context, and (ii) metrically variable." Bakker, *Pointing at the Past,* 5.

πολυφλοίσβος is somewhat obscure, but what information is available reveals some important

implications. Pierre Chantraine compares φλοίσβος to "sound words" like θόρυβος or κόναβος

that show an onomatopoeic suffix in -*bo*-.[10] This onomatopoeic effect has been noted a number

of times by commenters, as will be further discussed below, in that the word evokes the sounds

of heavy winds and crashing waves. Allen Rogers Benner noted over a century ago that it is

"imitative of the sound of the wind-swept sea."[11]

Pierre Chantraine derives φλοίσβος from the verb φλέω,[12] a "rarely attested form"

meaning 'to swell,' 'to grow,' 'to abound,' or 'to be full.'[13] Robert Beekes' *Etymological*

Dictionary of Greek offers little more.[14] Chantraine further notes that there is an unsurprising

connection between metaphorical conceptions of flowing and swelling and the idea of 'tumult'

or 'clamour.' He writes that,

> "on rapproche φλοῖσβος du groupe φλοιδιάω, πέφλοιδεν, etc., qui
> signifie essentiellement "être gonflé" et qui est apparenté à φλέω …
> c'est un fait que la notion de tumulte peut s'exprimer par l'emploi
> metaphorique d'un mot significant "gonflement."[15]

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[10] "ὄτοβος," *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, ed. Robert Beekes (Leiden: Brill, 2010). The onomatopoeic effect of the word was noted already in the scholia, as at 1.34c collected in the *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* Vol. 1, ed. Erbse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988).

[11] Allen Rogers Benner, *Selections from Homer's* Iliad (New York: Irvington Publishers, 1903), 215.

[12] "φλοίσβος," *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque: Histoire des mots*, ed. Pierre Chantraine (Paris: Éditions Klincksiek, 1980).

[13] Chantraine writes thus concerning the word φλέω: "uniquement poétique: 1. "tumulte, agitation" de la bataille… 2. "rumeur grondement" de la mer, sens indirectement attesté chez Homère (cf. πολυφλοίσβος), directement après lui." φλέω is further distinguished from φλίω, which carries a more primary sense of filling and swelling, as might occur in a diseased body part, for example. "φλέω," *Dictionnaire étymologique,* 1980.

[14] "Further analysis unknown." "φλοῖσβος," *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, ed. Robert Beekes (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[15] "One approaches φλοῖσβος from the group φλοιδιάω, πέφλοιδεν, etc., which signifies essentially "to be swollen" and which is related to φλέω … It is a fact that the notion of tumult may be expressed through the metaphorical use of a word indicating "swelling." "φλοῖσβος," *Dictionnaire étymologique,* 1980. All translations are my own.

The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase thus presents a very particular version of the sea, one originally highlighted for its noise, chaos, and 'swelling,' an idea that implies both size and the active process of increasing in size. A comment on formula from Albert Lord is helpful here:

> "a formula that entered the poetry because its acoustic patterns emphasized by repetition a potent word or idea was kept after the peculiar potency which it symbolized and which one might say it even was intended to make effective was lost – kept because the fragrance of its past importance still clung vaguely to it."[16]

The obvious onomatopoeic effect of πολυφλοίσβοιο is a clear example of how acoustic elements might make a word particularly evocative of a traditionally encoded idea. Repeated labials and increasingly long vowel sets reinforce the frenetic and auditory qualities that evoke these same characteristics of the landscape. The use of the genitive form –*oio* further contributes to the phonetic rhythm of the phrase, picking up as it does on the preceding diphthong. All of this suggests an underlying meaning for the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula, explicitly or implicitly available to poet or audience, that reaches well beyond the usual translation of 'loud-roaring.' Eric A. Havelock's conception of archaic Greek compound epithets as experiential rather than static also contributes to an interpretation of the phrase that must include a dynamic sense of movement and active noise.[17] We may add this to the connotations of Chantraine's etymology, in order to wring out themes of ever-increasing expansiveness and uproar, encompassing motion and sound. The phrase presents to the poet's audience a very vivid setting: a sea that is not only 'loud,' but which is infinitely deep and wide, which moves and roars and rages with the endless rising of waves.

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[16] Lord, *Singer*, 65.

[17] The original use of archaic Greek compound epithets "reveals a way of experiencing the world (rather than thinking about it) which is specific to preliterate Greece. One can say that this world tends to be perceived kinetically, as things in motion, rather than as objects possessed of determinate properties." Eric A. Havelock, "The Cosmic Myths of Homer and Hesiod," *Oral Tradition* (1987), 41.

The Iliadic Context

The first instance of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula in the *Iliad* is arguably that on

which most comment has been made. This often seems to be the result of the view taken by

commentators that the phrase need only be addressed once in the analysis of Homer's works,

after which point it becomes assimilated into the repeated theme of 'sadness on the seashore.'[18]

As we have begun to see in the examination of the etymological implications of the word, there

is significantly more to be said. I aim now to draw on the underlying semantic view of the phrase

just discussed in order to consider more closely the instances of its use in the *Iliad*.

The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation first appears at *Iliad* 1.33-34, following

Agamemnon's refusal of Chryses' pleas:

> ὣς ἔφατ᾽, ἔδεισεν δ᾽ ὃ γέρων καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ
> βῆ δ᾽ ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
>
> Thus he spoke, and the old man was afraid and
> was persuaded by his word:
> He set out silently along the banks of the loud-roaring sea.[19]

While the broadly emotive capacity of the sea in this context has not gone unnoticed, the ability

of this particular noun-epithet combination to effect a more extensive or unique emotive purpose

has been questioned, as by Geoffrey Kirk:

> "Is there an intended contrast between the priest's silence (ἀκέων)
> and the roar of the sea (πολυφλοίσβοιο)? Ostensibly not, since he is
> silent because he decides to obey and not reply, and the sea is
> roaring because that is what it typically does, at least in the genitive
> – πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης is a standard epithet and fills the

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[18] Postlethwaite's commentary on Lattimore describes this very simply, stating that, "the image of the individual alone on the beach is employed on a number of occasions to convey grief and anger." Norman Postlethwaite, *Homer's Iliad: A Commentary on the Translation of Richmond Lattimore* (University of Exeter Press, 2000), 33.

[19] All translations are my own.

necessary part of the verse, given that the poet chooses to emphasize the idea of the sea at this point. Yet the overtones of θῖνα… θαλάσσης and so on are often of tension or sadness (e.g. of the heralds going unwillingly at 327; the embassy at 9.182; Akhilleus' mourning at 23.59, cf. his sadness at 1.350) and this perhaps colours Khruses' temporary silence, making it ominous."[20]

I contend that Kirk underestimates the impact of the 'loud-roaring' collocation. His note that this is a 'standard' epithet implies that it is far more common than it is, and he falsely indicates that this function of the sea follows necessarily from its use in the genitive. Moreover, the limited use of the phrase and its particular instantiation here, as opposed to one of many other epithet-noun combinations for the sea, point strongly to a deliberate poetic choice in contrasting the silence of Chryses with the loudness of the sea. The phrase certainly contributes to the broader theme of sea-side lamentation in the *Iliad*, but it does so by evoking a locally appropriate psychological effect through the implication of noise and tumult. It has also been proposed that the important landscape element at play here is the shore, which functions as a "place of despondency in Homer."[21] Certainly this is true, but there is a further role to be played by the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula in highlighting the emotional impact of this and other Homeric scenes.

Let us briefly consider the extent to which alternative phrases are available to the poet. Importantly, it is not the case that the sea "typically" roars in the genitive. Indeed, another scene cited here by Kirk, featuring Agamemnon's heralds at line 327, employs a different epithet for the sea in the genitive. The poet says that, τὼ δ᾽ ἀέκοντε βάτην παρὰ θῖν᾽ ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο ("unwilling the two walked along the shore of the barren sea"). At this instance the genitive form

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[20] Geoffrey S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume 1: Books 1-4,* ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 56-57.
[21] Jo Heirman notes this instance of the phrase, as well as those at *Il*. 9.182 and 23.59, and *Od*. 13.220, all of which appear in conjunction with the noun θίς. He further suggests that "the loud noise of the sea mirrors the emotional agitation of the despondent people on the shore." He does not, however, connect these instances to the other uses of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula. Jo Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric: city, countryside and sea," Dissertation: University of Amsterdam, 2012 (http://dare.uva.nl/document/352261), 84.

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in *–oio* and the narrative action, a walk along the banks of the sea, mark a passage that might as easily have employed the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation. Nor is this a matter of poetic *variatio* – the poet has used the same phrase, ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο, fewer than fifteen lines previously.[22] It is more likely that this phrase, describing the barrenness and not the noise or motion of the sea, calls out to the use of ἀπείρονα at 1.348-350:

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
δακρύσας ἑτάρων ἄφαρ ἕζετο νόσφι λιασθείς,
θῖν᾽ ἔφ᾽ ἁλὸς πολιῆς, ὁρόων ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα πόντον.

"However Achilles,
weeping, withdrew from his companions and sat down
on the shores of the grey salt water, looking onto the endless sea."

Kirk follows Havelock in noting a thematic parallelism between this and the scene of Chryses' silence on the shore. While certainly this link is important, to the narrative of Achilles' sorrow and to the repeated thematisation of the sea as a place of sadness in the *Iliad*, there is undoubtedly a contrast between the way the sea is framed at 34 and at 327 or 350. It is more likely that these two later instances are intended to develop Achilles' loneliness and his unique situation in the *Iliad*. The concept of barrenness might in this case evoke his relationship with his mother, who will lose her son, or the shortness of Achilles' own life. Most importantly for this thesis, it must be understood that the πολυφλοίσβοιο collocation, though available, was not preferred for these narrative moments, and thus that it must have been of particular relevance to the poet's construction of Chryses' grief.

The second and the larger issue with Kirk's interpretation of 1.33-34 is his conclusion that there is not an intended contrast between Chryses' silence and the noise of the sea. The

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[22] ἔρδον δ᾽ Ἀπόλλωνι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας
ταύρων ἠδ᾽ αἰγῶν παρὰ θῖν᾽ ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο
"(And) they offered to Apollo perfect hecatombs
of bulls and goats by the banks of the barren sea." *Il.* 1.315-317.

roaring of the sea is certainly not its only function, in terms of available epithets (one might also consider its greyness, saltiness, barrenness, wide-wayed-ness, or wine-darkness);[23] in terms of case function (it is questionable, too, to suggest that the poet might not simply render the sea in another case, when required); or in terms of the metre, as we have just seen at 1.327 with the use of a different epithet in a very similar instance of line division, narrative, and action. I argue that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase was rather taken up for its particular role in the presentation of Chryses' inner turmoil. The loudness of the sea serves to highlight and strengthen the priest's silence, by offering both contrast and imitation. It provides an outward image of Chryses' tumultuous inner state, while its noise reinforces his wordlessness. The expansiveness of the sea provides a projection of grief and turmoil that is, for the poet's purposes, infinite. The sea's boundless size and sound thereby render even more poignant the lonely image of a grieving man.

One instance of the phrase, however, cannot be sufficient for confirming the emotive effect of the formula in question. As we continue through the passages that employ the 'loud-roaring sea' the emotional import of the collocation will emerge as the central element of its repeated use. The next example of the phrase, at 2.207-210, picks up on the themes of scale and psychological turmoil:

> οἳ δ᾽ ἀγορὴν δὲ
> αὖτις ἐπεσσεύοντο νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων
> ἠχῇ, ὡς ὅτε κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
> αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος.

> "[The Greeks] rushed to the assembly

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[23] "Long before the Homeric poems took literary form, the great spectacle of its shape and color, its drama of sound and motion, must have found expression in speech. In its simplest form, this means the Homeric epithet, which voices in a large descriptive way the physical nature of its object." William Chase Greene, "The Sea in the Greek Poets," *The North American Review*, Vol. 199, No. 700 (Mar., 1914), 428. The most discussed of the sea's epithets is undoubtedly the 'wine-darkness' of the sea; for its presence in Homer: Robert Rutherfurd-Dyer, "Homer's Wine-Dark Sea," *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, Vol. 30, No. 2 (October, 1983), 125-128; for its role as a formula in traditional epic vocabulary: Foley, *Homer's Traditional Art,* 218.

back from their ships and huts with a noise,
as when the waves of the loud-roaring sea
thunder on the great shore and the ocean crashes."

This example of the formula displays new elements that must be incorporated into our understanding of the phrase's underlying implications. The first is the use of the collocation to refer metaphorically to a large group of soldiers, whose voices and movements are reflected by the sea. The second element that arises in this passage is the use of simile. An important and powerful element of Homeric poetry, the simile provides a window into the presentation and enactment of epic action with respect to the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula.

This passage strongly highlights the effect of human noise. As Benner notes, the ἠχῆ being described is specifically "the 'roar' of voices," which might be compared to the ἀλαλητός ('battle cry') as, for example, at *Iliad* 16.78.[24] This roar is subsequently reinforced repeatedly by the noise of the sea. Both βρέμω and σμαραγέω are terms associated with sound[25] that reduplicate the aural effect of the πολύφλοισβος sea. Through the repetition of these words to evoke noise-making, a parallel between the sea and human sound multiplies quickly as both the waves and the soldiers' feet pound again and again upon the shore. The tumultuous qualities of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης are also evoked here, since the landscape and the action occurring therein are linked inextricably by a sense of movement. As Paolo Vivante writes, "action needs space, just as space cannot be conceived without action. No natural feature is mentioned [in Homer] except as it is involved in some kind of tension… No Homeric scenery can be left on neutral decorative ground; it needs to be brought out dynamically."[26] The physical setting

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[24] Benner, *Selections,* 247.

[25] Βρέμω can be rendered as 'clash,' or 'ring,' or may variously take on connotations of 'clamouring,' 'murmuring,' or 'wailing,' while σμαραγέω may also be translated as 'resounds,' according to the LSJ. "Βρέμω," *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott (Oxford University Press, 1996). "σμαραγέω,*"A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Liddell and Scott.

[26] Paolo Vivante, *The Iliad: Action as Poetry* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 115.

confirms and augments the dramatic acoustic and kinetic effects of the scene. This passage does

not point to an image of ordered movement – this is chaos and great speed, paralleled and also

equalled by the immense scale of the noise being made by the rushing sea.[27]

The nature of Homeric simile will also serve to reinforce how these qualities of tumult

and motion, evoked by sound-words and inherent in the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase, are

used to comment on the status of the Greek army. In Homeric similes the actions or qualities of a

figure or group of figures often approach those of the thing(s) with which they are compared,

such that the characteristics of the two parts become nearly inextricable. As Richard Buxton

notes, "the more closely a simile approximates the main action… the more the world of the

simile and that of the action threaten to collapse into one another."[28] This is true of both physical

and psychological attributes. Similes present what Michael Coffey calls "physical concomitants

of emotion,"[29] that is physical comparanda for the emotional status of a person or group:

> "The primary function of the Homeric simile in its immediate
> context is to illustrate either a concrete action in the narrative or a

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[27] For a discussion of the chaotic state of Agamemnon's army in Book 2, see William C. Scott's examination: "In book 1 there are only four short similes, but in book 2 there are twenty, many of them long and elaborate. In book 1 Homer wants to build the issues of the quarrel and its effects cumulatively. In book 2 he is eager to bring his audience to a deeper understanding of Agamemnon as the leader of the army; consequently he introduces a series of similes – indirect descriptions of the Greek army's actions. Direct presentation of these actions would make the army look as though it were in chaos, but that is not Homer's point; the effect that Agamemnon's commands have on the army is more important than the clear structuring of their actions. The audience, which is familiar with the possible alternative ways of presenting the actions of book 2, will realize that the poet's focused use of similes demands judgment. Because of their long experience of hearing epic traditions used and varied they will realize that here the customary similes for the movements of a great army disappear or are consciously weakened. Subliminally they are being told that the great Greek expeditionary army – the army that will appear in its full strength shortly in the catalogue, the army that is destined to defeat the Trojans – is no longer acting like a great army." William C. Scott, *The Artistry of the Homeric Simile* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2009), 16-17. There is some contradiction here: it may not be "Homer's point" to present the army in chaos, but in indicating "subliminally" that the army is behaving in disorder and not in accordance with the usual descriptors, the effect of chaos is exactly what he achieves.

[28] Richard Buxton, "Similes and other likenesses," *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. Robert Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 153.

[29] Michael Coffey, "The Function of the Homeric Simile," *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (1957), 129.

series of actions that may be said to make up a situation, in which abstract qualities are important to a greater or lesser degree. The simile also illustrates temporary and permanent psychological traits… It is often impossible to state the whole of the function of the similes in terms of one single function; many of them fulfil a combination [of functions]."[30]

The comparison of 2.207-210 prefaces the extensive catalogue of troops, for which the highlighting of the scale of the army, through the scale of the sea, is of primary import. Moreover, the physical comparison leads to a deeper understanding of the emotion underlying human action. As Alex Purves notes, "there are moments when the *Iliad* also invites its reader to cognitively readjust his or her visual frame and use the image of a landscape in order to see more clearly into the text."[31] Similarly, per Buxton, this passage is an instance of how "Iliadic similes have a more fundamental role within the poem: that of locating the action within the wider rhythms of nature, of the weather and landscape."[32] In the simile under discussion the narrative lens pans outwards to display a broad view, one that sweeps over the entirety of the troops' movement on the shore and pans further outwards towards the limitless swell of the sea. The level of disorder and the intensity of the noise attributed here to the Greeks are magnified by the sea, which is therefore able to reflect a vivid sense of the psychologically chaotic state among the Greek forces. This is an excellent example of how "epic convention represents inner states of feeling in dynamic and linear enactment."[33] The physical representation of the army cannot be separated from a conception of its metaphorical and mental circumstances.[34] As the simile

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[30] Coffey, "Homeric Simile," 132.

[31] Alex C. Purves, *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 43.

[32] Buxton, "Similes," 152.

[33] Anne Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 5.

[34] Buxton points out that it is not only the shift in perspective that renders Iliadic similes so effective: "what needs to be emphasised, rather, is the cumulative effect of these comparisons, which is to build up a picture of a world outside, a world alongside, a world which will exist when all the bloodied dust has settled, all the lamentations have ceased, and all the booty has been distributed." The impact of an

evokes the uproar of the Greek camp, the men running as a raging, shouting mass, they must be seen as both outwardly and inwardly like to the tumultuous sea with which they are compared.

The next use of the phrase comes in Book 6, at a particularly emotive moment of conversation between Helen and Hector in lines 344-348:

> ᾽δᾶερ ἐμεῖο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης,
> ὥς μ᾽ ὄφελ᾽ ἤματι τῷ ὅτε με πρῶτον τέκε μήτηρ
> οἴχεσθαι προφέρουσα κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα
> εἰς ὄρος ἢ εἰς κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
> ἔνθά με κῦμ᾽ ἀπόερσε πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι.
>
> "Brother-in-law of me, of a dog who is baneful, horrible,
> I wish that on the very day when first my mother bore me
> an evil, sweeping storm of winds had taken me
> to a mountain top or to the waves of the loud-roaring sea
> where the waves could have swept me away
>   before these things came to be."

The past impossible wish construction bears a particularly heavy impact as Helen appeals to the unreal possibility of an alternate version of events.[35] This scene is unique in Homer for its invocation of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης form in a situation where the sea is not actually given as the immediate, physical backdrop for action in the narrative or in simile. This indirectness allows the image of the sea to serve even more powerfully as a partially abstracted entity. Lacking a pictorial role in this scene, the evocation of the sea must summon the recollection of other instances of the phrase, particularly the prior narrative moment in which a silent Chryses is framed against and by the tumultuous din of the sea. Like Chryses, Helen, though not silent, is unusually calm. Kirk comments on the "depressed rather than passionate"

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individual simile is not limited to any one instance, but in fact contributes to the emotional construction of the entire epic poetic format. Buxton, "Similes," 152.

[35] Smyth would refer to this as an "unattainable wish" expressed by ὤφελον as the aorist of ὀφείλω. He notes that the 'unattainable past wish' can only be expressed in Homer by ὤφελον or ὤφελλον. 1177, Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Oxford: Benediction Classics, 2010).

nature of this speech.[36] Even more so, the lack of the sea's physical presence as the setting for

the scene makes the use of this particular epithet more metaphorically dynamic. With the

displacement of the scene from the actual shores of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula the

physical force of the sea is highlighted, rather than its noise.[37] Because it is not actually present,

the sound of the waves is separated from the scene of the dialogue, and only alluded to subtly by

the onomatopoeic articulation of the πολύφλοισβος formula.

This distance contributes to the abstraction and the unreality of Helen's wish,[38] and

sharpens the emotional underpinnings of the phrase. Here the sea is presented primarily as an

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[36] He notes that this points up the similarity of Helen's bearing here to her behaviour during the
teichoscopia, a moment in which she is conspicuously calm. Kirk, *The Iliad* (1990), 206.
[37] Vivante notes that, "just as the account of the war is left out to make room for the few intense days of
action, so is the description of general landmarks sacrificed to an immediate sense of place. An act
highlights its locality and vice versa. The association must be clear and immediate. The moment, again,
keeps in check both the picturesque details and the general view." Vivante points here to the specificity of
landscape markers in Homer, in that they highlight a situation and reinforce its immediacy. In doing so,
they relegate the broader context of the Trojan War and the myriad markers of its setting to the function
of murky backgrounding. By contrast, the displacement of the 'resounding sea' from an immediate spatial
context highlights the failure in this instance of landscape description to realize a specific localizing.
Instead, it allows the immediate setting to blur into a larger, a more distant, a more unfocused epic space,
making the loudness of the sea less of a physical marker and more of a metaphorical pointer.
[38] In my use of the phrase "unreality," I intend a reference to Paul Kiparsky's discussion of the *realis* and
irrealis modes of narrative representation in oral traditions: Paul Kiparsky, "Oral Poetry: Some Linguistic
and Typological Considerations," in *Oral Literature and the Formula*, ed. Benjamin A. Stolz and Richard
S. Shannon (Center for the Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies: Ann Arbor, 1976), 98-99. Per
Kiparsky, the 'real' encompasses history and story (which are located in the realms of fact and fiction,
respectively), and the 'unreal' encompasses myth and romance (fact and fiction, respectively). Kiparsky
notes that epic narrative activates all four functions, but also that the boundaries between each set can be
fluid. He allies history and story particularly to the anecdotal and more 'real' format, in which, however,
it still remains improper to judge absolutely between what is certain or what is possible. I point out that
just as the epic setting in itself conjures up the contradictions and potentialities of a mixed historico-
legendary 'reality,' the wistful discourse used in Helen's 'impossible wish' further develops the potency
of the 'unreal' (the potential annulment of the entire epic cycle) as it reflects, questions, and ultimately
confirms the 'real' (the plot and characters of the *Iliad*). Kiparsky notes that the factual nature of a given
narrative often corresponds to a fixity of formula and formulaic use. He is referring broadly to the
function of a text taken as a whole, and certainly not to an individual passage. It is not unlikely, however,
that a given collocation should become increasingly fixed because of its regular contribution to the
creation of a traditional scene. Given the metrical and morphological inflexibility of the πολυφλοίσβοιο
θαλάσσης formula, there must have occurred a "freezing" (see Kiparsky, "Oral Poetry," 85) of the
formula at the point in the line and with the metrical and grammatical form that has been passed down to
us. It should be understood then that the epithet undoubtedly expresses "a permanent or ideal

alternative conveyance of chaos and ferocity, within the unreal description, that creates a correspondence to the forces actually visible in the present situation at Troy. The weight of her words is highlighted by the violence of the elements she describes. Staged alongside the powerful 'storm of winds,' the sea is representative of the emotional trauma she has witnessed and brought about, which may only be swept away by equally impactful natural forces. The sea takes on a magnified power as Helen concludes that through its action, it might have been possible to erase τάδε ἔργα.[39] Such potency permits the sea the incredible function of wiping away the mistakes and tragedies that have lead up to and constituted the Trojan war. This dramatic effect is related to the underlying force of the sea in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: just as the sea has permitted the story to unfold, as the means of travel for both the Greeks and the poet who will later tell their story and as the broad setting for so much of the narrative,[40] so here might it have prevented the whole saga. Such a dramatic reading will require some further discussion, to which I will return below.

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characteristic" of the element to which it is attached (West, *Indo-European Poetry*, 83-4). The immutability of the πολυφλοίσβος collocation may moreover be attributed to some inherently true or useful element of the phrase in this particular form, perhaps due to the metrical weight and onomatopoeic effect that allow the poet to communicate so well those things that the phrase implicitly represents. This effectiveness made it particularly susceptible to the ossification it underwent in order to be so metrically and morphologically specific. Coupled with the 'irreality' of Helen's wish, I suggest that this phrase is particularly impactful as a representation of the sea's very actual and active natural force precisely because it is fixed in a sense of the naturally true and 'real'. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης communicates a deeply resonant representation of the natural world, which can and does work as a poetic and natural force in the more 'real' narrative moments of the *Iliad*, the examples of which are enumerated and examined in this chapter. The specificity of the phrase's form and function then serves to highlight the brief moment of Helen's speech in which the poet and audience step outside of the sequence of events to consider an alternative history, one that is distinctly 'unreal,' but which might have been brought about by the power of 'real' elements.

[39] "The formular phrase *tade erga* [may be] a convenient way of glossing over the shameful past." Kirk, *The Iliad* (1990), 206.

[40] "The sea is an important circulator of Homeric storylines and its paths of song run lightly across the surface of the water. News travels swiftly by ship, and it would be difficult to imagine how any kind of ancient Greek plot could work without the passage at some point in time of characters across the sea." Purves, *Space and Time,* 72.

The next instance of the collocation comes at lines 182-84 in the middle of the notorious dual/plural alternation in the embassy of Book 9:

τὼ δὲ βάτην παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
πολλὰ μάλ᾽ εὐχομένω γαιηόχῳ ἐννοσιγαίῳ
ῥηϊδίως πεπιθεῖν μεγάλας φρένας Αἰακίδαο.

"They went along the banks of the loud-roaring sea
praying much and often to the earth-holder, earth-shaker,
easily to persuade the great heart of the son of Aeacus."

This use of the phrase follows straightforwardly from its function as we have already seen it. The sea provides an immediate, physical setting for the narrative. It supplies a direct parallel for the voices of the men, rising πολλὰ μάλ᾽, amplified and echoed by the noise of the waves. As in Book 2, though perhaps not as strongly as in the simile seen there, the sea adds a psychological depth to the actions of the embassy. One must undoubtedly note an uncertainty and a plaintive quality in the prayers of the men who seek to persuade the wrathful Achilles. Their path παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης calls back to the mission of Agamemnon's heralds at 1.327, who also went (in the dual) along the banks of the sea, there called 'barren.' Though perhaps a less dramatic example of the πολυφλοίσβοιο formula than we have seen elsewhere, this instance nonetheless presents similar emotional and aural parallels to those seen in the other examples.

The resounding sea appears again in Book 13, where it is again used in the context of simile. As the Greeks were compared to rushing, crashing waves, so now at 13.795-799 the Trojans:

οἳ δ᾽ ἴσαν ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἀτάλαντοι ἀέλλῃ,
ἥ ῥά θ᾽ ὑπὸ βροντῆς πατρὸς Διὸς εἶσι πέδον δέ,
θεσπεσίῳ δ᾽ ὁμάδῳ ἁλὶ μίσγεται, ἐν δέ τε πολλὰ
κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
κυρτὰ φαληριόωντα, πρὸ μέν τ᾽ ἄλλ᾽, αὐτὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλα.

"They raced like a storm of grievous winds
that moves over the earth under the thunder of father Zeus,

and mixes with the sea in a divine clamour, among many
swelling, white-foaming waves of the loud-roaring sea,
some in front and others behind."

The vivid imagery of this passage has not gone unnoticed. Richard Janko has commented that the language here is appropriate to both weather and combat, which makes a comparison all the more effective. He writes that, "the squall's 'din' is like the din of battle, often called ὄμαδος (cf. 16.295); the waves crashing on the beach one after another suggest the army's serried ranks, as the repetition of 799 outside the simile in 800 proves."[41] Janko further notes how "the white-capped waves evoke the men's flashing helmets (cf. 805)."[42] Finally, he draws attention to the "alliteration in *l*, *p*, and *z* (to convey the crashing of the waves – παφλάζοντα to sound, κυρτὰ to shape, φαληριόωντα to colour. The very rare fourth-foot elision in πρὸ μέν τ᾽ ἄλλ᾽, αὐτὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλα suggests how the waves come upon one another."[43] Such vivid language within the simile builds a powerful image for the poet's audience.

The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation clearly contributes to the visual and aural sense of relentless, restless waves by standing within the assonant chain of evocative sounds. In this passage, however, the way in which the loud-roaring sea develops the emotive impact of the scene has been undiscussed by commentators. The description of the Trojan forces follows shortly after the wounding of Deiphobus, near the end of a book that will end in frustration for the Trojans. Hector and Paris have just exchanged heated words, and it is no mistake that the men running into battle alongside them are compared with ἀργαλέοι ἄνεμοι. The adjective here, which may be rendered as 'troublesome' or 'painful,' suggests the difficulty of attaining their

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[41] Richard Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume IV: Books 13-16,* ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 144.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

goals in battle.[44] We will soon see that despite Hector's best efforts, οὐ σύγχει θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν ("he could not trouble the heart in the chests of the Achaeans;" *Il.* 13.808). This passage clearly describes an army, not only raging and shouting, but in a state of turmoil and at a moment of uncertain fortune. As elsewhere the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation complements and underscores the psychological distress that characterises the Trojans at this moment.

The final instance of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase in the *Iliad* comes in Book 23, as Achilles, alone on the shore at night, mourns the death of Patroclus. At 23.59-61,

> Πηλεΐδης δ᾽ ἐπὶ θινὶ πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
> κεῖτο βαρὺ στενάχων πολέσιν μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν
> ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι κύματ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἠϊόνος κλύζεσκον.
>
> "The son of Peleus upon the banks of the loud-roaring sea
> lay groaning heavily among the many Myrmidons
> in an open space, where the waves washed the shore."

This is perhaps the most famous instance of the theme mentioned above, which so pervades the analysis undertaken here, that of 'sadness on the shore.' For Postlethwaite, for example, these lines recall 23.13-15, where the wet sands prefigure the seaside location of Patroclus' grave, as much as they call back to Achilles' entreaties to Thetis on the shore of the grey sea, pleas that serve as the catalyst for the tragedy that has ensued. In Achilles' mourning one sees again, as marked at 2.209 and 9.182, man's voice being matched by the sound of the sea. Richardson notes that "the sound patterns of this verse, especially the insistent triple alliteration of *kappa* and the slow, spondaic ending, focus attention on this scene of Akhilleus lying in his misery on the

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[44] "ἀργαλέος," *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Liddell and Scott.

seashore beside the resounding breakers."[45] As we have seen repeatedly, the sound of the waves

picks up on the human voice, projecting it onto the immense volume of the sea's noise and size.

Interestingly, Richardson notes that Books 2 and 23 balance each other:

> "Both fall into two main sections, in 2 the Achaean assembly and
> the Catalogues, in 23 the Funeral and Games, themselves also in
> catalogue-form. Book 2 paints a picture of a potentially
> demoralized and disorderly army, whose morale is restored with
> difficulty by the leaders, an ominous prelude to disasters to come,
> whereas in Book 23 these disasters are mostly over, and order is
> restored."[46]

The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation contributes to a reading of such a mirroring. The

formula, present at 2.207-210 prior to the Catalogue, and at 23.59-61 immediately before

Patroclus' appearance in the dream of Achilles, amplifies and elevates both instances of turmoil,

the first manifesting in an army's disorder and chaotic noise, the second in the image of one

man's grief and loneliness. In contributing to the strength of the emotional chaos in both scenes,

the phrase underscores the thematic relevance of each and ties the two together.

This part of Book 23 contains an important contrast between the relief of Achilles' need

for vengeance, fulfilled by his killing of Hector, and the persistence of his grief. The locus for his

lamentations in line 61 (ἐν καθαρῷ) is related by a term that suggests a kind of cleansing, in part

through the openness of the space.[47] This usage points to a purification of sorts, a concept

reinforced by the 'washing' of waves on the shore: alternative translations for κλύζω include

'purging' and 'cleansing.'[48] Such action stands in heavy contrast to Achilles' continuing grief, as

it manifests in his groans, and as it will soon intrude further upon him through his dream of

Patroclus. The sea is here performing a dual function with respect to Achilles' emotional state: it

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[45] Nicholas Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume VI: Books 21-24*, ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 171.
[46] Richardson, *The Iliad*, 165.
[47] "καθαρός," *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Liddell and Scott.
[48] "κλύζω," *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Liddell and Scott.

amplifies his groans and the turmoil of his grief, while simultaneously, through the waves on shore, it begins to wash away his sorrow. In this sense, the sea takes up a theme crucial to the *Iliad*, one that supersedes any individual act of mourning – that of the inevitable cycle of life and death, of suffering, and of the acceptance of tragedy ultimately imposed on the living. As noted at the phrase's occurrence in Helen's speech, the loud-roaring sea promotes ideas that underpin the whole of the *Iliad*: tragedy, loss, and the inevitability of death, the acknowledgment of which is so deeply bound to the persistence of life.

This discussion of the Iliadic evidence has demonstrated that there is an important weight to the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula that has not been given its due in scholarly considerations of the *Iliad*. It is repeatedly seen to occur at moments that evoke the chaos and grief of the figures in the narrative. The phrase further serves to reflect and amplify the voices of these characters, whether alone or en masse, and to echo and augment their tumultuous and sorrowful experiences. Certainly no single instance of the phrase promoted toward this purpose would suffice to confirm its emotive and turbulent capacity. Its repeated ability, however, to provide a parallel to and an amplification of human movement, noise, and feeling speaks to an underlying poetic depth. The loud-roaring sea of the *Iliad* contains enormous, ever-growing, ever more potent stores of emotion that resonate with Homer's audience in the construction of human suffering.

The Odyssean Evidence

The use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in the *Odyssey* differs somewhat

from its use in the *Iliad*. This is, perhaps, unsurprising, given the poem's distinct themes[49] and

later date of composition.[50] The phrase occurs only twice in the *Odyssey*, with both instances

found in Book 13, as compared to its six appearances in the *Iliad*. It may simply be that the gap

between the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had already rendered this phrase, with its

–oio genitive form and hefty length, less useful or appealing to the poet. Whether or not this is

the case, such infrequency invites consideration. One might have expected the Odyssean poet to

make use of such a vivid epithet phrase in a poem in which the sea features so prominently.

Certainly there is significant opportunity for its use; at 4.342, for example, a metrically identical

collocation describes the sea, employing the *–oio* form of the genitive, and introduced by a

phrase, παρὰ θῖνα, that is often used with the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula (e.g. at *Il.* 1.34).

At 4.431-33 Odysseus says,

> ἦμος δ᾽ ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
> καὶ τότε δὴ παρὰ θῖνα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο
> ἤια πολλὰ θεοὺς γουνούμενος.
>
> "When early-morning, rosy-fingered Dawn shone,
> then along the banks of the wide-wayed sea
> I was going, imploring the gods."

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[49] Particularly relevant to the discussion here is Alex Purves' consideration of "epic space and the *Odyssey*," as she draws on conceptions of narrative and landscape in the examination of changing epic themes in Homeric poetry. Purves, *Space and Time,* 15-17, 65-73.

[50] In the dating of the poems I follow the canonical assessment of Richard Janko. He concludes, following extensive linguistic analysis, that "the Iliad has the highest proportion of archaic forms, but the *Odyssey* is slightly more advanced," (189) and suggests the dates of 750-725 BCE for the *Iliad* and 743-713 BCE for the *Odyssey* (231). Richard Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

As with the barrenness of the sea at certain moments of Achilles' grief or rage in the *Iliad*, the poet, while retaining the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase in his lexicon, chooses to employ an epithet of the sea that he deems more suited to the narrative moment or to the thematic content of the *Odyssey*. The descriptor εὐρυπόροιο clearly fits a version of the sea whose repeated purpose has been that of delivering the unwilling Odysseus to so many places and misfortunes before he finds his path home. It is also an epithet that may here function optimistically as Odysseus approaches an opportunity to gain new knowledge of his situation from γέρων ἅλιος νημερτὴς ("the infallible old man of the sea;" *Od.* 4.401). It should also be noted that, as with the Iliadic evidence, this is not simply an attempt on the part of the poet to vary his descriptions of the sea. If it were, he would surely not implement the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation twice in the same book and nowhere else in the poem. Instead, it must be the case that the loud-roaring element serves a particularly evocative purpose in Book 13, one that looks to a traditional, underlying meaning, and which retains Iliadic potential for the expression of grief and chaos.

Both Odyssean instances of the collocation appear in Book 13, on either side of Odysseus' journey with the Phaeacians to Ithaca. The second instance will follow more closely the pattern observed in the *Iliad*, in the expression of emotion and human voice as reflected and augmented by the sea. While the first instance certainly has some emotional impact, it is clearly subordinated to the potency of the second instance. This earlier instance underscores a touching moment of hope and peace in Odysseus' travels, and the latter then highlights the harsh renewal of his grief and frustration all the more dramatically.

The phrase occurs first at 13.78-92 after Odysseus has fallen asleep on the Phaeacian ship:

> εὖθ᾽ οἱ ἀνακλινθέντες ἀνερρίπτουν ἅλα πηδῷ,
> καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε,

νήγρετος, ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς.
ἡ δ᾽, ὥς τ᾽ ἐν πεδίῳ τετράοροι ἄρσενες ἵπποι,
πάντες ἅμ᾽ ὁρμηθέντες ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἱμάσθλης,
ὑψόσ᾽ ἀειρόμενοι ῥίμφα πρήσσουσι κέλευθον,
ὣς ἄρα τῆς πρύμνη μὲν ἀείρετο, κῦμα δ᾽ ὄπισθε
πορφύρεον μέγα θῦε πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
ἡ δὲ μάλ᾽ ἀσφαλέως θέεν ἔμπεδον· οὐδέ κεν ἴρηξ
κίρκος ὁμαρτήσειεν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν.
ὣς ἡ ῥίμφα θέουσα θαλάσσης κύματ᾽ ἔταμνεν,
ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια μήδε᾽ ἔχοντα·
ὃς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ᾽ ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμὸν
ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων,
δὴ τότε γ᾽ ἀτρέμας εὗδε, λελασμένος ὅσσ᾽ ἐπεπόνθει.

"When they, leaning back, tossed the sea with the oar,
And sweet sleep fell upon his eyelids,
sound, welcome, so nearly like death,
then as a mighty four-horse team upon the plain,
all rushing forward at once under the blows of the whip,
setting out on high easily they make their way,
so then the ship[51] set out, and to the back
seethed the dark, huge waves of the loud-roaring sea.
And she flew very steadfastly and sure: nor could the hawk,
circling, have kept up, most nimble of winged creatures.
So now, running lightly she cut even the waves of the sea,
Bearing a man who has cunning like the gods:
who before suffered much and many pains in his heart
passing through the wars of men and the painful waves,
then indeed he slept without stirring."

I posit that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula here evokes the tumultuous past of both the

Iliadic narrative and of Odysseus' ongoing struggles to return home, particularly in contrast with

his contented sleeping state when he believes that he is finally on his way to Ithaca.[52] Angus M.

Bowie has noted that 13.88-92 are "touching lines" that "set the seal on the first part of *Od.*,

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[51] I make synecdochal use of 'ship' here in order to avoid the oddity of πρύμνη ("stern"). Some have substituted πρῴρη ("prow"), while Hoekstra suggests that the 'stern' may well be used because that could be where Odysseus has fallen asleep. Alfred Heubeck and Arie Hoekstra, *Commentary on Homer's Odyssey: Volume II: Books IX-XVI* (New York, NY: Clarendon Press, 1990), 169.

[52] This is by no means the first (or most dramatic) use of simile to evoke Odysseus' sufferings. Buxton has commented on the simile of the widowed wife at Troy of *Od.* 8.521-531: "With a reciprocity of pathos worthy of the *Iliad* (and there can be no higher praise), this simile refuses to allow Odysseus any escape from his memory of the Trojan past; it locks him into an image in which, as one of the victors, he is obliged to relive the emotions of one of the humiliated vanquished." Buxton, "Similes," 149.

rounding off the narrative of Od.'s hardships on land and sea, and echoing the opening of the whole work."[53] Hoekstra has pointed out that Book 13 is in general "strikingly unhurried."[54] By contrast, the simile of 13.81-83 is "a much more lively passage on the exceptionally fast speed of the ship, the pace suddenly changed in 81 where we are launched via an anacolouthon into the simile of the hurtling chariot."[55] This change of tone marks the difference between Odysseus' complacent sleep on board the ship, and the κῦμα δ' ὄπισθε πορφύρεον μέγα… πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης being physically and temporally relegated to the rear. The great waves, whether 'heaving' or 'dark' as the translator may prefer to render πορφύρεος,[56] pair alliteratively with the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης. Their onomatopoeic effect makes these lines highly evocative of the noise of rushing water. For a Greek audience steeped in the Iliadic tradition, the waves of the 'loud-roaring sea' would recall the sounds of chaos in battle and the noises of grief articulated in the *Iliad* that contribute to the poem's thematic presentation of seaside lamentation. The poet makes this connection explicit in line 91 when the waves are directly linked to the ἀνδρῶν τε

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[53] Angus M. Bowie, *Odyssey Books XIII and XIV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 111.
[54] Heubeck and Hoekstra, *Commentary on Homer's Odyssey,* 149.
[55] Bowie, *Odyssey*, 107. In considering the difference between Iliadic and Odyssean similes, Buxton notes that in the Odyssey "they *supplement* the main narrative's virtuoso exploitation of variable possibility and equivalence and multiplicity of form, but do not carve out for themselves a truly central role in the constitution of the epic's meaning. In this as in many other respects, the *Iliad* tells a different story." Buxton, "Similes," 149. It is natural that we will find here a simile that is in many respects less impactful than those we have seen in the *Iliad*. Simile in the *Odyssey* does not affect the depth of the earlier poem, so while the impact of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula seems here to lack somewhat, so too might the rest of the Odyssey – unless we accept it on its own terms and allow it to develop its own themes and functions, as a successor to but not necessarily a dependent of the *Iliad*.
[56] "πορφύρεος," *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Liddell and Scott. Hoekstra prefers something evocative of "sea-purple… referring to the bright variety of colour shown by the (Aegean) sea under certain circumstances." Heubeck and Hoekstra, *Commentary on Homer's Odyssey,* 171. Jo Heirman has suggested that the adjective's indication of dark colouration might co-exist with the a sense of movement: "the darkness of the sea is considered a result of its heaving motion." Jo Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric: city, countryside and sea," diss. University of Amsterdam, 2012 (http://dare.uva.nl/document/352261), 148. Ultimately I am not concerned here with the particular application of the adjective. As in Books 2 and 13, where a number of descriptive words contribute both to the visualisation of the scene and also to the alliterative effect of the passage, so here does πορφύρεος fill a dual function that contributes to the vividness of the scene.

πτολέμους ("wars of men") as a source of past suffering. This effectively builds to a contrast

with the image of a sleeping Odysseus, safely (for now) on board the ship, literally sailing over

and away from the sound and sight of his sorrows.

Such an argument for this phrase might not be as convincing were it not taken alongside

the next, and only other, use of the phrase in the *Odyssey*. As noted above, the two instances of

the phrase are surely not the accidental pairing of a poet to whom so many other maritime

descriptors are available. They must be an intentional framing of this leg of Odysseus' voyage.

The earlier evocation of the sea as a marker of the physical and emotional turmoil in his journey

is answered by the return to such realities as articulated in Odysseus' own voice. We are told at

13.219-221 that, upon waking up alone in Ithaca,

> ὁ δ' ὀδύρετο πατρίδα γαῖαν
> ἑρπύζων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλάσσης,
> πόλλ' ὀλοφυρόμενος.

> "He mourned his native land,
> creeping along the shore of the loud-roaring sea,
> lamenting heavily."

This is a highly effective instance of the loudness of the sea picking up on the sound of

lamentation, as the ὀλοφυρόμενος participle expressing the act of mourning itself picks up on the

l, the *f*, and the round vowel sounds of the πολύφλοισβος sea. The obvious onomatopoeic effects

of each emphasize them in the other. The participle ἑρπύζων, 'creeping along,' contributes to the

emotional depth of the passage, as it is used "always of persons weighted down by age or deep

distress."[57] Bowie specifically associates this instance of the phrase with many of the Iliadic

examples cited above, though he considers *Iliad* 13.798 and the earlier use of the phrase in the

Odyssey to be exceptions. According to the analysis above, that Iliadic instance is, in fact, not in

any way incongruous with the other scenes involving the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, and neither

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[57] "ἑρπύζω," *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Liddell and Scott.

is there any reason that the earlier Odyssean example should be excluded from the depth of meaning given to the phrase in its other appearances. It is precisely because of the weight the phrase develops throughout the *Iliad* that it is able to function so specifically in the *Odyssey*. It would be of little use as a marker of Odysseus' turns of fortune if it did not call out to and evoke so clearly the misfortunes of men, first in the *Iliad*, and then again as Odysseus himself grieves for his homeland on the shores of the harsh, unsympathetic sea.

Conclusions: The Epic Seascape and Human Tragedy

The sea is such an acute marker for the sorrows of Odysseus in part because it is the very cause of them: it is the physical barrier between Odysseus and his homeland, the turbulent force that has borne him towards so many trials. It is the home and the embodiment of his greatest enemy, Poseidon. It is the locus and impetus both for Odysseus' suffering and for his triumphant return home, so that the narrative of the *Odyssey* is defined and delimited by the sea.[58] So it was in Helen's speech to Hector: the sea enables a narrative of indescribable grief in the lives of so many, by having borne her to Troy, to be followed by the Greek ships, and in permitting the circulation of the Iliadic story in poetry. It is through this potency that Helen can credit the sea with the capacity to erase the narrative of that same pain.

The sea is, moreover, a poetic tool of magnification. It shifts the tiny scale of man's physical and psychological state, small, confused, and suffering as he is, outwards into the depth and breadth of the sea, which then takes up and reflects the noise of his anguish. This echoic

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[58] Alex Purves has argued that Odysseus' final journey inland in Book 23 (particularly as connected to his death and to the symbol of the oar) represents a displacing of the landscape and language of Homeric epic. She points to the end of the *Odyssey* as representative of shifting generic and narrative expression with respect to the communication and reception of traditional epic stories marked by sea-travel. In this analysis we may find both an affirmation of the deeply "seabound" nature of Homeric epic (89), and a means by which to consider and question Greek cultural and literary identity as expressed through epic and through constructions of the sea. Purves, *Space and Time*, 74-96.

function of the sea is attributable in part to its role as normative landscape in Homeric poetry. One confronts "the sea as more than just a topographical marker, for it also functions as a poetic site through which the language of Homeric epic is determined."[59] The sea, in its multiplicity of forms inscribed by various epithets, is rendered into theme and narrative, informing the creation and the understanding of Homeric poetry. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* depend on the sea as a locus for action and subsequently for its dissemination and perpetuation. The analysis undertaken here has framed the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης as significant for its emotional and psychological impact as an element of a specifically poetic register. This semantic register permits the transcendence of any given poet or audience into an epic setting that draws on a distant, multiform, and irreducibly layered rhapsodic tradition. The poet reaches out to the entirety of rhapsodic convention to evoke a meaning that both underlies and subsumes any given formula. This poet seeks to "locate [his] discourse with respect to the larger realms of human experience."[60] Such is precisely the function of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης as it contributes to the poetic articulation of human grief on a scale that can only properly manifest within the scope of natural forces as vast and as loud as the sea. As Auerbach writes, "[Homer] does not need to base his story on historical reality, his reality is powerful enough in itself; it ensnares us, weaving its web around us, and that suffices him. And this "real" world into which we are lured, exists for itself, contains nothing but itself; the Homeric poems conceal nothing, they contain no teaching and no secret meaning."[61] If the sea is said to be loud, that is because the sea is, indeed, loud. If the noise of the sea is associated with human sound and action as performed in the face of tragedy, it is because there is, in the

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[59] Purves, *Space and Time*, 81.
[60] Egbert J. Bakker, "Noun-Epithet Formulas, Milman Parry, and the Grammar of Poetry," *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology*, ed. J. P. Crielaard (Amsterdam: Netherlands Institute at Athens, 1995), 102-3.
[61] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946), 13.

mind of poet and audience, a viable truth in the connection between these elements. There is a timeless poetic reality in the image of breakers crashing in the surf, loud, huge, and unstoppable, simultaneously symbolic of and unaffected by the expression of suffering.

Beginning with the loneliness of Chryses, taken up to describe both Greek and Trojan forces, evoked by Helen, and underscoring the ultimate sorrow of Achilles' grief, the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation serves a clearly evocative purpose in the *Iliad*. It repeatedly reflects and amplifies the emotions and actions of men by projecting them onto the chaotic strength and depth of the sea. The limited use of the phrase in the *Odyssey* speaks further to its particular development as an article of traditional rhapsodic vocabulary that evokes these Iliadic qualities of the sea. This analysis results in an understanding of a distinct function of the sea as a dark, deep, enduring force, one that so defines the themes of suffering and death that permeate the archaic epic landscape.

POETIC PRESENCE:

THE πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης FORMULA IN HESIOD'S *WORKS AND DAYS*

This chapter turns from Homeric material to the Hesiodic in order to explore a later use

of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation. The phrase occurs once in Hesiod's Nautilia (lines

618-694 of the *Works and Days;* the passage is often referred to thus because of its nautical

content), and I argue that this use of the formula is a deliberate invocation of the epic and

traditional poetic register in the context of Hesiod's own programmatic poetic statement.[62] This

analysis will focus particularly on *Works and Days* 648-653, where the poet says,

> δείξω δή τοι μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
> οὔτε τι ναυτιλίης σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν.
> οὐ γάρ πώ ποτε νηί γ' ἐπέπλων εὐρέα πόντον,
> εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὔβοιαν ἐξ Αὐλίδος, ᾗ ποτ' Ἀχαιοὶ
> μείναντες χειμῶνα πολὺν σὺν λαὸν ἄγειραν
> Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς Τροίην ἐς καλλιγύναικα.
>
> Indeed I will show you the measures of the loud-roaring sea,
> neither knowing anything of sailing nor of ships.
> Never having sailed in a ship over the wide sea
> except to Euboea from Aulis, just as when the Achaeans,
> waiting out the great storm, brought forth a great people
> from sacred Hellas to Troy, that place of beautiful women.[63]

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[62] In this chapter I will use the terms 'Hesiodic poet' and 'Hesiodic poetry' generally to refer to the singer and the material of the *WD* and the *Th*. I will also continue to use the name 'Hesiod' in some instances for grammatical or syntactic ease, but it should be understood that this appellation is meant to be indicative of the character within the text, or else of the traditional persona and corresponding body of work, and is not meant to be understood as referring to an individual poet of that name. In my use of the term 'epic' I refer to the body of oral-traditionally composed and performed hexameter poetry of the early Greek period of which Homer is representative. I do not suggest, of course, that Homer is the only representative, but simply that the Homeric material is the most viable example available to us. In my use of the word epic, then, I aim to refer broadly to the poetic context that frames, precedes, and coexists with the Homeric and Hesiodic.

[63] All translations are my own.

In this chapter I elaborate on the scholarship surrounding the self-aware nature of this digression on sailing in order to establish that the loud-roaring sea contributes to the construction of the Nautilia as a metapoetic commentary. I aim to present a deliberate Hesiodic use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula that speaks to the issues of poetic voice and authority in archaic performance. In doing so, it is necessary to explore a number of topics surrounding poetic identity, expression, and language use. All of these issues manifest throughout the Hesiodic poems, but are particularly forceful when taken together, as in the digression on sailing. While this chapter touches on a range of subjects and themes in Hesiodic poetry, it is important that the lines quoted above should remain at the fore of the discussion.

I will begin by briefly discussing the relationship between Homer and Hesiod as seen in the participation of both in a deeply oral and traditional poetic performance culture. I argue that Hesiod refers explicitly to this context in his Nautilia, thereby allowing the poet to frame himself within such traditional performative circumstances. It will be necessary to consider a number of views on Hesiod's metapoetic digression, in order to understand the degree to which the Hesiodic poems offer commentary on their own generic and qualitative difference from the Homeric tradition that precedes them. This discussion will consider how the Hesiodic poet functions as a unique and worthy voice within the archaic poetic scene, and will lead to an analysis of the way in which Hesiod uses autobiographical details to establish a poetic persona and justify his performative authority. I connect the metaphorical nature of the topic of seafaring to the broadly allegorical and biographical details of the Hesiodic poems in a discussion of the construction of the Hesiodic character. I will point to scholarship that refutes the conception of an individual named 'Hesiod' as I consider the poetic implications of Hesiod's autobiographical comments. It will be clear that instances of Hesiodic poetic characterisation contribute to the

impact of the poet's narrative and didactic purposes. The visibility of the rhapsode's intention is particularly important in the consideration of the function of the loud-roaring sea within the Nautilia, a passage in which autobiographical revelation contributes strongly to the overall effect of the *Works and Days* as a declaration of poetic validity and purpose.

In drawing conclusions about the Hesiodic persona, and thus about the Hesiodic poems, it will be important to further consider some of the ways that authority and the poetic voice are expressed in Hesiod. Subsequent to the discussion of metapoetic effect and autobiography, I will turn to a consideration of scholarship on the issues of speech and voice in the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*. I will discuss the effects of metapoetic invocation in Homeric and Hesiodic poetry in order to highlight the processes of poetic performance and generic differentiation, as well as the way these elements contribute to an understanding of the Nautilia. Ultimately I contend that the Hesiodic thematisation of poetic voice makes the use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase and its Iliadic echoes particularly powerful. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula, as a reflection and poetic amplification of human noise and emotion, serves to reinforce Hesiod's programmatic discussion of his own poetic voice and the authority he wields as a rhapsode. At the end of this chapter I will bring together the issues of performative identity, metapoetic presentation, and the thematisation of speech, as I point to the duality of the Hesiodic character as a figure both near and distant, both proximal and foreign, within the poem and as a performer. I highlight these dual modes wielded by the Hesiodic singer as being particularly effective within the Nautilia and as being reinforced by the resounding sea, which is both an immediate visual setting and a distant, idealized element of the legendary landscape of the Trojan War. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation also contributes to a larger discussion of language use in the *Works and Day*, in that dialectal considerations point to the construction of

Hesiod's externally derived authority and his participation in a traditional poetic mode of discourse. This chapter thus aims to demonstrate that the programmatic message of the Nautilia and the thematic representation of the Hesiodic persona are strongly reinforced by the use of the loud-roaring sea.

The Relationship Between the Hesiodic and Homeric Material

Connections between the Hesiodic and Homeric material under discussion here are dependent on the position of both poetic systems within the traditional and oral rhapsodic sphere of archaic Greece. I argue that the Hesiodic use of the loud-roaring sea is influenced by the Homeric usage thereof, so it is first necessary to understand both Hesiod and Homer as divergent but closely related representatives of a much larger tradition. Hesiod stands within an existing archaic poetic scene, of which Homer is an earlier and somewhat generically distinct agent. By its traditional nature this poetic context demands of individual poets a dependence on similar ideology, related vocabulary, and analogous processes of narrative, composition, performance, and reception. These shared circumstances lead naturally to a focus on what was shared between such early Greek poets, as opposed to a focus on the differences between them. Gregory Nagy has written extensively on the nature of Homeric and Hesiodic poetry as defined and connected by orality. He comments particularly on the diachronic and synchronic oral dissemination of poetry in confirming and reaffirming its prominence in the archaic period. Nagy further identifies, as a key process by which Hesiodic and Homeric poetry became so strongly linked together in the definition of the tradition, the process of pan-Hellenization. Nagy argues that the increasing dissemination of oral poetry over time led to the preeminence of Hesiod and Homer as representative poetic voices:

"in the archaic period of Hellenic civilization extending roughly from the eighth through the sixth century BCE, there already existed forms of oral poetry that corresponded to what was later known as Homeric and Hesiodic poetry. With the passage of time, the dissemination of these forms of poetry became more and more widespread throughout the communities of the Hellenic world. This process of ever widening dissemination, in the context of ongoing recomposition-in-performance, can be described as pan-Hellenization. Correspondingly, the poets who were identified with these forms of poetry, Homer and Hesiod, became more and more pan-Hellenic."[64]

Nagy's argument points to the importance of social factors involving community participation and the migration of poetic materials and performers. This line of thinking will be important later in this chapter's analysis of Hesiodic poetry. Nagy's discussion strongly privileges the oral nature of archaic poetry as a key factor in the growth and prominence of Hesiodic and Homeric poetry: it is the quality of orality that ties the two together most strongly. The oral nature of both Hesiodic and Homeric poetry demands a dependence on a similar vocabulary, specifically the lexical inheritance of formulas. The inherited lexicon played a key role in defining the deeply developed usage of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in the previous chapter's analysis of Homer. This traditional vocabulary similarly stands behind Hesiod's use of the phrase, in that the poet of the *Works and Days* is necessarily drawing on a parallel lexical pool with a parallel depth of layered meaning. It is further helpful to note that the Hesiodic material is consistently dated to after the Homeric.[65] Not only are the two poetic traditions drawing on the same

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[64] Gregory Nagy, "Hesiod and the Ancient Biographical Traditions," *The Brill Companion to Hesiod*, ed. Franco Montanari, Antonios Rengakos, and Christos Tsagalis (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 274. For further elaboration, see also Gregory Nagy, *Greek Mythology & Poetics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 38-47; and for an introductory discussion of "the fundamental and striking consistency of language and compositional technique" in Homer and Hesiod (18), see Graziosi, Barbara and Johannes Haubold, *Homer: The Resonance of Epic* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2005), 18-21.

[65] As mentioned in the previous chapter (page 29, ff. 50), I follow the assessment of Richard Janko, who suggests the following chronology (all dates BCE): *Iliad* (750-725), *Odyssey* (743-713), *Theogony* (700-665), *Works and Days* (690-650). Richard Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic*

vocabulary, but Homeric usage of the formulaic lexicon will have been able to invest already

conventional phrases with further meaning. Indeed, the nature of oral composition dictates that

referentiality is not limited to one song or poetic corpus, but must be seen in relation to the entire

tradition.[66] Homer must be viewed as an important and definitive element of the tradition to

which the Hesiodic poems are so intimately related, as is reinforced by the slightly earlier dating

of the Homeric poems. This connection to the tradition in general and to Homer in particular

provides a clear context for the Hesiodic material as closely related to the Homeric poems by

way of oral-traditional poetics, performative circumstances,[67] and a broadly Hellenic ideological

framework. The use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase in the traditional epic setting of

Homer is therefore as important to this chapter's argument as the manifestation of the 'loud-

roaring sea' in Hesiod's own performance context. It will be clear that formulaic language,

narrative convention, and the traditional framing of a poet's presence before his audience are all

intimately and urgently connected in the *Works and Days*.

Development in Epic Diction (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 231. Literary analysts have often found similarly for Hesiod as following Homer. We might go as far back as the early analyses of Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture Vol. 1*, trans. Gilbert Highet (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), 72-3; or Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 43-44. For more recent discussion of the issue: Barbara Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 101-110; Ralph M. Rosen, "Homer and Hesiod," *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Morris, Ian and Barry Powell (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 464-73.

[66] "The "whole" to which an oral epic performance belonged may not have been confined to even an ideal single text." Andrew Ford, "The Inland Ship: Problems in the Performance and Reception of Homeric Epic" in *Written Voices, Spoken Signs: Tradition, Performance, and the Epic Text*, ed. Bakker, Egbert J. and Kahane, Ahuvia (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 86. Ford is drawing particularly on the ideas of John Miles Foley. See, for example, John Miles Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

[67] I have mentioned Nagy's discussion of Hesiodic and Homeric poetry as "recomposition-in-performance" (Nagy, "Hesiod" (2009), 274), and I refer to G.W. Most's note that "both Homeric poetry and Hesiod's seem to presuppose a tradition of fully oral poetic composition, performance, reception, and transmission" (Glenn Warren Most, *Hesiod: Theogony, Works and Days* (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 2006), xix–xx).

The Metapoetic Content of the Nautilia

The arguments made in this chapter are further dependent on a significant amount of preceding scholarship on the metapoetic content of Hesiod's Nautilia. Nagy was the first to posit that the digression on sailing "reveals an intended differentiation of Hesiodic from Homeric poetry."[68] He focuses on the clear reference to the Homeric narrative of the Achaean gathering at Aulis, where Hesiod also begins his own journey, and on the purpose of Hesiod's sailing trip: a poetic competition. He discusses how these elements comprise a deliberate evocation of poetic themes intended to link the activity of sailing to the art of poetic composition.[69] Richard Hunter has noted briefly two ways of considering the scholarship that has developed around this topic since Nagy's note, a distinction on which I wish to elaborate. He describes a 'strong' and a 'weak' version of the argument for poetic self-awareness on the part of the Hesiodic poet.[70] Though most scholarship on the issue ultimately arrives at similar conclusions concerning the Hesiodic commentary, it will be helpful to consider where analyses agree and where they diverge. This will provide a foundation for the strength of any possible metapoetic intent to be found in the use of the 'loud-roaring' formula.

Ralph Rosen's work represents the 'strong' version of the argument, in the sense that his discussion of the Nautilia posits that Hesiod is deliberately and forcefully contrasting himself

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[68] Gregory Nagy, "Hesiod," *Ancient Writers: Greece and Rome*, ed. T.J. Luce (New York, 1982), 66.

[69] This connection has, of course, been made before. For a study of some later examples, see Stephen Harrison, "The Primal Voyage and the Ocean of Epos: Two Aspects of Metapoetic Imagery in Catullus, Virgil and Horace," *Dictynna* 4 (2007), accessed Sunday, April 5, 2013, http://dictynna.revues.org/146#text.

[70] Richard Hunter, *Hesiodic Voices: Studies in the Ancient Reception of Hesiod's Works and Days* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 55, n. 38.

against Homer and the Homeric style. Rosen is also particularly aggressive in his qualitative

judgment of Hesiod. He writes that,

> "the *Nautilia*, while it offers some basic practical advice about
> the dangers of seafaring, simultaneously functions as a
> declarative program about poetry. Specifically, Hesiod
> contrasts his inability to compose (or lack of experience in
> composing) poetry on a Homeric scale with his qualifications
> for composing his poem of the "earth," *Works and Days*."[71]

This argument assumes not only that Hesiod is comparing his poetry to that of Homer but also

that he is distinguishing his own poetic performance(s) from what Rosen calls the "more

grandiose, heroic poetry" of the *Iliad*.[72] Many scholars have taken issue with this interpretation

of Hesiod's reflexive commentary as a self-deprecating, qualitative judgment. Accordingly,

'weak' versions of the discussion of the Nautilia generally argue instead that Hesiod is referring

to Homer simply as a representative of the larger archaic epic poetic tradition, and that the

Hesiodic poet thus draws on the idea of Homeric poetry as a means of establishing himself as a

legitimate rhapsodic voice. Carol Dougherty's views demonstrate this 'weak' version. She notes

that in the Nautilia an "apparent digression fits closely within its outer framing section on sailing

to provide a commentary on Hesiod's poetic expertise and to locate his own poetic skill within

the pre-existing tradition."[73] In this way Dougherty highlights Hesiod's poetic capabilities as an

essential part of his self-aware commentary. Dougherty's interpretation of the passage further

relies significantly on the success of the allegorical connection between poetry and sailing. She

writes of "a metaphorical system whereby nautical experience and ship travel set the framework

for locating Hesiod's own accomplishments within the larger poetic tradition, exemplified, as

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[71] Ralph M. Rosen, "Poetry and Sailing in Hesiod's "Works and Days,"" *Classical Antiquity* Vol. 9 (Apr. 1990), 100.
[72] Ibid, 104.
[73] Carol Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's* Odyssey (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 20.

always, by Homer."[74] Hesiod thus draws a connection between the knowledge necessary for poetic performance and that required for sailing and sea travel. This metaphor is strengthened by scholarly interpretations of Hesiod's use of the word μέτρα. Alex Purves comments that, "the association between the "'measures' (metrics, rules) of song and the 'measures' (routes, distances travelled) of the sea in Hesiod's Nautilia combine to achieve a rich metapoetic resonance. According to this reading of Hesiod, to speak of the domain (or *metra*) of Homeric poetics is also, in the same breath, to talk of the *metra* of the sea."[75] Such an interpretation is informed by Purves' conception, discussed in the previous chapter, of the sea as a definitive locus for Homeric epic.[76] Thus it is clear that in his use of the phrase μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης (*WD* 648) the Hesiodic poet is invoking and commenting on such a traditional poetic setting and the narratives it enables.

Jenny Strauss Clay also approaches the Nautilia with a view to its larger poetic context. She does not, like Rosen, consider Hesiod to be 'less than' Homer, but she does emphasise a poetically distinct element of the Nautilia's self-awareness.[77] Her comments are helpful for illuminating the ways in which Hesiodic poetry must be viewed as both competitive and contemporary with Homeric epic, as both were performed and reperformed over the years following their successive composition. The Hesiodic poet may thus be understood as the figurehead for a mode that contrasts with the Homeric in content and in style. In such a

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[74] Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus,* 23.
[75] Alex C. Purves, *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 79. For further elaboration on the word *metron*, see Raymond Aldoph Prier, "Some Thoughts on the Archaic Use of *Metron*," *The Classical World* Vol. 70 (Nov. 1976), 161-169. Also helpful is Dougherty's discussion of *sophia* and *metron*: Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus*, 21.
[76] See chapter one, pages 23, 28, 34-6.
[77] Jenny Strauss Clay, *Hesiod's Cosmos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 175-82.

competitive arena as that of the archaic rhapsodic setting,[78] it should be understood that Hesiodic material must be viewed alongside the Homeric in both the contrastive and complementary sense. At the same time, Hesiod is certainly pursuing distinctly un-Homeric goals that do not necessarily depend absolutely on epic to confirm their efficacy or beauty. Clay's perspective is important in crediting Hesiod not only with self-defining song worthy of comparison, but also with a valid claim to traditional glory in parallel with the Homeric tradition. She writes that, "in linking poetic victory with the grandest and most heroic expedition, Hesiod invites us to compare his poetry with that of Homeric epic. The *kleos* Hesiod won with his song can thus be equated with the immortal *kleos* of the Trojan expedition."[79] In this reading we find none of Rosen's view of Hesiod's self-deprecation. Instead we may imagine a Hesiodic performer who considers himself distinct and absolutely worthy in his own right.

Also in her reading of the metapoetic elements of Hesiod's work, Clay points to the narrative of Hesiod's father's migration from Kyme in Aeolia[80] as a deliberate instance of relative poetic self-positioning. She argues that this migratory elaboration echoes Homer's biographical details but then diverges. She posits that, "Hesiod's supposedly autobiographical

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[78] One must, of course, mention the later *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi.* I would also point to Martin L. West, "Rhapsodes at Festivals," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 173, (2010), 1-13; and for a broader discussion, of which the last third is most relevant, Derek Collins, *Master of the Game: Competition and Performance in Greek Poetry*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[79] Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus*, 180.

[80] ὅς ποτε καὶ τῇδ᾽ ἦλθε, πολὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσσας,
Κύμην Αἰολίδα προλιπών, ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ·
οὐκ ἄφενος φεύγων οὐδὲ πλοῦτόν τε καὶ ὄλβον,
ἀλλὰ κακὴν πενίην, τὴν Ζεὺς ἄνδρεσσι δίδωσιν·
νάσσατο δ᾽ ἄγχ᾽ Ἑλικῶνος ὀιζυρῇ ἐνὶ κώμῃ,
Ἄσκρῃ, χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἐσθλῇ.
"As once he came thus, crossing over much of the sea,
abandoning Kyme in Aeolia, in a black ship:
not fleeing riches nor wealth and happiness,
but horrible poverty, which Zeus gives to men:
he settled near Helicon in a dreary village,
Askra, awful in the winter, painful in the summer, and never good." *WD*, 635-40.

reference may then contain a metaphorical rather than a literal significance, suggesting a

common origin for both poets, but also differentiating their poetic paths and careers."[81] This

autobiographical comment is a further element of the Nautilia's programmatic message, and is

therefore not autobiographical at all. It rather serves the singer's purpose in distinguishing

himself as a poet relative to the tradition. Clay's analysis points to the way in which references to

the poet's life must be viewed not as truth, but as means of enabling the authority of the poet's

persona. We will see later in this chapter that the so-called digression on sailing and the use of

the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase contribute in interesting ways to the Hesiodic poetic

characterisation.

The Hesiodic Persona

The understanding of this persona is crucial to any consideration of the Hesiodic poems.

The idea of the personal and autobiographical material of the Hesiodic poems as an actual

representation of an individual poet must be seriously questioned, even discarded. In the last few

decades scholarly thinking about Hesiod has developed significantly as commentators have

largely turned away from the idea of a single poet, 'Hesiod the farmer,' a.k.a. "Simple George

Hesiod,"[82] towards a more complex view of the Hesiodic authorial tradition. Just as much

mainstream scholarship no longer holds to the idea of a single individual named 'Homer' who in

any holistic way composed, performed, or compiled the entirety of the Homeric poems,[83] most

academics now similarly acknowledge that the Hesiodic poems must be the result of a diverse

and lengthy tradition of recomposition and reperformance. As with Homer, "we must perceive

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[81] Clay, *Hesiod's Cosmos*, 181.

[82] Mark Griffith, "Personality in Hesiod," *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Apr. 1983), 63.

[83] Graziosi and Haubold, *Homer*, 19, for a general recap of the issue. For an opposing viewpoint see, especially from pages 1-34, Joachim Latacz, *Homer, His Art and His World*, trans. James P. Holoka (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

Hesiod as a mask for many anonymous voices, all trained, and trained well, over generations to sound the same, to speak with the same identity, and to pass on the same traditions."[84] 'Hesiod' is then simply the name given to a series of poets who adopt a particular persona in the singing of certain songs and themes.[85]

The roots of the *Works and Days* in wisdom literature illuminate the traditional effect of the poetic persona. The utility of the poetic persona is evident in the educational and advisory goals of the wisdom literature tradition.[86] The creation of a character allows the poet to display biographical details as a means of demonstrating authority through lived experience. The adoption of a persona also makes the poet more accessible to an audience, since he acts "as a wise and sympathetic person concerned for the welfare of his friend, rather than a lecturing old curmudgeon, haranguing the general public."[87] Such an effect is surely evident in the narrative of the *Works and Days*, in which the stark revelation of familial conflict and resentment is mediated by the indirectness of its reperformance in the persona of 'Hesiod.' The way in which the Hesiodic poet appears to his audience will be considered again below, when I approach the image of a Hesiodic singer who is intimately and immediately present before his audience.

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[84] Robert Lamberton, *Hesiod* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 35.

[85] M.L. West notably does not agree with the view of Hesiod's poems as strictly in accordance with the elements of the wisdom literature tradition. He argues that the vividness and particular morality of the subordinate Hesiodic characters (Hesiod's father, and his brother, Perses) makes them improbable as fictional inventions. He further posits that "it would be exceptional for a pretend person to be addressed by one who is just who he seems to be, namely Hesiod – and no one supposes Hesiod himself to be an assumed character." Martin L. West, *Works and Days*, ed. with prolegomena and commentary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 18. Unfortunately, many do suppose such a thing, which would point to West's argument as being strongly overstated. Clay's arguments concerning the fiction of Hesiod's father's migration have already been noted here (supra, n. 11), and the realism of the character of Perses has also been dismissed, as by Kathryn Stoddard. Kathryn Stoddard, *The Narrative Voice in the Theogony of Hesiod* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 16-17.

[86] For the relationship between Hesiod and the tradition of wisdom literature: Peter Walcot, "Hesiod and the didactic literature of the Near East," *Revue des Études Grecques* 75 (1962), 13-36; Charles Rowan Beye, "The Rhythm of Hesiod's *Works and Days*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1972), 23-43; Martin L. West *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 76-78, 306-12.

[87] Stoddard, *The Narrative Voice,* 15.

Ultimately it is necessary to fully abandon the conception of Hesiod as an individual, in order

that the deeply traditional nature of the Hesiodic persona may bear fruit in this examination of

the *Works and Days*. In the Nautilia in particular, where we find a number of personal

revelations, an especially important poetic message emerges. This is the declaration of the

Hesiodic poet's claim to glory and to a performative reputation on the level of those who sing the

epic stories that take place before the walls of Troy and on the shores of the resounding sea.

Having established the importance of the poetic persona, I now turn to a discussion of the

nature and construction of the Hesiodic character. An important interpretation of the Hesiodic

figure within the traditional rhapsodic context comes from Nagy, who traces the etymology of

Hesiod's name to "something like 'he who emits the Voice,'"[88] as part of an argument intended to

counter the idea of Hesiod as an autobiographical poet. Nagy moves to broadly deny the

autobiographical voice in the Hesiodic poems, theorising instead that 'Hesiod' is representative

of a Panhellenic rhapsodic tradition. The Hesiodic poet is thus able to transcend local

geographical and cultural limits in the performance of 'true things.' Indeed, Richard Martin

argues that it is precisely the transcendence of the Hesiodic voice that allows the poems to

function at their full capacity. The figure of Hesiod is, Martin argues, a *metanastes*, an outsider,

who is able to comment didactically on the Greek world precisely because of his external

position. Martin writes,

> "most striking is the way in which Hesiodic poetry assumes
> the stance of outsider who happens to be allowed inside,
> exposing the narrator as one who has learned intimately the
> language of the group but still speaks with the viewpoint of
> one whose special experiences, emerging from a certain
> solitude and isolation, locate him on the margins of the

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[88] Nagy, "Hesiod," 49. Welcker was one of the first scholars to note such an etymology, offering the rendering "he who sends forth song." Fridericus Theophilus Welcker, *Theognidis Reliquiae* (Frankfurt, 1826), 77-78. Janko has suggested that the name might be a title, perhaps one passed from father to son (Janko, *Homer, Hesiod*, 169, ff. 128).

community. Paradoxically, from this point he has a clearer view of the centre."[89]

Martin draws on the poetic construction of the Hesiodic singer to point to a persona that carefully blends elements of centrality and foreignness. This dual effect is achieved in part through the narrative of Hesiod's father's migration. I have already discussed Clay's conception of this passage as metaphorical. Martin further takes this passage's account of migration as indicative of the way in which the Hesiodic persona maintains an external perspective while assuming acceptance into a group, represented by the local audience. Martin notes that such a poetic strategy would undoubtedly have been traditional as a means of confirming authority, as for example with the Delphic oracle's extra-political position.[90] An understanding of the Hesiodic persona begins to emerge from a rejection of the autobiographical analysis in favour of a broad characterisation that informs the image of the poet as purveyor of knowledge.

Based on an elaboration of this Hesiodic figure, it is now possible to delve into the purpose of the Hesiodic singer in inviting comparison to Homeric poetry. The poetic character is a tool for communicating information about the poems, in which he also features. The rhapsode in his Hesiodic persona offers personal details that point not to an actual person but to the poetic goals of the singer. Per Griffith,

> "in each poem… Hesiod selects those aspect of himself, his family, and background – real or fictitious – that suit his purposes, and presents them accordingly… Hesiod (together no doubt with his predecessors and successors) put much care and labour into designing a suitable setting for the *Works and Days*; and he did not neglect the persona of the author."[91]

This Hesiodic persona serves a clear narrative and poetic purpose as a construction in and of the poem. We must then approach moments in the poem in which the character of 'Hesiod' is

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[89] Richard P. Martin, Hesiod's Metanastic Poetics," *Ramus*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1992), 14.
[90] Martin, Hesiod's Metanastic Poetics," 28.
[91] Griffith, "Personality," 63.

illuminated as moments in which the poem comments on itself. Indeed, Griffith further notes that, "Hesiod's personal and autobiographical remarks always serve a specific and necessary function within the contexts in which they occur and should be viewed in these terms rather than as gratuitous self-revelation and reminiscence."[92] The version of the Hesiodic performer presented to the audience is an intentional construction with definite poetic purpose.

Furthermore, I wish to point to the idea of the Hesiodic poet as influenced by and constructed through the themes of the voice, speech, and authority. These issues are deeply important to the analysis I am conducting in this chapter, firstly because the Nautilia is an explicit framing of the poet's own voice, and must be viewed in the context of a broader focus on the nature of poetic and authoritative speech. Secondly, it is important to acknowledge the weight of these themes in Hesiod in order to understand how the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation and its deep echoes of the landscapes and voices of the *Iliad* contribute to the presentation of Hesiod's poetic voice. Such concepts are repeatedly emphasised in both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* by a number of means. Where the poet illuminates his position through conceptions of voice and speech, he is inevitably also commenting on the nature of his own performance and reperformance, both in the sense that he himself is manipulating words used by another, an in that his own song may be reperformed in turn. The poet's self-referential constructions of speech define not only him, but also the nature of his song and the authority he wields through its performance. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation, containing as it does Homeric implication of human voice and emotion, is a particularly effective formula in the context of such a comment on the nature of poetic expression and traditionally developed rhapsodic authority.

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[92] Griffith, "Personality," 37.

That Hesiod repeatedly refers in his work to the nature of poetic and authoritative voices

is important for understanding how deeply conceptions of speech are thematised in his work.

Rosen supports his claims about the metapoetic nature of the Nautilia with reference to the

broader metapoetic themes of the *Works and Days*. He notes that, "Hesiod's interest in the nature

of poetic inspiration, poetic authority, and poetic truth is undeniable."[93] Indeed, extensive

scholarly exploration of voice and speech in the Hesiodic poems has demonstrated the

importance of these themes. Significant comment has been made, for example, on line 27 of the

Theogony.[94] Recently Bruce Heiden has discussed the word ὁμοῖος and Hesiod's ability to blur

the qualitative lines between truth and lies.[95] Joshua Katz and Katharina Volk have used this line

to draw connections between the poetic voice in Hesiod and ancient conceptions of prophetic

speech, in order to point to the Hesiodic poet as a vehicle for both divine and human speech.[96]

Owen Goslin's discussion of the Typhonomachy suggests that Zeus' battle with and subsequent

defeat of Typhoeus "results in a reordering of the sonic world of the *Theogony*" and ultimately

"enables communication between gods and men."[97] Such discussion highlights the connections

Hesiod repeatedly draws between speech and authority, both poetic and political.[98] In using the

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[93] Rosen, "Poetry and Sailing," 112.

[94] Wherein the Muses inform Hesiod: ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. "We know how to speak many false things like true things."

[95] Bruce Heiden, "The Muses' Uncanny Lies: Hesiod, "Theogony" 27 and Its Translators," *The American Journal of Philology* 128 (Summer, 2007), 153-75.

[96] Joshua Katz and Katharina Volk, "'Mere Bellies'?: A New Look at *Theogony* 26-8," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 120 (2000), 122-31.

[97] Owen Goslin, "Hesiod's Typhonomachy and the Ordering of Sound," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* Vol. 140 (Fall, 2010), 351.

[98] The accounts of Hesiod's relationship to the Muses and of 'honey-tongued basileis' are further points of reference here. Richard Martin's examination of the speech of kings focuses particularly on speech acts from a comparative Indo-European perspective. Richard P. Martin, "Hesiod, Odysseus, and the Instruction of Princes," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 114 (1984), 29-48. The 'oak and rock' proverb has been explained by Calvert Watkins as related to issues of speech and truth. Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 161-64. Rousseau has argued that Hesiod's mention of 'singer vs singer' in the discussion of good *eris* refers to the question of poetic generic competition. Philippe Rousseau, "Instruire Persès: Notes sur l'ouverture des *Travaux*

evocative πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase in order to comment, in the Nautilia, on his own

poetic position, Hesiod further highlights the power of rhapsodic speech. The phrase conjures the

poetic setting of epic along with the voices of the Iliadic poets and characters whose cultural

importance is carried by the volume of the sea.

Moreover, explicit connections have been drawn between the Nautilia and other Hesiodic

discussions of voice and poetic authority. Carol Dougherty specifically links the Catalogue of

Ships in the *Iliad* to Hesiod's Nautilia. She further proposes that the Catalogue, "marked as it is

by the poet's articulate and impassioned appeal to the Muses… assumes a metapoetic status… It

establishes a metaphorical framework for representing not just the heroic deeds on the battlefield

but the excellence of poetic composition as well."[99] Dougherty's analysis contextualizes a

connection between sailing and poetry that implies traditional understanding and articulation of

such a link. The connection between the Iliadic and Hesiodic material may be further elaborated

through the Catalogue. Aristotle noted that the passage in Book 2 of the *Iliad* forms a part of the

poem that passes out of the short time period described in the epic and looks to the rest of the

Trojan War.[100] Jonathan Burgess suggests that, "this list of ships and their leaders indirectly

reflects the gathering of ships at Aulis in the first year of the war (which is recalled directly at

2.303-4)."[101] Hesiod's reference to Aulis may then be seen as alluding to a Homeric passage in

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d'Hésiode," ed. Fabienne Blaise et al., *Le métier du mythe: Lectures d'Hésiode* (France: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1996), 53-4

[99] Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus,* 24.

[100] διὸ ὥσπερ εἴπομεν ἤδη καὶ ταύτῃ θεσπέσιος ἂν φανείη Ὅμηρος παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῷ μηδὲ τὸν πόλεμον καίπερ ἔχοντα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἐπιχειρῆσαι ποιεῖν ὅλον· λίαν γὰρ ἂν μέγας καὶ οὐκ εὐσύνοπτος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι ὁ μῦθος, ἢ τῷ μεγέθει μετριάζοντα καταπεπλεγμένον τῇ ποικιλίᾳ. νῦν δ᾽ ἓν μέρος ἀπολαβὼν ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται αὐτῶν πολλοῖς, οἷον νεῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεισοδίοις [δὶς] διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποίησιν. "Indeed just as I said already in this way that Homer seems sweet-sounding beyond the rest, just so the war, having a beginning and an end, he did not attempt to make whole: for it is very great and the story may not easily be seen all at once, and in moderating its size he would have complicated it with ornamentation. Now taking up one part he draws in the other episodes of the poem, as with the catalogue of ships and the other episodes that diversify his poetry." *Poetics,* 1459a.

[101] Jonathan S. Burgess, *Homer* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2015), 24.

which the poetic description of ships and the implicitly connected act of sailing highlights the

process of poetic composition and generic definition.

Richard Hunter has also drawn overt connections between the Nautilia and other

Hesiodic commentary on the poetic voice. He discusses how Hesiod's sailing experience comes

in the context of a poetry competition at Calchis, where the poet wins a tripod that he dedicates

to the Muses. Hunter argues that this reference to the Muses "clearly also takes us back to the

instruction of Hesiod by the Muses at the opening of the *Theogony*, thus creating an analogy

between the subject matter of the earlier poem and that of seafaring."[102] Phillipe C. Rousseau has

also suggested a link between the proem of the *Theogony*, the ἐρίς section of the *Theogony*, and

the discussion of νεῖκος in the *Works and Days*. He links these episodes through their poetic

purpose, which he suggests is a comment on inter-generic competition. Rousseau's discussion

returns us to the issue of autobiography, especially through his contention that the struggles

between Hesiod and his brother are reflective of differences between epic and Hesiodic themes.

He writes that, "le conflit est bien donné comme 'réel,' mais cette réalité n'est pas extérieure à la

fiction qui organise la présentation du poème."[103] Rousseau points here to the idea that the

contrast between the epic model and the Hesiodic style is a part of the carefully crafted fiction of

the Hesiodic character that thematises and pervades the poem, manifesting in the creation of

biographical details that serve as continuations of a Hesiodic manifesto.

The Nautilia, as a metapoetic commentary that reflects Hesiod's focus on the voice, as

means by which Hesiod defines his rhapsodic status, and as an expression of Hesiod's authority,

stands within a well-established pattern of poetic thematisation. In this context the

πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης serves to add another layer by which the human voice is represented

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[102] Hunter, *Hesiodic Voices,* 54.
[103] "The conflict [between Hesiod and Perses] is certainly given as 'real,' but this reality is not external to
the fiction that organizes the presentation of the poem." Rousseau, "Instruire Persès," 62.

and discussed in Hesiod's poetry. The phrase calls up the aural impact of Homeric scenes, discussed in the previous chapter, in which the loud-roaring sea reflects and amplifies human sorrow and the chaos of war. It contributes to Hesiod's obvious implementation of Homeric figures in his *sphragis*. The loud-roaring sea evokes the voices of those poets before Hesiod who sang the story of the Trojan War, as well as the very voices of Chryses, Helen, and Achilles.

Dialect and Duality in the Hesiodic Poems

Having established the narrative and thematic patterns by which Hesiod uses the construction of voice to comment programmatically on his own poetry, I turn now to more implicit poetic effects in the *Works and Days*. I wish to consider the underlying ways in which the semantic and dialectal elements of Hesiod's poetic language further define the nature of his poetry. I aim to elaborate a view of Hesiod as functioning both within and outside of an established rhapsodic tradition. In a parallel sense, Hesiod demonstrates an immediate, proximal poetic authority while also drawing on the more distant ideology of divine and epic influence. These dual modes of self-presentation enable Hesiod's particular poetic persona. They are evident within the Nautilia passage, and I further contend that they are reinforced by the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula.

The relative performative presence of the Hesiodic poet has been discussed extensively by Egbert Bakker. Bakker compares the means of poetic knowledge exhibited by Hesiod with that of the Homeric poet, concluding that Hesiod is much more confident and personal in the presentation of his song.[104] The intimate sense of the Hesiodic persona contributes to a marked

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[104] "We see that the Homeric narrator is aware of his moral shortcomings when confronted with the formidable task of recreating the past, and this human condition with its cognitive limitations calls for the aid of the Muses. The persona of Hesiod, on the other hand, appears to be much more confident. He can take the Muses' assistance for granted, since he has been personally initiated. His discourse, in fact, is

element of the Hesiodic performance wherein the poet and his narrative are both more immediate and more physically present than the poet of the Homeric poems. Bakker notes that, "Hesiod strikingly refers to himself with ὅδε (τόνδε με) which … is the pronoun of proximal, speaker-oriented deixis: the pronoun here designates the speaker himself as he is physically present before his audience."[105] The Hesiodic poet makes himself a clear focal point for his audience. Stoddard has similarly remarked on the Hesiodic "narrator's insistence on his presence in the poem."[106] The poet highlights the immediacy of his position, both physically before his audience and figuratively as a prominent and personal voice in the poem. These elements are further reinforced by the temporality of the Hesiodic narrative. Bakker argues that, "the Hesiodic performer is concerned less with re-enacting the past in all its complexity, and with impersonating what gods and heroes said in that remote time, than with explaining and justifying the present."[107] The Hesiodic poems exhibit a clear focus on immediacy, especially in the functional advice and mundane tone of the *Works and Days*. It is clear that the Hesiodic poet is, by a number of means, marking the physical and temporal proximity of his song. He draws attention to himself as literally and figuratively present both as a figure in the poem and as a performer in front of his audience speaking of quotidian concerns.

This immediacy serves as both contrast and complement to the narrative and authoritative distance that underscores Hesiod's poetry. The Muses are a notable marker of distance in the poems, as they draw the persona of Hesiod and his authority, derived from their gifts, into the

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much more personal than Homer's. The passage in which he tells of his poetic vocation contains the most explicit self-presentation of any narrator in all of Greek literature." Egbert J. Bakker, *Pointing at the Past: From Formula to Performance in Homeric Poetics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 80.

[105] Bakker, *Pointing at the Past*, 81.

[106] Stoddard, *The Narrative Voice,* 66.

[107] "The Muses know what Hesiod is talking about, so that the pronoun of dialogic deixis is called for; ταῦτα locates the story of Zeus' ascent, the justification of the known world, as a matter of the immediate present, of the communication between the Muses and the inspired poet." Bakker, *Pointing at the Past*, 83.

remote spaces of history, legend, and divinity.[108] Stoddard has pointed out that the linear

temporality inherent to mortal life and thus to the biographical construction of the Hesiodic

persona is drawn alongside the timelessness of the Muses. In this vein Stoddard highlights the

"omnitemporality" that runs throughout the *Theogony*, as it reveals the duality of the poem's

commentary on both men and gods. This omnitemporality may also be discussed in terms of the

re-enactment of a divine chronology, of events that occurred in the past and which are recreated

in the performance of the poem. Alex Purves has commented on such an effect in a comment on

the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, which, as noted above, has a direct thematic connection to the

programmatic elements of the Nautilia. Purves argues that, "the mechanics of the human voice,

once it is caught up in the time-bound process of articulation, cannot help but draw the Muses'

synchronic vision into the human temporality of lived experience."[109] This merging of divine and

human time is made all the more forceful by the immediacy of Hesiod's self-presentation.

Moreover, it must be noted that this temporal element of the Hesiodic poems is not limited either

to specific mentions of the Muses or to the theological chronology of the *Theogony*. As discussed

above, the proem to the *Theogony* and its invocation of the Muses are deeply and repeatedly

connected to other parts of the Hesiodic poems, and particularly to the Nautilia. The Nautilia, in

referring to the Muses as dedicatory recipients of Hesiod's tripod, recalls their gifts and the

timelessness of their power. The audience of Hesiod's poetry is reminded repeatedly of his

connection to the Muses, and thus the goddesses' influence draws his song into their realm: the

uncontained chronology, beauty, and distance of Olympus. Furthermore, in drawing on the

Muses Hesiod ties his narrative, as a means of justifying his contribution to the depth of

traditional song, to the legendary, epic past. Hesiod emphasises this connection by referring in

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[108] "Hesiod goes on to say that the Muses order him to sing of the race of the immortal gods, thus implying their continued presence in the performance of the poet's song." Ibid, 81.
[109] Purves, *Space and Time,* 36.

the Nautilia to the Trojan expedition, the chronological distance of which pulls Hesiod's

narrative into the far-off past.

Both the presence of the Hesiodic singer and his ties to the remoteness of history and

divinity are important elements of his poetry. I contend that these modes are ultimately visible in

the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula. The loud-roaring sea is an immediate reference point for

Hesiod's story about sailing. It is intended as an evocative aural and visual setting. It is therefore

a prominent focal point for the narrative, in that it acts as a highly vivid locus for Hesiod's story

about his own sailing trip. And yet Hesiod is not – indeed, cannot – be sailing on a loud and

raging sea, as this would be incredibly unsafe, particularly from the viewpoint of the sea-cautious

Greeks.[110] Even in Homer, the loud-roaring sea is primarily an element of the landscape to be

viewed and heard from the shore.[111] By his own admission, Hesiod's voyage to Calchis

constitutes a short and unrevealing experience of sailing. In referring to the sea by this epithet

Hesiod is calling up a poetic image that is useful not as an actual location for his own narrative,

but purely as imagery within the poem. It is a forceful formula that demands visualisation,

particularly for an audience familiar with Homeric seascape, yet, the resounding sea is

necessarily a poetic construct, at a remove from the physical reality of Hesiod's sailing. Indeed,

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[110] Hesiod himself offers a long list of precautions to be taken when sailing. Such careful action may allow a sailor success at sea -- unless Poseidon or Zeus decides otherwise (*WD* 665-9).

[111] There is an interesting connection to be drawn between Hesiod's digression on sailing and the first instance of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula in the *Odyssey* at 13.78-92. As discussed in the previous chapter (pages 29-34), that instance in the *Odyssey* is the only Homeric use of the loud-roaring sea as the actual setting for the activity of sailing. I would suggest that this is due in part to the later composition of the *Odyssey*, in that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης seems already to be less useful to the poet, and is thus susceptible to manipulation and alteration in an atypical context. In this first passage from the *Odyssey* the loud-roaring sea functions as a recollection of the phrase's Iliadic use and as a complement to the subsequent use of the formula in the *Odyssey*. This is a useful comparandum for Hesiod's use of the phrase, which is dependent on the Iliadic context, but which differs in terms of narrative use. The fact that the phrase in the *Iliad* is used as a seaside setting and never actually for activity on the sea stands in stark contrast with the dramatic effect of the phrase's implementation in the *Odyssey*, and to the impossible implementation of the phrase in Hesiod's elaboration of his own experience with the sea. These two later examples of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης complement each other and reinforce the specificity and unique poetic potential of the formula.

this points to the phrase's use for the very purpose of calling up the Homeric seascape for the archaic audience. The phrase allows Hesiod to locate himself within the epic tradition on whose lexicon he draws in the use of the phrase. Thus in the same moment as Hesiod uses the first person narrative to present the sea (δείξω, *WD* 648) and invokes a formula powerful in its imagery, his vocabulary looks to the distant poetic past of the epic tradition. He is careful to be intimately present with his audience, while he simultaneously uses the 'loud-roaring sea' to set his authority outside the bounds of the immediate performative moment and location.

I have already noted Martin's view of Hesiod as a metanastic poet. Martin further explores the use of dialect in marking the Hesiodic singer as external or foreign. Nagy has pointed out that Hesiod's "self-proclaimed Boeotian provenience would be nearly impossible to detect on the basis of language alone."[112] Martin acknowledges this, and points to several Aeolisms in the *Works and Days* as deliberate dialectal colouring of the poem. He likens Hesiod here to "a stand-up comedian" who marks foreignness by "speaking the language of the 'old country.'"[113] Aeolic inflections serve to mark particular moments of externally-based authority, which function, like the narrative of Hesiod's father's migration, as a metaphorical tool marking the Hesiodic persona as an outsider. Importantly, the Aeolisms in the Hesiodic poems are highly concentrated in only a few places,[114] and Martin highlights how a number of them are contained within the digression on sailing.[115] In using these dialectal variations the poet changes his speech to support the Nautilia's commentary on the nature of speech and foreignness. The poet's sailing

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[112] Nagy, *Greek Mythology*, 101.
[113] Martin, "Metanastic Poetics," 27.
[114] Janko's analysis finds "none at all" in the *Theogony,* and notes that in the *Works and Days* Aeolisms occur only within the description of winter and the Nautilia. (Janko, *Homer, Hesiod*, 168.)
[115] Martin notes three Aeolisms (Martin, "Metanastic Poetics," 27), but Janko points to four: at lines 635, 666, 683, and 693 (Janko, *Homer, Hesiod*, 168). These are ἀνύσσας, καυάξαις, αἴνημ᾽, and καυάξαις, respectively. Janko notes in his own analysis that such dialectal colouring is the result of "the influence of Hesiod's father from Cyme, who may be presumed to have discoursed on his travels to his sons in his own Aeolic dialect" (Janko, *Homer, Hesiod*, 168).

metaphor serves to place him in parallel with a Homeric, rhapsodic tradition just as his word choice points to an implicit manipulation of speech forms that subtly reinforces the adopted foreign poetic persona. Furthermore, these Aeolisms stand in contrast to the largely Ionic dialectal and poetic system in the Hesiodic poems. "The dialectal texture of Hesiodic poetry is predominantly Ionic – even more distinctly Ionic than the dialectal texture of Homeric poetry. And the pervasive Ionic heritage of Hesiodic poetry extends from form to content."[116] The Nautilia is a clearly distinct poetic and narrative moment, in which the singer prominently features his own characterisation, in order to reinforce a thematic moment that allows him to highlight his rhapsodic authority.

Yet, within this Aeolic passage, the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase stands out as strongly Ionic and epic. The –*oio* form of the genitive singular as it appears here is of particular note. Its Iliadic flavour[117] makes it a strong candidate for what Janko calls "false archaism."[118] That is to say, the –*oio* morpheme represents either a "conscious choice" on the part of a poet, or a directly inherited and thus necessarily traditional phrase.[119] This genitive form was also "alien to most spoken dialects,"[120] and certainly would not have been used if not for the established formulaic inheritance of which it is a part. The phrase points to a clear participation on the part of the Hesiodic poet in an archaic poetic tradition, an obvious engagement with the inherited lexicon, and a conformity to the dialectal inheritance of epic. The loud-roaring sea thus stands as a strongly traditional formula in the middle of a passage marked by the quality of foreignness. This is yet another demonstration of Hesiod's careful negotiation of proximity and distance, in which he highlights both his externality and his participation in the rhapsodic culture. The

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[116] Nagy, "Hesiod and the Ancient Biographical Traditions," 289.
[117] Janko, *Homer, Hesiod*, 72-73.
[118] Ibid, 77.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης points up Hesiod's careful manipulation of character and tradition at a moment when he is explicitly commenting on both.

In the Nautilia Hesiod develops the idea of his own contribution to the archaic poetic tradition. He signals his awareness of culture and language that are both conventional and shared, while demonstrating that he is not limited to or by any one strain of poetry, as defined by genre, dialect, or inspiration. In this we see Clay's vision of Hesiod as performing a truly universal song:

> "Hesiodic poetry comprehends the divine and human cosmos, spatially, from the Olympian heights to the depth of Tartarus, and temporally, from its first beginnings to the present. In opposition to Homer, Hesiod would claim that his vision is by no means a rejection of the heroic tradition (which indeed it subsumes), but that it is far more universal and complete."[121]

Hesiod aims to meld such diverse elements as the mundane and the divine, the distant and the present, the personal and the infinite.

In this chapter I have drawn on the scholarship around the Nautilia in order to present the metapoetic intentions of Hesiod's digression on sailing, and to link this digression to broader conceptions of self-definition in Hesiod. In particular, I have pointed to the use of voice and speech as a defining element of Hesiodic poetry, as related to the understanding of a traditional Hesiodic figure. This poetic persona is a narrative construction that gives credence to any individual singer of the Hesiodic poems, and which in turn highlights the thematic content of these poems. Within the Nautilia, conceptions of presence, distance, foreignness, and immediacy underscore the elements of voice and authority that so strongly define the Hesiodic poet's position as a singer and as a contributor to the broader archaic poetic scene. I have posited that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης reinforces these complementary elements of Hesiodic poetry. The

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[121] Clay, *Hesiod's Cosmos*, 78.

phrase calls out to the earlier instances of its use in Homeric poetry, highlighting the Hesiodic poet's evocation of the Trojan War in the process of situating his own work alongside the epic tradition. The 'loud-roaring sea' simultaneously underscores the immediacy and the distance of the sailing narrative, contributing to the duality of the poet's authoritative merging of presence and distance. Finally, the use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula, a markedly traditional poetic phrase, emerges as a notable feature in a passage coloured by dialect variation and self-conscious poetic construction. As the Hesiodic poet uses the Nautilia to programmatically mark his own legacy, he draws on the resounding sea for its vividness and its volume. The phrase conjures the suffering of Homeric heroes and the volume of the Homeric seascape while reinforcing the projection of the distinctly Hesiodic voice onto the inheritance of the rhapsodic tradition.

EPIC AND BEYOND: THE πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης FORMULA IN FRAGMENTS

Beyond Homer and Hesiod there remains to be discussed a small number of examples of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in extant Greek poetry. In this chapter I aim to discuss in detail two early, prominent instances of the formula and in doing so to extend this analysis into the fragmentary traditions of Cyclic epic and early Greek elegy. The ways that these materials differ in composition and transmission from the Homeric and Hesiodic poems will offer an increasingly complex view of the phrase and the poetic resonance it displays. The first example of the collocation comes from a fragment of the *Cypria*, whose relationship to the Homeric poems I will discuss briefly. In the analysis of the loud-roaring sea in the fragment under consideration, I find only a small amount of coherence with the Homeric use of the phrase. This discontinuity leads to the conclusion that the potential of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula to effect serious psychological impact, through its aural and emotive force, was not consistently implemented to full effect in early epic. In view of supporting evidence from the Homeric Hymns, I conclude that such usage of the loud-roaring sea in the *Cypria* suggests that the phrase's use in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is remarkable for its uniformity and depth of symbolism, and thus that the phrase contributes in one small way to a reading of careful Homeric composition and thematic unity. From the fragments of epic I then turn to the fragments of early elegy in order to examine the use of the resounding sea in Archilochus. I will first discuss the many ways in which the Archilochean material shares in compositional circumstances and traditional discourse with the Homeric and Hesiodic poetry that precedes it. This leads to a consideration of the ways in which the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase appears as part of the Archilochean ability to draw on traditional Homeric content for two simultaneous purposes. The

poet builds a strong alignment with the vocabulary and themes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* while also effecting a highly innovative use of Homeric diction and content. This discussion of Archilochus' use of the loud-roaring sea provides an important demonstration of how such early Greek poets are able to function within the relatively rigid tradition of oral formulaic composition as they move towards the more multi-functional context of later lyric poetry. With this in mind, I turn to a brief examination of some conceptions of the sea, its noise, and its symbolic role in later poetry. In doing so I aim to suggest some areas of future scholarly consideration, towards which the discussion undertaken in this thesis might contribute. I hope to highlight in this chapter a somewhat more flexible view of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation than that seen in the previous chapters – if not metrically, then in its continued contribution to the larger themes of man's relationship with the natural world, and the various ways a poet may express grief, uncertainty, and acceptance of both.

Fragments of the Cypria

The loud-roaring sea is found in one fragment of the *Cypria,* a poem of the Epic Cycle that may have at some point been joined textually with the *Iliad*.[122] The *Cypria* and the *Iliad*

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[122] To contextualise the relationship of the Epic Cycle to the Homeric poems, I refer to Jonathan Burgess, who describes "some concept of a gathering of epic poems… a notional sense of epic coherence, or ephemeral rhapsodic performances of material from different epics." (Jonathan Burgess, "The Epic Cycle and Fragments," *A Companion to Ancient Epic: Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*, ed. John Miles Foley (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 347). Such a description looks to the loose body of cultural, narrative, and performative relationships shared between a large number of poems, which nonetheless differed in a variety of ways – not all necessarily available to modern audiences – and for which the nature of content and performance surely varied significantly. To this open-ended vision of a Cyclic tradition it is necessary to add an understanding of Homeric material as having arisen within the much larger tradition of epos. This is complicated by the vagueness of modern knowledge about the Cycle poems, which stems from a broad lack of data. Even the dating of the Cyclic material is problematic, for the same reasons that much other information about the Epic Cycle eludes us. While seemingly dateable by linguistic means as late as the second half of the sixth century, the Cyclic poems are hard to pin down. This is because the evidence is fragmentary, because analyses tend to rest exclusively on the Homeric poems as a point of comparison, and because written Cyclic fragments may

were construed, in Hellenistic times, as being directly thematically and narratively cohesive,[123] but unfortunately this does not mean that such a connection existed before this period. Certainly we may assume a link between the two in terms of the traditionally oral and formulaic poetic context, but it is not possible to claim that the singer of either the *Cypria* or the *Iliad* would necessarily have been familiar with the other Cyclic works in the form known to modern audiences. While it is possible to presume that the composer(s) or singers of the *Cypria* had some knowledge of the narrative and thematic presentation of the *Iliad*, it cannot be said with certainty that such singers would have had precise knowledge of Iliadic phrasing or particular instances of immediate narrative context as it has since been recorded. In that we cannot be sure a singer of the *Cypria* had prior knowledge of exactly how the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase was used in the *Iliad*, the appearance of the loud-roaring sea in the *Cypria* can speak only to a shared use of formulaic vocabulary, and cannot be taken to indicate a mutual influence or shared understanding of the phrase's precise poetic value. Indeed, the use of the formula in the *Cypria* does not offer much for comparison with the *Iliad*. The passage, *Cypria* fragment 10 in West's edition, describes Nemesis fleeing from Zeus' advances:

> τοὺς δέ μέτα τριτάτην Ἑλένην τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν.
> τήν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότητι μιγεῖσα

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well be inaccurate, unrepresentative, or simply later manifestations of traditions spanning unknown centuries (Burgess, "The Epic Cycle," 349). These issues make it hard to draw conclusions about the material of the Cycle. Still, we may understand that while the Homeric poems came to have relatively greater performative and transmitted significance in Greek culture, in their origin they must have had much in common with the Cyclic epics. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* would then share vocabulary, themes, and narrative content with what can be assumed to be a very large corpus of traditional song. For a consideration of authorship, as well as the degree and quality of orality in the Cycle, see Burgess, "The Epic Cycle," 348-50. For an analysis of one aspect of the similarities and divergences in narrative and theme between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems: Menelaos Christopoulos, "*Casus belli*: Causes of the Trojan War in the Epic Cycle," *Classics@* 6, ed. Efimia D. Karakantza, The Center for Hellenic Studies of Harvard University, edition of February 4, 2011.

[123] Burgess, "The Epic Cycle," 347. West's discussion is also useful, particularly pages 18-26, and the analysis at pages 56-57 of how the composer(s) of the *Cypria* find it necessary to avoid overlap with the Iliadic material: Martin L. West, *The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆι τέκε κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.
φεῦγε γάρ, οὐδ' ἔθελεν μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότητι
πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίωνι· ἐτείρετο γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ
καὶ νεμέσει. κατά γῆν δὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον μέλαν ὕδωρ
φεῦγε, Ζεὺς δ' ἐδίωκε – λαβεῖν δ' ελιλαίετο θυμῶι –
ἄλλοτε μὲν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
ἰχθύι εἰδομένην, πόντον πολὺν ἐξοροθύνων,
ἄλλοτ' ἀν' Ὠκεανὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πείρατα γαίης,
ἄλλοτ' ἀν' ἤπειρον πολυβώλακα- γίνετο δ' αἰεί
θηρί', ὅσ' ἤπειρος αἰνὰ τρέφει, ὄφρα φύγοι μιν.

Third after these she bore Helen, a wonder among mortals.
It was her that lovely-haired Nemesis, having mixed in love
with Zeus, king of the gods, bore under strong compulsion.
For she fled, nor did she wish to join in love
with father Zeus, son of Kronos. She was distressed in her heart
   by shame
and indignation. Over land and barren, dark water
she fled, while Zeus followed – he desired in his heart
   to catch her –
sometimes over the waves of the loud-roaring sea
she appeared as a fish, he stirring the great sea,
sometimes along the river Ocean and the ends of the earth,
sometimes upon the much-clodded land – always she became
beasts, which dread things the land nourishes, so she might
   escape him.[124]

This scene does present the loud-roaring sea as one setting for the fear and anger of Nemesis. In

this way it suggests the Homeric use of the phrase. This scene does not, however, reflect the

Iliadic usage of the loud-roaring sea in any further way. There is no obvious element of noise or

silence in the behaviour of Nemesis that might suggest a need for the loud-roaring sea. The rapid

implementation of a number of settings actually deprioritises this or any version of the sea. The

layering of several settings makes them all secondary to the overall vision of a great chase across

a space encompassing a wide variety of the world's lands and waters. This stands in stark

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[124] All translations are my own. Epic fragments are from Martin L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments*
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); the Archilochean fragments in this chapter are cited
according to Martin L. West, *Delectus ex Iambis et Elegis Graecis* (New York: Oxford University Press,
1980); excerpts from the Homeric Hymns are from *The Homeric Hymns,* ed. Thomas W. Allen, William
R. Halliday, and Edward E. Sikes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936).

contrast to the Iliadic use of the loud-roaring sea, in which the sea is the dominant visual and aural locus for action.

In fact, it appears that this use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation has little relationship to the Iliadic use at all. The formula is also represented with the preceding κῦμα at *Iliad* 2.207-210 and 6.345-348, but the collocation occurs as often in the *Iliad* in other combinations. If neither the poetic or narrative context suggests a use of the phrase that complements that of the *Iliad*, it is logical to conclude that in non-Homeric Archaic epic there was an available reading of the phrase that needed not include the emotive impact discussed in the previous chapters. Moreover, if one assumes, as is likely, that the *Cypria* followed the *Iliad* chronologically,[125] one actually finds an alteration of the phrase that abandons its earlier psychological purpose and, therefore, its poetic impact. Thus where the resounding sea is so strongly regularised in the *Iliad* as a developed and nuanced setting of particular emotional import, we must infer that this is a possible rather than a necessary poetic use of the phrase. Even if this meaning were available to other epic poets, it appears to have been possible to implement the loud-roaring sea as a straightforward location against which to set narrative action. It must be allowed that an audience to the *Cypria*'s performance could hear the phrase and understand an implication of the phrase's emotional Iliadic use. While such resonance cannot be discounted, however, it is clear that this use of the collocation in the *Cypria* does not couch the phrase in a context that allows the aural and psychological impact of the phrase to take full effect. To reinforce this reading of the Cyclic fragment, I point to the similarly undeveloped use of the

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[125] Martin L. West, "Towards a Chronology of Early Greek Epic," *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, ed. Øivind Andersen and Dag. T.T. Haug (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 228, 235; West, *The Epic Cycle,* 64-5.

πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in the Homeric Hymns.[126] In the *Hymn to Hermes*, lines

340-42, we find the resounding sea in use as a basic setting:

> κλέψας δ' ἐκ λειμῶνος ἐμὰς βοῦς ᾤχετ' ἐλαύνων
> ἑσπέριος παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
> εὐθὺ Πύλον δ' ἐλάων·

> Stealing my cows from the meadow he went driving them
> in the evening along the banks of the loud-roaring sea
> heading straight to Pylos.

There is no implication here of noise, emotive or otherwise. In the shorter *Hymn to Aphrodite*,

usually numbered 6, we also find the phrase used as a simple landscape marker:

> Αἰδοίην χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην
> ᾄσομαι, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν
> εἰναλίης, ὅθι μιν Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος
> ἤνεικεν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
> ἀφρῷ ἔνι μαλακῷ·

> Revered, golden-crowned, beautiful Aphrodite
> I will sing of you, who holds the towers of all Cypria
> by the sea, whom there the damp strength of Zephyr's blowing
> had sent over the waves of the loud-roaring sea
> upon the soft foam.

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[126] As noted in the first chapter (page 7 ff. 1) I am following the assumption that the Homeric Hymns are such in name only, and are unrelated in chronology and authorship to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. "Composed by different authors over a span of many centuries, from the 8th-century BC to as late as the Hellenistic period," the Homeric Hymns are so-called because their "style, language, and meter are so similar to that of the Homeric epics" (Susan C. Shelmerdine, *The Homeric Hymns* [Indianapolis, IA: Focus Publishing, 1995], 1, 6). On the issue of dating we may refer back as far as Milman Parry, who found the Hymns problematic on the grounds that "these poems and hymns belong to different periods and clearly do not all follow the tradition with equal fidelity" (Milman Parry, "The Traditional Epithet in Homer," *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* ed. Milman Parry and Adam Parry (Oxford University Press, 1971), 4). I follow Janko, as elsewhere in this thesis, in his chronology of the early Greek materials, and refer here to his dating of the Homeric Hymns as post-Homeric and -Hesiodic. For Janko's detailed analysis of the *Hymn to Hermes*, see Richard Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 133-50. For an account of the debate around the dating of the Hymns, see the introduction, particularly pages 7-9, in Andrew Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Faulkner's account is somewhat more flexible than I find necessary, but gives a good accounting of the debate between linguistic and literary approaches to the establishment of chronology.

As with the evidence found in the *Cypria*, these instances of the collocation demonstrate how the

phrase can function without the nuance of the psychologically evocative imagery consistently

attached to it in the *Iliad.* Indeed, Hymn 6 is often seeen as more Hesiodic than Homeric,[127]

which, though it does not rule out the possibility of Homeric allusion, would suggest that

Homeric reference is not the primary purpose of the passage. Evidently these lines do not effect

the aurally and psychologically nuanced circumstances of the collocation's occurrences in

Homer. I suggest then that the Homeric poet is at least more consistent in his use of the deeper

meaning of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula, if he is not actually deliberately repeating

and/or innovating it. Such consistency in the *Iliad* is perhaps unsurprising, given the general

multiformity of the *Cypria* as compared with the *Iliad* – we might well expect that greater

reperformance of the Homeric material would lead to a greater accumulation of care and thus to

a higher level of consistency and thematisation.[128] Whether such nuance may have developed

around the use of the loud-roaring sea in other works prior to or in parallel with the *Iliad* we

cannot know. It is clear, however, that the consistency of the formula's use within each of and to

a slightly lesser extent between the two Homeric poems contributes to an understanding of both

epics as holistically coherent and as a body of material whose compositional and performative

circumstances are distinctly developed in uncommon ways. That both Hesiod and Archilochus,

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[127] Diane Rayor notes that the version of the birth of Aphrodite in Hymn 6 is Hesiodic, in contrast to the more Iliadic narrative of Hymn 5 (Diane J. Rayor, *The Homeric Hymns* [Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014], 137); see also Pascale Brillet-Dubois, "The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite," *The Homeric Hymns* ed. Andrew Faulkner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 112; and page 219 of William D. Furley, "Homeric and Un-Homeric Hexameter Hymns" in the same volume.
[128] "The *Cypria*, a poem of the *Epic Cycle* which deals with the beginning of the Trojan War, displays greater multiformity than the Homeric epics, a reminder that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* held a special place in the tradition." Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymns,* 6. The level of multiformity may indeed suggest multiple *Cypria*, or at least a high number of variants by that name, whose fixity was never (in the available evidence) established as it was for the Homeric works, whether through writing or increasingly formalised recitation as at the Panathenaea (Margalit Finkelberg, "The *Cypria*, the *Iliad*, and the Problem of Multiformity in Oral and Written Tradition," *Classical Philology* 95, No. 1 [Jan., 2000], 6-11).

the latter of whom will be discussed below, are so clearly drawing on Homeric themes in the poetry surrounding their use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase reinforces the idea that even in antiquity the formula sounded particularly Homeric. Hesiod's clearly imitative reference to the Iliadic sea and Archilochus' creative repurposing of the Homeric setting strongly suggest that in the use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation both authors were intentionally evoking Homer's use of the phrase, and not its less specific function as a unit of early rhapsodic vocabulary. This resonance strongly suggests the conclusion that the Iliadic poet was wielding the phrase in a manner not visible in its implementation in other early epic. In offering examples of epic material that do not use the loud-roaring sea in the consistent style of Homer, the *Cypria* and the Hymns thus suggest a remarkable purpose and depth for the Homeric landscape.

Archilochus and Epic Continuity

The work of Archilochus provides an important example of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in poetry beyond Homer and Hesiod. Active in the first half of the seventh century BCE, Archilochus has much in common with the Homeric and Hesiodic singers that precede him.[129] As with the question of Homeric and Hesiodic authorship, the name Archilochus is not necessarily that of an individual who composed the poems recorded under that designation. As Arthur Adkins notes, "in no case can we be certain that the "I" of the poem, or the person whose

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[129] There has been, of course, much scholarship written on the relationship of the Archilochean to the Homeric material, and arguments have been made for both strict continuity with and complete rejection of the earlier epic tradition. For a very brief summary of this issue see Elton T. E. Barker and Joel P. Christensen, "Flight Club: The New Archilochus Fragment and Its Resonance with Homeric Epic," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 57 (2006), 12. See also the discussions of Dover and Page in *Archiloque: Sept exposés et discussions*, ed. J. Pouilloux et al. (Geneva Fondations Hardt, 1964), 183-222, 117-163; as well as Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 30-37.

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sentiments are being expressed, is Archilochus."[130] As with the Hesiodic and Homeric material,

authorship is connected to manner of performance: the poetry attributed to Archilochus is also

the result of an oral-traditional compositional and performative setting.[131] In turn, Archilochus'

language often engages strongly with the traditional, Homeric lexicon. As Walter Ralph Johnson

notes of Archilochus, "it is true that, fresh and vital as his voice sounds to us, very much of his

language and many of his themes are borrowed from Homeric epic."[132] In fact, it is highly likely

that the Archilochean poet sang not only elegy and iambos, but himself knew and sang epic

poetry. Epic is far too closely associated both culturally and technically with lyric to imagine any

kind of clear separation of one genre from the other.[133] James Notopoulos noted in 1966 that "the

δῶρον of the Muses is not merely figurative speech for the gift of poetry; it is the gift of epic

poetry which the Muses gave to him, according to the Parian marble… Archilochus knew how to

sing of the κλέα ἀνδρῶν as well as his own personal feelings."[134] As we will see, the use of the

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[130] Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Poetic Craft in the Early Greek Elegists (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 33.

[131] Adkins discusses the connection between the Archilochean poetic context and "other nonliterate or recently nonliterate cultures" that "readily furnishes first-person poetry whose content is not, and at the time of composition was known not to be, autobiographical." Adkins, *Poetic Craft*, 33.

[132] Walter Ralph Johnson, *The Idea of Lyric: Lyric Modes in Ancient and Modern Poetry* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 32.

[133] Indeed, Nagy has argued that lyric material precedes epic, particularly in that the epic metre develops as a subset of lyric. He notes that lyric poetry "is typified by three meters in particular: dactylic hexameter, elegiac couplet, and iambic trimeter. In ancient Greek poetic traditions, the dactylic hexameter became the sole medium of epic. As a poetic form, then, epic is far more specialized than lyric" (Gregory Nagy, "Lyric and Greek Myth," *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, ed. R. D. Woodard [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007], 20). Nagy has discussed the Archilochean persona: Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 247; he has also broadly confronted the issue of lyric/epic continuity and parallelism, and, though he does not discuss Archilochus there, the analysis is nonetheless relevant: Gregory Nagy, *Pindar's Homer* (Baltimore: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[134] James A. Notopoulos, "Archilochus, the Aoidos," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* Vol. 97 (1966), 313. Notopoulos is referring to two separate poems here. In reference to the δῶρον he is pointing to fragment 1 of Archilochus: εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος / καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος ("I myself am indeed a servant of Lord Enualios / also knowing the lovely gift of the Muses"). In reference to the κλέα ἀνδρῶν he is referring to the song of

πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation is a particularly interesting locus for a consideration of this connection between epic and lyric.

The extent to which any one traditional or formular phrase in Archilochus can or must be seen as Homeric or otherwise connected to early epic varies significantly. Certain phrases might be very common or metrically useful, suggesting that their use is based in convenience or poetic function.[135] In every case of Archilochean usage that echoes the Homeric we do not need to assume a direct or purposeful reference or evocation. There are, however, instances in which certain phrases and constructions in Archilochus appear to suggest a Homeric or epic context that contributes to a poem's beauty or vividness. For example, it is likely that "where a phrase is well known to the writer and his readers or audience, the two or three words might serve to recall an entire character or episode, together with the appropriate aesthetic and emotional coloring, and counterpoint it against the form and content of the poet's own work."[136] In this vein, I suggest that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase in Archilochus is a useful evocation of one version of the sea that appears in Homer. As I have noted elsewhere, the formula is metrically powerful, and carries significant onomatopoeic force. Furthermore, I will suggest that Archilochus' usage

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Achilles at *Iliad* 9.189: τῇ ὅ γε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ᾽ ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν ("there indeed he was cheering his heart, and he sang the deeds of men").

[135] On the one hand, one might consider formulas that are short and/or describe an especially common view of an object, action, or place. One may also find an interesting if outdated (but perhaps helpfully so) point in A.E. Harvey's discussion of "ornamental epithets," wherein he writes that, "where an adjective occurs which is neither predicative nor essential to the sense – which is ornamental, in fact, in so far as the sentence would be complete and meaningful without it; and where that adjective is already familiar in such a context from Homer, and there is no striking originality in its employment; we can count this as a gratuitous Homerism, an occurrence of a 'dead' expression." A. E. Harvey, "Homeric Epithets in Greek Lyric Poetry," *The Classical Quarterly, New Series*, Vol. 7, No. 3/4 (Jul. - Oct., 1957), 207. As we will see, there is indeed a significant amount of "striking originality" in Archilochus' implementation of the loud-roaring sea. Even if this novelty were not obvious to a modern reader, it is important to remember that we do not necessarily possess the tools to fully understand whether a given Homeric reference would seem "dead" or otherwise unimpressive to an ancient audience. We must be careful in assuming that the use of Homeric formulas indicates lack of originality, that originality was desirable, or that originality always appeared in forms that would be recognizable to a modern audience.

[136] Adkins, *Poetic Craft,* 24.

of the loud-roaring sea contributes to the emotive effect of the poem, as the πολυφλοίσβος formula picks up on Homeric themes of noise and grief that are important to Archilochus' own purposes.

Lament and the Loud-roaring Sea in Archilochus

I am not the first to suggest that this use of the resounding sea in Archilochus's poetry is a clear instance of Homeric phrasing. While acknowledging the necessity of maintaining some doubt about the depth of Homeric allusion present in any given use of a word or phrase that is also found in Homer, Adkins accepts the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation as strongly Homeric.[137] I suggest that such a connection is reinforced by the way that the loud-roaring sea in Archilochus draws specifically on the echoes of Homeric grief and lamentation in the phrase. The collocation appears in one of the most well known Archilochean poems, fragment 13, as the singer speaks to Pericles about a town grieving for its drowned sailors:

> κήδεα μὲν στονόεντα Περίκλεες οὔτε τις ἀστῶν
> μεμφόμενος θαλίῃς τέρψεται οὐδὲ πόλις·
> τοίους γὰρ κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
> ἔκλυσεν, οἰδαλέους δ' ἀμφ' ὀδύνῃς ἔχομεν
> πνεύμονας. ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γὰρ, ἀνηκέστοισι κακοῖσιν
> ὦ φίλ', ἐπὶ κρατερὴν τλημοσύνην ἔθεσαν
> φάρμακον. ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει τόδε· νῦν μὲν ἐς ἡμέας
> ἐτράπεθ', αἱματόεν δ' ἕλκος ἀναστένομεν,
> ἐξαῦτις δ' ἑτέρους ἐπαμείψεται. ἀλλὰ τάχιστα
> τλῆτε, γυναικεῖον πένθος ἀπωσάμενοι.

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[137] Adkins points out that the Homeric quality of the phrase is "unmistakeable" (Adkins, *Poetic Craft,* 43) presumably for the relative frequency of its occurence in Homer, as compared to any other Greek works. He argues against the possibility that there can be any explicit allusion to any particular Homeric moment, and points specifically to Helen's use of the phrase in Book 6 (Adkins, *Poetic Craft,* 43, ff. 37). Against this, for my argument concerning the appropriateness and consistency of the collocation's use in Helen's speech, see pages 21-23 of chapter one; see below for a consideration of the Homeric echoes in this passage of Archilochus. Adkins is not alone in his judgment of the Homeric quality of the phrase in Archilochus; Francoise Letoublon notes that it "évoque un hémistiche formulaire homérique" ("evokes a formulaic Homeric hemistich"): Francoise Letoublon, "Archiloque et l'encyclopédie homérique," *Pallas* 77 (2008), 3.

Lamenting mournful cares, Perikles, no one of the citizens
will be gladdened by good cheer, not even the city itself.
On behalf of those whom the waves of the loud-roaring sea
washed down, in our pain we have swollen
lungs. But the gods indeed for incurable evils,
my friend, have set down strong endurance
as a remedy. Now and then one takes a turn: now it is to us
that it comes, so we groan through the bloody wound
again and then it will come in turn to another. But quickly
bear with it, put away womanly grief.

Jo Heirman has interpreted the phrase κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης as a formula in its own right.[138] This is surely not entirely erroneous, though it does disregard the continuity of the phrase's use without the specification of the κῦμα. Heirman does, to some degree, recognize in his discussion the function of the loud-roaring sea for which I argue in chapter one: the reflection of emotion and grief as expressed by the human voice. He points out that in the poem the phrase fulfils "a mirroring function, in that the loud noise of the sea might mirror the citizens' γυναικεῖον πένθος ('womanly mourning', line 10), an extreme and loud form of lamentation."[139] Such an interpretation accords strongly with my earlier reading of the phrase in the *Iliad*, and suggests that Archilochus is using the formula in the same way. I would also note another interesting connection to *Iliad* 23: the use of ἔκλυσεν in line four of fragment 13 might recall, for a well-accustomed listener, the use of the verb κλύζω ("wash, dash over") in the description of Achilles' mourning on the banks of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.[140] Overall, strains of the loud-

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[138] Jo Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric: city, countryside and sea," diss. University of Amsterdam, 2012 (http://dare.uva.nl/document/352261), 172. I noted above that this combination is used with the loud-roaring sea in the *Cypria*. It is certainly possible that this is an older or more common version of the formula, and that the Homeric variations (e.g. with θίς (as also in the *Hymn to* Hermes) or a participle) are actually later developments from such original, longer collocation.

[139] Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric," 172.

[140] First chapter, page 27. In my discussion of *Iliad* 23 I suggested that this verb evokes conflicting elements of Achilles' grief, in that the sea, as it 'washes' the shores, offers a calming sense of purification that might accompany the process of accepting a friend's death, while it also functions as an amplification of Achilles' lamentation and his tumultuous inner state. In this Archilochus passage one finds a similar

roaring sea as a Homeric setting sound strongly in this Archilochean poem. The collocation

provides an echo of the lamentations of the citizenry, while reinforcing the poetic force of their

grief.

Furthermore, while the *Iliad* provides a forceful background for the examination of this

Archilochus poem, the *Odyssey* supplies an even stronger focus. I noted in the first chapter of

this thesis that the first Odyssean use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation is the only

Homeric instance of its implementation in the direct context of sailing.[141] As in the *Odyssey*, the

Archilochean example of the formula acts as an immediate setting for narrative action involving

seafaring, thus diverging from the typical Iliadic usage, in which the sea is a backdrop for a

character's shore-side grief. In the *Iliad* the loud-roaring sea is also always presented within a

line or two of the oral expression of grief, whereas the noise of the sea in fragment 13 has a less

immediate connection to the human voice. This could be taken as an ignorant implementation of

the Homeric formula, but we will see that it is rather a novel and highly creative use of the

phrase.[142] Though the Archilochean use of the formula is unusual in that the expression of

emotion does not take place in the narrative beside the loud-roaring sea, I would suggest that the

sea is itself partly representative of the grief being experienced in that it occupies a causal role in

the deaths of the sailors. This function echoes the impact of the phrase's use in the *Odyssey*,

wherein the loud-roaring sea symbolises the grief of war that lies behind Odysseus,

chronologically and figuratively speaking. Moreover, Archilochus delays a description of the

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effect, as the verb suggests the peace and acceptance following loss, which elements are in tension with
the on-going action of mourning as it continues in the poem.
[141] First chapter, page 28-33.
[142] Concerning the skillful Archilochean use of Homeric vocabulary, Francoise Letoublon suggests that
"dans plusieurs cas, l'innovation d'Archiloque va encore bien plus loin, jusqu'a la subversion ironique de
l'idéologie héroïque postulée par le formulaire homérique" ("in many cases, the innovation of
Archilochus goes much further, towards the ironic subversion of the heroic ideology postulated by the
Homeric formula") (Letoublon, "Archiloque," 3).

noise of lamentation until line ten, and instead links to the loud-roaring sea a description of the swollen lungs that are the result of weeping and wailing.

Quite apart from weakening the connection between the noise of the sea and the sound of mourning, the postponement of the parallel between sounds effects significant if unusual consistency between the expressions of grief and the sea setting. As with the quietness of Chryses in *Iliad* 1, the sea reflects inner turmoil and amplifies the pointed silence of weary lungs. The loud-roaring sea serves further in Archilochus to reflect the high volume of noise that must have preceded such a moment of calm, both from the noise of the waves rushing over the drowning men and from the weeping that has by now aggravated the lungs of the citizens. Heirman has also pointed out the careful word order in these lines. Where a listener might expect the lungs or bodies of the drowned sailors to be swollen with water, instead the noun is delayed until the following line, and,

> "through the use of the verb οἰδάνω about the lungs of the
> living, swollen from weeping, a smooth transition is established
> from the death of the sailors at sea to the consequent grief of the
> people in the polis, which facilitates the transition in the poem
> from the sea scene to the exhortation to endurance."[143]

The sea setting is thus not so much removed from the expression of grief, but is poetically entwined with it in a manner unparalleled in the use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase in the Homeric poems. Furthermore, as Adkins has noted, the use of οἰδαλέους itself is notable for its Odyssean associations, as it evokes the image of the shipwrecked hero crawling ashore in Phaeacia.[144] Indeed, the entirety of the Archilochus fragment, by its description of shipwreck and

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[143] Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric," 172.
[144] ᾤδεε δὲ χρόα πάντα. "All his flesh was swollen." *Od.* 5.455. Adkins elaborates: "On hearing οἰδαλέους in the context, a Greek of Archilochus' day might have thought of swelling waves in a stormy sea or of bodies swollen from exposure to water. By the end of the line it is clear that οἰδαλέους refers to the living; but πνεύμονας is a surprising word with such an adjective. If the thought of swelling waves and swollen

drowned sailors, gives itself easily to comparison with the *Odyssey*. Archilochus alludes to the

nobility of the dead men by using a phrase with strongly heroic connotations in his description of

the mourning process after their passing. To make Odyssean references in a song about death at

sea achieves an obvious association of the dead with sailors lost on the journey home from Troy.

And the Odyssean associations of fragment 13 run further still. Deborah Steiner makes a strong

case for the entirety of the passage constituting a careful balance of Homeric sympotic and

martial themes. Her detailed analysis of the poem proposes that,

> "this intercalation of two worlds that, with the signal
> exception of the scenes in which the hero of the *Odyssey*
> wreaks his bloody revenge on the suitors feasting in his hall,
> Homeric poetry largely keeps apart – battlefield polemics and
> symposia – and the import of the language and tropes of
> warfare to the site of the drinking party not only conforms to
> the broader practice of Archilochus and later sympotic
> poets… [but] it also gives to fr. 13 its multilayered quality,
> where several frames of references coexist."[145]

Steiner's focus on performance circumstances leads her to recontextualise the material of the

poem, and in doing so she highlights the degree to which Archilochus is executing narrative and

thematic modes that at once accord deeply with the Homeric tradition, and also constitute

powerful innovation.

Just as Archilochus carefully negotiates the balance between the martial and the

sympotic, he also navigates the duality of themes that are personal and public, intimate and

universal. Archilochus speaks in direct address, twice using the vocative case to build the

impression of closeness and a caring voice. At the same time, he speaks to the issues of public

mourning and celebration, and presents a sense of the universality of death and suffering. The

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bodies has already been evoked by οἰδαλέους, the swollen lungs of the living gain added pathos from the association." Adkins, *Poetic Craft,* 39.

[145] Deborah Steiner, "Drowning Sorrows: Archilochus fr.13 W. in its Performance Context," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52 (2012), 33-4.

reconciliation of these elements is an important part of Archilochus' work. Charles Segal speaks of a shift away from "the epic world in its full power" that "leaves Archaic man free for a more intensely personal experience of his world and his human situation."[146] Fragment 13 exhibits much of this personal experience as it stands within a frame of shared or common emotion. One might also highlight elements of fluidity here – the ability to simultaneously invoke tradition and to innovate, and to do both by means of Homeric vocabulary, setting, and emotive depth. Where the Iliadic use of our phrase occurred in a consistent poetic context, in order to develop consistent theme and imagery, this later use of the phrase is much more multifaceted. Archilochus' use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula clearly depends on traditional context; it also functions in novel ways, which reflect the flexibility and creativity of the later archaic poetic world.

The Broader Lyric (and Later) Context

There is undoubtedly much to be said about the issues under discussion in this chapter, in terms of emotion, genre, and tradition, in Greek poetry after Archilochus. In this section I wish to mention only some small ways in which these topics may be reflected in the work of a few poets, with particular respect to the sea, its noise, and the emotive power of both. I aim not by any means to exhaust the subject, but to touch on how the discussion conducted in this thesis up to this point may direct some future analysis. I have noted, particularly in my first chapter, the way that the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula contributes to a deeply pervasive Homeric conception of the sea as a poetic setting and thus, in more deeply ingrained way, as a locus for

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[146] "Instead, the Archaic poet can present his relationship to the world as he experiences it himself, in terms of his passion, as in Archilochus, Sappho, or Alcaeus; or his poignantly felt sense of age, change, and death, often mixed with a sense of futility and disappointment." Charles Segal, "Nature and the World of Man in Greek Literature," *Arion* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring, 1963), 22.

communication of and about Greek cultural ideals through poetry. The sea is an incredibly

important and highly visible element of the early Greek world as expressed in poetry. Harvey has

written that,

> "in archaic poetry it is remarkably rare to find the sea
> referred to without either an elaborate periphrasis or an
> ornate adjectival phrase… We can hope for no
> explanation of this strange phenomenon; but
> conventional descriptions of the sea seem to be an
> integral element of the poetic diction of the time, and we
> cannot assume that they produced a banal effect. We
> must simply accept this as a literary convention of the
> period."[147]

This trend may seem strange to a modern audience, but it is hardly inexplicable. The sea in

Greek literature is deeply connected to, in both active and symbolic ways, profound human

emotions. Through its power to influence the course of human life, in the opportunities and the

dangers it presents, and through its ability to reflect and suggest powerful feelings, of wonder,

fear, or excitement, the sea can provide a fascinating reflection of humanity. We have seen just

such an effect at play in the version of the sea highlighted by the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης

phrase.

That this particular collocation should fall out of common use is, perhaps, unsurprising. It

is metrically and aurally dominant, even unwieldy, in its length and in the pressure it places on

the metrical arrangement of the first part of a line in which it appears. It has strong thematic

effects, as demonstrated by its careful implementation in Hesiod and Archilochus. If the formula

echoed so strongly the Homeric dialect and narrative, we must not find it strange that it fell out

of fashion as poets moved away from the necessity of relying on traditional diction. I would

further suggest the possibility that a phrase with such obvious Homeric echoes might have

seemed to lack subtlety, so that even as Homer retained significance as a source of allusion in

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[147] Harvey, "Homeric Epithets," 216.

later poetry, this particular phrase might not have been of prime interest. While there are some

occurrences of the phrase in later poetry, in fragments of New Comedy,[148] in Dionysius

Periegetes,[149] in the Orphic Argonautica,[150] and in epigrams,[151] there is perhaps more to be said

of subtler ways in which we might find continuity with and divergence from both the ideas that

underlie the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula and the vocabulary that expresses them.

Heirman, in the most thorough analysis of the sea in Greek lyric recently undertaken, has

suggested that the primary generic difference between early Greek poetic reflections of the sea is

its role: the sea as setting in epic, and the sea as a symbol in lyric.[152] The latter performs what

Heirman calls a "psychologising function," a concept related to personification, pathetic fallacy,

and symbolic representation.[153] Such an effect has much in common with the earlier role I have

outlined for the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation, suggesting an overlap in the functions of

setting and symbol. The sea as a symbol in Greek lyric is often associated with danger, a

relationship that is reinforced and thematised according to the emotions of figures in the poems.

The lyric sea also, however, seems to present more duality than the epic sea. To take Bacchylides

as an example, Heirman has noted that, "Homeric sea similes illustrate one set of emotions

(usually fear), because the focus lies on one aspect of the sea (usually its fury), while the

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[148] The phrase here occurs in an unusual form: τε πολυφλοίσβωι τε θαλάσσηι (Fragment 126, line 4 of the *Incertae fabulae* of Diphilus in *Poetae Comici Graeci* Vol. 5, ed. Rudolf Kassel et al. [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986]).

[149] Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis descriptio*, 326, in K. Brodersen, *Dionysius von Alexandria* (New York: Olms, 1994).

[150] *Argonautica Orphica* 331 in *Les argonautiques d'Orphée,* ed. Georges Dottin (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1930).

[151] Line one of epigram 592, in Book seven of the *Anthologia Graeca* Vol. 4, ed. Hermann Beckby (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), and line one of epigram 398 in Book nine of the same volume. The use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in a sepulchral context, along with other Homeric language, suggests an effect similar to that of Archilochus fragment 13, in that Odyssean language is particularly appropriate for memorialising the drowned. It should be unsurprising that the phrase would remain useful in this sense even at a much later date.

[152] Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric," 175.

[153] Ibid, 31.

Bacchylidean simile [at 13.114-45] illustrates fear as well as joy because it stresses both the fury and the calmness of the sea."[154] Certainly these more positive aspects of the sea can be found in earlier poetry – or at least neutral qualities can be found, as in the ἀπήμων ("harmless," *WD* 670) sea of Hesiod, for example, or the ἅλα δῖαν ("shining sea") of *Iliad* 1.141 – but their increasing presence in later poetry points to a growing flexibility in poetic representation. There is certainly consistency between the associations of the sea with negative emotions, such as fear, in both epic and lyric, and the ability of the sea to serve poetically in the expression of these feelings. But as in Archilochus' innovatively flexible treatment of formula, the image of the sea must change and grow as it develops in later lyric.

Increasing flexibility is also visible in the form of a changing vocabulary used to refer to the volume of the sea. In Homer, alongside the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase we find also, for example, θάλασσά ἠχήεσσα ("the sounding sea;" *Il*. 1.157).[155] In Bacchylides we find a further innovative adjectival use in the phrase βαρύβρομον πέλαγος ("the loud-roaring sea") at 17.76.77, the first word of which Heirman notes is "attested once in epic poetry, namely of dogs."[156] Semonides 7.40 uses the phrase βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν ("loud-roaring waves"). This adjective is often used in characterisation in both epic and lyric, typically of Zeus and sometimes of Poseidon, [157] and seems through its relationship to the word κτύπος to be particularly

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[154] Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric," 141.
[155] The adjective used here is found more often in epic describing indoor spaces, as with *Od*. 4.72 (δώματα ἠχήεντα, which the LSJ gives as "high, echoing rooms or halls") or *Th*. 767 (δόμοι ἠχήεντες). "ἠχήεις," *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott (Oxford University Press, 1996). This indoor context and the relationship of the word to ἠχή ("sound, noise," thus "shout," with connotations of personification ("ἠχή," Robert Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* [Leiden: Brill, 2010])) suggests to me a space filled with noise, rather than one itself creating noise. This makes the word's use with the θάλασσά somewhat unusual. This fact combined with the way it is used at *Iliad* 1.157 as a distant point of reference, rather than a proximal setting, suggests that this usage has little in common with the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
[156] Heirman points to the *Epica Adespota* fr. 19 West. Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric," 134.
[157] Ibid, 145.

percussive. This characterising effect returns us to the psychologising function of the sea noted

above, as the attribution of the adjective to the figures of these gods links human imagery and

feeling to the abstraction of the sea. From here one might expect that the elaborate imagery of

Pindar would be fruitful grounds from which to source further additions to this (by no means

exhaustive) list. In fact he does not use any relevant, 'noisy' adjectives for the sea, and certainly

there ought to be grounds for further exploration of Pindar's preference for a sea that is rather

βαθύς ("deep," *Pyth*. 3.75-76), πολιός ("grey," *Ol.* 1.71-73), or ἀμέτρητος ("immeasurable," *Isth.*

1.36-38), or ἀμαιμάκετος ("irresistible," *Pyth.* 1.13-14). This last adjective can be defined

differently when applied to things inanimate ("irresistible") and animate ("stubborn, furious"),

possibly indicating a continuum of agency in the figures to which it is applied.[158] On the other

hand, it is Pindar's lions and gods that thunder loudly, typically with words such as βαρύκομπος

("loud-roaring," *Pyth*. 5.57) or ἐρίβρομος ("loud-shouting," *Ol.* 11.21). The phrase βαρυγδούπων

ἀνέμων στίχες ("the ranks of the loud-roaring winds," *Pyth.* 4.210) does find some interesting

parallels in Homer. These lines echo the frequent Homeric use of winds in simile, and import

what has been called a "frightening effect," which may be a result of the "military associations of

the noun στίχες which is often used about the ranks of an army in early Greek poetry."[159] Such a

connection between natural and martial forces need not be a direct borrowing, but reflects an

interesting continuity between Homeric and later poetic imagery. Also concerning Pindar

Heirman refers to the personification of the sea, particularly the Black sea, which is portrayed

"as an unwelcoming human who is hostile and dangerous to visitors."[160] This lyric usage is

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[158] "ἀμαιμάκετος*," A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott (Oxford University Press, 1996).
[159] Heirman, "Space in archaic Greek lyric," 123-124.
[160] Ibid, 122. Names for the Black Sea have an interesting history in antiquity: "The earliest ancient Greek name, *Pontos Axeinos* (the dark or somber sea), may have been adopted from an older Iranian term. It may also have reflected the sailors' apprehension about sailing its stormy waters, as well as the simple

consistent both with the fear surrounding the sea in epic, and with the way the sea is so connected to the humanity and emotions of characters in Homer. Later poetry evidently begins to expand on and innovate within the tradition that surrounds the sea in early Greek poetry, but it does not detach itself entirely from the early context. The limited showing of Homer's loud-roaring sea is not particularly shocking, and neither is the inclination among later poets to draw up new vocabulary for the expression of ideas that also rely on the idea of the sea as both loud and emotionally resonant.

Conclusions: The Resonance of the Sea

If the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula finds expression only rarely in later poetry, we cannot assume that the values it communicated have been lost in all other extant materials. One might rather look to the astonishing ways in which the deep connection between man and nature resonates through subsequent Greek poetry. The developments in poetic form and purpose after Homer, Hesiod, and Archilochus are many, but there are important consistencies as well. In discussing Homeric formulas, T.G. Rosenmeyer has suggested that, "we ought to relish the unvarying identity of a poetic perspective which, instead of giving in to the shifting moods of the fluid present, plots the heroic past upon the stubborn graph of a crystallized tradition."[161] While certainly this idea, so beautifully expressed and so optimistic, suggests a helpful reading of a tradition that does not easily find its place in the hearts of a modern readership accustomed to variety and innovation, we must also be wary of ignoring the ways in which the formulaic poetic

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fact that the water itself, because of the sea's great depth, appears darker than in the shallower Mediterranean. How that name was transformed into the *Pontos Euxinos* (the welcoming sea) of later Greek and Latin writers is uncertain. Perhaps the irony was intentional; perhaps it was just wishful thinking." Charles King, *The Black Sea: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), vi. This more positive term may also have arisen as a means of referring indirectly to a threatening entity, as with euphemistic reference to the Eumenides (Jared Klein, personal communication, April 15, 2015).

[161] T. G. Rosenmeyer, "The Formula in Early Greek Poetry," *Arion* Vol. 4, No. 2 (Summer, 1965), 297.

format gave way so wonderfully to the creativity of subsequent poets. That the poets who followed Homer found the means by which to reconcile the fluidity and growth of their present with the crystallised forms of his past is a window onto one example of the ways in which humanity expresses itself both so consistently and with such consistent novelty.[162]

This chapter, aiming to wrap up examination of the loud-roaring sea in early Greek literature, began with the consideration of a single use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in the fragmentary tradition of the Epic Cycle. While some small amount of connection with the Homeric use is present in the passage in question, there is enough divergence to open the door for doubt about a widely accepted and implemented version of the loud-roaring sea in early epic. Such analysis is supported by the evidence of the *Homeric Hymns*, in which the Iliadic context for the collocation is highly lacking. This conclusion would suggest innovation and a significant amount of uniform purposing of the phrase on the part of the Homeric singer(s), who thematised and regularised the use of the collocation within the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in order to reinforce psychological themes in those poems. From epic this chapter turned to the innovation of Archilochus in using the resounding sea in fragment 13 in creative ways that both complicate and highlight epic ideology. I examined the ways in which Archilochus simultaneously reinforces his connections to traditional epic diction and narrative and also places these elements in the context of new and complex poetic structures. I then briefly explored a few considerations around the sea and its connections to noise in later poetry. I highlighted the ways in which the sea is such a forceful poetic tool for the symbolism and amplification of emotion and humanity in Greek poetry. This thesis has examined one very small

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[162] As Armand d'Angour reminds us, "novelty and innovation were no less real phenomena for the Greeks than for us." Armand d'Angour, *The Greeks and the New: Novelty in Ancient Greek Imagination and Experience* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 62.

element of this phenomenon, in order to demonstrate how the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase contributes to themes of emotional turmoil as they manifest in natural imagery in Greek poetry. As Chryses' grief is amplified and expanded by the sea, we may see some reflection of the scale on which his thoughts and consequent actions – a desire for his daughter's return and the invocation of Apollo's plague – will affect the narrative of the Trojan War, which itself sounds loudly through later Greek and western thought. In that the sea functions as a definitive poetic locus, we might consider that the poetic reflection of Chryses', Achilles', or Helen's emotional state in the image and volume of the sea contributes to the important augmentation of these characters and to the impact of their narratives. The loud-roaring sea can present a reflection of hardship, pain, and the commitment to enduring both that so pervades the Homeric poems and the broader narrative of humanity that the poems offer. Similarly, the loud-roaring sea in Archilochus reflects a concern for those realities – death and loss, mourning and acceptance – that pervade human experience. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula may serve, in some small way, to contribute to the poetic expression of these themes on a scale beyond the volume of any individual voice.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has elaborated an important and layered meaning for the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula, contra the prevailing scholarly view of the collocation as onomatopoeically interesting but ultimately lacking nuance. The phrase clearly goes beyond the well-known use of the seaside as a setting for Homeric sorrow in contributing to more variable articulations of emotion in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This thesis has developed an image of the loud-roaring sea as an evocative collocation that amplifies the thematisation of the sea as a locus for poetic imagination and performance. The πολυφλοίσβος sea serves as a background for psychological turbulence in the *Iliad* at the same time as it becomes a part of the expression of that turbulence at high volume. Such a context imbues this version of the sea with the voices of those characters in the *Iliad* who express their grief with respect to its shores, inflecting the formula with particular emotive import. The first chapter of this thesis thus concluded that the loud-roaring sea must be viewed as an important expression of the sea as a setting that both pervades and defines Homeric epic.

The deep resonance that develops around the formula through its use in Homer contributes powerfully to the later poetic instances in which it is found. In chapter two I examined how Hesiod's use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation in his *Works and Days* underscores a number of important poetic themes. The connection of the loud-roaring sea to the broader epic landscape allows the Hesiodic singer to locate himself in a scene that mirrors the physical landscape of Homeric epic. The collocation also permits a number of more implicit effects, by highlighting the bifocal chronology of Hesiod's poetic authority, which is both present and past, mundane and divine; and by contributing to Hesiod's dialect variation as a

function of his external (because foreign) poetic authority, which contrasts with his clear physical and poetic presence and his overt participation in the Ionic tradition of epos. For the Hesiodic poet, whose work so deeply reflects on the power of speech, the connection between the roaring of the sea and the lamentation expressed by the human voice is particularly appropriate. This link allows Hesiod to evoke the voices of Iliadic characters and singers as he projects his own voice into the scale and volume of the epic sea. Hesiod places himself in the physical and poetic landscape of Homeric narrative, effecting a confrontation between the value of his own discourse and the circumstances of the larger-scale stories of the Trojan War.

In the final chapter of this thesis, I discussed two fragmentary uses of the loud-roaring sea that prompt important conclusions. Firstly, the use of the collocation in the *Cypria* offers clear evidence for the possibility of its appearance in a context inconsistent with that of the *Iliad*. This Cyclic usage contrasts with the Homeric instances of the phrase, wherein the singer's repeated connection of emotive context to the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase must then be taken as a clear and highly effective example of uniformity of poetic purpose. My analysis of the passage from the *Cypria*, as complemented by a discussion of two passages from the Homeric Hymns (understood as distinct from the 'Homeric' authorship and chronology of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), speaks to a different and less nuanced use of the phrase, which points to creative, if not actually innovative, use of the expression in the two Homeric epics. It is possible, perhaps even likely, that other singers contemporaneous with Homer used the collocation to similar emotive effect in compositions that have since been lost to us. It must also be considered that Homer's implementation of the phrase may be an appropriation of similar use by earlier singers. Neither possibility entirely overrules the impact of the Homeric usage, which is reinforced first by its consistency, and secondly by the clearly allusive purpose of the phrase in Hesiod's Nautilia. The

formula certainly appears to have held, for ancient audiences as early as Hesiod's own, a distinctly, potently Homeric flavouring.

Further suggestive of such a conclusion is Archilochus' use of the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula, which also comes in the context of significant Homeric thematisation. The passage in which Archilochus uses the phrase delves deeply into Homeric narrative and ideology, while also twisting these elements to the unique purpose of the later poet. Archilochus' strong connection to, indeed his participation in, the post-Homeric tradition of epos makes his use of the loud-roaring sea particularly interesting. It affords us a glimpse into the ways in which continuity of tradition stands deeply entrenched alongside the urge to innovate. Both factors are important elements of early Greek poetic circumstances, and both are illuminated in the discussion prompted by the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης collocation. Just as this particular image of the sea urges in Hesiod the articulation of several layers of duality, similarly in Archilochus the phrase permits coincident participation in and divergence from the poetic figuring of the past. Certainly the fluidity of the phrase in adapting to varied circumstances is evident in the Homeric poems, as we saw in the multiple ways the collocation can serve to reflect different kinds of noise, action, and emotion. Perhaps even more striking, however, than the diverse emotive power of the phrase in its Homeric context, is its multifaceted purposing in the later poetry. Through its use in Hesiod and Archilochus the formula surpasses any one instance of its expression to address more broadly universal forces of the Greek poetic world.

That the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula appears so few times in later extant materials might disappoint for the lack of more extensive opportunities for analysis. At the same time, it is pleasing that the limited evidence also reflects the power of the formula. Its length, archaic inflection, and heady onomatopoeic effects, not to mention its ability to reproduce the impact of

Homeric noise, these very things that give the collocation its force, surely contributed to its avoidance by later poets. Yet even in the few uses discussed here, we have seen how the commanding image of the loud-roaring sea produces a varied range of emotive and psychological effects. It is a diversely capable collocation, multiform as is the basic notion to which it refers: the sea. That this phrase supports the poetic exposition of human sentiment so beautifully and effectively may be a result of its connection to the deep capacity of the sea to inspire and reflect emotion.

I am suggesting, in a sense, a view of the sea that may be infinitely repurposed in the elicitation and articulation of emotion. We might see this version of the sea, because it is a means of projecting poetic voices alongside psychological effects, as a reflection of the changeability of poetic language. I have referred repeatedly to the ways in which the early Greek poets do not exist as a single person, and this fluidity of characterisation seems to reflect some of the mutability of the archaic diction wielded by the rhapsode. Taking Homer as an example, we find that it is the very versatility of archaic poets that made and makes them useful to the tradition: "what seems to be special about Homer is that every aspect of his life and person can become the object of debate, rejection and redefinition."[163] Formulas wielded by the poet are similarly subject to reinterpretation and repurposing. Just as the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης phrase may reflect the immediate narrative circumstances of a given poetic moment and also contribute to a construction of the broadly definitive setting of early epic, the development of the collocation further reflects how the archaic poetic voice develops over time.

The sea has long been strongly connected to poetic expression, and remains a deeply evocative locus for the articulation of feelings both positive and negative, loud and soft. The

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[163] Barbara Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 125.

power of the sea cannot be limited to its impact in poetry; surely the sea is a productive element in poetry for the very fact that it is already available to the human consciousness as the setting for sentiment. The πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης formula offers a version of the sea that is abundant and powerful and loud, but the sea is many things also – diversely calm, threatening, colourful, impenetrable, or generous. If this thesis has contributed to the interpretation of one vision of such a variegated element, much more remains to be said about other views of the sea as it appears in Greek poetry. This study might offer one means by which to confirm the emotive capacity of a single vision of the Greek poetic landscape. It may also, I hope, contribute to an on-going dialogue concerning the depth of expression present in oral-traditional formulaic materials that will, in time, reveal further uncharted swells of poetic potency.

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