



Adams, S. A. (2016) Greek education and composite citations of Homer. In: Adams, S. A. and Ehorn, S. M. (eds.) *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*. Series: The library of New Testament studies, 1 (525). Bloomsbury T&T Clark: London, pp. 17-34. ISBN 9780567657978

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Chapter 2

GREEK EDUCATION AND COMPOSITE CITATIONS OF HOMER

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Homer is by far the most cited Greek author in antiquity. His epics, which were foundational for Greek culture and the core of school curriculum, were repeatedly invoked in Greek and Latin literature and used, among other reasons, to settle arguments and add cultural gravitas. The present chapter will investigate a particular way ancient authors employed Homer's epics, specifically how they used them to create composite citations. Individual citations of Homer are by far the most common type, although, as we will see, composite citations, though rare, are an important literary practice among Greek authors. This chapter begins by identifying specific composite citations of Homer in Greek literature,¹ highlighting instances in which authors show awareness of what they are doing. Next we will look briefly at this phenomenon in school texts and Homeric scholia to determine if this was a taught practice. I argue the creation of composite citations was an accepted literary practice in antiquity, which can be classified into three broad functions. Additionally, I will also suggest that it may have been a practice taught at school.

1. Composite Citations of Homer in Greek Authors

In this section we will look at composite citations of Homer in a range of literary works. Although all of the following examples meet the

1. In my reading I have yet to discover a composite citation of Homer in Latin literature. This is not to imply that Latin authors did not engage in composite citations (cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 82.16, citing Virgil, *Aen.* 6.400 and 8.296), although I think it is a less common literary feature. For further discussion, see the contribution by Margaret Williams in this volume.



definitional criteria of composite citations for this project,² I will suggest that all composite citations do not have same function. Rather, I submit that there are three broad uses for composite citations: the summarization of a section, the creation of a customized citation for argument or example, and literary styling.

a. Summarizing Composite Citations

The earliest example of a summarizing composite citation comes from Plato.³ In *Resp.* 3.391a, Plato cites the first and last lines of the speech of Achilles, omitting the middle portion.⁴

You thwarted me, far shooter, most deadly of all the gods (*Il.* 22.15)
Indeed I would repay you, if I had the strength (*Il.* 22.20).

Plato explicitly signals this as a citation (καὶ αὖ ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλω εἶπεν), which, along with his extensive knowledge of Homer, suggests that he knew the contents of the speech. This suggests that Plato was aware of the line omissions and that he intentionally made a single quotation from *Il.* 22.15 and 22.20. By only providing the first and last lines of the speech Plato summarizes the content of Achilles' oration, condensing the discourse into two pithy lines. Although it is possible that Plato here is simply condensing Achilles' speech, it is preferable to take the view that the omitted lines did not contribute to Plato's argument, for if they did he would not have excised them.⁵ Of importance for the present chapter is not just that Plato omitted lines from Achilles' speech,

2. The definition of composite citation adopted in this story is that espoused in the introductory chapter: 'A passage may be considered a composite citation when literary borrowing occurs in a manner that includes two or more passages (from the same or different authors) fused together and presented as though they are only one'.

3. There are four passages in Plato's corpus in which he omits a single verse from Homer: *Hipp. min.* 365a, citing *Il.* 9.308-14, omitting 9.311; *Resp.* 2.364d, citing *Il.* 9.497-501, omitting 9.498; *Resp.* 2.363b, citing *Od.* 19.109-13, omitting 19.110; *Ion* 539a, citing *Od.* 20.351-57, omitting 20.354. These are debatable examples of composite citations, as many would claim accidental omission. Unfortunately, there is insufficient space to discuss them.

4. For critical texts of Homer, see M. L. West, *Homeri Ilias* (BT; 2 vols.; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1998-2000); A. T. Murray, *Homer Iliad* (rev. W. F. Wyatt; LCL; 2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

5. On Plato's practice of actually citing the words of his predecessors rather than summarizing doctrines or arguments (so Aristotle), see M. M. McCabe, *Plato and his Predecessors: The Dramatisation of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

but that Plato did not indicate he omitted any material, but presented the lines as if it were a complete quotation and an accurate representation of Achilles' speech.⁶ Plato thus creates a new saying for Achilles, one that has no precedent in Homeric manuscripts.

This discussion, however, does not indicate *why* Plato did what he did. This is a much more speculative endeavour, but an important one for fully understanding the literary function of composite citations in antiquity. In this instance the best explanation is that Plato did not want to distract his readers from the flow of the narrative and so summarized the speech by eliminating anything that did not contribute to his argument. Claiming that Plato was employing a summative practice makes sense as the two attached lines are close in proximity and come from a singular speech. Some scholars might wish to label this feature a 'conflation', and they would not be entirely wrong in doing so. However, the fact that Plato introduced the passage with an explicit citation formula makes 'composite citation' a better label.⁷

Another example of a summarizing composite citation is provided by Xenophon, whose eight-line citation of Homer in *Mem.* 1.2.58 combines *Il.* 2.188-91 and 2.198-202. Similar to Plato, *Resp.* 3.391a, Xenophon cites Homer without mentioning that certain lines were omitted. Once again the excising of *Il.* 2.192-97 by Xenophon is understandable, as their content (a discussion of Agamemnon) does not fit the new context. In fact, the inclusion of these lines would have distracted the reader from the flow of the narrative. The composite citation thus provides a specific literary function by providing an easier reading and a clearer expression of thought through the omission of irrelevant material.⁸

6. A related question, but one that exceeds the purview of this chapter, is whether or not the reader would have recognized this as an adapted quotation. Did Plato expect his reader to know the whole speech and so know what he was doing and would that have even mattered?

7. I do not wish to indicate that a neat division exists between 'conflations' and 'composite citations'. Both of these literary practices have fuzzy boundaries that allow for overlap between them.

8. The purpose of Xenophon's composite citation is not always grasped by some translators. For example, E. C. Marchant, in his Loeb translation, adds punctuation (an ellipsis '...') to indicate that some lines are omitted. This signal to the reader undermines the function of Xenophon's use of the composite citation, which was to exclude text without highlighting its omission to the reader.

Similar examples are found in Plutarch's corpus.⁹ For example, in *Cons. Apoll.* 24 (*Mor.* 113f-14b), (Ps.-)Plutarch cites *Il.* 22.56-68 and 74-78 (omitting *Il.* 69-73), providing an abridged version of Priam's speech to his son Hector.¹⁰ Again we find that the omitted section and its discussion of dogs is superfluous to the new context. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that (Ps.-)Plutarch omits 22.73, which according to Porphyry (*Hom.* 22.71 §3), claims that a person's sacrifice for their country is something beautiful.¹¹ This sentiment is counter to the thrust of Plutarch's letter and so is understandably omitted.

Likewise, in *Conj. praec.* 38 (*Mor.* 143d-e), Plutarch summarizes the speech from Hera by combining *Il.* 14.205 and 14.209, 'I will settle their uncomposed quarrels [*Il.* 14.205], sending them back to their bed to a union of loving enjoyment [*Il.* 14.209]'. Once more the new context of marital advice does not facilitate the inclusion of the full content of the original speech and so Plutarch selects the verses appropriate for his argument.

The final set of examples for this section is Porphyry's *Homeric Questions*, a preliminary text that seeks to defend Homer from his detractors. For the majority of his text Porphyry is careful to separate cited lines by inserting *καί* or *καί πάλιν*. However, there are a number of instances in which a section of Homer is adapted to fit Porphyry's discussion.¹² For example, *Hom.* 12.127-32 §5 creates two summative composite citations by combining *Il.* 12.127-28 and 12.141-42, which is followed by a quotation of *Il.* 12.143-47 and 12.151-53. An even more elaborate example comes from *Hom.* 12.10-12 §7 in which Porphyry

9. Other examples include: Plutarch, *Adol. poet. aud.* 11 (*Mor.* 31a), citing *Il.* 24.560-61, 569-70; *Adol. poet. aud.* 13 (*Mor.* 35c), citing *Il.* 23.474, 478; *Symp.* 7.1.2 (*Mor.* 698e), citing *Il.* 22.325, 328-29. The frequency of omissions in Plutarch's Homeric quotations is also noted by M. van der Valk, *Textual Criticism of the Odyssey* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1949), pp. 280-81. One composite citation of Plutarch (*Adol. poet. aud.* 10 [*Mor.* 29d], citing *Il.* 9.70, 74-75) is also reproduced in Ps.-Dionysius, *Ars Rhet.* 318.11-15.

10. Plutarchan authorship for this work is debated; cf. J. Hani, *Consolation à Apollonius* (Études et Commentaires, 78; Paris: Klincksieck, 1972), pp. 27-50. Nevertheless, even if Plutarch was not the author, this text provides evidence of another contemporary writer's way of handling texts and creating composite citations.

11. J. A. MacPhail Jr., *Porphyry's Homeric Questions on the Iliad: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TUK, 36; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 252-53.

12. Porphyry's omitting of a single line is also witnessed. For example, *Hom.* 2.370-74 §8, omits 2.340 when citing *Il.* 2.339-41; *Hom.* 6.491 §6, omits 4.132 when citing *Od.* 4.130-34; *Hom.* 9.682-83 §2, omits 9.653 when citing *Il.* 9.650-55; *Hom.* 12.122 §1, omits 21.533 when citing *Il.* 21.531-35.

combines *Il.* 12.453-54, 12.457-62, and 12.67-70 to describe Hector. Other examples exist in Porphyry, but space does not allow for a full discussion.¹³ However, it is clear that in his discussion of Homer's text Porphyry felt free to quote selectively Homer in a manner that supported his discussion.

Overall, the examples from this section show a willingness by the author to tailor Homeric passages to fit their new context. This observation is captured well by Christopher Stanley,

The care with which the omissions were selected is evident: none but an observant reader would ever know that the original texts had undergone abbreviation. In every case the resultant 'quotation' reads as an integrated, free-standing whole, while the basic sense of the original passage comes through clearly in every case. Though it is still correct to speak of the author's purposes influencing his citation technique in such instances, it seems that it was a desire to eliminate irrelevant materials rather than any concern to reinterpret the text that motivated these adaptations.¹⁴

b. Customized Citations for Argument or Example

The second function of composite citations is the creation of a new quotation by bringing together lines from two or more sections of Homer. This is similar to summative citations in that the author takes care to tailor his quotation to fit the new context. However, the manner by which this is done, drawing from multiple contexts, helps to differentiate them. There are often times in which ancient authors desired a pithy line or saying that would capture the essence of the argument. In their readings of Homer many found that pairing two or more lines or half lines would provide them with their desired sound-bite.

The earliest example is found in Plato, *Resp.* 3.389e, which cites *Il.* 3.8b and 4.431a: 'Achaeans breathing equal passions [*Il.* 3.8b], in silence [*στυγῆ*] fearing their commanders [*Il.* 4.431a]'. Unlike the summative citations above, the two combined Homeric lines come from different books in the *Iliad*. Both passages describe the same group of people (*Il.* 3.8, Achaeans; *Il.* 4.431, Danaans) and include the word

13. Other examples include: Porphyry, *Hom.* 8.1 §17, citing *Od.* 8.181 and 8.136-37 (note the inverted order); *Hom.* 8.1 §17, citing *Il.* 4.2-3 and 5.905; *Hom.* 20.259-72 §§18-19, citing *Il.* 18.548-49 and 18.561-65; *Hom.* 20.259-72 §20, citing *Il.* 18.573-74 and 577; *Hom.* 24.22 §3, citing *Il.* 22.258-59 and 256 (note the inverted order).

14. C. D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS, 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 286.

σιγῆ, which clearly acted as the linking word between these two lines (although Plato omits the now superfluous σιγῆ from *Il.* 3.8b,¹⁵ which is provided in the second half of the quotation from 4.431a).¹⁶ The connection between these two passages in Homer was not limited to Plato, but highlighted by later Homeric scholars (see discussion below). This is understandable as the silence of the Greek army is a recurring motif in the *Iliad*.¹⁷

This practice of customized citations is also found in many Greek authors in the first centuries CE. For example, Plutarch repeatedly employs this literary feature in his *Moralia*.¹⁸ The first instance comes from *Virt. prof.* 11 (*Mor.* 82e), which combines two disparate passages from Homer's *Odyssey*:¹⁹

Friend, since you have not the look of a man that is base or unthinking
(*Od.* 6.187),
Health and great welcome to you, and may the gods grant you happiness
(*Od.* 24.402).

Plutarch presents these two lines as one saying, which he places in his discussion of Bion and which he may have inherited from him. Although both lines describe Odysseus through speech (Nausicaa, *Od.* 6.186; Dolius, *Od.* 24.397), no explicit linking term unites this pairing, unlike the example from Plato, *Resp.* 3.389e above.

15. Homer, *Il.* 3.8, ἴσαν σιγῆ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί.

16. Although it is possible, I disagree with the preference of Howes that it was a later scribe and not Plato who omitted σιγῆ. G. E. Howes, 'Homeric Quotations in Plato and Aristotle', *HSCP* 6 (1895), pp. 153–237 (196).

17. Cf. I. J. F. de Jong, 'Silent Characters in the Iliad', in J. M. Bremer, I. J. F. de Jong, and J. Kalff (eds.), *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry. Recent Trends in Homeric Interpretation* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1987), pp. 105–21; M. Hillgruber, *Die Pseudo-plutarchische Schrift De Homero* (BA, 64, 118; 2 vols.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994–99), pp. 2:332–33.

18. Space does not allow for a full discussion of Plutarch's citation technique or all of his composite citations. For investigations into his technique, see Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp. 284–89; van der Valk, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 280–81. I disagree with Valk's assertion that Plutarch was 'arbitrary' in his citations.

Other examples of composite citations, primarily through omission of selected lines, include: Plutarch, *Adol. poet. aud.* 10 (*Mor.* 29d), citing *Il.* 9.70, 74–75; *Adol. poet. Aud.* 11 (*Mor.* 31a), citing *Il.* 24.560–61, 569–70; and *Adol. poet. aud.* 13 (*Mor.* 35c), citing *Il.* 23.474, 478.

19. Homer, *Od.* 6.187 and 20.227 are nearly identical except for the opening vocative; Plutarch uses the vocative from the former (ὦ ξέν') and not from the latter (Βουκόλ').

Similarly, (Ps.-)Plutarch's *Cons. Apoll.* 30 (*Mor.* 117c) brings together two verses in Homer's *Iliad* (23.222-23 and 17.37) that speak of laments by parents over the loss of their son:

As a father wails for his son, as he burns his bones,
A son newly wed, whose death has brought woe to his hapless parents (*Il.* 23.222-23).
Unspeakable is the grief and sorrow he brought upon his parents (*Il.* 17.37).

This citation is one of a string of citations from Euripides, Pythagoras, Sophocles, Homer, and others, all of which discuss loss and the human inability to understand and accept death. The citation of Homer in *Cons. Apoll.* 30, however, is the only one that is drawn from multiple locations.²⁰ Having cited a number of passages from Homer, it is clear that (Ps.-)Plutarch knew of individual quotations on this theme. This raises the question of why (Ps.-)Plutarch chose to make use of a composite citation. One explanation is that this is not a composite citation, but that (Ps.-)Plutarch had a different edition of Homer. Evidence for this view comes from a papyrus fragment (*P.Hib.* I 22; *P.Grenf.* II 4),²¹ which appears to include this line following *Il.* 23.223.²² If this is the case, then Plutarch is not the one responsible for creating a composite citation, but is using a non-vulgate manuscript for his quotation. However, even if (Ps.-)Plutarch is not responsible for this combination, he provides evidence of previous editorial activity. The common themes of grieving parents and the loss of newlyweds provide the links to join these lines together. This connection was seen by a previous scribe who added the material from *Iliad* 17 to *Iliad* 23, or by a reader who made a marginal note that was incorporated into the text by a later scribe when making a copy of the text. Regardless of which explanation is preferred, we witness here a tradition of forging literary associations within Homer's texts.

A more solid example of (Ps.-)Plutarch's creation of a composite citation is his joining of Homer, *Il.* 23.109a and *Od.* 1.423b in *Cons. Apoll.* 26 (*Mor.* 114e): 'While they were weeping and wailing black darkness descended on them'. Prefaced with an explicit mention of Homer (ὥστ' ἐπιφθέγγασθαι τὸ Ὀμηρικόν), (Ps.-)Plutarch presents this amalgam as a single verse. Although both lines come from Homer, these

20. Interestingly, this is not mentioned in Hani, *Consolation*.

21. Cf. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri: Greek Papyri 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), pp. 5–13.

22. The reconstructed line reads: ἀρν[τὸ]ν δὲ τ[ο]κεῦσι γόνον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε.

two verses come from different works and different contexts: the former describes the weeping of the Greeks over the death of Patroclus, while the latter recounts the end of a day of feasting by the suitors at Penelope's house.²³ In pairing these verses together, (Ps.-)Plutarch repurposes the temporal reference of evening in *Odyssey* 1 (i.e., the coming of the darkness of night) to indicate the fall of a person into inconsolable mourning (i.e., the dark black of despair). In doing so, Plutarch is able to use Homeric verses to support the larger purpose of the essay.²⁴

Lucian, a near contemporary of Plutarch, also engaged in the construction of Homeric composite citations.²⁵ Although his literary styling of Homer will be discussed later, Lucian also adapted Homeric lines to fit his immediate purpose. For example, *Char.* 14, combines portions of Homer, *Od.* 1.50 and 1.180: 'All in a sea-girt island; a king he would have us believe him' (*νήσω ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, βασιλεὺς δέ τις εὐχεται εἶναι*). However, in addition to the pieces of Homeric verse, Lucian also adds the words *βασιλεὺς δέ τις* to fit his larger discussion and reinforce his allusion to the story of Polycrates in Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.39-43. In doing so Lucian not only creates a composite citation of Homer, but embellishes it so that it communicates more clearly.

Our final example for this section comes from Heraclitus and his *Homeric Problems*.²⁶ In this work Heraclitus seeks to defend Homer from charges of impiety (cf. Plato, *Resp.* 3.391a) by interpreting his work through an allegorical lens. Heraclitus opens his work by reminding his reader of Homer's importance in school, identifying his poems as baby clothing and nourishing milk (*Hom.* 1.5). Throughout his work Heraclitus provides numerous citations of Homer in order to substantiate his claims. Of the seven composite citations in Heraclitus, the most notable

23. These verses have one overlapping element, the article *τοῖσι*; however, this is insufficient material to bind the two lines together.

24. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p. 288. Hani (*Consolation*, pp. 49–50) suggests that Plutarch used *gnomologia* rather than original texts in formulating his citations, though he does not provide an extended discussion for this passage. For a more thorough discussion of composite citations in Plutarch, see the chapter by Seth Ehorn in this volume.

25. Cf. also Lucian, *Tim.* 41, which pairs Euripides, *Danae* fr. 326 and Pindar, *Oli.* 1.1-2.

26. Other examples of Homeric composite citations include: Sextus Empiricus, *Prof.* 1.289, citing *Il.* 14.204 and 8.14; Maximus Tyrius, *Or.* 41.3, citing *Il.* 14.80 and 12.327; *Dis.* 1.1, citing *Od.* 4.566 and 6.44. The latter I learned from F. Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old Considered in the Light of General Literature* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1896), p. 99.

comes near the opening of the work when Heraclitus, describing Athena, combines two passages.²⁷ The first of which comes from *Il.* 1.199-201 and describes Athena, while the second is taken from *Od.* 6.102-104 and describes Artemis.²⁸

c. Composite Citations and Literary Styling

Another function of composite citations is to provide literary style. The first example of such a use, once again, comes from Plato. In his *Ion* 538c the character of Socrates gives a citation of Homer by combining *Il.* 11.638-39a and 11.630:

Of Pramneian wine it was, and therein she grated cheese of goat's milk
with a grater of bronze (*Il.* 11.638-39a)
and thereby an onion as a relish for drink (*Il.* 11.630) (Lamb).

An important difference between this quotation and summarizing quotations above is that, though Plato takes both lines from the same context, he inverts the Homeric order, citing the later line before the earlier one. The mixing of the text is signaled by Socrates, who prefaces the quotation by saying that Homer's words were 'something like this' (καὶ λέγει πως οὕτως). This is strong evidence that Plato knew that the following citation was not exact, and that he wished to signal this variation to his readers. The newly constructed quotation, therefore, is not accidental, but has a particular function within the narrative: to highlight the speaker's (i.e., Socrates') lack of knowledge of this Homeric passage. This perspective is further supported by Socrates' claim of ignorance immediately following the composite quotation: that he does not know if Homer speaks correctly or not (ταῦτα εἴτε ὀρθῶς λέγει Ὅμηρος εἴτε μὴ).²⁹ The framing of the quotation by two ignorance declarations clearly indicates to the reader that the author is employing a literary stratagem and that a lack of precision in the citation is to be expected. Thus, Plato's composite citation is a literary feature, the intended function of which is to highlight Socrates' ignorance. This playing with the Homeric text is even more noteworthy, as the entire work is framed by the importance of knowing Homer (*Ion* 530b-c) and the assertion by Ion that he knows Homer better than all others (530d).

27. Other composite citations by Heraclitus include: *Hom.* 2.1, citing *Il.* 6.129 and 15.104; *Hom.* 2.5, citing *Od.* 4.805 and *Il.* 5.341-42; *Hom.* 3.1 and 23.4, citing *Il.* 2.412 and 3.277-80; *Hom.* 77.2, citing *Il.* 2.484 and 2.487; *Hom.* 79.4, citing *Od.* 9.6-7 and 11.

28. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p. 284.

29. Cf. Porphyry, *Quaest. hom.* 11.630-31; T-Scholia *Il.* 11.624.

One author that uses composite citations in an overtly literary manner is Lucian of Samosata. For example, near the conclusion of Lucian's *Charon*, Hermes and Charon are discussing the human condition of death when Charon claims (*Char.* 22):

Death makes mortals alike, be they buried or lying unburied.
 Equal is Irus the beggar in honour to King Agamemnon (*Il.* 9.319-20);
 Fair-haired Thetis' son is no better a man than Thersites (*Od.* 10.521),
 They are all of them nothing but skeleton relics of dead men (*Od.*
 11.539),
 Bare, dry bones that are scattered about in the Asphodel meadow (*Od.*
 11.573).

This quotation combines four different Homeric lines (*Il.* 9.319-20; *Od.* 10.521; 11.539, 573) into one smooth statement. Of importance for this study is the line given by Hermes immediately following: 'Heracles! That is a lot of Homer you are pouring out.' This exclamation draws the reader's attention to Lucian's composition, highlighting the fact that he brought together many lines of Homer into one literary feature.

A similar example is found at *Jupp. trag.* 6, in which Zeus charges Hermes to gather the gods and to 'put into the proclamation a lot of the verses which Homer used in calling us together'.³⁰ What follows is a six-line patchwork of poetic meter which makes use of substantial Homeric vocabulary:

Never a man of the gods bide away nor ever a woman.
 Never a stream stays at home save only the river of Ocean,
 Never a Nymph; to the palace of Zeus you're to come in a body,
 There to confer. I bid all, whether feasters on hecatombs famous.
 Whether the class you belong to be middle or lowest, or even
 Nameless you sit beside altars that yield you no savoury odours
 (Harmon).

The speech opens with an almost complete quotation of *Il.* 8.7 (τό γε omitted). In the next two lines Lucian provides a near quotation of *Il.* 20.7-8 with only slight changes to fit the new context. The final three lines in Hermes' speech do not have a close correlation with any specific passage from Homer, but the vocabulary, spelling, and meter all indicate Homeric influence.³¹ That the latter part of the speech does not correspond precisely with lines from Homer is unproblematic as Hermes

30. This introduction might violate the criterion of indication of multiple sources. However, it shows that Lucian was aware of what he was doing and that he wanted to signal this to his audience.

31. E.g., δαίνυσθ' ἐκατόμβας, *Il.* 9.535; μάλα πάγχυ, *Il.* 14.143.

prefaces his invocation of the gods with an apology, claiming he does not recall Homer very distinctly, but that he will try to quote him nonetheless. In prefacing this line to the speech the author signals to the reader that the proclamation might not match specific passages from Homer.³²

One of the strongest pieces of evidence that composite citations are intentional literary features comes from Longinus' work *On the Sublime*. Throughout his work Longinus provides many models of poetic excellence in his discussion of the sublime. Often citing multiple examples from Homer, Longinus takes care to separate his quotations through the use of *καί* or phrases such as *φησὶν εἶθ' ἐξῆς*.³³ However, there are a few occasions where Longinus provides a composite citation of Homer as one of his examples of sublime writing. For instance, in *Subl.* 9.6 Longinus cites Homer, *Il.* 21.388 and 20.61-65:³⁴

Blared round about like a trumpet the firmament cast and Olympus
(21.388);
Shuddering down in the depths, the king of the dead, Aïdoneus,
Sprang from his throne with a shuddering cry, for fear of the earthshaker,
Poseidon,
Might soon splinter asunder the earth, and his mansions lie open,
Clear to the eyes of immortals and mortals like all uncovered,
Grim and dreary and dank, which the very gods see with abhorrence
(20.61-65) (Russell).

Immediately following this (*Subl.* 9.8), Longinus gives a more elaborate composite citation, citing Homer, *Il.* 13.18, 20.60, 13.19, 13.27-29:

Trembled the woods, and trembled the long-lying ranges (*Il.* 13.18)
Yes, and the peaks and the city of Troy and the ships of Achaia (*Il.* 20.60)
Under the feet of immortal and oncoming march of Poseidon (*Il.* 13.19)
He set him to drive o'er the swell of the sea, and the whales at his coming
Capering leapt from the deep and greeted the voice of their master.
Then the sea parted her waves for joy, and they flew on the journey (*Il.*
13.27-29 (Russell).

Russell suggests that these composite citations are either quotations from memory or, more likely in his opinion, taken from 'earlier critics'.³⁵ Although a lapse in memory is a possible explanation, I find it difficult to

32. A similar parody occurs in *Jupp. trag.* 33, in which Lucian mimics Euripides' *Orest.* 866, 871, 880 and combines them into one speech by Hermagoras.

33. E.g., Longinus, *Subl.* 15.2, 4; 31.2; 43.1.

34. Interestingly, Porphyry, *Quaest. hom.* 21.388-90 pairs *Il.* 21.388 with a different, though related, passage, *Il.* 5.890-91.

35. D. A. Russell, *Longinus, On the Sublime: Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 91.

believe that one of the best Greek writers of his day would not have known Homer well enough to catch his so-called mistake. More plausible is the view that Longinus adopted this text from other literary critics. Support for this view is found in the line prior to the citation in which Longinus indicates that Homer's lines about Poseidon had been treated by others before him ('Take, for instance, the lines about Poseidon, thought they have been traded fully enough by others before us...'). If this is so, then it is possible that this composite citation was the construction of other scholars and not that of Longinus himself. Pushing the composite citation to earlier critics, however, does not nullify its creation or that it was accepted within the literary guild.

In contrast with the above options, Stanley has claimed that this composite citation was of Longinus' own design. Stanley asserts that in these two quotations Longinus 'joined [two passages] together in a format clearly calculated to increase the 'sublime' effects of the original passage'.³⁶ So long as the first option is not adopted, Longinus' highlighting of these quotations as masterpieces of sublime writing suggests that this practice was acceptable, provided that the quotation provided adequately met the needs of the author without compromising the quality of Homer's writing.

The seamless blending together of portions of an author, for Longinus, is one of the greatest marks of *μίμησις*. As modeled in *Subl.* 13.1 by Longinus' explicit adaption of Plato's *Republic*, the ability of an author to be so steeped in writings of one of the great ancients so as to re-create their sublime writing is the pinnacle of literary achievement. Longinus' creation of a medley of Platonic lines, blending them together into one large passage, therefore, displays a deep knowledge of Plato's corpus and affirms the theory that such compositions were a recognized part of ancient literary practice and so could apply to his adaptation of Homer.³⁷

d. Summary

From the above examples we can draw a few conclusions. First, the creation of composite citations appears to be a recognized literary practice. Although the majority of our examples came from the first centuries CE, examples of Homeric composite citations date back to the Classical era, which suggests a consistency of practice over time.³⁸

36. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp. 280–81.

37. See also Longinus, *Subl.* 32.5 in which he composes a paragraph drawing from a large section of Plato's *Timaeus*. Cf. Russell, *Longinus*, pp. 153–55.

38. The loss of the majority of Hellenistic texts is likely the reason for the dearth of examples from this era.

Second, authors used composite citations in a variety of ways. In all of the above cases, the composite citations given are tailored to fit the new context, although the citations function differently, either to create a quotation to support an argument or to show off the author's literary prowess. This is not to claim that these are the only ways that composite citations were used in antiquity, or even that these are emic categories. Rather, the schema outlined above provides a way to discuss the presumed function(s) of the citations.

2. Composite Citations of Homer in School Texts

If composite citations are a literary feature, how was this practice established and where was it learned? To begin to answer this question we turn our attention to school papyri to see if similar phenomena are witnessed in them. One of the struggles when dealing with school texts is their lack of availability. Raffaella Criore has done much to help rectify this situation, but there is much more to be done.³⁹ In her studies, Criore has identified a number of likely school texts of Homer. By far the most common are those that contain a single line or passage from Homer. However, some texts are comprised of non-sequential lines from Homer's epics. For example, *O.Bodl.* II 2169 contains the openings of *Il.* 2.483, 494, 511, 517 and *O.Bodl.* II 2170 contains the first parts of *Il.* 2.527, 536, 546, 581, 557, 591, 559, 569, 484.⁴⁰ Criore, Tait and Préaux suggest that these ostraca functioned as memory aids for the student.⁴¹ Although they are likely correct, this theory does not address the issue of why the lines in *O.Bodl.* II 2170 appear out of order.⁴²

39. Cf. R. Criore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Greco-Roman Egypt* (ASP, 36; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), esp. pp. 173–287; *idem*, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); *idem*, 'Literary School Exercises', *ZPE* 116 (1997), pp. 53–60. Cf. T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (CCS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

40. Criore, *Writing*, #193 and #201.

41. Criore, *Writing*, p. 218; J. G. Tait and C. Préaux (eds.), *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections* (3 vols.; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1930–64).

42. Other examples of omissions of selected lines in school texts include: Criore, *Writing*, #299 (*P.Ant.* III 156), containing *Il.* 2.1-3, 7-15, 21-40; Criore, *Writing*, #342, containing *Il.* 11.10-23, 35-47, 49-60, 71-81; Criore, *Writing*, #315 (*O.Petr.* 399-404, 406, 408, 471-72 = *O.Crum* 523-24), containing *Il.* 1.1-36, 49-51, 58-60, 69-82, 89-127; Criore, *Writing*, #264 (*P.Gen.inv.* 249), containing *Od.* 2.127-40, 152-66.

Other school papyri show much more intentional collections of lines. For example, *P.Berol.* 12605 contains several quotations, including a pairing of Homer, *Od.* 11.311 and 21.390-91.⁴³ *P.Freib.* I 1b (inv. 12) displays an interesting pairing of texts as a quotation of lines 205-206 of the *Certamen* (a narrative of the contest between Homer and Hesiod) is paired with *Il.* 5.387-91. Both of these school texts displays a selective grouping of lines/passages that show the intentionality of their authors.⁴⁴

Another school text, *P.Mich.inv.* 4832, parallels the use of summative citations mentioned above. This papyrus opens with Homer, *Il.* 19.38-39, which is followed by a summary of the assembly and a quotation of 19.176. Following this the student provides the lament of Briseis in prose.⁴⁵ None of the transitions in this papyri are marked, which gives the impression of continuity.

Unfortunately, there are insufficient school texts available to come to any firm decision regarding whether or not this literary practice was taught in school. However, this selection of school texts, though brief, indicates that some evidence exists for the pairing of disparate Homeric lines in school texts. This does not speak to the purpose or reason why certain lines were omitted, which could have been intentional or unintentional. The summarizing of sections of literature, however, was a recognized component of ancient education, and regularly applied to Homer (Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.9.2; Theon, *Prog.* 107).

3. Composite Citations in Greek Scholarship

Although, strictly speaking, Homeric scholia are not literary works, their content provides important insight into the literary milieu in which ancient writers worked. Ancient Homeric scholars (such as Aristarchus, Didymus, Aristonicus) were steeped in Homeric tradition and experts on Homer's works. Their ability to make connections among Homeric passages is well known, as is indicated by the seventy-page index of Homeric citations in Erbse's edition of the scholia of the *Iliad*.⁴⁶

43. Criboire, *Writing*, #237. A third-century BCE ostrakon with a practiced hand.

44. Criboire, *Writing*, #248. A second- to first-century BCE papyrus with an evolving hand.

45. Criboire, *Writing*, #345. A second- to first-century BCE papyrus with a rapid hand.

46. Cf. H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vertera)* (7 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969–88), pp. 6:553–623.

A full investigation of composite citations in Greek scholarship is beyond the scope of the present chapter. However, there are some examples that provide insight into this phenomenon. For example, in A-Scholia *Il.* 13.29b the scribe provides an excerpt from the grammarian Herodian in which he joins a number of Homeric lines:

And as the one using by the same poet made clear beforehand, for what is a crafty deed, if not a crafty woman: ‘by words and guile she led’ [*Il.* 22.247] ‘beginning of hospitality’ [*Od.* 21.35] ‘for roaming is not bad’ [*Od.* 15.343] ‘and gave precedence to her who furthered his lustfulness’ [*Il.* 24.30] ‘by service one might not be [equal] to me’ [*Od.* 15.321], ‘in terror, for they thought to themselves’ [*Od.* 18.342].⁴⁷

The citations of Homer in the scholia do not necessarily reinforce the literary phenomenon of composite citations. However, it does indicate that there was an established and lengthy tradition of reading certain passages in Homer’s epics in light of each other. Although it does not eliminate the argument of faulty memory as a reason for composite citations, this tradition highlights the intentionality by which ancient scholars and readers made connections within Homer’s corpus.

This tendency to pair Homeric verses together appears in text-critical discussions, most notably by Aristarchus, the chief librarian at the Museum in Alexandria (c. 160–131 BCE), and later by Aristonicus. For example, Aristarchus argued that *Il.* 5.891 had been transferred (μετενήνεκται) and appended to *Il.* 1.177 (A-Scholia *Il.* 1.177; 5.891).⁴⁸ Aristarchus commented on many of the identical verses in Homer’s texts, regularly arguing that one of the locations was original and the other location was a later insertion.⁴⁹ Although Aristarchus was not specifically addressing the focus of the present chapter, his comments are illuminating. First, they provide evidence of close, scholarly investigations and a deep knowledge of the text. Second, Aristarchus’ comments indicate that the ancients were interested in the construction and establishment of

47. Πρόδηλος δὲ ἡ παρ’ αὐτῶ τῷ ποιητῇ χρήσις· ἔστι γάρ τι κερδοσύνη πράγμα, οὐχὶ κερδοσύνη γυνή· ὡς φασὶν καὶ κερδοσύνη ἡγεῖτο’ [*Il.* 22.247] ‘ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης’ [*Od.* 21.35] ‘πλαγκτοσύνης δ’ οὐκ ἔστι κακόν’ [*Od.* 15.343] ‘τὴν δ’ ἤγησ’, ἢ οἱ πότε μαχλοσύνην’ [*Il.* 24.30] ‘δρηστοσύνη δ’ οὐκ ἂν μοι’ [*Od.* 15.321], ‘ταρβοσύνη· φὰν γὰρ μιν’ [*Od.* 18.342].

48. For discussion and further examples, see M. R. Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 26.

49. Cf. Schol. *Il.* 2.56bA; 5.122A; 16.237A; 23.773aA; 24.45aA. See D. Lührs, *Untersuchungen zu den Athetesen Aristarchs in der Ilias und zu ihrer Behandlung im Corpus der exegetischen Scholien* (Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 11; Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1992), pp. 149–67.

Homer's texts.⁵⁰ Third, and most importantly for this study, they provide evidence that previous authors and scholars have associated and even paired certain passages of Homer.

In addition to these text-critical comments, the scholia offer us a window through which we can see the connections made by ancient readers and scholars of Homer. We have previously discussed one such connection in Plato, *Resp.* 3.389e. In the explanatory notes of the AT-Scholia at *Il.* 3.8, the scribe repeatedly quotes words and phrases from *Il.* 3.2. At *Il.* 3.2, the explanatory text informs the reader that in this section Homer establishes a pattern of description that he maintains 'until the end' (μέχρι τέλους). To support this claim the commentator quotes in the margin the texts *Il.* 4.433 and 7.307 as evidence. These texts were given as case examples; however, in making the selection of *Iliad* 4 the scholar selected the exact same passage as Plato, a selection that goes beyond coincidence.⁵¹

Another example of a shared reading tradition is found in A-Scholia *Il.* 2.412 which cites *Il.* 3.276. This matches the composite citation of *Il.* 2.412 and 3.277-80 by Heraclitus in *Hom.* 3.1 and 23.4, in which two prayers to Zeus by Agamemnon are combined.⁵² Both the text critic in the scholia and Heraclitus identify the narrative parallels between these passages and forge explicit links between them.

These examples of marginalia support the explicit association of the two passages combined in Plato and Heraclitus and indicate that these were not isolated pairings, but something widely acknowledged within the Homeric reading community. As a result of these examples from the scholia we can begin to recognize the continuity and intentionality by which certain passages of Homer were associated in the reading and scholarly community.

50. Plutarch, for instance, makes reference to these discussions in his comments on Homer. Cf. Plutarch, *Adol. poet. aud.* 8 (*Mor.* 26f); *Fac.* 25 (*Mor.* 938d); *Soll. an.* 24 (*Mor.* 977a).

51. Although one can speculate on whether or not the scholia writer knew Plato and was influenced by him, it is best to conclude that this connection was part of the wider reading practice of Homer of which both Plato and the scholia are members. Of note, Plutarch (*Adol. poet. aud.* 10, *Mor.* 29d), when citing *Il.* 4.431, also references Plato, which might suggest an even wider reading tradition. Cf. J. Labarbe, *L'Homère de Platon* (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1949), pp. 190–92.

52. See n. 27 above.

4. Conclusion

The first and most important conclusion of the present chapter is that composite citations of Homer are intentional literary constructions. Although it is possible to view specific instances as mental lapses or authorial/scribal accidents, the number of examples undermines the stability of this blanket assumption.⁵³ It is difficult to assume that the authors who created these citations—specifically those who have been recognized as pinnacle examples of Greek literary culture (e.g., Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Longinus, Lucian)—were unaware of what they were doing. That they are found in scholarly works and used by respected authors living in different epochs supports the idea that composite citations were an established literary practice and an accepted part of Greek literary culture.

Equally as important as establishing that composite citations are intentional literary constructions is determining why they exist: what function(s) do they have within a literary work? I have identified three broad literary features of composite citations. First, certain composites have a summative function, allowing the author to draw upon material from one passage while excising irrelevant or potentially distracting material. Second, we saw that some composite citations allowed the author to create a tailored saying by combining two or more parts of Homer. In these cases the author brings together two disparate parts of Homer to create a new phrase/line that specifically fulfills the author's needs. Third, composite citations were used to show off the literary prowess of the author and to improve the reading experience. In some cases the reader might be expected to catch the stylizations of Homer, while at other times the author explicitly highlights what is being done (e.g., Lucian).

At the most fundamental level it is clear that an actual quotation from Homer's text was insufficient to fit the purpose of the author, who was obliged to create a citation that drew material from multiple locations. There are gradients to this feature. The instances in which selected lines from a speech were omitted appear different from composite citations that draw from different passages or from different books. In the former, the proximity of the lines allows us to think that, in the mind of the author, the paired lines come from one literary context or passage. The same perspective is not possible in the latter, as the lines are brought together from two separate passages. The rationale for pairing these

53. Cf. Howes, *Homeric Quotations*, p. 209.

passages might be because the author saw them as linked due to consistency in referent (e.g., Plato, *Resp.* 3.389e) or topic (e.g., [Ps.-]Plutarch, *Cons. Apoll.* 30 [*Mor.* 117c]). At other times the lines might have been combined in order to say something particular or to show off the author's literary dexterity.

From the discussion of school texts and scholia we can see that there was a sustained tradition of intricate reading practices that form associations among passages of Homer. Although there is no conclusive evidence that students were trained in composing composite citations, it is not unrealistic to posit that this would have been something they would have gained exposure to the further they advanced in their training. Our growing understanding of Homeric scholarship supports this theory and provides further confirmation of the importance of knowing and adapting Homer in both literary and scholarly fields.