CHAPTER 3

Homer's Trojan theater

SPATIAL FORMS AND PATHS

As, for example, if a man would build a house, he would first appoint a place to build it in, which he would define with certain bounds; so, in the constitution of a poem, the action is aimed at by the poet, which answers place in a building, and that action hath his largeness, compass, and proportion. So the epic asks a magnitude, from other poems: since what is place in the one is action in the other, the difference is in space. (Ben Jonson)[1]

In my preceding analyses of individual battle sequences in Books 12–17, I have emphasized the visual components that organize the action both in the poet's presentation and in the audience's comprehension of a complex set of events played out on the battlefield. My survey has demonstrated how Homeric narrative can be understood not only in temporal but also in spatial terms. Indeed, certain episodes reveal their full significance only when their spatial dimensions are taken into account. In discussing Homeric scenes of combat, I have drawn attention to the verbal cues that show how the poet of the *Iliad* "saw" in his mind's eye and made visible to his audience the complex actions of his characters within a spatial and temporal framework. The basis of my reconstruction has been the verbal signposts, especially deictic markers ("left," "right," "now," "later," "near," "far") used by the narrator and his characters as well as certain other narrative devices (perfective and imperfective verb forms, similes) that effect transitions from one sector of the action to another. What has emerged has clearly demonstrated the importance of spatial orientation for the understanding of certain narrative sequences, which reveals a surprising degree of consistency and coherence in Homer's visualization of the Iliadic landscape.

That landscape is envisaged in a manner that differs from the modern conception of geographical space or "cartographical space," which is homogeneous and isotropic.[2] A map with its grid and points and uniform scale "objectifies" space and abstracts from the viewer's perspective. The distance between Cairo and Florence will be the same whether I turn the map right side up or upside down. Strictly speaking, there is no right side except by convention, and all two-dimensional maps distort distance. Nor will the time for my journey – whether I go by boat and train or by plane – make a bit of difference to the objective measure of distance between these two points; nor even the fact that I begin my journey from Cairo or from Florence or make a stop in Alexandria or Rome en route. Such personal practical considerations have nothing to do with the scientific study of geography. But

the natural or day-to-day spatial orientation of human beings is evidently linear and in principle one dimensional. It is characterized by landmarks and routes. The latter are remembered with the aid of landmarks, in relation to their direction and the necessary time required for their completion. Often certain qualifications and evaluations of spatial particulars are involved. In other words, this conception of space is "directional," evaluative, and relational. It is called in a word "hodological."[3]

In 1934 the *Gestalt* psychologist K. Lewin first coined this term, which became a central concept in his analysis of human behavior. Intriguingly, his earliest writing, entitled "Kriegslandschaft" ("Landscape of War"), based on his experiences in World War I, analyzes the way the combat zone is perceived as a landscape constantly shifting between peaceful and dangerous, friendly and hostile, fronts and sectors.[4]

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[1] (1976) 92–93.

[2] I borrow these terms from Janni (1984) 85. See also Gehrke (1998) 163–92 and Purves (2010).

[3] Gehrke (1998) 163–64 (in my translation). In an aside, Gehrke (166) draws a provocative analogy between this spatial conception and the temporal notion of genealogy, found for instance in Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*: each embodies a linear principle of orientation.

[4] Lewin (1934) 249–99 = (1982) 315–25.

In antiquity the construction of the first Greek map of the world was attributed to Anaximander and arose, as Gehrke nicely puts it, "aus dem Geiste der Geometrie" ('from the spirit of geometry'), being more concerned with geometric figures, balance, and symmetry than with empirical observation.[5] Nevertheless, with its two-dimensional static and atemporal rendering of space, it represented a quantum leap away from the linear, temporal, and experiential notion of space as itinerary. In a frequently cited example from Homer, Hera makes her way from Olympus to Lemnos, not as the crow flies – even though her feet do not touch the ground – but as a journey whose itinerary starts from Olympus, proceeds via Pieria and Emathia to the mountains of Thrace, then to Athos, whence it continues "by sea" (ἐπὶ πόντον, 14.229) to Lemnos (14.225–30).[6] Similarly, the stately progress of Poseidon at the beginning of Book 13: he makes his way from Samothrace, going down the mountain and in four steps comes to Aegae, where he mounts his submarine chariot before stabling his horses in a cave between Tenedos and Imbros and finally joining the Greeks at Troy (13.17–35).

It bears emphasizing that the hodological conception of space (i.e. from the perspective of a traveler) has nothing primitive about it nor is it limited to oral traditions. Neither literacy nor even the dissemination of cartography has suppressed it. In the famous passage in Herodotus (5.49), Aristagoras of Miletus tries to persuade the Spartan Cleomenes to fight the Persians by showing him a map of the Persian Empire. Yet the sequence the Milesian uses to describe its geography is hodological, tracing a journey, a potential journey of conquest, from Ionia to Sousa. This is borne out by the fact that immediately thereafter, while describing the royal Persian highways, Herodotus himself follows the same itinerary, but with more details and greater precision. Despite their divergences, hodology and cartography evolved hand in hand and even Strabo exploits both.[7]

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[5] Cf. the ridicule of Herodotus 4.36.

[6] Cf. the bT Scholium at 14.226–27. Janko (1992) 186 notes: "In fact she is avoiding open water, as Greek sailors did."

[7] See Gehrke (1998). For Strabo, see Clarke (1999) esp. 193–210. Rambaud (1974) distinguishes three kinds of space in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*: geographic, tactical, and strategic, of which the first plays the smallest role. Cf. Gerhke (191): "Kein antiker Feldherr hat bzw. hätte sich

In spite of our widespread reliance on maps, hodological descriptions still dominate our everyday life, as MapQuest's dual systems, both cartographic and narrative, attest. To invite you to my house I might say: "First, you go down Hiram Street until it forks; then you make a left at the SPCA and a dogleg down the hill; you'll see the Whole Foods parking lot on your right, but turn left at the light," and so on. Note the use of "you" and the fact that I am, so to speak, taking the trip with you, my addressee, adapting your orientation while seeing the landmarks and points of reference in my mind's eye.[8] In a now classic experiment involving the translation of cognitive material into language, a group of New Yorkers were asked to describe their apartments. These descriptions took two forms: the tour (97 percent), which resembles my directions above; but only 3 percent of the participants described their apartments in cartographic terms.[9] Also – and I find this particularly intriguing – when speakers had to double back to an earlier point in their tour – say, a central corridor – we might have expected them to reverse right and left relative to their position when they began the tour. Surprisingly, it turned out, however, that left and right orientation was invariably retained from the perspective from which the apartment had originally been entered. Such fixed points of reference are reminiscent of the *Iliad*'s constant orientation in battlefield descriptions where left and right, as we have seen, are always plotted from the Greek perspective. The *Odyssey* also contains passages of hodological description, as one critic has noted:

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allein oder vornehmlich auf die Erdkarte gestützt, um konkrete Feldzüge zu führen, so wichtig ihm anderseits genaue hodologische Informationen waren" ("No ancient commander had or would have relied on a map alone or for the most part in order to conduct concrete campaigns; on the other hand, precise hodological information would be of great importance").

[8] See, for instance, the use of the second person in Herodotus' description of the Nile above Elephantine (2.29) and [Longinus'] praise of the vividness of the passage (26.2). Ironically, as Dubel (1997) 261–62 points out, Herodotus has just said that he only went as far as Elephantine, and therefore his account is dependent on hearsay yet he maintains the vivid "you are there" style.

[9] Linde and Labov (1975). Similarly, in an experiment in which two participants had the same map, the speaker described to the listener a route drawn on his map while the listener tried to follow the speaker's indications. Here again more than 80 percent of the speakers adopted "the tour approach," rather than a description of the ground plan as seen from above, which they call "the map approach." Cf. Brown (1995) 118. For the linguistic character of route directions, see Denis, Daniel *et al.* (2001); Klein (1982); and Levelt (1982).

Like the accounts of the New York apartment dwellers, Homer's description [of Alcinous' palace] ... offers the listener a tour through the palace, takes us across the threshold, into the great hall, past the fifty serving women at their tasks, out into the orchard, the vineyard, and the vegetable garden, and finally to the springs which supply the house and town.[10]

Similarly, when Odysseus at long last makes his way home, we are given a description of the harbor of Phorcys and the cave of the Nymphs (*Od.* 13.94–112) which

begins with the seaward side of the harbor and then proceeds inside it and then to its head and down into the cave near the shore, the details being so selected and arranged as to imply ... the point of view of the narrator sailing in his imagination into the harbor, landing, and descending into the cave.[11]

Here too the spatial perspective is hodological.[12] The *Iliad*, it is often said, rarely pauses for such spatial descriptions.[13] True, the poet infrequently interrupts the narrative action to offer a lengthy digression on the epic scenery *per se*; in fact he often avoids such interruption by integrating landscape descriptions well before they are needed. At the point where the visual coordinates of an action become relevant, they have already been established in the mind's eye of the poet.[14]

A question remains: can the poet successfully convey his mental map of a landscape to his audience, so that his auditors can share in his visualization? Some scholars have expressed doubts,[15] but a recent discussion of various experiments in language and visual-spatial representations concludes: "people who deal with spatial representations may be able to build representations that are embodied surrogates for experience, and preserve the topographic and metric properties of layouts."[16] We should also not overlook that we are dealing not with life, but with art. In literature, just as not all gestures of characters are described, but only those that are significant and that the poet chooses to include,[17] so too in descriptions of settings or landscapes a verbal description inevitably leaves out what a photograph, say, or a detailed plan might convey. But it includes whatever is deemed useful for the listener's comprehension and appreciation of the narrative, for instance, the configuration of the Achaean Wall.[18] Although he does not pause to give us a lengthy descriptive passage, the poet nevertheless incorporates sufficient detail about the Trojan battlefield within the narrative so that we can follow the action; but he does not, to be sure, provide us with exact measurements or distances nor does he clutter up the landscape with information he deems irrelevant.[19]

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[10] *Od.* 7.86–132. Minchin (2001a) 117–18, n. 35; cf. n. 36: "the organization of the description of the palace is based on a mental map of a typical great house." While lines 7.86–102 are in the past tense, the description switches to the present at line 103. The first section presumably presents the scene as focalized by Odysseus as he enters the palace, but the second, I would suggest, resembles the hodological "you" and is directed at the audience as becomes clear from the summarizing concluding line: τοῖ' ἄρ' ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο θεῶν ἔσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα ("Such were the gifts of the gods in Alcinous' palace," 7.132).

[11] Byre (1994) 7–8. Note that Odysseus is at this moment fast asleep, so there can be no literal focalization through him. Here again, the use of the present tense suggests in Byre's words (6) a "communication between him [the narrator] and his audience more than usually intimate."

[12] See Hainsworth (1988) 313: "It is necessary also to bear in mind that a palace, a city, or a battlefield is seen in Homer through the eyes of the heroes and not, so to speak, through the eye of Zeus." Which means, I think, that for the most part, we are at ground level rather than airborne.

[13] See Byre (1994) 1. For the great exception, the Catalogue of Ships and the Catalogue of the Trojan Allies, see below.

[14] For example the description of the Achaean Wall or the description of the Greek camp. Hellwig (1964) 24–39 contrasts the treatment of space and landscape in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and concludes that, while the latter shows an interest in landscape as such, "in der *Ilias* werden die Orte im *Verlauf der Ereignisse* vergegenwärtigt ... Das ergibt ein Vorstellungsbild, an

dem – prüft man nach – Einzelheiten unklar oder widersprüchlich sein können, und dennoch ingesamt von zwingender Deutlichkeit ist" ("In the *Iliad* places are presented through the *progress of the actions* ... This creates an image which if one tests its details may remain unclear or contradictory, but nevertheless on the whole possesses a persuasive clarity," 38, emphasis in original). Cf. Minchin (2001a) 117–19.

[15] Minchin (2001a) 119 claims it would be "quite vague. It almost certainly will be different from that of the poet," and she also asserts that "there is no underlying cognitive pattern, or format, in descriptions of scenery and landfall, of the kind we find in the case of small objects." But spatial and descriptive cognition, as we have seen (above, p. 27) involve different mental systems. More recently, Minchin (2008) emphasizes "how the poet uses spatial memory as a prompt for his song" (9, n. 1). It is, I think, no coincidence that both Minchin and Thornton (1984) come from Australia and New Zealand, where traditional storytelling and landscape are intimately connected in the Aborigines' song lines.

[16] De Vega, Cocude *et al.* (2001) 133.

[17] As is so persuasively shown in relation to Homeric gesture by Lateiner (1995).

[18] Cf. the interesting experiments of Ferguson and Hegarty (1994) that reveal the importance of significant landmarks ("anchors"), which seem equivalent to Lynch's nodes (see below), in the construction of mental maps. Ryan (2003) had high-school students construct maps of the setting for García Márquez's *Chronicle of a Death Foretold* with fair success.

[19] Although he denies that the battle descriptions provide a "detailliertes Gesamtbild, das es dem Publikum ermöglichte, das Handeln auf einer imaginierte Karte zu lokalisieren" ("a complete overall image that allows the audience to localize the action on an imaginary map"), Hellmann (2000) 99 does agree that: "Angaben zur lokalen Einordnung der Ereignisse

In a classic study of the cognitive mapping of urban landscapes, Kevin Lynch attempted to determine how urban spaces are defined and perceived by their inhabitants.[20] Of the mental maps created by the subjects of his interviews Lynch noted:

The image itself was not a precise, miniaturized model of reality, reduced in scale and consistently abstracted. As a purposeful simplification, it was made by reducing, eliminating, or even adding elements to reality by fusion and distortion, by relating and structuring the parts. It was sufficient, perhaps better for its purpose if rearranged, distorted, "illogical." It resembled the famous cartoon of the *New Yorker's* view of the United States. However distorted, there was a strong element of topological invariance with respect to reality... directions were twisted, distances stretched or compressed, large forms so changed from their accurate scale projection as to be at first unrecognizable. But the sequence was usually correct.[21]

In the interviews, certain urban features became prominent while others seemed to recede into the background. Such prominent characteristics included what Lynch called paths, landmarks, districts, edges, and nodes. While distances and many details were ignored, these defining features seemed to remain fairly constant.

Although Homer's Trojan theater constitutes an imaginary landscape, it nevertheless possesses defining features, analogous to those singled out by Lynch, that allow his auditors to visualize and follow the progress of the action on the battlefield.[22] We must also remember

that the space constructed within the poem is a peculiarly marked landscape, one in which space can be defined as Greek or Trojan, but also in terms of contested areas where these labels are shifting according to the tide of battle.[23] Between the walls of Troy and the Greek camp, there are two lines of demarcation: first, as we have seen, the wall protecting the Greek camp, so prominent in Books 12–15; second, a line dividing the Trojan plain traced by the river Scamander (see Fig. 4).[24] If the fighting around the Greek wall and trench serves to demonstrate that the Greeks are on the defensive, then combat focusing on the Scamander shows a similarly defensive posture on the part of the Trojans. The course of the Scamander also seems to flow past Troy and to continue "to the left of the battle," where, when needed, it forms a secondary arena of combat or even a place to park inactive warriors.[25] The ford of the Scamander constitutes a node or anchor between the two sectors of the Trojan plain; Hector is evacuated to it after he is wounded (14.433); Achilles chases the Trojans there as they flee to the city (21.1); and Priam crosses it both when he makes his way to and when he returns from Achilles' camp (24.350–51, 692–93).

The plain before Troy is dappled with a few meaningful landmarks.[26] Some tumuli cannot be located with any precision

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scheinen vielmehr nur gegeben zu werden, wenn sie für die aktuell geschilderte Situation irgendwie von Belang sind; sie zielen nicht auf eine allgemeine Darlegung der Räumlichen Situation ab" ("details about the spatial ordering of events appear rather to be provided if they are somehow relevant to the situation actually described; such information does not aim to give a general presentation of the spatial situation").

20 Lynch (1960) 46–90. For a breezy introduction to the concept of cognitive mapping, see Downs and Stea (1977).

21 Lynch (1960) 89.

22 I cannot agree with Hellmann (2000) 99: "Überhaupt ist ja die Schilderung der Kämpfe, was die räumliche Vorstellung anbelangt, an einigen wesentliche geographische Fixpunkte, wie das Lager, den Graben, den Fluss usw., geknüpft, bietet aber kein detailliertes räumliches Gesamtbild das es dem Publikum ermöglichte, das Handeln auf eine imaginierte Karte zu lokalisieren" ("In general the descriptions of the battles, as far as the spatial presentation is concerned, are linked to a few geographical fixed points, such as the camp and the ditch, the river, etc.; but it does not provide a spatially detailed picture overall that allows the audience to locate the action on an imaginary map"). See now also the discussion of Trachsel (2007) 12–108. She concludes (123) that "le point de vue hodologique et la perspective à vol d'oiseau et cette pluralité de regards crée une certaine confusion lorsqu'un lecteur est amené à ordonner ou schématiser un tel espace" ("the hodological perspective and the bird's-eye view and this multiplicity of view points creates a certain confusion when a reader attempts to

order or map such a space"). Again, I believe it is the critics' rather than Homer's shifting perspectives that create the problem.

23 Cf. Thornton (1984) 150–61, who emphasizes the emotional resonance of the various landscape features and their use as organizational devices that serve to divide the *Iliad* into what she calls six cantos. But she is also aware that they may "aid the singer as 'sign-posts' along the path of his song" (160). See her "map" of the *Iliad*'s action on page 51. Cf. Hellwig (1964) 24–28.

24 See Lowe (2000) 111: the *Iliad*'s "treatment of space is almost ruthlessly" economical. However, his claim that its "narrative space is essentially a single straight line" is an oversimplification. Interestingly, like both Mannsperger (2001) and Andrae (in Schuchhardt [1928]), Lowe orients himself from the position of Troy, which he locates "at the eastern end" and considers the Trojan plain, the Greek camp, and the sea "beyond."

25 The course of the Scamander has long elicited special controversy. See Ribbeck (1880) 614; Kirk (1990) at 5.355 claims "there is little point in trying to relate this to where Athene had left him [Ares] by the Skamandrios at 36." Homer places the river both between Troy and the Greek ships, cutting through the plain, and to the left of the battle. Interpreters have chosen to adopt one or the other of these indications. It is, however, not difficult to accept both: the Scamander crosses the Trojan plain and then continues leftward toward the sea. Elliger (1975) 45, n. 7 and 48–51, however, believes the Scamander to be located to one side – which would have to be the left – of the plain and to form a boundary of the battlefield. So also Trachsel (2007) 67–78. Such a view does indeed lead to insuperable contradictions: why, for instance, would Priam make his way to Achilles via the far left of the plain?

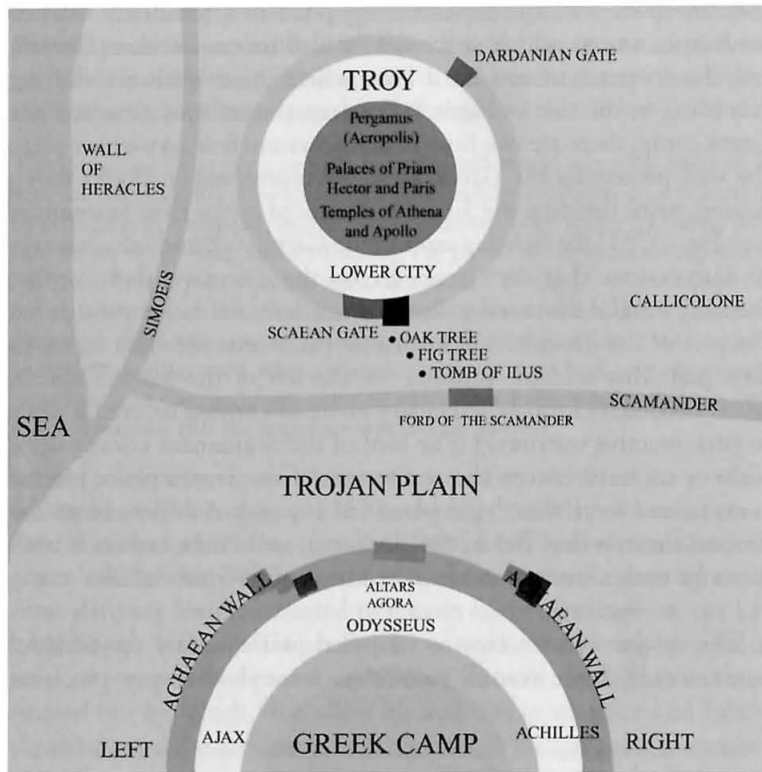26 See Minchin (2008) 23–25 and 32; and Thornton (1984) 151–60.

Fig. 4 Revised overview of Trojan battlefield with correct orientation.

because they are not so much markers of action as emblems of the ancestral possession of the landscape by the Trojans themselves. Significantly, the tomb of Ilus, the eponymous founder of Ilium, located between the river and the walls of Troy, is the most frequently mentioned and clearly within Trojan control. Hector holds an assembly of the chieftains there at 10.415; the Trojans rush past it μέσσον κὰπ πεδίον ("through the middle of the plain") during Agamemnon's murderous *aristeia* (11.166–68); and in the same book Paris uses the stele for cover as he aims his arrow against Diomedes and manages to put him out of commission (11.371–72). Finally, Priam must make his way past it on his nocturnal foray to retrieve Hector's corpse (24.349). The flight of the Trojans at 11.166–70 offers

a sequential parade of landmarks: the tumulus of Ilus, which lies μέσσον κατὰ πεδίον, then the fig tree, which must be near the walls (cf. 6.433, 22.145), and finally the Scaean Gate and the oak nearby (cf. 6.237, 9.354, 21.549). The walls of Troy, moreover, are pierced by two named gates: the Scaean, which has a central vantage over the plain, and the Dardanian of which we hear at 5.788–90:

ὄφρα μὲν ἐς πόλεμον πωλέσκετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
οὐδέ ποτε Τρῶες πρὸ πυλάων Δαρδανιάων
οἴχνεσκον· κείνου γὰρ ἐδείδισαν ὄβριμον ἔγχος.

As long as shining Achilles was wont to frequent the war,
The Trojan never sallied forth in front of the Dardanian Gate;
For they feared his mighty spear.

It requires no stretch of the imagination to conclude that the Dardanian Gate lies in the direction of Achilles' camp, which we know to be at the far right of the Greek fleet.[27]

The inconsistencies that scholars have discovered in Homeric geography, if not derived from misguided attempts to map the *Iliad* onto the plain below Hisarlik, correspond to the distortions of distance and perspective produced by Lynch's respondents. As Elliger notes:

Even if the number and importance of such contradictions [raised by Homeric scholarship] can be substantially reduced, certain difficulties remain, which cannot be resolved from the perspective of a geographer. Thus the distance between Troy and the encampment of the Greek ships is not a constant one, but rather appears sometimes bigger and sometimes smaller. The plain can stretch itself out indefinitely if it is the theater[28] of massed warfare; but if a duel requires only a small space, it can just as easily shrink itself... This... list of contradictions and inconsistencies does not, however, preclude a unified conception that is simply not a geographically conceived one.[29]

[27] Mannsperger (1993) 196, I believe, misinterprets the Greek here: "Früher wagten sich die Troer nicht einmal zum Dardanisches Tor (= Hintertor) hinaus, [geschweige denn zum Skäischen (= Haupttor)]" ("Earlier, the Trojans did not even dare to come out of the Dardanian Gate (= back gate), [far less the Scaean (= main gate)]"). The bracketed words are not in the Greek text. While the Dardanian Gate is indeed a secondary or side entrance to the city, Mannsperger sees the reference to Achilles only in general terms.
[28] Elliger (1975) 45 and Hellwig (1964) 28 both describe the Homeric landscape as a "geschlossenen Schauplatz" ("an enclosed theater").
[29] Elliger (1975) 44, 45 (in my translation). Among the supposed inconsistencies mentioned by Elliger is the fact that in 5.774 the Simoeis flows into the Scamander, while in 12.22

It is striking how these distortions correspond to those observed by Lynch's respondents and are those of a landscape subjectively perceived and inhabited in the mind's eye of the poet who is our guide.[30]

Before turning to the issue of spatial imaging and memory, I would like to offer an analysis of the narrative itinerary of Achilles, the poem's protagonist, as a test case of the interpretation of the mental landscape of the *Iliad*.[31] We begin in the agora where the baneful quarrel between the hero and Agamemnon precipitates Achilles' wrath and withdrawal. Removing himself from the communal space at the center of the Greek encampment, he withdraws to the extreme right flank, the place of honor reserved for the most powerful and exposed contingent. Thereafter, much like the action that swirls around Patroclus' corpse, Achilles becomes the unmoved mover around whom activity gravitates. Twice he receives visitors from Central Command: once the heralds, who take away Briseis, and later the embassy that leaves empty-handed. Without moving from his camp, Achilles nonetheless watches the battle from a perch on his ship; he has observed the Achaeans building their wall (9.348–50) and has seen Nestor's chariot evacuate the wounded doctor Machaon from the battlefield (11.599–601). Or at least, so it appeared from a distance. Patroclus is sent forth to Nestor's tent to verify. On his return, Achilles agrees to send his companion into battle from which Patroclus will return only as a corpse. Since Achilles' initial withdrawal, action has looped four times around the fixed point of his camp, much like the fighting around the corpse of Patroclus in Book 17. Finally, still unarmed,

Achilles makes a first move that takes him to the trench just outside the Achaean Wall where his shout instills panic in the Trojans. The next morning, the hero finally returns to the agora, the birthplace of the Wrath, which he now disowns (19.40–214). These two short loops out and back flank Achilles' refusal to share a meal of reconciliation with the other generals. Instead, it is they, in a muted replay of the earlier embassy, who join the mourning Achilles in his tent (19.309–12).

Delaying a Trojan rout, Zeus now invites all the gods to take part in the battle, but after some brief skirmishes the divine supporters of the Greeks take their places by Heracles' wall by the cliffs; those of the Trojans, on the heights of Callicolone (20.145–52). The whole Trojan plain has now become an immense theater for the divine audience who will subsequently also become participants; and above both men and gods, Zeus alone on Olympus watches and takes pleasure in the spectacle he directs that alternates between the low comedy of the mock theomachy and high tragedy of Achilles' murderous rage (Books 20–21).

A landmark, which has thus far played only a minor role, now takes center stage: the Scamander that flows in front of the city marks Achilles' advance into Trojan territory (21.1). Up to now, the main battles have all been on the *Greek* side of the plain.[32] The river's elemental fury against Achilles threatens to drown the hero and entomb him in mud, until he is rescued by Hephaestus' fire. The fight with the river offers a good example of how envisioning a scene in its spatial dimensions can help us to understand its significance. If we realize that Achilles up to now has been slaughtering Trojans on the side of the river toward the Greek camp, he here consents to the river's plea to stop filling it with corpses that impede the river's course (21.222–26) but nevertheless insists on continuing to slaughter Trojans on the *other*, Trojan, bank of the river. Scamander's appeal to Apollo (21.228–32) then makes sense, because Apollo is to intervene on the side of the Trojans making their way into the city. Achilles now jumps into the middle of the river, "leaping away from the bank," attempting to traverse it (21.234, ἀπαΐξας, a Homeric *hapax*). At this

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it is listed as one of the rivers that flow ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἅλαδε ("from Ida toward the sea"). There is no contradiction. Subsequently, however, Elliger fudges by claiming that the landscape "is never visualized as a whole as an enclosed space or even as a clearly defined surface" (45–46). Cf. Hellmann (2000) 98–99.

30   Cf. Balutova (1979) 14: "[S]pace in fiction is in no way extraneous to the fictional world. It may represent or refer to certain objective data, but in fact it is the author's subjective vision of the objective features, offered or withheld at his wish, selected, shaped, made prominent or distorted by no other means but that of words." For the problematic character of space in the inevitably temporal dimension of narrative, see Zoran (1984).

31   Minchin (2008) tracks the movement of characters in *Iliad* 1 and 24 and stresses that "Homer's concern for location is an indicator of a memory-based strategy developed for sustained oral performance" (23). The prominence of spatial organization in Homer can also be paralleled in certain literary narratives; and it is difficult to imagine a novelist who does not in some sense also "see" his characters' movements. See again the Nabokov quotation on p. 27.

32   N. Richardson (1993) 70 finds various inconsistencies here. Achilles agrees to Scamander's first request (21.217–21), although not, as Richardson claims "only to drive the Trojans out of the river."

point, the furious river attempts to drown the hero, who clings to a tree that falls into the water, creating a bridge for him to cross. As a frightened Achilles flees across the plain (now on the Trojan side), the fuming river, overflowing its bed, pursues him, threatening the hero with drowning, until he is finally forced to desist by Hephaestus' flames (21.234–367). The point of all this is, I believe, that the poet has dramatically marked this crucial point in Achilles' advance – as fraught with significance as Caesar's crossing the Rubicon. The *Odyssey* offers perhaps another less obvious parallel: the moment that Odysseus, yet unrecognized by all, crosses the threshold of his own palace – and hence has finally made it home – is marked by the recognition of Argos that immediately precedes (*Od.* 17.291–327). While the episode in the *Odyssey* is clearly freighted with symbolic meaning, the poet of the *Iliad* expands the crossing of the Scamander into a full-blown episode that indicates Achilles' fateful encroachment into Trojan territory – a necessary prelude to his climactic confrontation with Hector. However, with typical epic retardation, it will take yet another divine intervention, this time by Apollo disguised as Agenor, to turn the Greek hero back in the direction of the Scamander so that the Trojans can escape into the city, leaving Hector to face his enemy alone.

The focus now shifts to Troy and its circuit of walls from which Hector's parents make their appeal to their son, around which Achilles pursues the Trojan prince, and from which the Trojans observe the latter's death and mutilation (Book 22). In contrast, the funeral of Patroclus and the games Achilles holds in his honor foreground the area outdoors around Achilles' encampment along the shore (Book 23). Finally, Book 24 uniquely creates a dramatic link between the royal palace of doomed Ilium and the equally doomed interior space of Achilles' *klisiē*, now strangely transformed into a grandiose hall. We follow the nocturnal path of ancient Priam as he makes his way from the palace courtyard out of the city, doubtless, through the Dardanian Gate; first he passes the *sema* of Ilus, an emblem of the doomed city's founding, and the horses and donkeys drink from the Scamander;[33] then with Hermes as escort, he comes to the Achaean

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[33] This again suggests that the river creates a boundary defining Trojan territory.

Wall and the fosse and passes through the gate,[34] finally arriving at Achilles' courtyard and the huge gate, which required three men to open it but Achilles could do it by himself – as of course can Hermes (24.322–467). On the way back to Troy, the god leaves Priam at the ford of the Scamander (24.692–94) as dawn breaks. From the citadel Cassandra spies her old father and his precious cargo; lamenting, the entire citizenry rushes out from the gates, and the king has to demand that they make way for him so that he may bring Hector home (24.717). For us, the landscape of Ilium and the landmarks of the Trojan plain have by now become familiar territory, a *lieu de memoire*.

MEMORY

L'uomo che sa a memoria com'è fatta Zora, la notte quando non può dormire immagina di camminare per le sue vie e ricorda l'ordine in cui si succedono l'orologio di rame, la tenda a strisce del barbiere, lo zampillo dai nove schizzi, la torre di vetro dell'astronomo, l'edicola del venditore di cocomeri, la statua dell'eremita e del leone, il bagno turco, il caffè all'angolo, la traversa che va al porto. Questa città che non si cancella dalla mente è come un' armature o reticolo nelle cui caselle ognuno può disporre le cose che vuole ricordare: nomi di uomini illustri, virtú, numeri, classificazioni vegetali e minerali, date di battaglie, costellazioni, parti del discorso. Tra ogni nozione e ogni punto dell' itinerario potrà stabilire un nesso d'affinità o di contrasto che serva da richiamo istantaneo alla memoria. Cosicché gli uomini più sapienti del mondo sono quelli che sanno a mente Zora.

Whoever knows how Zora is laid out, when he cannot sleep at night, he can imagine walking down its street, remembering the order in which the copper clock, the barber's striped canopy, the spring with nine spouts, the astronomer's glass tower, the booth of the watermelon vendor are situated and the statue of the hermit and the lion, the Turkish bath, the corner coffee shop, and the side street that leads to the harbor. This city, which cannot be erased from one's mind, is like an armature or a framework in whose boxes anyone can place the things he wants to remember: names of illustrious men, virtues, numbers, botanical classifications and minerals, dates of battles, constellations, parts of speech. In between each notion and each point of the itinerary he will be able to establish a connection of affinity or contrast that may be used as a memory device for immediate

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[34] Could this be the one by Menestheus' tower that was on the right of the battlefield and hence closest to Achilles?

recall. Therefore the most knowledgeable men in the world are those who knew Zora by heart. (Italo Calvino, "Zora," *Le città invisibili*)

The *Iliad* that has come down to us is the product of a highly developed verbal art and a supple traditional technique that made the performance of the monumental composition before an audience possible. Moreover, both the performance and the reception of the epic, as I have argued, are characterized by its high degree of visualized narrative. The verbal and the spatial dimensions of the poem collaborate and reinforce each other: the poet sees his story, and his narrative translates what he sees into words that in turn evoke a vision of the events for his audience. Such mutual reinforcement of the spatial and the verbal is the foundation for the art of memory or the systems of mnemonics involving *loci*, whose inventor is traditionally identified as the early fifth-century poet Simonides.[35] The famous story, cited by Cicero and Quintilian among others, recounts how Simonides was commissioned to compose an epinician in honor of a boxer.[36] Upon delivery of the ode at a banquet, his host was displeased because the poet had devoted more attention to celebrating the Dioscuri than to the victor; so let the divine twins pay. Later, during the symposium, two young men came to the door and advised Simonides to leave the building. Straightway, the house collapses and all within are crushed to death. The poet is able to identify the corpses that had become unrecognizable by recalling where the guests were sitting in the banquet hall. We can easily reconstruct what Simonides did; he re-imagined the banquet hall and, doubtless positioning himself on his couch, went around the room and visualized the order of the other

guests. The method of *loci* was elaborated perhaps as early as the late fifth or early fourth century BCE by Greek rhetoricians, but our main sources are the Latin rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian, and, above all, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. This system, whose fascinating history was first traced by Frances Yates, was exploited throughout the Middle Ages and flourished during the Renaissance and even reached China when the Jesuit Matteo Ricci translated his treatise into Chinese. Today, self-help books claiming to "Improve Your Memory" still rely on this same ancient method while researchers in cognition have studied the brain mechanisms involved.

The discipline of mnemonics outlined in the rhetorical handbooks requires substantial training and practice. The convoluted instructions and the weird associations recommended particularly in the *ad Herennium* are apt to give this reader a headache,[37] although the findings of cognitive psychologists have borne out the efficacy of bizarre imagery in memory retention. But it is worth emphasizing that the Simonidean anecdote requires no such demanding discipline; it involves only natural as opposed to artificial memory.[38] Indeed, as the ancients themselves point out – and any dog or cat owner knows – animals possess a highly developed spatial memory that allows them to find their way home.[39] Intuitively, I have used a simpler version of Simonides' method to learn the names of students seated in my classroom. If I asked you to list the objects in your living room, you would likewise visualize that space and "see" the various pieces of furniture, paintings, and knickknacks by mentally going around the room. This process involves two steps: first, the mental imaging of a space, whether familiar or constructed in the mind's eye, and then the association of the different places in your apartment or a palace or a theater with specific locations or *loci*. You then take a mental walk through those places to retrieve them.

It has been argued that the discovery of mnemonics is due to, or connected with, the rise of literacy. J. P. Small, for example, claims that in the early fifth century "[t]here were too many words with which to cope without some kind of improved retrieval

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[35] See most recently Giannisi (2006) 75–90 on mnemonics and her intriguing discussion of mental paths and real paths within religious sanctuaries. For the ancient testimonia, see Blum (1969) 41–46. For a survey, see also Small (1997) 81–137. Mnemonics is only one of the discoveries traditionally attributed to Simonides; Obbink (2001) 74 calls the *Suda*'s attribution of this and other inventions to Simonides as "nonsense." The Cean poet is variously credited with inventing the epinician, and for being the first poet to take payment for his poetry, as well as for making improvements in the lyre and the alphabet. These attributions to the poet of Ceos may well be more *ben trovati* than *veri*. But the last two represent improvements on an already existing system (the alphabet) or instrument (lyre); could one suggest something similar for mnemonics? For many of the themes touched on here, depictions of space in both art and literature, *enargeia*, mnemonics, within a Roman context, see Leach (1988); and for Cicero and the Roman rhetorical tradition, Vasaly (1993).

[36] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.352–54; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 11.2.11–16; cf. Phaedrus 4.23 and La Fontaine, *Fables* 1.14.

[37] Müller (1996) offers a critique of the Auctor's method that strikes me as well founded.

[38] For the distinction, see, for example, *Rhet. Her.* 3.28–29; Cicero, *De or.* 2.359; Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.2.1; and the discussion in Blum (1969) 150–63.

[39] L. T. Brown defied heavy Athenian traffic to find his way to Euphronios Street (pers. comm.).

system."[40] But *post hoc* is not *propter hoc*. Moreover, as we have seen, there are many kinds of memory and they involve different cognitive processes. Remembering names or exact words (*memoria verborum*) may make use of mental imagery, for instance by constructing an image of a lapis lazuli to remember Mr. Bluestone or a bottle of beer to remind yourself of Mr. Miller.[41] These images can be put into a sequence if, like Simonides, you want to remember the names of the guests at a dinner party. But the verbatim recall of a poem usually does not involve the use of mental imagery or the use of *loci*,[42] whereas both techniques "have been found to be particularly useful in recall of content rather than actual wording of texts"[43] (*memoria rerum*). By mentally constructing a series of scenes that correspond to the argument or narrative plot to be remembered, we can imaginatively stroll through these images in a sequence. It is this kind of mnemonics that I would argue that the Homeric bard had available to him, and it does not require literacy.[44] An experiment involving experienced, but illiterate, storytellers from French-speaking Canada bears this out; eight out of ten were able to follow the outline of a narrative after hearing it only once. The most important element in remembering was tracing its progress in terms of a sequence of locations. Labrie concludes by first citing one of the participants:

"When somebody tells you a tale, you keep your attention until the hero sets out for another place and then you notice again when he stops if you want to be able to tell it back." This succession of linked locations seems

to be the very framework of tale remembering; every location contains one or more scenes, each one comprising some dramatic interplay between the tale's actors. The task of the narrator then consists of depicting, for the blind audience, what he sees as it unfolds from his memory into his consciousness.[45]

This description of the process of storytelling closely resembles the ancient systems of mnemonics involving *loci*. But it is Homeric epic itself that offers the closest parallel to the anecdote of the Simonidean symposium in the feast of the suitors in Odysseus' palace.[46] Like the later Greek symposium, the Homeric *dais* seems to have incorporated a hierarchical ordering in the placement of its participants. "Seats of honor" are among the prerogatives of the Homeric *aristos* (cf. *Il.* 8.162 and 12.311). Although Homer has left us no seating chart of the great *megaron* of Odysseus' palace, the evidence of the text, while fragmentary and intermittent, is suggestive and consistent. In fact, the poet provides us with three circuits around the great hall, first when Odysseus makes the rounds begging from each of the suitors, then when they attempt to string the bow, and finally as they are slaughtered, this time in inverse order. In Book 17 Odysseus in his beggar's guise is ordered to beg from the suitors ἐνδέξια (from left to right, 365).[47] All offer him something from their plates until he comes last to Antinous, who, rather than sharing the food that is not rightly his with its rightful owner, heaps abuse on the beggar and hurls a footstool (17.458–65). Later, when Eurymachus likewise throws a stool at him, Odysseus takes refuge at the feet of Amphinomus, who sits nearby (18.394–96). Similarly, one may gather that Agelaus, as the first suitor to speak after Ctesippus tries to hit Odysseus with an ox foot, is seated next to him (20.299–321). The evidence from the archery contest confirms this seating arrangement. There, Antinous, acting as master of ceremonies, orders the suitors to take their turns with the bow, ἑξείης ἐπιδέξια... ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χώρου ὅθεν τέ

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[40] Small (1997) 83; cf. 4. Rouveret (1989) 312 makes the opposite argument: that ancient mnemonics depend on "a culture that is not yet exclusively based on writing for the transmission of knowledge and the work of the intellect" (translation mine). She traces the real moment of transition to the invention of the codex at the end of the first century CE.

[41] Note that these examples differ from the examples in the *Dialexis* (fr. 9) that advises associating Chrysippus with a gold (χρυσός) horse (ἵππος) since the connection is as much verbal as visual.

[42] The *Auctor ad Herennium* becomes most convoluted and bizarre when he constructs a mental image for memorizing a sentence verbatim; cf. Small (1997) 112.

[43] Small (1997) 114.

[44] Small (1997) 116: "As with oral poets, verbatim recall is not the issue with this kind of memory." Yates (1966) 29 also suggests that while Simonides probably did take "some notable step" in codifying mnemonics, "some form of the art might have been a very ancient technique used by bards and story-tellers." For the connection of *ekphrasis* and *enargeia* with a visual tour and *loci* mnemonics, see Dubel (1997) 264. Cf. Thornton (1984) 161–63, who has also connected Simonidean mnemonics and Homer's "memory plain," as she calls it.

[45] Labrie (1981) 101–102; cf. Labrie (1983) 230, quoting another storyteller: "As you go along telling the story, well there is something like a road that opens up before you, the same road of the imagination that you took the first time."

[46] The discussion of the *Odyssey* here is drawn from my paper (1994a) 35–40. Although his focus lies elsewhere, Reece (1995) made similar observations.

[47] Both ἐνδέξια and ἐπιδέξια come to be sympotic terms. See, for example, Plato, *Symposium* 177d and *Respublica* 420e; also Critias, fr. B 33 (DK) and Anaxandrides 1 (= Athenaeus 11.463e–464a); Critias, fr. B 6.4 (DK); and Athenaeus 15.669a and 669e.

περ οἰνοχοεύει ("continuously from left to right . . . beginning from the place where the wine is poured," 21.141–42).⁴⁸ Leodes gets the first try, which makes sense since the priest must be the first to pour the libations and sits nearest the mixing bowl, μυχοίτατος αἰεί (21.145–46). All the other suitors then attempt in turn to string the bow without success until only Antinous and Eurymachus remain (21.184–87). Finally, after an interlude, it is Eurymachus' turn, and he too fails miserably (21.245–55). But now Antinous, instead of taking his expected turn, suddenly cuts off the contest, presumably to avoid public embarrassment, and postpones it to the following day (21.256–69).

The seating order of the *dais* reflects social hierarchies. As the ἀρχοὶ μνηστήρων, Antinous and Eurymachus occupy the most prestigious places. Amphinomus, Penelope's favorite, evidently comes next. When Odysseus makes his begging rounds to test the moral fiber of the suitors, he moves from the lowest to the highest, ending with Antinous, who is simultaneously the best and the most culpable of the lot. The bow contest, another kind of test likewise orchestrated by Antinous, proceeds in the same order, beginning with Leodes. But the massacre of the suitors progresses inversely, from the highest, Antinous and Eurymachus, on down to Leodes, and reproduces with grisly humor the order of the *dais*.

Through its setting and its manifold allusions to their previous banquets, the slaughter of the suitors mirrors their feasting: an uncharming *dais* of death concocted for them by Odysseus and Athena (20.392–94; cf. 21.428–30). Moreover, the hierarchy of deaths in the massacre corresponds to the seating arrangements of the suitors in the great hall of Odysseus' palace. The spatial relations organize and reinforce the hierarchical relations of the seating order. The great hall of Odysseus' palace becomes a theater where the poet invites us as spectators not only to envisage the location of his characters on stage, but also to qualify their spatial arrangement in symbolic terms. The parallel between the Homeric *dais* and the anecdote of the Simonidean symposium is striking, and I am tempted by the possibility, which to be sure cannot be proven, that the former inspired the latter.⁴⁹ For our purposes, however, it suffices to demonstrate the not very surprising conclusion that the bards of epic were already familiar with some kind of mnemonic system.

The present discussion of the Homeric battlefield has tried to show how the poet translates his pictorial image of the Trojan plain into a verbal representation. It does not seem far-fetched to suggest that his mental imaging allows him to associate topological features with certain actions. A serious chess player friend notes that "certain squares on the board, each with their own distinctive name, acquire strong associations from the countless battles waged across them and the strategic roles they play."⁵⁰ Such associations may in turn have offered a template in the construction of the Homeric narrative, particularly in the organization of the battle scenes where action is described on several fronts. But even in Books 16 and 17, where the fighting is focused on a central character or point, the narrative seems to be organized as a sequence of actions conceived in spatial terms. Thus, like the Scots storyteller or the ancient orator, the Homeric bard constructs his song by linking locations with the actions of his characters.

The vocabulary Homeric epic uses to describe its narrative would appear to support this notion of some, perhaps simplified, version of mnemonics. *Oimē* and *oimos* both seem to refer to the "path" of song:⁵¹

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν,
οἴμης τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανε.

The Muse sent the bard on his way to sing the *klea andrōn*
From the *oimē* whose fame at that time reached the very heaven.

(*Od.* 8.73–74)

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⁴⁸ Cf. Eustathius on 21.144. For the centrality of the *kratēr* in sympotic scenes on vase painting, see Lissarrague (1990).

⁴⁹ The close relation between the Homeric *dais* and the archaic symposium are explored by, among others, Ford (2002) 27–45; Colosanti (1999) 41–73; Murray (1994); and Węcowski (2002).
⁵⁰ Tobias Myers, pers. comm.
⁵¹ The evidence derives mainly from the *Odyssey* and its depiction of bardic performance. Nevertheless, two of the songs performed by Demodocus in Book 8 are drawn from the traditions of the Trojan War. On the image, see most recently Giannisi (2006) esp. 65–73; Becker (1937) 68–100; also Durante (1968) 242–60; Ford (1992) 40–48; and Thornton (1984) 148–49. Asper (1997) 24–26 unconvincingly argues that the metaphor of the path of song derives from lyric rather than epic poetry.

Demodocus is "sent on his way" or "on the path" (ἀνῆκεν) by the Muse. Similarly at *Odyssey* 8.479–81, the Muse is said to have taught the *oimai* to the *aoidoi*; while at *Odyssey* 22.346–48, Phemius claims that the Muse has put into his heart οἴμας παντοίας.[52] The verb used in many invocations, ἐννέπω, instructs the Muse to "pursue" or "follow" the subject of the epic (e.g. ἄνδρα, *Od.* 1.1; note the genial translation of Livius Andronicus: "virum mihi, Camena, *insece* versutum") or the path of the enumeration (*Il.* 2.484) of the Greek host (see below).[53] In addition, the Indo-European root *sek*ʷ appears to be related to expressions of both seeing and narrating (e.g. German *sehen* and *sagen*). It has been suggested that the notion underlying these diverse linguistic formations arose from "ein alter Jagdausdruck, vom Hund gebraucht... das Wild aufspüren und verfolgen" ("an old hunting expression, used of dogs... to track and pursue game")[54] – which suggests the genial image for narrating as sniffing out or tracking. However that may be, in each of these passages the metaphorical path of song is closely associated with the Muse, the source of the poet's ability to represent his tale.[55] *Oimē*, then, the *path* of song, constitutes a sequence of events, constructed as an itinerary in the mind's eye, an itinerary with various stopping places (= scenes or episodes) that are visualized in the course of the narrative.[56] This is nicely borne out in the *Odyssey* where the hero is told that he must consult the seer Teiresias to learn the ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου ("the route and the measures of the way," 10.539). After Teiresias has indicated the fateful character of the stopover on the Island of the Sun, the journey Circe outlines for Odysseus simultaneously constitutes a topographic route with precise indications of what will happen at each stage and a narrative itinerary enacted in Odysseus' subsequent voyage.[57] Moreover, at a certain moment, Circe offers the hero a choice of routes either via the Planctae or through Scylla and Charybdis; Odysseus silently chooses the latter course so we never learn more about the Planctae. We may here recall that for the construction of *loci*, Quintilian recommends not only a house or other edifice, but also a long journey or the circuit of a city (*Inst.* 11.2.21).

The Catalogue of Ships, which forms an itinerary, similar to the description of Alkinous' palace and the harbor of Phorcys, but on a far grander scale, offers further evidence for a spatial mnemonics;[58] or more accurately, it forms three distinct itineraries that cover a good part of Greece. These journeys are hodological, that is, they are described from the viewpoint of a traveler, although it is perhaps not necessary to posit personal autopsy as Visser does.[59] For our

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[52] Cf. *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 451: οἶμος ἀοιδῆς.

[53] Cf. *Il.* 2.761, 11.218, 14.508, 16.112; Hesiod, *Theog.* 114 and fr. 1.14 (M-W). Elsewhere the verb also often takes μῦθος as its object and/or is modified by νημερτές. See Martin (1989) 238; and Risch (1985) suggests a meaning "to narrate, especially prose, or to announce in an artistic and solemn manner."

[54] Mayrhofer (1958–80) vol. III, 417; cf. Buck (1949) 1043. Also Ruijgh (2004) 42 on ἐννέπω: "L'action de raconter consiste à produire une suite bien ordonnée de phrases répondant à la suite des évenements racontés" ("The act of narrating consists in producing a well-ordered sequence of phrases corresponding to the sequence of the events narrated").

[55] See also *Od.* 8.499: ὁ ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἄρχετο; and Hesiod, *Works and Days* 659: ἔνθα με τὸ πρῶτον λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς. I take *epibainein* here as "set upon the path." Note also *metabainein* in the Homeric Hymns: "to change one's path."

[56] See Giannisi (1997) 139–40, who puts it well: "Le poète appelle les Muses afin de pouvoir entrer d'abord dans cet espace imaginaire; les Muses... guident le poète pendant sa marche, marche reliant les scènes cruciales et créant la narration... La marche imaginaire du poète est identifiable au récit" ("The poet invokes the Muses in order to gain entry to this imaginary space; the Muses... guide the poet during his journey, a journey linking crucial scenes and creating the narrative... The imaginary journey of the poet can be identified with the story"). See also Jacob (1990), who suggests that the *Periegesis* of Dionysius of Alexandria functions as a "lieu de mémoire" for Greek learning.

[57] See Giannisi (2006) 103–25. For the divergent yet complementary discourses of Teiresias with his oracular knowledge and Circe and her visual knowledge, see Clay (1983) 152–53.

[58] Cf. Giannisi (2006) 112–15, but the ordering of the Catalogue does not correspond to the order of the Greek ships before Troy.

[59] Visser (1995) 411 concludes: "Es hat sich im Verlauf der bisherigen Analysen zeigen lassen, dass Homer über einige geographische Detailkenntnisse verfügte, und diese Kenntnisse, die nicht allein die Orte an sich, sondern auch ihre Lage zueinander betreffen, müssen auf eigene Anschauung oder auf die Übernahme detaillierte Berichte von Reisenden zurückgeführt werden" ("It has been shown in the course of the foregoing analysis that Homer possessed some detailed geographical knowledge, and that this knowledge involved not only the locales themselves, but also their relation to one another, which must be derived from personal experience or the adoption of detailed reports of other travelers"). Cf. Minchin (2001a) 84–87 on the Catalogue as a cognitive map. More generally, see also Kirk (1985) 183–87 and Giovannini (1969), who suggests that the itineraries follow those of the Delphic *theoroi*. I am preparing a computer model of the Homeric catalogues.

Danek (2004) compares the Homeric Catalogue to other hero catalogues in Serbo-Croatian epic, which apparently have no such geographical organization, and considers it non-traditional, i.e. the invention of Homer. He recognizes its organization to be hodological and made up of several spiral shaped itineraries that represent the Greek expedition as a Pan-Hellenic undertaking. The Catalogue accomplishes this not merely by outlining an itinerary, but by defining the regions of Greece and their contiguities to adjoining areas. This procedure does not, however, as Danek claims, make the Catalogue a forerunner of the later Greek conception of geographical space; the individual regions are still defined hodologically. For an analysis of the verbal features of the Catalogue and the cataloguing style, see Edwards (1980).

purposes, the catalogue of Trojans and their allies, although lacking in the detail and mythological content of the Greek one, is of equal interest. For after what appears to be a circular tour around the Troad, the enumeration of the allied contingents forms four spokes that emanate from Troy and end at points most distant from Ilium.[60] While sparse on particulars, especially to the east, this configuration likewise constructs four different itineraries through Asia Minor. Moreover, it bears an intriguing resemblance to the configuration of the course of action I traced above, in analyzing the battle over the body of Patroclus in Book 17.

The Simonidean anecdote, from which we started, makes explicit what is already, I submit, implicit in Homer. Simonides' configuration of the participants at a symposium and Homer's vision of the theater of Troy share not only a mnemonic technique that allows the re-visualization of objects in space: on a deeper level, they also both recognize the memorializing function of poetry.[61] While his patrons were punished for their *hybris*, Simonides was rewarded for his piety. We conclude that it is more important to preserve good relations with divine patrons than with mortal ones. Nevertheless, the mortal poet performed a critical service for the latter: by remembering their seating arrangements, he was able to identify their corpses and thereby to ensure their proper burial, which entailed their proper memorialization through their *semata*.[62] This too was an act of piety.

It seems altogether appropriate that the discovery of mnemonics should be linked to the memorializing of the dead. Nagy has explored the semantics of *sema* in Greek: a *sema* must first be recognized and then interpreted, which is signified by *noein*; not to notice or to misapprehend a *sema* is expressed through a form of the verb *lanthanō* – whose usual antonym is *mimneskō*.[63] The Iliadic landscape, as we have seen, is likewise littered with *semata* that constitute landmarks on the Trojan plain; two, however, stand out, one from the beginning and one from the end of the poem: an anonymous *sema* that forms the turning post in the chariot race held in honor of Patroclus, a marker that has no name and no story to tell (23.331). The former has two names, one known to men and another known only to the gods, and hence to the poet through his connection to the Muses (2.813–14). Together, these two *semata* constitute contrasting emblems: of anonymity through mortal forgetfulness on the one hand, and poetic remembrance through the divine Muses on the other. Throughout the *Iliad* the heroes are obsessed with their *semata* as a concrete form of remembrance after death. Indeed, the poem as a whole can rightly be considered a *sema* actualized in the poet's memory and activated in the each performance. The memory of the poet, his vision of the landscape on which his heroes fought and died, and the arrangement of his path of song that narrates their deeds are likewise acts of piety.

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[60] Cf. Kirk (1985) 248–63; and Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 176.

[61] On Simonides, see Goldmann (1989), whose excellent interpretation of the anecdote unfortunately veers off into shamanism and Roman *imagines* at the end. Detienne (1967) 110–11 also views Simonides as breaking with an earlier tradition and as secularizing memory with his mnemonics; but the anecdote rather suggests a continuity with the memorializing function of poetry and underlines the poet's piety. Cf. Goldmann (51): "So wird deutlich dass die Erfindung der Mnemotechnik nicht bloss an eine einzige Person und ein einmaliges Ereignis zu knüpfen ist: sie beruht vielmehr auf allgemeinen Erfahrungen, die hier noch einmal in Erinnerung zu rufen sind" ("Thus it becomes clear that the discovery of mnemonics should not merely be linked to one individual or a unique event; rather it is based on general experiences that are here meant to be recalled again"). Nevertheless, Goldmann insists that the anecdote indicates an "Epochenschwelle" (65).

[62] Cf. Theocritus 16.42–46 on the Scopades:

> ἄμναστοι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῆνα λιπόντες
> δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο,
> εἰ μὴ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήιος αἰόλα φωνέων
> βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστοὺς
> ὁπλοτέροις.

Unremembered, leaving behind their great and famous wealth,
Through lengthy eons, they would lie among the wretched corpses,
If the divine bard from Ceos, singing intricate songs
To the many-stringed lyre, had not made them renowned
Among men of later times.

[63] Nagy (1990b) 202–22. On *noein* and *noema* and its relation to *mimneskō*, see also Bakker (2005) 150–53, who takes both verbs to signify "the realization, the accomplishment, of its cognitive content," which he defines as a "seeing beyond" (151). Such a realization is accomplished in poetic performance. Cf. Telegdi (1977); Ford (1992) 138–46; Scodel (2002); and Kahane (2005) 95–125.

HOMER'S TROJAN THEATER

Space, Vision, and Memory in the Iliad

JENNY STRAUSS CLAY

In memory of Roger Breed Stein

One had to be versed in country things
Not to believe the phoebes wept.

Robert Frost