

Works cited

- Albracht, F. 1895. *Kampf und Kampfdarstellung bei Homer* 2. Naumburg; Eng. trans.: *Battle and Battle Description in Homer: A Contribution to the History of War*, by P. Jones, M. Willcock, and G. Wright. London, 2005.
- Ameis, K. F. and C. Hentze, eds. 1882. *Homers Ilias für den Schulgebrauch erklärt*, 2nd edn. Leipzig.
- Andersson, T. M. 1976. *Early Epic Scenery: Homer, Virgil, and the Medieval Legacy*. Ithaca, NY.
- Andrewes, A. 1961. "Phratries in Homer." *Hermes* 89: 129–40.
- Arend, W. 1933. *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer*. Berlin.
- Armstrong, C. B. 1969. "The Casualty Lists in the Trojan War." *Greece and Rome* 16: 30–31.
- Armstrong, J. I. 1958. "The Arming Motif in the 'Iliad'." *American Journal of Philology* 79: 337–54.
- Asper, M. 1997. *Onomata allotria: Zur Genese, Struktur und Funktion poetologischer Metaphern bei Kallimachos*. Hermes Einzelschriften 75. Stuttgart.
- Arthur, M. B. 1981. "The Divided World of *Iliad* vi." In *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. H. Foley. New York: 19–44.
- Auerbach, E. 1953. "Odysseus' Scar." In *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W. Trask. Princeton: 3–23.
- Baddeley, A. 1994. "The Magical Number Seven: Still Magic after All These Years?" *Psychological Review* 10: 353–56.
- Balutova, B. 1979. *Spatial Complex: A Study of Spatial Problems in Fiction Illustrated with Examples from Representative Works of English Short Fiction 1900–1925*. Warsaw.
- Bakker, E. J. 1993. "Discourse and Performance: Involvement, Visualization and 'Presence' in Homeric Poetry." *Classical Antiquity* 12: 1–29.
2005. *Pointing to the Past: From Formula to Performance in Homeric Poetics*. Cambridge, MA.
2008. "Epic Remembering." In *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World*, ed. E. A. Mackay. Leiden: 65–77.
- Bartolotta, A. 2002. *L'occhio della mente. Un'eredità indoeuropea nei poemi omerici*. Palermo.
- Basset, L. 1989. "L'augment et la distinction discours/récit dans l'*Iliade* et l'*Odysée*." *Études Homériques*. Lyon: 9–16.
- Becker, O. 1937. *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken*. Hermes Einzelschriften 4. Berlin.
- Beye, C. 1964. "Homeric Battle Narratives and Catalogues." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68: 345–73.
- Blum, H. 1969. *Die antike Mnemotechnik*. Spudasmata 15. Hildesheim.
- Boedeker, D., ed. 1998. *The World of Troy*. Special issue of *Classical World* 91.5.
- Bolzoni, L. 1995. *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, trans. J. Parzen. Toronto.
- Bonfazi, A. 2007. "Memory and Visualization in Homeric Discourse Markers." In *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World*, ed. E. A. Mackay. Leiden: 35–64.
- Brown, G. 1995. *Speakers, Listeners and Communication: Explorations in Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge.
- Brückner, A. 1912. "Das Schlachtfeld vor Troia." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 616–33.
- Bruford A. and N. Todd. 1996. "The Eye behind the Mouth: The Contribution of Visual Memory to Oral Storytelling." In *Orality, Literacy, and Modern Media*, ed. D. Scheunemann. Columbia, SC: 7–14.
- Buck, C. D. 1949. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. Chicago.
- Byre, C. S. 1994. "On the Description of the Harbor of Phorkys and the Cave of the Nymphs, *Odyssey* 13.96–112." *Americal Journal of Philology* 115: 1–13.
- Calame, C. 1991. "Quand dire c'est faire voir: l'évidence dans la rhétorique antique." *Études de Lettres* 4: 3–22.
- Carruthers, M. and J. M. Ziolkowski, eds. 2002. *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. Philadelphia.
- Cauer, P. 1914. "Der Verlauf der Kampfszenen im M und O der Ilias." *Rheinisches Museum* 69: 56–79.
- Clarke, K. 1999. *Between Geography and History*. Oxford.
- Clay, J. Strauss. 1983. *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey*. Princeton.
- 1994a. "The Dais of Death." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*: 124: 35–40.
- 1994b. "Sex, Drugs and . . . Poetry." In *Epic and Epoch: Essays on the Interpretation and History of a Genre*, ed. S. Oberhelman, V. Kelly, and R. Golsan. Lubbock: 40–48.
1995. "Agamemnon's Stance." *Philologus* 139: 72–75.

1999. "The Whip and Will of Zeus." *Literary Imagination* 1: 40–60.
2003. *Hesiod's Cosmos*. Cambridge.
2009. "How to Be a Hero." In *Ἀντφίλησις: Studies in Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature and Culture in Honour of John-Theophanes A. Papademetriou*, ed. E. Karamalengou and E. Makrygiani. Stuttgart: 30–38.
- Colosanti, G. 1999. "Il simposio in Omero." *Materiali e Discussioni* 43: 41–73.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge.
- Courtney, S., L. G. Ungeleider, K. Keil, and J. V. Haxby. 1996. "Object and Spatial Visual Working Memory Activate Separate Neural Systems in Human Cortex." *Cerebral Cortex* 6: 39–49.
- Cuillandre, J. 1944. *La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homérique en concordance avec la doctrine pythagorienne et avec la tradition celtique*. Paris.
- Culler, J. 1981. *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*. Ithaca, NY.
- Danek, G. 1988. *Studien zur Dolonie*. Wiener Studien Beiheft 12. Vienna.
1999. "Synchronisation von Handlungsträngen in Ilias 14. 1–40." In *Euphrosyne: Studies in Ancient Epic and its Legacy in Honor of Dimitris N. Maronitis*, ed. J. N. Kazazis and A. Rengakos. Stuttgart: 76–88.
2004. "Der Schiffskatalog der Ilias: Form und Funktion." In *Ad fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch*, ed. H. Hefner and G. Dobesch. Vienna: 59–72.
- Davies, M. 1986. "Nestor's Advice in *Iliad* 7." *Eranos* 84: 69–75.
- Davison, J. A. 1965. "Thucydides, Homer and the Achaeans Wall." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 6: 5–28.
- Delebeque, E. 1958. *Télémaque et la structure de l'Odyssée*. Aix-en-Provence.
1970. *La construction de l'Odyssée*. Paris.
- Denis, M., M.-P. Daniel, S. Fontaine, and F. Pazzaglia. 2001. "Language, Spatial Cognition and Navigation." In *Imagery, Language, and Visuo-spatial Thinking*, ed. M. Denis, R. L. Logie, C. Cornoldi, M. de Vega, and J. Engelkamp. Philadelphia: 137–60.
- Detienne, M. 1965. "En Grèce archaïque: géométrie, politique et société." *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 20: 425–40.
1967. *Les maîtres de la vérité en Grèce archaïque*. Paris.
- Dillery, J. 2004. "The θεατής θεῶν: Josephus C. Ap. 1.232 (*FGRHist* 609 F 10) Reconsidered." *Classical Journal* 99: 239–52.
2008. "The θεατής: More Texts, Further Thoughts," *Classical Journal* 103: 243–63.
- Dodds, E. R. 1951. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley.
- Downs, R. M. and D. Stea. 1977. *Maps in Mind: Reflections on Cognitive Mapping*. New York.

- Dubel, S. 1997. "Ekphrasis et enargeia: la description antique comme parcours." In *Dire l'évidence (philosophie et rhétorique antiques)*, ed. C. Lévy and L. Pernot. Paris: 249–64.
- Durante, M. 1968. "Epea pteroenta. Die Rede als 'Weg' in griechischen und vedischen Bildern." In *Indogermanische Dichtersprache*, ed. R. Schmitt. Darmstadt: 242–60.
- Edwards, M. W. 1980. "The Structure of Homeric Catalogues." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 110: 81–105.
1991. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. v: Books 17–20. Cambridge.
1992. "Homer and Oral Tradition: The Type-Scene." *Oral Tradition* 7: 248–330.
- Elliger, W. 1975. *Die Darstellung der Landschaft in der griechischen Dichtung*. Berlin.
- Esrock, E. J. 1994. *The Reader's Eye: Visual Imaging as Reader Response*. Baltimore.
- Fenik, B. 1968. *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Descriptions*. Hermes Einzelschriften 21. Wiesbaden.
1986. *Homer and the Nibelungenlied: Comparative Studies in Epic Style*. Cambridge, MA.
- Ferguson, F. and M. Hegarty. 1994. "Properties of Cognitive Maps Constructed from Texts." *Memory and Cognition* 22: 455–73.
- Finkelberg, M. 2002. "The Sources of Iliad 7." *Colby Quarterly* 38: 151–62.
- Fleischman, S. 1990. *Tense and Narrativity: From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction*. Austin.
- Ford, A. 1992. *Homer: The Poetry of the Past*. Ithaca, NY.
2002. *The Origins of Criticism*. Princeton.
- Foley, J. M. 1999. *Homer's Traditional Art*. University Park, PA.
- Frank, J. 1963. "Spatial Form in Modern Literature." In *The Widening Gyre: Crisis and Mastery in Modern Literature*. New Brunswick, NJ: 3–62.
- Fränkel, H. 1921. *Die homerischen Gleichnisse*. Göttingen.
1968. "Die Zeitauffassung in der archaischen griechischen Literatur." In *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*. Munich: 1–22.
- Friedrich, P. 1974. "On Aspect Theory and Homeric Aspect." *International Journal of American Linguistics*. Memoirs 28, 40: 1–44.
- Friedrich, W. H. 1956. *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias*. Göttingen; Eng. trans.: *Wounding and Death in the Iliad*, by G. Wright and P. Jones. London, 2003.
1982. "Von homerischen Gleichnissen und ihren Schicksalen," *Antike und Abendland* 28: 103–30.
- Gehrke, H.-J. 1998. "Die Geburt der Erdkunde aus dem Geiste der Geometrie. Überlegungen zur Entstehung und zur Frühgeschichte der wissenschaftlichen Geographie bei den Griechen." In *Gattungen*

- wissenschaftlicher Literatur in der Antike, ed. W. Kullmann, J. Althoff, and M. Asper. *Scripta Oralia* 95. Tübingen: 163–92.
- Genette, G. 1980. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay on Method*, trans. J. E. Lewin. Ithaca, NY.
- Giannisi, P. 1997. “Chant et cheminement en Grèce archaïque.” *Quaderni di Storia* 46: 133–41.
2006. *Récits des voies: chant et cheminement en Grèce archaïque*. Grenoble.
- Giovannini, A. 1969. *Études historiques sur les origines du catalogue des vaisseaux*. Bern.
- Goldmann, S. 1989. “Statt Totenklage Gedächtnis: Zur Erfindung der Mnemotechnik durch Simonides von Keos.” *Poetica* 21: 43–66.
- Graziosi, B. and J. Haubold. 2005. *The Resonance of Epic*. London.
- Griffin, J. 1980. *Homer on Life and Death*. Oxford.
- Hainsworth, J. B. 1966. “Joining Battle in Homer.” *Greece and Rome* 13: 158–66.
1988. *A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey*, vol. 1, ed. A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth. Oxford.
1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. III. Cambridge.
- Hellmann, O. 2000. *Die Schlachtszenen der Ilias*. Hermes Einzelschriften 83. Stuttgart.
- Hellwig, B. 1964. *Raum und Zeit im homerischen Epos*. Spudasmata 2. Hildesheim.
- Hope Simpson, R. and J. V. Lazenby. 1970. *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer’s Iliad*. Oxford.
- Jacob, C. 1990. “Le voyage et le palimpseste: les parcours de la lecture dans un manuel de géographie antique.” *Littérales* 7: 31–49.
- Jacoby, F. 1944. “*Patrios nomos*: State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Keramaikos.” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 64: 37–66.
- Jakobson, R. 1981. *Selected Writings: Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry*, ed. S. Rudy. The Hague.
- Janko, R. 1992. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. IV. Cambridge.
- Janni, P. 1984. *La Mappa e il periplo: cartografia antica e spazio odologico*. Rome.
- Jarvella, R. J. and W. Klein, eds. 1982. *Speech, Place, and Action: Studies in Deixis and Related Topics*. Chichester.
- Jong, I. de. 1985. “Eurykleia and Odysseus’ Scar: *Odyssey* 19. 393–466.” *Classical Quarterly* 35: 517–18.
1987. *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*. London.
- Jong, I. de and R. Nünlist. 2004. “From Bird’s Eye View to Close-up.” In *Antike Literatur in neuer Deutung. Festschrift für Joachim Latacz*, ed. A. Bierl, A. Schmitt, and A. Willi. Leipzig: 63–83.
- Jonson, B. 1976. *Timber, or, Discoveries*. Syracuse.

- Jordan, H. 1905. *Der Erzählungsstil in den Kampfscenen der Ilias*. Breslau.
- Jousse, M. 1925. *Le Style oral rythmique et mnémotechnique chez les verbo-moteurs*. Paris; Eng. trans.: *The Oral Style*, by E. Sienart and R. Whitaker. New York, 1990.
- Kahane, A. 2005. *Diachronic Dialogues: Authority and Continuity in Homer and the Homeric Tradition*. Lanham, MD.
- Kakrides, J. T. 1949. *Homeric Researches*. Lund.
- Kilmartin, M. 1975. “A Rhetorical Figure in Latin Historical Style.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 105: 99–121.
- Kirk, G. S. 1968. “War and the Warrior in the Homeric Poems.” In *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne*, ed. J.-P. Vernant. Paris: 93–117.
1985. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. I. Cambridge.
1990. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. II. Cambridge.
- Klein, W. 1982. “Local Deixis in Route Directions.” In *Speech, Place, and Action*, ed. R. Jarvella and W. Klein. Chichester: 161–82.
- Krischer, T. 1971. *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik*. Munich.
- Labrie, V. 1981. “The Itinerary as a Possible Memorized Form of the Folktale.” *Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore* 37: 89–102.
1983. “Cartography and Graphic Analysis of the Physical Universe in the Odyssey Story.” *Journal of Folklore Research* 20: 219–42.
- Lackner, M., ed. 1986. *Das vergessene Gedächtnis: Die jesuitische mnemotechnische Abhandlung Xiguo Jifa: Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Stuttgart.
- Latacz, J. 1977. *Kampfparänese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias, bei Kallinos und Tyrtaios*. Zetemata 66. Munich.
2001. *Troia und Homer. Der Weg zur Lösung eines alten Rätsels*. Munich; Eng. trans.: *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*. Oxford, 2004.
- Lateiner, D. 1995. *The Sardonic Smile: Nonverbal Behavior in Homeric Epic*. Ann Arbor.
- Leach, E. 1988. *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome*. Princeton.
- Leaf, W. 1900–2. *The Iliad*. 2 vols. London.
- London, J. E. 2005. *Soldiers and Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity*. New Haven.
- Lessing, G. F. n. d. *Laokoon*. In *Lessings Werke in einem Band*, ed. G. Stenzel. Salzburg.
- Létoeblon, F. 1985. *Il allait, pareil à la nuit*. Paris.
- Levelt, W. 1982. “Cognitive Styles in the Use of Spatial Direction Terms.” In *Speech, Place, and Action*, ed. R. Jarvella and W. Klein. Chichester: 251–68.
- Lewin, K. 1934. “Der Richtungsbegriff in der Psychologie. Der spezielle und allgemeine hodologische Raum.” *Psychologische Forschung* 19: 249–99

- = *Kurt-Lewin-Werkausgabe*, vol. iv: *Feldtheorie*, ed. C.-F. Graumann. Stuttgart, 1982: 315–25.
- Linde, C. and W. Labov. 1975. “Spatial Networks as a Site of Language and Thought.” *Language* 51: 924–39.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990. “Around the Krater.” In *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. O. Murray. Oxford: 196–209.
- Lord, A. B. 1960. *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, MA.
- Lowe, N. J. 2000. *The Classical Plot*. Oxford.
- Luce, J. V. 2003. “The Case for Historical Significance in Homer’s Landmarks at Troia.” In *Troia and the Troad: Scientific Approaches*, ed. G. A. Wagner, E. Pernicka, and H.-P. Uepermann. Berlin: 9–30.
- Lynch, K. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Boston.
- Lynn-George, M. 1988. *Epos: Word, Narrative and the Iliad*. London.
- Macdonald, D. A. 1978. “A Visual Memory.” *Scottish Studies* 22: 1–26.
1981. “Some Aspects of Visual and Verbal Memory in Gaelic Storytelling.” *Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore* 37: 117–24.
- Mack, J. 2003. *Museum of the Mind*. London.
- Mackie, H. 1997. “Song and Storytelling: An Odyssean Perspective.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 127: 77–95.
- Maitland, J. 1999. “Poseidon, Walls, and Narrative Complexity in the Homeric *Iliad*.” *Classical Quarterly* 49: 2–9.
- Manieri, A. 1998. *L’immagine poetica nella teoria degli antichi: phantasia ed enargeia*. Rome.
- Mannsperger, B. 1993. “Das Dardanische Tor in der Ilias.” *Studia Troica* 3: 193–99.
1995. “Die Funktion des Grabens am Schiffslager der Achäer.” *Studia Troica* 5: 343–56.
1998. “Die Mauer am Schiffslager der Achäer.” *Studia Troica* 8: 287–304.
2001. “Das Stadtbild von Troia in der Ilias.” In *Troia: Traum und Wirklichkeit*. Darmstadt: 81–83.
- Maronitis, D. N. 2004. *Homeric Megathemes: War-Homilia-Homecoming*, trans. D. Connoley. Lanham, MD.
- Martin, R. 1989. *The Language of Heroes*. Ithaca, NY.
1997. “Similes and Performance.” In *Written Voices, Spoken Signs*, ed. E. Bakker and A. Kahane. Cambridge, MA: 138–66.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1958–80. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Heidelberg.
- Mehmel, F. 1940. *Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius: Untersuchungen über die Zeitvorstellung in der antiken epischen Erzählung*. Hamburg.
- Meijering, R. 1987. *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia*. Groningen.

- Mellink, M., ed. 1986. *Troy and the Trojan War: A Symposium Held at Bryn Mawr College October 1984*. Bryn Mawr, PA.
- Merkelbach, R. 1960. “Aiante.” *Glotta* 38: 268–70.
- Mette, H. 1960. “‘Schauen’ und ‘Staunen’.” *Glotta* 39: 49–71.
- Mey, O. 1926. *Das Schlachtfeld vor Troia: Eine Untersuchung*. Berlin.
- Miller, G. A. 1956. “The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on our Capacity for Processing Information.” *Psychological Review* 63: 81–97.
- Minchin, E. 2001a. *Homer and the Resources of Memory: Some Applications of Cognitive Theory to the Iliad and the Odyssey*. Oxford.
- 2001b. “Similes in Homer: Image, Mind’s Eye, and Memory.” In *Speaking Volumes: Orality and Literacy in the Greek and Roman World*, ed. Janet Watson. Leiden: 25–52.
2008. “Spatial Memory and the Composition of the *Iliad*.” In *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World*, ed. E. A. Mackay. Leiden: 9–34.
- Morrison, J. V. 1994. “Thematic Inversion in the *Iliad*: The Greeks under Siege.” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 35: 209–27.
- Moulton, C. 1977. *Similes in the Homeric Poems*. Hypomnemata 49. Göttingen.
- Mueller, M. 1984. *The Iliad*. London.
- Mugler, C. 1960. “La lumière et la vision dans la poésie grecque,” *Revue des Études Grecques* 73: 40–73.
1964. *Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie optique des Grecs*. Paris.
- Müller, F. L. 1996. *Kritische Gedanken zur antiken Mnemotechnik und zum Auctor ad Herennium*. Stuttgart.
- Murray, O. 1994. “Nestor’s Cup and the Origins of the Greek Symposion.” *AION* (archeol) n.s.: 47–54.
- Nabokov, V. 1980. *Lectures on Literature*, ed. F. Bowers. New York.
- Nagy, G. 1979. *The Best of the Achaeans*. Baltimore.
- 1990a. *Pindar’s Homer*. Baltimore.
- 1990b. “Séma and Nóēsis: The Hero’s Tomb and the ‘Reading’ of Symbols in Homer and Hesiod.” In *Greek Mythology and Poetics*. Ithaca: 202–22.
2004. *Homer’s Text and Language*. Urbana.
- Nannini, S. 2003. *Analogia e polarità in similitudine: Paragoni iliadici e odissiaci a confronto*. Amsterdam.
- Niens, C. 1987. *Struktur und Dynamik in den Kampfszenen der Ilias*. Heidelberg.
- Nünlist, R. 1998. “Der Homerische Erzähler und das sogenannte Sukzessionsgesetz.” *Museum Helveticum* 55: 2–8.
- Obbink, D. 2001. “The Genre of Plataea.” In *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire*, ed. D. Boedeker and D. Sider. Oxford: 65–85.

- Olson, S. D. 1995. *Blood and Iron: Stories and Storytelling in Homer's Odyssey*. Leiden.
- Page, D. 1959. *History and the Homeric Iliad*. Berkeley.
- Pöhlmann, E. 1999. "Die Topographie der Troas in der Ilias: Fiktion und Realität." *Würzburger Jahrbücher für Altertumswissenschaft* 23: 25–34.
- Prévot, A. 1935. "Verbes grecs relatifs à la vision et noms de l'œil," *Revue de Philologie* 9: 133–60, 233–79.
- Prier, R. A. 1989. *Thauma idesthai: The Phenomenology of Sight and Appearance in Archaic Greek*. Tallahassee.
- Pritchett, W. K. 1985. *The Greek State at War*, vol. iv. Berkeley.
- Purves, A. 2010. *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative*. New York.
- Rabel, R. 1991. "Agamemnon's Iliad." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 32: 103–17.
- Rambaud, M. 1974. "L'espace dans le récit césarien." In *Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique: mélanges offerts à Roger Dion*, ed. R. Chevallier. Paris: 111–29.
- Reece, S. 1995. "The Three Circuits of the Suitors: A Ring Composition in the *Odyssey* 17–22." *Oral Tradition* 10: 207–29.
- Reichel, R. 1994. *Fernbeziehungen in der Ilias*. Scripta Oralia 62. Tübingen.
- Reinhardt, K. 1961. *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter*. Göttingen.
- Rengakos, A. 1995. "Zeit und Gleichzeitigkeit in den homerischen Epen." *Antike und Abendland* 41: 1–33.
- Ribbeck, W. 1880. "Μάχης ἐπ' ὀριστερά." *Rheinisches Museum* 35: 610–26.
- Richardson, N. 1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. vi. Cambridge.
- Richardson, S. 1990. *The Homeric Narrator*. Nashville.
- Risch, E. 1985. "Homerisch ἘΝΝΕΠΩ, Iakonisch ἘΦΕΝΕΠΟΝΤΙ und die alte Erzählprosa." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 60: 1–9.
- Romagno, D. 2005. *Il perfetto omerico*. Milan.
- Rossi, A. 2004. *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*. Ann Arbor.
- Rouveret, A. 1989. *Histoire et imaginaire de la peinture ancienne*. Rome.
- Rubin, D. 1995. *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rhymes*. New York.
- Ruijgh, C. J. 2004. "À propos des nouvelles tablettes de Thèbes 1." *Mnemosyne* 57: 1–44.
- Russo, J. A. and B. Simon. 1968. "Homeric Psychology and the Oral Epic Tradition." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29: 483–98.
1976. "Is 'Oral' or 'Aural' Composition the Cause of Homer's Formulaic Style?" In *Oral Literature and the Formula*, ed. B. Stoltz and R. Shannon. Ann Arbor: 31–54.
- Ryan, M.-L. 2003. "Cognitive Maps and the Construction of Narrative Space." In *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. D. Herman. Stanford: 214–42.

- Samuel, R. 1994. *Theatres of Memory*. 2 vols. London.
- Sappok, C. 1970. *Die Bedeutung des Raumes für die Struktur des Erzählwerks*. Munich.
- Schadewaldt, W. 1965a. *Von Homers Welt und Werk*. Stuttgart.
- 1965b. "Hektor und Andromache." In *Von Homers Welt und Werk*. Stuttgart: 207–33.
1966. *Iliasstudien*. Berlin.
- Schröter, R. 1950. *Die Aristie als Grundform homerischer Dichtung*. Marburg.
- Schuchhardt, C. 1928. "Die Befestigung des achäischen Schiffslagers vor Troja. In *Festschrift zur Vierhundertjahrfeier des alten Gymnasiums zu Bremen 1528–1928*. Bremen: 422–33.
- Scodel, R. 2002. "Homeric Signs and Flashbulb Memory." In *Epea & Grammata: Oral and Written Communication in Ancient Greece*, ed. I. Worthington and J. M. Foley. Leiden: 99–116.
2008. "Zielinski's Law Reconsidered." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 138: 107–25.
- Scott, W. C. 1974. *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile*. *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 28. Leiden.
- Scully, S. 1990. *Homer and the Sacred City*. Ithaca, NY.
- Seeck, G. 1998. "Homerisches Erzählen und das Problem der Gleichzeitigkeit." *Hermes* 126: 131–44.
- Shah P. and A. Miyake. 2005. *The Cambridge Handbook of Visuospatial Thinking*. Cambridge.
- Shive, D. 1996. "Ουτρον ἔξ Ἀισχύλου σαφνίζειν: Iliad 7. 332–338 and Agamemnon 433–455." *Phoenix* 50: 189–96.
- Simondon, M. 1982. *La memoire et l'oubli dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à la fin du Ve siècle avant J.-C.* Paris.
- Singor, H. W. 1991. "Nine against Troy." *Mnemosyne* 44: 3–39.
1992. "The Achaeans Wall and the Seven Gates of Thebes." *Hermes* 120: 401–II.
1995. "Eni Prôtoisi Machesthai: Some Remarks on the Iliadic Image of the Battlefield." In *Homeric Questions*, ed. J. P. Crielard. Amsterdam: 183–200.
- Slatkin, L. 2007. "Tragic Visualizing in the *Iliad*." In *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature, Essays in Honour of Froma Zeitlin*, ed. C. Kraus, S. Goldhill, H. P. Foley, and J. Elsner. Oxford: 19–34.
- Small, J. P. 1997. *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Antiquity*. London.
- Snell, B. 1924. *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonische Philosophie*. Philologische Untersuchungen 29. Berlin.
1953. *The Discovery of the Mind*, trans. T. Rosenmeyer. Cambridge, MA.
- Spence, J. D. 1984. *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. New York.

- Stanley, K. 1993. *The Shield of Homer*. Princeton.
- Stein Hoff, H.-H. 1964. *Die Darstellung gleichzeitiger Geschehnisse im mittelhochdeutschen Epos*. Munich.
- Sternberg, M. 1978. *Expositional Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction*. Baltimore.
- Taplin, O. 1992. *Homeric Soundings: The Shaping of the Iliad*. Oxford.
- Telegdi, Zs. 1977. "Zur Bedeutungsentwicklung von ΣΗΜΑ, ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ und ΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25: 377–382.
- Thornton, A. 1984. *Homer's Iliad: Its Composition and the Motif of Supplication*. Hypomnemata 81. Göttingen.
- Trachsler, A. 2007. *La Troade: un paysage et son héritage littéraire. Les commentaires antiques sur la Troade, leur genèse et leur influence*. Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 28. Basel.
- Troia: Traum und Wirklichkeit*. 2001. Exhibition catalogue. Darmstadt.
- Tsagarakis, O. 1969. "The Achaean Wall and the Homeric Question." *Hermes* 97: 129–35.
1988. *Form and Content in Homer*. Wiesbaden.
- Ulf, C., ed. 2003. *Der Neue Streit um Troia: Eine Bilanz*. Munich.
- Van der Valk, M. L. 1963. *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*. 2 vols. Leiden.
- van Wees, H. 1986. "Leaders of Men? Military Organization in the *Iliad*." *Classical Quarterly* 36: 285–303.
- 1994a. "The Homeric Way of War: The *Iliad* and the Hoplite Phalanx (1)." *Greece and Rome* 41: 1–18.
- 1994b. "The Homeric Way of War: The *Iliad* and the Hoplite Phalanx (2)." *Greece and Rome* 41: 131–55.
1997. "Homeric Warfare." In *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. I. Morris and B. Powell. Leiden: 668–93.
- Vasaly, A. 1993. *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*. Berkeley.
- Vega, M. de, M. Cocude, M. Denis, M. J. Rodrigo, and H. D. Zimmer. 2001. "The Interface between Language and Visuo-spatial Representations." In *Imagery, Language and Visuo-spatial Thinking*, ed. M. Denis, R. L. Logie, C. Cornoldi, M. de Vega, and J. Engelkamp. Philadelphia: 109–36.
- Vernant, J. P. 1965. "Aspects mythiques de la mémoire et du temps." In *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*. Paris: 80–107.
- Visser, E. 1987. *Homerische Versifikationstechnik: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*. Frankfurt.
1995. *Homers Katalog der Schiffe*. Stuttgart.
- Wackernagel, J. 1877. "Zum homerischen Dual," *Kuhns Zeitschrift* 23: 302–10 = *Kleine Schriften*. Göttingen (1953): 538–46.

- Walker, A. D. 1993. "Enargeia in Greek Historiography." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 123: 353–77.
- Webb, R. 1997. "Mémoire et imagination: les limites de l'enargeia dans la théorie rhétorique grecque." In *Dire l'évidence (philosophie et rhétorique antiques)*, ed. C. Lévy and L. Pernot. Paris: 229–48.
- Weçowski, M. 2002. "Homer and the Origins of the Symposium." In *Omero tremila anni dopo*, ed. F. Montinari. Rome: 625–37.
- West, M. L. 1969. "The Achaean Wall." *Classical Philology* 19: 255–60.
- Whitman, C. H. 1958. *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*. Cambridge, MA.
- Whitman, C. H. and R. Scodel. 1981. "Sequence and Simultaneity in *Iliad N, Ξ, and O*." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 85: 1–15.
- Willcock, M. M. 1977. "Ad Hoc Invention in the *Iliad*." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 81: 41–53.
1978. *Homer: Iliad 1–12*. London.
1984. *Homer: Iliad 13–24*. London.
1987. "The Final Scenes of *Iliad xvii*." In *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry*, ed. J. M. Bremer, I. de Jong, and J. Kalff. Amsterdam: 185–94.
1993. "The Fighting in the *Iliad*," *ΣΠΟΝΔΕΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΟΜΗΡΟ: από τα Πρακτικά του ζ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια (2–5 Σεπτεμβρίου 1990)*. Ithaca: 141–47.
- Wilson, D. 2002. *Ransom, Revenge, and Heroic Identity in the Iliad*. Cambridge.
- Winkler, M. 2007. *Troy: From Homer's Iliad to Hollywood Epic*. Malden, MA.
- Winter, F. 1956. *Die Kampfszenen in den Gesängen M N O der Ilias*. Frankfurt.
- Woodman, A. J. 1989. "Virgil the Historian: *Aeneid* 8. 626–62 and Livy." In *Studies in Latin Literature and its Tradition in Honour of C. O. Brink*, ed. J. Diggle, J. B. Hall, and H. D. Jocelyn. Cambridge Philological Society Supplement 15: 132–45.
- Yamagata, N. 1989. "The Apostrophe in Homer as Part of Oral Technique." *Bulletin of the Institute for Classical Studies* 36: 91–103.
- Yates, F. A. 1966. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago.
- Zanker, G. 1981. "Enargeia in the Ancient Criticism of Poetry." *Rheinisches Museum* 124: 297–311.
- Zielinski, T. 1899–1901. "Die Behandlung gleichzeitiger Ereignisse im antiken Epos." *Philologus Suppl.* 8.3: 407–49.
- Zoran, G. 1984. "Towards a Theory of Space in Narrative." *Poetics Today* 5: 309–35.

Index locorum

Aelius Aristides		2.484	116	11.15–55	9 n. 18	13.387–93	74
<i>Smyr. pol.</i>		2.484–92	16	11.166–68	104	13.492–93	7 n. 15
17.8	25 n. 29	2.788	40	11.166–70	104	13.660–72	74
		2.813–14	119	11.371–72	104	13.673	74
Aristotle		3.10–11	7 n. 15	11.498	60	13.674–76	74
<i>De anima</i>		3.121–244	31	11.521–30	60	13.674–75	75
3.3.427b	8 n. 17	3.125–28	7	11.524	60	13.676	73
<i>Poetics</i>		3.116	31	11.533–95	60	13.833–37	79
1459b	31 n. 49, 63 n. 57	3.245	31	11.599–601	106	13.834	78
fr. 162	57 n. 37	3.259–66	31	11.600–601	6	Book 14	76–81
		3.310–13	31	11.807–808	43	14.1–134	72
Cicero		3.328–38	9 n. 18	Book 12	56–68	14.14–15	77
<i>De orat.</i>		4.132–40	4	12.17–33	56	14.24–26	79
2.352–54	110 n. 36	4.250–326	49	12.23	58	14.30–36	42, 80
2.359	111 n. 38	4.275–80	7 n. 15	12.35–37	59	14.55–60	77
		4.327–64	49	12.87–107	60	14.64–132	80
Dionysius of		4.365–421	49	12.93–100	73	14.74–102	42
Halicarnassus		4.539–44	24	12.116–17	74	14.147–50	78
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>		5.85–87	23	12.118	61	14.153–58	4, 80
II.1.3	25	5.304	14 n. I	12.175–81	62–63	14.225–30	98
		5.788–90	105	12.176	22	14.361–77	81
Eustathius		6.80–115	39	12.181	64	14.393–401	78
506, 6–8	25 n. 28	6.238–40	39	12.195–99	64	14.409–39	81
		6.314–317	40	12.256–89	64	Book 15	81–86
Herodotus		6.357–58	23	12.290–93	65	15.80–82	8
2.29	99 n. 8	6.391–93	40	12.310–28	66	15.271–305	82
4.36	98 n. 5	7.58–62	3	12.342–63	66	15.360	82
5.49	98	7.325–43	58	12.383	14 n. I	15.367–405	82
		7.345–46	40	12.421–26	21	15.381–85	83
Hesiod		7.451–52	58	12.430–31	66	15.390–404	72
<i>Theogony</i>		8.41–52	4	12.433–36	21	15.390–92	83
55	18 n. 9	8.553–61	7	12.449	14 n. I	15.405–591	83
102–103	18 n. 9	9.186–89	7	12.469–71	67	15.566–712	83–84
		9.347–50	106	12.471	78	15.697–98	24
Homer		10.1–179	48	Book 13	68	15.718–25	85
<i>Iliad</i>		10.13	8	13.13–14	4	15.736–37	84
1.1	15	11.5–9	43	13.17–35	98	Book 16	86–90
1.272	14 n. I	11.81–83	4	13.39–42	69	16.87–96	88
				13.49–54	69	16.130–54	9 n. 18
				13.540	72	16.255–56	6
				13.83–135	69–71	16.278–398	86–88
				13.91–93	73	16.394–98	87
				13.126–28	25	16.419–553	88–89
				13.127–28	73	16.638–40	24
				13.149–156	71	16.684–88	89
				13.169	72	16.692–94	20
				13.193	75	16.865–67	91
				13.209	72	Book 17	90–95
				13.246–47	72	17.89–124	91
				13.308–309	72	17.116	91
				13.343–44	25, 73	17.140–68	91
				13.384–93	61	17.274–318	92

<i>Iliad</i> (cont.)		21.141–269 22.346–47	113–14 116
17.354–401	92–93		
17.398–99	25		
17.432–542	94		
17.543–761	94	172–73	11
18.478–613	10	188–93	6 n. 12
18.495–96	9		
18.502	9		
18.514–15	9		
18.523–24	9		
18.556–57	9		
18.603–604	9		
19.40–214	107		
19.42–46	44		
19.77	44		
19.140–44	44		
19.173–74	45		
19.249	45		
19.309–12	107		
19.364–424	9 n. 18		
19.368	11		
19.373–80	9		
20.144–52	5		
20.145–52	107		
20.287	14 n. 1		
21.222–367	107–108		
22.157–66	5		
22.304–305	23 n. 24		
23.331	119		
24.322–717	108–109		
24.349	104		
<i>Odyssey</i>			
1.1	15	4.541	25 n. 28
1.6	15	12.199	30 n. 47
1.10	15, 116	12.461–70	68 n. 73
4.186–202	17 n. 5	12.468	68 n. 73
6.102–106	7 n. 15	13.681	75 n. 89
7.86–132	100 n. 10	14.35	2 n. 4
8.222	14 n. 1	23.262	6
8.479–81	116	23.467	6
8.73–74	115	23.721	6
10.539	117		
13.94–112	100		
17.291–327	108		
17.365	113		
17.458–65	113		
18.394–96	113		
19.386–470	33		
20.299–321	113		
		Theocritus	118 n. 62
		16.42–46	
		Thucydides	
		1.11.1	56 n. 36
		Vita Homeri	
		6.45–51	11

Subject index

- Achaean Wall 56–68, 76–79, 101
gates of 61 n. 50
- Achilles
arming of 9–11
itinerary of 106–108
- action, simultaneous vs. sequential 31–33, 68, 76, 78–79, 89 n. 114
- Agamemnon
apology of 44–45
defeatism of 80
- Anaximander 98
apostrophe 19–21
of Patroclus 20–21
aspect, verbal 63–64, 67 n. 69, 70
- Auerbach, E. 33–34
augment, verbal 19 n. 12
- battle by the ships 72, 80, 81–86
- blindness of Homer 11–12
- Brown, L. T. 111 n. 39
- Calvino, Italo 110
- camp, Greek 41
configuration of 48–51
- camp, of Odysseus 43
- Catalogue of Ships 22, 35, 117 n. 59
as itinerary 117
invocation to 16
- Catalogue of Trojans 118
- center of battle 61, 69–71
- center, “to meson” 43
- contingents, Trojan 71, 73, 74, 75
- Dardanian Gate 38, 105, 105 n. 27
- deixis 33, 45, 55, 66, 79, 96
- demi-gods, *hemitheoi* 21, 58
- Demodocus 18, 116
- distance, epic 22–23
- Doloneia 48–49
- enargeia 6, 22, 29 n. 42, 29–30, 33
- endexia, epidexia 113 n. 47
- Epipoleisis 49, 72
- Genette, G. 34 n. 55
gods as spectators 3–6, 63, 73, 107
- harbor of Phorcys 117
- Hector, itinerary of 39–41
- “historical present,” absence of 18–19
- Ilium, geography of 38
see also Troy
- itinerary, narrative as 27, 112
- Jonson, Ben 96
- kleos* 58
- La Fontaine, J. de 110 n. 36
- lanthanō* 119
- left of the battle 45, 60, 61, 71, 91, 93, 94, 103
- Lessing, G. E. 29
- Lewin, K. 97
- Livius Andronicus 116
- mapping, cognitive 102
see also visual imagery
- Márquez, G. 101 n. 18
- memory 17 n. 5, 109
- mimneskō* 16, 18, 18 n. 9, 119
- mnemonics 28, 110, 119
see also memory
- Muses 15–18, 26, 62

- Nabokov, V. 27, 106 n. 31
 narrative, cinematic character 36, 65 n. 63,
 66 n. 68, 71
 see also panorama
 narrative, juxtaposition of 35
 Nestor, excessive drinking of 77
- Odysseus' scar 33–34
Odyssey 18
- palace
 of Alcinous 117
 of Odysseus, seating order in 113–15
 of Priam 39
- panorama 42–43, 63, 66
- Parry, Milman 14, 28
- path of song 115–19
 see also itinerary, narrative as
- Patroclus
 battle over corpse of 90–95
 itinerary of 86–90
- Phemius 18, 116
- plain, Trojan 103–106
- Poseidon, itinerary of 69–70, 75
- Priam, itinerary of 108–109
- right of the battle 48, 73, 87, 88–89, 94,
 106
- ring composition 54, 95
- Sarpedon, position of 61, 73, 88–90
 see also right of the battle
- Scaean Gate 38, 41
- "scale of affection" 35
- Scamander 51, 103, 103 n. 25
 battle with 107–108
 ford of 103
- self-positioning, of narrator 43
- sema* 58, 58 n. 41, 118–19
- seven, magical number 91 n. 116
- shield of Achilles 34
 and spectators 9
 sound in 9
- similes 9–11, 21, 65
 internal observers in 7–8
- Simonides 110 n. 35, 118, 118 n. 61
- space
 cartographic 97, 99
 hodological 97–100
 see also itinerary, story as
- storytellers, traditional 26, 112–13
- Teichomachia* 56–68
 see also Achaean Wall
- Teichoskopia* 31–32, 36
- theatai* 6, 25
- theeshai* 2, 12
- time, manipulation of 35–36, 63–64
 see also action, simultaneous
- Trojan War, historicity of 53
- Troy 55
 as emotional geography 41
 plain of 51
 walls of 108
- type scenes of combat 54
- vision and knowledge 16 n. 4
- visual imagery, studies of 28 n. 40, 26–29,
 99, 99 n. 9, 101, 101 n. 18, 111
- warfare, Homeric 52–53
- Zielinski's "Law" 30–36, 76, 78–79, 92
 see also action, simultaneous

HOMER'S TROJAN THEATER

Space, Vision, and Memory in the Iliad

JENNY STRAUSS CLAY



4037
C498
2011

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521149488

© Jenny Strauss Clay 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Clay, Jenny Strauss.

Homer's Trojan theater / Jenny Strauss Clay.

p. cm.

Includes indexes.

ISBN 978-0-521-76277-9 (hardback)

1. Homer – Technique. 2. Poetics – History – To 1500. 3. Epic poetry, Greek – History and criticism – Theory, etc. I. Title.

PA4037.C498 2010

883'.01 – dc22 2010043703

ISBN 978-0-521-76277-9 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-14948-8 Paperback

In memory of Roger Breed Stein

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

Robert Frost