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978-1-107-00741-3 - Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women

Ioannis Ziogas

Excerpt

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## *Introduction*

### *Ovid as a Hesiodic poet*

Ovid's poetry resembles a polyphonic composition, except with all the voices for the score on one line. Every voice counts, and failing to listen to one means that our perception of his work is impaired. Hesiod is an essential instrument in the Ovidian orchestra, but the intertextual dialogue between the Ovidian and the Hesiodic corpus has been overlooked. This monograph aims to fill this gap.

For the purposes of this book, I focus on Hesiod as the poet of the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women*, two works which can be viewed as one since the *Catalogue* (also known as the *Ehoiai*)<sup>1</sup> is the sequel to the *Theogony*. Ovid seems to acknowledge this continuity since his *Metamorphoses* begins with Chaos, a poetic and cosmic beginning with an unmistakably Hesiodic origin, and continues with a catalogue of gods in love with mortal virgins, which is the *leitmotiv* of the *Catalogue of Women* (see Chapter 2).<sup>2</sup>

A Roman poet's revival of a legendary poet of archaic Greek epic does not occur in a literary vacuum, and my study takes into account the reception of Hesiod in Greece and Rome. Hesiod's poetry was a hotly disputed topic in the philosophical tradition of Xenophanes, Plato, Prodicus, and the Epicureans.<sup>3</sup> He could be either the father of scientific truth or the inventor

<sup>1</sup> Most scholars consider the *Catalogue of Women* pseudo-Hesiodic (see West 1985), although Janko 1982 and Dräger 1997 challenge this view. Since the problem of the *Catalogue*'s authorship does not concern my thesis, I call its author Hesiod without, however, taking any position on the authorship of the work. What is important for my approach is that the *Catalogue* and the *Megalai Ehoiai* were ascribed to Hesiod in antiquity. For the Hesiodic nature of the *Catalogue*, see Tsagalis 2009, 158–70.

<sup>2</sup> There is no book about Latin poetry and the *Catalogue of Women*. There are a few articles (Alfonsi 1949, on Propertius 2.3.51–4, and fr. 37 M–W; Pontani 2000, on Catullus 64 and the *Catalogue*; Hardie 2005, on Latin poetry and the *Catalogue*; R. Fletcher 2005, on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Hesiod's *Catalogue*) and various other brief remarks (e.g. Ludwig 1965, 74–6; Keith 2002, 250–1; Hollis 1970, 128–30). Farrell (forthcoming) is much anticipated.

<sup>3</sup> For the reception of Hesiod from the archaic until the Hellenistic period, see Koning 2010, an amazing study which I read a couple of weeks before I had to submit the final manuscript of this book to CUP. Koning deals with Hesiod as the poet of the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. For Hesiod

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of anthropomorphic gods in the ancient imagination. As a poet who dealt with peace instead of war and praised women instead of men, Hesiod was constantly pitted against Homer. From a philosophical, political, stylistic, and gendered perspective, Hesiod was Homer's big opponent. Drawing mainly but not exclusively on this epic rivalry, Hellenistic scholars and poets rediscover Hesiod and turn him into an emblematic figure of Alexandrian poetics.<sup>4</sup> From Alexandria Hesiod is introduced to Rome and features prominently in the poetry of Ennius, Lucretius, Catullus, and Vergil. These stages play a crucial role in assessing the metamorphosis of Hesiod in the poetry of Ovid. Far from isolating the two poets from intermediate traditions, my book examines the transformations of Hesiod from archaic Greece to early Imperial Rome.

This kind of detailed work can become a source-critical end in itself, so my aim is to synthesize, not to dissect, the dynamics of literary allusions and to follow an intertextual thread in order to examine its function in the fabric of Ovid's poetry. Thus, the importance of Hesiod in Ovid emerges from an intertextual depth. This depth does not evaluate accuracy, but embraces the permutations of diversity. Tendentious reading of literary traditions becomes a dynamic appropriation – the driving force of poetic creation.<sup>5</sup>

This is a study of reception, and literary reception is always, to some extent, a subjective interpretation of a tradition, if not intentional source-manipulation. However, one of the main aims of this book is to examine to what degree Hesiod's works gave rise to various interpretations of his poetry. My principle is that we can trace the reasons for several appropriations of Hesiod back to his corpus and we can actually learn a lot about his poetry in this way. In my view, one of the most fascinating aspects of intertextuality is that the study of a text's reception is not a one-way approach about the influence of a tradition on a later text, but an analysis of how two interrelated texts influence each other.

Because Hesiod became an influential symbol of poetic sophistication in the Hellenistic era, his reception in Latin literature has often been restricted to a closed network between Alexandria and Rome. True, Hesiodic poetry has been irrevocably modified by the Hellenistic factor, and Ovid is fully

and Plato, see Boys-Stones and Haubold 2010. For Philodemus and Hesiod's *Ehoiai*, see Obbink 2004.

<sup>4</sup> For Hesiod and Hellenistic poetry and scholarship, see mainly Wimmel 1960, 238–41; Kambylis 1965, 31–68; Reinsch-Werner 1976; Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 51–60; Schroeder 2006; Sistikou 2009; Koning 2010, 333–41.

<sup>5</sup> For tendentiousness as something *constitutive* of allusive writing and of the alluding poet's emplotment of his work in literary tradition, see Hinds 1998, 99–107, 123–44.

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aware of the Hellenistic Hesiod. But the Hesiod of the Hellenistic imagination does not rule out Ovid's knowledge of other trends in Hesiodic reception. What is more, it must not exclude Ovid's direct engagement with the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women*. Sara Myers is right to note that the influence of Hesiodic epic in Latin poetry is largely ignored and consequently an overly one-sided view of Roman poetics has developed that underplays the influence of the epic tradition.<sup>6</sup> It is an interesting paradox that the prominence of Hesiod in Alexandria eclipses his importance as an epic poet in Rome.

Let me give an example of what I think is a clear reference to the text of the *Catalogue* in Ovid. While Paris is in Sparta enjoying the hospitality of king Menelaus, he attempts to seduce Helen by sending her a love letter. This letter is Ovid's *Heroides* 16, in which Paris features as a passionate elegiac lover who uses his looks and wits in order to win the object of his desire. Having been appropriated in the discourse of Roman elegy,<sup>7</sup> Paris lures Menelaus' trophy wife with his physical and literary talents, combining persuasion with the alliance of mighty Aphrodite. In a rhetorical tour de force, the Trojan hero confesses that his passion for Helen was born before he even saw her:

te peto, quam pepigit lecto Venus aurea nostro;  
te prius optaui quam mihi nota fores;  
ante tuos animo uidi quam lumine uultus;  
prima tulit uulnus nuntia fama mihi.

*Her.* 16.35–8

I woo you, whom golden Venus promised for my bed. I desired you before you were known to me; I saw your features with my mind before I saw them with my eyes; rumor, bearer of news, was the first to wound me.

From an elegiac point of view, Paris' statement is peculiar. Instead of the Hellenistic and elegiac *topos* of 'love at first sight', we have here a case of 'love at no sight'. Despite Paris' unconventional statement, *nuntia fama* is a gesture towards the intertextual dimension of *Heroides* 16. Helen, Menelaus, and Paris are cast as a typical love triangle of Roman elegy, but they actually belong to the world of archaic Greek epic, signaled in part

<sup>6</sup> Myers 1994b, 7. She further notes that reference to Hesiod by the Roman poets is not necessarily always to be understood merely as an emblem for Callimachean or Alexandrian aesthetic ideals, but also as an invocation of the *Theogony* as a model for the grandest form of epic poetry (Myers 1994b, 9; cf. Farrell 1991, 317).

<sup>7</sup> Paris, for instance, employs the seduction strategies of the *Ars Amatoria* (see Langlois-Pezzeret 2008, 228–31; cf. Hintermeier 1993, 14; Kenney 1996, 5).

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by *Venus aurea* ('golden Venus'), the Latin translation of the unmistakably epic formula χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ('golden Aphrodite'). Ovid's Paris is in fact referring to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*:

ἰμείρων Ἑλένης πόσις ἔμμεναι ἡυκόμοιο,  
εἶδος οὐ τι ἰδών, ἀλλ' ἄλλων μῦθον ἀκούων.  
fr. 199.2–3 M–W

desiring to be the husband of the lovely-haired Helen, although he did not see her beauty, but hearing the story of others.

In his commentary, Edward Kenney notes the parallel between *Heroides* 16.37–8 and this fragment of the *Catalogue*,<sup>8</sup> but parallels cited in commentaries do little justice to Ovid's intertextual engagement with his sources. Interestingly, in an article published before his commentary, Kenney assumes a Hellenistic source between Hesiod and Ovid,<sup>9</sup> implicitly denying Ovid's direct knowledge of the *Catalogue*.

But why should we resort to non-extant and probably non-existent Hellenistic sources? It is better to examine whether Ovid's reference to the *Catalogue* is meaningful. The passage cited above belongs to the long episode of the wooing of Helen and describes one of her suitors. Likewise, Ovid's Paris presents himself as a suitor of Helen. And while Helen's suitors are a part of Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, Paris features in the *Heroides*, Ovid's own catalogue of women. Helen's *nuntia fama* is to be identified with the program of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*, an epic thematically centered on female renown. Paris appears to have read the *Catalogue*, in which the fame of Helen's beauty attracts the major Greek heroes. Helen's poetic renown makes him, like the suitors, desire her. The Hesiodic tradition absorbs Ovid's Paris into its world, so that the Trojan hero acts as if he were a suitor from the *Catalogue*. Contrary to the aspirations of an elegiac lover, Paris does not simply seek an illicit affair with a married woman. He wants and he will become Helen's husband (see Chapter 1).

Kenney's note of the parallel between Ovid and Hesiod's *Catalogue* is exceptional. More often than not, critics do not notice Latin poets' allusions to the *Catalogue* at all; or, if they encounter a story that has verbal and structural similarities with an *ehoie*, they prefer to postulate a lost Hellenistic poem or a mythographic handbook as Ovid's source.<sup>10</sup> As this is only an argument from silence, I wish to challenge it. In my view, the

<sup>8</sup> See Kenney 1996, *ad* 16.37–8.

<sup>9</sup> Kenney 1995, note 59.

<sup>10</sup> Schwartz 1960, routinely talks about lost Hellenistic sources when he encounters striking similarities between Ovid and the *Catalogue*. For Ovid's use of the mythographers, see Cameron 2004, 261–303; K. Fletcher 2005.

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works of the mythographers were the Wikipedia of ancient Rome. These handbooks were used as a crib and had little to do with the intricate poetics of literary reference, which are essential to understanding Latin poetry.<sup>11</sup> And even if we assume that some of Ovid's Hellenistic sources have not come down to us, this does not rule out Ovid's direct knowledge of the *Ehoiai*. Ovid is capable of engaging with multiple sources at the same time, and, as we shall see, he can use Callimachus and Vergil as a lens to Hesiod (see Chapters 3, 4, 5). Far from shedding doubt on Ovid's allusions to the *Catalogue*, intermediate sources contribute to the polyphony of Ovid's art of reference, making the intertextual dialogue between Ovid and Hesiod all the more intriguing.

Of course, Ovid was aware of the Hellenistic adaptations of *ehoie*-poetry.<sup>12</sup> Critics have discussed Ovid's references to Phanocles' *Erotes* and Hermesianax's *Leontion* as well as the use of *qualis* as a Latin variant of the *ehoie* formula,<sup>13</sup> but are less willing to examine Ovid's intertextual engagement with Hesiod's *Ehoiai*. Let me give an example of reading Ovid's references to *ehoie*-poetry not only against the background of the Hellenistic adaptations of Hesiodic catalogue poetry, but also against the background of the *Catalogue of Women* itself. In the beginning of *Amores* 1.10, Ovid gives us a catalogue of women, comparing Corinna with a number of heroines from Greek mythology who were carried off by their lovers (Paris, Jupiter, Neptune):

Qualis ab Eurota Phrygiis auecta carinis  
     coniugibus belli causa duobus erat,  
qualis erat Lede, quam plumis abditus albis  
     callidus in falsa lusit adulter aue,  
qualis Amymone siccis errauit in Argis,  
     cum premeret summi uerticis urna comas,  
talis eras, aquilamque in te taurumque timebam  
     et quicquid magno de Ioue fecit Amor.  
 nunc timor omnis abest animique resanuit error,

<sup>11</sup> Cameron 2004, 286, notes: "Ovid did not *depend* on mythographic handbooks . . . But (to repeat) they served him as guides rather than sources." (Cameron's emphasis).

<sup>12</sup> For the Hellenistic adaptations of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*, such as Nicaenetus' *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 2 Powell), the *Ἠοῖοι* of Sosicrates or Sostratos (*SH* 732), Hermesianax's *Leontion*, and Phanocles' *Erotes*, see Cameron 1995, 80–6; Rutherford 2000, 90; Hunter 2005, 259–65; Asquith 2005; Caspers 2006; Schroeder 2006, 288–90. For the *Ehoiai* in the Hellenistic tradition, see also Casanova 1979; for the Hellenistic tradition of Hesiodic *Kollektivgedichte* and Latin poetry, see Martini 1927, 168–94.

<sup>13</sup> For Ovid and Phanocles, see Segal 1972, 477; Barchiesi 2001, 56–7 with note 20; Gärtner 2008, 31–43. For Ovid's *Tr.* 1.6 and Hermesianax's *Leontion* as well as Antimachus' *Lyde* (a lost catalogue-poem), see Hinds 1999. For Ovid's use of *qualis* as a variant of the *ehoie* formula, see McKeown 1989, *ad Am.* 1.10.1–2; Hardie 2005, 292–4.

nec facies oculos iam capit ista meos. 10  
 cur mutatus sim quaeris? quia munera poscis.  
*Amores* 1.10.1–11

Such as was she who was carried from Eurotas on a Phrygian ship to be the cause of war between two husbands, such as was Leda, whom the cunning adulterer deceived in the guise of a bird concealed in white plumage, such as Amymone wandering through arid Argos, while an urn was pressing the hair on her head, such were you, I feared that the eagle and the bull would be after you, and whatever Amor made of great Jupiter. Now all my fear is gone and my straying mind has healed again, nor does your beauty seize my eyes any more. Why have I changed, you ask? Because you demand gifts.

Exemplary catalogues of women are common in Roman elegy, and Propertius 1.3.1–8 is most likely the main model of the passage cited above. Be that as it may, *qualis-talis* functions as a Hesiodic marker, activating Ovid’s reference to *ehoie*-poetry. Phanocles in his *Erotes*, a catalogue of homoerotic loves, used ἡ ὥς, Hermesianax in his *Leontion*, a catalogue of enamored poets and philosophers, various forms of οἷη,<sup>14</sup> and Sosicrates’ *Ῥοῖοι* suggests an oddly male version of the *ehoie* formula. Ovid’s *qualis* comes closer to ἡ οἷη than the playful Hellenistic adaptations of Hesiod’s formula, and the women of Ovid’s catalogue are to be identified with the heroines of the *Ehoiai*: the wooing of Helen precipitates the Trojan War at the end of the *Catalogue* (fr. 196–204 M–W; see Chapter 1), and Leda, Helen’s mother, also features in the Hesiodic fragments (fr. 23a.5–8 M–W). Poseidon had sexual intercourse with Amymone, a story attested in Hesiod as we learn from Philodemus.<sup>15</sup> Jupiter’s transformation into a bull refers to the abduction of Europa (cf. fr. 140–1 M–W), while his metamorphosis into an eagle is more enigmatic.<sup>16</sup> Ovid gives a catalogue of Hesiodic heroines, who are introduced with *qualis*, a formula with distinctly Hesiodic background.

<sup>14</sup> Orpheus: οἷην . . . Ἀργιόπτην Θρηῖσσαν fr. 7.1–2 Powell ‘Such as Thracian Argiope’; Sophocles: Ἀτθίς δ’ οἷα μέλισσα . . . fr. 7.57 Powell ‘And how the Attic bee . . .’; Philoxenus: οἷα τιναχθεῖς . . . fr. 7.71 Powell ‘how, upset . . .’; Pythagoras: οἷη . . . μανίη, fr. 7.85 Powell ‘Such madness’; Socrates: οἷω δ’ ἐχλίνεν, fr. 7.89 Powell ‘With such [passion Aphrodite] burned him’. On Hermesianax’s use of the Hesiodic formula, see Hunter 2005, 261–2.  
<sup>15</sup> [τὸν δὲ μετῃ]ναι [Ἡσίοδος Ἀμυμ]ώνηι [φησί, ‘Hesiod says that he (i.e. Poseidon) had sex with Amymone’ Philodemus, *De pietate* B 7430–46 Obbink = Most fr. 157. In Hero’s plea to Neptune to spare her lover, Amymone appears in a catalogue of women loved by Neptune (Ovid, *Her.* 19.129–38). This catalogue bears striking similarities with Philodemus’ catalogue of Poseidon’s women (see Obbink 2004).  
<sup>16</sup> It usually refers to the abduction of Ganymede (cf. *Met.* 10.155–61), but, as McKeown 1989, *ad loc.* notes, the context here demands a reference to a beautiful woman, probably Asterie; cf. Arachne’s tapestry (*fecit et Asterien aquila luctante teneri*, *Met.* 6.108 ‘and she depicted Asterie held by the struggling eagle’).

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Ovid's list not only includes Hesiodic heroines, but also evokes traits intrinsic to the *Catalogue of Women*. The first two paradigms (Helen-Leda) suggest an inverted genealogy (Helen was Leda's daughter), thus alluding to the genealogical progression of the *Catalogue*. The rapes of Leda, Amydone, and Europa by Jupiter and Neptune also refer to the very subject of the *Catalogue*, which, according to its proem (fr. 1.1–5 M–W), is the affairs of mortal women with gods. These mortal women attract their divine lovers with their beauty,<sup>17</sup> and Ovid implies that Corinna is as beautiful as the fabulous girls of Greek myth. Thus, Ovid appends his girlfriend to a Hesiodic catalogue of women. Corinna is 'such as' Helen, Leda, Amydone, and Europa, and the comparison inherent in the *ehoie* formula is activated. Female excellence is essential to Hesiod's heroines, who are introduced as 'the best' (ἄρισται, fr. 1.3 M–W) and are repeatedly compared with goddesses (e.g. fr. 23a.10–16, 43a.72, 185.23, 196.5–6 M–W).<sup>18</sup> Ovid's catalogue of women of outstanding beauty, who attract gods and mortals with their looks, touches upon the very core of Hesiod's *Ehoiai*.

Ovid initially compares Corinna with the heroines of Greek myth, fearing that Jupiter might fall in love with her, but then declares that her beauty is spoiled because she asks for gifts. This is the reason why Ovid is transformed (*mutatus*), a change which is a foil to Jupiter's metamorphoses; the supreme god morphs into a swan, a bull, and an eagle in order to seduce the beautiful women with whom he is in love, while Ovid has changed from a captive of Corinna's beauty to a man indifferent to her charms. Yet, if we acknowledge that the beginning of *Amores* 1.10 conjures up the world of the *Ehoiai*, we should note that the mortal suitors of Hesiod's heroines had to offer lavish gifts, such as golden jewellery, golden cups, and livestock, to the girls' families.<sup>19</sup> In archaic Greek epic, prospective suitors woo marriageable maidens by giving 'countless gifts' (μυρία ἔδνα, fr. 26.37 M–W for Iole; fr. 43a.21 M–W for Mestra; cf. πολλὰ [περ]ικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμηναν, fr. 22.6 M–W 'they promised many glorious gifts' for Demodike).<sup>20</sup> Even Atalanta, a devout bachelorette, loses the footrace and her virginity enticed

<sup>17</sup> See Osborne 2005, 10–13.

<sup>18</sup> Amydone suggests ἀμύμων ('blameless', 'noble', 'excellent'). Her name encapsulates one of the most salient features of the heroines. The women of the *Catalogue* are often introduced as surpassing all other women (cf. Tyro: fr. 30.31–4 M–W; Alkmene: fr. 195 M–W = *Shield* 4–8).

<sup>19</sup> Referring to the world of Homer and Hesiod, van Wees 2005, 7, notes: "A woman's beauty is not merely a passive asset, but may – at least in the context of formal courtship – be actively exploited to generate wealth for her family." According to Hesiod, fr. 139 M–W, the name of Adonis' mother was Alphesiboea, i.e. "Cattlefetcher."

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.571 (*diuitibus procis... petebar* 'I was wooed by many suitors' for Coroneus' daughter; see Chapter 3); *Met.* 12.192 (*multorum frustra uotis optata procorum* 'she was wooed in vain with the offerings of many suitors' for Caenis; see Chapter 5).



by Hippomenes' golden apples (fr. 72–6 M–W; see Chapter 4). Helen, the first heroine in *Amores* 1.10, is wooed by many suitors, who bring 'countless gifts' (cf. ἀπτε[ρείσι]α ἔ]δνα, fr. 198.10 M–W). Her wooing is in fact an auction and Menelaus wins because he offered the most (fr. 204.86–7 M–W; see Chapter 1). In the *Catalogue*, gods simply rape beautiful women, while men have to pay dearly to marry them. If Corinna *is* in fact like Helen and the other Hesiodic heroines, it is no surprise that her suitor must give her gifts. One is left to wonder: does Ovid really expect to enjoy a beauty like Corinna gratis? His own comparison of Corinna with the heroines of archaic Greek epic undermines his elegiac value system.

The use of *qualis* in Ovid is not a fleeting allusion to the Hellenistic catalogue-poetry, but a Hesiodic marker activating the generic dynamics of *ehoie*-poetry.<sup>21</sup> Ian Rutherford suggests the term *ehoie*-poetry to describe the genre of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.<sup>22</sup> For Rutherford, the tradition behind the *Catalogue of Women* amounts to a distinct epic genre. In particular, *ehoie*-poetry is distinguished from martial epic. This gives us an entirely new perspective in assessing the legendary rivalry between Hesiod and Homer.

Marios Skempis has sketched out cardinal features that form integral, albeit antithetical, themes of the two epic traditions.<sup>23</sup> Male heroic epic deals with war, dissent, dueling, and killing, while *ehoie*-poetry focuses on sexual affairs, marriage, wooing, and birth. Gods support and protect heroes in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, while they couple with heroines in the *Catalogue*. By and large, the main differences between Homeric/heroic epic and Hesiodic/*ehoie*-poetry can be summarized as follows:

- a) The narrative of heroic epic revolves around one male protagonist, while *ehoie*-poetry focuses on numerous female characters and has no primary heroine or hero.
- b) Homeric epic avoids supernatural phenomena when it comes to human beings, while *ehoie*-poetry is rife with metamorphoses and human beings with extraordinary abilities.
- c) The structure of *ehoie*-poetry is genealogical and diachronically oriented, while heroic epic is synchronically oriented.
- d) Heroic epic deals primarily with war, *ehoie*-poetry focuses on sexual affairs, marriage, and genealogy.

<sup>21</sup> Hunter 2005, 265, concludes his article on the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and Hellenistic poetry by saying that "[i]t would be left to Ovid fully to realise the potential of the catalogue form in a changed poetic world."

<sup>22</sup> Rutherford 2000, 89–93. For *ehoie*-poetry as an epic genre, see also West 1985, 3–11; Nasta 2006, 64–8; Doherty 2006, 305; Arrighetti 2008; Skempis 2011.

<sup>23</sup> Skempis 2011, 256–8; cf. Tsagalis 2009, 167–70.



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- e) Heroic epic praises men, while *ehoie*-poetry gives primacy to female characters.

Even though they are fundamentally different, Homer and Hesiod share key metrical, dialectical, and dictional features.<sup>24</sup> A common tradition produced two essentially divergent epic genres, which are in constant dialogue with each other.<sup>25</sup> In fact, the intergeneric discourse between heroic epic and *ehoie*-poetry is one of the most fascinating aspects of the traditional antagonism between Homer and Hesiod. In *Odyssey* 11, for instance, Odysseus gives as an excursus a ‘Catalogue of Women’ he met in the underworld, a straightforward case of *ehoie*-poetry in the Homeric epics (*Od.* 11.225–332). While Odysseus’ vignettes of Hesiodic poetry can be interpreted as an attempt to win over Arete, Alkinoos reacts immediately after Odysseus’ performance of *ehoie*-poetry and asks him to speak about his comrades who died at Troy (*Od.* 11.370–3). Arete’s positive reception of *ehoie*-poetry (cf. *Od.* 11.335–41) contrasts with Alkinoos’ request for Iliadic tales, suggesting a gendered tension between two different epic traditions.<sup>26</sup>

In the *Iliad*, Zeus’s catalogue of women in the *Dios apate* (‘The Deception of Zeus’, *Iliad* 14) is an instance of a Hesiodic catalogue. Benjamin Sammons has drawn attention to the Hesiodic background of *Iliad* 14.<sup>27</sup> The first episode of the *Dios apate* recalls theogonic poetry. Hera lies that she has to visit Oceanos, the progenitor of the gods, and Tethys in order to resolve their strife (*Il.* 14.200–5); the mention of two primeval gods and their strife are to be identified with the themes of Hesiodic poetry. While Hera seduces Zeus, the supreme god gives a catalogue of women, an unmistakably Hesiodic vignette (*Il.* 14.315–28). Interestingly, the introduction of Hesiodic themes in the Homeric epic destabilizes the authority of the Iliadic Zeus; we are reminded that the sovereignty Zeus enjoys is not an absolute condition but an end-state achieved only after many struggles. For Sammons, Zeus’s catalogue of loves reveals a lack of control uncharacteristic of Homer’s Zeus. Thus, Hera’s plan to undermine Zeus’s authority is accompanied by the subversive intrusion of Hesiodic poetry into the worldview of Homer’s epic.

The progression from the birth of the gods to Zeus’s catalogue of women in *Iliad* 14 creates “a string of allusions running from the beginning of

<sup>24</sup> See Rosen 1997; cf. Edwards 1971, 190–207.

<sup>25</sup> Neitzel 1975, examines Homer’s reception in Hesiod. He deals with the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, but not with the *Catalogue of Women*. See also Rosen 1997.

<sup>26</sup> See Skempis and Ziogas 2009, 228–40. For the interaction between the genre of *ehoie*-poetry and Homeric epic in Odysseus’ catalogue of women, see Rutherford 2000.

<sup>27</sup> Sammons 2010, 63–73.

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a poem like the Hesiodic *Theogony* to its end and on a poem like the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.<sup>28</sup> In my view, it is also significant that Hera's theogonic reference is a lie and that Zeus's catalogue is a miscalculated boast. The much-vaunted truthfulness<sup>29</sup> of the tradition of Hesiod's *Theogony* becomes a stratagem for duping Zeus,<sup>30</sup> while Zeus's performance of a Hesiodic catalogue is a misguided boast of his adulteries aimed at flattering his notoriously jealous wife.<sup>31</sup> Zeus refers to the tradition of *ehoie*-poetry, in which he repeatedly deceives, seduces, and rapes women, while he is being deceived and seduced by his wife. From that perspective, Homeric appropriation of the Hesiodic tradition seems particularly polemical.

On the other hand, *ehoie*-poetry appropriates the diction and motifs of martial epic. Atalanta's presentation as a female Achilles in the *Catalogue* opens a dialogue between Hesiod's heroine and Homer's hero since the episode of the footrace (fr. 72–6 M–W) draws on Achilles' chase of Hector (see Chapter 4). The catalogue of Helen's suitors (fr. 196–204 M–W) is a peculiar reworking of the Iliadic catalogue of ships, an appropriation of the heroic catalogue of martial epic in the narrative framework of the *Ehoiai* (see Chapter 1).

The Hesiodic character of several Homeric passages was noticed long ago by Hellenistic scholars.<sup>32</sup> Aristonicus, Didymus, and other Alexandrian commentators of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* identified certain Homeric passages as befitting Hesiodic poetry. Chad Schroeder notes that the term 'Hesiodic character' indicated three different features of Hesiodic poetry: gnomic statements, concise lists, and stories referring to metamorphosis or pointing to a scene reminiscent of the *Theogony*.<sup>33</sup> Hellenistic scholars tended to athetize Homeric lines which were identified as having a Hesiodic character. This seems to me to miss the point: the Hesiodic character of certain Homeric passages does not reveal interpolations, but a fascinating intergeneric interplay between Homeric and Hesiodic epic.

<sup>28</sup> Sammons 2010, 69.

<sup>29</sup> For the truth of Hesiod's Muses in the *Theogony*, see now Koning 2010, 223–35; see also Chapter 1 and 4.

<sup>30</sup> In an unpublished paper, Christos Tsagalis argues that Odysseus' false tales in the *Odyssey* have a polemical function since they implicitly falsify alternative epic traditions (Tsagalis, "Intratextual Lies, Intertextual Truth: Odysseus' False Tales," paper delivered in the Symposium in Honor of Pietro Pucci, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, April 2009).

<sup>31</sup> Skempis 2011, 272, notes the paradox of Zeus's catalogue of adulteries as an argument for the god's preference for his wife.

<sup>32</sup> The phrase ἡσιόδειος χαρακτήρ is used by Hellenistic commentators on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; see Schol. HQ *ad* Hom. *Od.* 15.74 [Aristonicus, (Carnuth 1869: 133)]; Schol. A *ad* Hom. *Il.* 18.39–49; Schol. A *ad* Hom. *Il.* 24.617–17a.

<sup>33</sup> See Schroeder 2006, 139–47, for the use of ἡσιόδειος χαρακτήρ by Hellenistic scholars.