

# Stesichorus *PMGF* S21.1–3 (*Geryoneis*): A Textual Proposal

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**A**FTER THE MURDERS of herdsman Eurytion and of his dog Orthos, Heracles needs to kill Geryon in order to accomplish his tenth labour, fetching the cattle of the monster from Erytheia. This is the core of the story of Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*, a long (more than 1300 lines) narrative poem, preserved principally by *P.Oxy.* XXXII 2617.

The fragment here taken into account, *PMGF* S15 + S21, describes the beginning of the duel between the hero and the monster: Heracles attacks Geryon by stealth, striking his brow with a missile, likely a stone (S15 i.1–14). As a result, the helmet falls from the first of the three heads of the monster and remains on the ground:<sup>1</sup>

τὸς ]ετο· τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ κρα- (S15 i.14–17: ant. 6–9)  
] ]  
]π]πόκομος τρυφάλει·  
] ἐπὶ ζαπέδωι·

]ν μεν[ ]·ρονης ὠκυπετα[ (S21: ep. 1–5)  
][ ] . . [ ]·ν ἐχόισαι  
]επ[.]άξαν ἐπ[ι] χθόνα·  
]απε.η κεφαλὰ χαρ[  
]ωσωα.[.]ε...[

<sup>1</sup> For the reconstruction of the story cf. W. S. Barrett, “Stesichorus and the Story of Geryon,” *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, and Textual Criticism. Collected Papers* (Oxford 2007 [1968]) 1–24, and, particularly, D. L. Page, “Stesichorus: *The Geryoneis*,” *JHS* 93 (1973) 138–154. See now M. Lazzeri, *Studi sulla Gerioneide di Stesicoro* (Naples 2008).

As Page saw,<sup>2</sup> *P.Oxy.* 2617 fr.1 (= S21), whose “first line is the beginning of an epode and the top of a column,” can be adequately inserted at the top of fr.4.ii (= S15.ii), where ep. 1–8 + str. 1–5 are missing.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, “ἐπὶ χθόνα and κεφαλά<sup>4</sup> seem appropriate to the context,” i.e. the description of Geryon and Heracles’ duel, and the very beginning of S21 might recall S15 i.16 *τρυφάλει(α)*, if restored as *καὶ τὰ]ν* (or simply *τὰ]ν*). For the other gaps, Page did not suggest anything and confessed to have “no idea who or what the ‘swift-flying’ female subjects may be, or what they are doing.”

After Page, many scholars have thought it likely to put S21 soon after S15 i.17 (and before ii.1), and tried to supplement the fragment in different ways: all proposals agree in identifying the female plural subject with the Moirai or the Keres,<sup>5</sup> but

<sup>2</sup> *JHS* 93 (1973) 154, also *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* p.14 ad loc.

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise, it should be placed 390 lines earlier or later than the present position: cf. Page, *JHS* 93 (1973) 146 (“if the triad [of the *Geryoneis*] consists of twenty-six lines and the [papyrus] column of thirty lines, every fourteenth column will repeat the metrical pattern of the first”), with the table at 148.

<sup>4</sup> For the possible meaning of the word in this context (the head of Geryon? the head of a weapon?) see Lazzeri, *Studi* 225–227.

<sup>5</sup> So P. Lerza, “Su un frammento della *Gerioneide* di Stesicoro,” *A&R* 23 (1978) 83–87; “Nota a Stesicoro,” *A&R* 24 (1979) 41–43; *Stesicoro. Tre studi* (Genoa 1982) 64 and 109 n.6, after Soph. *Trach.* 1041–1043 ὦ Διὸς αὐθαίμων, / εὐνασον, εὐνασόν μ’ / ὠκυπέτα μὲν τὸν μέλεον φθίσσας. So also F. De Martino, “Noterelle alla *Gerioneide* di Stesicoro,” *AnnBari* 25/26 (1982) 75–109, at 92, 99–101; E. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos, “Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis* *SLG* 15 I–II,” *Hellenika* 41 (1990) 7–31, at 9; M. Lazzeri, “Osservazioni su alcuni frammenti della *Gerioneide* di Stesicoro,” *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 83–102, at 93 ff., and *Studi* 218; J. A. D. Irvine, “Keres in Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis*,” *ZPE* 115 (1997) 37–46, who adduces an interesting argument: “it has long been noted that Geryon’s reply to Menoites’ attempt to dissuade him from battle, which occupies most of fr. 13 (= *SLG* 11), is a direct and elaborate allusion to the famous speech (*Il.* XII 322f.) of Sarpedon to Glaucus”; since the Keres are named by the hero as hanging over men, “it would be most attractive if this allusion were answered” (38). On the relationship between the Keres and the Moirai cf. L. Malten, “Ker,” *RE*

they disagree on the purposes of these entities.<sup>6</sup>

According to Lerza<sup>7</sup> they strike Geryon's helmet to make it fall on the ground, just as Apollo did with Patroclus' helmet in *Il.* 16.788–793:<sup>8</sup>

καὶ τὰ]ν μὲν [∪ δαί]μονες<sup>9</sup> ὠκυπέτα[ι  
 ῥά γε πικρὸν ὄλεθρ]ον ἐχοίσαι  
 – ∪ –] ἐπ[λ]άξαν ἐπ[ι] χθόνα·

Suppl. 4 (1924) 883–900, at 888; R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1951) 399 ff.; J. N. Lee, “Homeric κῆρ and Others,” *Glotta* 39 (1961) 191–207, at 196–197; B. C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods* (London 1965) 240–248; B. Hainsworth, *The Iliad. A Commentary III* (Cambridge 1993) 116 (ad *Il.* 9.411) and 353–354 (ad 12.326–327), and *Omero. Odissea II* (Milan 2002) 182–183 (ad *Od.* 5.387); see also W. Leaf, *The Iliad* (London 1900–1902) I 71 (ad *Il.* 2.302), II 308 (ad *Il.* 18.535: “probably the Κῆρ ... was a winged demon such as we see in the well-known Lykian sarcophagus in the British Museum carrying off a soul in her arms”). For possible depictions of winged Keres see H. Kenner, “Flügelfrau und Flügeldämon,” *JOAI* 31 (1939) 81–95. The presence of these daemons in Stesichorean poetry is not unparalleled: for the Moirai, cf. S222(b).212, 225, and possibly 230 (see C. Neri, “Trattativa contro il fato (Stesich. 222b.176–231),” *Eikasmós* 19 (2008) 11–44, at 40–41), and the other instances reported by Lazzeri, *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 97; for the Keres, *PMGF* 265, on which see C. Brillante, “Stesicoro, fr. 265 P.,” *QUCC* n.s. 43 (1993) 53–59.

<sup>6</sup> For a complete survey with a full discussion, cf. now Lazzeri, *Studi* 196 n.445 and 215–227, also *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 83–102; and Irvine, *ζPE* 115 (1997) 37–41.

<sup>7</sup> *A&R* 23 (1978) 86–87.

<sup>8</sup> For this parallel cf. Lerza, *A&R* 24 (1979) 42: “il ricorrere di espressioni pressoché identiche (Hom. v. 791: πλῆξεν; Stesich. v. 20: ἐπλάξαν; Hom. v. 793: τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κρατός; Stesich. v. 14 τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ κρατός) renderebbe legittima l'ipotesi dell'intervento, anche nella *Gerioneide*, di δαίμονες (noi abbiamo pensato alle Chere) che assumono il ruolo di Apollo e fanno cadere l'elmo dalla testa dell'eroe destinato a soccombere.”

<sup>9</sup> Against the reading δαί]μονες see Irvine, *ζPE* 115 (1997) 45 and Lazzeri, *Studi* 216; cf. Lobel, *P.Oxy.* XXXII p.3. Note that [∪– δαί] in the text printed by Lerza, *A&R* 23 (1978) 86, is merely a misprint: she writes that the gap before δαίμονες “secondo gli schemi metrici del Page ... dovrebbe essere colmata da una sillaba breve,” and thinks that the only possibility to fill the lacuna is the pronoun ε̅.

Esso dunque (*scil.* l'elmo) le dee dal veloce volo, avendo (= recando) appunto la morte funesta, ... lo avevano colpito, tanto da gettarlo a terra.

In the view of Lazzeri, after S15 i.17 the helmet was of no concern.<sup>10</sup> He proposes e.g. that the actions of the Moirai and the Keres concern Geryon falling to the ground after Heracles' first attack:<sup>11</sup>

τὸν μὲν [δολιό]φρονες ὠκυπέτα[ι  
τόκα Μοίραι (vel Κῆρες) πότημον ἐχοίσαι  
πίπτοντ' ἀμφ]επ[ι]άξαν ἐπ[ι] χθόνα.

Allora le Moire insidiose dal rapido volo, che hanno il destino, afferrarono quello (*scil.* Gerione) che cadeva a terra.

A different interpretation of the Keres' presence has been offered—independently of De Martino—by Irvine,<sup>12</sup> who suggested that in S21 “the well-known motif of the Kerostasia was introduced in a brief compass as Homer was wont to do.”<sup>13</sup> Keres are objectified here, as the individual doom of Geryon:

τοῖν μὲν [δαμασί]φρονες ὠκυπέτα[ι  
ρέπον αἶψα τάλαντ]ον ἐχοίσαι  
Γαρυόνα καὶ] ἐπ[λ]άξαν ἐπ[ι] χθόνα.

<sup>10</sup> *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 93: “se consideriamo come conclusi con il v. 17 del fr. 4 col. I [= S15 i] i versi che riguardano l'elmo (sia perché sembra una ripetizione eccessiva dedicarvi otto versi, per quanto si tratti di un motivo efficace e funzionale alla narrazione; sia perché l'elmo, da quanto si legge, è ormai caduto a terra) ci potremmo attendere nuovi sviluppi, identificabili in un mutamento di soggetto dopo il v. 17.”

<sup>11</sup> As for the weapon used by Heracles, Lazzeri (92 n.24) thinks it was more likely to be a missile than the famous club: “esce rafforzata l'idea che generale che lo scontro avvenga ... con l'uso di armi che implicino, almeno in questa fase, una distanza tra i combattenti che non sia quella utile ad un corpo a corpo.”

<sup>12</sup> De Martino, *AnnBari* 25/26 (1982) 75–109; Irvine, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 41 n.11, 45.

<sup>13</sup> The Homeric examples cited by Irvine are *Il.* 8.66–74, 16.656–658, 19.221–224, 22.208–213.

And, in the case of the twain (Heracles and Geryon), straightway did the swift-flying conquerors of the spirit who had control of the balance pertaining to Geryon incline downwards, dashing it to the earth.

Though plausible, Lerza's and Irvine's proposals face serious objections. Lerza's restoration misrepresents the papyrus evidence (see n.9 above), presents the particles  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha} \gamma\epsilon$  in unusual positions,<sup>14</sup> and causes the Keres' action to obliterate Heracles' action.<sup>15</sup> In Irvine's case, the subject is expressed only in an allusive way through the epithets  $\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\nu\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\omega}\kappa\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota$  (=  $\kappa\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ ), is not preceded by the definite article, and appears too cryptic and 'enigmatic', not in line with the Stesichorean style.<sup>16</sup> The role of the Keres seems ambiguous. On the one hand, they are objectified and appear to be the equivalent of the Homeric  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\nu \eta\mu\alpha\rho$ , since they hold the scales of Zeus' balance and incline downwards ( $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\nu$ , cf. *Il.* 8.72  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon \delta' \alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\nu \eta\mu\alpha\rho \text{ } \acute{\Lambda}\chi\alpha\iota\omega\nu$ , 22.212  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon \delta' \text{ } \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma \alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\nu \eta\mu\alpha\rho$ ).<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the Keres are personified and appear to act like deities or daemons, since they "have control of the balance pertaining to Geryon" ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota / \text{ } \Gamma\alpha\rho\upsilon\omicron\nu\alpha$ ) and dash ( $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\nu$ ) it to earth. In the Homeric poems,<sup>18</sup> Zeus generally

<sup>14</sup> Cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.330, 3.7, 9.511, *Od.* 2.12, 17.63, and see R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (Norman 1924) 5152 s.v.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ ; for post-Homeric examples, J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1954) 43, 50.

<sup>15</sup> "Se l'asportazione dell'elmo è dovuta alle velocissime Chere, l'attacco doloso di Eracle diventa del tutto sprecato" in the words of De Martino, *AnnBari* 25/26 (1982) 101. For other objections to Lerza's restoration see Lazzeri, *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 83–102 and *Studi* 216–217; Irvine, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 45.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Lazzeri, *Studi* 224–225 with n.500.

<sup>17</sup> On these passages see G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad. A Commentary* II (Cambridge 1990) 303–304; N. Richardson, *The Iliad. A Commentary* VI (Cambridge 1993) 129–130; A. Kelly, *A Referential Commentary and Lexicon to Homer, Iliad VIII* (Oxford 2007) 112–113 (with full bibliography). In the light of the cited passages, the plural  $\kappa\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  referring to the individual doom of Geryon is odd: cf. *IfigE* II 1406 s.v. I.6.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. n.13 above.

controls the balance and holds it (cf. *Διὸς ἰρὰ τάλαντα*, *Il.* 16.658). Here, the father of the gods is absent, and we do not know who holds the balance.<sup>19</sup>

More satisfactory is Lazzeri's restoration: in sum, he thinks that the Keres/Moirai, "che recano la morte, e che afferrano Gerione costretto a terra dall'attacco. Si realizza in tal modo un intervento divino in favore di Eracle contro Gerione, dopo la rinuncia di Poseidone a difendere il nipote: la creatura tricipite viene così abbandonata al suo destino, che si compirà attraverso la forza e l'accortezza di Eracle, figlio e protetto di Zeus."<sup>20</sup> Rightly, he rules out that the Keres/Moirai's action entails Geryon's death: the fight continues after S21 with a second attack from Heracles, this time by arrow.<sup>21</sup> As a parallel for the direct intervention of the Keres/Moirai in the battle, Lazzeri (*Studi* 218–219) adduces *Il.* 18.535–540, [*Hes.*] *Scut.* 156–159 and 248–259: in the first and second of these passages "esse intervengono ad *afferrare* un guerriero ferito ma non ancora morto" (258; emphasis mine).<sup>22</sup> In particular, the *Scutum*—or, better, a previous version of the *Scutum*—would be known to

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Irvine, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 45. For these and other objections to Irvine's restoration see Lazzeri, *Studi* 221–225.

<sup>20</sup> *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 95; see now Lazzeri, *Studi* 217–218.

<sup>21</sup> S15 ii.1 ff.: an arrow shot by Heracles goes clear through Geryon's first head. S16: according to the likely reading of Barrett (*Greek Lyric* 20), Heracles uses his club on Geryon's second head. For a full discussion of these fragments and their interpretations, cf. Lazzeri, *Studi* 227–270, who takes into account the iconographic evidence too (in part: Barrett's reading of S16 seems to be supported by many vase paintings dating from the sixth to third century B.C., where Heracles attacks by club the second head of Geryon, the first being already by bow).

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of the passages see Irvine, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 39–40: "Keres are not elsewhere envisaged as active participants in specialized warfare—but all we have before us is a visual description of the very activity with which they are elsewhere associated, namely conveying the dead (or, by the same token, those fated to die) to Hades." See also Lazzeri's reply, *Studi* 218–220.

Stesichorus,<sup>23</sup> and could perhaps represent “un riferimento per il tentativo di ‘innovare’ in una scena di duello, in particolare nei confronti dei modelli omerici (che ... sono richiamati con attenzione in un processo di sapiente modifica dei nessi)” (219).

Undoubtedly all this is true, but note that in the last of the three parallels adduced and the most similar to S21 as restored by Lazzeri (*Scut.* 252–253 ὄν δὲ πρῶτον μεμάποιεν / κείμενον ἢ πίπτοντα νεούτατον ~ S21.3 πίπτοντ’ ἀμφεπιάξαν ἐπὶ χθόνα), the intervention of the Keres entails the immediate death of a warrior *falling* to the ground<sup>24</sup>—which is difficult to accept in our fragment, where Geryon is not dying at this point in the narrative.<sup>25</sup> The association ‘Keres-warrior falling / immediate death’ is absent in the other two passages (*Il.* 18.535–537 = [Hes.] *Scut.* 156–158 ἐν δ’ ὀλοῇ Κήρ, / ἄλλον ζῶν ἔχουσα νεούτατον, ἄλλον ἄουτον, / ἄλλον τεθνηῶτα κατὰ μόθον ἔλκε ποδοῖν)<sup>26</sup>, which are therefore less close to the restored S21: the νεούτατος warrior is not described as falling, and the action of the Ker is generically designated by the verb ἔχω, ‘to hold’,<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. S269, Στησίχορος δὲ φησιν Ἡσιόδου εἶναι τὸ ποίημα (viz. ἡ Ἀσπίς). On this *testimonium* see inter alia J. A. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* (New York 1968) 82–83; G. Arrighetti, *Esiodo. Opere* (Turin 1998) 480 n.3; F. Condello, “Riordinare una biblioteca orale: Omero ciclico, Omero girovago e il problema delle doppie attribuzioni,” in A. M. Andrisano (ed.), *Biblioteche del mondo antico* (Rome 2007) 13–35, at 17–18.

<sup>24</sup> As a mere formal parallel, see also *Il. Pav.* fr.20.5 Davies (21.5 Bernabé, 29.5 West) τὸν δὲ πεσόντα / ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή, where the person falling is the young Astyanax, thrown from a battlement. The case is here very different from the restored S21, but the formal similarity with our fragment is nevertheless interesting.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Page, *JHS* 93 (1973) 151: “Geryon will not fall while two of his three heads are uninjured.”

<sup>26</sup> On the relationship between the Iliadic passage and the *Scutum*, cf. at least Edwards 1991, 220f. and Arrighetti 1998, 486f., both with bibl.

<sup>27</sup> So the majority of translators: cf. e.g. P. Mazon, *Hésiode* (Paris 1928) 137 n.2 (“la pernicieuse Kère tenait là, vivants, un guerrier frais blessé, un autre sans blessure, et, en même temps, par les pieds traînait un cadavre au travers de la mêlée”); H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod* (London 1929) 231 (“and deadly Fate was there holding one man newly wounded, and another

but also ‘to have charge of’, ‘to have control of’.<sup>28</sup>

In light of these considerations, it is perhaps preferable to assign the Keres a different action. Three supplements are possible for line 3  $\epsilon\pi[\cdot]\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\nu$ , as Lobel noted (*P.Oxy.* XXXII p. 3): “if birds are in question, I suppose  $[\tau]$  is the likeliest supplement (*v.* Aristoph. *Lys.* 770  $[\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu \pi\tau\acute{\eta}\xi\omega\sigma\iota \chi\epsilon\lambda\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu]$  with Blaydes’s note). Other possibilities which might be considered are  $(\kappa\alpha\tau\text{-})\epsilon\pi[\lambda]\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi[\iota]\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\nu$  (*Hdn. π.μ.λ.* ii 44).” If the Keres are depicted as winged demons,  $\pi\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$  seems appropriate to them.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, if the famous speech of Sarpedon at *Il.* 12.322ff. is alluded to by Stesichorus in Geryon’s reply to Menoites’ speech (S11), as has long been recognized,<sup>30</sup> it is plausible to expect that somehow Sarpedon’s description of the Keres as ‘standing

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unwounded; and one, who was dead, she was dragging by the feet through the tumult”); A. Colonna, *Opere di Esiodo* (Turin 1977) 319 (“assieme alla Kere funesta, che teneva un uomo da poco colpito, un altro ancora illeso, un altro, morto, trascinava per i piedi attraverso il tumulto”); G. Paduano, *Omero. Iliade* (Turin 1997) 605 (“la Morte funesta, che ora prendeva un ferito, ora un uomo ancora incolume, ora un morto, e lo tirava per i piedi in mezzo alla mischia”); G. Arrighetti, *Esiodo. Opere* (Turin 1998) 241 (“Ker funesta che teneva un uomo da poco colpito, un altro ancora illeso, un altro, morto, trascinava per i piedi attraverso il tumulto”); G. W. Most, *Hesiod* (London 2007) 15 (“upon it deadly Fate was dragging men by feet through the battle, holding one who was alive but freshly wounded, another who was unwounded, another who had died”).

<sup>28</sup> So e.g. K. F. Ameis, *Homers Ilias* II.2<sup>4</sup> (Berlin 1908) 142 (“ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  gefaßt haltend”); and, more recently, G. Cerri, *Omero. Iliade* (Milan 1999) 1019 (“la Morte funesta, che sovrastava ad un vivo non ancora ferito, ad un altro, ferito, ed un altro già morto trascinava via per i piedi”). On the passage see also Onians, *Origins* 401 n.1.

<sup>29</sup> In favour of this possibility is D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* III (London 1991) 81–82; see also R. Führer, “Die metrische Struktur von Stesichoros’  $\Gamma\alpha\rho\nu\omicron\nu\eta\acute{\iota}$ ,” *Hermes* 96 (1968) 675–684, at 682.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Page, *JHS* 93 (1973) 149–150, who first pointed it out; cf. E. Tsitsibakou Vasalos, “Stesichorus, *Geryoneis* S11.5–26: The Dilemma of Geryon,” *Hellenika* 42 (1991/2) 245–256, with bibliography at 251 n.17. See also n.4 above.



by’ or ‘standing in wait for’ (*Il.* 12.326–327 *νῦν δ’ ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφειστᾶσιν θανάτοιο / μυρίαί, ἄς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ’ ὑπαλύξαι*)<sup>31</sup> could have influenced the Himerian poet—indeed, it seems to have influenced more than one poet.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, I suggest *exempli gratia* the following restoration:

βᾶ]ν μὲν [ῥ’ ὀλοό]φρονες ὠκυπέτα[ι  
 Κῆρες κατὰ πότμ]ον ἐχοίσαι  
 πὰρ δὲ οἱ αἰψ’] ἐπ[τ]άξαν ἐπ[ι] χθόνα·  
 moved the baleful swift-flying  
 Keres, holding destiny of death,  
 and near him (i.e. Geryon) suddenly cowered on the earth.

1. βᾶ]ν: cf. *Il.* 2.302 οὐς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι, and *Od.* 14.207–208 ἀλλ’ ἦ τοι τὸν κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι / εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους.<sup>33</sup> If the restoration is right, Stesichorus reworked Sarpedon’s description by contaminating it with the traditional image of the Keres coming to carry away victims. Note that the Keres’ intervention could have been decided by the Olympian gods during the assembly described at S14; indeed, that Geryon’s death is decided by the gods emerges clearly from S15 ii.8–9 διὰ δ’ ἔσχισε σάρκα [καὶ] ὀ[στ]έα δαί/μονος αἴσα: cf. Lazzeri, *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 95 with n.32 and *Studi* 218.

μὲν [ῥ(α): for this combination see Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> 43 (some examples: *Il.* 2.1, 48, 211; *Od.* 1.127; Hes. fr.25.30 M.-W.; *Hym.Hom.Merc.* 132).

<sup>31</sup> For the absolute use of ἐφίστημι with hostile sense see LSJ s.v. B.III. Leaf, *Iliad* I 548–549 notes that here “the sense of ἐπί is the same as in ἔφειδρος.”

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Sem. fr.1.20 W.<sup>2</sup> and Mimn. fr.2.5–6; both passages are rightly cited by Irvine, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 38. On Sem. fr.1.20 and its relationship with the Iliadic passage, cf. E. Pellizer and G. Tedeschi, *Semonides* (Rome 1990) 168, with bibliography; G. Burzacchini, “Lirica arcaica (I),” in U. Mattioli (ed.), *Senectus. La vecchiaia nel mondo classico* I (Bologna 1995) 69–124, at 87; O. Vox, in F. De Martino and O. Vox, *Lirica greca* II (Bari 1996) 680. On Mimn. fr.2.52–3 and its relationship to the Iliadic passage see G. Burzacchini, in E. Degani and G. Burzacchini, *Lirici greci. Antologia* (Bologna 1977; repr. with a bibl. updating by M. Magnani, Bologna 2005) 101; and Vox 721.

<sup>33</sup> Thanks to C. Neri for calling my attention to these passages.

ὄλοσ]φρονες ὠκυπέτα[ι: for the Stesichorean use of two epithets for one noun, see S15 ii.5–6 ὀλεσάνορος αἰολοδε[ίρ]ου / ὀδύναισιν Ὑδρας, and cf. Lazzeri, *Studi* 240.

ὄλοσ]φρονες: ὄλοαί is one of the Keres' traditional epithets in archaic epic tradition (cf. *Il.* 13.665 ὅς ῥ' εὖ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὄλοην ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε, 18.535 = [Hes.] *Scut.* 156 ὄλοη Κῆρ, Hes. *Op.* 745 ὄλοη γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μοῖρα τέτυκται, and see also fr.280 Μοῖρ' ὄλο]ή).<sup>34</sup> The *iunctura* ὄλοσφρονες ... Κῆρες instead of ὄλοαί ... Κῆρες can be explained as a way of innovating epic phraseology and is consistent with Stesichorean style: “Stesichorus employed word-groups (... primarily ... noun + epithet groups) reminiscent of epic formulae, but ... in two out of every three cases (56 as opposed to 29) the individual elements, derived as they were from epic, appeared in expressions that are unprecedented in extant poems.”<sup>35</sup> In the present case, the poet gave the Keres an epithet attributed to wild beasts in the *Iliad* (2.723 a snake, 15.630 a lion) and to fearsome characters in the *Odyssey* (1.52 Atlas, 10.137 Aeetes, 11.322 Minos),<sup>36</sup> a procedure which can be entered in the second of the four categories of Stesichorean word-groups defined by Maingon (“word-groups whose individual elements occur in the epic tradition”).<sup>37</sup> As for the prosody, the treatment of plosive + liquid in ὄλοσφ|ρονες follows the epic tendency, as often in Stesichorus: cf. R. Fuhrer, “Muta cum liquida bei Stesichoros,” *ZPE* 28 (1978) 180–186; G. Comotti, “Muta cum liquida nel nuovo Stesicoro,” *QUCC* 26 (1977) 59–62; and M. Haslam, “The Versification of the New Stesichorus,” *GRBS* 19 (1978) 29–57, at 49–51

<sup>34</sup> Other epithets in archaic epic are κακή (*Il.* 12.113, 16.687, *Od.* 2.316, 23.332), μέλαινα (*Il.* 2.859, 3.360, 5.22, 652, etc.; *Od.* 2.283, 3.242, 15.275, etc.; Hes. *Theog.* 211) and στυγερή (*Il.* 23.79); for further epithets, used in the later poetical tradition, see C. F. H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum* (Roscher, *Lex. Suppl.* [1893]) 163–164.

<sup>35</sup> A. D. Maingon, “Form and Content in the Lille Stesichorus,” *QUCC* 31 (1989) 31–56, at 39. This is true particularly for the *Geryoneis*, while the case of the Lille poem—the so called *Thebais*—is partly different: cf. Maingon 45, “in the case of the Lille fragment ... almost 50% of the phrases are verbatim imitations of epic precedents.”

<sup>36</sup> For the adjective see S. West, *Omero. Odissea I* (Milan 2002) 196.

<sup>37</sup> Maingon, *QUCC* 31 (1989) 35 ff. See also Lerza, *Stesicoro* 39–40 (subgroup C).

(who effectively sums up the question: Stesichorus “uses the long scansion except where it suits him to use the short”). For other *-φρων* compounds in Stesichorean poems see S222.9 *Εἰλατίδαο δαίφρονος*, S14.4–5 *ποτὶ δὲν κρατερό/φρονα πάτρω’ ἵπποκέλευθον* (i.e. Poseidon), and cf. M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichorus und des Ibycus* (Zurich 1971) 137–138, 164 with n.7.

*ὠκυπέτα* [ι: see n.4 above. Note that Okypete was the name of one of the two Harpies in Hes. *Theog.* 267; this however does not necessarily imply that the Harpies are the female subject here, as thought by E. Gangutia Elícegui, “‘Gerioneidas’. Desarrollo literario griego en contacto con el Proximo Oriente,” *Emerita* 66 (1998) 231–256, at 242 (cf. Irvine, *ζPE* 115 [1997] 38, and Lazzeri, *Studi* 222).

2. *Κῆρες κατὰ πότμ[ι]ον ἐχόσαι*, i.e. *πότμον κατεχόσαι* (for an analogous tmesis see Stesich. S15 ii.17 *ἀπὸ φύλλα βαλοῖσα*)<sup>38</sup>: cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.35–36 *οὐτῶ δὲ Μοῖρ’, ἃ τε πατρώϊον / τῶνδ’ ἔχει τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον*, adduced by Lazzeri, *BollClass* SER. III 16 (1995) 97. For the image of Keres having or bearing human fate, cf. Mimn. fr. 2.5–7 *Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι, / ἣ μὲν ἔχουσα τέλος γήραος ἀργαλέον, / ἣ δ’ ἑτέρη θανάτοιο*; see also Quint. Smyrn. 3.615 *Κῆρες τ’ ἐγγὺς ἔασι τέλος θανάτοιο φέρουσαι*. The epic formula is *κῆρες θανάτοιο* (e.g. *Il.* 2.302, 834, 12.326, *Od.* 14.207). For the image of winged beings bringing death, cf. the crane simile at *Il.* 3.2–6 (4–6: *αἶ τ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον / κλαγγῆ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ’ ὠκεανοῖο ροάων / ἀνδράσι Πυγμαλίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι*).

*Κῆρες*: the η form occurs in Simon. *PMG* 533(b), in Pind. fr.223 M., and in tragic choruses (e.g. Aesch. *Sept.* 1055, Soph. *Trach.* 133, *OT* 472, Eur. *El.* 1252, *Tro.* 771, *Phoen.* 950), while in Alc. *PMGF* 88 and Alcae. fr.38.7 V. we find respectively *kāra* (Bast: *kāran* cod. Apol. Dyc. *Pron.*)<sup>39</sup> and *kāri*. It is not clear whether the original vocalism was the first or the second: cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisch Wörterbuch I* (Heidelberg 1960) 842–843; J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I* (Bern 1959) 578; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 2009) 505; Nöthiger, *Die Sprache* 64 n.1; Hinge, *Die*

<sup>38</sup> I owe the suggestion of the tmesis *κατ’ ... ἐχόσαι* to L. Fiorentini and to C. Neri (independently).

<sup>39</sup> But cf. Alc. *PMGF* 1.54 = fr.3.54 Cal. *ἀκήρατος*, with the comments of G. Hinge, *Die Sprache Alkmans* (Wiesbaden 2006) 9.

*Sprache* 9; R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary* I (Leiden 2010) 689. The second possibility seems perhaps preferable because of the discovery of the sixth-century *polyandrion* inscription at Arta, written in the Corinthian alphabet: here the form *Κάρ* (line 10) is used together with *ἀγγε[λί]αν* (3), *ἰμερτάν* (6), and *μάν* (9), words whose [a:] vocalism is original.<sup>40</sup> In the case of Stesichorus, the epicizing form *Κῆρες* is at home (cf. e.g. S88 i.21 *ῥηξήνορα*) as well as the form *Κᾶρες* (e.g. S15 ii.5 *ὄλεσάνορος*). In fact, the original [a:] vocalism is far more frequent in Stesichorus fragments than Ionic-Attic [ε:] (cf. Nöthiger 60–61; R. A. Felsenthal, *The Language of Greek Choral Lyric: Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus and Simonides* [diss. U. Wisconsin] 54–55; A. Willi, *Sikelismos. Sprache, Literatur und Gesellschaft im griechischen Sizilien* [Basel 2008] 58–59), but we cannot exclude the influence of the epic model, also on the level of dialect (see S88 i.21 cited above).

**3.** *πᾶρ δὲ οἶ*: a traditional piece of epic phraseology (eight times in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*), often recurring at line beginning (*Il.* 3.262 = 312, 4.367, 5.365, *Od.* 7.231). For the presence of digamma in (Ϝ)οἶ see also S15 i.10 *κατεφράζετ[ό] οἶ* and S19.3–4 *τό ῥά οἶ παρέθηκε Φόλος*, both from *Geryoneis*: the consonant is used to avoid hiatus. On the treatment of digamma in Stesichorus' poems cf. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache* 105 ff.; Haslam, *GRBS* 19 (1978) 51; Felsenthal, *Language* 59–69; Willi, *Sikelismos* 61–62.

*αἰψ'*: the adverb conveys the same idea of rapidity expressed by the epithet *ὠκυπέται*. For other occurrences in Stesichorus see S104.1 and 222(b).291. For the *correptio in hiatus* before the adverb see e.g. *Od.* 8.226 *τῶ ῥα καὶ αἰψ' ἔθανεν μέγας Εὐρυτος οὐδ' ἐπὶ γῆρας*.

*ἐπ[τ]άξαν*: as the Keres are here *ὠκυπέται*, cowering on the earth seems a suitable action: cf. Ar. *Lys.* 770, quoted above, but also Aesch. *Pers.* 209 and Soph. *Aj.* 171, all concerning birds. In these three passages, however, *πτήσσω* means 'crouching in fear', which is hardly acceptable in the *Geryoneis*. The sense 'crouching in ambush'<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See esp. B. M. Palumbo Stracca, "Κάρ nel *polyandrion* di Ambracia e un'espressione proverbiale ateniese," *RCCM* 40 (1998) 237–243, at 237–239.

<sup>41</sup> LSJ s.v. Π.2. For this meaning see *Od.* 14.473–475 *ἡμεῖς μὲν περὶ ἄστν κατὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνά, / ἄν δόνακας καὶ ἔλος, ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες / κείμεθα, νύξ δ' ἄρ' ἐπήλθε κακὴ βορέαιο πεσόντος*, Eur. *Andr.* 752–753 *ὄρα δὲ μὴ νῶν εἰς ἐρημίαν ὁδοῦ / πτήξαντες οὔδε πρὸς βίαν ἄγωσί με*.

appears much more satisfactory. If so, Sarpedon's description of the Keres as 'standing by'/'standing in wait for' has been reworked by Stesichorus, and the presence of the death-daemons is made more threatening. For the imagery of the Keres assailing a man who is about to die, cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 252–257, also the description of the Erinyes by the raving Orestes in Eur. *Or.* 257 *αὐται γὰρ αὐται πλησίον θρώσκουσ' ἐμοῦ*.

After Heracles' first attack by ambush, the Keres cower on the earth near Geryon ready to bring him to Hades at the proper time of the duel, in keeping with their traditional role. If this restoration is correct, they are depicted as assailants crouching in ambush: they wait for Geryon's death, in order to drink his blood and bring his corpse to Hades (cf. e.g. [Hes.] *Scut.* 248 ff.). In this way, the representation of the Keres given at *Il.* 12.326–327 appears to be vividly reworked by Stesichorus, and the scene is wrought with dramatic tension: the deadly fates evoked by Sarpedon are personified in the *Geryoneis*, and their dreadful presence hangs over the outcome of the fight—another possible instance of Stesichorus' creativity in matters of myth, and particularly of his “fondness for theatricality.”<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Lerza, *Stesicoro* 47: “Che Stesicoro abbia fatto nascere per primo Atena armata dalla testa di Zeus, che abbia per primo attribuito a Eracle l'arco, la clava e la pelle di leone, che abbia presentato Gerione alato e a sei piedi sono innovazioni che riguardano la ‘coreografia’ del mito ... Si tratta di espedienti atti a stimolare la fantasia popolare ..., ma se risalgono davvero a Stesicoro indicano un poeta altrettanto dotato di fantasia, oltre che di notevole inventiva, non senza un certo *gusto per la teatralità*” (emphasis mine).

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