

Panhellenic and Epichoric Elements in Corinna's Catalogues

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THE CONCEPT OF PANHELLENISM has been widely used as a hermeneutic tool to explain the nature or the process of diffusion and reception of archaic poetry (epic or lyric). One of the most influential discussions of the terms Panhellenic and epichoric is in G. Nagy's *Pindar's Homer*. Nagy used Panhellenism as a methodological tool to explain the nature of Homeric poetry, and extended the concept to apply to Hesiodic poetry and to lyric. He defined Panhellenic poetry as "poetry and song that operated not simply on the basis of local traditions suited for local audiences," but as "the product of an evolutionary synthesis of traditions," so that the tradition that it represented "concentrates on traditions that tend to be common to most locales and peculiar to none."¹ The term epichoric, by contrast, refers to myth and ritual produced in a local context, cultural material that, whether for reasons of dialect or content, or merely through lack of circulation, did not travel well. These terms have also been widely used for the study of Greek lyric.²

¹ G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* (Baltimore 1990) 59, 66–67. He also argues that lyric poetry usually merges epichoric and Panhellenic tendencies in order to achieve local prestige. It should be noted that Nagy does not identify song with poetry, but he carefully relates them synchronically and diachronically.

² Other scholars have tried to further clarify their meaning. For example, A. Beecroft states that epichoric is not necessarily associated with oral and with performance, and underlines its "political dimension" (already encountered in Nagy's work) "in reaction to a broader cultural and political

Panhellenism and localism have been widely used by scholars as interpretative tools to Corinna's poetry.³ G. B. D'Alessio was the first to associate the terms Panhellenic and epichoric with Corinna's transmission and early reception (and especially her poems in catalogue form), thus to relate this debate to the modality of transmission: "local features seem to have been more common in song traditions more closely connected to a local context, and those that may have had scarce circulation in later times ... This may be even more true in the case of Corinna, a fifth-century poet from Tanagra, in Boeotia, whose poems seem hardly to have been known before the Hellenistic period, and whose text shows, in its spelling, several features of early Hellenistic Boeotian dialect. It is possible that they were written down for the first time in that period, after a long tradition of local reperformances."⁴ And with her catalogues "it is interesting that Corinna, the melic poet who seems to have been richest in catalogic sections, focuses only on catalogues of local concern. Her daughters of Asopus ... are born to the Boeotian Asopus."⁵ He adds as examples of Corinna's "local" (or epichoric) catalogues one of the daughters of Euonymus (660) and the catalogue of the seers in the Ptoan oracle (654 iii.32–41).⁶ But D'Alessio is not the only or the first scholar to

sphere": *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation* (Cambridge 2010) 8, with more bibliography.

³ Wilamowitz in his editio princeps of the Berlin papyrus already recognized this tension: W. Schubart and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Berliner Klassikertexte* V.2 (Berlin 1907). Since then it has become a standard approach to Corinna's poetry.

⁴ G. B. D'Alessio, "Language and Pragmatics," in F. Budelmann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric* (Cambridge 2009) 127–128.

⁵ G. B. D'Alessio "Ordered from the *Catalogue*: Pindar, Bacchylides, and Hesiodic Genealogical Poetry," in R. Hunter (ed.) *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Constructions and Reconstructions* (Cambridge 2005) 238 n.83.

⁶ Other scholars have claimed that Corinna's poetry has affinities with catalogic material, e.g. B. Gentili and L. Lomiento, "Corinna, *Le Asopidi* (PMG 654 col. III 12–51)," *QUCC* 68 (2001) 17, where the repetition of $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}$ in 655.12–14 is said to be reminiscent of a catalogue.

note the epichoric nature of Corinna's poetry (catalogic or not). M. L. West had long ago underlined the use of local myths as a characteristic of Corinna's poetry, comparing Alcman's *partheneia* and their (epichoric according to him) performative context.⁷ Other scholars agree that Corinna's poetry had a strong epichoric flavour.⁸ But how true is this observation about her catalogues, and what is the role that the epichoric flavour of these poems could have played in their dissemination and ancient reception?

It is true that we possess only a small fraction of Corinna's catalogues. *PMG* 654 is the most substantial part of this fraction. There are some indications of the presence of catalogues in 660 and, possibly, in 656 and 665, but this is not certain. Scholars have considered all or some of them *partheneia*, and have compared Alcman's poetry. The aim of this article is to examine the Panhellenic and epichoric elements in Corinna's catalogic poetry (focusing on 654) with the aim of assessing possible implications of their presence for their generic identity, their possible performative contexts, and their early reception. I will try to draw conclusions about Corinna's external audience, and to define more accurately the generic quality of these fragments.

The fragments

Before discussing Corinna's catalogues and their Panhellenic or epichoric flavour, we should consider the fragments themselves.⁹

654 col. iii.12–26, the daughters of Asopus:

⁷ M. L. West, "Corinna," *CQ* 20 (1970) 283.

⁸ D. L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1953) 82–83; M. L. West, "Dating Corinna," *CQ* 40 (1990) 553–557; D. E. Gerber, *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* (Leiden 1997) 215–216. See for a different view D. Collins, "Corinna and Mythological Innovation," *CQ* 56 (2006) 19–32; D. W. Berman, "The Landscape and Language of Korinna," *GRBS* 50 (2010) 41–62; A. Vergados, "Corinna's Poetic Mountains: *PMG* 654 col. i 1–34 and Hesiodic Reception," *CP* 107 (2012) 109–110.

⁹ Text and translation of Page, *Corinna*, unless stated otherwise.

τᾶν δὲ πῆδω[ν τρι[ς μ]ὲν ἔχι
 Δεὺς πατεῖ[ρ πάντων]ν βασιλεύς,
 τρις δὲ πόντ[ω γᾶμε] μέδων
 15 Π[οτιδάων, τ]ᾶν δὲ δουῖν
 Φῦβος λέκτ[ρα] κρατούνι,
 τὰν δ' ἴαν Μή[α]ς ἀγαθὸς
 πῆς Ἑρμᾶς· οὐ[τ]ω γὰρ Ἔρω
 κῆ Κούπρις πιθέταν, τιῶς
 20 ἐν δόμω βάντας κρουφάδα
 κώρας ἐννί' ἐλέσθη·
 τῆ ποκ' εἰρώων γενέθλαν
 ἐσγεννάσονθ' εἰμ[ιθί]ων,
 κᾶσσονθη π[ο]λου[σπ]ερίες
 25 τ' ἀγείρω τ' ἐς [μ]α[ντοσ]οῦνω
 τρίποδος ὄιτ[...

Of your daughters, three are possessed by Zeus the Father, King of all; three the Lord of Ocean took to wife, Poseidon; Phoebus rules over the beds of two of them, the one is held by the brave son of Maea, Hermes. For so did Eros and the Cyprian prevail, that the Gods go in secret to your House, and take for themselves your maidens nine. They shall give birth hereafter to a breed of heroes half-divine; fruitful they shall be and ageless. Such is my teaching from the seat oracular ...

This catalogic fragment, containing a list of the daughters of Asopus and a list of the seers of the Ptoan oracle, comes from a second century B.C. papyrus which also preserves Corinna's other famous fragment, the singing contest between Cithaeron and Helicon (654 col i). The poem contained approximately 145 lines, of which fewer than forty are readable.¹⁰ Most are part of a speech of a prophet of the Ptoan oracle, Acraephen,¹¹

¹⁰ See Page, *Corinna* 24.

¹¹ It is not certain that Acraephen is the speaker here. Acraephen (whether a proper name or not) is a restoration of Wilamowitz, accepted by most scholars. See for a different approach and further bibliography A. Schachter, *The Cults of Boeotia I* (London 1981) 61–64, and “The Prophet of Korinna, fr. 654 PMG: Glaukos Pontios?” in *Επαιτηρίς της Εταιρείας*

addressed to Asopus, the eponymous demigod of the Boeotian river. Acraephen, in the first catalogue, describes the fates of the abducted daughters of Asopus. Nine have been abducted from Asopus' house by gods, namely Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, and Hermes. The reason was that they were persuaded by Eros and Aphrodite (18–19). At 42–46 Acraephen advises Asopus to rejoice because he must be proud to be the father of the brides of gods. Asopus is promised that his daughters will be fruitful and ageless and that they will give birth to a breed of half-divine heroes (22–23). This is a typical consolation to a parent for the loss of a child in an archaic (mostly epic) context.¹²

D. L. Page believed that it is not futile to try to restore some of the lost part of this poem (654 col. ii.33-40) and suggests names of some of the daughters of Asopus (*Corinna* 26):

ὦν Ἦγ[ιαν γε]νέθλαν
 Δεὺς [ἄ]γαθῶν
 πατρο[]ς
 Κορκύ[ραν δὲ κῆ Σαλαμί-]
 ν' εἰδ[ὶ Εὐβοίαν ἐράνναν]
 Ποτι[δάων κλέψε πα]τεῖρ·
 Σιν[ώπαν]ς
 Θέσ[πιαν]στῖν ἔχων

From them Aegina ... the offspring of ... Zeus ... the father of the Good ... and Corcyra and Salamis and the beloved Euboea, have been stolen by father Poseidon and Sinope and Thespia ... he has ...¹³

Page notes that only Corcyra's name can be read, but restores Salamis, Euboea, Sinope, and Thespia, and possibly Aegina and Thebe.¹⁴ He attributes the islands Corcyra, Salamis, and

Βοιωτικὸν Μελετῶν 2 (Athens 1995) 1063–1072. See also on this Gentili and Lomiento, *QUCC* 68 (2001) 13–15.

¹² See Gerber, *Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* 219, who compares Aphrodite's narrative of the abduction of Ganymede in the fifth Homeric Hymn.

¹³ The translation is mine.

¹⁴ C. M. Bowra, "The Daughters of Asopus," *Hermes* 73 (1938) 213, restored the four and thought that Tanagra and Thebe are probable.

Euboea to Poseidon, and Thespia¹⁵ and her sister Sinope to Apollo. Although he does not add her name, Page supposes that Tanagra, one of the daughters of Asopus according to myth and Corinna's hometown, may be the missing daughter whom Hermes, the principal god of the town of Tanagra, abducted.¹⁶

The second list in 654 is that of the seers of the Ptoan oracle (col. ii.27–41):

τόδε γέρας κ[.....]ν
 ἐς πεντήκο[ντα] κρατερῶν
 ὀμήμων πέρ[οχο]ς προφά-
 30 τας σεμνῶν [ἄδο]ύτων λαχὼν
 ἀψεύδιαν Ἀκ[ρη]φείν·
 πράτοι [μὲν] γὰ[ρ] Λατ]οίδης
 δῶκ' Εὐωνόμοι τριπόδων
 ἐς ἰῶν [χρε]ισμῶς ἐνέπειν
 35 τὸν δ' ἐς γᾶς βαλὼν Οὐριεύς
 τιμὰ[ν] δεύτερος ἴσχευ,
 πῆς [Ποτ]ιδάωνος· ἐπι-
 τ' Ὠα[ρί]ων ἀμὸς γενέτωρ
 γῆα[ν F] ἄν ἀπασάμενος·
 40 χῶ μὲν ὦραν[ὸ]ν ἀμφέπι
 τιμὰν δ[.....]ν οὔταν·

This privilege is given to me alone of fifty mighty brethren—to me, Acraephen, prophet sublime of the solemn sanctuary, gifted with Truth. For first to Euonymus it was given by the son of Leto to utter oracles from his own tripods: but Hyrieus cast him forth from the land, and held the honour second, Son of Poseidon; and then Orion, our father, having regained his own land. Now he dwells in the sky, and this honour has fallen to me.

¹⁵ Corinna describes Thespia in 674, praising her for her beautiful offspring, using a rare word (*καλλιγένεθλε*). According to Page (*Corinna* 38), this celebrates either the beauty of the dwellers in Thespieae or the beauty of the Muses who were honoured in Thespieae.

¹⁶ Page, *Corinna* 26. As he observes, Corinna is reported to have called her a daughter of Asopus (Paus. 9.20.2). This cannot be a coincidence.

Acraephen provides information about his own genealogical tree.¹⁷ The first seer of the oracle of Apollo Ptoios was Euonymus, who was exiled by Hyrieus, the son of Poseidon, who becomes the second seer. Hyrieus' successor was Orion, Acraephen's father, and that makes Acraephen the fourth seer. He provides some description only about Orion: he had fifty mighty sons; he had lost his land, but regained it. Acraephen became the seer of the Ptoan oracle because now Orion dwells in the sky.

Further information about Acraephen's genealogy comes from other sources. Euonymus, who is connected to the oracle but is not related to Acraephen, was the son of Cephisus (the river in Boeotia)¹⁸ and the father of Aulis (whence the Boeotian town) according to Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Αὐλίς). Hyrieus was the son of Poseidon and Alcyone and founder of the Boeotian town Hyria. We are told that he hired Trophonius and Agamedes to build a treasure chamber for him and that they made a secret entrance for themselves, in order to steal some of his possessions (Paus. 9.37.5–6). According to Antoninus Liberalis (*Metam.* 25) Hyrieus was Orion's natural father, but he is usually portrayed as Orion's adoptive father. Orion in Boeotia is pictured as the miraculously created child of Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes, and Gaia as a token of gratitude of the gods for Hyrieus' hospitality.¹⁹ Orion had fifty sons by the Cephisides (see also Corinna 655) and his daughters were the Koronides, according to Antoninus Liberalis (25) and Ovid (*Met.* 13.685 ff.). Orion is known as a constellation to both Homer (*Il.* 18.486 ff., 22.26 ff.) and Hesiod (*Op.* 618 ff., fr. 148–149 M.-W.). There are many other myths related to

¹⁷ The ancient testimonia on the seers of the Ptoion are discussed more fully in Schachter, *The Cults of Boeotia* I 61–64.

¹⁸ J. Larson, "Corinna and the Daughters of Asopus," *SyllClass* 13 (2002) 51, rightly suggests that since Corinna calls Cephisus ἀρχ]αγόν (655.12–13), it is likely that she had composed a similar passage about his daughters too.

¹⁹ Hygin. *Fab.* 195; Ov. *Fasti* 5.493–544; Nonnus *Dion.* 13.96–105.

Orion, some already known to Homer and Hesiod.²⁰ He is mentioned by Corinna twice elsewhere. He was the father of fifty mighty sons, engendered by mingling with the nymphs and Libya (655.12–17); μέγαν (14) hints at his hunting prowess and/or his size, and she mentions Cephisus, the father of Euonymus (12–13). In 662 she states that he was great in strength and named the whole land after himself after he conquered it.

Corinna seems to have composed poems dedicated to groups of maidens, possibly in catalogue form. Some of these maidens were related to the mythic figures mentioned in the catalogue of the seers of the Ptoan oracle, thus to Acraephen's ancestors.

656, the daughters of Orion:

Μητιόχη καὶ Μενίππη. ἰστορεῖ Νίκανδρος Ἐτεροιομένων δ'
καὶ Κόριννα φεροίων α'

According to Antoninus Liberalis (25), Corinna and Nicander narrated the story of Metioche and Menippe, who sacrificed themselves to save their city, Orchomenus, from pestilence. Persephone and Hades created the stars to commemorate them and the Boeotians founded a temple and performed annual rites in their honour. The daughters of Orion were worshipped by maidens and young men under the name Koronides. Their story is also found in Ovid (*Met.* 13.685–699). It is impossible to gain a clear image of what Corinna narrated about them.

660, the daughters of Euonymus:

Αἰολεῖς μετὰ τοῦ Ϝ κατὰ πᾶσαν πτῶσιν καὶ γένος (τὸ ἐὸς
λέγουσιν) ... ὁμοίως καὶ Βοιωτοί. Κόριννα Εὐωνυμίδης·

πῆδα φὸν θέλωσα φίλης
ἀγκάλησ' ἐλέσθαι.

Wishing to take her son in her loving arms...²¹

²⁰ For example: Orion was killed by Artemis because he fell in love with Eos (*Od.* 5.121), he was a giant (*Od.* 11.572), he was the son of Euryale and Poseidon, he visited Chios, Lemnos, Euboea, and Crete where he was killed by a giant scorpion sent by Gaia (Hes. fr.148 M.-W.).

²¹ Transl. D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric IV Bacchylides, Corinna, and Others*

Apollonius Dyscolus (*On pronouns* 136b, p.107 Schn.), giving a short quotation of Corinna's account of the daughters of Euonymus, offers the title of the poem, the *Euonymiae*. Page (33) states that this is possibly "inhabitants of a place Euonymon" or, more likely, "daughters of Euonymus." From the catalogue of seers in 654 we know that Euonymus was the son of Cephisus and prophet of the oracle of Apollo Ptoios. Euonymus was the father of Aulis (D-schol. *Il.* 2.496.), who was one of the Praxidikai; these were goddesses who watched over oaths (*Suda* π 2212). The Praxidikai were also said to be the daughters of the Boeotian king Ogygos (e.g. Paus. 9.33.3). The substance of 660 is in doubt. In a narrative in the third-person singular, a mother reacts to something. Perhaps one of the daughters of Euonymus wanted to seize her child in her arms. It is impossible to know who the mother and the child were. I can only speculate that in Corinna's telling, one of the daughters of Euonymus was either abducted by a god or that she experienced difficulties during the troubled period when her father was expelled from Boeotia by Hyrieus (cf. 654) and wanted to seize her child in her arms.

665, the daughters of Minyas:

Μινυάδες· ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος Ἐτεροισυμένων δ' καὶ Κόριννα.

According to Antoninus Liberalis (10), Corinna and Nicander narrated the story of the daughters of Minyas. The story Antoninus himself tells about the Minyades is similar to that found in the *Bacchae* of Euripides. Leucippe, Arsippe, and Alcathe, the daughters of Minyas, the son of Orchomenus, refused to join the other bacchantes in celebrating Dionysus. Dionysus first tempted and then terrified them by assuming different forms until they lost their minds. Leucippe, with the help of her sisters, tore her son Hippasus limb from limb. When they realized what they had done, they left their home and roamed the hills until Hermes turned them into birds. This story has many variants (Aelian *VH* 3.42, Plut. *Quaest.Gr.* 38,

(Cambridge [Mass.] 1992) 42.

etc.). It is not possible to guess what was Corinna's version. The daughters of Minyas do not seem to be connected to the Ptoan oracle.

Corinna's catalogues

We now need to ask why these poems have been considered catalogic, that is, to assess their relationship with other catalogues of women, such as Hesiod's clearly Panhellenic *Catalogue of Women*.

Catalogues were widely used in early Greek poetry, both epic and lyric.²² They could be variously expanded or inserted into a longer poem. They were divided into distinct units that usually began with a repeated pronoun.²³ They could be recited by a character or by the narrator/poet.²⁴ Their chief characteristics were itemizing and enumerating;²⁵ genealogies, in particular, could take the form of a catalogue.²⁶ In genealogical narratives in catalogue form, as K. Ormand observes, women "are introduced as the daughter of someone important, and their beauty is described in a few formulaic phrases; they are wooed by a mortal or taken by a god; they are either tamed or made pregnant or they 'mix in delightful love' with the man or the god in question; and then they bear important children."²⁷ The language of genealogies sometimes has an erotic

²² For an enlightening discussion of catalogues in early Greek lyric (especially elegy) see C. A. Faraone, "Catalogues, Priamels, and the Stanzaic Structure in Early Greek Elegy," *TAPA* 135 (2005) 249–265. On their nature and their main characteristics see also J. F. Gaertner, "The Homeric Catalogues and their Function in Epic Narrative," *Hermes* 129 (2001) 298–305, with further bibliography.

²³ See Faraone, *TAPA* 135 (2005) 250–251.

²⁴ See Gaertner, *Hermes* 129 (2001) 299. Gaertner believes that catalogues could be of a deceptive nature, as they were not uttered by the poet who was inspired by the Muses.

²⁵ Gaertner, *Hermes* 129 (2001) 299 n.8.

²⁶ Gaertner, *Hermes* 129 (2001) 299; D. R. Davies, *Genealogy and Catalogue: Thematic Relevance and Elaboration in Homer and Hesiod* (Ann Arbor 1992) 34.

²⁷ K. Ormand, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women and Archaic Greece* (New York

flavour, and more specifically the descriptions of the women draw upon the language of early lyric.²⁸

There is much debate about the nature and the genre of these genealogical narratives. I. Rutherford, examining the “generic archaeology” of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, holds that it combines two different earlier traditions of catalogic poetry, namely the early *ehoie*-poetry, which contained non-genealogical catalogues of women, and genealogical poetry that initially was part of the aretalogy of a god who had conquered beautiful women.²⁹ Apart from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* there must have been an extensive corpus of archaic catalogues of women, such as those composed by Asius of Samus and Eumelus of Corinth. Their focus was on heroines' sexual affairs, marriage, and progeny.³⁰

Fragment 654 col. iii–iv contains two catalogues in the broad sense of the term. Each resembles a list of similar things more than an elaborate list like those in epic, was inserted into a longer poem, was divided into distinct units (of women and of seers), and was put into the mouth of a character. What is more, the catalogue of the daughters of Asopus has some of the characteristics of the genealogical accounts of women. This part of the poem did not focus on a single person, but on several heroines. They are introduced as daughters of someone important, are taken by the gods, and bear their children. In addition, there may be hints of erotic language, both in the phrase οὐ[τῶ] γὰρ Ἔρωσ κῆ Κούπρις πιθέτων (17–18)³¹ and

2014) 45.

²⁸ See Ormand, *The Hesiodic Catalogue* 10.

²⁹ I. Rutherford, “Formulas, Voice, and Death in *Ehoie*-Poetry, the Hesiodic *Gynaikon Katalogos*, and the Odysseian *Nekyia*,” in M. Depew and D. Obbink (eds.), *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society* (Cambridge [Mass.] 2000) 90–91.

³⁰ See I. Ziogas, *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women* (Cambridge 2013) 8.

³¹ Aphrodite is usually portrayed in epic as omnipotent (e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 203–206; *Op.* 521; contrast *Il.* 5.330–369 where she suffers physical pain

possibly in Εὔβοιαν ἐράωνναν, if Page's supplement at 654 ii.37 is correct.³² We may not have, in this case, a pronoun that opens each section, but the use of τᾶν δὲ (12) and τᾶν δ' ἴαν (17) shows the poems' catalogic nature. Nevertheless, the only thing that connects the rest of Corinna's fragments with genealogic poetry in catalogue form is the fact that she once again refers to groups of maidens who were daughters of someone of importance. The catalogue of the daughters of Asopus and some of Corinna's catalogic fragments also show affinity with the Panhellenic genealogical account of women *par excellence*, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

The Hesiodic *Catalogue* was a lengthy hexametrical poem composed approximately in the sixth century by one or more authors and came to be attributed to Hesiod.³³ It contained a series of genealogies stemming from the unions between heroines and, mostly, gods that resulted in the birth of the heroes of mythology. The first three books had the genealogies of the descendants of Deucalion, of Inachus, and of the families of Pelasgos and Arkas. The fourth had varied content, including the story of the daughters of Asopus,³⁴ and of the descendants of Pelops (including Alkmene and Heracles). The fifth contained the episode of the wooing of Helen, followed by the Trojan War and the end of the age of heroes.³⁵ Linguistically,

when wounded by Diomedes and is not able to save her son from the battle). Schol. *Op.* 73c reports that Πειθώ (persuasion) was considered by Sappho the daughter of Aphrodite. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* the narrator states (7) that Aphrodite can master all gods and mortals except Athena, Artemis, and Hestia, οὐ δύνανται πεπιθεῖν φρένας. In lyric poetry Eros is said to persuade (e.g. *Anacreontea* 13.2). Corinna's language here is at least traditional, whether or not it has an erotic colouring.

³² In Homer ἐράωνός is used of cities or lands (e.g. *Il.* 9.531, 9.577; *Od.* 7.18). It is rare for gods or persons, and mainly in lyric (e.g. *Bacch.* 3.42).

³³ See Hunter, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* 2–3.

³⁴ M. L. West believes that there was a book dedicated to the Asopids: *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985) 100–103.

³⁵ See Hunter, *The Hesiodic Catalogue* 2. For a reconstruction of the *Catalogue* see West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue*.

the Hesiodic *Catalogue* was not far from the traditional language of epic.

The first observation regarding the relationship of Corinna's catalogues to the *Catalogue of Women* is their striking morphological dissimilarities. We can have no idea of the overall length of fragments 656, 660, and 665 and it is not certain that they contained catalogues, but it could not have been very dissimilar from the length of her better-preserved catalogic poem (654 ii–iv, ca. 145 lines). The meter used in this fragment was polyschematic choriambics followed by a pherecratean clausula.³⁶ The structure of the poem was strophic, an indication that it was probably meant to be performed by a chorus.³⁷ The meter used in 660 was probably pherecratean.³⁸

Corinna's most extended fragment in catalogue form (654 ii–iv) does not contain a pronoun which opens every section. The succession τρῖς μὲν ... τρῖς δὲ ... δοῦν ... τὰν ἴαν gives the fragment a catalogic flavour, but is far from the elaborated and structured sequence of the major (and recognizably epic) catalogues. Page is certain that Corinna's poetry revealed "little trace of the influence of the Epic."³⁹ He only allows some similarities to epic vocabulary such as ὠκύπορος, πολυσπερῆς, ἀγκυλομήτης Κρόνος, and similarities of Corinna's wording and narrative in 654 col. i to Hesiod.⁴⁰ Other scholars are less reluctant about Corinna's relationship to epic. Gerber considers some of her adjectives as "striking adaptations of Homeric epithets."⁴¹ Skinner believes that Corinna "composes in a literary dialect closely resembling that of the Homeric poems, regionalizing it by the introduction of Boeotian vernacular and

³⁶ Page, *Corinna* 61. Note that the use of this meter has been one of the main arguments for Corinna's later dating (Page 61–63).

³⁷ See Berman, *GRBS* 50 (2010) 6.

³⁸ Page, *Corinna* 33.

³⁹ Page, *Corinna* 76.

⁴⁰ Page, *Corinna* 76 n.2 and 20 n.5.

⁴¹ Gerber, *Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* 216. He mentions as examples the use of ἀγκυλομήτης (654 i.14) and λιγουροκωτίλυσ (655 fr.1.5).

pronunciation.”⁴² Berman is even more positive, stating that “morphologically the language appears to be a form of Boiotian that shows strong affinity with epic language—almost to the point of being ‘epic dialect’ spelled as Boiotian.”⁴³ Her language, as most scholars agree, is an artificial dialect based on the Boeotian vernacular of the Hellenistic age⁴⁴ and, thus, a literary dialect. Indeed, Corinna’s language in the fragments that show some affinities with catalogues seems to be a literary dialect, namely, an amalgam between vernacular Boeotian and the language of archaic epic. She uses many words and phrases that have an epic colouring, as well as motifs that are usually encountered in epic when she describes the abduction of the daughters of Asopus and its result (the birth of illustrious offspring) and when she refers to the power of persuasion of Aphrodite and Eros. She describes her audience as γῆαν εὐρού[χορον (655 fr.1.8), using an epic formula with added Boeotian colouring, and describes her subject as the deeds of heroes and heroines (664b), not unlike the poet of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, as we shall see. The similarities do not stop here, for there are numerous similarities at the mythological level.

The best-preserved of Corinna’s catalogues is that of the daughters of Asopus (654). Possibly the *Catalogue of Women* had a book dedicated to the Asopids, but it is not likely that Thebe or Tanagra were mentioned in that account.⁴⁵ What is more, some of the persons mentioned in the catalogue of the seers of the Ptoan oracle (654) were also mentioned in the Hesiodic

⁴² M. B. Skinner, “Corinna of Tanagra and her Audience,” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* 2 (1983) 9.

⁴³ Berman, *GRBS* 50 (2010) 54–55. He takes as examples the genitive Ποτιδάωνος (fr.654 iii.37) and epicisms such as ἀγκουλομέιται Κρόνω and Λατοΐδας.

⁴⁴ See Page, *Corinna* 46–64, for a detailed analysis. Scholars hesitate to decide whether this is a result of Corinna’s later date or of her transmission. See especially E. Lobel, “Corinna,” *Hermes* 65 (1930) 356; West, *CQ* 20 (1970) 286–287; Collins, *CQ* 56 (2006) 19; Berman, *GRBS* 50 (2010) 53–55.

⁴⁵ See Larson, *SyllClass* 13 (2002) 53.

Catalogue. This may be the case for one of the daughters of Asopus, Antiope.⁴⁶ She is mentioned in the *Catalogue*, nurtured by Boeotian Hyria (fr.181 M.-W.). Mekionike, according to the *Catalogue* (fr.253) another of Asopus' daughters, mated with Poseidon and gave birth to Ephemus in Hyria. There are also references to Cephisus (fr.70) and to Onchestus in a Boeotian fragment (fr.219). Another Boeotian item (fr.257) narrates the exile of the hero Hyettus from Argolis to Orchomenus; Hyettus found comfort in the palace of Orchomenus, who was one of the sons of Minyas. It is possible that there was also a reference to one of the daughters of Euonymus. In fr.251a there is a pairing between an unnamed woman and Chaeresilaus Iasides. According to D'Alessio,⁴⁷ Chaeresilaus must have been the father of Poemander, the founder of Tanagra. The mother of Poemander, bride of Chaeresilaus, was Stratonice according to Plutarch (*Quaest. Gr.* 37), who according to *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2413 was the daughter of Euonymus. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* offers stories similar to those about the daughters of Minyas.⁴⁸ The story of the daughters of Proteus is a striking example. They did not honour Dionysus (or Hera in other versions) and were punished by losing their minds and their beauty (fr.131–133); according to Probus (on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48), Hesiod narrated that the Proteides were led to believe that they had been transformed into cows, until they were cured by Melampus. We may not know the version of the myth of the Minyades that Corinna narrated or be certain that there was a catalogue of them, but if it contained the story of their transformation as a

⁴⁶ Bowra, *Hermes* 73 (1938) 214, does not believe that Antiope appeared in Corinna, on the grounds that she was not an eponymous heroine of a city like the other daughters of Asopus in the fragment. In fact it is not clear from Corinna's text whether or not Antiope appeared.

⁴⁷ G. D'Alessio, "The *Megalai Ehoiai*: a Survey of the Fragments," in *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* 184.

⁴⁸ Another interesting parallel is the story of the daughters of Tyndareus, who are said to become adulteresses because Aphrodite imposed this punishment (fr.176 M.-W.).

punishment for not honouring Dionysus, then we have a very close parallel. References to the oracle of Dodona and its history are embedded in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr.240), not unlike Corinna 654. So it is possible that both Corinna and the *Catalogue* referred to the Asopids, Cephisus, Orchomenus, the descendants of Minyas, and the daughter(s) of Euonymus. They also have similar stories about oracles and groups of daughters punished either by disfigurement or by transformation. These similarities can be considered to attest an influence of the *Catalogue* on Corinna.⁴⁹

The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* does not seem to be the only archaic catalogue of women that contained Boeotian stories. We find references to the abduction of Sinope by Apollo from Hyria in the *Europia* of Eumelus (fr.29 West) composed around 650.⁵⁰ West connects the mention of Amphion in fr.30 with his father, the Sicyonian Epopeus, who abducted from Hyria Antiope, another daughter of Asopus. West believes that Antiope appeared in the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus.⁵¹ Asius of Samos also referred to Boeotian myths (fr.1–4 West). In fr.1 Antiope, the daughter of Asopus, is said to have given birth to Zethus and Amphion by mating with Zeus and Epopeus. The references to Boeotian myth are problematic in both Eumelus and Asius, since as West observes, most genealogical poems try to construct a prehistory for themselves and their cities:⁵² in their cases, we would expect them to focus on Corinthian and Sicyonian myth and on Samos. C. M. Bowra suggested that Corinna's narrative about the daughters of Asopus owes much to Eu-

⁴⁹ D'Alessio, in *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* 197–199, may be right that the Hesiodic *Catalogue* contains many Boeotian passages, mainly for geopolitical reasons, but we cannot explain all these similarities as references to a common mythological matrix.

⁵⁰ On this see M. L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge [Mass.]/London 2003) 29–30.

⁵¹ West, *Greek Epic Fragments* 30. As mentioned above, it is possible that Antiope was mentioned in Corinna fr.654.

⁵² West, *Greek Epic Fragments* 25–26.

melus' work, believing that Eumelus invented the idea that the daughters of Asopus were eponymous heroines of cities and was the first to add Sinope and Corcyra to the list of Asopus' daughters.⁵³ Scholars also note the surprising importance of Boeotian or Aeolic heroes and heroines in Homer's catalogue of women in the *Nekyia* (*Od.* 11.225–332):⁵⁴ many have strong connections with Boeotia, such as Antiope, Alcmene, Megara, Epicaste (Jocasta), and Klymene.⁵⁵ This abundance of Boeotian myths in catalogues of women led G. S. Kirk to suggest "the influence of a much later Boeotian school of catalogue poetry which we might infer from the poetry associated with Hesiod."⁵⁶ It is not certain that there was a Boeotian school of Catalogues of Women associated with Hesiod, but Corinna's work seems to draw mythological material, motifs, and wording mostly from Panhellenic (Hesiodic *Catalogue*, Homer) catalogues of women.

The genre of Corinna's catalogues

Corinna's 654 ii–iv contains two catalogues. The first bears similarities to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and both have affinities with epic vocabulary and Panhellenic myth. Fragments 656, 660, and 665 seem to have contained similar narratives. Nevertheless, catalogues are usually encountered in epic contexts, and Corinna is a lyric poet. Her catalogues are merely reduced to a list of similar things (women, seers) and are simple in form. It is certain that she did not compose catalogues of women like the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. What is less certain is the exact generic quality of the fragments at hand.

⁵³ Bowra, *Hermes* 73 (1938) 216–218.

⁵⁴ See G. S. Kirk, *Homer and the Epic* (Cambridge 1965) 89; S. Larson, "Boiotia, Athens, the Peisistratids and the *Odyssey's* Catalogue of Heroines," *GRBS* 41 (2002) 206–208.

⁵⁵ See the analysis of Larson, *GRBS* 41 (2002) 198–204. The most interesting reference is to Antiope. We repeatedly encounter the name and the story of one of the daughters of Asopus in archaic epic. Unfortunately, we cannot deduce that Antiope was mentioned in Corinna's poem.

⁵⁶ Kirk, *Homer and the Epic* 89.

Corinna has been considered by most scholars a poet of choral songs meant to be performed by maidens.⁵⁷ The reason is her first-person statement in 655. Some scholars take such first-person statements in archaic epic and lyric to be autobiographical references by which the poet establishes a connection with a particular context of performance.⁵⁸ These autobiographical references were not always intentional and thus a part of a poetic agenda. Nevertheless, they have been widely used by scholars as a means to study the ancient reception of lyric poets.⁵⁹ Are there references of this kind in Corinna's work and did she use them to establish a relationship with an audience and a specific performative context, i.e. with a poetic genre?

In 655 Corinna seems to state that she composed, commanded by Terpsichore, stories of the time of their fathers⁶⁰ for the white-robed women of Tanagra, which made the whole city rejoice (1–4, 9–10)—supposedly describing both her audience and the content of her poems. Corinna seems to claim that her choral poems, which narrate old-time stories, make the whole city rejoice because they are being sung in the female

⁵⁷ H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (New York 1906) cxxxii; West, *CQ* 20 (1970) 280; B. M. Palumbo Stracca, "Corinna e il suo pubblico," in R. Pretagonisti (ed.), *Tradizione e innovazione nella cultura greca da Omero all'età ellenistica II* (Rome 1993) 403–412; E. Stelhe, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece. Nondramatic Poetry in its Setting* (Princeton 1997) 103–104; W. B. Ingalls, "Ritual Performance as Training for Daughters in Archaic Greece," *Phoenix* 54 (2004) 16.

⁵⁸ See M. Griffith, "Personality in Hesiod," *CLAnt* 2 (1983) 37; B. Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic* (Cambridge 2002) 82–90. Beecroft follows a similar line of interpretation and speaks of the implied poetics in what he calls "scenes of authorship," defining them as "biographical anecdotes concerning the composition and performance of poetry by named individuals": *Authorship and Cultural Identity* 17.

⁵⁹ So for example Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*.

⁶⁰ *ἑροῖα* are usually seen as similar to *λόγια δ' ἐπ' πατέρω[v]*. On this word see further D. L. Clayman, "The Meaning of Corinna's *ἑροῖα*," *CQ* 28 (1978) 396–397.

voice (4–5).⁶¹ Her audience is her city (πόλις, 4), described as a land full of wide dancing-places (γῆαν εὐρύχορον, 8). The adjective εὐρύχορος is often used by Homer (*Il.* 2.498, 23.299, *Od.* 4.635, 6.4, 11.265, 13.414, 15.1) and by lyric poets (e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 7.8, *Pyth.* 4.43, 8.55). It usually accompanied the name of a city (Thebes, Sparta, Argos, etc.) or the noun πόλις. The performers of Corinna's songs seem to be the maidens of Tanagra (3, 11). It is easy to deduce from other fragments that her choral poems were probably performed in the spring (690.10–11, ὥρη, φέαρως ἐν ἄνθεσι). Corinna's poetry thus seems to contain autobiographical references, but do these manifest anything about the generic quality of her songs?

Corinna appears to give information about the performative context of her songs. She also provides information about their genre. She composed choral songs to be performed by maidens, and thus inscribed her poetry within the generic frame of *partheneia*.⁶² Her songs contained narratives of the time of the ancestors, and so they were full of local myth. More specifically, these songs contained stories of the deeds of heroes and heroines, as Corinna states in 664b (ἰώνει δ' εἰρώων ἀρετὰς χειρώαδων, “But I sing the noble deeds of heroes and heroines”). Nevertheless, the subject of the *Catalogue of Women* is similar: ἀνέρες ἠδὲ γυναικες (fr.1.9 M.-W.).⁶³

This last phrase is reminiscent not only of autobiographical references in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, but also of some of the remarks of ancient scholars about the content of the *Catalogue*. In the *Greek Anthology* (9.64) Hesiod is credited with

⁶¹ λιγουροκω[τί]λος ἐνοπής is used to describe a female voice: LSJ s.vv. λιγουρά, ἐνοπή, κωτίλος.

⁶² Her poetry seems to have much in common with the best-preserved examples of this genre, Alcman's *partheneia*. The most prominent similarities are in content—the poems share many motifs and themes. One is the motif of rape and abduction of maidens, which appears in Alcman (1 and 21) and again in Corinna 654 col. i and iii. We also encounter ornithological images in both poets (Corinna 655.5, Alcman 1.60, 86, 101, 26, 39, 40 82).

⁶³ As observed by Larson, *SyllClass* 13 (2002) 49 n.9.

composing poems about the birth and deeds of the gods and the birth of heroes (μακάρων γένος ἔργα τε μολπαῖς / καὶ γένος ἀρχαίων ἔγραφες ἡμιθέων). According to the *Suda* (η 583) the *Catalogue of Women* was a catalogue of heroines (γυναικῶν ἡρωϊνῶν ἐν βιβλίοις ε'). Lucian (*Dial.Hesiod.* 1) stated that Hesiod wrote about love, about the deeds of women (γυναικῶν ἀρετάς), and about advice on agriculture. Corinna, the poet(s) of the *Hesiodic Catalogue*, and the commentators on the *Catalogue* seem to try to inscribe the narratives that are contained in Corinna's catalogues and the *Catalogue*, if not in a well-defined poetic genre, in a certain context strongly coloured by subject-matter: the stories of heroines and heroes. According to the autobiographical reference in 664b, her songs are related to the *Catalogue of Women* or to a tradition of catalogue form of genealogical poetry. But did Corinna attempt to establish a relationship with her local audience of epichoric *partheneia* or with a Panhellenic audience of (quasi) Panhellenic catalogue poetry?

Corinna's epichoric partheneia

It is evident that Corinna composed choral poems and that she tried to establish a relationship with her audience and with a certain genre. This genre is choral maiden songs, *partheneia*.

Both West and Gerber sought to explain Corinna's 'parochialism' by regarding her poems as *partheneia* and comparing Alcman's *partheneia*.⁶⁴ It is true that Alcman's *partheneia* were composed in a local dialect and contained local myths, not unlike Corinna's catalogues. To explain epichoric elements in Corinna's poems (catalogic or not) in terms of similarities to Alcman's *partheneia* is usually to posit a very restrained performative context for Corinna's poems, and such a context should have affected her early reception. In this perspective, Corinna is considered to have composed epichoric *partheneia* for the women of Tanagra, and perhaps her songs were performed in front of her male counterparts. Nevertheless, what seems to have not been fully understood is the

⁶⁴ West, *CQ* 20 (1970) 280; Gerber, *Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* 217.

nature of this genre, Corinna's engagement with it, and its implications for the early reception of her poetry. I suggest that the very nature of *partheneia* as a literary genre did not limit those who wanted to inscribe their compositions in it from incorporating different elements, and that not every *partheneion* was destined to have limited reception and transmission. In other words, it is not impossible for Corinna to have composed *partheneia* which contained not only epichoric but also Panhellenic (coming from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*) elements, and that these Panhellenic elements could have had an impact on her early reception and transmission.

We can classify under the umbrella of *partheneia* every archaic or classical song that was composed for performance by a maiden-chorus. Archaic *partheneia* were composed for varied occasions. C. Calame notes that the songs sung by maiden choruses were not *partheneia* as we define them today, but any kind of choral songs. In his study of the performances of maiden-choruses he divides the songs into six categories (hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, citharodic *nomoi*, threnodies, *epithalamia*). He concludes that the poems performed by female choruses did not constitute a well-defined genre and were composed and performed for distinct occasions.⁶⁵ *Partheneia* did contain Panhellenic elements too.⁶⁶ Calame first pointed out the similarities between Alcman's poetry and the catalogues of women (the Hesiodic and other catalogues).⁶⁷ Alcman used the

⁶⁵ C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* (Lanham 1997) 88. Nevertheless, he admits that *partheneia* even in archaic Greece had a certain distinctiveness. On the nature of this genre see also L. Bowman, "The 'Women's Tradition' in Greek Poetry," *Phoenix* 58 (2003) 12–14; Klinck, *Woman's Songs* 24–25; L. A. Swift, *The Hidden Chorus: Echoes of Genre in Tragic Lyric* (Oxford/New York. 2010) 174–175.

⁶⁶ For the Panhellenic elements of Alcman's *partheneia* see C. Carey, "Alcman from Laconia to Alexandria," in L. Athanassaki and E. Bowie (eds.), *Archaic and Classical Choral Song: Performance, Politics and Dissemination* (Berlin 2011) 444.

⁶⁷ In the sense that Alcman in fr.1 and 3 seems to 'make narrative' out of names from a catalogue of mythological figures. See on this C. Calame,

catalogue form at least four times (1.70–80, 3, 106, 148 *PMGF*). Two of these catalogues serve to describe or to praise women.

Partheneia were not necessarily destined to have a limited (epichoric) early reception, as is obvious in Alcman's case. To explain the Panhellenic reception of Alcman's epichoric *partheneia*, C. Carey interprets some of Alcman's autobiographical references as a sign of the poet's efforts to position his poetry for an external (Panhellenic) as well for a local (a given chorus of Spartan maidens) audience. As an example Carey mentions the "pronounced poetic self-consciousness" in Alcman's *sphragis* (fr.39) and his "awareness of that status" demonstrated by claims to originality (fr.4, 14), concluding that his Panhellenic reception was not an accident but "part of the implied poetic project."⁶⁸ As mentioned above, Corinna seems to have a poetic plan, and thus she seems to try to exert control over her reception, not unlike Alcman. Her poetry contained epichoric elements, common in *partheneia* and in other catalogues of women, that were addressed to her local audience. What I am suggesting is that it also contained Panhellenic elements that were addressed to a Panhellenic audience. Corinna was free to situate her epichoric *partheneia* with Panhellenic poetry, and more specifically with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

Corinna's Panhellenic poetry

It was not only *partheneia* that could contain elements of other genres: also catalogues of women, as Rutherford has clearly shown, cannot be reduced to one performative situation.⁶⁹ As it

"From Choral Poetry to Tragic Stasimon: The Enactment of Women's Song," *Arion* 3 (1994/5) 179–182, esp. 181 for the similarities between Alcman's narrative and narratives of catalogues, especially of women (I am not wholly convinced). Rutherford, in his important study of the catalogues of women as a genre, also links Alcman's *partheneia* with them: in *Matrices of Genre* 88.

⁶⁸ Carey, in *Archaic and Classical Choral Song* 444. Gerber also mentions that Alcman "on at least one occasion (in his second Partheneion)" made explicit his own poetic program: *Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* 217.

⁶⁹ Rutherford, in *Matrices of Genre* 88 ff. He also stresses that the Hesiodic

was not impossible, during the archaic age, for an epic choric *partheneion* to contain elements of epic catalogues of women, it was not impossible for an epic catalogue of women to resemble a *partheneion*. Corinna could have composed her choral poems with a wider tradition in mind, as many scholars have already claimed.⁷⁰ In what follows I attempt to draw some conclusions regarding the identity of her external audience, and to define more accurately the generic quality of her catalogues.

Corinna did compose *partheneia* to be performed by the maidens of Tanagra, possibly in front of her male fellow citizens. Nevertheless, she situated herself in a creative dialogue with the tradition of women's catalogues, especially with the Panhellenic Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Although the form of her compositions seems to bear little similarity to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* or to other Panhellenic catalogic material, because of its lack of elaboration, her language has affinities with epic material. She also uses epic motifs in more than one instance. As mentioned above, in her autobiographical statements she defines her audience as γῆσαν εὐρού[χορον] (655), using an epic formula with Boeotian colouring, and the subject of her poetry as stories about the deeds of heroes and heroines (664b), not unlike the poet of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* or its commentators. The myths she used seem to build on knowledge of the mainstream, and thus Panhellenic, tradition in order to achieve their effect. In her catalogues, she refers to the daughters of Asopus and to figures that did not necessarily belong only to the Boeotian mythical tradition, such as Orion. Most of the daughters of Asopus are personified toponyms of Boeotia, but this cannot be said of Corcyra. Eumelus, who was not a Boeotian poet, seems to have been the first to say that the daughters of Asopus were eponymous heroines of cities, and Corinna seems to have followed him (although Eumelus' work can hardly be con-

Catalogue of Women contained an account of the exploits of the Leucippides and that the mythic part of Alcman 1 had the story of the rape of the daughters of Leucippus by Castor and Pollux.

⁷⁰ See a detailed discussion in Skinner, *Tulsa Studies* 2 (1983), esp. 15–16.

sidered Panhellenic). Even most of the mythical figures she chooses to extract directly from Boeotian contexts were not obscure figures in mainstream mythology, as we saw above. The myth of the abduction of the daughters of the Boeotian Asopus is encountered in other catalogues of women (in *Odyssey* 11, in Eumelus and Asius), and probably in the Panhellenic *Catalogue of Women* par excellence. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, we also encounter references to Cephisus, to one of the sons of Minyas, to Hyria, and probably to one of the Minyades. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* seems to contain narratives similar to Corinna's catalogues, if 655, 660, 665 did contain catalogues (about groups of daughters who were punished—possibly by transformation—because they scorned Dionysus, and about particular oracular shrines).⁷¹ The juxtaposition of Corinna's catalogues with catalogic fragments in archaic epic confirms the conclusions of other scholars that Corinna seems to treat Panhellenic myth in a creative way, either by seeing it through a Boeotian lens, or by resisting it and enriching its narratives.⁷² Corinna seems to have composed lyric *partheneia* influenced by catalogues of women and especially by the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. I want to extend this argument in order to draw a conclusion about the existence of an external audience and Corinna's relationship to it.

M. Skinner is the first scholar, to my knowledge, who relates

⁷¹ Larson convincingly explains why the reference to the Ptoan oracle should not be considered a mere epichoric element. It seems likely that this oracle was a centre of interest for Boeotia, Thebes, Thessaly, and Athens at least from the mid-sixth century on: *GRBS* 41 (2002) 206–209, 218. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* contained many narratives about metamorphosis, as some of Corinna's fragments must have as well. On the motif of metamorphosis in the *Catalogue* see C. Tsagalis, "Hesiodic Poetry and Poetics," in F. Montanari and A. Rengakos (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Hesiod* (Leiden 2009) 167.

⁷² See Larson, *SyllClass* 13 (2002) 50; D. H. J. Larmour, "Corinna's Poetic *Metis* and the Epinikian Tradition," in E. Greene, *Women Poets in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Norman 2005) 26, 36; Collins, *CQ* 56 (2006) 22–25 and 30–31; Vergados, *CP* 107 (2012) 116.

the Panhellenic elements in Corinna (by regarding them as a token of Corinna's internalization of patriarchal values) to Corinna's audience and date. She suggests that Corinna's poetry exhibited a high degree of familiarity with the poetry of Homer, Hesiod, Alcman, and Pindar (in her words, with the "dominant culture") and seeks to explain it in terms of the existence of an implied audience and Corinna's attempt to address it through her poetry.⁷³ Skinner considers Corinna a product of the unisex Hellenistic education. She also bases her arguments for the existence of an external audience on the fact that in an introductory poem (655) Corinna explains the style and content of her poetry and defines their place in the literary tradition. Skinner estimates that Corinna compiled her poems in order for them to be circulated in written form outside of Boeotia, and especially where there was a learned public, such as in Alexandria and Pergamon. She is not alone in holding that Corinna compiled her poems for publication and that fr.655 was the introductory poem of her collection.⁷⁴ Extending Skinner's arguments, I propose that the external audience of Corinna's poems manifests itself not solely in the fact of an introductory poem, or even in the fact that her poems (catalogic or not) seem full of allusions to other versions of myths, or in her language. Her public is also discretely revealed by the generic ambiguities of her 'catalogues', and especially by their relationship with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

As demonstrated above, Corinna draws upon local mythic tradition, Panhellenic mythic tradition, and the Panhellenic but suspiciously Boeotian-flavoured tradition of women's catalogues, and she based her dialect on the vernacular of her region and on epic (mostly Homeric and Hesiodic) diction. In addition, she seems to have structured her narratives upon Panhellenic models to compose her 'catalogues'. It is certain that she did not compose a catalogue of women (or of the seers

⁷³ Skinner, *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 2 (1983) 15–17.

⁷⁴ See for example West, *CQ* 20 (1970) 280, and 40 (1990) 554.

of the Ptoan oracle) in the strict sense, since she inscribes herself in the lyric register both by the form of her poems and by her autobiographical references, but what she seems to have achieved is to recreate lyric catalogues of women. These catalogues were tinted by another lyric genre. This genre was *partheneia*, as suggested above. Her practice was not at odds with the very nature of *partheneia* and the nature of catalogues of women. What I suggest is that she composed epichoric *partheneia* and blended them with catalogue poetry, and especially with elements coming from the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, in order to address her external (Panhellenic) audience. Her strategy conveys much about her implied audience, and perhaps about its era.⁷⁵ This audience was a Panhellenic one, definitely not exclusively female, and even an audience of connoisseurs.

There has been much debate about Corinna's date. The dominant view is the third century B.C.,⁷⁶ although there are arguments against this date.⁷⁷ I suggest that Corinna's way of

⁷⁵ Hellenistic catalogues tend to blend elements of other genres within their narratives. On the Hellenistic catalogues and their engagement with the Hesiodic *Catalogue* see the discussion (with examples) in R. Hunter, "The Hesiodic *Catalogue* and Hellenistic Poetry," in *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* 239–265, and H. Asquith, "From Genealogy to *Catalogue*: The Hellenistic Adaptation of the Hesiodic Catalogue Form," in *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* 266–286.

⁷⁶ See Page, *Corinna* 65; C. Segal, "Pebbles in Golden Urns: The Date and Style of Corinna," *Eranos* 73 (1975) 67; West, *CQ* 40 (1990) 553.

⁷⁷ The most serious argument in favor of an earlier date (no later than the fourth century) cites Tatian's attribution of a statue of Corinna to Silanion. See A. Steward, "Nuggets: Mining Texts Again," *AJA* 102 (1998) 271–282; A. Schachter, "The Singing Contest of Kithairon and Helikon: Kor. fr. 654 PMG col. I and ii, 1–11: Content and Context," in A. Kolde et al. (eds.), *Κορυφαίω ἀνδρί. Mélanges offerts à André Hurst* (Geneva 2005) 275–283. This attribution, however, has also been disputed: see A. Kalkmann, "Tatians Nachrichten über Kunstwerk," *RhM* 42 (1987) 489–524; I. M. Plant, *Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology* (London 2004) 92; M. Fuchs, "Zur Ikonographie der Dichterin Korinna und zur Schulbildung in den fernen Provinzen des griechischen Ostens," *AntK* 53 (2010) 12–22. Palumbo Stracca believes that Corinna lived during the fifth century: in *Tradizione e*

engagement with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and the rest of this tradition points towards the later date—when the Panhellenic elements in her compositions are justified from the point of view of composition and diffusion.

Conclusion

It is possible that both Corinna and the *Hesiodic Catalogue* referred to the Asopids, to Cephisus, to Orchomenus, to the descendants of Minyas, and to the daughter(s) of Euonymus. There are also similar stories about oracles and groups of daughters punished either by disfigurement or transformation.

Corinna composed her work in a literary dialect similar to the Boeotian vernacular and embellished it with epic vocabulary and motifs. She treated Panhellenic myths (about Orion, the Asopids, and other prominent mythic figures) by adding a local twist to them. Her poems were meant to be performed by maidens of her hometown and so could fit in the genre of *partheneia*. On the surface, her *partheneia* were epichoric poems. Upon further consideration, it is clear that they were contaminated by another genre: the epic genealogies of women of which the Hesiodic *Catalogue* is the most comprehensive example. Corinna's catalogues thus blend epichoric and Panhellenic elements. These Panhellenic elements seem to come, mainly, from the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. Her 'catalogues' also seem to blend *partheneia* with catalogues of women and so blend lyric with epic, creating generic ambiguities.

The way in which Corinna chooses to engage with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and with the rest of the tradition of the catalogues of women reveals much about her poetics and explains the Panhellenic—to some extent—survival of her epichoric poetry. Her catalogues are much less elaborate in form and structure than their prototype. They are also different in length and meter. At the level of content, Corinna seems—at least in fr.654 ii–iv—to have chosen as her protagonists figures that are encountered in the *Catalogue of Women*, and she tries to

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situate them within the narrative about the Ptoan oracle. She seems to feel free to add details that were probably omitted or suppressed by the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and even to embellish them, if Bowra's hypothesis that Corinna's narrative in 654 draws heavily on Eumelus, with details coming from other catalogues of women. If 665 did contain a narrative influenced by catalogues of women, perhaps Corinna anticipated an interest in tales of metamorphosis. She seems to be engaged more with the idea of the *Catalogue of Women* and less with the *Catalogue* itself, and especially with its strict structure. She is under the influence of the *Catalogue of Women*, but she manages to escape it on many levels by generic blending and simplification. She also seems to keep the door open to influences coming from other catalogic (epichoric) material.

Although it is far from certain that Corinna lived during the Hellenistic age, her engagement with the *Catalogue of Women* bears similarities to the way Hellenistic poets were inspired by the Hesiodic prototype. Hellenistic poets seem to use different meter, to alter or to omit the opening formulae of their catalogues, to make limited use of Hesiodic features, to isolate myths, and to add details suppressed in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.⁷⁸ Their works have different generic affiliations and they were free to mix Panhellenic with epichoric elements.⁷⁹

Corinna, by her creative engagement with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and the whole tradition of catalogues, tries and—to some extent, if we judge by her early reception—succeeds in establishing a relationship with a Panhellenic audience. By the blending of *partheneia* with elements of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (or possibly also with other catalogues of women), a whole tradition of lyric catalogues of women emerges. In Hunter's words, every reference to the *Catalogue of Women* from a certain age onwards “opens up a whole network

⁷⁸ See Hunter, in *The Hesiodic Catalogue* 251–252; Asquith, in *The Hesiodic Catalogue* 260–276; Rutherford, in *Matrices of Genre* 90.

⁷⁹ See Asquith, in *The Hesiodic Catalogue* 266, 269

of heroic poetry, which sometimes can seem like a giant system of cross-referencing to archaic epic ... or a 'source-book' of narratives waiting to be written."⁸⁰ And the ancient audience that expected to read Corinna's narratives should also have been a Panhellenic one.

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⁸⁰ Hunter, in *The Hesiodic Catalogue* 256.