



# THE GAMMA TRADITION

ON THE ORIGIN OF ROMAN STORIES

WARD BLONDÉ

## The Gamma-tradition

## **Abstract**

The Aeolian Gamma-tradition is the third of five Homeric traditions that Ward Blondé discovered in the *Iliad*. Greek settlers spread it from the Aeolian region around Troy to Italy, where it became the origin of Roman stories.

## **Summary**

Blondé's Aeolian Gamma-tradition modernizes his Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and is strongly mixed with his European Beta-tradition in the *Iliad*. Curiously, it is also connected to the Troy area and the Greek colonies in Italy. Roman mythology and the *Aeneid* appear not to be based on Greek mythology and Homer in general, but more specifically on the Aeolian Gamma-tradition. The intertextuality of the Aeolian Gamma-tradition in Homer, the Trojan Cycle, the *Argonautica*, Virgil, and the Old—and even New—Testament is investigated. Furthermore, there are the influences of several often-international story types, such as the destruction story, the tele-story, the monster story, and the savior story.

# The Gamma-tradition on the origin of Roman stories

Ward Blondé

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All passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in this book make use of the translations of Richmond Lattimore. For Proclus' *Chrestomathy*, with the stories of the Trojan Cycle in Latin, the translation of H. G. Evelyn-White is used. The passages from the *Aeneid* are those of Theodore C. Williams' translation.

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The Gamma-tradition: on the origin of Roman stories

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### **Quotes about earlier books in the Homeric Traditions series:**

William F. Hansen, Professor Emeritus of Classical Studies and Folklore:  
I read your argument with interest. The “king story” that you reconstruct is not, to my knowledge, attested anywhere in oral tradition.

Haris Koutelakis, PhD in Archaeology and History:  
I just finished my book about the *Odyssey* after many, many years—of course, in that I have made some citations to your book. But now I must read your new one!

Margaretha Kramer-Hajos, Senior Lecturer and PhD in Classical Archaeology about the European Beta-tradition:  
Thank you—this looks fascinating!

Pantos Emmanuel, Homeric friend:  
It’s an excellently organised text. Well done. Looking forward to your Gamma, Delta, and Epsilon efforts.

**Acknowledgments:**

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**About the author:**

Ward Blondé has been fascinated by the Homeric Question since he was twelve. He studied Latin, mathematics, and one year of Greek at Sint Lodewijk College in Lokeren. Because of his talent for mathematics and logic, he became a civil engineer in physics and a doctor in applied biological sciences. He worked as a postdoc in Graz, Trondheim, and Amsterdam, but nowadays, he works as a bioinformatician in Belgium (Ghent region). Since 2000, he has been creating theories related to the Homeric Question in his spare time.

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# Introduction

This book about the Aeolian Gamma-tradition is the third in the Homeric Traditions series. This series consists of five age-old Greek oral traditions that can be discovered in the *Iliad*. The first two books in the series are *The Alpha-Tradition: On the Origin of Greek Stories* (Blondé 2018) and *The Beta-Tradition: On the Origin of the Iliad* (Blondé 2019), referred to here and there. The entire book series fits into one overarching theory about the origin of the *Iliad*. All five oral traditions date to Greek prehistory. They have been named the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, the European Beta-tradition, the Aeolian Gamma-tradition, the narrative Delta-tradition, and the Ionian Epsilon-tradition. All these traditions were eventually translated to the Ionian Epsilon-tradition and mastered by the Ionian bards. To the best of my knowledge, these discoveries are new: Even though Homeric experts (distinguished as analysts, oralists, and unitarians) have proposed myriad theories, never before has the Greek oral tradition been unraveled in different oral *traditions*, each with their own explicitly enumerated set of oral characteristics.<sup>1</sup> The following statements are proven in this book:

1. An oral tradition is hidden in the *Iliad* that modernizes the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and that is influenced by the European Beta-tradition and Eastern stories: the Aeolian Gamma-tradition.
2. The Aeolian Gamma-tradition was first used by Greek settlers in the Aeolian region around Troy.
3. The Aeolian Gamma-tradition was used as a living tradition by the Roman Virgil (70–19 BC) to compose the *Aeneid*.

The Aeolian Gamma-tradition probably originated at the beginning of the Dark Ages as a modernization of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. In the *Iliad*

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<sup>1</sup>The lists of oral characteristics of the Alpha, Beta, and Gamma traditions can be found on the very last pages of this book.

tradition it is, even more than the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, mixed with the European Beta-tradition. Yet we find it in many sources independent of the European Beta-tradition, and it appears more than a millennium later in the *Aeneid* of the Roman Virgil. The Aeolian Gamma-tradition appears to be an important—if not the most important—origin of Roman mythology.

## Reading guide

We can now begin research into the Aeolian Gamma-tradition, which will simply be called the Gamma-tradition. Chapter 1 discusses the background knowledge required to conduct thorough research into the Gamma-tradition. Then the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition (the Gamma-characteristics) are systematically uncovered in Chapter 2 for several Greek stories. In Chapter 3, the same is done for four story types: the destruction story, the tele-story, the monster story, and the savior story. Several Gamma-stories are instances of these story types. In Chapter 4, all the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition are first discussed, starting from the *Iliad*. This is followed by passages from the *Iliad* annotated with Gamma-characteristics. The same annotation is made in Chapter 5 for the preserved short contents of the stories of the Trojan Cycle. Chapter 6 examines the Gamma-tradition in the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Finally, in Chapter 7, conclusions are drawn. Chapter 7 also contains the presence of the Gamma-tradition in the biography of Jesus Christ according to the New Testament (see p. 174).

# Chapter 1

## The background of the Gamma-tradition

### Literary background

In uncovering the Gamma-tradition, we distinguish four types of sources: the *Iliad*, the non-*Iliadic* Greek sources, the Roman sources, and sources from the Near East. I discovered the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad* after first developing a good image of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition. A certain cluster of oral characteristics, in particular, the Apollo–Poseidon–walls–Troy cluster in chapters XX and XXI of the *Iliad*, brings us to the story of Herakles combating the monster Ketos. From there, it also brings us to the story of Perseus against Ketos in Joppa, near Jerusalem. The Diomedes–Achilleus–Aeneas–Apollo cluster in chapters V and XX of the *Iliad* brings us to Roman sources and the *Aeneid*. This makes the Gamma-tradition, just like the European Beta-tradition, a geographically interesting oral tradition. In particular, it explains the origin of Roman mythology.

Roman mythology is strongly intertwined with the Greek. For example, the gods of the Romans have been brought into correspondence with those of the Greeks. The supreme god Zeus of the Greeks is Jupiter for the Romans, Hera is Juno, Aphrodite is Venus, Ares is Mars, and so on. However, some heroes are also known in both mythologies. The most important example is Herakles, known to the Romans as Hercules. The stories about the origin of Rome link the two traditions. Everything starts with the main story of the Greeks, the Trojan War, and the Trojan Aeneas. Aeneas, like Odysseus, had arrived in Italy after long wanderings and would edify cities

there and become the ancestor of Romulus and Remus, who founded the city of Rome.

Roman mythology thus comes from Greek mythology and even, like Greek mythology, has undergone influences from the East. What we will see in this book is that Roman mythology is not so much rooted in the Greek or Eastern oral tradition as a whole. More specifically, it is rooted in the Gamma-tradition, which is itself a Greek oral tradition. Yet the Gamma-tradition is more than just the Roman spin-off from Greek mythology. We already find the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*, in which there is no link with Italy yet.

The Gamma-tradition, as we find it in the *Iliad*, derives from the region around Troy. Many cities and rivers from that area are in the center of the cluster formed by the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition. This is the region colonized by the Aeolian Greeks in the early Dark Ages. There is, therefore, a good chance that this is the region where the Gamma-tradition developed in its early stages.

In any case, it is clear that the Gamma-tradition is strongly linked to both the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition, in the sense that it often occurs in the same passages in the *Iliad*. While the Mykenaian Alpha-and European Beta-traditions have origins that go far back in time, the Gamma-tradition must be considerably younger. If the Gamma-tradition is really related to the Aeolian region in the vicinity of Troy, it does not go further back than the Greek Dark Ages. However, in the following centuries, it seems all the more popular, as shown by its spread to Italy.

We will see that the Gamma-tradition developed from the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, which had probably already been mixed with the European Beta-tradition before that moment. After a colonization of the Greeks in the early Dark Ages, these mixed Alpha-Beta stories were simply applied to the region around Troy, after which they evolved into the Gamma-tradition. Later, this was also the case for other colonizations. This also questions the search for the historical reality of the Trojan War. The *Iliad* and the Trojan Cycle fully explain themselves as the results of existing techniques for orally performing war stories, which at some point started to center on the ruins of an ancient fortress. After a century of archaeological excavations, no traces of a large-scale war have yet been found. Yet it cannot be ruled out that stories were told about a war against Troy as early as the Mykenaian period. After all, the city has many layers of occupation and has always been in a very strategic location. Nonetheless, it is characteristic of a myth that it finds

its origin in fusions and distortions of many small historical facts. Moreover, the European Beta-tradition clearly predominates in the past of this myth. As explained in the book on the European Beta-tradition (Blondé 2019), this oral tradition originated from blood feuds between neighboring fortresses in Central Europe, which is not in line with a war between Greeks and Trojans.

In this chapter, two technical sections come first about the operation of oral traditions and what we can conclude from this about a possible Aeolian phase in the Homeric *Kunstsprache* (artificial language). Subsequently, the discourse concerns the colonization of the Greeks, the archeology of Troy, and finally, the Mykenaian Alpha- and European Beta-traditions.

## **Variation of the stories through time and place**

In an oral tradition, the audiences of the bards have different expectations regarding the variation of the stories, on the one hand, and that of the medium (the language and the verse meter) on the other hand. Regarding the stories, they expect a low *diachronic* variation. This means that they want to hear the stories as they were told long ago or, in other words, the stories remain constant over time. Regarding the medium, they expect low *synchronous* variation. That means understandability prevails within a language area, with few outdated linguistic phenomena and foreign dialect forms. Changes in the language, such as the disappearance of the digamma, must be taken over by the bards. No one was interested in the fact that, in the past, a digamma was used in certain words or a different meter than the hexameter. The net result is that stories must be constantly translated into the most recent linguistic practice and into the dialect of the region, without changing the content of the stories. Proper names are an exception to that rule. These can be considered linguistic phenomena that change less often over time and place, which means they have low diachronic and synchronic variation.

The analysis that stories and oral characteristics are older than their linguistic phenomena can still be investigated today. North Americans have adopted both the English language and the stories about Santa Claus from Great Britain. Nevertheless, stories and songs about Santa Claus will always be brought with a modern North American tongue. At most, in the proper name Santa Claus, we can discover the past of the language. This proper name has indeed remained unchanged since it was corrupted from the Dutch “Sinterklaas.” That oral traditions can be translated anyway is also demonstrated by the fact that the Romans used an originally Greek oral tradition in Latin.



## The Aeolian phase in the Homeric artificial language

The Aeolian region consisted of the northern coastline of Asia Minor, including the Troy area and Lesbos. It is not excluded that the colonization of the Aeolian region was the earliest of Greeks in the Dark Ages and that colonizations continued toward the Ionian area more to the South (Finkelberg 2018). At least, this hypothesis would fit well with a technical analysis of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.

A technical analysis of the dialect forms over time, and how they fit into the dactylic hexameter, is very complex and gives rise to advanced scientific debates (Parry 1932, Patzer 1996, Haug 2002, Wachter 2007, Hackstein 2010, Nagy 2011). The analysis teaches that, according to some, the Homeric *Kunstsprache* must have gone through an Aeolian phase. During that phase, Aeolic linguistic phenomena were injected into the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, which eventually evolved from Mykenanian to Ionic. The analysis is based on the concept that language systematically modernizes, unless an old dialect form remains necessary as a puzzle piece to complete the dactylic hexameter. The main language shift for this analysis is the ending of a genitive: the Mykenanian form is  $-\alpha o$  (long–short), which is shifted via  $-\eta o$  (long–short) to the ionic  $-\epsilon \omega$  (short–long). In that sense it is not strange that we find the ending  $-\alpha o$  here and there in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*. Yet Karl Meister and Milman Parry (1932) have demonstrated that the *distribution* of the outputs on  $-\alpha o$  necessitates an Aeolic phase. In particular we find the  $-\alpha o$  where a trochee (long–short) has remained in use, besides modernizations to  $-\epsilon \omega$ . If the  $-\alpha o$  outputs were part of a continuous tradition, we would expect that they would also be modernized to  $-\epsilon \omega$ . Meister and Parry therefore conclude the  $-\alpha o$  outputs were injected into the Ionian tradition after the modernization of  $-\eta o$  to  $-\epsilon \omega$ .

The analysis is hampered by several exceptions. For example, we find  $-\nu \eta o s$  instead of  $-\nu \alpha o s$ . This can be explained by the hypothesis that the Ionians could still recognize  $-\nu \eta o s$  as the genitive  $-\nu \alpha \nu s$ , while genitives with  $-\alpha o$  were alien to them and taken over unchanged. This compares to a proper name like Santa Claus that is taken over unchanged, instead of modifying it to *Saint Nick*.

The Gamma-tradition described in this book can be recognized by translatable oral characteristics, which are translated from Aeolic to the Ionic Homeric *Kunstsprache*. The answer to the question whether the Aeolic dialect forms in this *Kunstsprache* are often correlated with the oral character-

istics and proper names of the Aeolian Gamma-tradition is a complex issue. This may demonstrably be the case, but it requires further investigation by a scientist with knowledge of both the Gamma-tradition and the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.

## **Two Greek colonization waves**

The emergence of the Gamma-tradition mainly occurs in the Greek Dark Ages, which took place between 1200 BC and 800 BC in Greece. The Mykenaian Empire preceded the Dark Ages. The Greeks then benefited from specialized trade in pottery and agricultural products. Partly because of such specialized trade, it was not easy to continue as usual after the fall of the Mykenaian Empire, causing the population to decrease to a quarter of its original size. Moreover, according to a hypothesis in the book on the European Beta-tradition (Blondé 2019), the population was under the rule of ideologists in Central Europe, making the people subject to a sobered planned economy. This meant, among other things, that their work products had to be austere and comparable to shapes and workmanship already being used elsewhere.

Another doctrine of the hypothetical Central European domination was that communities ought to settle farther afield, radially from Central Europe. This hypothesis may explain the double wave of migrations from the Greek mainland: the spread to the islands and the Turkish west coast just after the fall of the Mykenaian Empire and the spread to farther areas a few centuries later. Those areas farther away included in particular the coasts of the Black Sea and southern Italy. Possibly the first contacts with those areas were already made during the first wave of migration, because we know from other peoples on the shores of the Mediterranean around 1200 BC, the so-called Sea Peoples, that they spread far beyond the distance between the Greek mainland and Turkey. In any case, at the end of the Dark Ages, a Great Greece (*Magna Graecia*) emerged along the shores of the entire Mediterranean basin and the Black Sea. To this day, there are communities in southern Italy where Greek is spoken.

## **The archaeology of Troy**

When Schliemann started making his noticeable excavations of Troy in the eighteenth century, no one believed that his project could succeed. It was

then thought that Troy was a mythical city that never really existed, as is currently thought about the Atlantis of Plato. Yet nobody could deny that the excavated city was the Troy of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The location corresponds to what we can derive from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the size and the mighty walls leave little to the imagination. Yet Schliemann was wrong when it came to indicating the right excavation layer. In his search for the Homeric Troy, Schliemann indicated a layer that was many hundreds of years further in the past than the destruction nowadays estimated to date to around 1200 BC.

Modern scientists who believe that the Trojan War really took place are more likely to indicate a layer that archaeologists call "layer VIIa." That is a layer that dates to around 1180 BC and ended due to violence. Yet there is a major problem with the theory that the Trojan War can be recognized therein. Around 1180 BC, the Mykenaian Empire itself fell, just like the Empire of the Hittites, to which Troy belonged then. As demonstrated in the book about the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (Blondé 2018), an oral tradition is hardly influenced by a single event. In the book about the European Beta-tradition (Blondé 2019), the destruction of Troy from around 1180 BC, layer VIIa, was counted among the many devastations coordinated from Central Europe. Hence, it seems more plausible that stories about Troy did not start until the city was permanently abandoned and only a ruin that appealed to the imagination remained. Only then do we have a continuous driving force behind the stories of an oral tradition. As will become clear from this book about the Aeolian Gamma-tradition, the stories about Troy originated in the Aeolian region itself, of which Troy became part after the first wave of colonizations of the Greeks. This glorification and mythologization of the colonized land was then applied to other regions during the second wave of Greek colonization, thanks to the spread of the Gamma-tradition.

## **The Mykenaian Alpha-tradition**

The Mykenaian Alpha-tradition is the oldest oral tradition discernable in the *Iliad*. It probably goes back in time to the early Mykenaian Empire, and it is a true native, Greek oral tradition. In the *Iliad*, we find the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition almost exclusively in the many digressions in the conversations of the characters. Approximately ten percent of the text in the *Iliad* can be classified as a digression built with the oral characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. These are the ten main oral characteristics of this tradition:

- A1. Wars on cities
- A2. Bloody feuds
- A3. The king and his court
- A4. The brave hero
- A5. The change of power
- A6. The cycle of misery
- A7. The revenge on the return
- A8. The special education
- A9. Fatal women
- A10. Failed marriages

The full list of Alpha-characteristics, from A1 to A49, is listed in the appendix “Overview of the Alpha-characteristics.” These oral characteristics show that the Alpha-tradition probably originated because of the many intrigues and changes in power in the highly secured palaces the Mykenaian rulers inhabited. This justifies the choice to name the Alpha-tradition the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. The following passage, in which Agamemnon taunts Diomedes (the son of Tydeus), is a fine example of an Alpha-passage. It is about the battle for the city of Thebes:

*Ah me, son of Tydeus, that daring breaker of horses, why are you skulking and spying out the outworks of battle? Such was never Tydeus' way, to lurk in the background, but to fight the enemy far ahead of his own companions. So they say who had seen him at work, since I never saw nor encountered him ever; but they say he surpassed all others. Once on a time he came, but not in war, to Mykenai with godlike Polyneikes, a guest and a friend, assembling people, since these were attacking the sacred bastions of Thebe, and much they entreated us to grant him renowned companions. And our men wished to give them and were assenting to what they asked for but Zeus turned them back, showing forth portents that crossed them. Now as these went forward and were well on their way, and came to the river Asopos, and the meadows of grass and the deep rushes, from there the Achaians sent Tydeus ahead with a message. He went then and came on the Kadmeians*

*in their numbers feasting all about the house of mighty Eteokles.  
There, stranger though he was, the driver of horses, Tydeus, was  
not frightened, alone among so many Kadmeians, but dared them  
to try their strength with him, and bested all of them easily, such  
might did Pallas Athene give him.  
(Iliad IV 370-390)*

Apart from the war for the city of Thebes (A1), the feud between Eteokles and Polyneikes (A2), King Eteokles and his court (A3), the brave hero Tydeus (A4), and the revenge on the return of Polyneikes (A7), we find many oral characteristics that do not belong in the top ten. These include recruiting soldiers (A16), the city of Thebes (A19), Tydeus, who single-handedly defeats an army (A23), the hero Tydeus (A28), Tydeus assisted by a god (A29), the meadows and the Asopos covered with rushes as soil characteristics (A34), Tydeus as delegate counselor (A40), the excellence above all as superlative (A43), the sturdy, holy walls (A45), and games (A47).

The Mykenaian Alpha-tradition also largely overlaps with two story types: the king story and the hero story. The king story is about a monarch who must leave the city he rules for a long period. Traitors, including his own wife, take over the power in the city and plan to kill the king on his return. A long battle unfolds in which the king and his faithful try to reclaim the city. Ultimately, it is the king's son who succeeds. The central theme in the king story is betrayal versus loyalty to the king. Each character plays a unique role in this. We find such a king story in four cities: Ithaka, Mykenai, Thebes, and Troy.

In the hero story, the hero receives a special education and then makes a name for himself as an adult through remarkable deeds. The hero is successful, but finally he ends up unfortunate. Both the king story and the hero story have their own set of twenty-five oral characteristics, including typical scenes, themes, roles, and motifs. In the king story, for example, there is always a festive meal that ends in a bloodbath, and the hero in the hero story often has an injured foot or leg.

## **The European Beta-tradition**

Unlike the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, the European Beta-tradition is probably not of Greek origin. The main proof is that the strongholds in the European Beta-tradition are protected by a wall of earth and wood with a ditch around them. We do not find such strongholds in Greece, but all the more in

non-Greek Europe. Furthermore, the way of fighting in the European Beta-tradition has much in common with that of the Celts and, therefore, probably also with that of the ancestors of the Celts. Finally, the method of burial is similar to that in Central Europe and far beyond. This concerns the cremation of the corpse where the remains are placed in an urn above which a burial mound is then erected.

The European Beta-tradition revolves entirely around the battle. These are the ten main oral characteristics:

- B1. The battle scene
- B2. Gruesome injuries
- B3. Chariots
- B4. Progressive typical scenes
- B5. Thematic typical scenes
- B6. The intervention of the gods
- B7. Duels
- B8. The clan system
- B9. The combat psychology
- B10. Fixed formulas

The European Beta-characteristics, from B1 to B45, can also be found at the end of the book in the appendix “Overview of the Beta-characteristics.” Progressive typical scenes take the story into the next phase, such as starting a new day, eating a meal, gathering for a meeting, or gathering up the troops. Thematic typical scenes revolve around a specific theme. We can distinguish the following thematic typical scenes:

- The warrior in need and the helper
- The warrior who blames his companion
- The cowardly archer
- The withheld honor gift
- The resentful warrior
- Fame for the father

Here is an example of the typical scene of the cowardly archer. Pandaros, the archer, can injure Diomedes, but cannot kill him:

*Now as the shining son of Lykaon, Pandaros, watched him storming up the plain scattering the battalions before him, at once he strained the bent bow against the son of Tydeus, and shot, and hit him as he charged forward, in the right shoulder at the hollow of the corselet; and the bitter arrow went straight through holding clean to its way, and the corselet was all blood-spattered.*  
(*Iliad* V 95-100)

The famous catalogue of ships also stems from the European Beta-tradition, although the proper names and the digressions in it stem from the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. The catalogue of ships is a long list of military forces. The following is a short excerpt from the catalogue:

*They who held Phylake and Pyrasos of the flowers, the precinct of Demeter, and Iton, mother of sheep flocks, Antron by the seashore, and Pteleos deep in the meadows, of these in turn fighting Protesilaos was leader while he lived; but now the black earth had closed him under, whose wife, cheeks torn for grief, was left behind in Phylake and a marriage half completed; a Dardanian man had killed him as he leapt from his ship, far the first of all the Achaeans. Yet these, longing as they did for their leader, did not go leaderless, but Podarkes, scion of Ares, set them in order, child of Iphikles, who in turn was son to Phylakos rich in flocks, full brother of high-hearted Protesilaos, younger born; but the elder man was braver also, Protesilaos, a man of battle; yet still the people lacked not a leader, though they longed for him and his valor. Following along with Podarkes were forty black ships.*  
(*Iliad* II 695-710)

The list of each regiment ends with the number of ships that followed the leader. The analysis of the European Beta-tradition shows that this number of ships must once have been a number of chariots. The foolish death that Protesilaos dies also comes from the European Beta-tradition. However, soil characteristics (A34), such as “of the flowers,” “mother of sheep flocks,” and “deep in the meadows,” unmistakably stem from the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. The same applies to the names of the cities and the leaders (A12).

In the next chapter about nine Greek Gamma-stories, the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition are gradually introduced. The first eight are short stories. The last story, about the journey of the Argonauts, is a long story.

## Chapter 2

# The Gamma-tradition in eight Greek stories

Although the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition can largely be found in the *Iliad*, the Gamma-tradition can only be properly distinguished thanks to the stories outside the *Iliad*, or the stories that are only mentioned indirectly in a digression of the *Iliad*. In those stories, the Gamma-tradition occurs in its purest form, while the Gamma-characteristics in the *Iliad* are generally strongly mixed with the European Beta-tradition. That is why it can be useful to get to know the Gamma-tradition through such stories. In this chapter, we therefore consider all kinds of stories that are linked to the story of the Trojan War.

Many stories are only known through references from later writers or short content. Nevertheless, short content is usually sufficient to clearly distinguish the characteristics of the Gamma-tradition.

### The horses of the Thracian Diomedes

One of Herakles' works is about stealing the horses of Diomedes in Thrace. These horses, called Podagros, Xanthos, Lampos, and Deinos, were human-eating horses that Diomedes fed innocent victims. Because of this diet, the horses were wild and uncontrollable. While Herakles fought with Diomedes, he left his favorite companion Abderus to look after the horses. When Herakles returned, the horses had eaten the boy. As revenge, Herakles fed Diomedes to his own horses. He erected a tomb for Abderus, and he founded the city of Abdera beside the tomb as a tribute to the boy.



This story shows strong similarities with the *Iliad*. Achilles leaves Patroklos alone in battle with his hard-to-control horses Xanthos and Balios, conceived by the Harpy Podarge. Patroklos is killed in the battle by Hektor, and Achilles later blames his horses for not bringing Patroklos back alive. Achilles takes revenge and kills Hektor.

Human-eating horses also form an interesting parallel with the Trojan Horse. The feeding of horses may come from the European Beta-tradition, as one of the tasks that a caring driver or woman takes care of, as we see for the horses of Pandaros (*Iliad* V 203) and Hektor (*Iliad* VIII 185–187). However, here, we see this characteristic as a cross with the trait of human-eating monsters. The Trojan Horse, with the Greeks in its belly, shows the same cross.

In this story about human-eating horses, we can discern various characteristics of the Gamma-tradition. To begin with, special horses, or precious horses (G23), are an oral characteristic of the Gamma-tradition. Nonetheless, founding a city (G55) and naming that city after a person, so creating an eponym (G15), are also such oral characteristics. Furthermore, Diomedes (G5), Thrace (G11), Herakles (G11), Xanthos (G21), taking care of a funeral service (G28), and a desirable young man who takes part in the action (G62), are oral characteristics that indicate the Gamma-tradition. All oral characteristics (G1–68) of the Gamma-tradition are systematically explained for the *Iliad* (Chapter 4, p. 68-90) and for the *Aeneid* (Chapter 6, p. 135–165). They are also linked to a short description in the appendix “Overview of the Gamma-characteristics,” on the last two pages of this book.

## **The horses of Rhesos**

According to a prophecy, Troy would never be captured if Rhesos, the leader of the Thracian allies of the Trojans, survived the first night after his arrival in Troy and if his horses were to drink the water of the river Xanthos. On the night of the arrival of Rhesos, a certain Dolon sets out to spy on the Greeks, with the promise that he would get the horses of Achilles. With the Greeks, Diomedes sets out to spy on the Trojans, and he chooses Odysseus as his companion. Diomedes and Odysseus catch Dolon along the way and ask him where the Thracians are stationed. Dolon discloses this, but Diomedes mercilessly decapitates him when he is finished. Diomedes then kills the Thracians and Rhesos in their sleep, while Odysseus leads away the horses of Rhesos.

This story can be found in Chapter X of the *Iliad*. The story is also called the *Doloneia*, after the character Dolon. Many experts of the *Iliad* believe that the *Doloneia* was a late addition to the *Iliad*. This seems to ignore in part the great age of this story, which closely resembles the previous story about Herakles and Abderus, which in turn had similarities with the story about Achilles and Patroklos in the *Iliad*. Here, in the *Doloneia*, it is Diomedes who plays the role of Herakles, the experienced expedition leader, which can be derived from the short content of the story. Like the inexperienced Abderus, Odysseus has the role of the chariot driver in the European Beta-tradition, who is ordered to look after the horses. In the *Iliad*, however, the characters of Diomedes and Odysseus are depicted exactly the opposite way: Diomedes is a youth, while Odysseus is old and experienced. Odysseus speaks with much authority in *Iliad* X 479–481: “*Here is no matter for standing by idle in your weapons. Untie the horses; or else let me look after them, while you kill the people.*” Just like Achilles and Patroklos, there seems to have been some confusion within the oral tradition about who has which role.

Nevertheless, this passage reinforces the hypothesis that Diomedes and Odysseus, who often did expeditions together, have such a relationship of an experienced leader with a follower. This suspicion is strengthened even more, since the management and division of tasks is thematic in the *Doloneia*. At the start of the *Doloneia*, we also see Agamemnon, Menelaos, and Hektor in that leader–follower role.

In another version of the previous story, Herakles stays awake at night so he will not be beheaded by the Thracian Diomedes. This is another clear connection with the *Doloneia* in which the Greeks also cannot sleep out of concern for an attack, while the Greek Diomedes kills the Thracians in their sleep and decapitates Dolon.

The *Doloneia* and the story of the Thracian Diomedes also display several similarities with the story of the fall of Troy. Perhaps this is the reason the *Doloneia* is included in the *Iliad*, since the fall of Troy takes place outside of the *Iliad*’s narration. We find these similarities: the nocturnal action, the vigilance of the enemy, the secret sneaking into the enemy camp, the killing of the unvigilant enemy, and the horse as a central motif.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Apart from Herakles (G11), Xanthos (G21), and the special horses (G23), we find in this story about the horses of Rhesos more oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition. For example, following a leader (G61) is a Gamma-characteristic. Yet, the environment of Troy (G10) is present in the name of the leader Rhesos (G2), which is also one of the rivers (G19) near Troy and in the Thracian region close to Troy.

## The story of Telephos

The following story fits in the Trojan Cycle before the *Iliad*. It seems to be important for research into Greek history and particularly about the two waves of colonizations from Greece:

Telephos was a son of Herakles who had led a group of Greeks (Arkadians) to Mysia—a region near Troy—to settle there. He was king there when the Greeks accidentally landed in Mysia on their journey to Troy. In the battle that ensued, Telephos was injured by Achilles. When the Greeks realized their mistake, they sailed away, but storms destroyed their fleet. They gathered in Aulis to plan a new departure.

Meanwhile, Telephos' wound did not heal, and an oracle made the following statement about this: "He who wounded will heal." Then Telephos also traveled to Aulis and asked Achilles to heal him. Achilles refused and said that he knew nothing about medicine. However, Odysseus reasoned that the spear that Telephos had wounded could heal him. A little scrape from the spear was scattered into the wound, on which Telephos healed. In return, Telephos led the Greeks to Troy.<sup>3</sup>

This story has the colonization theme in it, where a leader brings a large group to new places. Perhaps we can regard this story about Telephos as a precursor to that of Aeneas. The Aeolian migration to the region around Troy happened earlier than the larger colonizations of the Greeks in the Mediterranean: in the eleventh century BC, instead of the eighth century BC. From the later waves of colonizations, it is known that the leaders were supposed to consult oracles in Greece to ask what strategy they should follow. Based on an overall view, we can assume that the colonization behavior of the Greeks has been strongly influenced over time by several well-developed ideas about colonization that they had known very early in the Dark Ages.

The statement of the oracle—he who wounded will heal—also fits into the hypothesis of the Central European ideologists who envisaged peace (healing) after they first engulfed a region with war and forced migrations (wounding). Thus, it is quite possible—although speculative—that the colonization behavior of the Greeks and the Phoenicians can ultimately be traced back to

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<sup>3</sup>In this story, we find the following Gamma-characteristics: Achilles (G4), the environment of Troy (G10), the care (G28) of a wound (G17), medicine and magic (G34), the colonization (G55) of Mysia, and a leader and followers (G61).

the colonization ideology of the Urnfield peoples in Central Europe. In any case, this would fit well with the hypotheses in the book about the European Beta-tradition (Blondé 2019).

## **The death of Troilos**

Troilos was the youngest son of Hekabe and Priamos—or perhaps also of Hekabe and the god Apollo. He was widely loved as a young man because of his beautiful appearance. According to a prediction, Troy would not fall if Troilos reached the age of twenty. Achilles also fell in love with the beautiful Troilos. Achilles raped Troilos and killed him in the temple of Apollo. On the same day, Achilles also drove the herds of Aeneas, who fled from Mount Ida.

To avenge the death of Hektor and Troilos by the hand of Achilles, Hekabe devised a trick. Achilles was asked to come to the temple of Apollo to marry Polyxena, the youngest daughter of Hekabe and Priamos. However, a trap was set there in which Achilles was killed.

This story links the Gamma-characteristic of the desirable youth (G62) to the revealed condition for an expedition to succeed (G63). The young age of the warrior, essential for the first oral characteristic, is linked to the core of the second oral characteristic. This story is a good example of the way in which oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition are clustered (G22).<sup>4</sup>

## **The death of Achilles**

Many versions are known about the death of Achilles. One of them goes like this: During the Trojan War, Achilles falls in love with Polyxena, a Trojan princess. Achilles proposes to Priamos to marry her and end the war. Priamos agrees, and the marriage is celebrated. However, the peace between the Greeks and the Trojans is short-lived because Paris secretly shoots an arrow at Achilles from a hidden position to avoid handing Helen to the Greeks. Achilles dies, and the wedding degenerates into a grand fight.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Other Gamma-characteristics are Achilles (G4), Aeneas (G6), Apollo (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the eponym (G15) Troy–Troilos, Mount Ida (G45), the promised marriage (G48) with Polyxena, and the “romance” (G48) with Troilos.

<sup>5</sup>The Gamma-characteristics in this story about the death of Achilles are Achilles (G4), Paris (G8), Troy (G10), the injury (G17), bow and arrow (G20), the total war between two camps (G29), and

This story is the umpteenth variant of a wedding that gives rise to a war. It provided the inspiration for chapters III and IV of the *Iliad*, in which Pandaros, a stand-in for Paris, shoots an arrow at Menelaos during a short peace between the Greeks and the Trojans. A much better-known variant of Achilles' death is that in which Thetis had sopped Achilles after his birth in the Styx, holding him by one foot. This made Achilles invulnerable except for the one heel where his mother held him. Just there, Achilles was struck by an arrow shot by Paris, led by the god Apollo. The phrases "Achilles' heel" and "Achilles' tendon" derive from that story.

## **Herakles and the Serpent Woman**

While Herakles is sleeping in the wilderness, his horses are stolen by a creature that is half woman and half snake. Herakles finds her, but she refuses to give the horses back before Herakles has had sex with her. Herakles agrees, and after taking back his horses, he gives her his bow and belt. He then gives her instructions on how his children should start a new nation in Scythia.<sup>6</sup>

This story, mentioned by Herodotus (fifth century BC), shows that Herakles is explicitly related to purposeful colonization methods. The Scythians were a nomadic people who lived in a vast area in Central Asia. Also in Italy, the colonization region par excellence of the Greeks, Herakles has gained a great reputation under the name Hercules. According to some sources, he has founded the city of Tarentum (now Taranto).

## **Philoktetes and the snake bite**

Philoktetes was the best archer of the Greeks on their expedition to Troy. He had received the bow from Herakles on his death day. On the trip to Troy, he was bitten in the foot by a snake, and because the wound did not heal, he remained on the island of Lemnos. He remained there for many years while the Greeks fought at Troy. According to a statement from a seer, Troy would

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the fatal romance (G48). In the other variant, we have Apollo (G9) and the immersing of a person in a river (G31).

<sup>6</sup>There are quite a few Gamma-characteristics in this short story: Herakles (G11), bow and arrow (G20), stealing horses (G23), the lineage to an ancestor (G42), the woman (G46) who can compete with Herakles, a monstrous (G50) being, snakes (G54), colonizations (G55), and sex as a special condition that must be fulfilled (G63).

never fall without the bow and arrows of Herakles. Diomedes and Odysseus went to get Philoktetes, who was healed by Machaon. Philoktetes killed Paris with an arrow and later helped to overthrow the city.<sup>7</sup>

## Jason and the Argonauts

The following story about Jason and the Argonauts is pre-eminently a Gamma-story. The story is best known in the extensive form of the *Argonautica* of Apollonios of Rhodes (third century BC), but is also known through other sources. It is briefly referred to in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (*Iliad* VII 467–468, *Iliad* XXI 40–41, *Iliad* XXIII 747, *Odyssey* XII 69–72), while Hesiodes (seventh or eighth century BC) tells an early variant of the story, in which not the Golden Fleece, but Medea had to be brought to Greece. The first with whom Jason had to return a golden fleece was Mimnermus (seventh century BC), but the oldest author who writes the story in detail is Pindar (fifth century BC). Due to the length of this story, the Gamma-characteristics are referred to by their numbers in the text itself. Short descriptions of the characteristics, as they are given in the appendix at the end of the book, are provided in a footnote for each paragraph:

Jason, the son of King [A3,G1] Aeson of Iolkos, was born as heir to the throne. Pelias, Jason's uncle, however, deposed his half-brother Aeson and took over the power [A5,G1] before Jason was born. Jason's mother hid Jason from Pelias and pretended he had been born dead by organizing a funeral [G28]. Jason was secretly raised [A8,G1] by Chiron, a Centaur [G37], who was half human and half horse, on Mount Pelion. Chiron taught Jason the secrets of medicinal [G34] herbs.<sup>8</sup>

Pelias was told by an oracle [G57] that he would be murdered [A2,G1] by a family member and that he had to watch out for a man with one sandal. When Jason became an adult, he appeared in Iolkos with one sandal and was therefore recognized by Pelias as the man for whom he had to pay attention. Jason had lost his other sandal when he had helped the goddess Hera [G3],

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<sup>7</sup>This story, which is part of the Trojan Cycle, contains the following Gamma-characteristics: the fall of Troy (G7), Herakles (G11), bow and arrow (G20), taking care of (G28) the injured (G17), medicine (G34), an island (G44), a snake (G54), a seer (G57), and the revealed condition for an expedition to succeed (G63).

<sup>8</sup>The king and his court (A3), the change of power (A5), and the special education (A8) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), and Centaurs and Amazons (G37).

who disguised herself [G18] as an old [A49,G1] woman [G46], across a river [G19]. Since then, Jason had been one of Hera's favorites [G18].<sup>9</sup>

After Jason stayed with his father for five days, he went to King Pelias on the sixth day to claim the kingship [A5,G1]. King [A3,G1] Pelias said he would relinquish the throne if Jason brought him the Golden Fleece [G63] from the kingdom of Kolchis [G58]. The Golden Fleece came from a divine ram and hung on a tree guarded by a dragon [G52,G54] that never slept. The divine ram could fly and earlier was brought to Kolchis by Phrixos and Helle. Helle fell off the ram as she looked down. The water in which she fell [G31] has since been called the Hellespont [G15].<sup>10</sup>

Jason accepted the assignment and asked Argos, a famous shipbuilder [G44], to build a ship with fifty oars. That ship was called Argo. The prow of the Argo was made of wood from the Speaking [G34] Oak of Dodona and was ensouled [G18] by Athene [G3]. In this way, the ship was protected. Jason made a tour of all the Greek palaces to collect heroes [A4,G1] who would voluntarily accompany him. Hence, the largest and most powerful coalition ever [G61] was brought together. Among the participants were Herakles [G11], the strongest [A43,G1] man on earth; the twins [G51] Kastor and Polydeukes; Kalais and Zetes, the winged sons of the North Wind (Boreas); Orpheus, the mythical singer; Peleus [A28,G1], the father of Achilleus [G4]; Amphiaraos and Idmon, seers [G57]; Atalanta, the virgin hunter [G46]; and Theseus, the Athenian hero who killed the Minotaur [G50]. The seer [G57] Idmon predicted that everyone would return safely from the mission, except for one person, and the coalition departed from Iolkos.<sup>11</sup>

Afflicted by storms [G44], the coalition went ashore on the island of Lemnos [G10,G44]. Only women [G46] lived on the island, because they had killed all their husbands. The women had failed to make offerings [G49] to Aphrodite [G3], which caused Aphrodite to make the women smell as

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<sup>9</sup>Bloody feuds (A2) and old age (A49) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), typical interactions between god and human (G18), rivers (G19), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), and seers and oracles (G57).

<sup>10</sup>The king and his court (A3) and the change of power (A5) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), eponyms (G15), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), parallels with Eastern oral traditions (G52), snakes (G54), difficult wanderings in far-off places (G58), and revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed (G63).

<sup>11</sup>The brave hero (A4), Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28), and superlatives (A43) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), Herakles (G11), typical interactions between god and human (G18), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), twins (G51), seers and oracles (G57), and the leader followed by a large group (G61).

punishment [G43]. Consequently, the men were no longer interested in the women, and they robbed slaves in nearby Thrace [G10], which was the reason for the women to kill the men. Only King Thoas, the father of the new queen [G46], was put on a ship [G44] that was taken to the island [G44] of Taurika [G58] by a storm [G44].<sup>12</sup>

The crew of the Argo, except Herakles [G11], got along well with the women on Lemnos. Jason married Queen Hypsipyle [G48]. Thanks to the leadership of Herakles [G11], the men realized after two years that they had an assignment to fulfill. Because of the many sons they left behind, the Lemnian women [G46] were saved from extinction.<sup>13</sup>

The next stop of the heroes was Samothrace [G10,G44], where they, on the advice of Orpheus, immersed themselves in the mysteries [G34] of Persephone, the queen [G46] of the underworld [G60], who could save seafarers [G44]. Then the Argonauts arrived at the Dolions, who lived on a bear-shaped island [G44] in the Propontis [G10], the sea between the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea. Their king [A3,G1], Kyzikos, married [G48] and invited the Argonauts to his wedding [G48]. During the banquet, the guards of the Argo were attacked [G48] by six giants [G50]. Herakles [G11] killed them all alone. When the Argonauts sailed away again and ended up in a storm [G44], they arrived again on the island [G44] of the Dolions without realizing it and killed them in a big, nocturnal fight [G29]. When the misunderstanding became known, friendship was restored, and games [G53] were organized during the funeral [G28] of the king [A3,G1]. The wife of Kyzikos hung herself [G56,G68] in sorrow.<sup>14</sup>

Because the weather remained unfavorable, the Argonauts still could not sail. Hera warned them [G3,G46] by sending a bird [G18] to the prophet [G57] Mopsus. The Argonauts had to place a statue of the mother [G46] goddess Cybele [G66] on Mount Dindymos, because they had killed the six

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<sup>12</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), the environment of Troy (G10), insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and difficult wanderings in far-off places (G58).

<sup>13</sup>Herakles (G11), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), and fatal marriages and romances (G48).

<sup>14</sup>The king and his court (A3) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the environment of Troy (G10), Herakles (G11), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), the war between two camps (G29), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), contests and solemn games (G53), madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56), immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60), and the queen who dies of sorrow or suicide (G68).



giants. The source [G19] of a river [G19] originated at the statue and was called Jason's source [G15].<sup>15</sup>

After the Argonauts sailed out again, Herakles [G11] organized a rowing competition [G53] in which he broke his own oar. Because they needed fresh water and wood for a new oar, they went back ashore. Herakles [G11] went looking for wood and Hylas, a desirable helper [G62] of Herakles, for drinking water. Hylas found a fountain [G19] but was lured into the water [G31] by source [G19] nymphs<sup>16</sup> [G13,G46], who fell in love [G48] with him. In the meantime, the Argonauts carried on again according to the wish of Zeus [G3,G25], who thought that Herakles [G11] first had to complete his twelve works.<sup>17</sup>

At the next stop, Polydeukes [G51] defeated King [A3,G1] Amykos, a son of Poseidon [G9,G38] and a nymph [G13,G38], in a boxing match [G53]. Subsequently, they arrived at the blind King [A3,G1] Phineus who was punished [G43] by Zeus [G3] because he could predict the future [G57]. Whenever Phineus wanted to eat, two Harpies [G50] stole his food and let the rest stink so hard that it could no longer be eaten. The sons of the North Wind, Kalaïs and Zetes [G51], chased the Harpies away. In gratitude, Phineus told the Argonauts how to escape the dangers of their journey to Kolchis [G63].<sup>18</sup>

The Argonauts continued to the Bosphorus [G10,G55] and arrived at the Symplegades, two rocks that closed when a ship [G44] tried to sail through them [G44]. Mindful of the advice [G63] of Phineus [G57], the Argonauts first let a pigeon fly through the rocks. After the rocks clashed on the tail of the pigeon and opened again, the Argonauts rowed [G44] between the two rocks with all their might. Only the rear end of the tail of the Argo was

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<sup>15</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), eponyms (G15), typical interactions between god and human (G18), rivers (G19), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), seers and oracles (G57), and the mother goddess Cybele (G66).

<sup>16</sup>Nymphs associated to the source of a river

<sup>17</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Herakles (G11), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), rivers (G19), the fate and wishes of the gods (G25), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), contests and solemn games (G53), and the inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action (G62).

<sup>18</sup>The king and his court (A3) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), twins (G51), contests and solemn games (G53), seers and oracles (G57), and revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed (G63).

hit. After that, the rocks could no longer move, and the passage was safe for seafarers [G44].<sup>19</sup>

Having sailed through the Black Sea [G55], they first came to the island [G44] of Thynias and then to Mariandyni, which was ruled by King [A3,G1] Lykos. He offered the Argonauts his son [G62] Daskylos as a guide [G61] for their journey. While they were staying in Mariandyni, the seer [G57] Idmon was killed by a wild boar, making his own prediction [G57] come true. After the necessary burial rituals [G28], they sailed further east along the land of the Amazons [G37,G46] and the land of the Chalybians. Thanks to the advice of Phineus [G57], they resisted the attack of a flock of bronze birds [G50]. Via the river [G19] Phasis, they finally arrived in Kolchis, ruled by King Aietes, a son of Helios [G38].<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, the goddesses Hera [G3,G46] and Athene [G3,G46] devised a plan to help Jason [G18]. They enlisted the help of Aphrodite [G3, G46], the goddess of love, who in turn sought the help of Eros, who received a golden toy ball as a reward. Eros made sure that the sorceress [G34,G46] Medea, the daughter of Aietes, fell in love [G48,G67] with Jason.<sup>21</sup>

When the Argonauts arrived with King [A3,G1] Aietes and Medea, Aietes asked the reason for their arrival. Jason said he would perform any assignment for Aietes in exchange [A20,G1] for the Golden Fleece. A prediction [G57] was made to King Aietes that he would lose his power [A5,G1] if he gave away the Golden Fleece. That is why he came up with an extremely difficult task [G63]: Jason had to put two bulls [G50] with a breath of fire [G50] before a plough, plow a field with it, and sow the teeth of a dragon [G50] in it. Armed [G29] men would jump from the teeth and attack Jason [G29]. He had to knock them down with a single arm. Jason promised to accomplish this the next day.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>The environment of Troy (G10), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), the founding of cities and colonizations (G55), and seers and oracles (G57).

<sup>20</sup>The king and his court (A3) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), rivers (G19), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), Centaurs and Amazons (G37), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), the founding of cities and colonizations (G55), seers and oracles (G57), the leader followed by a large group (G61), and the inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action (G62).

<sup>21</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), typical interactions between god and human (G18), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67).

<sup>22</sup>The king and his court (A3), the change of power (A5), and the remuneration of the king (A20) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the war between two camps (G29), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), seers and oracles (G57), and revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed (G63).

Medea, who was struck by the love arrow of Eros, lay awake at night, torn [G67] between loyalty to her father and her early love [G48] for Jason. She eventually sent her servant to Jason to have him come to her. In the middle of the night, Medea confessed her love [G67] to Jason and asked him to marry her [G48] in exchange for her help with his task. Jason promised to marry her. Then Medea [G46] gave Jason a magic [G34] ointment that would keep him immune to the hot breath of the bulls [G50] and the armed men who would emerge from the dragon teeth [G50]. Moreover, she gave him a magical [G34] stone that he had to throw in the middle of the armed men.<sup>23</sup>

The next morning, Jason wildly succeeded in his task. He resisted the hot breath of the bulls [G50] and could put them before a plough. He sowed the dragon teeth [G50] in the furrows he had plowed. When the armed warriors ran toward him, he threw the magic [G34] stone in their midst. Consequently, the warriors started killing each other [G29], and Jason killed the last warrior with a single spear throw [G29].<sup>24</sup>

Furious and bewildered, Aietes immediately planned to kill Jason. He assembled his army [G29] and appointed his son Apsyrtos as captain. He gave the order to attack the Argonauts [G29] when Jason came to claim the Golden Fleece. Thanks to her wizard arts [G34], Medea foresaw her father's plan [G57]. She suggested Jason acquire the Golden Fleece himself with herself [G67] as a guide [G61]. The Argonauts set out, and at the border of the sacred [G49] forest, Medea stopped them. Medea and Jason went ashore and set out through the sacred forest, until they arrived at the dragon [G50,G54] who guarded the Golden Fleece day and night. Medea [G46] crept closer and sang a magic [G34] lullaby, which made the dragon fall asleep. In this way, Jason acquired the Golden Fleece, after which he quickly left with the Argonauts and Medea.<sup>25</sup>

Soon Aietes was informed, and he sent Apsyrtos with his army [G29] after the Argonauts. Again, Medea [G46] outsmarted her father with her deception [G67]. She sent a message to Apsyrtos, her brother, in which she

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<sup>23</sup>Medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67).

<sup>24</sup>The war between two camps (G29), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), and huge, composite, evil monsters (G50).

<sup>25</sup>The war between two camps (G29), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), snakes (G54), seers and oracles (G57), the leader followed by a large group (G61), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67).

suggested surrendering her together with the Golden Fleece. However, Jason accompanied her to the meeting place [G67], and he killed Apsyrtos with a blow of his sword. Together with the body of Apsyrtos, the Argonauts rowed further, chased by King Aietes' army. Then Medea [G46] cut pieces of her brother's body [G40] and threw them into the water one by one [G31], so the pursuers lost time [G67] by collecting the pieces to give Apsyrtos an appropriate funeral [G28]. Due to a lack of leadership [G61], the army finally gave up [G26].<sup>26</sup>

Upon his return home, Jason found that his father had been killed [A2,G1] by King Pelias and that his mother had died of grief [G68]. Jason and Medea devised a plan to punish Pelias [A2,G1]. Medea told the daughters of Pelias that she knew a means to make Pelias young again. To convince them, she slaughtered an old sheep and cooked it in a pot together with magic herbs [G34]. Soon, a young lamb appeared. When the daughters [G46] saw that, they killed their father in his sleep, slaughtered [G40] him, and cooked him in a pot. Because this time no magic herbs [G34] were involved, Pelias remained dead. Hence, the prediction [G57] came true that Pelias would be killed by his own family [A2,G1].<sup>27</sup>

Things later took a dramatic [A6,G1] turn. Jason lost his love for Medea and was determined to marry Kreusa [G48], a Korinthish princess. On their wedding day [G48], Medea [G46] gave the bride a dress that had been sprayed with poison [G34], causing it to catch fire [G48] when she wore it. Kreon, the king of Korinthish, also died because of the poison [G34] when he embraced [G28] his dead [G40] daughter. Then Medea [G46] killed the children she had from her marriage [G48] with Jason and fled on a chariot [G46] drawn by dragons [G50]. Jason was left behind as a grieving, lonely [A6,G1] man. One day, he returned to the Argo to remember his glorious past. The bow of the Argo came loose and fell on Jason's head, killing him [A6,G1].<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), the war between two camps (G29), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), the leader followed by a large group (G61), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67).

<sup>27</sup>Bloody feuds (A2) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), seers and oracles (G57), and the queen who dies of sorrow or suicide (G68).

<sup>28</sup>The cycle of misery (A6) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), and huge, composite, evil monsters (G50).

This story culminates in Medea cutting her brother to pieces and throwing them into the water, which is a dramatic rendition of a very typical Gamma-characteristic, namely, the immersing of a body or a corpse in a river (G31). In addition, it is here coupled to two other Gamma-characteristics: to care for a dead or injured person (G28) by collecting the body parts of Medea's brother and to the woman in love who betrays her own father or city (G67). Another theme that we find throughout the story is supernaturalism. This is addressed thanks to related oral characteristics: the interaction with the gods (G18), magic (G34), and the art of seers (G57). Another motif that regularly returns is powerful women (G46).

This story is probably not as old as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, since only brief references are made to it in the Homeric texts. In the *Iliad*, such references are always in a context of trade, which may indicate that they are younger than their context. The *Argonautica* also contains a passage about Cybele, said to be the mother of all Olympic gods. That, too, is a fact that we cannot find in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, while it does pop up with the Romans. They have equated Cybele with Rhea and let her, at least in the *Aeneid*, get many more mentions. Cybele was a goddess in Phrygia (Turkey), which places her in the surroundings of Troy and, therefore, in the Gamma-tradition. Moreover, the Cybele cult is much easier to trace than the Gamma-tradition. We could hypothesize this cult has spread from a certain point in time via the Gamma-tradition. The Phrygian cult was adopted and adapted by Greek colonizers of Asia Minor, and from there, it spread to mainland Greece and eventually to the whole of Great Greece, including Italy. Such a spread of the Gamma-tradition seems plausible. It should not be forgotten that the Gamma-tradition was first free from the name Cybele, as is clear from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

This concludes the introductory search for the Gamma-tradition in several concrete Greek stories. Besides specific stories, there are story types. A story belongs to a story type if it contains a core of oral characteristics that are typical for the story type. Two story types have already been discussed in the book about the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition: the king story and the hero story. The following chapter analyzes the relationship between the Gamma-tradition and four additional story types.

## Chapter 3

# The Gamma-tradition in four Greek story types

After distinguishing Gamma-characteristics in stories, it can also be useful to investigate the relationship between the Gamma-tradition and story types. For story types, we can assume their simultaneity based on the number of oral characteristics that they share. Two story types were strongly associated with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, namely, the king story and the hero story. The fall of Thebes is an example of a king story, while the works of Herakles are an example of a hero story.

Associated with (or simultaneous to) the Gamma-tradition, we can distinguish four story types: the destruction story, the tele-story, the monster story, and the savior story. These story types overlap with each other and with the king and hero stories of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. This means that they share many oral characteristics. Let us first distinguish these six story types, the two Mykenaian Alpha-types, and the four Gamma-types, based on a concise description:

The king story in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition:

A king who is betrayed in his absence recaptures his city with the help of loyal warriors.

The hero story in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition:

A hero who receives a special upbringing, makes a name for himself, is successful as an adult, but ends up unhappy.

The destruction story in the Gamma-tradition:  
Evil people who do not fear the gods are destroyed.

The tele-story in the Gamma-tradition:  
A hero who is far away will, according to the predictions, end an unjust rule.

The monster story in the Gamma-tradition:  
A monster that eats humans is killed by a hero.

The savior story in the Gamma-tradition:  
A savior gathers divine knowledge, ends a generation of evildoers, and acquires eternal life.

It can already be deduced from these concise descriptions that a single story can easily absorb the oral characteristics of several of these six story types. That is exactly what happened. In this way, the monster in the monster story can easily become an evildoer in the savior story, and the tele-hero can become the savior in it. Some of these story types have stories from the Near East as examples. In that case, the Greek stories are discussed first, followed by the Eastern stories. Let us now discuss the relationship between the Gamma-tradition and the four Gamma-story types one by one, starting with the destruction story.

## **The destruction story**

Two stories that belong to the Gamma-tradition show a striking similarity. They are the first fall of Troy by the hand of Herakles and the fall of Joppa by the hand of Perseus. In both cases a daughter of an evil king is chained to the rocks as a sacrifice to a sea monster named Ketos, who comes to threaten the city of the king. The heroes, Herakles and Perseus, defeat the monster, but eventually destroy the city and/or their inhabitants. A similarity cannot be much clearer.

The Latin name for *whale*, *cetus*, is derived from the Greek name *Ketos*. With that we have a link with another story about the destruction of a city. In the Old Testament, we read about Jonah, who was swallowed by a whale and had to save the inhabitants of Nineveh from destruction by the God Yahweh. Further research in the Old Testament reveals even more oral characteristics of a destruction story. The stories about Sodom and the fall

of Jericho also appear to be variants of such a destruction story. By mapping the oral characteristics of these stories, we come to more Greek destruction stories: the second fall of Troy (with the wooden horse), the Minotaur, and the death of the Niobids.

The parallels with Eastern stories are not surprising. We also find these parallels in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. However, the investigation into the destruction story reinforces the statement that the Gamma-tradition is a true Greek oral tradition. Only the stories in which the Greek heroes are involved also display many characteristics of the Gamma-tradition. The stories about the Biblical Jonah, Lot, and Rahab show much less or even almost no Gamma-characteristics.

### **Summary of the destruction story**

Let us now begin with a general reconstruction of the destruction story in the form of brief content of the story and a series of oral characteristics. Creating short content is daring, since there has never been a story that contains all the oral characteristics. A series of oral characteristics is more objective because it can be used to compile many variants. In practice, the oral characteristics appear highly mixed and incomplete. Consequently, here is the short content of a hypothetical version in which (almost<sup>29</sup>) all oral characteristics are processed:

There is a city where people have a bad character. The inhabitants, the king, and the beautiful queen of the city are bad people, and they commit perverted deeds. The supreme god is therefore angry with the city and decides to have the city destroyed by a monster and by enemy forces. Yet there is one good-natured man in the city, with a good-natured family. The supreme god sends two envoys to the good man and his family to reveal his plans to them. The envoys are recognized and warmly welcomed by the good family. It is decided that the good man and his family will be spared from the destruction of the city. A sign is put in place to recognize the good family.

The evil king of the city learns that there are two envoys in the city and orders them to be extradited to him. Yet the envoys can escape from the city thanks to a list. Subsequently, the supreme god sends an awesome monster to the city with an army of soldiers in his belly. The entire city burns

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<sup>29</sup>For certain motifs it is difficult to fit them into general short content. Examples are “people in a small, enclosed space” and “a thread for recognition.” Such motifs are present in the list of all oral characteristics.



down. Only the good man and his family are spared. When fleeing from the city, however, the good man's wife lingers and finds death while the city is consumed by flames. Some people are petrified. The city is never rebuilt; only a ruin remains. The good man wanders long and eventually finds a new home. He becomes the ancestor of successful offspring.

### **Oral characteristics of the destruction story**

Now, let us go into more detail by naming the oral characteristics of this story. In the order of importance, they are the following:

Gd1 The theme of godliness

Gd2 The evil of the citizens

Gd3 Insulting the god(s)

Gd4 The punishment of the god(s)

Gd5 The destruction of the city

Gd6 The threatening monster

Gd7 Petrified people

Gd8 The individual who is saved

Gd9 The beautiful, special woman in the city

Gd10 The king of the city

Gd11 The wanderings of the hero

Gd12 The envoys entering the city

Gd13 Offering hospitable shelter

Gd14 The return to the city

Gd15 The death of a woman

Gd16 The small space enclosing a person

Gd17 Perverted acts

Gd18 Ultimately avoided human sacrifices

Gd19 A thread as recognition

Gd20 Ruins of cities

Gd21 The hero as ancestor of a people

Now follows the brief content of the various destruction stories, with the emphasis on the above oral characteristics. We start with the two Greek stories that are so similar: the first fall of Troy by Herakles and the experiences of Perseus in Joppa.

## **The Greek destruction stories**

### **The first fall of Troy**

Poseidon and Apollo had built the walls of Troy while employed by Laomedon, the king of the Trojans. After their work, Laomedon, however, withheld their wages from the gods, to the great anger of Poseidon. He sent a sea monster, Ketos, which attacked Troy and the surrounding area. To avert the wrath of Poseidon, Laomedon tied his daughter Hesione to the rocks to have Ketos devour her. It was at that very moment that Herakles passed by in his ship, returning from his explorations on the shores of the Black Sea.

When Herakles saw Hesione, he offered Laomedon a deal: Herakles would defeat the monster if he got the two horses Laomedon had gotten from Zeus in exchange for the beautiful Ganymede. Zeus chose him for his beauty as the wine pourer of the gods. Herakles defeated the monster, but again Laomedon withheld the promised wage. Herakles launched a new expedition and destroyed Troy with several followers. He robbed the horses and Hesione, whom he married to one of his followers, Telamon. Hesione and Telamon had a son, Teukros, a Greek on his father's side, who would later become known via his mother's side as one of the earliest ancestors of the Trojans. Priamos was the only son of Laomedon who was spared. He had fifty children and became an important ancestor of the Trojans.

According to another variant, Herakles was swallowed by the monster and defeated it from inside its abdomen by hacking into its guts for three days.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>This story contains the following Gamma-characteristics: Herakles [G11], Poseidon [G9], Apollo [G9], the walls [G14] of Troy, the punishment [G43] of the gods, a monster [G50], seafaring [G44],

The two colonization waves of the Greeks are present in this story: the early colonization of the region around Troy and the later colonization on the shores of the Black Sea.

This story contains the following oral characteristics of the destruction story: the theme of godliness [Gd1], the evil king [Gd10] who insults the gods [Gd3], the punishment [Gd4] of the gods, the destruction [Gd5] of Troy, a monster [Gd6], Hesione as a special woman [Gd9], the wanderings [Gd11] of Herakles, and Teukros and Priamos as progenitors [Gd21]. In the variant of the story, there is the belly of the monster as a small, enclosed space [Gd16].

The following story with Perseus in the lead role is similar.

### **The petrification of the inhabitants of Joppa**

The story about Perseus in Joppa is set in a region of the Mediterranean that is a long distance away from Greece and Troy: the Levant, where the Phoenicians lived and today Syria and Israel are located. We know this story through the Greeks:

Kassiopeia was the queen of Joppa in Phoenicia, nowadays known as Jaffa, which means *beautiful* in Hebrew. Kassiopeia had named this city like that herself. However, she proclaimed the wrath of the gods over Joppa by insulting the Nereids. These were the beautiful daughters of Nereus, an ancient sea god. Kassiopeia claimed that she was even more beautiful than the Nereids. As a punishment for this pride, Poseidon sent the sea monster Ketos to ravage Joppa. Kassiopeia was married to King Kepheus, and together they had a daughter, Andromeda. To reverse the anger of the sea monster, Kepheus had his daughter chained up at the shore so Ketos could devour her. At that moment, the hero Perseus passed on his winged horse Pegasos on his way back from his victory over the Medusa. Perseus fell in love with Andromeda and offered Kepheus to defeat the sea monster. He agreed, and Perseus killed the monster. Andromeda, however, appeared to have been engaged with the brother of Kepheus. He came to claim Andromeda during the wedding with Perseus. The wedding party then turned into a big fight. Perseus petrified all

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wanderings [G58] in the distant Black Sea region, precious horses [G23], the romance [G48] with the handsome Ganymedes, the fall of Troy [G7], the followers who assist the leader [G61] Herakles, the marriage [G48] with Hesione, and lineages to an ancestor [G42].

his enemies by showing the severed head of the Medusa.<sup>31</sup>

According to other traditions, Kassiopeia is a queen of the Ethiopians. Also for this story there is the variant that Perseus is willing to be voluntarily swallowed by the monster to defeat it from the inside.

Given the strong similarity with the story about Herakles, it is no surprise that this story is also strongly anchored as a variant of the destruction story. It contains the following oral characteristics of this story type: the theme of godliness [Gd1], Kassiopeia as a beautiful woman [Gd9], the insulting [Gd3] of the god Nereus, the punishment [Gd4] of the god Poseidon, the king [Gd10] Kepheus, the monster [Gd6] Ketos, Andromeda as a special woman [Gd9], the monster [Gd6] Medusa, and the petrification [Gd7] of the guests at the wedding party. In his youth, Perseus was also washed ashore on an island in a wooden box—the small, enclosed space [Gd16]. According to the variant in which Perseus was swallowed by Ketos, the belly of Ketos is the small, enclosed space. We can deduce from this that an oral characteristic such as the small, enclosed space can jump from one story to another independently of other oral characteristics.

Now follows one of the best-known stories in literary history: the war for Troy.

### **The second fall of Troy**

The second fall of Troy contains almost all the characteristics of the Eastern destruction story. Only the petrification of people seems to be absent:

Zeus thought the earth was overcrowded. To this end, he devised the plan to start a war between the Greeks and the Trojans, and between the gods themselves. He gave the honor to Paris, a Trojan prince, to be a judge in a beauty contest between the goddesses Athene, Hera, and Aphrodite. Paris chose Aphrodite, and in return for that, Paris could marry Helen, the most beautiful woman on earth. Paris fetched his bride and made a honeymoon with her to Egypt and the Phoenicians before returning to Troy. However, Helen was previously married to the Spartan king Menelaos, and so the Greeks set up an expedition to punish the Trojans and reclaim Helen.

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<sup>31</sup>The story about Perseus contains many oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition: the eponym [G15] Jaffa, the mighty woman [G46] Kassiopeia, insulting the gods, who revenge themselves cruelly [G43], nymphs [G38], a sea god [G36], Poseidon [G9], two monsters [G50], including a sea monster [G36], a special winged horse [G23], and the wedding that ends in a fight [G48].

The departure was not without problems. Agamemnon had insulted the goddess Artemis by boasting that he was a better archer than she. That is why Artemis caused unceasing storms, unless Agamemnon would kill his daughter Iphigeneia and sacrifice her to Artemis. After consulting the seer Kalchas, Agamemnon decided to have Iphigeneia come to the place of departure under the pretext that she would marry Achilles. At the last minute, Artemis placed a doe on the sacrificial altar instead of Iphigeneia. The latter was brought to the Taurians.

The Greeks sailed to Troy, and Menelaos was received within the walls of Troy as a negotiator, with the Trojan Antenor. Some Trojans planned to kill Menelaos, but Antenor could prevent that. The Trojan king Priamos agreed to settle the dispute with a direct duel between Paris and Menelaos, outside the city walls. They made a solemn oath with Zeus as a witness. Menelaos won the duel, but Paris fled into the city. The Trojans refused to return Helen. This led to a major battle that cost the lives of countless Greeks and Trojans.

The Greeks built a large wall to protect their ship camp, but Poseidon got angry about this. The wall of the Greeks actually made the walls look small that he himself had built together with Apollo. Poseidon and Apollo destroyed the Greek wall by allowing passage for the Trojans during the battle and by flooding the rivers from Mount Ida after the war.

In the tenth year of the war, Odysseus and Diomedes slipped into Troy as a spy. They spoke to Helen, who was already longing for her first husband, Menelaos. Helen offered the duo a warm welcome: She washed, dressed, and fed them.

Because after all these years the Greeks had still not succeeded in conquering Troy, they came up with a ruse. They built a large wooden horse and left it on the beach as an apparent sacrifice to the gods. They themselves carried away. In the belly of the horse, however, were ten brave warriors who kept very quiet. The Trojans were overjoyed, and they let themselves go completely in dissolute partying. They broke down the city wall above the gate to bring the big horse into the city. At night, when the Trojans were drunk and asleep, the warriors slipped out of the horse and gave fire signals to the Greeks, who had returned in the meantime. They opened the gates for the remaining Greeks, and together, they slaughtered the Trojans like madmen. The Trojans tried to entrench themselves in the sanctuary and avert fate with prayers, but this did not help. The Greeks were punished by the gods on their return because of their insane acts and the desecration of the Trojan shrines for the gods.

Only a few of the Trojans managed to escape death. Antenor's house, which was marked by a leopard skin, was spared. The escaped Trojans regrouped outside the walls of Troy under the leadership of the hero Aeneas. Aeneas returned one last time to the burning city to find his wife, who had stayed behind. The ghost of his wife, however, told him that she had already died and that he himself had to seek personal happiness. After long wanderings, Aeneas would found new cities in Italy and become the ancestor of glorious offspring.

Troy was destroyed. Menelaos led Helen back to Sparta. On the way there, he also sailed past Egypt and Phoenicia and gathered many riches.<sup>32</sup>

The destruction story is very well represented in the oral characteristics of this famous story. We find the lack of godliness [Gd1] of the Greeks, the destruction [Gd5] of the people on earth by Zeus, the wicked [Gd1] act of Paris and Helen, the wickedness [Gd2] of the Trojans who do not want to extradite Helen, Helen as the special, beautiful woman [Gd9] in the city, Priamos the king [Gd10], the insult [Gd3] of Artemis, the punishment [Gd4] of Artemis, the narrowly avoided human sacrifice [Gd18] for Artemis, Menelaos as envoy [Gd12], the hospitable [Gd13] reception by Antenor and later by Helen, the plan to kill the envoy [Gd12], the Trojan Horse as a small, enclosed space [Gd16] in which people take place, the Trojan Horse as a monster [Gd6] threatening the city, the return [Gd14] of the Greeks to Troy, the individuals [Gd8] Aeneas and Antenor who are saved, the leopard skin for recognition [Gd19], Aeneas returning [Gd14] within the city, the destruction [Gd5] of Troy, the wanderings [Gd11] of the Greeks and of Aeneas, and Aeneas as ancestor [Gd21] of the Romans.

In the following story, there seems to be no city that will be destroyed. Yet there is an element that looks like a destroyed city: the labyrinth of the Minotaur.

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<sup>32</sup>In this extensive story, we find many oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition: the great war [G29] between two camps, Paris [G8], the Olympic gods [G3], the marriage [G48] with Helen that gives rise to war, seafaring and storm at sea [G44], the goddess Artemis as the twin sister [G51] of Apollo [G9], the insult [G43] of Artemis, archery [G20], the vengeance [G43] of Artemis, the marriage [G48] between Iphigeneia and Achilles, the land of the Taurians as a hereafter [G60], the mixing with the Beta-tradition [G12], the wrath of Poseidon [G27], Apollo [G9], the walls [G14], the rivers [G19] that come from Mount Ida [G45], the Trojan Horse as a special horse [G23], the shrines [G49] of the Trojans, the madness [G56] of the Greeks, the punishment [G43] of the gods on the return of the Greeks, Aeneas [G6], the leader [G61] who leads followers and establishes cities [G55], the long, difficult wanderings [G58], the descent to an ancestor [G42], the fall of Troy [G7], and Egypt and Phoenicia as a link with the East [G52].

## Theseus and the Minotaur

Minos, the king of Krete and a son of Zeus, argued with his brother about who was the rightful king. Minos prayed to the god Poseidon to send him a snow-white bull to confirm his kingship. Poseidon did this, but expected the bull to be sacrificed to honor him. However, because the white bull was so beautiful, Minos killed another bull. To punish Minos, Poseidon caused his wife, Queen Pasiphae, and a daughter of Helios, to fall in love with the white bull. Pasiphae had the architect Daedalos build a hollow, wooden cow into which she could climb to mate with the bull. In this way, Pasiphae became pregnant with the Minotaur, a monster that had a human body with the head and tail of a bull. Because the hybrid monster could not digest a natural diet, it ate human flesh to stay alive. On the recommendation of the Oracle of Delphi, Minos had a labyrinth built to keep the Minotaur imprisoned.

These were the circumstances when Theseus became famous in Athens for his heroic deeds, to the delight of his father Aigeus, king of Athens. Because Athens had lost a war against Krete, however, every year, seven Athenian boys and seven Athenian girls had to be sent to Krete to be fed to the Minotaur. Theseus wanted to end this. He volunteered to be taken to Krete as one of the seven boys to be sacrificed, carrying with him the sword he had received from his father Aigeus. He promised his father that, on his return, he would hoist a white sail as a sign that he had survived. Otherwise, the sail would be black.

On Krete, Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, fell in love with Theseus. She gave him a tangle of wool<sup>33</sup> that he could unwind in the labyrinth so he would find his way back to the exit. Accordingly, Theseus managed to kill the Minotaur and save the remaining thirteen Athenian girls and boys.

Ariadne sailed with Theseus to Athens, but she remained on the island of Naxos, where she was killed by Artemis with an arrow. Another person died at the arrival of Theseus on the coast of Athens. Theseus had forgotten to hoist a white sail. His father Aigeus saw him coming with a black sail and jumped from a high cliff into the sea. Since then, that sea is called the Aegean Sea.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>The so-called *thread of Ariadne*.

<sup>34</sup>This story has also clearly been influenced by the Gamma-tradition and owes the following oral characteristics to it: the wrath of Poseidon [G27], insulting the gods who avenge themselves [G43], Delphi's oracle [G57], seafaring and an island [G44], the thread and the sword as conditions for the expedition to succeed [G63], the leader [G61] Theseus and the Athenian youths as followers, Artemis as twin sister [G51] of Apollo, the bow and arrow [G20] of Artemis, the suicide [G56] of Aigeus, and Aigeus–Aegean Sea as an eponym [G15].

The characteristics of the destruction story are the following: the evil King [Gd3] Minos who does not fear Poseidon [Gd1], the punishment [Gd4] of the god Poseidon, the wooden cow as a hollow, enclosed space [Gd16] that encapsulates a person, the perverted [Gd17] bestiality of Pasiphae, the Minotaur monster [Gd6], the labyrinth that resembles the ruins [Gd5] of an ancient, destroyed city, Ariadne as the special woman [Gd9] and as a woman who dies [Gd15], the narrowly avoided human sacrifice [Gd18] of the Athenian youths, and the thread of Ariadne as recognition [Gd19].

### **The death of the Niobids**

The last Greek destruction story is the death of the Niobids, the children of Niobe. It is to be found concisely in the *Iliad* (XXIV 602–617), although the kinship with the Gamma-tradition is largely apparent from Niobe's family relationships, which are not mentioned in the *Iliad*.

Niobe, the beautiful queen of Thebes, was a very special woman. Her father was Tantalos, a son of Zeus and the sea nymph Pluto, who had been a guest with the Olympic gods. Tantalos lived in Phrygia<sup>35</sup> in the city of Tantalos<sup>36</sup>, which was named after him. Her mother was Dione, which means goddess. Niobe's husband, Amphion, the king of Thebes and twin brother of Zethos, was a son of Zeus and built the walls of Thebes himself.

Every year, a celebration was held in Thebes in honor of the goddess Leto and her children, the twins Apollo and Artemis. While the Thebans offered pious offerings and prayed to Leto, Niobe appeared on the scene, adorned with gold and lots of frills, and proclaimed as follows: "Why do you worship someone you never see, instead of someone before your eyes? You'd better adore me. My father is Tantalos, who was once a guest with the gods. My mother is a goddess. My husband built the walls of Thebes himself. Phrygia is my origin. I am powerful and I look like a goddess. By the way, I have six sons and six daughters, while Leto has only two children. Do I have no reason to be proud? Do you really prefer Leto over me, while I have six times as many children?"

Apollo killed the sons of Niobe and Artemis killed the daughters, with poisonous arrows. Only one daughter was spared, Meliboia. Their father, Amphion, committed suicide when he saw that all his sons had been killed.

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<sup>35</sup>A region in Central Turkey

<sup>36</sup>The ruins of this city were still visible in AD first century.



The killed Niobids lay in their own blood for nine days, because Zeus had turned the Thebans into stone. Only on the tenth day were they buried by the Olympic gods. Niobe fled back to Phrygia, her native country, where she turned into a limestone rock from which water constantly seeped, in the Sipylus mountains. The tears of Niobe formed the source of the river Acheleios, around which divine nymphs danced.

According to other variants, Niobe's mother was not Dione, but the Pleiade Taygete; Eurythemista, a daughter of the river god Xanthos; or Euryanassa, a daughter of Paktolos, another river god in Anatolia. This places Niobe's origins firmly in the Gamma-tradition, because of the rivers [G19], Tantalus as an eponym [G15], the name Xanthos [G21], the goddess as mother [G38], and the environment of Troy [G10].<sup>37</sup>

The main theme of the destruction story, godliness [Gd1], can be found in the contrast between the behavior of the Thebans and that of Niobe. Nevertheless, apart from that, we have Niobe as a beautiful, special woman [Gd9], Niobe who mixes with a message among the citizens: the return to the city [Gd14], the punishment [Gd4] of the gods, Tantalus as ruin [Gd20], Meliboia as the single [Gd8] survivor, the petrification [Gd7] of the Thebans, Niobe's wanderings [Gd11] and return [Gd14] to Tantalus, and the petrification [Gd7] of Niobe herself.

These were the Greek destruction stories. Certainly, some of the oral characteristics of the destruction story can be found in other Greek stories. Thus, Orestes hid himself in a coffin to kill his mother, for which he was punished [Gd4] by the gods. In it, we recognize the small space [Gd16] enclosing a person, the death of a woman [Gd15], and the godless [Gd1] murder of one's own mother. The rest of the story about Orestes still contains the return [Gd14] to the city, the envoys [Gd12] (Pylades and Elektra), the hospitable [Gd13] reception of Agamemnon and his retinue, and the narrowly avoided human sacrifice [Gd18] of Orestes in Tauris. This shows that classifying a story as a destruction story is a slippery slope. An existing story such as the king story<sup>38</sup> usually incorporates oral characteristics of other stories or oral

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<sup>37</sup>Other correspondences with the Gamma-tradition are the sea nymph [G36] Pluto, the Olympic gods [G3], building walls [G14] and the founding [G55] of a city by Amphion, part of twins [G51], devout sacrifices [G49] made by the Thebans, the god Apollo [G9], the twins [G51] Apollo and Artemis, bow and arrow [G20], the insane [G56] act of Niobe, the suicide [G56] of Amphion, the honorable burial [G28] (or the opposite of it), the river [G19] Acheleios, and the divine nymphs [G13].

<sup>38</sup>The book about the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (Blondé 2018) shows that the parricide that Orestes committed fits within the ancient king story about Mykenai. The main theme of loyalty and betrayal fits better with the king story than with the destruction story.

traditions. Yet it can be argued that the main themes, the godliness and the destruction of the city, are insufficiently present here.

We can conclude that the destruction story was a popular and influential story when the Gamma-tradition was influential within Greece. As will be apparent from the following sections about the Biblical destruction stories, the destruction story was also an international story from the Middle East.

## **The Biblical destruction stories**

### **The averted destruction of Nineveh**

The following destruction story can be found in the Book of Jonah in the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament:

Yahweh is angry with the Assyrian city of Nineveh, because the people in it are wicked. He commands Jonah to go to the city and tell the residents that he will destroy the city within forty days. Jonah, however, does not like this divine task and embarks on a ship on its way to Tarsis, on the other side of the Mediterranean. While Jonah is deeply asleep in the hold of the ship, a heavy storm is coming. The sailors awaken Jonah, who understands that Yahweh sent this storm. Jonah is thrown overboard by the skippers, and the storm immediately stops. Floating in the sea, Jonah is swallowed by a whale. For three days, Jonah is in the belly of the whale and prays to Yahweh. He is then spit out on the beach. Jonah, now repentant, goes to Nineveh and preaches to the people that the city will be destroyed. The king even hears the message. The king instructs the people to pray to Yahweh and thus prevent the downfall. Yahweh spares the city to the annoyance of Jonah. He was sitting outside the city under a shelter of deciduous leaves to await the fate of the city, but Yahweh admonishes Jonah for this.

Jonah would<sup>39</sup> have been a historical character who lived in the eighth century BC. He is known within the Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In the Quran, Jonah is known as Yunus.

The following oral characteristics of the destruction story can be found in this story: the theme of godliness [Gd1], the wickedness [Gd2] of the citizens, the individual [Gd8] Jonah who is warned, the wanderings [Gd11] of Jonah, the whale as a monster [Gd6], the hold of the ship, the belly of the

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<sup>39</sup>I am generally sceptical toward the historicity of characters and events in oral traditions and literary sources that required copying to be handed over.

whale, and the shelter of deciduous leaves as “enclosed” spaces [Gd16] in which Jonah finds shelter, the return [Gd14] to the city as envoy [Gd12], the king [Gd10] of Nineveh, and the averted destruction [Gd5] of the city.

The question now arises regarding whether we should perhaps classify this story as a Gamma-story. We still find several Gamma-characteristics in it: seafaring [G44], a storm at sea [G44], the sea monster [G36], the prediction of death and downfall [G33], the difficult wanderings [G58], and the immersion [G31] of a body in the sea. In addition, parallels with Eastern [G52] oral traditions are themselves a Gamma-characteristic. These common oral characteristics are probably best described as a mutual influence between the Gamma-tradition and Biblical traditions. After all, Jonah travels in the Mediterranean, in the sphere of Greek influence.

### **The destruction of Sodom**

The destruction story of the city of Sodom is told in Genesis chapters 18 and 19. Therein, we find homosexuality, group rape, and incest:

The God Yahweh was visiting Abraham and told him that he would destroy the city of Sodom because the city was populated with evildoers. Abraham made Yahweh promise that he would not destroy the city if he could find ten righteous ones in it. To this end, Yahweh sent two angels to Sodom as envoys. The angels met Lot, the cousin of Abraham, outside the gates of the city. Lot welcomed the angels and convinced them to spend the night at Lot's house. In the evening, all Sodomites, young and old, gathered at Lot's house. They called Lot to take the men outside so they could have sexual intercourse with them. Lot refused and suggested that they could have sex with his virgin daughters. The men refused and started pounding the door. Then the angels struck all who stood at the door with blindness. They explained to Lot the plan that Yahweh would destroy Sodom. They sent Lot to his sons-in-law, who would marry Lot's daughters so they could be saved, but the sons-in-law laughed at Lot. The next morning, the angels urged Lot and his family to flee to the mountains and not to look back. Lot's wife turned around and turned into a rock of salt. Lot went to live in a cave in the mountains after wandering around along the city of Soar. He impregnated both his daughters and had two sons: Moab and Ben-Ammi. In this way, Lot became the ancestor of the Moabites and the Ammonites.

An even clearer link between the city of Sodom and Greek mythology is found in the “Sodom bed,” which is identical to the Procrustes bed: Guests who were received and did not fit exactly in the bed were either stretched or their limbs were severed, so they would fit in the bed.

The oral characteristics of this destruction story are: the hospitable [Gd13] reception of Yahweh by Abraham; the evil [Gd2] of the people in Sodom; the angels as envoys [Gd12]; the hospitable [Gd13] reception of the angels by Lot; homosexuality, the rape of Lot’s daughters, and the incest between Lot and his daughters as perverted [Gd17] deeds; Lot, the individual [Gd8] who is saved; the petrification [Gd7] of Lot’s wife; the cave as a small space [Gd16] that encloses a man; and Lot as ancestor [Gd21] of later peoples.

In this story, we hardly find any Gamma-characteristics, either. The destruction of the city [G16] and the descent [G42] to an ancestor are two, but that is not enough to recognize a characteristic pattern.

### **The fall of Jericho**

In the Book of Joshua of the Old Testament, we read about the conquest of Jericho by the Israelites:

Yahweh instructed Joshua to cross the Jordan River with his people, the Israelites, and to conquer the land beyond. He said: “Be strong and courageous, and do not be paralyzed by fear, for Yahweh your God is with you wherever you go.”

Joshua sent two spies ahead to explore the land, and in particular, the city of Jericho. The two spies arrived at the house of a prostitute named Rahab, and they spent the night there. The king of Jericho, however, had been informed that two Israelites had invaded his city and ordered them to be delivered to him. When the king’s soldiers came to Rahab, Rahab brought the men to a shelter on the roof under flax that was hanging there to dry. She replied to the soldiers: “Yes, there have been two men with me, but I did not know where they came from. When it got dark, just before the city gate closed, they left, but I do not know in which direction. Nevertheless, if you go after them immediately, you can still catch them.” The soldiers left Rahab’s home to go after the spies.

Rahab told the spies that she was afraid of the Israelites and Yahweh and therefore had saved them. She made them swear to Yahweh that she and her family would be spared during the taking of Jericho. The spies asked

her to hang a red cord from her window so the Israelites would recognize her house. Then the spies left Jericho and went into the mountains for three days, so the soldiers of Jericho would not find them. After that, they joined Joshua and said: “Yahweh has given us the land. The residents are already terrified of us.”

When Joshua came to Jericho with his people and his army, Yahweh gave him further instructions: “You must go around the city once with all defensible men for six days. In addition, seven priests with seven ram’s horns must go before the Ark of the Covenant<sup>40</sup>. On the seventh day, you have to travel around the city seven times. Then you all have to start shouting on a signal. As a result, the city wall will collapse, and you have to climb up, everyone straight ahead.”

Thus it happened. Everyone in the city was captured: men and women, children and old men, cattle, sheep, and donkeys. Then Joshua asked the two spies to get Rahab and her family. They were given a place of residence outside the camp of Israel. Rahab (or Rachab) would eventually have Jesus Christ as one of her descendants.

Then Joshua swore: “Cursed by Yahweh is the man who dares to rebuild this city–Jericho.”

The oral characteristics of the destruction story about the fall of Jericho are: the wanderings [Gd11] of the Israelites, the two spies as envoys [Gd12] entering the city, the hospitable [Gd13] reception of the spies by Rahab, Rahab as a beautiful, special woman [Gd9], prostitution as a perverse [Gd17] act, the king [Gd10] of Jericho, Rahab as an individual [Gd8] being spared, the godliness [Gd1] of Rahab, the red<sup>41</sup> cord [Gd19] as recognition, the destruction [Gd5] of Jericho, the Messiah as famous posterity [Gd21], and the ruin [Gd20] of Jericho that is not inhabited again.

As oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition, we find the wanderings [G58] of the Israelites, a woman who betrays her city [G67], the destruction [G16] of the city of Jericho, and the ritual with the ram’s horns as the revealed conditions [G63] for an expedition to succeed. It seems quite possible that the Gamma-tradition inherited the oral characteristic of the revealed conditions from the East. As for the woman who betrays her city: This is a case where inheritance in the opposite direction seems possible.

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<sup>40</sup>The Ark of the Covenant is a holy coffin containing the Ten Commandments.

<sup>41</sup>A prostitute hanging a red cord outside might have signaled to customers that she was having her period.

For the Biblical destruction stories we also find the slippery slope of stories that are or are not classified as a destruction story. In that respect, the story of Noah's ark and the flood cannot remain unmentioned (Genesis 6–10). In it, we find the godly (Gd1) Noah, who is uniquely spared (Gd8) in an enclosed ark (Gd16) and who became the ancestor of many peoples (Gd21) after long wanderings at sea (Gd11). The godless (Gd2) people on Earth with their beautiful women (Gd9) are punished by Yahweh (Gd4). Two notorious Gamma-characteristics in it are seafaring (G44) and Yahweh's revealed conditions for Noah to survive (G63). However, the story is not about the destruction of a city.

The preliminary conclusion that we can make is that the Gamma-tradition operated in an international context and exchanged both story types and oral characteristics with non-Greek oral traditions. Possible examples of exchanged Gamma-characteristics are destructions of cities (G16), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), predicting death or downfall (G33), sea gods and sea monsters (G36), lineages to an ancestor (G42), insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), difficult wanderings in far-off places (G58), revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed (G63), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67). The oral characteristic of the revealed conditions has indeed become a basis under Christianity that connects the Old and the New Testament. It is, then, about the revealed conditions in the Old Testament that Jesus Christ met as by miracle.

## **The tele-story**

### **Telemachos and Menelaos as tele-warriors**

The word telepathy comes entirely from Greek and must be split into  $\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon$  and  $\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , which are Greek words for far and for suffering or undergo. A telepathic person could “undergo” the same thoughts “from afar” as another person. Consequently, he can read thoughts. The rather naive belief in this phenomenon stems from the time that our modern telecommunications at light speed were still science fiction. Back then, telepathy was a particularly useful gift.

In Greek mythology, some heroes were not so much telepathic, but telemagic. They could bring a war or rule to an end from a distance. The name bearers of this mythical phenomenon are Telemachos and Telegonos,

the sons of Odysseus, and Telephos, who guided the Greeks to Troy. Telemachos can literally be translated as *tele-warrior* or he who fights from afar.

When Telemachos was too young and inexperienced to put an end to the rule of Antinoös and the other suitors in the palace of Ithaka, the goddess Athene came down from heaven one day in the guise of Mentès (*Odyssey* I 102–323). She predicted that the suitors would pay for their actions and that Odysseus would return to Ithaka alive and well. In addition, she advised him to be patient for another year and, in the meantime, to prepare a ship to look for his father. Telemachos followed this advice, and after his wanderings, he returned just in time to kill the suitors in Ithaka with his father. This is—it will turn out—the classic walk of a tele-warrior.

Particularly interesting in this context are the stories that Telemachos gets to hear on his wanderings along the palaces of Pylos and Sparta. In Pylos, the old Nestor makes the comparison between the wanderings of Telemachos and those of Menelaos after the end of the Trojan War. Menelaos could not prevent the assassination of his brother Agamemnon, because he roamed in faraway places. Nestor describes the way Menelaos would have taken revenge on Aigisthos if Orestes had not been first. He gives Telemachos the following advice:

*So, dear friend, do not you stay long and far wandering away from home, leaving your possessions, and in your house men so overbearing, for fear they divide up all your property and eat it away, so all your journey will have no profit. And yet I do encourage you and urge you to visit Menelaos, for he is newly come from abroad, and people who live where no man's mind would ever have hope of returning.*  
(*Odyssey* III 313–320)

The teleguided meeting between Odysseus and Telemachos in Ithaka is, thus, already reflected in a similar meeting with Menelaos in Sparta. Beautiful Helen is the first to recognize Telemachos and offers him pain-relieving herbs. Menelaos, like Athene, predicts the end of the rule of the suitors. He then makes a long digression (*Odyssey* IV 349–586), which shows that Menelaos, remarkably enough, is also a tele-warrior himself:

After the war in Troy, Menelaos had landed on distant coasts by a storm. He was stranded in Pharos, a mysterious, deserted island that was

one day sailing from Egypt. His journey ended there, because a total calm prevented him from sailing further. Menelaos was desperate with hunger when the goddess Eidothea, the daughter of the sea god Proteus, joined the lonely Menelaos out of compassion. She advised him to consult her father, Proteus, who could help him with his clairvoyant gifts. By catching Proteus in an ambush and not letting him go, Menelaos could force the favors of the sea god. When Proteus was captured, he first turned into a whole series of horrible beasts and even into running water and a tall tree. However, because Menelaos did not give up, he shared all his knowledge.

Proteus told Menelaos that Agamemnon had been killed in Mykenai by Aigisthos. This news broke the heart of Menelaos, and he sat down weeping. Proteus then admonished him as follows:

*No longer now, son of Atreus, spend your time on these wasting tears, for I know no good that will come of it. Rather with all speed endeavor to make good your way back to the land of your fathers. You might find Aigisthos still alive, or perhaps Orestes has beaten you to the kill, but you might be there for the burying.*  
(*Odyssey* IV 543-547)

Proteus instructed Menelaos to return to Egypt first, and he also told him about the fate of Odysseus, who was imprisoned on an island with Kalypso.

The advice of Proteus suggests that the role of Menelaos in the king story (Blondé 2018, pp. 45–46) about Mykenai must have been much greater. Menelaos is sent on the way to Mykenai to break the reign of Aigisthos. His arduous journey by sea classifies both as the sixth oral characteristic of the king story, the arduous outward journey, and as the eighteenth oral characteristic, the decisive arrival of a prisoner. This connects the specific roles of Menelaos and Telemachos in the Mykenaian king story with the leading role in the tele-story. An unjust ruler remains in power as long as a tele-warrior makes difficult wanderings from a great distance.

### **Odysseus as tele-warrior**

Telemachos and Menelaos are not the best-known examples of the tele-warrior. Which hero suffers endless grief during difficult wanderings, receives advice and support along the way from benign women and seers, and on his



return brings an end to unjust rule? Odysseus himself, the father of Telemachos and the main character of the *Odyssey*. After the wanderings of Telemachos in the first four chapters of the *Odyssey*, it is his father's turn. From Chapter V to Chapter XIII of the *Odyssey*, we read the most fantastic adventures, from the one-eyed Cyclop to the sailor skills of the Phaiakians. Not all these adventures are related to the theme of the tele-warrior, but the journey is based on the tele-story. This applies both to the division of the chapters in the *Odyssey* and to the time experience of Odysseus.

During his long journeys over unknown seas, Odysseus met three women: Circe, Kalypso, and Nausikaa, in that order, and all three coveted him as a husband. After Odysseus had set sail from Troy toward Ithaka with his comrades, he was knocked off course by a storm. This was the start of his miserable journey by sea, which eventually led him via the Lotus eaters, the Cyclopes, Aiolos, and the Laestrygonians to the island of Aiaia, where Circe lived. Circe was a divine sorceress who turned Odysseus' shipmates into pigs. The god Hermes told Odysseus how he could escape the magic of Circe and win her over. Odysseus had intercourse with Circe and thereby begot his son Telegonos. Within the story of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus never learns anything about this pregnancy. In any case, Circe helped Odysseus with good advice and sent him on the way to the underworld to consult the deceased seer Teiresias. When Odysseus told this to his shipmates, *they sat down on the ground and lamented and tore their hair out (Odyssey X 567)*. The ghost of Teiresias predicted a difficult future for Odysseus.

We recognize the same pattern here as with Menelaos and Telemachos: A good-natured woman helps the tele-warrior, but she also sends him farther from home, to a seer or helper who in turn predicts the greatest inconveniences. Crying is also a motif of the tele-story.

With Kalypso, Odysseus stayed the longest. For seven years, he was crying on the island of the goddess who loved him and wanted to make him immortal. All these wanderings form the prequel of the *Odyssey*. The storyline in Chapter V begins with the perilous journey that Odysseus made by sea on a self-built raft. He washed ashore with Nausikaa, the marriage-eager princess of the Phaiakians. In the palace of the Phaiakians, from chapters IX to XII in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus himself narrated about his wanderings, starting with the return from Troy and ending with the moment when he washed ashore with Kalypso as a destitute man, lost at sea.

The assistance of a woman during solitary imprisonment is an oral characteristic that has attached itself to other oral characteristics. It has grown

within the Mykenaian Alpha- and Aeolian Gamma-traditions, and probably also within the European Beta-tradition. The relationships between Hephaistos and Thetis (*Iliad* XVIII 394–405), between Menelaos and Eidothea (*Odyssey* IV 360–393), and between Odysseus and Nausikaa (*Odyssey* VI) are very similar to those between Odysseus and Kalypso (*Odyssey* V). In all these cases, the men are in need and are saved and fed by a goddess on an island. Further research reveals many more tele-relationships, in which a hero, assisted by a mostly female helper, kills an unjust ruler after a period of seclusion. A list of such relationships can be found in Table 1. This shows that we can find the tele-warrior in almost any of the six story types. Within the European Beta-tradition, it can be found in the typical scene of the resentful warrior who has an evolving relationship with a woman during his seclusion. Such cross-connections show that the different story types and oral traditions are not separate. They are in a continuous tradition.

### **The oral characteristics of the tele-story**

We can bundle the oral characteristics of the tele-story into the following eleven phases in the story:

- Gt1 According to an old prediction, the tele-warrior is destined to end an unjust rule or abuse.
- Gt2 Gods and seers regularly repeat the prediction in the story.
- Gt3 The unjust ruler knows the prediction, but does not know where the tele-warrior is or when he will return. He tries to undo the prediction in vain. Assassination attempts on the tele-warrior fail.
- Gt4 On his way to his destination, the tele-warrior washes ashore with his ship on a deserted island or arrives in a distant land.
- Gt5 The tele-warrior is exhausted, abandoned, and injured. He cries and suffers unbearable pain during difficult wanderings.
- Gt6 A friendly woman saves the tele-warrior. She takes care of his wounds with medicinal herbs, washes him, dresses him, and gives him comfort. She gives him advice and material support to achieve his goal and shares secret knowledge with him.
- Gt7 The woman has a strong connection with the sea. Moreover, she is unmarried and wants the tele-warrior as a partner, but fate or the gods

prevent her marital happiness. She recognizes or meets the tele-warrior thanks to divine intervention or clairvoyance.

Gt8 The friendly woman, a god, or a seer, predicts the future of the tele-warrior. Moreover, they send him further to another helper.

Gt9 The tele-warrior meets a chain of several friendly women and helpers who give advice and material support. They ensure that he can reach his goal.

Gt10 At his arrival, the tele-warrior is recognized by one or more friendly helpers by a certain sign.

Gt11 The tele-warrior makes himself known to the unjust ruler and kills him.

**The Gamma-tradition in the tele-story**

Among the stories that include the tele-warrior ↔ helper ↔ unjust ruler relationship, as shown in Table 1, there are quite a few that have the oral characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and/or the Gamma-tradition. The most important tele-story, the return of Odysseus to Ithaka, contains the following Gamma-characteristics: the wrath of Poseidon [G27], an injury [G17] (Odysseus blinded Poseidon’s son Polyphemos with a glowing pole), seafaring, storm at sea, and islands [G44], the strong ties with the sea [G36,G44] that the sometimes divine helpers have, the punishment [G43] of the gods (Odysseus’ companions ate from the cattle of Helios, and Odysseus blinded Poseidon’s son), immortality [G60] (Odysseus returns from the underworld, and Kalypso wants to make Odysseus immortal), seers [G57] who make predictions and set conditions [G63] for the expedition to succeed, rivers [G19] (Odysseus meets Nausikaa by a river and goes along the bank of the river Okeanos to the underworld), the expedition leader [G61] with a group of followers, marriages [G48] (the friendly helpers and the marriage of Penelope on the day that Odysseus arrives at home), and bow and arrow [G20] (Odysseus defeats Penelope’s suitors in a bow and arrow contest, and he kills Antinoos with an arrow in the neck).

Tele-warrior	Helper	Evildoer
Achilleus	Thetis	Hektor
Hephaistos	Thetis	Hera

Herakles	The Hesperides	Eurystheus
Jason	Medea	Pelias
Melampus	Iphiklos	Neleus
Meleager	Kleopatra	The Kuretes
Menelaos	Eidothea	Aigisthos
Odysseus	Circe	Antinoos
Odysseus	Eurykleia	Antinoos
Odysseus	Kalypso	Antinoos
Odysseus	Nausikaa	Antinoos
Oidipous	Iokaste	Laos
Orestes	Elektra	Aigisthos
Perseus	Danaë	Akrisios
Perseus	The Hesperides	Medusa
Perseus	Medusa	Polydektes
Polyneikes	Eurypyle	Eteokles
Philoktetes	Odysseus	Paris
Telegonos	Circe	Odysseus
Telemachos	Athene	Antinoos
Telemachos	Helen	Antinoos
Telemachos	Penelope	Antinoos
Telephos	Achilleus	Priamos
Theoklymenos	Telemachos	Antinoos
Theseus	Ariadne	the Minotaur

**Table 1:** The relationship tele-warrior ↔ helper ↔ evil-doer is omnipresent in Greek stories.

The story type in the following section is quite a classic. It is about monsters defeated by a hero.

## The monster story

One of the most universal stories is the monster story, which is also referred to by the German term *Chaoskampf*. In any case, we find numerous exam-

ples of this in the Near East: the Jewish story of the god Yahweh against the sea monster Leviathan, the Canaanite story of the supreme god Ba'al against the sea and river god Yam, the similar story of Ba'al against the sea dragon Lotan, the Babylonian story of the supreme god Marduk against the sea goddess Tiamat, the Egyptian story of the sun god Ra against the serpentine chaos god Apep, and the Christian story of Jesus Christ, the Messiah, against Satan. The most important Greek stories are the battle between Zeus and the monster snake Typhon, between Herakles and the seven-headed Hydra of Lerna, between Perseus and the ugly Medusa, between Theseus and the Minotaur, between Herakles and Ketos, and between Perseus and Ketos. Both for the Eastern and for the Greek stories, it is often a snake or dragon that is connected to the sea.

### **The oral characteristics of the monster story**

The following oral characteristics characterize the Greek monster stories:

Gm1 A monster has existed since the beginning of time.

Gm2 The monster regularly needs human flesh.

Gm3 One or more people are sacrificed.

Gm4 A rescuer kills the monster.

Gm5 A helper helps the rescuer.

Gm6 The rescuer uses exceptional weapons to kill the monster.

Gm7 During the action, the monster swallows one or more people.

Gm8 The rescuer is thankless, or instead grateful, to the helper.

Gm9 The helper dies or commits suicide.

### **The Gamma-tradition in the monster story**

Both the monsters and the helper's suicide are oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition (G50 and G56). The special role of the helper is apparent from several Greek helper roles in the monster stories: Iolaus as the helper of Herakles against the Hydra, Atlas as the helper of Herakles against the snakes in the Garden of the Hesperides, Abderus as the helper of Herakles against

the Thracian Diomedes, Telamon as the helper of Herakles against Laomedon, Ariadne as the helper of Theseus against the Minotaur, and Kallirrhoe as the helper of Diomedes against Lykos. In the last story, Kallirrhoe is the daughter of the Lybian king Lykos, who wanted to sacrifice Diomedes to Ares, after he had arrived in Lybia due to a storm. Kallirrhoe fell in love with Diomedes and freed him from his imprisonment, but Diomedes was ungrateful and sailed away. Kallirrhoe then committed suicide. We see the same pattern with Queen Dido and Aeneas, which places the story very centrally in the Gamma-tradition. The queen in love who betrays her city and later commits suicide is also an oral characteristic of the Gamma-tradition (G67).

The monster story can easily be fitted into the other story types, except for the king story. That is exactly what happened. In the story that has gathered the most oral characteristics, namely, the second fall of Troy, we see monsters appearing twice: the Trojan Horse and the sea snakes that killed the priest Laokoön. This shows that the monster story has associated itself multiple times with the Gamma-tradition.

A closely related story type, the savior story, is discussed in the next section.

## **The savior story**

The savior story is the last story type to be distinguished in this book. It has strong ties with the hero story and the monster story.

### **Summary of the savior story**

In the beginning of time, the world was empty or populated with evil-doers, often snake-like monsters and evil gods. A creator makes a new generation of beings from clay or from the existing evil beings. A well-known prophecy of seers was that there would be a savior who brings an end to the evil creatures. That is how things stand when the savior comes.

The savior is of a special origin. Moreover, he has special talents and divine weapons. He also gathers great wisdom and forbidden, divine knowledge. Benevolent, omniscient, and almighty gods assist the savior.

The savior punishes and destroys the evil beings, or he transforms them into good beings. He punishes the most evil beings horribly. From the remains of the killed monsters, the savior makes weapons that he always carries with him.

The savior encounters the dead. Some dead are resurrected, or the savior rises from the dead. The savior ultimately gains eternal life.

In the many existing stories, all the oral characteristics have been shaken up. The roles of creator, savior, evildoer, god, and man are interchanged or united in a single person. Benign and evil can also switch randomly.

### **Concrete savior stories**

The following stories are examples of savior stories:

- Zeus and Kronos
- Zeus and Prometheus
- Odysseus and Circe
- Odysseus and Polyphemos
- The works of Herakles
- Perseus and Medusa
- Zeus and Tantalos
- Theseus and Prokrustes
- Yahweh, and Adam and Eve
- Yahweh and the giants of old
- Jesus Christ and Satan

### **The Gamma-tradition in the savior story**

Here, too, the Gamma-tradition regularly occurs in the Greek stories, but not in the Biblical stories. We have already seen that Tantalos, Perseus and the Medusa, and the wanderings of Odysseus were strongly anchored in the Gamma-tradition. Overlapping oral characteristics between the savior story and the Gamma-tradition are gods (G3), divine weapons (G39), monsters (G50), and snakes (G54).

We can conclude that story types were more widely used than the Gamma-tradition and that the Gamma-tradition included the oral characteristics of the story types. This ends the chapter about the story types closely related to the Gamma-tradition. In the next chapter, we examine the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*.

## Chapter 4

# The Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*

Although the *Iliad* may not be the easiest work in which to distinguish the Gamma-tradition, nevertheless, it is a comprehensive testimony to the oral traditions found during the Dark Ages in Greece. Because of the close ties between the Gamma-tradition and the other oral traditions, this has also been the last oral tradition that I could distinguish in the *Iliad*. Too fast a hypothesis about an Apollo-tradition was mixed too much with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition.

Just as for the other oral traditions, introductory passages from the *Iliad* now follow as reading material. This is followed by a summary of all references to Gamma-passages in the *Iliad*, a systematic discussion of oral characteristics, and passages in which oral characteristics are marked with numbers.

### Highlighted passages

#### The fight of Diomedes against the gods

In the *Iliad*, we easily discover a sequence of events that form a story in itself. Chapter V of the *Iliad*, the triumphant raid of Diomedes, can be read as a narrative in which the gods also participate in the fight, while in the European Beta-tradition, it was conducted between ordinary mortals. By selecting all mentions of the gods, we get the following story:

The fight between the Greeks and the Trojans is aroused by Apollo, Ares, and Eris. Diomedes is the bravest hero of the Greeks and is assisted by Athene. Hektor as leader of the Trojans is assisted by Ares. Apollo watches



from Pergamon, the holy city of Troy. Athene pulls Ares away from the battlefield and asks him to leave the battle to the mortals. When Diomedes addresses a prayer to Athene, she puts bravery in his heart and dispels the mist from his eyes so he can discern god and mortal. Athene advises him not to fight the gods, but only to injure Aphrodite when she appears in battle. When Diomedes injures Aeneas in a duel, his mother Aphrodite appears to help Aeneas. Diomedes then cuts her arm. Aphrodite is taken away by Iris in the chariot of Ares. Diomedes tries again to kill Aeneas, but now, Apollo protects him. Diomedes bangs Apollo's shield three times, and the fourth time, Apollo warns Diomedes. The god takes Aeneas away and has him cared for by his sister Artemis and his mother Leto. He asks Ares to pull Diomedes away from the fight.

Hektor is instigated by Ares and Apollo. Surrounded by Ares and Enyo, Hektor drives out the Greeks. Athene and Hera appear on the battlefield to encourage the Greeks. Athene sits next to Diomedes as driver and advises him to no longer spare the gods. She drives the chariot straight to Ares. Diomedes throws his spear and hits Ares in the belly.

The theme of the battle against the gods is further elaborated in the duel between Diomedes and the Lykian Glaukos in the next chapter (*Iliad* VI 119–236). In it, Diomedes claims that he does not want to fight the gods, recalling Lykurgos who did not live long after beating the god Dionysos with a cow whip (*Iliad* VI 129–131).

Chapter V of the *Iliad* is perhaps the most important Gamma-passage in the *Iliad*. In the following section, an *Iliadic* Gamma-story is highlighted that is spread out over several chapters.

### **The fight between the Lykians and the Myrmidons**

From Chapter XVI in the *Iliad*, we also find a series of combat acts that fit together. The series only ends after the end of the *Iliad*, at the death of Achilles in the Trojan Cycle. The overarching theme of this story is the mutilation of the dead bodies (oral characteristic G40):

During a fierce battle, a succession of people are killed in a cycle of revenge. First, Patroklos kills the leader of the Lykians, Sarpedon. In his last words, Sarpedon begs his fighters to call the whole army to battle and to prevent the Greeks from stealing his armor. The battle noise goes to heaven in the battle for the corpse of Sarpedon. Many people are killed, and the

corpse of Sarpedon is unrecognizably violated and soiled. Eventually, the Greeks rob Sarpedon's armor, but Apollo takes his body away from the battle, cleans it in a river, and brings it to Lykia, where it receives an honorable burial. Patroklos is then killed by Hektor, with the help of Apollo. In his last words, Patroklos predicts death to Hektor under the hand of Achilles. Hektor takes Patroklos' armor, and a fierce battle ignites around his naked body. His body is terribly violated and soiled. Eventually, the Greeks can conquer the corpse. They clean the corpse and bury it honorably. The battle is resumed, and Hektor is killed by Achilles. In his last words, Hektor begs, after robbing his armor, to at least return his body to the Trojans in exchange for a ransom. Moreover, he predicts the death of Achilles by Paris, with the help of Apollo. Achilles terribly mutilates the body of Hektor and drags it through the dust in front of the Trojans. However, Aphrodite and Apollo ensure that his body remains intact, and Thetis persuades Achilles to return Hektor's body to the Trojans in exchange for a ransom. The Trojans bury Hektor honorably. Thus ends the *Iliad*. From the story cycle around the *Iliad*, we know that Achilles is killed by an arrow of Paris, with the help of Apollo, who guides the arrow. The Greeks can capture the corpse of Achilles from the Trojans after a day of intense fighting. Thetis took the corpse away and wept over it with the Nereids. She started a memorial festival in honor of Achilles.

In the next section, we zoom in again on a single chapter: Chapter XX of the *Iliad*.

### **The triumphant raid of Achilles**

In the *Iliad*, there are two long passages strongly colored by the Gamma-tradition. These are the triumphant raid (aristeia) of Diomedes in Chapter V and the triumphant raid of Achilles in chapters XX and XXI. Here is a brief reading of Chapter XX with emphasis on Gamma-characteristics:

Achilles finally took part in the battle again, furious and determined to kill Hektor and so avenge Patroklos' death. Nevertheless, Zeus gathered all the gods in a meeting at Olympus. No one was missing, neither of the rivers, nor of the nymphs, who inhabit the beautiful forests and the springs of the brooks and the grassy valleys (*Iliad* XX 1–9). Poseidon asked about the reason for the meeting. Zeus answered: "I am worried about the Trojans, now that Achilles is free to fight with them. Go all to the battlefield, and participate in the battle. Let each choose the camp according to their own

wishes. Because I fear that Achilles would even destroy the city wall, contrary to fate” (*Iliad* XX 14–30). Hera, Pallas Athene, Poseidon, Hermes, and Hephaistos went to the ship camp of the Greeks. Ares, Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Xanthos, and Aphrodite went to the Trojans. Then Eris urged the armies to battle (*Iliad* XX 32–48). Athene sounded her battle cry from the wall that the Greeks had built. On the other side, Ares screamed as he ran along the Simoeis River. In the depths, Poseidon shook the earth. Everything shook, the foundations and peaks of the source-rich Ida, the city of the Trojans, and the ship camp of the Greeks.

Achilleus craved a meeting with Hektor. However, Apollo, posing as Lykaon, instigated Aeneas against Achilles and inspired him with noble courage (*Iliad* XX 75–85). Aeneas replied: “Lykaon, son of Priamos, Achilles had already driven me away from the Ida when he destroyed Lyrnessos and Pedasos. I was still protected by Zeus, who gave strength to my fast knees. Otherwise, I would certainly have been killed by Achilles and Athene, who led him to salvation” (*Iliad* XX 86–95).

“Brave hero,” Apollo said, “then pray to the eternal gods. You were born of Aphrodite, a daughter of Zeus, but he descends from a lesser deity, a daughter of the ancient god of the sea. So head straight for him with the indomitable bronze.” These words inspired Aeneas with great power, and he approached Achilles (*Iliad* XX 103–110).

Hera had seen that and said to Poseidon and Athene: “Aeneas is approaching Achilles, driven by Apollo. Let us also assist Achilles. Only later will he experience what was spun to him at the time of his birth by the thread of fate, when his mother gave birth to him” (*Iliad* XX 112–128).

Poseidon answered her: “Hera, don’t be so fierce! I would not like to set up the gods against each other. If Apollo or Ares were to start a battle, then we would mix, too.” After these words, Poseidon went to the high earthen wall built by the Trojans with the help of Pallas Athene for Herakles, as a refuge for the sea monster, when that came to threaten him, rushing from the coast to the plain. There, Poseidon sat down with the other gods, enveloped in an impenetrable mist (*Iliad* XX 132–150).

When Aeneas was close to Achilles, Achilles spoke first: “Aeneas, what are you waiting for? Is there a desire to fight with me because you hope to inherit the kingdom of Priamos in the horse-breeding Troy? He has sons himself. Do you not remember how I drove you—you were alone—away from your cattle in the mountains of the Ida? I give you this advice: Get back in the crowd. Once a thing has been done, the fool sees it” (*Iliad* XX 176–198).

“Achilleus,” Aeneas replied, “I also understand the art of saying scornful and reckless words. We know each other’s lineage. We know each other’s parents, even though you have never seen mine with your own eyes; nor have I, yours. You are called a son of Peleus and of Thetis, the beautiful daughter of the sea. I boast to be the son of Anchises, and my mother is Aphrodite. The first of my family was Dardanos, a son of Zeus. He founded Dardania, when the holy Troy was not yet built in the plain for the mortal people, who still lived at the foot of the Ida with all her waters. Dardanos had a son, King Erichthonios, the richest of the people on earth. Three thousand horses of his ran in the meadows, mares, proud of their frolicking foals. Boreas fell in love with them when he saw them grazing, and he coupled with them in the form of a dark-maned stallion. They produced twelve foals” (*Iliad* XX 199–225).

Erichthonios had a son, Tros, a king of the Trojans. Tros became the father of three sons: Ilos, Assarakos, and the god-like Ganymedes, the most beautiful of the people on earth—that is why he was abducted by Zeus. Ilos fathered Laomedon; Laomedon fathered Tithonos and Priamos, Lampos, Klytios, and Hiketaon, descendant of Ares. Assarakos had Kapys as son, and this one, Anchises. I am a son of Anchises, Hektor of Priamos. That is my family tree and noble blood” (*Iliad* XX 230–241).

Then Aeneas and Achilleus started a fight up close. Aeneas was the first to cast his lance, but it got stuck in the shield that the fire god Hephaistos had forged for Achilleus at the request of his divine mother, Thetis. Then Achilleus threw his lance right through the shield of Aeneas, just past him. Aeneas lifted a heavy stone, but Achilleus drew his sharp sword and jumped toward his enemy with a fierce scream (*Iliad* XX 259–289). He would have killed Aeneas if Poseidon had not seen it with a watchful eye. He immediately spoke to the other gods: “Why does Aeneas have to suffer, just because of the suffering of others? Does he not always make pleasing sacrifices to the gods? (*Iliad* XX 290–299) Come, let us take him away from death, lest Zeus get angry when Achilleus kills him. He is destined to escape from it, so the family of Dardanos does not perish without seed and without trace, the most loved by Zeus of all sons given birth to him by mortal women. Zeus already hates the family of Priamos; but Aeneas will rule over the Trojans and the children of his children” (*Iliad* XX 300–308).

The mighty Hera answered him: “Poseidon, decide for yourself if you want to help Aeneas. Both of us, I and Athene, have sworn many oaths to all immortals that we will never drive the day of evil away from the Trojans, even if Troy is completely consumed by the scorching fire that the brave sons

of the Greeks will ignite” (*Iliad* XX 309–317). Then Poseidon went to the battlefield and poured a mist over Achilles’ eyes. He lifted Aeneas and put him down on the edge of the battlefield (*Iliad* XX 318–328).

Achilles continued the fight and encouraged the Greeks. Hektor did the same in the Trojan camp, and he bluffed to meet Achilles. Apollo admonished Hektor for that, and Hektor hastily returned to his men’s crowd. Shouting, Achilles jumped amidst the Trojans. He was the first to kill Iphition, the noble son of Otrynteus, a general of a great army. A nymph had given birth to the city destroyer Otrynteus at the foot of the snow-rich Tmolos, in the fertile land of Hyde (*Iliad* XX 353–385).

Achilles killed him and said: “There you are, son of Otrynteus. Here, you will find death, but you were born on the shore of Lake Gygaia, where your father’s territory is, with the fish-rich Hyllos and the swirling Hermos” (*Iliad* XX 386–392). Then Achilles killed Demoleon, Antenors son, Hippodamas, and Polydoros, the youngest brother of Hektor (*Iliad* XX 393–418).

When Hektor saw Polydoros clasping his guts, he no longer kept a distance, but he approached Achilles. When Achilles saw him coming, he cheered and said, “The man is near who deeply wounded my soul, who killed my honored friend Patroklos. Step closer, Hektor. You will soon reach your appointed destruction” (*Iliad* XX 419–429). Hektor was the first to cast his spear, but Athene turned it away with a whiff, blowing very gently. Then Achilles rushed in with a terrible scream. Nonetheless, Apollo had already taken Hektor away, enveloping him in a thick mist. Achilles stormed three times; three times he struck the thick cloud (*Iliad* XX 438–446). When he ran a fourth time, like a demon, he shouted to him: “Again you have escaped death, dog! Again, Apollo protected you, to whom you will pray. But we will meet later” (*Iliad* XX 447–452).

That’s how Achilles spoke, and he put his lance in Dryops’ neck. He then killed Demuchos and the two sons of Bias, Laogonos, and Dardanos (*Iliad* XX 455–460). Tros, the son of Alastor, fell to his knees, asking if he wanted to spare him and capture him. Achilles stabbed him in the liver. Mulios, Eheklos, the son of Antenor, Deukalion, and Rhigmos, originating from Thrace, were also killed by Achilles. Achilles did not stop gaining fame; his invincible hands were splashed with blood (*Iliad* XX 463–503).

This should suffice as an introduction to the *Iliadic* Gamma-tradition. In the next section, we continue with a more systematic analysis of the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*.

## The Gamma-passages

Here is the list of all passages in the *Iliad* that are strongly colored by the Gamma-tradition. In the short descriptions of the passages, the emphasis is again placed on the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition.

I 36-47	Chryses prays to the arch god Apollo
I 188-222	Athene prohibits Achilleus from using force against Agamemnon
II 653-670	A son of Herakles leads many soldiers and settles on Rhodes
III 181-190	Priamos tells about the war of the Phrygians against the Amazons
IV 1-74	The gods discuss the fate of Troy, and Hera appoints her preferred cities
IV 89-105	Pandaros promises an offering to Apollo, incited by Athene
IV 473-477	Simoeisios is born by the River Simoeis
V 1-904	Diomedes fights against Aeneas and the gods
V 25-26	Diomedes steals the horses of Dares
V 76-94	The warriors are like mountain streams, or they are priests of river gods
V 95-113	Pandaros injures Diomedes in the shoulder with an arrow
V 114-133	Athene gives Diomedes advice about people and gods
V 151-153	Diomedes kills Xanthos
V 179-219	Pandaros tells Aeneas about the gods, his horses, and his bow and arrow
V 251-324	Diomedes robs the horses of Aeneas
V 330-380	Diomedes fights and injures the gods
V 381-415	Herakles and Diomedes battle the gods
V 432-442	Diomedes, a demon alike, rushes three times to Apollo
V 443-453	The gods protect and care for the wounded Aeneas
V 478-493	Sarpedon compares the destruction of Troy with a fishery
V 628-655	Sarpedon elaborates on the destruction of Troy by Herakles

VI 119-236	Diomedes and Glaukos start a duel, but reconcile without a fight
VI 394-435	Andromache laments her fate and that of the Cilicians
VII 17-36	Apollo and Athene keep the Greeks and Trojans apart in battle
VII 445-463	Poseidon destroys the wall of the Greeks after the destruction of Troy
VIII 1-40	Zeus prohibits the gods from participating in the battle
VIII 99-115	Diomedes brags about the horses of Tros, which he could steal from Aeneas
VIII 172-211	Hektor desires Diomedes' divine armor, to the anger of Hera
X 469-525	Diomedes robs the horses of Rhesos
XI 369-400	Paris injures Diomedes in the foot with an arrow
XI 720-731	Offerings along the banks of Alpheios' holy stream
XI 827-835	Patroklos uses Chiron's medicine to treat a wound
XII 1-34	Poseidon and Apollo unite all rivers to destroy the wall
XII 307-329	Sarpedon encourages Glaukos and the Lykians
XII 371-372	Pandion carries the bow of Teukros in the fight against the Lykians
XII 387-392	Teukros injures the Lykian Glaukos with an arrow
XIII 1-75	Poseidon fights with the Greeks in the battle at the wall
XIV 443-445	Satnios, the son of a source nymph, was conceived at the River Satnioeis
XV 1-243	Zeus keeps Poseidon and Apollo apart in their battle at the wall
XV 355-376	Apollo destroys the wall of the Greeks
XVI 130-154	Patroklos goes to war with Xanthos and Balios in the arms of Achilleus
XVI 431-458	Hera and Zeus argue about the fate of Sarpedon
XVI 492-547	Sarpedon begs Glaukos to fight for his corpse and his armor
XVI 659-683	Apollo cleans the corpse of Sarpedon in the river and carries it to Lykia
XVII 322-333	Apollo urges Aeneas to fight
XVII 426-534	Zeus does not allow Aeneas to steal the horses of Achilleus

XIX 55-60	Achilleus wishes Briseis were killed by an arrow near Lyrnessos
XIX 286-302	Briseis laments the fate of Lyrnessos and her marriage with Achilleus
XIX 364-XXII 32	Achilleus achieves great fame in a triumphant raid
XIX 399-424	The horse Xanthos predicts the death of Achilleus
XX 1-40	The gods and the rivers gather on the walls
XX 41-175	Achilleus and Aeneas, both loved by the gods, compete with each other
XX 144-149	The gods gather on the wall on which Herakles fought a sea monster
XX 176-258	Achilleus and Aeneas discuss the history of Troy and the surrounding cities
XX 291-351	The gods are bickering about the fate of Aeneas, and Poseidon intervenes
XX 382-392	Achilleus kills the son of a nymph, born by a fish-rich lake
XX 443-451	Achilleus, like a demon, rushes three times at Apollo
XX 461-464	Achilleus kills Dardanos and Tros
XXI 205-327	Achilleus fights Xanthos, the river god
XXI 328-384	Hephaistos, god of fire, fights Xanthos, the river god
XXI 385-520	The gods are fighting, but Poseidon and Apollo decide without a fight
XXI 435-460	Poseidon and Apollo discuss the history of Troy and the Trojan walls
XXI 595-XXII 21	Achilleus is fighting Apollo, who has created a false appearance
XXIII 182-191	The gods look after the corpse of Hektor
XXIII 798-825	Diomedes and Aias are fighting for the weapons of Sarpedon
XXIV 1-119	The gods plan and discuss their mutual relationships
XXIV 543-546	Achilleus talks about the kingdom of Priamos

This list of passages and their short descriptions give an even better picture of the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*. In the following section, we come to the core: the list and description of the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition.



## The oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition

In this section, the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition are systematically discussed. First come the oral characteristics, of which we can find at least three examples in the *Iliad*. Then come the oral characteristics that we repeatedly find in Gamma-stories that are younger than the *Iliad*, such as in the *Odyssey*, the Trojan Cycle, the *Argonautica*, and the *Aeneid*.

### 1. The close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition

The Gamma-tradition modernizes the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. This means that many oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition can be found in a somewhat different form in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. For example, caring for the dead and injured is a characteristic of the Gamma-tradition, and the honorable burial is a characteristic of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. Moreover, there are passages in which the Gamma-tradition and the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition are mixed. The mixture with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition is mainly found in a number of digressions, which is itself a typical oral characteristic of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. These digressions usually describe mythological stories, such as about Herakles, the gods, or the history of Troy. The descriptions of the backgrounds of the Trojan fighters, which in themselves are already a mixture of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition, sometimes show the characteristics of the Gamma-tradition. Clear examples of this are fighters named after rivers near Troy, such as Simoeisios or Satnios, or after cities near Troy, such as Tros and Dardanos.

A systematic discussion of the similarities between the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the Gamma-tradition follows later in this chapter.  
(A34: *Iliad* III 184, A43: *Iliad* VI 153, A13: *Iliad* XXI 448)

### 2. Gamma-specific proper names

The Gamma-tradition provides all kinds of explanations for origins of proper names. Cities and rivers are often named after human heroes and kings. That makes proper names very useful to recognize the Gamma-tradition. We can distinguish the following categories:

- Persons: Achilleus, Herakles, Diomedes, Aeneas, Paris, Sarpedon, Glaukos, Pandaros, Philoktetes, Odysseus, Teukros, Briseis, Thersites

- Cities: Troy, Ilion, Dardanos, Pedasos, Lyrnessos, Pergamon, Thebes at Plakos, Theutrania
- Regions: Dardania, Thrace, Lykia, Phrygia, Lesbos, Paphlygonia, Maonia, Cilicia
- Rivers: Xanthos, Rhesos, Scamander, Simoëis, Satnioëis
- Gods: Apollo, Poseidon, Athene, Zeus, Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis, Xanthos, Thetis
- Horses: Xanthos, Balios, Pedasos, Podarge, Lampos
- Ancestors: Tros, Ilos, Dardanos, Laomedon, Lampos

We find the same proper names in different categories. Some of these proper names can also be found as names of warriors killed during the triumphant raids of Achilles and Diomedes, such as Tros, Dardanos, Rhesos, and Xanthos. Scamandrios, the son of Hektor, was killed by the son of Achilles, and Simoeisios and Satnios by the Aiantes.

(Aeneas: *Iliad* V 217, Satnios: *Iliad* XIV 443, Dardanos: *Iliad* XX 461)

### 3. The Olympic gods

The most important influence the Gamma-tradition has left behind on the *Iliad* is probably that of the Olympic gods, especially their mutual relations and behavior. The gods have already taken their—contradictory—positions about the fates of heroes and cities. Zeus has the undisputed supreme power, and only Hera and Poseidon dare to question this. The gods respond to the events on earth by discussing among themselves in meetings of the gods. The gods can also interact with ordinary mortals in many ways. Apollo and Athene particularly act autonomously among the fighters on the battlefield, in favor of the Trojans and the Greeks, respectively. The gods also often appear in a different form. When the gods meet on the battlefield, they do not shy away from fighting each other, although this is balanced most of the time with another characteristic of the Gamma-tradition: ending a duel peacefully (oral characteristic G26).

(*Iliad* IV 1, *Iliad* XV 84, *Iliad* XX 5)

### 4. Achilles

The most important Gamma-hero is undoubtedly Achilles. It is no coincidence that we also find him as the most important character in the

*Iliad*. This son of the sea goddess Thetis, who predicts an early death for him, is favored by the gods. He learned medicine from Chiron, the Centaur. Inviolably, he fights people and gods in the vicinity of Troy, while he marries several times. He is eventually killed by an arrow from Paris, assisted by Apollo. His corpse is cared for honorably by sea goddesses.

(*Iliad* XX 26, *Iliad* XX 174, *Iliad* XXI 222)

#### 5. **Diomedes**

The triumphant raid of Diomedes shows great similarities with that of Achilles. He also fights both Aeneas and the gods themselves, and he is hit in the foot by an arrow from Paris. The name Diomedes undoubtedly comes from this tradition, because it is also used for people other than the famous hero from Argos. The Thracian king whose horses were robbed by Herakles was also called Diomedes. A potential marriage partner of Achilles was Diomedea, the daughter of King Phorbas of Lesbos. The name Deidameia can be found as the mother of Sarpedon with Evander, as a marriage partner of Achilles and as Hippodameia.

(*Iliad* V 1, *Iliad* VIII 99, *Iliad* XI 373)

#### 6. **Aeneas**

Aeneas is in opposition with Achilles in the *Iliad*. While Achilles is destined for a short life, Aeneas awaits a glorious future: He is destined to become king of the Trojans. This son of Aphrodite is assisted by Apollo in his fight against Diomedes and Achilles.

(*Iliad* V 445, *Iliad* XVII 325, *Iliad* XX 175)

#### 7. **The fall of Troy**

Of all the cities in this tradition, Troy is the most important. Several aspects keep surfacing: the construction of her walls, her legendary ancestors, and her fall. All gods have chosen a position about the fall, although it is inevitable. It is bickered about in every meeting of the gods. Two devastations have been perpetuated in the classical canon of Greek literature: the fall by the hand of Herakles and that with the trick of the Trojan Horse. Other city names from the same region are linked to a legendary siege: Ilion—another name for Troy; Pergamon—used as a name for the Trojan city center, too; Dardanos—also the name of a Trojan ancestor; and Theutrania, Lyrnessos, and “Thebes near Plakos,” whose destructions also became known. All these city names were fi-

nally united in one story, in which the name Troy and the bulwark near Hissarlik became the central components. The destruction of a city was a collective memory that lived on in many stories anyway.

(*Iliad* IV 33, *Iliad* XX 30, *Iliad* XXI 584)

#### 8. **Paris and Pandaros**

In the book about the European Beta-tradition (Blondé 2019), it was concluded that Paris is a corruption of Pandaros. Both are archers whose cowardice is thematic and who can only hurt the great heroes in innocent places. Some fixed formulas are also shared by both. Moreover, they both disrupt a solemn gathering between Greeks and Trojans by hitting the Greeks, around whom the ceremonies revolve, with an arrow (Achilleus and Meneloas). Yet, both are anchored in the Gamma-tradition in different ways—Paris, because he was raised by an animal, and Pandaros, because he is a Lykian who prays to Apollo.

(*Iliad* IV 112, *Iliad* V 179, *Iliad* XI 369)

#### 9. **Apollo and Poseidon**

The gods Apollo and Poseidon play a special role in the story of the construction of Troy's walls. From there, their role must also have grown as the destroyers of these walls. This thematic fact has grown even further to make Poseidon and Apollo destroyers of walls in general. We see them attacking the Greeks and the walls of Troy under various circumstances in the *Iliad*. We also see Apollo in many other roles: He is based in Pergamon, the inner city of Troy, he helps the Trojans, he is the god of the bow and arrow, and he is worshiped by the Lykians. Moreover, Apollo is said to descend from the Anatolian god Appaliuna (Brandau 2003, p.322).

Artemis, the twin sister of Apollo, also performs regularly in the Gamma-tradition. She also uses a bow and arrow. Yet in the Gamma-tradition, Artemis is a less important deity who was popularized later. That certainly applies to the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*.

(*Iliad* XII 17, *Iliad* XV 55, *Iliad* XXI 435)

#### 10. **The environment of Troy**

Apart from Troy, many other concepts from this tradition can be found in the northwestern region of present-day Turkey and in the north of the Aegean Sea. This applies to the Gamma-passages in the *Iliad* as well as to other Greek stories that stem from the Gamma-tradition: the marriages of Achilleus, the devastation of cities, the kingdom of Priamos,

the allies of the Trojans, the Thracian Diomedes, the story of Rhesos, the Phrygians, the Amazons, the Centaurs, etc. Only one region does not fit into this scheme: Lykia, which can be found in southwestern Turkey. The river name Xanthos is found both as a synonym of the Scamander near Troy and in Lykia. Rhodes, which is near Lykia, may function as a colonization area, because the sons of Herakles ended up there and started a new life there (*Iliad* II 664–670). Another hypothesis could be that the Gamma-tradition is not just rooted in the Aeolian region, but instead, in the whole region of the former Hittite empire that was colonized by the Greeks after its fall.

(*Iliad* XX 180, *Iliad* XXI 446–449, *Iliad* XXIV 544–545)

### 11. **Herakles**

This Mykenaian hero plays a leading role in several of the stories at the heart of the Gamma-tradition, such as the fall of Troy, the construction of Trojan walls, the wrath of Poseidon, and the robbery of horses. Just as the Greeks were hiding in the belly of the Trojan Horse, Herakles fought the sea monster sent by Poseidon from the belly of the monster. The foundation of the city of Abdera is linked to the story in which Herakles steals the horses of Diomedes. In Chapter V of the *Iliad*, the Lykian Sarpedon discusses such heroic deeds of Herakles.

(*Iliad* V 392, *Iliad* V 638, *Iliad* XX 145)

### 12. **The mixture with the European Beta-tradition**

In the *Iliad*, we find the Gamma-tradition strongly mixed with the European Beta-tradition. The main characters of the Gamma-tradition, such as Diomedes, Achilleus, Aeneas, and Paris, but also various Lykians and the Olympic gods, meet on the battlefield. In their mutual dialogues, they talk about typical topics of the Gamma-tradition, such as the construction of the walls of Troy or the horses of Tros. In addition, the Gamma-tradition has adopted Beta-characteristics that became real Gamma-characteristics. Nevertheless, the influence of the Beta-tradition on the Gamma-tradition is only sideways. For example, we can barely find the thematic, typical scenes of the European Beta-tradition in the Gamma-tradition, which indicates that the Gamma-tradition cannot be seen as a spin-off from the European Beta-tradition.

We also find this mixture in the Trojan Cycle and the last six chapters of the *Aeneid*, while the Beta-tradition is not dealt with in the Gamma-passages of the *Odyssey*, the *Argonautica*, and the first six chapters of

the *Aeneid*. This provides additional evidence for the conclusion that the European Beta-tradition and the Gamma-tradition are two separate oral traditions.

(B2: *Iliad* V 19, B42: *Iliad* XI 370, B42: *Iliad* XII 387)

### 13. Local nature gods and nymphs

Besides the Olympic gods, there are often local gods and nymphs that reside in forests, (sources of) rivers, mountains, fields, and seas. For example, Hypsenor is told that he was a priest of the river god Skamandros. Moreover, Dionysos fled past “the sacred Nyseian hill,” after which he sought comfort in the arms of the sea goddess Thetis.

(*Iliad* V 77-78, *Iliad* VI 132-133, *Iliad* XXI 1-2)

### 14. Defensive walls

Already in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, the construction of the walls of Thebes was closely linked to the foundation and the history of the city. The walls of Troy play a central role in the Gamma-tradition. In particular, Poseidon, Apollo, and Herakles appear in various stories in which the walls of Troy have a function. In the *Iliad*, the Greeks also build a wall on which ordinary gods and river gods gather before the triumphant raid of Achilles. Both Poseidon and Apollo later contributed to the destruction of the Greek wall at Troy. Apollo sits on the walls of Pergamon, as the holy city of Troy is also called. Closely connected to the walls are also the builders of the walls and the act of building.

(*Iliad* XV 356-357, *Iliad* XX 30, *Iliad* XXI 446-447)

### 15. Eponyms

An eponym is a person after whom a term or a proper name is named. In the Gamma-tradition, eponyms are often the founders of cities after whom the cities are named. Yet it can also be the other way around, and a person is named after a river because he was born along the banks of the river. Further examples are the cities of Dardania and Troy, which bear the names of Dardanos and Tros. Conversely, Simoeisios was named after the Simoeis River because his mother gave birth on the banks of the river when she returned from Mount Ida. The regular occurrence of the name Xanthos is also explained by this oral characteristic. Outside the *Iliad*, there is Abdera, a city in Thrace, the region northwest of Troy, which is named after Abderos, a lover of Herakles. (Simoeisios: *Iliad* IV 474, Skamandrios: *Iliad* V 50, Dardanos: *Iliad* XX 215)

#### 16. **Destructions of cities**

Achilleus has destroyed eleven cities in the vicinity of Troy, according to all kinds of references in the *Iliad* and other ancient sources. Collecting all these devastations under a single denominator has probably happened to create some order in the many stories. For example, the names *Ilion*, *Pergamon*, and *Dardanos* are all united in the city, which has received “Troy” as the best-known name. Troy itself was destroyed by Herakles and later by the Greeks. Odysseus also destroyed the city of the Kikonians, which was close to Troy. The destruction of cities stems from the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, as evidenced by links with Herakles and the destruction of Thebes.

(*Iliad* IV 53, *Iliad* VI 415, *Iliad* XIX 296)

#### 17. **Injuries**

Injured heroes are often the dramatic main character of a scene or story in the Gamma-tradition. They are usually hit by an arrow. The best-known story is that of Achilleus, hit in the heel by an arrow from Paris. Previously, Achilleus could be scratched, but he remained invulnerable for serious injuries. Diomedes is also hit by the arrows of Paris and Pandaros. Diomedes himself injures the goddess Aphrodite by cutting her arm.

(*Iliad* V 98-110, *Iliad* XI 376-392, *Iliad* XII 387-391)

#### 18. **Typical interactions between god and human**

In the Gamma-tradition, the gods have an extensive collection of possibilities to contact human heroes. They can meet them, give them advice, aim their weapons, fight, lead, protect, carry away, envelop in a cloud, and revitalize. At such meetings, the gods take on the form of a human being. Whether to recognize that human form as a god is thematic in this typical scene. Often, people only recognize the shape as a god when he or she disappears again.

(Hera: *Iliad* V 784, Poseidon: *Iliad* XIII 68-72, Athene: *Iliad* XXII 226-228)

#### 19. **Rivers**

Many heroes killed during the triumphant raids of Diomedes and Achilleus are descendants of river gods or have names of rivers. Part of Achilleus' triumphant raid even takes place in the River Xanthos. That river then attacks Achilleus in the form of a river god, calling in the help of the Simoeis River. To destroy the wall of the Greeks, Poseidon

and Apollo gather all rivers from the area around Troy. River gods also gather on the walls during the great final battle in the *Iliad*. Additional motifs that are often connected to the rivers are shores, lakes, currents, fishes, and the sea.

(*Iliad* XII 18-33, *Iliad* XIV 445, *Iliad* XX 390-392)

20. **Bow and arrow**

This weaponry forms a motif in the stories and scenes of the Gamma-tradition. They are the instruments of the cowardly Paris and Apollo, also known as the god of the silver bow. It remains to be seen at what stage of the development of the Greek oral traditions this term has come into use to also name the lyre of Apollo as a bow.

(*Iliad* I 42, *Iliad* IV 101, *Iliad* V 205-209)

21. **The name Xanthos**

This name is used for various elements within the Gamma-tradition: a river at Troy and one in Lykia, a river god, one of the horses of Achilles, one of the horses of the Thracian Diomedes, and a warrior killed by Diomedes during his triumphant raid. At the river in Lykia, the city Xanthos was also founded by Greek settlers, although there is no mention of that city in the *Iliad*.

(*Iliad* V 152, *Iliad* XII 313, *Iliad* XVI 149)

22. **Clusters of oral characteristics**

The oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition have a striking number of connections with each other. An example is the Apollo–Lykia–archery cluster. Apollo is a Lykian god, and both Apollo and the Lykians are known for their archery skills. Another cluster is Achilles–Diomedes–special horses. Or mutilated corpse–river–fishes. We can hypothesize that the Gamma-tradition has made one of the three connections in response to the other two. Such a hypothesis is almost inevitable if we oversee all the oral characteristics and their relationships. For example, it is difficult to regard the six-fold occurrence of the name Xanthos as a coincidence. The Gamma-tradition, therefore, makes conceptual connections between its oral characteristics that were not there before. In addition, the Gamma-bards emphasize these relationships by mentioning them jointly.

(Apollo–bow–Pandaros–Lykia: *Iliad* IV 93-103, Troy–horses–Aeneas: *Iliad* VIII 106-108, fishes–sea–Skamandros–wound–care for corpses: *Iliad* XXI 122-126)



**23. Precious, special horses**

Horses are an important motif in the Gamma-tradition, and some are of divine descent. Xanthos and Balios, the horses of Achilles, were given by the gods to Peleus as a wedding gift. The son of Dardanos already had three thousand horses in his pastures, when the walls of Troy were not even built yet. Moreover, who does not know the story of the Trojan Horse, which the Trojans brought within their city walls? The horses changed owners more often because they were robbed. Diomedes robbed the horses of Aeneas and of Rhesos, and Herakles robbed those of the Trojans and the Thracian Diomedes, while the horses of Achilles were coveted by Dolon and Aeneas.

(*Iliad* V 221-224, *Iliad* X 322-323, *Iliad* XVII 486)

**24. The Lykians**

This people came to the aid of the Trojans led by Sarpedon and Glaukos. Pandaros, the archer who was killed by Diomedes, was also a Lykian. They worshipped the god Apollo. While most Trojans allies lived nearby, Lykians originated from more than a thousand miles south of Troy. Just like the Aeolian region around Troy, Lykia was colonized by the Greeks after the fall of the Mykenaian Empire.

(*Iliad* V 105, *Iliad* XII 312, *Iliad* XVI 455)

**25. The fate and wishes of the gods**

It is better for people to be well aware of the wishes of the gods and, moreover, not to contradict that wish. If they do this anyway, only a short life awaits them. Closely linked to the wishes of the gods is fate. Even the gods cannot resist that. Besides seers, other characters often turn out to be well aware of the fate and wishes of the gods. Achilles is, for example, kept informed by his divine mother Thetis and by his divine horses Xanthos and Balios.

(*Iliad* V 825-828, *Iliad* VI 128-131, *Iliad* XXI 288)

**26. Duels and quarrels that often end peacefully**

Both the people and the gods quarrel and battle repeatedly. Even heroes from the same camp quarrel with each other, such as Achilles and Diomedes because of the death of Thersites. Typical examples in the *Iliad* are the duels or arguments between Achilles and Agamemnon, Diomedes and Aeneas, Glaukos and Diomedes, Hektor and Aias, Hektor and Glaukos, Achilles and Aeneas, Diomedes and Aias, Zeus and Poseidon, and Apollo and Poseidon. A striking fact is that the duels are

mostly interrupted so they end undecided and prematurely. The separation of Poseidon and Apollo by Zeus has an important influence on the architecture of our *Iliad*.

(*Iliad* I 206-209, *Iliad* VI 230-233, *Iliad* XXI 466-467)

## 27. **The wrath of Poseidon**

In various stories of the Gamma-tradition, including the *Iliad*, we see Poseidon acting as an angry god who harasses the mortals. He floods rivers, causes storms at sea and even sends sea monsters from the depths to the land. Both the Greeks and the Trojans are attacked because they did not sacrifice enough for him in the construction of their defensive walls. This theme is also a recurring theme in Odysseus' return story, and other Greeks also suffered a similar fate when they returned home after the Trojan War. In Chapter XV of the *Iliad*, Poseidon even gets angry with Zeus, but their quarrel ends without a fight.

(*Iliad* VII 445-453, *Iliad* XV 184-199, *Iliad* XXI 435-460)

## 28. **Taking care of the dead and wounded**

Just like in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, some attention is paid to a correct funeral service. Within the Gamma-tradition there is an extra emphasis on taking care of and cleaning the corpses, and transporting corpses or wounded. Sometimes it are even the gods who anoint and cleanse the bodies of the heroes in a river. This is also related to the similar care that injured heroes receive from doctors or gods. We also often read how the corpses do not receive proper care, but instead are mutilated. So throwing the corpse into a river was not always to wash it. It could also be an act to prevent a solemn funeral. When the dead person is really important, games are organized.

(*Iliad* V 445-448, *Iliad* XVI 667-675, *Iliad* XXIII 185-191)

## 29. **The war between two camps**

In the Gamma-tradition there is sometimes a major war between two camps, that is well-known far and wide. Examples are the wars between the Centaurs and the Lapiths, the wars between the Phrygians and the Amazons, the battle for Kalydon, and of course the war for Troy. In Chapter XVI of the *Iliad* we even find a war within the war, namely that of the Myrmidons, led by Patroklos, against the Lykians, led by Sarpedon.

(*Iliad* III 185-189, *Iliad* IV 27-28, *Iliad* XXIV 548)

**30. The god who envelops a person in a cloud**

The gods often have a favorite on the battlefield to whom they offer protection. A proven technique is to hide the favorite from view by enveloping him in a dense cloud. Sometimes, afterwards, a false appearance is shown instead, while the real warrior is safely placed back within the walls of the city. Examples of such favorites are Paris, saved by Aphrodite, Aeneas, saved by Apollo and Poseidon, and Agenor, saved by Apollo.

(*Iliad* III 381, *Iliad* XX 321, *Iliad* XXI 597)

**31. Immersing a body in a river or in the sea**

There are various reasons for immersing a corpse in a river or in the sea. It can be done to wash the wounds and then bury the corpse honorably. Nonetheless, it can also be performed by the enemy to prevent an honorable burial. Apollo immersing the body of Sarpedon in the river (*Iliad* XVI 669) is an example of the first, whereas Achilles immersing the body of Lykaon (*Iliad* XXI 122–127) is an example of the latter.

(*Iliad* XVI 669, *Iliad* XXI 120-121, *Iliad* XXI 202-204)

**32. Three times the same action**

“Three times he rushed to murder eagerly, but the fourth time Apollo stopped him.” An action is often repeated three times in an identical manner, while a difference only occurs with the fourth repetition. Hektor was also chased three times around the walls of Troy by Achilles and later dragged three times around the tomb of Patroklos.

(*Iliad* V 436-438, *Iliad* XVI 702-705, *Iliad* XX 445-447)

**33. Predicting death or downfall**

The fall of Troy is thematic for our *Iliad*, although it lies outside its storyline. Both humans and gods regularly predict the fall. Achilles’ death is also regularly predicted: by Thetis, by his horse Xanthos, but also by himself.

(*Iliad* VI 407-412, *Iliad* XIX 409-410, *Iliad* XXI 585-588)

**34. Medicine, magic, and mysteries**

The practice of medicine emerges here and there as a story theme or a motif. It is of course closely related to the theme of the injuries, but it is also connected to the god Apollo. The wounds are healed by sprinkling in the right medicinal herbs. Achilles learned the medicine from the Centaur Chiron.

We don't find magic in the *Iliad*, but we find it in the *Odyssey* with the sorceress Circe and in the *Argonautica* with the sorceress Medea. Both medicine and magic are connected with secret knowledge.  
(*Iliad* V 446-448, *Iliad* XI 828-834, *Iliad* XVI 528-529)

**35. The supreme command of Zeus**

Zeus is the supreme god who often tyrannically commands the other gods. From this follows an important oral characteristic that can give structure to a story. The commandments that Zeus gives to the other gods are almost always related to a twist in the plot of the story.  
(*Iliad* IV 30-49, *Iliad* VIII 19-27, *Iliad* XV 103-109)

**36. Sea gods and sea monsters**

The power of Poseidon is closely linked to monsters and the depths of the sea. Even before the war with the Greeks, Poseidon sent a sea monster to Troy, which was later defeated by Herakles. Odysseus, too, was constantly confronted with monstrous creatures on his journey home. When the angry Poseidon emerges from the sea in the *Iliad* (XIII 10-30), he is surrounded by marine animals that were hiding in deep caves. Thetis, the mother of Achilleus, was a sea goddess who offered protection to other gods who once fled into the sea, such as Dionysos and Hephaistos. She is surrounded by the other Nereids, who all live under the sea. This oral characteristic may come from the East.  
(*Iliad* XIII 27-29, *Iliad* XX 147-148, *Iliad* XXIV 84)

**37. Centaurs and Amazons**

The Centaurs were men with the hind body of a horse, while the Amazons were women who went to war as men armed with bows and arrows. These mythical peoples are also found in the neighborhood of Troy.  
(Amazons: *Iliad* III 189, Centaur: *Iliad* XI 831, Centaur: *Iliad* XVI 143)

**38. Nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers**

Both Achilleus and Aeneas have goddesses as mothers, Thetis and Aphrodite, who conceived them with a mortal. Iphition, who was killed by Achilleus, also had a source nymph as mother. Thetis is also surrounded by sea nymphs during her mourning visits to the corpses of Achilleus and Patroklos. This shows strong similarities with the mourn-

ing for Eëtion, who was killed by Achilleus.

(*Iliad* V 311-314, *Iliad* XIV 444-445, *Iliad* XX 206-209)

**39. Precious, divine weapons**

While the weapons in the European Beta-tradition were just precious pieces that could be stolen on the battlefield, the weapons in the Gamma-tradition have often grown into mythical objects of divine origin. The best examples of this are the weapons of Achilleus: the Pelian Spear, given to his father by Chiron; his horses, donated by Zeus; and his shield, forged by Hephaistos. The weapons of Rhesos, Sarpedon, and Diomedes are also called divine and are highly desired by the enemy.

(*Iliad* V 221-223, *Iliad* VIII 195, *Iliad* XVI 143)

**40. Corpses that are often mutilated**

Injuries are a motif in the Gamma-tradition, so the combination of injuries and corpses results in mutilated corpses as an oral characteristic. This is especially emphasized for the corpses of the Lykian Sarpedon, Patroklos, and Hektor. This oral characteristic is also closely linked to the honorable, solemn funeral or the absence thereof.

(*Iliad* XVI 639-640, *Iliad* XXI 202-204, *Iliad* XXII 371-376)

**41. The strife between Hera and Zeus**

The mutual relationships between the gods and their eternal quarrels are outlined in the Gamma-tradition. The most important relationship is that between Hera and Zeus. This couple is constantly arguing. Hera is, therefore, the only god who can counterbalance the omnipotence of Zeus.

(*Iliad* IV 29-31, *Iliad* XV 12-14, *Iliad* XVI 439-440)

**42. Lineages to an ancestor**

The kings of Troy have an exceptionally famous family tree. Allies like Aeneas proudly proclaim they belong to the same family tree. More generally, mentioning an ancestral family tree is a characteristic of the Gamma-tradition. Even the pedigrees of horses are associated with the same ancestors.

(*Iliad* V 540-548, *Iliad* VI 145, *Iliad* XX 215)

**43. Insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly**

It is one thing to insult the gods out of ignorance, but it is completely different to enter into battle with the gods, such as Herakles, or to com-

pare oneself with the gods, such as Niobe. In any case, ordinary mortals are brutally punished for this. Niobe gave birth to six sons and six daughters and boasted that she was, therefore, more highly regarded than the goddess Leto, who bore only two children. Apollo killed the six sons and Artemis the six daughters with bow and arrow. Poseidon and Apollo were also angry with the Greeks because they had built a wall that stood out against the wall they had built. The Greeks were ultimately severely punished on their home journeys after the fall of Troy, in particular, by Poseidon.

(*Iliad* V 392-404, *Iliad* VI 130-140, *Iliad* XXI 448-457)

#### 44. **Seafaring, storms at sea, and islands**

In the *Iliad*, we find much about ships and seafaring. The Trojans attack the Greek ship camp and try to set fire to their ships. However, the concept of seafaring might be introduced in the *Iliad* tradition fairly late. The book on the European Beta-tradition (Blondé 2019) shows that the wall around the Greek ship camp was once around a city or a stronghold and that chariots have also changed into ships over time. Although the Mykenaians had known seafaring for centuries, this oral characteristic is still missing in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, as evidenced by the clearly defined Mykenaian Alpha-passages in the *Iliad*. That is why it is important for the demarcation of the Gamma-tradition to demonstrate seafaring in passages that are unmistakably Gamma-passages. This is possible, especially in the references to the story about the first fall of Troy, with Herakles and Laomedon in the lead roles. N.b., the occurrence of islands in the text can also imply the concept of seafaring. An example is Laomedon threatening to sell Poseidon and Apollo on remote islands.

Outside the *Iliad*, we find an abundance of evidence that the Gamma-tradition is linked to seafaring, storms at sea, and islands. Besides the *Iliad*, there is also a clear connection with storms at sea and the wrath of Poseidon. We also find this connection in the *Odyssey*. Other angry gods can also cause storms at sea. Further specifications of the oral characteristic of islands are being left behind on an island or being stuck on an island.

(*Iliad* II 664-667, *Iliad* V 641, *Iliad* XXI 454)

#### 45. **Mount Ida**

Mount Ida plays a special role in the surroundings of Troy. Zeus sits

there to look out over the battlefield. However, the Ida is also a fertility symbol (Mackie 2014). Aphrodite made love with Anchises there and bore him Aeneas as a son. Zeus, in turn, made love with Hera, so his attention weakened, and Poseidon could assist the Greeks. The Ida is also used to feed sheep flocks. It is the origin of the many rivers that flow through the Trojan plain, and is often referred to as Ida with many sources.

(*Iliad* II 824, *Iliad* XIV 158, *Iliad* XX 189)

**46. Mighty mothers, women, and goddesses**

Although this oral characteristic, mighty mothers, women, and goddesses, is present much stronger in the *Argonautica* and the *Aeneid*, it is unmistakably already present in the *Iliad*—especially in the form of the powerful, divine mothers of the Gamma-heroes Achilles and Aeneas, who also assert their power in the *Iliad*. Past battles against the Amazons—powerful warrior women—are referred to in the *Iliad* (III 189, VI 186), although a current fight against the Amazons, in the Trojan War, only takes place in the later dated stories of the Trojan Cycle. Thus, we see continuous growth in the importance of this oral characteristic: from the Mykenanian Alpha-tradition (absent), through the *Iliadic* Gamma-tradition, *Odyssey*, Trojan Cycle, and *Argonautica*, to the latest dated *Aeneid* (strongly present).

(*Iliad* I 495-496, *Iliad* V 311-313, *Iliad* VI 186)

**47. Phantoms, dreams, and false appearances**

Closely associated to the oral characteristic “the god who envelops a person in a cloud” are phantoms, dreams, and false appearances. A god can bring a warrior to safety and put the false appearance of the warrior in his place or take on the appearance of the warrior himself or herself. During a dream or deep mourning, someone can talk to the ghost of a deceased person. Talking is successful, but embracing is not, since the ghosts no longer have a body.

(*Iliad* V 449-452, *Iliad* XXI 599-600, *Iliad* XXIII 65-68)

**48. Fatal marriages and romances**

The marriage between Peleus and Thetis, the parents of Achilles, is known in classic stories as the first reason for the Trojan War. During this wedding, the goddesses Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite came to a dispute. It is mainly Achilles himself who is the man of the many marriages and romances. Among the opponents, we find Diomedea,

Polyxena, Penthesileia, Atesia, Pedasa, and Briseis, as well as men such as Troilos and Patroklos were eligible, although this is found nowhere in the *Iliad* itself. Herakles also had four marriages during his life, and many “*eromenoi*” (male lovers). We even read about the marriage between Hektor and Andromache in the poems of the Lesbian Sappho. A dramatic destiny is always certain: All these marriages and romances give rise to arguments, fights, divorce, and death.

(*Iliad* VI 429-430, *Iliad* XIX 291-292, *Iliad* XXIV 59-62)

#### 49. **Priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods**

Piety and obedience to the gods were important within the Gamma-tradition. Both the many local gods and the Olympic gods are worshiped. Regarding sacrifices, they are usually about cattle, but sometimes also people. The stories about the wrath of Artemis against Agamemnon, and of Poseidon against Laomedon, are typical Gamma-stories, and every time, they contain a sacrifice of the child of the punished. Yet these children are saved at the very last moment.

(*Iliad* IV 101-103, *Iliad* V 114-121, *Iliad* XXI 131-132)

#### 50. **Huge, composite, evil monsters**

In the Gamma-verses, there is sometimes a huge or a composite monster. Examples include the Chimaira, the sea monster Ketos that was defeated by Herakles, and the Centaurs. The Chimaira was “a thing of immortal make, not human, lion-fronted and snake behind, a goat in the middle, and snorting out the breath of the terrible flame of bright fire.” The Centaurs were half horse and half human. The story of Herakles’ fight against the sea monster is referred to in various places in the context of the Gamma-tradition. Yet this oral characteristic surfaces much more clearly in the *Aeneid* of Virgil.

(*Iliad* VI 179-182, *Iliad* XVI 329, *Iliad* XX 147-148)

#### 51. **Twins**

This oral characteristic, like that of the monsters, probably comes from the Near East. The Ashwin twin brothers are known to us from the Hindu religion as the sons of the sun god Surya. In the *Iliad*, we find three mentions of the two Molions, sons of Aktor among men and Poseidon among the gods, each time in a speech by Nestor (*Iliad* XI 708, *Iliad* XI 749, and *Iliad* XXIII 641). The twins Kastor and Polydeukes are also present (*Iliad* III 237). Kastor was a son of Tyndareus, but Polydeukes was a son of Zeus. This motif of twins who have a human



and a divine father is also found for Helen and Klytaimnestra, Herakles and Iphikles, and Amphion and Zethos. Among the gods, there are the twin brothers Sleep and Death, as well as Apollo and Artemis. However, Apollo does not (yet) often perform in the *Iliad* with his twin sister Artemis.

(*Iliad* III 237-238, *Iliad* XI 749, *Iliad* XVI 682)

## 52. **Parallels with Eastern oral traditions**

Numerous influences from the Phoenician and other Eastern oral traditions are unmistakably present in most Greek stories from around the eighth century BC. They are also present in the *Iliad*, but not necessarily through the Gamma-tradition. Yet the sea gods, the sea monsters, the element of water, and the god Poseidon with its properties can indicate this. Other parallels are less convincingly present in the *Iliad* and, therefore, may not have arisen too long before the final stages of the *Iliad*: the serpentine monster, the semi-divine twins, and the child raised by an animal. For these Eastern oral characteristics, it is difficult to determine through which oral tradition they ended up in the Greek stories. The *Iliad* hardly contains them, or outside a Gamma-context, while the *Aeneid* does contain them abundantly. They are also difficult or impossible to cluster with other oral characteristics.

(twins: *Iliad* III 237, snake monster: *Iliad* VI 181, sea monster: *Iliad* XX 147-148)

## 53. **Contests and solemn games**

If we count a Mykenaian Alpha-context as a Gamma-context, we can find three examples of the oral characteristic “contests and solemn games” in the *Iliad*. Since the Gamma-tradition is in a continuous evolution, which starts with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and goes further into the Trojan Cycle, *Argonautica*, and *Aeneid*, this seems admissible. During that evolution, we see this oral characteristic shift from a competitive event to a solemn event, such as at a funeral or memorial service. The Troy game (*Lusus Troiae*) of the Romans no longer has a competitive aspect.

(*Iliad* IV 389, *Iliad* XVI 186, *Iliad* XXIII 634)

## 54. **Snakes**

The oral characteristic of snakes is shared between the Gamma-tradition and the narrative Delta-tradition, even though these two oral traditions are quite unrelated. However, the shared oral characteristic provides

a point of contact to which both oral traditions can bind their stories. The serpent biting Philoktetes (*Iliad* II 723), and probably also the serpent who ate nine sparrows in a plane tree at Aulis as a sign to the seer Kalchas (*Iliad* II 308–318), are such examples that could fit in both oral traditions. The Chimaira, who had a “snake behind” (*Iliad* VI 181), is too alien for the narrative Delta-tradition and can therefore safely be classified as belonging to the Gamma-tradition. In the *Argonautica* of Apollonios of Rhodes, the snake is centrally present as the guardian of the tree in which the Golden Fleece hung (in the earliest stories, dragons had a snake’s head). The snake as guardian of a tree in which something precious hangs is certainly an oral characteristic that comes from the East, as evidenced by the story of Adam and Eve, and perhaps also by the fact that the Garden of the Hesperides and Kolchis are located at the ends of the Greek worldview.  
(*Iliad* II 308–318, *Iliad* II 723, *Iliad* VI 181)

So much for the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition for which we can find at least three examples in an *Iliadic* Gamma-context. The Gamma-tradition, however, is not limited to the *Iliad*, but can also be found in numerous stories that have been written down by later poets and historians. We mainly find the following oral characteristics in this:

### 55. **The founding of cities and colonizations**

Outside the *Iliad*, we find several cities founded or named by the protagonists of the Gamma-tradition. As is common in the Gamma-tradition, the names of the cities are derived from a character or a river. Achilleus is said to have named the city of Pedasos after Pedasa, a girl who had betrayed her city because she was in love with Achilleus. Herakles named the Thracian city of Abdera after the youngster Abderus, who accompanied him in the robbery of the horses of Diomedes. In addition, the city of Xanthos was founded by Greek colonists near the River Xanthos in Lykia.

Before his duel with Achilleus, Aeneas discusses the foundation of Dardanos and Troy in the *Iliad* (XX 215–218). Poseidon and Apollo are also involved in the foundation of Troy, since they built the walls themselves (*Iliad* XXI 446–447). The grandsons of Herakles who fled to Rhodes are said to have settled in three tribes, but city names are not mentioned (*Iliad* II 668). Apart from that, there is little to be found about founding cities or colonizations in the *Iliad*.

The Gamma-tradition has a double relationship with colonizations. On the one hand, it is an oral tradition that has spread itself under the influence of Greek colonizations. The most important examples in the immediate vicinity of Greece are the colonizations of the Aeolian region around Troy. On the other hand, the idea of a leader, followed by many people, is also one of the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition (oral characteristic G61). The spread of the Gamma-tradition took the form of specific stories and oral characteristics. An example is Thebes, the legendary city from the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. This name has also been transferred to the Aeolian region, as the “Thebes near Plakos,” as evidenced by the same association with the number seven.<sup>42</sup> Another example is the spread of the Olympic gods to Italy.

#### 56. **Madness, crazy deeds, and suicide**

Within Greek mythology, this oral characteristic is found mainly in the stories of the Trojan Cycle. We find madness for Odysseus, who acted as a madman not to have participated in the Trojan War, the wildest deeds we find in the frequent sacrileges by the Greeks during the capture of Troy, and Aias committing suicide after killing the herd of the Greeks in a fit of madness. Cassandra went mad because she saw her own appalling predictions come true. What also happens outside the Trojan Cycle is that a woman commits suicide after she has lost her partner (oral characteristic G68).

#### 57. **Seers and oracles**

In the *Iliad*, Kalchas is the seer of the Greeks who recalls his prediction that the Greeks would win the war after ten years of fighting. Among the Trojans, there are Helenos and Cassandra, who have the visionary gift. Yet in the Greek Gamma-tradition, we find many more seers and oracles outside the *Iliad*, such as in the *Odyssey* and the Trojan Cycle.

#### 58. **Difficult wanderings in far-off places**

The many colonizations were inevitably accompanied by difficult wanderings in the Mediterranean. This explains the most important theme

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<sup>42</sup>In Chapter VI of the *Iliad*, Andromache talks about her seven brothers who died in the siege of the “Thebes near Plakos” (*Hypoplakos*). This may be a metric replacement word for the seven-gated Thebes (*Heptapuloio*), just like the hundred-gated Thebes in Egypt (*Hektapuloio*). Obviously, stories about the seven-gated Thebes in Greece form the oldest model for the Greek stories about Thebes. In the stories about Troy, we also find similarities with those about Thebes, such as the double destruction and the construction of the walls. In Egypt, we also find the name sphinx, which probably stems from the Greek mythical creature at Thebes.

in the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*. In the *Iliad*, we find almost nothing about this oral characteristic: The buying and selling of slaves takes place on neighboring islands, and relocations remain within the Greek-speaking region.

**59. The stories of the Trojan Cycle**

References to the stories of the Trojan Cycle are made only occasionally in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, there is the death of Rhesos and the robbery of his horses (*Iliad* X 474–502), as well as the judgment of Paris (*Iliad* XXIV 28–30). According to a prediction, Troy would never fall if the horses of Rhesos would drink from the River Xanthos.

**60. Immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter**

In the *Iliad*, we find little about immortality and the hereafter. There is the encounter between Achilles and the ghost of the dead Patroklos in a dream of Achilles (*Iliad* XXIII 65–107). Patroklos is very unhappy there, which is consistent with the passages about the underworld in the *Odyssey*. The combat passages in the *Iliad* also show that death is an unwelcome event.

**61. The leader followed by a large group**

In the colonization stories, the leader has a large group of followers. Examples are Oysseus and his shipmates in the *Odyssey*, Jason and his coalition of fifty heroes in the *Argonautica*, Aeneas and the Aeneads in the *Aeneid*, and Tlepemos, a Heraklid who was chased by the other Heraklidae for murder (*Iliad* II 657–670). This oral characteristic is also strongly related to the difficult wanderings in distant places and to the founding of cities.

**62. The inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action**

We often see an experienced hero is accompanied by an inexperienced youth during an expedition. The clearest examples of this are Herakles and Abderus, and Achilles and Patroklos. In the *Iliad*, we find contradictory indications about who the experienced leader is in the Achilles–Patroklos couple. Other couples with a similar relationship are Diomedes and Odysseus, Aias and Teukros, and Agamemnon and Menelaos. Among the Trojans, Troilos is an example of a desirable young man who was raped by Achilles before being beheaded by him in the temple of Apollo. The duo of fighters is a story element that stems

from the European Beta-tradition and is later closely linked to romantic relationships.<sup>43</sup> This oral characteristic will evolve greatly over the centuries. In the *Aeneid*, there is open talk about the attractiveness of the inexperienced young man.

#### 63. **Revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed**

Within the Trojan Cycle, several conditions had to be met before Troy would fall. They were revealed by seers, and they were eventually always fulfilled. For example, Troy would only fall after many years of fighting, with the help of the bow of Herakles, if Rhesos was killed on the first night of his arrival, his horses did not drink from the River Xanthos, and Troilos never became twenty years old. Several of these conditions were successfully handled by the duo Diomedes–Odysseus. Given that Herakles, Diomedes, Rhesos, Xanthos, and Troilos are associated with the Gamma-tradition in all sorts of ways, it strongly seems that this is also the case for the oral characteristic of the revealed conditions. Yet this is an oral characteristic that probably comes from the East, where the fall of Jericho and the coming of a Messiah were also linked to revealed conditions.

The story of the *Iliad* itself begins with the need to give Chriseis back to her father. Some conditions also had to be met for the Greeks to sail to Troy. We read about sailing home as an expedition in the *Odyssey*. In it, we find several revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed, among others, by Hermes, Circe, and the seer Teiresias. In the case of Achilles–Troilos, Odysseus–Circe, and Herakles and the Serpent Woman, sex plays a role in fulfilling the condition.

#### 64. **House as home, family, or family tree**

We often find the term house in the sense of home, family, or family tree in the *Aeneid* of Virgil, but hardly in the *Iliad*. An example from the *Iliad* is the following: “*Dear brother, O Menelaos, are you concerned so tenderly with these people? Did you in your house get the best of treatment from the Trojans?*” (*Iliad* VI 55–57) However, it is unclear whether this is a Gamma-context, and the association with a family tree is also unclear.

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<sup>43</sup>Pederastic relationships between an adult man and a youth were later mirrored in such relationships between heroes, in which the inexperienced warrior was called the *eromenos* of the skilled warrior.

**65. The son raised by an animal**

This oral characteristic is probably from the Near East. Enkidu was raised in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* by unnamed animals. The Iranian Zaal was raised by Simurgh, a large, wise bird. In Greek mythology, there is Paris, kept alive as a newborn by a bear after his parents had left him as a foundling in a forest, to escape their ill-fated future. Chiron, the educator of Aeneas, Achilleus, Theseus, Perseus, Asklepios, Aias, Jason and, according to some, Herakles, was a Centaur—half horse and half human—while Atalanta was raised by a sow bear. Finally, there is Zeus, raised by the goat Amalthea.

**66. The mother goddess Cybele**

Cybele, the Great Mother of the Olympic gods, is absent in the *Iliad*, and also in the preserved content of the stories of the Trojan Cycle, there is no goddess with the name Cybele. Cybele does appear in the *Argonautica* of Apollodoros and more often in the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Simultaneously, we note that a Cybele cult was spread from Phrygia to Greece and Italy by Aeolian colonizers. This is important evidence that an oral tradition, the Gamma-tradition, could have spread in the same way.

**67. The woman in love who betrays her father or hometown**

Within the post-*Iliadic* Gamma-tradition, we find a series of examples of women who fall in love with an enemy hero and betray their own father or city by making the enemy hero succeed. Examples of such a princess—hero relationships are Helen—Paris, Dido—Aeneas, Pedasa—Achilleus, Medea—Jason, Ariadne—Theseus, and Kallirrhoe—Diomedes. In Biblical stories, there was also the prostitute Rahab who betrayed her city and hung a red thread outside to be recognized. In this oral characteristic, we discern a psychological theme (the father—daughter—partner relationship) that is related to the princess threatened or guarded by a monster, but saved by a hero. Examples are Hesione—Herakles and Andromeda—Perseus.

**68. The queen who dies of sorrow or suicide**

Within the post-*Iliadic* Gamma-tradition, we also find a series of examples of a queen or princess dying of sorrow or committing suicide, most often because they lost their partner: Dido, the queen of Carthage, left behind by Aeneas; Alkimede, the mother of Jason and queen of Iolkos, whose husband was murdered; Amata, queen of the Latin and mother

of Lavinia; Kallirrhoe, the Lybian princess, abandoned by Diomedes; Ariadne, daughter of King Minos, left behind by Theseus; and Iokaste (or Epikaste), queen of Thebes and mother of Oidipous, who married Oidipous. There are also kings who die by suicide when they learn that their son has died, such as Aigeus, the father of Theseus, and Amphion, the father of the Niobids.

This oral characteristic is a logical continuation of the foregoing about the woman in love (oral characteristic G67), when that woman is rejected and dies of sorrow or commits suicide.

These are the most prominent oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition that we can find in the literature. The Gamma-tradition thus presents itself as a very rich, international oral tradition that has incorporated other oral traditions. The numbered list of oral characteristics now makes it easier to analyze passages from the *Iliad*. That happens in the next section.

## Analyzed passages

We can now include a number in the text in places in passages where an oral characteristic can be found. This shows how many oral characteristics can be found in the Gamma-passages as well as how diverse they are. Since the triumphant raids of Diomedes (Chapter V) and Achilles (chapters XX and XXI) are almost completely colored by the Gamma-tradition, it is appropriate to select some passages from those chapters in particular.

The following passage is about Pandaros, the stand-in of Paris, who hits Diomedes in a clumsy place with his arrows:

*“Rise up [B10,G12], Trojans [G10], O high-hearted, lashers of horses [B3,G12,G23]. Now the best of the Achaians [Diomedes] [G5] is hit [B2,G12,G17], and I [Pandaros] [G8] think that he will not long hold up under the strong arrow [G20], if truly Apollo [G3,G9] lord and son of Zeus [G3] stirred me to come forth from Lykia [B25,G12,G24].” So he spoke, vaunting, but the swift arrow [B1,G12,G20] had not broken [G17] him [Diomedes] [G5].*  
(*Iliad* V 102-106)

The following characteristics can be found in this passage: the battle scene (B1), gruesome injuries (B2), chariots (B3), fixed formulas (B10), allies (B25), the Olympic gods (G3), Diomedes (G5), Paris and Pandaros (G8), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), injuries (G17), bow and arrow (G20), precious, special horses (G23), and the Lykians (G24).

During a triumphant raid, a hero–Diomedes, in this case–kills numerous enemies. Among them is a certain Xanthos, whose name is connected in many ways with the Gamma-tradition:

*Now he [Diomedes] [G5] went after [G12] the two sons of Phainops [A12, G1], Xanthos [G2, G21] and Thoön [A12, G1], full grown both.  
(Iliad V 151-153)*

In this short passage, we still find five Gamma-characteristics: places and personal names (A12) of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), Diomedes (G5), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), and the name Xanthos (G21).

The driver of Diomedes is Sthenelos, son of Kapaneus. He warns Diomedes that Pandaros and Aeneas are coming their way and proposes they flee. Diomedes sees this as an opportunity to steal the valuable horses of Aeneas:

*Then looking at him darkly strong Diomedes [G5] spoke to him [Sthenelos]: “Argue me not toward flight [G12], since I have no thought of obeying you. No, for it would be ignoble for me to shrink back in the fighting or to lurk aside, since my fighting strength [G12] stays steady forever. I shrink indeed from mounting behind the horses [G12], but as I am now, I will face these. Pallas Athene [G3] will not let me run [G12] from them. These two men, their fast-running horses [G12,G23] shall never carry them both back away from us, even though one man may escape us. And put away in your thoughts this other thing I tell you. If Athene [G3] of the many counsels should grant me the glory*



*to kill [G12] both, then do you check here these fast-running horses [G23], ours, tethering them with the reins tied to the chariot's [G12] rail and thereafter remember to make a dash against the horses [G23] of Aineias [G6], and drive them away from the Trojans [G10] among the strong-greaved Achaians. These are of that strain [G23] which Zeus [G3] of the wide brows granted once to Tros [G2], recompense for his son Ganymedes, and therefore are the finest of all horses [G23] beneath the sun and the daybreak; and the lord of men Anchises stole horses [G23] from this breed [G23], without the knowledge of Laomedon putting mares [G23] under them. From these there was bred [G23] for him a string of six in his great house [A45,G1]. Four of these, keeping them himself, he raised at his mangers, but these two he gave to Aineias [G6], two horses urgent of terror. If we might only take these [G23] we should win ourselves excellent glory [G12]. (Iliad V 251-273)*

The following oral characteristics can be found in this passage: palaces with solid walls (A45) of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the Olympic gods (G3), Diomedes (G5), Aeneas (G6), the environment of Troy (G10), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), and precious, special horses (G23).

Aphrodite, who assisted her son Aeneas on the battlefield, just returned to Olympus after being injured by Diomedes. There, she was—as prescribed by the Gamma-tradition—well cared for by the goddess Dione. Zeus then advised her to stop engaging in the battle of the people. After this advice, another battle passage followed in which Diomedes was still capable of anything:

*Now as these [the gods] [G3] were talking in this way with each other Diomedes [G5] of the great war cry [G12] made for Aineias [G6]. Though he saw how Apollo [G9] himself held his hands over him he did not shrink [G43] even from the great god [G3], but forever forward drove, to kill [G12] Aineias [G6] and strip [G12] his glorious armor [G39]. Three times [G32], furious to cut him down, he drove forward, and three times [G32] Apollo*

*[G9] battered aside the bright shield [G12], but as a fourth time [G32], like more than man, he charged, Apollo [G9] who strikes from afar [G20] cried out to him in the voice of terror: “Take care, give back, son of Tydeus [G5], and strive no longer to make yourself like the gods [G43] in mind, since never the same is the breed of gods [G3], who are immortal, and men who walk groundling.”*

*He spoke, and Tydeus’ son [G5] gave backward [G26], only a little, avoiding the anger of him who strikes from afar [G20], Apollo [G9], who caught Aineias [G6] now away from the onslaught [G12], and set [G28] him in the sacred keep [G14] of Pergamos [G2,G10,G14] where was built his own temple [G49]. There Artemis [G3] of the showering arrows [G20] and Leto [G3] within the great and secret [G34] chamber [G14] healed [G28] his wound [G17] and cared [G28,G34] for him. But he of the silver bow [G20], Apollo [G9], fashioned an image [G47] in the likeness [G47] of Aineias [G6] himself and in armor like him, and all about this image [G47] brilliant Achaians and Trojans hewed [G12] at each other, and at the ox-hide shields [G12] strong circled guarding men’s chests, and at the fluttering straps of the guard-skins. But Phoibos Apollo [G9] spoke now to violent Ares [G3]: “Ares, Ares, manslaughtering, blood-stained, stormer of strong walls [G14,G16], is there no way you can go and hold back [G26] this man from the fighting [G12], Tydeus’ son [G5], who would now do battle [G43] against Zeus [G3,G35] father? Even now he stabbed [G17] in her hand by the wrist the lady of Kypros [G3,G38], and again, like more than a man [G56], charged [G12] even against me.”*  
*(Iliad V 431-459)*

In this passage we find the following Gamma-characteristics: the Olympic gods (G3), Diomedes (G5), Aeneas (G6), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), defensive walls (G14), injuries (G17), bow and arrow (G20), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), three times the same action (G32), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), precious, divine weapons (G39), insulting the gods,

who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), phantoms, dreams, and false appearances (G47), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56).

These were the passages from Diomedes' triumphant raid. That not all the *Iliadic* Gamma-passages are linked to the battle passages of the European Beta-tradition is proven by the following passage in which Andromache and Hektor meet within the walls of Troy, while a fierce battle is taking place outside. Andromache describes her suffering. The passage is a digression that also contains many Mykenaian Alpha-characteristics:

*There is no other consolation for me after you have gone to your destiny [G33]—only grief [A6,G1]; since I have no father, no honored mother. It was brilliant Achilles [G4] who slew my father, Eëtion, when he stormed [G16] the strong-founded citadel of the Kilikians [G2,G10], Thebe [A19,G1,G2,G10] of the towering gates [A19,G1]. He killed Eëtion but did not strip his armor, for his heart respected the dead man [G28], but burned [G28] the body in all its elaborate war-gear [G39] and piled a grave mound [G28] over it, and the nymphs [G13] of the mountains [G13], daughters of Zeus [G3] of the aegis, planted [G28] elm trees about it. And they who were my seven [A19,G1] brothers in the great house [A45,G1] all went upon a single day down into the house of the death god [G3], for swift-footed brilliant Achilles [G4] slaughtered all of them as they were tending their white sheep [A13,G1] and their lumbering oxen [A13,G1]; and when he had led my mother, who was queen [A3,G1] under wooded [A34,G1] Plakos [G2,G10], here, along with all his other possessions, Achilles [G4] released her again, accepting ransom beyond count, but Artemis [G3,G51] of the showering arrows [G20] struck her down in the halls of her father.  
(Iliad VI 411-428)*

In this passage, we find the following Gamma-characteristics: the king and his court (A3), the cycle of misery (A6), large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep (A13), a port- and seven-associated Thebes (A19), riches of the soil (A34), and palaces with solid walls (A45) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition

(G1), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the Olympic gods (G3), Achilles (G4), the environment of Troy (G10), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), destructions of cities (G16), bow and arrow (G20), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), predicting death or downfall (G33), precious, divine weapons (G39), and the twin (G51) sister of Apollo (G9).

During the triumphant raid of Patroklos, who leads the Myrmidons, it is mainly the Lykians who offer resistance. Patroklos kills Sarpedon, the leader of the Lykians, for whose corpse, then, a fierce battle is fought. Zeus watches closely and finally decides to give Sarpedon an honorable funeral (oral characteristic G28):

*And now Zeus [G3,G35] who gathers the clouds spoke a word to Apollo [G9]: "Go if you will, beloved Phoibos [G9], and rescue [G28] Sarpedon [G2,G24] from under the weapons, wash [G28] the dark suffusion of blood from him, then carry him far away and wash him in a running river [G19,G28,G31], anoint [G28] him in ambrosia, put ambrosial [G39] clothing [G28] upon him; then give him into the charge of swift messengers [G28] to carry him, of Sleep [G3] and Death [G3], who are twin [G51] brothers, and these two shall lay [G28] him down presently within the rich [A34,G1] countryside of broad Lykia [G24] where his brothers and countrymen shall give him due burial [G28] with tomb [G28] and gravestone [G28]. Such is the privilege [G28] of those who have perished.  
(Iliad XVI 666-675)*

This passage features the following Gamma-characteristics: riches of the soil (A34) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the Olympic gods (G3), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), rivers (G19), the Lykians (G24), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), precious, divine weapons (G39), and twins (G51).

The following passage includes a highlight in Achilles' triumphant raid, namely Aeneas' bluff speech just before his duel with Achilles. Aeneas talks about his noble origins:

*Then in turn Aineias [G6] spoke to him and made his answer: "Son of Peleus [G4], never hope by words to frighten me as if I were a baby. I myself understand well enough how to speak in vituperation and how to make insults [B19,G12]. You and I know each other's birth [G42], we both know our parents since we have heard the lines of their fame from mortal men; only I have never with my eyes seen your parents, nor have you seen mine. For you [G4], they say you are the issue of blameless Peleus [A28,G1] and that your mother was Thetis [G3,G38] of the lovely hair, the sea's [G3,G36] lady; I in turn claim I am the son of great-hearted Anchises but that my mother was Aphrodite [G3,G38]; and that of these parents one group or the other will have a dear son to mourn for this day. Since I believe we will not in mere words, like children, meet, and separate and go home again out of the fighting. Even so, if you wish to learn all this and be certain of my genealogy [G42]: there are plenty of men who know it. First of all Zeus [G3] who gathers the clouds had a son, Dardanos [G2] who founded [G55] Dardania [G2,G10], since there was yet no sacred Ilion [G2,G10] made a city [G55] in the plain to be a center [G10] of peoples, but they lived yet in the underhills of Ida [G10,G45] with all her waters [G19]. Dardanos [G2] in turn had a son, the king [A3,G1], Erichthonios, who became the richest [A43,G1] of mortal men, and in his possession were three thousand horses [G23] who pastured along the low grasslands, mares [G23] in their pride with their young colts [G23]; and with these the North Wind [G3] fell in love as they pastured there, and took on upon him the likeness of a dark-maned stallion [G23], and coupled with them."*  
*(Iliad XX 199-224)*

The following oral characteristics can be found in this passage: the king and his court (A3), superlatives (A43), bluff, scorn, and reproach (B19), the close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), Aeneas (G6), the environment of Troy (G10), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), rivers (G19), precious, special horses (G23), sea gods and sea monsters (G36), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), lineages to an ancestor (G42), Mount Ida (G45), and the founding of cities and colonizations (G55).

The second part of the triumphant raid of Achilles, Chapter XXI of the *Iliad*, takes place at and even in the River Xanthos. The Gamma-bards also place extra emphasis on the concept of “river” (oral characteristic G19), by means of related oral characteristics, such as location-bound gods (oral characteristic G13), descent to (river) gods (oral characteristics G38 and G42), and sea gods (oral characteristic G36). Achilles taunts Asteropaios, whom he had just killed:

*Lie so: it is hard even for those sprung [G38,G42] of a river [G19, G13] to fight against the children [G42] of Kronos [G3], whose strength is almighty. You said you were of the generation [G42] of the wide-running river [G19], but I claim that I am of the generation [G42] of great [G35] Zeus [G3]. The man is my father who is lord [A3,G1] over many Myrmidons, Peleus [A28,G1], Aiakos' son [G42], but Zeus [G3] was the father of Aiakos. And as Zeus [G3,G35] is stronger than rivers [G19] that run to the sea, so the generation [G42] of Zeus [G3] is made stronger than that of a river [G19,G13]. For here is a great river [G19] beside you, if he were able to help; but it is not possible to fight [G12] Zeus [G3,G35], son [G42] of Kronos. Not powerful Acheloios [G19] matches his strength against Zeus [G3], not the enormous strength of Ocean [G36] with his deep-running waters [G19], Ocean, from whom all rivers [G19] are and the entire sea [G19] and all springs [G19] and all deep wells [G19] have their waters of him, yet even Ocean is afraid of the lightning of great Zeus [G3,G35] and the dangerous thunderbolt when it breaks from the sky crashing.  
(Iliad XXI 184-199)*

The complete set of all Gamma-characteristics in this passage is the following: the king and his court (A3) and Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), rivers (G19), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), sea gods and sea monsters (G36), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), and lineages to an ancestor (G42).

The gods also participate in the battle in the real Gamma-passages. In this last analyzed passage, the two most typical gods of the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*, Poseidon (the powerful shaker of the earth) and Apollo, consider fighting each other:

*But now the powerful shaker of the earth [G9] spoke to Apollo [G9]: “Phoibos [G9], why do you and I stand yet apart [G26]? It does not suit when the others have begun, and it were too shameful if without fighting [G12] we go back to the brazen house of Zeus [G35] on Olympos [G3]. Begin, you; you are younger born than I; it is not well for me to, since I am elder born than you, and know more. Young fool, what a mindless heart you have. Can you not even now remember all the evils we endured here by Ilion [G10], you and I alone of the gods, when to proud Laomedon [G2] we came down from Zeus [G35] and for a year were his servants for a stated hire, and he told us what to do, and to do it? Then I built a wall [G14] for the Trojans [G10] about their city, wide, and very splendid [G14], so none could break into their city [G16], but you, Phoibos [G9], herded his shambling horn-curved cattle [A13,G1] along the spurs of Ida [G10,G45] with all her folds [A34,G1] and her forests [A34,G1]. But when the changing seasons brought on the time for our labor to be paid, then headstrong Laomedon [G2] violated and made void all our hire, and sent us away, and sent threats after us. For he threatened to hobble our feet and to bind our arms, to carry us away for slaves in the far-lying islands [G44].*  
(*Iliad* XXI 435-454)

The following oral characteristics can be found here: large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep (A13) and riches of the soil (A34) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the Olympic gods (G3), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), defensive walls (G14), destructions of cities (G16), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), and Mount Ida (G45).

In the following section, we will look more closely at oral characteristic G22, “clusters of oral characteristics,” to see how the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition occur in clusters.

## **Gamma-clusters**

During its evolution, the Gamma-tradition had a strong tendency to display new oral characteristics by linking them to known oral characteristics. Accordingly, stories and clusters of oral characteristics arise that are very typical for the Gamma-tradition. We can distinguish three types of clusters: logical clusters, conceptual clusters, and characteristic clusters.

### **Logical clusters**

In a *logical cluster*, one or more oral characteristics are logically implied by another oral characteristic. It is, therefore, only a single mention in the text in which we recognize different oral characteristics. Yet the implicating oral characteristic, which is more specific, can have its right to exist in addition to the implied oral characteristic, which is more general. By being more specific, an oral characteristic becomes more characteristic. In addition, it provides more weight to the more general oral characteristic and demonstrates oral characteristics are strongly interconnected. Some examples of logical clusters are:

- The wrath of Poseidon → Apollo and Poseidon → the Olympic gods
- Mount Ida → the environment of Troy
- The name Xanthos → Gamma-specific proper names
- The fall of Troy → destructions of cities
- The fall of Troy → the stories of the Trojan Cycle

### **Conceptual clusters**

A *conceptual cluster* contains oral characteristics that are conceptually related and that can, therefore, be expected to occur closely together in a story. Yet a conceptual cluster is more characteristic than a logical cluster, because  $x$  oral characteristics also require  $x$  mentions that do not inevitably follow from one another. The following clusters are conceptual clusters:



- Destructions of cities ↔ the war between two camps
- Predicting death or downfall ↔ seers and oracles
- The fate and wishes of the gods ↔ seers and oracles
- The fate and wishes of the gods ↔ typical interactions between god and human
- Defensive walls ↔ the founding of cities and colonizations
- The name Xanthos ↔ Simoeis ↔ rivers
- Bow and arrow ↔ injuries ↔ taking care of the dead and wounded ↔ medicine, magic, and mysteries

An example of the last cluster about healing the wound of an arrow is the following passage:

*“Rise up, son of Asklepios; powerful Agamemnon calls you, so that you may look at warlike Menelaos, the Achaians’ leader, whom someone skilled in the bow’s use shot with an arrow, Trojan or Lykian: glory to him, but to us a sorrow.”*  
(Iliad IV 204-207)

Asklepios is the god of medicine and the son of Apollo. Note that the characteristics Apollo (G9), the Gamma-specific proper name (G2) Lykian (G24), and having nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), also help in recognizing the Gamma-tradition.

Some conceptual clusters have been presented as a single oral characteristic. The following clusters exemplify this:

- G13: local nature gods ↔ nymphs
- G28: taking care of the dead ↔ taking care of the wounded
- G36: sea gods ↔ sea monsters
- G47: phantoms ↔ dreams ↔ false appearances
- G49: priests ↔ sacrifices ↔ holiness ↔ prayer to the gods
- G56: madness ↔ crazy deeds ↔ suicide

- G57: seers ↔ oracles
- G60: immortality ↔ the underworld ↔ the hereafter

These oral characteristics are presented as a conceptual cluster, because they would receive too much weight individually. Moreover, a cluster reinforces the presumption that the oral characteristics in the cluster do indeed belong to the same oral tradition.

Virgil emphasizes that phantoms, dreams, and false appearances belong to the same conceptual cluster:

*Windy words she gave of soulless sound, and motion like a stride—  
such shapes, they say, the hovering phantoms of the dead put on,  
or empty dreams which cheat our slumbering eyes.  
(Aeneid X 639-642)*

### **Characteristic clusters**

Characteristic clusters are even more characteristic than conceptual clusters because they contain at least two oral characteristics that are virtually independent of each other conceptually. Here, too, we have at least two mentions. Moreover, these are oral characteristics that we do not necessarily expect together, supposing we have no knowledge about Greek literature and the Gamma-tradition. Here are some examples of characteristic clusters:

- Precious, special horses + Diomedes
- The name Xanthos + precious, special horses
- The name Xanthos + the Lykians
- Apollo + the Lykians + bow and arrow
- Defensive walls + Apollo + Poseidon
- Achilles + fatal marriages and romances
- Precious, special horses + precious, divine weapons + nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers + Achilles
- Corpses that are often mutilated + rivers

The last characteristic cluster is part of a larger cluster that consists of the three types of cluster relationships:

- (Immersing a body in a river or in the sea  $\leftrightarrow$  taking care of the dead and wounded)  $\rightarrow$  ((injuries  $\leftrightarrow$  corpses that are often mutilated) + rivers)

An example of that cluster being used is the following passage:

*Achilleus caught him by the foot and slung him into the river to drift, and spoke winged words of vaunting derision over him: "Lie there now among the fish, who will lick the blood away from your wound, and care nothing for you, nor will your mother lay you on the death-bed and mourn over you, but Skamandros will carry you spinning down to the wide bend of the salt water. And a fish will break a ripple shuddering dark on the water as he rises to feed upon the shining fat of Lykaon.*  
(*Iliad* XXI 120-127)

The following section elaborates on the relationship between the Gamma-tradition and the Mykenaian Alpha- and European Beta-tradition. The Gamma-tradition appears to be a central oral tradition in the *Iliad*.

## **The Gamma-tradition as a central oral tradition**

In the Gamma-tradition, we find both the oral characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and those of the European Beta-tradition. Yet the relationship between the Gamma-tradition and the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition differs from that with the European Beta-tradition. While the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition is a predecessor modernized by the Gamma-tradition, the European Beta-tradition is mostly mixed with the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*. However, the European Beta-tradition has also left its mark on the Gamma-tradition itself.

### **The modernization of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition**

The claim that the Gamma-tradition has modernized the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition means that the Gamma-tradition has been developed in a particular region and that the original Mykenaian Alpha-characteristics have gradually evolved into the Gamma-characteristics. Such an evolution can be systematically analyzed by linking similar and modernized oral characteristics. Table 3

presents an overview of this. On the left are all Gamma-characteristics, and on the right are the Mykenaian Alpha-characteristics that can be linked to them. The table shows that 45 of the 68 Gamma-characteristics can be derived from at least one Mykenaian Alpha-characteristic. That forms a clear pattern, on the basis of which we can conclude that either the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the Gamma-tradition are in fact one and the same oral tradition that has become interconnected over time (diachronic) or that the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition heavily influenced the Gamma-tradition.

**Table 3:** The similarities between the Gamma-tradition (left) and the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (right). The Gamma-tradition most probably modernizes the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition.

	<b>The Aeolian Gamma-tradition</b>		<b>The Mykenaian Alpha-tradition</b>
G1.	The close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition		
G2.	Gamma-specific proper names	A12.	Places and personal names
G3.	The Olympic gods	A21.	Polytheism
G4.	Achilleus		
G5.	Diomedes		
G6.	Aeneas		
G7.	The fall of Troy	A19.	The seven-gated Thebes
G8.	Paris and Pandaros		
G9.	Apollo and Poseidon		
G10.	The environment of Troy		
G11.	Herakles	A28.	Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor
G12.	The mixture with the European Beta-tradition		
G13.	Local nature gods and nymphs	A21.	Polytheism
G14.	Defensive walls	A45.	Palaces with solid walls

G15.	Eponyms	A12.	Places and personal names
G16.	Destructions of cities	A1.	Wars on cities
G17.	Injuries		
G18.	Typical interactions between god and human	A29.	The hero assisted by the gods
G19.	Rivers		
G20.	Bow and arrow		
G21.	The name Xanthos		
G22.	Clusters of oral characteristics		
G23.	Precious, special horses	A13. A26.	Large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep The abduction of cattle
G24.	The Lykians	A18.	Strange peoples
G25.	The fate and wishes of the gods	A21.	Polytheism
G26.	Duels and quarrels that often end peacefully	A1. A2.	Wars on cities Bloody feuds
G27.	The wrath of Poseidon	A14.	Long wanderings
G28.	Taking care of the dead and wounded	A30.	The honorable funeral
G29.	The war between two camps	A1.	Wars on cities
G30.	The god who envelops a person in a cloud	A29.	The hero assisted by the gods
G31.	Immersing a body in a river or in the sea	A30.	The honorable funeral
G32.	Three times the same action	A27.	The number nine
G33.	Predicting death or downfall	A6.	The cycle of misery

G34.	Medicine, magic, and mysteries		
G35.	The supreme command of Zeus	A21.	Polytheism
G36.	Sea gods and sea monsters	A21.	Polytheism
G37.	Centaurs and Amazons	A18.	Strange peoples
G38.	Nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers	A29.	The hero assisted by the gods
		A36.	The secret intercourse of a mortal and a god
G39.	Precious, divine weapons	A11.	Divine dynasties
G40.	Corpses that are often mutilated	A30.	The honorable funeral
G41.	The strife between Hera and Zeus	A9.	Fatal women
G42.	Lineages to an ancestor	A11.	Divine dynasties
G43.	Insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly	A22.	The punishment of the gods
		A39.	Erinys and wrathful goddesses
		A44.	The human who fights the gods
G44.	Seafaring, storms at sea, and islands		
G45.	Mount Ida		
G46.	Mighty mothers, women, and goddesses		
G47.	Phantoms, dreams, and false appearances		
G48.	Fatal marriages and romances	A10.	Failed marriages
		A33.	The marriage with a king's daughter

G49.	Priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods	A41.	Holiness
G50.	Huge, composite, evil monsters	A46.	The overpowering of a wild animal
G51.	Twins		
G52.	Parallels with Eastern oral traditions		Parallels with Eastern oral traditions
G53.	Contests and solemn games	A47.	Games
G54.	Snakes		
G55.	The founding of cities and colonizations	A17.	The move to a distant place
G56.	Madness, crazy deeds, and suicide	A31.	Ate, goddess of delusion
		A44.	The human who fights the gods
G57.	Seers and oracles	A25.	Destinies
G58.	Difficult wanderings in far-off places	A17.	The move to a distant place
G59.	The stories of the Trojan Cycle		
G60.	Immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter	A38.	The mortal abducted by a god
G61.	The leader followed by a large group	A17.	The move to a distant place
G62.	The inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action	A24.	The exiled son
G63.	Revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed	A25.	Destinies
G64.	House as home, family, or family tree	A3.	The king and his court
		A11.	Divine dynasties

G65.	The son raised by an animal	A8. A24.	The special education The exiled son
G66.	The mother goddess Cybele		
G67.	The woman in love who betrays her father or hometown		
G68.	The queen who dies of sorrow or suicide	A3.	The king and his court

Nevertheless, the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the Gamma-tradition can be studied separately, in particular because the Mykenaian Alpha-passages have been preserved in the form of digressions, while the Gamma-tradition is strongly present in certain chapters, such as in the triumphant raids of Diomedes (*Iliad* V) and Achilles (*Iliad* XX and XXI). Yet, there are also exceptions to that rule. The following passage, in which Priamos speaks to Helen, is a short digression with the characteristics of both the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (A1–49) and the Gamma-tradition (G1–68):

*The old man [Priamos] spoke again, wondering at him [Agamemnon]: “O son of Atreus [A12], blessed, child of fortune [A25] and favor [G25], many are these beneath your sway [A3], these sons of the Achaians. Once [A15] before this time I visited Phrygia [A12,G10] of the vineyards [A34]. There I looked on the Phrygian [A12,G10] men with their swarming horses [G23], so many of them [A16], the people of Otreus [A12] and godlike Mygdon [A12], whose camp was spread at that time along the banks [G19] of Sangarios [G19]: and I myself, a helper [A16] in war [G29], was marshaled among them on that day when the Amazon [G37] women came, men’s equals [A43]. Yet even they were not so many [A43] as these glancing-eyed Achaians.”<sup>44</sup>*  
(*Iliad* III 181-190)

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<sup>44</sup>The king and his court (A3), places and personal names (A12), digressions (A15), recruiting soldiery (A16), destinies (A25), riches of the soil (A34), superlatives (A43), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the environment of Troy (G10), rivers (G19), precious, special horses (G23), the fate and wishes of the gods (G25), the war between two camps (G29), and Centaurs and Amazons (G37).



## The mixture with the European Beta-tradition

A comparison between the oral characteristics of the European Beta-tradition and those of the Gamma-tradition yields fewer results: Only 18 Gamma-characteristics instead of 45 are related to the European Beta-tradition. That comparison can be found in Table 4. In any case, both oral traditions are intimately intertwined in their use. Almost in every occasion where the Gamma-tradition is used in the *Iliad*, it is within the context of the European Beta-tradition. This also makes it very difficult to discover and demarcate the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*, without first having defined the Mykenanian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition.

The following passage, in which Diomedes' driver Sthenelos proposes that Diomedes flee, is a typical example of a mix between the European Beta-tradition and the Gamma-tradition:

*And Sthenelos the shining son of Kapaneus seeing them swiftly uttered his winged words to the son of Tydeus [G5]: "Son of Tydeus [G42], you who delight my heart, Diomedes [G5], look, I see two [B11] mighty men furious to fight [B7] with you. Their strength is enormous, one of them well skilled in the bow's [B42, G20] work, Pandaros [G2,G8], who claims his right as son of Lykaon [G42], and the other Aineias [G6], who claims [B19] he was born as son to Anchises [G42] the blameless, but his mother was Aphrodite [G38]. Come then, let us give way [B17] with our horses [B3]; no longer storm on so far among the champions [B16], for fear you destroy your heart's life.<sup>45</sup> (Iliad V 241-250)*

The presence of a Gamma-context in a European Beta-passage can be very short, as in the following mention of Hypsenor, who was killed by Eurypylos:

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<sup>45</sup>Chariots (B3), duels (B7), the duo of brave warriors (B11), highborn champions (B16), the chase and the flight (B17), bluff, scorn, and reproach (B19), the cowardly archer (B42), Gamma-specific proper names (G2), Diomedes (G5), Aeneas (G6), Paris and Pandaros (G8), bow and arrow (G20), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), and lineages to an ancestor (G42).

*he who was made Skamandros' [G2,G10,G13,G19] priest [G49].  
(Iliad V 77-78)*

The oral characteristics are Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the environment of Troy (G10), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), rivers (G19), and priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49).

**Table 4:** The similarities between the Gamma-tradition (left) and the European Beta-tradition (right). The Gamma-tradition adopted characteristics of the European Beta-tradition.

G3.	The Olympic gods	B27.	Ares, Eris, and Iris
G7.	The fall of Troy	B1.	The battle scene
G14.	Defensive walls	B24.	The rampart and the ditch
G16.	Destructions of cities	B1.	The battle scene
G17.	Injuries	B35.	The care for a wounded warrior
G20.	Bow and arrow	B42.	The cowardly archer
G23.	Precious, special horses	B3. B32.	Chariots Chariot warriors and infantry
G28.	Taking care of the dead and wounded	B30. B35.	Incineration, urns, and burial mounds The care for a wounded warrior
G29.	The war between two camps	B8.	The clan system
G30.	The god who envelops a person in a cloud	B6.	The intervention of the gods
G31.	Immersing a body in a river or in the sea	B31.	The corpse that remains for dogs and birds
G33.	Predicting death or downfall	B19.	Bluff, scorn, and reproach
G39.	Precious, divine weapons	B38.	Precious weapons
G40.	Corpses that are often mutilated	B2.	Gruesome injuries

G42.	Lineages to an ancestor	B16.	Highborn champions
G61.	The leader followed by a large group	B39.	Gathering up the army for the fight
G62.	The inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action	B11.	The duo of brave warriors
G68.	The queen who dies of sorrow or suicide	B34.	The worried wife waiting at home

There is even a Homeric simile that links Gamma-characteristics–Diomedes (oral characteristic G5) and a river (oral characteristic G19)—on the one hand, and a battle situation of the European Beta-tradition on the other hand:

*But you could not have told on which side Tydeus' son [Diomedes] was fighting, whether he were one with the Trojans or with the Achaians, since he went storming up the plain like a winter-swollen river in spate that scatters the dikes in its running current, one that the strong-compacted dikes can contain no longer, nor do the mounded banks of the blossoming vineyards hold it rising suddenly as Zeus' rain makes heavy the water and many lovely works of the young men crumble beneath it. Like these the massed battalions of the Trojans were scattered by Tydeus' son.  
(Iliad V 85-94)*

Chapter XI of the *Iliad* contains a long digression, which combines the Myke-naian Alpha-tradition (A1–49), the European Beta-tradition (B1–45), and the Gamma-tradition (G1–68), when Nestor talks with Patroklos, who is on his way to Achilles. If all the passages were mixed so strongly, it would probably have been very difficult to define the different oral traditions. Yet we also find here that the Gamma-characteristics are clustered around “the sacred stream of Alpheios.” Moreover, such an intense mixing of oral traditions is rather exceptional. Possibly it served as a textbook example for the bards. Precisely for this reason, the digression is included here in its entirety:

*If only I were young [A49] now, and the strength still steady within me, as that time [A15] when a quarrel [G29] was made between us and the Eleians [A12] over a driving of cattle [A26], when I myself killed [B7] Itymoneus [A12], the brave son of Hyppeirochos [A12] who [B26] made his home in Elis [A12]. I was driving [A26] cattle [A13] in reprisal [B22], and he, as he was defending his oxen [A13], was struck among the foremost [B16] by a spear [B1] thrown from my hand and fell [B1], and his people who live in the wild fled [B9] in terror about him. And we got and drove off [A26] together much spoil from this pastureland: fifty herds of oxen [A13], as many sheepflocks [A13], as many droves of pigs [A13], and again as many wide-ranging goatflocks [A13], and a hundred and fifty brown horses [A13], mares all of them and many with foals following underneath. And all there we drove inside the keep of Neleian [A28] Pylos [A12], making our way nightwise to the town. And Neleus [A28] was glad in his heart that so much had come my way [B43], who was young [A49] to go to the fighting.<sup>46</sup>*

*And next day as dawn showed the heralds lifted their clear cry for all to come who had anything owed [B43] them in shining Elis [A12]. And the men who were chiefs among the Pylians [A12] assembling divided the spoil [B43]. There were many to whom the Epeians [A12] owed [B43] something since we in Pylos [A12] were few and we had been having the worst of it. For Herakles [A28,G11] had come in his strength against us and beaten us in the years before, and all the bravest [B16] among us had been killed [B1]. For we who were sons of lordly Neleus [A28] had been twelve, and now I alone was left of these, and all the others had perished, and grown haughty over this the bronze-armored Epeians [A12] despised and outraged us, and devised wicked actions against us.<sup>47</sup>*

*Now the old [A49] man [A28] took [B43] for himself a herd of cattle [A13] and a big flock of sheep [A13], choosing [B43] out*

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<sup>46</sup>Places and personal names (A12), large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep (A13), digressions (A15), the abduction of cattle (A26), Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28), old age (A49), the battle scene (B1), duels (B7), the combat psychology (B9), highborn champions (B16), the blood revenge (B22), background information for every warrior (B26), the withheld honor gift (B43).

<sup>47</sup>Places and personal names (A12), Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28), the battle scene (B1), highborn champions (B16), the withheld honor gift (B43), and Herakles (G11).

three hundred [A13] of them along with the shepherds [A13]; for indeed a great debt [B22] was owing to him in shining Elis [A12]. It was four horses, race-competitors [G23] with their own chariot [B3], who were on their way to a race [A47,G53] and were to run for a tripod [A47,G53], but Augeias [A12] the lord of men took [G23] these, and kept them and sent away their driver [A47,G53] who was vexed for the sake of the horses [A47,G23]. Now aged [A49] Neleus [A28], angry over things said and things done, took [B43] a vast amount for himself, and gave [B43] the rest to the people to divide [B43] among them, so none might go away without a just share [B43].<sup>48</sup>

So we administered all this spoil, and all through the city wrought sacrifices [G49] to the gods [G49]; and on the third [G32] day the Epeians came all [B33] against us, numbers of men and single-foot horses in full haste, and among them were armored the two Moliones [G51], boys still [B45], not yet altogether skilled in furious fighting [B1]. There is a city, Thryoessa [A12], a headlong hill [A34] town far away by the Alpheios [A12,G19] at the bottom of sandy [A34] Pylos [A12]. They had thrown their encampment [B1] about that place, furious to smash [A1,G16] it. But when they had swept the entire plain, Athene [G18] came running to us, a messenger from Olympos [G3] by night, and warned us to arm. It was no hesitant host [B33] she assembled [B39] in Pylos [A12] but people straining hard [B9] toward the battle.<sup>49</sup>

Now Neleus [A28] would not [B45] let me be armed among them, and had hidden [B45] away my horses because he thought I was not yet skilled [B45] in the work of warfare. Even so I was pre-eminent among our own horsemen [B32] though I went on foot [B32]; since thus Athene [B6,G18] guided the battle. There is a river [G19], Minyeios [A12], which empties its water in the sea

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<sup>48</sup>Places and personal names (A12), large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep (A13), Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28), games (A47), old age (A49), chariots (B3), the blood revenge (B22), the withheld honor gift (B43), precious, special horses (G23), contests and solemn games (G53).

<sup>49</sup>Wars on cities (A1), places and personal names (A12), riches of the soil (A34), the battle scene (B1), the combat psychology (B9), huge crowds of warriors (B33), gathering up the army for the fight (B39), fame for the father: the typical scene of the fame a young warrior gains for his father on the battlefield (B45), the Olympic gods (G3), destructions of cities (G16), typical interactions between god and human (G18), rivers (G19), three times the same action (G32), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and twins (G51).

*[G19] beside Arene [A12]. There we waited for the divine Dawn, we horsemen [B32] among the Pylians [A12], and the hordes [B33] of the streaming [B33] foot-soldiers [B32], and from there having armed in all speed and formed in our armor we came by broad daylight to the sacred [G49] stream [G19] of Alpheios [A12]. There we wrought fine sacrifices [G49] to Zeus [G35] in his great strength and sacrificed [G49] a bull to Alpheios [G13], a bull [G49] to Poseidon [G9], but to Athene [G3] of the gray eyes a cow [G49] from the herds.<sup>50</sup>*

*Then we took our dinner along the host in divided watches and went to sleep, each man in his own armor, by the current [G19] of the river [G19], and meanwhile the high-hearted Epeians [A12] had taken their places around the city [B1], furious to smash [A1,G16] it. But sooner than this there was shown forth a great work of the war [B1] god, for when the sun in his shining lifted above the earth, then we joined our battle [B1] together, with prayers [G49] to Zeus [G3] and Athene [G3].<sup>51</sup>*

*Now when the battle [B1] came on between Pylians [A12] and Epeians [A12], I was first to kill [B1] a man, and I won his single-foot horses [B12]. It was Moullos the spearman [B1] who was son-in-law [B23] to Augeias [B26] and had as wife [B26] his eldest daughter, fair-haired Agamede [B26] who knew of all the medicines [G34] that are grown in the broad earth [B26]. As he came on I threw and hit [B1] him with the bronze-headed spear [B1] and he dropped in the dust [B10], whereupon I springing into his chariot [B12] took my place among the champions [B16], as the high-hearted Epeians fled [B17] one way and another in terror when they saw the man fall who was leader [B16] of their horsemen [B32] and the best of them all in fighting.<sup>52</sup>*

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<sup>50</sup>Places and personal names (A12), Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28), the intervention of the gods (B6), fame for the father: the typical scene of the fame a young warrior gains for his father on the battlefield (B45), chariot warriors and infantry (B32), huge crowds of warriors (B33), the Olympic gods (G3), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), typical interactions between god and human (G18), rivers (G19), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), and priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49).

<sup>51</sup>Wars on cities (A1), places and personal names (A12), the battle scene (B1), the Olympic gods (G3), destructions of cities (G16), rivers (G19), and priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49).

<sup>52</sup>Places and personal names (A12), the battle scene (B1), fixed formulas (B10), robbing the armor, the horses, or a corpse (B12), highborn champions (B16), the chase and the flight (B17), sons-in-

*Then I charged upon them like a black whirlwind, and overtook fifty [B18] chariots [B12], and for each of the chariots [B3] two men caught the dirt in their teeth beaten down under my spear [B18]. And now I would have killed the young Moliones [G51], scions of Aktor, had not their father [G38] who shakes the earth [G9] in his wide strength caught [G18] them out of the battle, shrouding them in a thick mist [G30]. Then Zeus gave huge power into the hands of the Pylians [A12], for we chased [B17] them on over the hollow plain [B1], killing [B1] the men themselves, and picking up [B12] their magnificent armor until we brought our horses [B3] to Bouprasion [A12] of the wheatfields [A34] and the Olenian [A12] rock, where there is a hill called the hill of Ale-sios [A12]. There at last Athene [G18] turned back our people. There I killed my last man and left him [B18]. There the Achai-ans steered back from Bouprasion [A12] to Pylos [A12] their fast-running horses, and all glorified [G49] Zeus [G35] among the gods, but among men Nestor [A28].<sup>53</sup>*

*That [A15] was I, among men, if it ever happened.<sup>54</sup>  
(Iliad XI 669-761)*

So much for the mixing of the Gamma-tradition with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition. In the next chapter we analyze the presence of the Gamma-tradition in the stories of the Trojan Cycle.

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law (B23), background information for every warrior (B26), chariot warriors and infantry (B32), and medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34).

<sup>53</sup>Places and personal names (A12), Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28), riches of the soil (A34), the battle scene (B1), chariots (B3), robbing the armor, the horses, or a corpse (B12), the chase and the flight (B17), the triumphant raid of a single hero (B18), typical interactions between god and human (G18), the god who envelops a person in a cloud (G30), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and twins (G51).

<sup>54</sup>Digressions (A15).

## Chapter 5

# The Gamma-tradition in the Trojan Cycle according to Proclus

The Trojan Cycle is part of the epic cycle, which consists of ten books composed between the eighth and sixth centuries BC. However, none of these books has been preserved. A summary of the Trojan Cycle has been preserved: the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus (an unknown author in AD first millennium). Of all the books of the epic cycle, we also have short excerpts from one or more verses, as well as commentaries from later writers. The ten books are:

1. *The War of the Titans*, or *Titanomachy*—attributed to either Eumelos of Korinth or Arktinos of Milete (eighth century BC)
2. *The Story of Oidipous*, or *Oidipodeia*—attributed to Kinaithon of Sparta (eighth century BC)
3. *The Story of Thebes*, or *Thebais (Seven Against Thebes)*—attributed to Homer
4. *The Epigoni (Sons of the Seven against Thebes)*—attributed to Homer
5. *The Kypria*—attributed to Stasinos of Cyprus, Hegesias of Salamis, or Kyprias of Halikarnassos (possibly sixth century BC)
6. *The Aithiopsis*—attributed to Arktinos of Milete (eighth century BC)
7. *The Little Iliad*—attributed to Lesches of Pyrrha (seventh century BC) or Kinaithon of Sparta (eighth century BC)



8. *The Fall of Troy* or *Iliupersis*—attributed to Arktinos of Miletos (eighth century BC)
9. *The Returns* or *Nostoi*—attributed to Agias of Troizen (seventh or sixth century BC)
10. *The Telegony*—attributed to Kinaithon of Sparta (eighth century BC) or Kyrene (sixth century BC)

The Trojan Cycle consists of the last six of these books, the *Kypria* up to and including the *Telegony*, supplemented by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The books are arranged chronologically, with the *Iliad* fitting between the *Kypria* and the *Aithiopis*, and the *Odyssey* between the *Returns* and the *Telegony*. The last six of the ten books of the epic cycle are summarized in Proclus' *Chrestomathy* and have been preserved in that form to date. The first four books form the Theban Cycle, but even their summary has been lost.

Since a series of oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition can be found in the Trojan Cycle, it may be a useful undertaking to annotate the full summary of Proclus with the numbers of the Gamma-characteristics in square brackets. In this way, we get a better picture of which texts made use of the Gamma-tradition. H. G. Evelyn-White translated Proclus' *Chrestomathy* from Latin to English. In addition, it is good to know in advance that Strife is the goddess Eris, Alexandrus the Trojan prince Paris, and the sons of Tyn-dareus, the twins Kastor and Polydeukes, also brothers of Helen and Kly-taimnestra. Ilion is the city of Troy. We start with the *Kypria*. Do not forget that Proclus is an author who lived after Christ and describes books by authors who lived in ancient Greece. Because the summary of the Theban Cycle has been lost, the *Chrestomathy*, the preserved part of Proclus' summaries, begins very abruptly.

## The *Kypria*

Proclus, *Chrestomathy*, i:

This [the Epigoni, the fourth and last work of the Theban cycle] is continued by the epic called Cypria which is current in eleven books. Its contents are as follows. Zeus [G3,G35] plans with Themis [G46] to bring about the Trojan [G10] war. Strife [G46] arrives while the gods are feasting at the marriage [G48] of Peleus [A28,G1] and starts a dispute [G26] between Hera [G3,G46], Athena [G3,G46], and Aphrodite

[G3,G46] as to which of them is fairest. The three are led by Hermes [G3] at the command of Zeus [G35] to Alexandrus [G8] on Mount Ida [G45] for his decision, and Alexandrus [G8], lured by his promised marriage [G48] with Helen, decides in favour of Aphrodite [G3]. Then Alexandrus builds his ships [G44] at Aphrodite's suggestion, and Helenus [G57] foretells [G57] the future to him, and Aphrodite [G38] orders Aeneas [G6] to sail [G44] with him, while Cassandra [G57] prophesies [G33] as to what will happen afterward.<sup>55</sup>

Alexandrus [G8] next lands in Lacedaemon and is entertained by the sons of Tyndareus, and afterwards by Menelaos in Sparta, where in the course of a feast he gives gifts to Helen. After this, Menelaos sets sail [G44] for Crete, ordering Helen to furnish the guests with all they require until they depart. Meanwhile, Aphrodite [G3] brings Helen and Alexandrus [G8] together, and they, after their union, put very great treasures on board and sail away by night. Hera [G3,G46] stirs up a storm [G44] against them and they are carried to Sidon [G44], where Alexandrus [G8] takes the city [G16]. From there he sailed [G44] to Troy [G10] and celebrated his marriage [G48] with Helen.<sup>56</sup>

In the meantime Castor and Polydeuces [G51], while stealing the cattle [A26,G1] of Idas and Lynceus [G51], were caught in the act, and Castor was killed by Idas, and Lynceus and Idas by Polydeuces. Zeus [G35] gave them immortality [G60] every other day. Iris [G3] next informs [G18] Menelaos of what has happened at his home [G64]. Menelaos returns and plans an expedition against Ilium [G10] with his brother, and then goes on to Nestor [A28,G1]. Nestor in a digression [A15,G1] tells him how Epopeus was utterly destroyed after seducing [G48] the daughter of Lycus, and the story of Oedipus, the madness of Herakles [G11], and the story of Theseus and Ariadne [G67].<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), Aeneas (G6), Paris and Pandaros (G8), the environment of Troy (G10), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), predicting death or downfall (G33), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), Mount Ida (G45), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), and seers and oracles (G57).

<sup>56</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Paris and Pandaros (G8), the environment of Troy (G10), destructions of cities (G16), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), and fatal marriages and romances (G48).

<sup>57</sup>Digressions (A15), the abduction of cattle (A26), and Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), the environment of Troy (G10), Herakles (G11), typical interactions between god and human (G18), the supreme command of

Then they travel over Hellas and gather the leaders [A16,G1], detecting Odysseus when he pretends to be mad [G56], not wishing to join the expedition, by seizing his son Telemachus for punishment at the suggestion of Palamedes. All the leaders then meet together at Aulis and sacrifice [G49]. The incident of the serpent [G54] and the sparrows takes place before them, and Calchas [G57] foretells [G57] what is going to befall. After this, they put out to sea [G44], and reach Teuthrania [G10] and sack [G16] it, taking it for Ilium [G10]. Telephus comes out to the rescue and kills [B1,G12] Thersander, the son of Polyneices, and is himself wounded [G17] by Achilles. As they put out from Mysia [G10] a storm [G44] comes on them and scatters them, and Achilles first puts in at Scyros [G10] and married [G48] Deidameia [G5], the daughter of Lycomedes, and then heals [G28] Telephus, who had been led by an oracle [G57] to go to Argos, so that he might be their guide on the voyage to Ilium [G10].<sup>58</sup>

When the expedition had mustered a second time at Aulis [G44], Agamemnon, while at the chase, shot [G20] a stag and boasted [G43] that he surpassed even Artemis [G3,G20,G46,G51]. At this the goddess was so angry that she [G46] sent stormy [G44] winds and prevented them from sailing [G44]. Calchas [G57] then told [G57] them of the anger of the goddess and bade them sacrifice [G49] Iphigeneia to Artemis. This they attempt to do, sending to fetch Iphigeneia as though for marriage [G48] with Achilles [G4]. Artemis [G3,G46], however, snatched her away and transported her to the Tauri [G60], making [G46] her immortal [G60], and putting a stag in place of the girl upon the altar [G49].<sup>59</sup>

Next they sail [G44] as far as Tenedos [G10,G44]: and while they are feasting, Philoctetes is bitten by a snake [G54] and is left behind in

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Zeus (G35), fatal marriages and romances (G48), twins (G51), immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60), house as home, family, or family tree (G64), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67).

<sup>58</sup>Recruiting soldiery (A16) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), Diomedes (G5), the environment of Troy (G10), the battle scene (B1) in the European Beta-tradition (G12), destructions of cities (G16), injuries (G17), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), fatal marriages and romances (G48), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), snakes (G54), madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56), and seers and oracles (G57).

<sup>59</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), bow and arrow (G20), insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), twins (G51), seers and oracles (G57), and immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60).

Lemnos [G10,G44] because of the stench of his sore [G17]. Here, too, Achilles [G4] quarrels [G26] with Agamemnon because he is invited late. Then the Greeks tried to land at Ilium [G10], but the Trojans prevent them, and Protesilaus is killed [B1,G12] by Hector. Achilles [G4] then kills Cycnus, the son of Poseidon [G9,G38], and drives the Trojans back [B17,G12]. The Greeks take up their dead [G28] and send envoys to the Trojans demanding the surrender of Helen and the treasure with her. The Trojans refusing, they first assault the city [G16], and then go out and lay waste [G16] the country and cities round about.<sup>60</sup>

After this, Achilles [G4] desires to see Helen, and Aphrodite [G3,G46] and Thetis [G38,G46] contrive a meeting between them. The Achaeans next desire to return home, but are restrained by Achilles [G4], who afterwards drives off the cattle [A26,G1] of Aeneas [G6], and sacks [G16] Lyrnessus [G10,G16] and Pedasus [G10,G16] and many of the neighboring cities [G10,G16], and kills [B1,G12] Troilus. Patroclus carries away Lycaon to Lemnos [G10,G44] and sells him as a slave, and out of the spoils Achilles [G4] receives Briseis as a prize, and Agamemnon Chryseis. Then follows the death of Palamedes, the plan of Zeus [G35] to relieve the Trojans by detaching Achilles [G4] from the Hellenic confederacy, and a catalogue of the Trojan allies [G10].<sup>61</sup>

## The *Aithiopis*

After the *Kypria* comes the *Iliad* and then the *Aithiopis*. Proclus informs us of this himself. Because the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have been preserved at the time of Proclus, he skips these works in his summaries:

Proclus, *Chrestomathy*, ii:

The *Cypria*, described in the preceding book [*Chrestomathy* i], has its

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<sup>60</sup> Achilleus (G4), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the battle scene (B1) and the chase and the flight (B17) in the European Beta-tradition (G12), destructions of cities (G16), injuries (G17), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), and snakes (G54).

<sup>61</sup> The abduction of cattle (A26) in the Mykenian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), Aeneas (G6), the environment of Troy (G10), the battle scene (B1) in the European Beta-tradition (G12), destructions of cities (G16), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), and mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46).

sequel in the *Iliad* of Homer, which is followed in turn by the five books of the Aethiopis, the work of Arctinus of Miletus. Their contents are as follows. The Amazon [G37,G46] Penthesileia, the daughter of Ares [G3,G38] and of Thracian [G10] race, comes to aid the Trojans, and after showing great prowess, is killed by Achilles [G4] and buried [G28] by the Trojans. Achilles [G4] then slays [G26] Thersites for abusing and reviling [G26] him for his supposed love [G48] for Penthesileia. As a result a dispute [G26] arises amongst the Achaeans over the killing of Thersites, and Achilles [G4] sails [G44] to Lesbos [G10,G44] and after sacrificing [G49] to Apollo [G9,G51], Artemis [G51], and Leto [G46], is purified by Odysseus from bloodshed.<sup>62</sup>

Then Memnon, the son of Eos [G38], wearing armour [G39] made by Hephaestus [G39], comes to help the Trojans, and Thetis [G38] tells her son [G4] about Memnon. A battle takes place in which Antilochus is slain [B1,G12] by Memnon and Memnon by Achilles [G4]. Eos [G38] then obtains of Zeus [G35] and bestows upon her son immortality [G60]; but Achilles [G4] routs the Trojans [G10], and, rushing into the city with them, is killed [G20] by Paris [G8] and Apollo [G9]. A great struggle for the body [G40] then follows, Aias taking up the body [G28] and carrying it to the ships, while Odysseus drives off the Trojans behind.<sup>63</sup>

The Achaeans then bury [G28] Antilochus and lay out [G28] the body [G40] of Achilles [G4], while Thetis [G38,G46], arriving with the Muses [G3,G46] and her sisters [G13,G46], bewails her son [G4], whom she afterwards catches away from the pyre and transports to the White Island [G44,G60]. After this, the Achaeans pile him a cairn [G28] and hold games [G53] in his honour [G28]. Lastly a dispute [G26] arises between Odysseus and Aias over the arms [G39] of Achilles [G4].<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), Centaurs and Amazons (G37), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and twins (G51).

<sup>63</sup>Achilleus (G4), Paris and Pandaros (G8), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the battle scene (B1) in the European Beta-tradition (G12), bow and arrow (G20), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), the supreme command of Zeus (G35), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), precious, divine weapons (G39), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), and immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60).

<sup>64</sup>Achilleus (G4), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38),

## The *Little Iliad*

Next comes the *Little Iliad* in four books by Lesches of Mitylene: its contents are as follows. The adjudging of the arms [G39] of Achilles [G4] takes place, and Odysseus, by the contriving of Athena [G3,G18], gains them. Aias then becomes mad [G56] and destroys [G56] the herd [A13,G1] of the Achaeans and kills himself [G56]. Next Odysseus lies in wait and catches Helenus [G57], who prophesies [G33,G57,G63] as to the taking of Troy [G7], and Diomedes [G5] accordingly brings Philoctetes [G20] from Lemnos [G10,G44]. Philoctetes is healed [G34] by Machaon [G34], fights in single combat with Alexandrus [G8, G20] and kills him: the dead body [G40] is outraged [G40] by Menelaos, but the Trojans recover and bury [G28] it.<sup>65</sup>

After this Deiphobus marries [G48] Helen, Odysseus brings Neoptolemus from Scyros and gives him his father's arms [G39], and the ghost [G60] of Achilles [G4] appears to him. Eurypylos the son of Telephus arrives to aid the Trojans, shows his prowess [B16,G12] and is killed by Neoptolemus. The Trojans are now closely besieged [G14], and Epeius, by Athena's [G3,G46] instruction, builds the wooden horse [G23]. Odysseus disfigures himself and goes in to Ilium as a spy, and there being recognized by Helen, plots with her for the taking of the city [G7]; after killing certain of the Trojans, he returns to the ships. Next he carries the Palladium [G49] out of Troy with help of Diomedes [G5]. Then after putting their best men in the wooden horse [G23] and burning their huts, the main body of the Hellenes sail [G44] to Tenedos [G10]. The Trojans, supposing their troubles over, destroy [G56] a part of their city wall [G14] and take the wooden horse [G23] into their city and feast [G56] as though they had conquered the Hellenes.<sup>66</sup>

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precious, divine weapons (G39), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), contests and solemn games (G53), and immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60).

<sup>65</sup>Large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep (A13) in the Mykenian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), Diomedes (G5), the fall of Troy (G7), Paris and Pandaros (G8), the environment of Troy (G10), typical interactions between god and human (G18), bow and arrow (G20), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), predicting death or downfall (G33), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), precious, divine weapons (G39), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56), seers and oracles (G57), and revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed (G63).

<sup>66</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), Diomedes (G5), the fall of Troy (G7), the environment of Troy (G10), highborn champions (B16) in the European Beta-tradition (G12), defensive walls (G14),

## The Fall of Troy

Next come two books of the *Sack of Ilium* [G7], by Arctinus of Miletus with the following contents. The Trojans were suspicious of the wooden horse [G23] and standing round it debated what they ought to do. Some thought they ought to hurl it down from the rocks, others to burn it up, while others said they ought to dedicate [G49] it to Athena [G3]. At last this third opinion prevailed. Then they turned to mirth and feasting [G56] believing the war [G29] was at an end. But at this very time two serpents [G50,G52,G54] appeared and destroyed Laocoon and one of his two sons, a portent [G57] which so alarmed the followers [G61] of Aeneas [G6] that they withdrew to Ida [G45].<sup>67</sup>

Sinon then raised the fire-signal to the Achaeans, having previously got into the city by pretense. The Greeks then sailed [G44] in from Tenedos [G10,G44], and those in the wooden horse [G23] came out and fell upon their enemies, killing many and storming the city. Neoptolemus kills Priamos [G2] who had fled to the altar [G49] of Zeus [G3] Herceius [G13]; Menelaos finds Helen and takes her to the ships, after killing Deiphobus; and Aias the son of Ileus, while trying to drag Cassandra [G57] away by force [G43], tears away with her the image [G49] of Athena [G3].<sup>68</sup>

At this the Greeks are so enraged [G26] that they determine to stone [G56] Aias, who only escapes from the danger threatening him by taking refuge at the altar [G49] of Athena [G3]. The Greeks, after burning the city [G7,G16], sacrifice [G49] Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles [G4]. Odysseus murders [G56] Astyanax; Neoptolemus takes Andromache as his prize, and the remaining spoils are divided. Demophon and Acamas find Aethra and take her with them. Lastly the Greeks sail

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precious, special horses (G23), precious, divine weapons (G39), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56), and immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60).

<sup>67</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Aeneas (G6), the fall of Troy (G7), precious, special horses (G23), the war between two camps (G29), Mount Ida (G45), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), parallels with Eastern oral traditions (G52), snakes (G54), madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56), seers and oracles (G57), and the leader followed by a large group (G61).

<sup>68</sup>Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the Olympic gods (G3), the environment of Troy (G10), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), precious, special horses (G23), insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and seers and oracles (G57).

[G44] away and Athena [G3] plans [G46] to destroy [G43] them on the high seas [G44].<sup>69</sup>

## The Returns

After the *Sack of Ilium* [G7] follow the *Returns* in five books by Agias of Troezen. Their contents are as follows. Athena [G46] causes a quarrel [G26] between Agamemnon and Menelaos about the voyage from Troy [G10]. Agamemnon then stays on to appease [G49] the anger of Athena [G3]. Diomedes [G5] and Nestor put out to sea [G44] and get safely home. After them Menelaos sets out and reaches Egypt with five ships [G44], the rest having been destroyed on the high seas [G44]. Those with Calchas [G10], Leontes, and Polypoetes go by land to Colophon [G10] and bury [G28] Teiresias [G57] who died there.<sup>70</sup>

When Agamemnon and his followers [G61] were sailing [G44] away, the ghost [G47] of Achilles [G4] appeared and tried to prevent them by foretelling [G33] what should befall them. The storm [G44] at the rocks called Capherides is then described, with the end of Locrian Aias. Neoptolemus, warned by Thetis [G13], journeys overland and, coming into Thrace [G10], meets Odysseus at Maronea, and then finishes the rest of his journey after burying [G28] Phoenix who dies on the way. He himself is recognized by Peleus [A28,G1] on reaching the Molossi. Then comes the murder [A2,G1] of Agamemnon by Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra [G46], followed by the vengeance [A7,G1] of Orestes and Pylades. Finally, Menelaos returns home.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Achilleus (G4), the fall of Troy (G7), destructions of cities (G16), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56).

<sup>70</sup>The Olympic gods (G3), Diomedes (G5), the fall of Troy (G7), the environment of Troy (G10), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and seers and oracles (G57).

<sup>71</sup>Bloody feuds (A2), the revenge on the return (A7), Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor (A28), the close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), Achilleus (G4), the environment of Troy (G10), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), predicting death or downfall (G33), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), phantoms, dreams, and false appearances (G47), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), and the leader followed by a large group (G61).



## The *Telegony*

After the *Returns* comes the *Odyssey* of Homer, and then the *Telegony* in two books by Eugammon of Kyrene, which contain the following matters. The suitors of Penelope are buried [G28] by their kinsmen, and Odysseus, after sacrificing [G49] to the Nymphs [G13], sails [G44] to Elis to inspect his herds [A13,G1]. He is entertained there by Polyxenus and receives a mixing bowl as a gift; the story [A15,G1] of Tropho-nius and Agamedes and Augeas then follows. He next sails [G44] back to Ithaca [G44] and performs the sacrifices [G49] ordered by Teire-sias [G57], and then goes to Thesprotis where he marries [G48,G67] Kallidike, queen [A3,G1,G46] of the Thesprotians.<sup>72</sup>

A war [G29] then breaks out between the Thesprotians, led by Odysseus, and the Brygi. Ares [G3] routs the army of Odysseus and Athena [G3,G46] engages with Ares, until Apollo [G9] separates them. After the death of Kallidike, Polypoetes, the son of Odysseus, succeeds to the kingdom [A3,G1], while Odysseus himself returns to Ithaca [G44]. In the meantime Telegonus, while traveling in search of his father, lands on Ithaca and ravages the island [G44]. Odysseus comes out to defend his country, but is killed [A2,G1] by his son unwittingly. Telegonus, on learning his mistake, transports [G28] his father's body [G40] with Penelope and Telemachus to his mother's island [G44], where Kirke [G38,G46] makes them immortal [G60], and Telegonus marries Penelope [G48], and Telemachus Kirke [G48].<sup>73</sup>

This was the Trojan Cycle, apparently influenced by the Gamma-tradition even more than the *Iliad*. In the next chapter we will travel through time, past the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the Trojan Cycle, and the *Argonautica*, up to the *Aeneid* of Virgil, who lived in Italy in the first century BC.

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<sup>72</sup>The king and his court (A3), large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep (A13), digressions (A15), the close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), seers and oracles (G57), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67).

<sup>73</sup>Bloody feuds (A2), the king and his court (A3), the close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), the war between two camps (G29), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), and immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60).

## Chapter 6

# The Gamma-tradition in the *Aeneid* of Virgil

With the *Aeneid* of Virgil, we have arrived at the last stop of the Gamma-tradition. Many regard the *Aeneid* as an—albeit high quality—imitation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, with which it clearly has many parallels. What will be demonstrated in this chapter is that Virgil operated in a living, evolved Gamma-tradition. Although Virgil knew the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, of course, many parallels can be attributed to the fact that both Virgil and the legendary Homer made partial use of the same oral characteristics, namely those of the Gamma-tradition. The presence of a Roman Gamma-tradition in Italy is not only evident from the *Aeneid*, but also from other Roman sources. Moreover, it is out of the question that Virgil would have mastered the Gamma-tradition by analyzing the *Iliad*. This is evident, among other things, from the fact that Virgil used a richer, evolved Gamma-tradition, in which Gamma-characteristics occur that we see only appearing in the Trojan Cycle and the *Argonautica*.

In this chapter, an introduction is first given to the *Aeneid* through short content, which is illustrated with quoted passages. Next, for each of the 68 oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition, it is investigated how they occur in the *Aeneid*. Finally, in a third part, passages from the *Aeneid* are explained via the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition.

## The story of Aeneas

The salutation of the *Aeneid* is already reminiscent of the *Odyssey*. While Odysseus is attacked by the god Poseidon, Aeneas is persecuted by Juno:

*Arms and the man I sing, who first made way, predestined exile,  
from the Trojan shore to Italy, the blest Lavinian strand. Smitten  
of storms he was on land and sea by violence of Heaven, to satisfy  
stern Juno's sleepless wrath; and much in war he suffered, seek-  
ing at the last to found the city, and bring over his fathers' gods  
to safe abode in Latium; whence arose the Latin race, old Alba's  
reverend lords, and from her hills wide-walled, imperial Rome. O  
Muse, the causes tell! What sacrilege, or vengeful sorrow, moved  
the heavenly Queen to thrust on dangers dark and endless toil a  
man whose largest honor in men's eyes was serving Heaven? Can  
gods such anger feel?  
(Aeneid I 1-11)*

The answer is that the city of Carthage is a favorite of Juno, and she knew that the descendants of a Trojan would one day destroy Carthage. So Aeneas must be opposed in every possible way. The first chapter immediately begins with a mean prank of Juno. She lands the ships of Aeneas and his followers in a storm. Consequently, Aeneas ends up with his ships in Africa, near the city of Carthage, after having been on his way on the Mediterranean Sea for seven years.

Venus, the mother of Aeneas, meets them dressed as a hunter and shows them the way to Carthage. Moreover, she makes them invisible by enveloping them in a cloud. In Carthage, Aeneas sees scenes from the Trojan War depicted on temple reliefs:

*There he beheld the citadel of Troy girt with embattled foes; here,  
Greeks in flight some Trojan onset 'scaped; there, Phrygian bands  
before tall-plumed Achilles' chariot sped. The snowy tents of  
Rhesus spread hard by (he sees them through his tears), where  
Diomed in night's first watch burst over them unawares with bloo-  
dy havoc and a host of deaths; then drove his fiery coursers over  
the plain before their thirst or hunger could be stayed on Trojan  
corn or Xanthus' cooling stream. Here too was princely Troilus,  
despoiled, routed and weaponless, O wretched boy! Ill-matched*

*against Achilles! His wild steeds bear him along, as from his chariot's rear he falls far back, but clutches still the rein; his hair and shoulders on the ground go trailing, and his down-pointing spear-head scrawls the dust.*  
(Aeneid I 466-478)

Then Dido, the queen of Carthage, appears with her retinue. Venus removes the cloud that obscures Aeneas, and Dido offers Aeneas a warm welcome. During the meal, Dido asks Aeneas to talk about his fortunes. Aeneas tells about the fall of Troy and the trick with the wooden horse:

*Wearied of the war, and by ill-fortune crushed, year after year, the kings of Greece, by Pallas' skill divine, build a huge horse, a thing of mountain size, with timbered ribs of fir. They falsely say it has been vowed to Heaven for safe return, and spread this lie abroad. Then they conceal choice bands of warriors in the deep, dark side, and fill the caverns of that monstrous womb with arms and soldiery.*  
(Aeneid II 13-20)

Then the Greeks sail away. Laokoön, a Trojan priest who dared to throw a lance in the horse, is killed by two monstrous sea snakes together with his two sons. The Trojans let go of all their caution and with joy they break down the city walls to bring in the wooden horse. But at night, the Greek warriors jump out from the belly of the horse and open the gates for their companions who had returned. The Greeks burn down Troy and kill the drunken Trojans.

The ghost of Hektor appears in a dream of Aeneas and advises him to flee. After vainly intermingling in battle, Aeneas takes his father on the shoulders and his son Askanios and, followed by his wife Kreusa, flees the burning Troy and leads the remaining Trojans who are fleeing. However, Kreusa appears to have been left behind during the perilous flight. When Aeneas returns to Troy to look for her, her ghost appears to him:

*Why to these frenzied sorrows bend thy soul, O husband ever dear! The will of Heaven hath brought all this to pass. Fate doth not send Creusa the long journeys thou shalt take, or hath th' Olympian King so given decree. Long is thy banishment; thy ship must plough the vast, far-spreading sea. Then shalt thou come unto Hesperia, whose fruitful plains are watered by the Tiber, Lydian stream, of smooth, benignant Bow. Thou shalt obtain fair*

*fortunes, and a throne and royal bride.*  
(Aeneid II 776-783)

Aeneas has a fleet of twenty ships built from the trees that grow on Mount Ida. The Aeneads end up in Thrace, where Aeneas founded a city with his name. The ghost of the Trojan prince Polydorus, however, makes it clear to Aeneas that he must leave this country. Based on an oracle of the god Apollo in Delos, Aeneas and his followers sail to Krete, but famine and the plague make them realize that they have misinterpreted the oracle. Then Aeneas dreams that the images of the gods he took with him from Troy, the Penates, recommend him to sail to Hesperia (Italy).

From Krete, Aeneas makes further wanderings, seeing the harpy Celaeno, his compatriots Helenos and Andromache, and the Cyclopes at the Etna volcano. Along the way, his father Anchises also dies. Finally, a sea storm drives him to Dido in Carthage.

Queen Dido falls in love with Aeneas, and her sister Anna advises her to give these feelings a chance. During a hunting party in which Dido and Aeneas participate, they are surprised by a storm and end up in a cave together. However, that has an undesirable consequence:

*Swift through the Libyan cities Rumor sped. Rumor! What evil can surpass her speed? In movement she grows mighty, and achieves strength and dominion as she swifter flies. Small first, because afraid, she soon exalts her stature skyward, stalking through the lands and mantling in the clouds her baleful brow. The womb of Earth, in anger at high Heaven, bore her, they say, last of the Titan spawn, sister to Coeus and Enceladus. Feet swift to run and pinions like the wind the dreadful monster wears. Her carcase huge is feathered, and at root of every plume a peering eye abides; and, strange to tell, an equal number of vociferous tongues, foul, whispering lips, and ears, that catch at all. At night she spreads midway 'twixt earth and heaven her pinions in the darkness, hissing loud, nor ever to happy slumber gives her eyes: but with the morn she takes her watchful throne high on the housetops or on lofty towers, to terrify the nations. She can cling to vile invention and malignant wrong, or mingle with her word some tidings true. She now with changeful story filled men's ears, exultant, whether false or true she sung: How, Trojan-born Aeneas having come, Dido, the lovely widow, looked his way,*

*deigning to wed; how all the winter long they passed in revel  
and voluptuous ease, to dalliance given over; naught heeding  
now of crown or kingdom—shameless! Lust-enslaved!*  
(Aeneid IV 173-194)

King Jarbas, the son of the god Ammon, who has wanted to marry Dido for much longer, also hears the rumor. Immediately, he prays to Jupiter to complain about the course of events. Jupiter calls on Mercury and orders him to remind Aeneas that he is destined to found a great empire in Italy. That's how it happens, and Aeneas leaves. Dido then commits suicide.

On the way to Italy, the fleet of Aeneas threatens to end up in another storm and Aeneas seeks refuge in Sicily. There, they organize games to honor the death anniversary of Anchises. The last game is the Troy game, which would later be staged for centuries in Rome:

*After, with smiling eyes, the horsemen proud have greeted each  
his kin in all the throng, Epytides th' appointed signal calls, and  
cracks his lash; in even lines they move, then, loosely sundering  
in triple band, wheel at a word and thrust their lances forth in  
hostile ranks; or on the ample field retreat or charge, in figure  
intricate of circling troop with troop, and swift parade of sim-  
ulated war. Now from the field they flee with backs defenseless  
to the foe; then rally, lance in rest—or, mingling all, make com-  
mon front, one legion strong and fair. As once in Crete, the lofty  
mountain-isle, that-fabled labyrinthine gallery wound on through  
lightless walls, with thousand paths which baffled every clue, and  
led astray in unreturning mazes dark and blind. So did the sons  
of Troy their courses weave in mimic flights and battles fought for  
play, like dolphins tumbling in the liquid waves, along the Afric  
or Carpathian seas.*  
(Aeneid V 577-595)

The ghost of his father Anchises gives Aeneas further instructions. He must found the city of Acesta in Sicily, named after his friend Acestes, so he can leave the women and old people tired of wandering around in it. He must also look for the Sibylle in Cumae, which will give him access to the underworld. Aeneas founded the city and then proceeded to the cave of the Sibylle in Cumae. It predicts a tough future for him in Italy. To descend into the underworld, he must pick a golden branch and offer it to Persephone, the queen

of the underworld. He must also bury his mate Misenus and sacrifice cattle to reconcile the gods.

In the underworld, Aeneas meets his father Anchises:

*Art here at last? Hath thy well-proven love of me thy sire achieved  
yon arduous way? Will Heaven, beloved son, once more allow  
that eye to eye we look? And shall I hear thy kindred accent min-  
gling with my own? I cherished long this hope. My prophet-soul  
numbered the lapse of days, nor did my thought deceive. O, over  
what lands and seas wast driven to this embrace! What perils  
manifold assailed thee, O my son, on every side! How long I trem-  
bled, lest that Libyan throne should work thee woe!" Aeneas thus  
replied: "Thine image, sire, thy melancholy shade, came oft upon  
my vision, and impelled my journey hitherward. Our fleet of ships  
lies safe at anchor in the Tuscan seas. Come, clasp my hand!  
Come, father, I implore, and heart to heart this fond embrace re-  
ceive!" So speaking, all his eyes suffused with tears; thrice would  
his arms in vain that shape enfold. Thrice from the touch of hand  
the vision fled, like wafted winds or likest hovering dreams.  
(Aeneid VI 687-702)*

Anchises tells Aeneas about the hereafter, the transmigration of souls, and about his future, famous posterity in Italy. He also predicts the war that awaits him and which battle he must avoid or endure.

After returning to the upper world, Aeneas sails further along the Italian coastline and thus reaches its final destination: the Tiber. The Aeneads sail a little upstream and arrive in the kingdom of King Latinus. He warmly receives the strangers and informs them of an oracle. According to the oracle, his daughter Lavinia had to marry a foreigner. Lavinia, however, was already engaged to Turnus, the king of the neighboring Rutulians. Juno saw an opportunity in this situation to start a war against the Trojans. With the help of the Fury Alecto, she drives Queen Amata, the wife of Latinus, and the Latin countrymen, in armor against the Trojans. Together with the Rutulians led by Turnus, and a series of other tribes from the neighborhood, they collect an army that is described tribe by tribe in a catalogue. One of the listed leaders is the Amazon Camilla:

*Last came Camilla, of the Volscians bred, leading her mail-clad,  
radiant chivalry; a warrior-virgin, of Minerva's craft of web and*

*distaff, fit for woman's toil, no follower she; but bared her virgin breast to meet the brunt of battle. And her speed left even the winds behind; for she would skim an untouched harvest ere the sickle fell, nor graze the quivering wheat-tops as she ran; or over the mid-sea billows' swollen surge so swiftly race. She wet not in the wave her flying feet. For sight of her the youth from field and fortress sped, and matrons grave stood wondering as she passed, well-pleased to see her royal scarf in many a purple fold float off her shining shoulder, her dark hair in golden clasp caught fast, and how she bore for arms a quiver of the Lycian mode, and shepherd's shaft of myrtle tipped with steel.*  
(Aeneid VII 803-817)

Both Turnus and Aeneas are going to look for help in the neighborhood. Turnus tries to get help from Diomedes, the Greek hero who settled in Italy after the Trojan War. It will later become clear that Diomedes is no longer willing to wage war. Aeneas dreams that he gets advice from the river god Tiber. He obtains the help of the Greek King Euander, who lived on the spot where Rome would later lie. Euander promises Aeneas four hundred horsemen, led by his son Pallas. Moreover, according to an oracle, the Etrurians were waiting for a foreign leader after their own leader was driven out. They are also prepared to help Aeneas. Aeneas receives from his mother Venus a new armor artfully decorated with numerous scenes by the fire god Vulcan. In the following, the Lord of Fire means Vulcan (Hephaistos), and Jove means Jupiter (Zeus):

*Thereon were seen Italia's story and triumphant Rome, wrought by the Lord of Fire, who was not blind to lore inspired and prophesying song, fore-reading things to come. He pictured there Iulus' destined line of glorious sons marshaled for many a war. In cavern green, haunt of the war-god, lay the mother-wolf. The twin boy-sucklings at her udders played, nor feared such nurse; with long neck backward thrown she fondled each, and shaped with busy tongue their bodies fair. Near these were pictured well the walls of Rome and ravished Sabine wives in the thronged theatre violently seized, when the great games were done; then, sudden war of Romulus against the Cures grim and hoary Tatius; next, the end of strife between the rival kings, who stood in arms before*



*Jove's sacred altar, cup in hand, and swore a compact over the  
slaughtered swine.  
(Aeneid VIII 626-642)*

While Aeneas seeks help from the Etrurians, his men are attacked in their camp by Turnus, who was incited by Juno. Turnus' troops try to set fire to the ships of Aeneas, but that is prevented by the mother of the gods Cybele, who had complained to her son Jupiter. After all, the wood from the ships came from its sacred forest on Mount Ida. Jupiter allows the ships to be turned into nymphs.

Two brave men, old and young, try to reach Aeneas on a nightly expedition by sneaking from the camp in exchange for the horses of Turnus. They first kill many sleeping enemies, but are eventually killed themselves. The siege continues the following day:

*Wild shouts on every side resound. In closer siege the foe press on,  
and heap the trenches full, or hurl hot-flaming torches at the towers.  
Ilioneus with mountain-mass of stone struck down Lucetius,  
as he crept with fire too near the city-gate. Emathion fell by  
Liger's hand, and Corynteus' death Asilas dealt. One threw the  
javelin well; th' insidious arrow was Asilas' skill. Ortygius was  
slain by Caeneus, then victorious Geneus fell by Turnus' ire. Then  
smote he Dioxippus, and laid low Itys and Promolus and Sagaris  
and Clonius, and from the lofty tower shot Idas down. The shaft  
of Capys pierced Privernus, whom Themilla's javelin but now had  
lightly grazed, and he, too bold, casting his shield far from him,  
had outspread his left hand on the wound. Then sudden flew the  
feathered arrow, and the hand lay pinned against his left side,  
while the fatal barb was buried in his breathing life.  
(Aeneid IX 567-580)*

Moments later, Turnus is lured within the walls of the camp. Because the camp is shielded on one side by the Tiber, Turnus can save himself by jumping into the river. The story continues with a meeting of the gods:

*Meanwhile Olympus, seat of sovereign sway, threw wide its portals,  
and in conclave fair the Sire of gods and King of all mankind  
summoned th' immortals to his starry court, whence, high-enthroned,  
the spreading earth he views— and Teucria's camp and Latium's  
fierce array. Beneath the double-gated dome the gods were*

*sitting; Jove himself the silence broke: "O people of Olympus, wherefore change your purpose and decree, with partial minds in mighty strife contending? I refused such clash of war 'twixt Italy and Troy. Whence this forbidden feud? What fears seduced to battles and injurious arms either this folk or that? Th' appointed hour for war shall be hereafter—speed it not!— When cruel Carthage to the towers of Rome shall bring vast ruin, streaming fiercely down the opened Alp. Then hate with hate shall vie, and havoc have no bound. Till then, give over, and smile upon the concord I decree!" Thus briefly, Jove.*  
(Aeneid X 1-16)

This is followed by a quarrel between Venus and Juno, each of who explained their position and bombarded each other with blame. Jupiter closed the meeting with the announcement that he would not choose a side.

In Italy, Aeneas has returned from his journey to recruit soldiers. During his journey, Aeneas made a deep friendship with Pallas, the son of Euanter. In the battle that follows on the arrival of Aeneas, Pallas is very brave, but he is ultimately killed by Turnus. From then on, everything revolves around the battle between Turnus and Aeneas, who wants to take revenge. Nevertheless, Juno lures Turnus on a ship that sails away from the battle. For the fighters on the battlefield, it looks like a cowardly flight.

This is followed by a break in the twelve-day battle to bury the dead. Aeneas has Pallas returned to his father Euander:

*Thus lamenting, he bids them lift the body to the bier, and sends a thousand heroes from his host to render the last tributes, and to share father's tears:—poor solace and too small for grief so great, but due that mournful sire. Some busy them to build of osiers fine the simple litter, twining sapling oaks with evergreen, till over death's lofty bed the branching shade extends. Upon it lay, as if on shepherd's couch, the youthful dead, like fairest flower by virgin fingers culled, frail violet or hyacinth forlorn, of color still undimmed and leaf unmarred; but from the breast of mother-earth no more its life doth feed.*  
(Aeneid XI 59-71)

In the camp of Turnus, a fight arises between Turnus and a certain Drances about Drances' suggestion that Turnus should decide the fight in an individual duel with Aeneas. Turnus feels pressured and wants to escape his duty,

but ultimately declares himself prepared for a direct duel. When the Trojans advance, however, the total battle arises. The Amazon Camilla plays a starring role, but ultimately, she is killed. Then the Latin and Rutuli lose heart, and they flee into their city Laurentum. Turnus now realizes that a direct duel is the only solution, and he proposes it to take place the next day, accompanied by a solemn treaty.

That is how it happens, and the next morning, both armies sit opposite each other in the field, while the treaty is concluded in their midst. Nonetheless, Juno cannot tolerate Aeneas reaching his goal, and she is sending Turnus' sister, the source nymph Juturna, to the battlefield to have the Latin break the treaty. Then total battle arises again, with Aeneas keen to kill Turnus. However, Juturna drives the chariot of Turnus and always keeps him at a safe distance from Aeneas. Aeneas then decides to directly attack Laurentum, the city of the Latin. Many houses burn down, and Queen Amata commits suicide. When that news reaches Turnus, he refuses the help of his sister any longer to stay away from Aeneas.

In those circumstances, Aeneas and Turnus meet for a direct duel. They throw spears from a distance and then go into battle, shield against shield. They hit heavily with their swords, until Turnus breaks his sword and he is forced to flee. Nevertheless, again, his sister Juturna is ready to help him, and she gives him a new sword. Enough is enough for Jupiter, and he sends one of the twin Horror goddesses (also called Dira) to the battlefield to chase Juturna. Aeneas and Turnus face each other again. This is how we get to the last verses of the *Aeneid*:

*Like some black whirlwind flew the death-delivering spear, and, rending wide the corselet's edges and the heavy rim of the last circles of the seven-fold shield, pierced, hissing, through the thigh. Huge Turnus sinks overwhelmed upon the ground with doubling knee. Up spring the Rutules, groaning; the whole hill roars answering round them, and from far and wide the lofty groves give back an echoing cry. Lowly, with suppliant eyes, and holding forth his hand in prayer: "I have my meed," he cried, "Nor ask for mercy. Use what Fate has given! But if a father's grief upon thy heart have power at all,—for Sire Anchises once to thee was dear,—I pray thee to show grace to Daunus in his desolate old age; and me, or, if thou wilt, my lifeless clay, to him and his restore. For, lo, thou art my conqueror! Ausonia's eyes have seen me sup-*

*pliant, me fallen. Thou hast made Lavinia thy bride. Why further urge our enmity?"*

*With swift and dreadful arms Aeneas over him stood, with rolling eyes, but his bare sword restraining; for such words moved on him more and more: when suddenly, over the mighty shoulder slung, he saw that fatal baldric studded with bright gold which youthful Pallas wore, what time he fell vanquished by Turnus' stroke, whose shoulders now carried such trophy of a foeman slain. Aeneas' eyes took sure and slow survey of spoils that were the proof and memory of cruel sorrow.*

*Then with kindling rage and terrifying look, he cried, "Wouldst thou, clad in a prize stripped off my chosen friend, escape this hand? In this thy mortal wound 't is Pallas has a victim; Pallas takes the lawful forfeit of thy guilty blood!" He said, and buried deep his furious blade in the opposer's heart. The failing limbs sank cold and helpless; and the vital breath with moan of wrath to darkness fled away.*

*(Aeneid XII 923-952)*

This is the end of the *Aeneid*. The following section examines how the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition are used in the *Aeneid*. Of these, the last twelve are the oral characteristics that we do not find systematically in the *Iliad*. In the *Aeneid*, which stands much further in the evolution of the Gamma-tradition, we always find at least three examples of those oral characteristics.

## **The Gamma-characteristics in the *Aeneid***

We maintain the same order of the oral characteristics, with references to the *Aeneid*:

### **1. The close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition**

Because the Gamma-tradition modernizes the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, many Mykenaian Alpha-characteristics have been preserved in the Gamma-tradition. This also applies to the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Among the Mykenaian Alpha-characteristics in the *Aeneid*, we find the wrathful goddesses (A39): "*So kindled he Alecto's wrath to flame; and even as he spoke a shudder thrilled the warrior's body, and his eyeballs stood*

stonily staring at the hydra hair” (*Aeneid* VII 445-447); the superlatives (A43): [Galaesus,] the most righteous man and the richest (*Aeneid* VII 537-538); and large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep (A13): “five full flocks had he of bleating sheep, and from his pastures came five herds of cattle home” (*Aeneid* VII 538-539).

## 2. Gamma-specific proper names

The same proper names with which we could distinguish the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad* and Greek stories also apply to the *Aeneid*. While mentioning many proper names was generally a characteristic of the Mykenian Alpha-tradition, a collection of proper names got fixed in the Gamma-tradition. Jupiter does not swear by the holy River Styx, but instead: “I swear to you by the Simois and Xanthus” (*Aeneid* V 803). Important heroes are certainly not forgotten: “Not Achilles’ chariot, ours! Nor team of Diomed on Phrygia’s plain!” (*Aeneid* X 581) The names Sarpedon and Lykia also continue to do well in the tradition: “Then the brothers both of slain Sarpedon, and from Lycian steep Clarus and Themon” (*Aeneid* X 126). The same goes for the name Dardanians: “Our people starts with Jupiter. Jupiter is the father of the Dardanians” (*Aeneid* VII 220). The fixation of the proper names of the Gamma-tradition has caused the Romans to claim their pedigree to include Priamos.

## 3. The Olympic gods

The Romans have brought their gods into line with the Greek, Olympic gods. However, their names have often been changed. Olympus remains unchanged as a name and as a location where the most powerful gods are located. In the *Aeneid*, we find Mercury, sent by Jupiter: “From bright Olympus, I. He who commands all gods, and by his sovereign deity moves earth and heaven—he it was who bade me bear on winged winds his high decree” (*Aeneid* IV 268-269). A bit later it is Iris’ turn: “Great Juno then looked down in mercy on that lingering pain and labor to depart: From realms divine she sent the goddess of the rainbow wing, Iris” (*Aeneid* IV 692-693). Having Olympic ancestors is also something special: “Thou who art of birth Olympian! Fling away thy glorious sword” (*Aeneid* VI 834).

## 4. Achilles

Although Achilles is already dead when the *Aeneid* starts, he remains a hero who is mentioned often. As the main Greek hero: “With all these

*thoughts infuriate, her power pursued with tempests over the boundless main the Trojans, though by Grecian victor spared and fierce Achilles” (Aeneid I 29-31), and “a new Achilles now In Latium breathes,—he, too, of goddess born” (Aeneid VI 89-90). Nevertheless, also as father of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemos): “[I] endured the swollen pride of that young scion of Achilles’ race” (Aeneid III 326).*

## **5. Diomedes**

After the fall of Troy, Diomedes first emigrated to Aetolia and then to Daunia (Apulia) in Italy. According to the stories, Diomedes founded numerous cities in the part of Italy that would later become part of Magna Graecia (Great Greece).

Early in Chapter I of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas shouts in his misery: “*O bravest son Greece ever bore, Tydides [Diomedes, son of Tydeus]! O that I had fallen on Ilian fields, and given this life struck down by thy strong hand!*” (*Aeneid I 97*). Still in Chapter I, Dido asks Aeneas “*What were those steeds of Diomed, or what the stature seemed of great Achilles?*” (*Aeneid I 752*) In Chapter XI, we hear: “*From this time forth let all the Myrmidonian princes cower before the might of Troy; let Diomed and let Achilles tremble*” (*Aeneid XI 404*).

## **6. Aeneas**

It goes without saying that Aeneas appears frequently in the *Aeneid*. After the fall of Troy he travels to Italy, which will eventually lead to the foundation of Rome. His divine mother Venus complains to Jupiter as follows: “*What huge wrong could my Aeneas and his Trojans few achieve against thy power?*” (*Aeneid I 231*) On his journey, Aeneas looks at the foundation of Carthage: “*The vast exploit, where lately rose but Afric cabins rude, Aeneas wondered at*” (*Aeneid I 421*). A little later, he walks into the city “*veiled in the wonder-cloud*” (*Aeneid I 438*).

## **7. The fall of Troy**

Virgil often recalls the fall of Troy. The goddess Iris, in the guise of an elderly Trojan woman, complains to the Trojan mothers: “*Since Troy fell the seventh summer flies*” (*Aeneid V 626*), after which she also talks about the Simoeis river, the river Xanthos and Hektor (*Aeneid V 634*). The ghost of the dead Deiphobos talks about the moments before the Greeks jumped from the wooden horse: “*For how that last night in*

*false hope we passed, Thou knowest*” (*Aeneid* VI 513). And the goddess Venus pleads with Jupiter: “*I pray thee by yon smouldering wreck of Troy*” (*Aeneid* X 45-46).

## 8. Paris and Pandaros

The book on the European Beta-tradition (Blondé 2019) has already shown that Paris is probably a corruption of Pandaros. Both have many strong similarities. Both *Paris* and *Pandaros* are mentioned several times in the *Aeneid*. Aeneas is referred to as Dido’s Paris by the jealous King Jarbas: “*She has proclaimed Aeneas partner of her bed and throne. And now that Paris, with his eunuch crew, beneath his chin and fragrant, oozy hair ties the soft Lydian bonnet, boasting well his stolen prize.*” (*Aeneid* IV 215-217). During an archery competition, Pandaros is mentioned in a short digression by his brother Eurytion: “*O bowman most renowned, Pandarus, breaker of the truce, who hurled his shaft upon the Achaeans*” (*Aeneid* V 495-496). That Paris as an archer is also closely related to the arch god Apollo, is evident from the following prayer to Apollo: “*Phoebus, who ever for the woes of Troy hadst pitying eyes! Who gavest deadly aim to Paris when his Dardan shaft he hurled on great Achilles!*” (*Aeneid* VI 56-57)

## 9. Apollo and Poseidon

While Poseidon was given the name Neptune by the Romans, Apollo retained his Greek name. The latter is also known under the name Phoebus and is often referred to by Virgil in this way. Troy is called Neptune’s Troy by Virgil: “*when Ilium proud had fallen, and Neptune’s Troy in smouldering ash lay level with the ground*” (*Aeneid* III 3-4). This is explained by the story about the first fall of Troy, in which Apollo and Poseidon built the city walls of Troy together. King Euander tells Aeneas the following about the divine guidance he received: “*With prophecy severe Carmentis, my nymph-mother, thrust me on, warned by Apollo’s word*” (*Aeneid* VIII 335-336). That Apollo is both worshiped as one of the highest gods and as a local deity appears from the following verses: “*Chief of the gods, Apollo, who dost guard Soracte’s hallowed steep, whom we revere first of thy worshippers, for thee is fed the heap of burning pine. For thee, we pass through the mid-blaze in sacred zeal secure, and deep in glowing embers plant our feet*” (*Aeneid* XI 785-788).

#### 10. **The environment of Troy**

Even though the *Aeneid* was written by a Roman, for Romans, the places around Troy often keep appearing in the *Aeneid*: Mount Ida (*Aeneid* I 681), the rivers Simoeis (*Aeneid* I 100) and Xanthos (*Aeneid* I 473), the city of Lyrnessos (*Aeneid* XII 547), and the city of Troy itself, of course, which is also often called Pergamon (*Aeneid* I 651).

#### 11. **Herakles**

Herakles becomes even more famous with the Romans under the name Hercules. King Euander shows Aeneas the place near the future Rome where Hercules defeated the giant Cacus. Furthermore, we find in the *Aeneid* a comparison with “the great (magnum) Theseus” (*Aeneid* VI 123), a reference to two of the twelve works of Hercules (*Aeneid* VI 801), and a sanctuary of Hercules (*Aeneid* VIII 270).

#### 12. **The mixture with the European Beta-tradition**

A limited number of passages, such as the slavery of Apollo and Poseidon (*Iliad* XXI 435-469) and the digression about Niobe (*Iliad* XXIV 602-617), have already demonstrated in the *Iliad* that the Gamma-tradition is not inseparable from the European Beta-tradition. The *Aeneid*, conversely, uses the Gamma-tradition in the first six of the twelve chapters without mixing with the European Beta-tradition.

The last six chapters of the *Aeneid* are about the rough battle. This is probably an impoverished, yet traditional, imitation of the European Beta-tradition in the *Iliad*. The hidden thematic scenes, such as that of fame for the father, cannot be found in it. What we do find are gruesome injuries (B2): “*through his throat pierced deep into the breast; a gaping wound gushed blood; the hot shaft to his bosom clung*” (*Aeneid* IX 701), or “*scattering wide the broken skull, bones, brains, and gore*” (*Aeneid* X 416). There is also a wall with a moat around (B24): “*Forth through the moat they climb, and steal away through midnight shades, to where their foemen lie encamped in arms*” (*Aeneid* IX 314), and robbing the armor of a dead enemy (B12): “*Italia’s men despoiled the dead man ere his limbs were cold*” (*Aeneid* XII 297).

#### 13. **Local nature gods and nymphs**

Even more than in the *Iliad* we read in the *Aeneid* about local gods and nymphs of fields, forests, rivers, mountains and seas. We find the river god Criniseus (*Aeneid* V 38), native Fauns and Nymphs who inhabited



forests (*Aeneid* VIII 314), and the son of the river god Tuscus and the prophetess Manto (*Aeneid* X 199). A passage in which several local gods are worshiped is the following: “[Aeneas] calling loud upon the *Genius of that place, and Earth, eldest of names divine; the Nymphs he called, and river-gods unknown. His voice invoked the night, the omen-stars through night that roll. Jove, Ida’s child, and Phrygia’s fertile Queen: He called his mother from Olympian skies, and sire from Erebus*” (*Aeneid* VII 136-140). Strikingly, even Jupiter is made a local god here by associating him with the Ida. Phrygia’s fertile Queen—the Cybele—is as always connected to the Turkish region Phrygia.

#### 14. **Defensive walls**

According to Ovid, Diomedes was just busy building the walls of the city of Luceria, when Venelus, the messenger of Latinus, arrived to call on Diomedes’ help for the war. In the *Aeneid* we find the upbuilding of “yon walls and yonder citadel of newly rising Carthage” (*Aeneid* I 366), the harbor and walls against the enemy that are not finished any further (*Aeneid* IV 87), and the demarcation of a city wall with a modest ditch (*Aeneid* VII 157).

#### 15. **Eponyms**

Much more than in the *Iliad* we find place names in the *Aeneid* that are derived from personal names. To begin with, that would be the case for the place name Italy: “*Oenotrians had it, and their sons, ’t is said, have called it Italy, a chieftain’s name to a whole region given*” (*Aeneid* I 532-533). The first city that Aeneas founded would also have an eponym as its name: “*In memory of my name I called its people the Aeneadae*” (*Aeneid* III 17-18). However, it is not known for which city this is. A third example is a gate that got its name from a nymph: “*the Carmental gate, where Romans see memorial of Carmentis, nymph divine, the prophetess of fate, who first foretold what honors on Aeneas’ sons should fall and lordly Pallanteum, where they dwell.*” (*Aeneid* VIII 338-341)

#### 16. **Destructions of cities**

The fall of Troy is the destruction of a city par excellence and is often mentioned in the *Aeneid*. However, we find other examples. The castles that are being attacked are not, as in the Beta-tradition, in a plain with a ditch around them, as shown by this passage: “*Dares (like one in siege against a mountain-citadel, who now will drive with ram and engine at*

*the craggy wall, now wait in full-armed watch beneath its towers) tries manifold approach, most craftily invests each point of vantage, and renews his unsuccessful, ever various war*” (Aeneid V 439-442). Mention is also made of the attack of the Gauls on the “steep” Tarpeian citadel: *“outside besieging Gauls the thorny pathway climbed, ambushed in shadow and the friendly dark of night without a star*” (Aeneid VIII 657-658) Finally, Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, makes the following reference: *“[two cups,] which my father chose out of despoiled Arisbe*” (Aeneid IX 264).

### 17. Injuries

Just like in the *Iliad*, injuries are naturally mentioned in the battle scenes. Nonetheless, injuries also occur outside them, or a special emphasis is made. There is Eriphyle in the underworld who *“bears the vengeful wounds her own son’s dagger made”*<sup>74</sup> (Aeneid VI 446). Special emphasis is on the injury of a domestic deer hit by an arrow of Ascanius: *“Swift to its cover fled the wounded thing, and crept loud-moaning to its wonted stall, where, like a blood-stained suppliant, it seemed to fill that shepherd’s house with plaintive prayer”* (Aeneid VII 500-502). In a conversation with Jupiter, Venus refers to the triumphant raid of Diomedes in *Iliad* V, in which she was wounded by Diomedes: *“Once more from his Aetolian Arpi wrathful speeds a Diomed. I doubt not that, for me, wounds are preparing. Yea, thy daughter dear awaits a mortal sword!”* (Aeneid X 28-30). A classic example during a combat passage is this: *“So saying, he raised him on his crippled thigh, and though by reason of the grievous wound his forces ebbed, yet with unshaken mien he bade them lead his war-horse forth”* (Aeneid X 856-858).

### 18. Typical interactions between god and human

The interaction between people and gods in the *Aeneid* is similar to that in the Gamma-passages in the *Iliad*. The gods can envelop themselves in a cloud, come into direct contact with people, appear in the form of a person, or appear during a dream. Alternatively, the gods can send a messenger, such as Iris, Mercury, or a deceased relative, to a person. They can thereby assist a person in battle, bring him or her in or out of a storm, shroud him and carry him away in a cloud, or

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<sup>74</sup> Also Deiphobos showed his mutilated body to Aeneas in the underworld. This is again an interesting parallel with Jesus Christ in the New Testament, who showed his wounds to the apostles after his resurrection. See also p. 174.

show themselves in their divine form at farewell. For example, there is Iris sent by Juno to the Trojans, with the aim of having the Trojan women set fire to their own ships: “*Then in their midst alighted, not unskilled in working woe, the goddess; though she wore nor garb nor form divine, but made herself one Beroe, Doryclus’ aged wife*” (Aeneid V 618-620). When saying goodbye, Iris does show herself as a goddess: “*Then on wide wings soared Iris into heaven, and through the clouds clove a vast arch of light. With wonder dazed, the women in a shrieking frenzy rose*” (Aeneid V 657). Mercury appears to Aeneas as follows: “*But the god came; and in the self-same guise once more in monitory vision spoke, all guised as Mercury,—his voice, his hue, his golden locks, and young limbs strong and fair*” (Aeneid IV 556-559). During the battle Apollo comes with a message: “*From his far, ethereal seat he [Apollo] hied him down, and, cleaving the quick winds drew near Ascanius. He wore the guise of aged Butes*” (Aeneid IX 645-647). The goddess Juturna even helps her mortal brother Turnus by driving his horses and thus staying away from Aeneas: “*The warrior-maid Juturna, seeing this, distraught with terror, strikes down from his place Metiscus, Turnus’ charioteer, who dropped forward among the reins and off the pole. Him leaving on the field, her own hand grasped the loosely waving reins, while she took on Metiscus’ shape, his voice, and blazoned arms*” (Aeneid XII 468-471).

## 19. Rivers

Just as for the Gamma-passages in the *Iliad*, rivers are a striking oral characteristic in the *Aeneid*. This includes many related concepts: their holiness, their source, their banks, the sea into which the river flows, the river god associated with the river, nymphs, and fish. The sea in particular is often mentioned in Homeric similes.

When Aeneas sailed along the Tiber to the future Rome, the river god Tiberinus appeared to him. Later, his enemy Turnus managed to survive the battle by jumping into the Tiber. Turnus’ sister Juturna appears to be a source nymph who was persuaded by Juno to have the Latin break a peace treaty.

When Aeneas descends into the underworld, a passage of a dozen verses (Aeneid VI 705-715) concerns the River Lethe, where Aeneas and his father “*quaff care-quelling floods, and long oblivion.*” A reference to the oracle on which Aeneas decided to sail to Italy is the following:

*“Apollo pointed to the stream of Tiber and Numicius’ haunted spring” (Aeneid VII 241-243). In Chapter VIII 62-78, Aeneas prays as follows: “In both his hollowed palms he held the sacred waters of the stream, and called aloud: ‘O ye Laurentian nymphs, whence flowing rills be born, and chiefly thou, O Father Tiber, worshipped stream divine, accept Aeneas, and from peril save!’” (Aeneid VIII 69-73).*

## 20. **Bow and arrow**

The association between a bow and arrow on the one hand, and the god Apollo, Lykia, and Amazons on the other, is still found in Virgil. During a conversation between Aeneas and Euander, the latter talks about the gifts he once received from Aeneas’ father: *“He gave me gifts the day he bade adieu, a quiver rare filled with good Lycian arrows” (Aeneid VIII 166-167).* When the god Apollo, while visiting the warriors, abandons his human form, we read this: *“The Teucrians knew the vocal god with armament divine of arrows; for his rattling quiver smote their senses as he fled” (Aeneid IX 659-661).* In addition, the association with the Amazons does not remain unmentioned: *“Swift through the midmost slaughter proudly strides the quiver-girt Camilla, with one breast thrust naked to the fight, like Amazon” (Aeneid XI 648-649).*

## 21. **The name Xanthos**

Although the name Xanthos is used in the *Iliad* for a horse and a person in addition to a river, in the *Aeneid*, as in the *Iliad*, it usually refers to the river at Troy. The story of Rhesus’ horses that were stolen by Diomedes is recalled as follows in an image on a temple: *“Then [Diomedes] drove his [Rhesus’] fiery coursers over the plain before their thirst or hunger could be stayed on Trojan corn or Xanthus’ cooling stream” (Aeneid I 472-473).* By doing this, Troy was not prevented from ever falling. Aeneas says the following to Andromache and Helenos as a sign that they have found their new home: *“Here a new Xanthus and a second Troy your labor fashioned and your eyes may see” (Aeneid III 497-498).* To drive the Trojan women crazy and set the fleet on fire, the goddess Iris rages as follows: *“Will nevermore a wall rise in the name of Troy? Shall I not see a Xanthus or a Simois, the streams to Hector dear?” (Aeneid V 633-635).*

## 22. **Clusters of oral characteristics**

Not only the proper names, but also the clusters of oral characteristics are petrified in the Roman Gamma-tradition. An example is the follow-

ing Homeric simile with the Apollo–Xanthos–Lykia cluster: “*In such a guise, Apollo (when he leaves cold Lycian hills and Xanthus’ frosty stream to visit Delos to Latona dear) ordains the song*” (Aeneid IV 143-144). Although Diomedes and Achilles hardly ever perform together in the *Iliad*, they are often mentioned together in the *Aeneid*, because they are both important Gamma-heroes. Here, they appear together, in combination with special horses and the goddess (Aurora) as mother: “*Now many a tale of Priam would she [Dido] crave, of Hector many; or what radiant arms Aurora’s son did wear; what were those steeds of Diomed, or what the stature seemed of great Achilles*” (Aeneid I 750-752). In Chapter X we find this cluster too: “*Not Achilles’ chariot, ours! Nor team of Diomed on Phrygia’s plain!*” (Aeneid X 581-582)

### 23. Precious, special horses

The *Aeneid* also contains precious, special horses, especially in the last six chapters in which war is being waged. When King Latinus decides to lend his support to Aeneas, he appears to be very rich: “*Thus having said, the sire took chosen steeds from his full herd, whereof, well-groomed and fair, three hundred stood within his ample pale. Of these to every Teucrian guest he gave a courser swift and strong, in purple clad and brodered housings gay; on every breast hung chains of gold; in golden robes arrayed, they champed the red gold curb their teeth between*” (Aeneid VII 274-279). Later, we read this: “*for Aeneas one of rarest breed, over whom a tawny robe descended low, of lion-skin, with claws of gleaming gold*” (Aeneid VIII 552-553). Finally, a reference is also made to the special horses of Achilles, which were desired by Dolon: “*That prince [Dolon], who reconnoitring crept so near the Argive camp, he dared to claim for spoil the chariot of Achilles; but that day great Diomed for such audacious deed paid wages otherwise,—and he no more dreamed to possess the steeds of Peleus’ son*” (Aeneid XII 349-353).

### 24. The Lykians

That Lykia, apart from in the *Iliad*, also often pops up in the *Aeneid*, seems difficult to explain for those who do not want to endorse the hypothesis of a continuous oral tradition, the Gamma-tradition. The role of the Lykians in the *Iliad* is too modest and Lykia is too far from Troy to allow the Lykians to play a meaningful role in the origin stories of the Romans. Moreover, Lykia remains linked to several other oral

characteristics of the Gamma-tradition: Apollo, the bow and arrow, and the River Xanthos. We find that link clearly in a Homeric simile: “*In such a guise Apollo (when he leaves cold Lycian hills and Xanthus’ frosty stream to visit Delos to Latona dear) ordains the song*” (Aeneid IV 143-145). About Chlorus, a priest who rides a foaming horse, we read this: “*He [Chlorus], in purples of fine foreign stain, bore light Gortynian shafts and Lycian bow; his bow was gold; a golden casque he wore*” (Aeneid XI 772-773). However, even without these typical oral characteristics we find Lykians: “*Then the brothers both of slain Sarpedon, and from Lycian steep Clarus and Themon*” (Aeneid X 125-127).

## 25. The fate and wishes of the gods

Far more than in the *Iliad*, the gods are all-powerful in the *Aeneid*. In addition, Jupiter is far more powerful than the other gods—except for the Fate Fortuna, whose doings even Jupiter cannot change. To make the gods favorable, people must behave piously through sacrifices and prayers. When Jarbas implores a prayer to the almighty ruler Jupiter with his arms raised to heaven, we read: “*As thus he prayed and to the altars clung, th’ Omnipotent gave ear, and turned his gaze upon the royal dwelling*” (Aeneid IV 219-221). For those who go against fate, failure threatens: “*These, gathering, sued loud for war. Yea, all defied the signs and venerable omens; all withstood divine decrees, and clamored for revenge, prompted by evil powers*” (Aeneid VII 583-584). The wish of Jupiter and Fortuna can also be used casually to shape the course of the plot: “*Here Pallas stands, and pushes back the foe; before him looms Lausus, his youthful peer, conspicuous both in beauty. But no star will them restore to home and native land. Yet would the King of high Olympus suffer not the pair to close in battle, but each hero found a later doom at hands of mightier foes*” (Aeneid X 433-438).

## 26. Duels and quarrels that often end peacefully

Upon the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, Diomedes, who was there earlier, is called to fight the new invader. Diomedes refuses, however, and says that he will never fight the Trojans again: “*Urge me not, I pray, to conflicts in this wise. No more for me of war with Trojans after Ilium’s fall! I take no joy in evils past, nor wish such memory to renew*” (Aeneid XI 278-281). For Virgil, making peace is accompanied by pious rituals: “*Next, the end of strife between the rival kings, who stood in arms*

*before Jove's sacred altar, cup in hand, and swore a compact over the slaughtered swine" (Aeneid VIII 639-642). There are even about a hundred negotiators: "Let us for envoys choose a hundred of the Latins noblest born to tell our message and arrange the peace, bearing mild olive-boughs and weighty gifts of ivory and gold, with chair of state and purple robe, our emblems as a king" (Aeneid XI 330-334).*

## 27. **The wrath of Poseidon**

Neptune, the Roman version of Poseidon, does not seem to play a special role in the story of the foundation of Rome by the Trojans. Juno, however, the counterpart of Hera, is the goddess who, just like in the *Iliad*, tries to counteract the Trojans in every possible way. Yet Neptune still has the role of a resentful god. At his first performance, he scolds the wind gods because they caused a storm without his knowledge: *"What pride of birth or power is yours, ye winds, that, reckless of my will, audacious thus, ye ride through earth and heaven, and stir these mountain waves?" (Aeneid I 132-134)* According to Venus, Neptune also had a share in the fall of Troy: *"'T is Neptune strikes the wall; his trident vast makes her foundation tremble, and unseats the city from her throne" (Aeneid II 610-611).* The idea that Troy ended because of an earthquake fits well with the hypothesis that the existing Greek stories were applied to Troy around the time that it had long been an uninhabited ruin. The wrath of Neptune is also evidenced by the fact that he is demanding a human life in exchange for stopping a storm at the request of Venus: *"One only sinks beneath th' engulfing seas, – one life in lieu of many" (Aeneid V 814-815).* The steersman Palinurus falls into the sea while the rest of the crew is asleep.

## 28. **Taking care of the dead and wounded**

Sufficient attention is paid in the *Aeneid* to the care of both the dead and the wounded. Anna, the sister of Queen Dido, takes care of the dying Dido and asks: *"Go, fetch me water, there! That I may bathe those gashes! If there be one hovering breath that stays, let my fond lips discover and receive!" (Aeneid IV 682-684)* Euryales' mother talks about her dead son as follows: *"Nor did thy mother lead the mourners to thy grave, nor shut those eyes, nor wash the dreadful wounds, nor cover thee with the fair shroud, which many a night and day I swiftly wove, and at my web and loom forgot my years and sorrows. Whither now to seek and follow thee? What spot of earth holds the torn body*

*and the mangled limbs?” (Aeneid IX 486-491)* The association with a river in which the wounds are washed is also an oral characteristic itself: namely immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31): *“Meanwhile Mezentius by the Tiber’s wave with water staunches his wound” (Aeneid X 833-834).*

## 29. The war between two camps

Before Aeneas can found Rome and marry Lavinia, he must first fight the Rutulians with the help of the Etrurians. Nonetheless, other nations are also warlike. Queen Dido is reminded of this by her sister Anna: *“Hast thou no care what alien lands are these where thou dost reign? Here are Gaetulia’s cities and her tribes unconquered ever; on thy borders rove Numidia’s uncurbed cavalry. Here, too, lies Syrtis’ cruel shore, and regions wide of thirsty desert, menaced everywhere by the wild hordes of Barca. Shall I tell of Tyre’s hostilities, the threats and rage of our own brother?” (Aeneid IV 39-44).* While saying goodbye to his father Anchises in the underworld, the latter makes predictions about Aeneas’ future: *“Hunger for future fame. Of wars he tells, soon imminent; of fair Laurentum’s tribes; of King Latinus’ town” (Aeneid VI 890-892).* The wars against the Lapiths and the Kalydonians are recalled by Juno: *“Mars once had power the monstrous Lapithae to slay, and Jove to Dian’s honor and revenge gave over the land of Calydon. What crime so foul was wrought by Lapithae or Calydon?” (Aeneid VII 304-308)*

## 30. The god who envelops a person in a cloud

The term ‘cloud’ occurs regularly in the *Aeneid*, linked to many contexts, while cloud in the *Iliadic* Gamma-tradition is more confined to the method of the gods to shroud a hero in a cloud. We also easily find three examples of the latter phenomenon. To begin with, Neptunus makes a reference to the *Iliad*: *“Aeneas, spent, and with no help of Heaven, met Peleus’ dreadful son:—who else but I in cloudy mantle bore him safe afar?” (Aeneid V 808-810)* In Chapter X, Juno speaks out fiercely against Venus: *“Thy power one day ravished Aeneas from his Argive foes and gave them shape of cloud and fleeting air to strike at for a man. Thou hast transformed his ships to daughters of the sea. What wrong if I, not less, have lent the Rutuli something of strength in war?” (Aeneid X 81-84).* In Chapter XII, Turnus speaks of Aeneas as follows: *“For my foeman when we meet will find no goddess-mother*



*near, with hand to hide him in her woman's skirt of cloud, herself in dim, deluding shade concealed" (Aeneid XII 52-53).*

**31. Immersing a body in a river or in the sea**

Tiberinus, a king of Rome, drowned in the Albula River, renamed the Tiber since that day. According to another variant, Tiberinus died in battle and his corpse was washed downriver. In his narration about the fall of Troy, Aeneas said to his father: *"But in thy hands bring, sire, our household gods, and sanctifies: For me to touch, who come this very hour from battle and the fresh blood of the slain, were but abomination, 'till what time in living waters I shall make me clean"* (Aeneid II 717-720). When Aeneas and his Trojan followers encounter a poorly dressed Greek on a beach, the latter begs as follows: *"I came, I know it, in the ships of Greece; and I did war, 't is true, with Ilium's gods. O, if the crime deserve it, fling my corpse on yonder waves, and in the boundless brine sink me forever! Give me in my death the comfort that by human hands I die"* (Aeneid III 603-606). In her anger at Aeneas sailing away, Dido calls out: *"Why dared I not seize on him, rend his body limb from limb, and hurl him piecemeal on the rolling sea?"* (Aeneid IV 599-600).

**32. Three times the same action**

While this oral characteristic of the threefold action is precisely linked to the Gamma-passages in the *Iliad*, it can occur anywhere in the *Aeneid*. For example, when meeting the ghost of a dead man, Achilles extends his arms to Patroklos just once (*Iliad* XXIII 99), while Aeneas tries to embrace Anchises three times in the *Aeneid*: *"Thrice would his arms in vain that shape enfold. Thrice from the touch of hand the vision fled, like wafted winds or likest hovering dreams"* (Aeneid VI 700-702). During his battle with the monster Cacus, it is Hercules who performs an action three times: *"Three times his ire surveyed the slope of Aventine; three times he stormed the rock-built gate in vain; and thrice withdrew to rest him in the vale"* (Aeneid VIII 230-233). It is also possible at a funeral ceremony: *"Three times the warriors, sheathed in proud, resplendent steel, paced round the kindling pyres; and three times fair companies of horsemen circled slow, with loud lamenting, round the doleful flame"* (Aeneid XI 188-190).

**33. Predicting death or downfall**

Unlike the Greek stories about the Trojan War, the Roman Gamma-

tradition does have a glorious final destination: the foundation of a city for the Trojans and the foundation of Rome by Aeneas' descendants. That is why we often find the opposite of this oral characteristic in the *Aeneid*: predicting a glorious future. Yet we also find the prediction of death or demise. When Aeneas leaves Dido, the latter pronounces the following calamity on him: "*May his own eyes see miserably slain his kin and kind, and sue for alien arms. Nor when he basely bows him to receive terms of unequal peace, shall he be blest with sceptre or with life; but perish there before his time, and lie without a grave upon the barren sand*" (Aeneid IV 616-619). At the meeting between Aeneas and his father Anchises in the underworld, Anchises predicts the fights awaiting Aeneas: "*Anchises guides his son from point to point, and quickens in his mind hunger for future fame. Of wars he tells soon imminent*" (Aeneid VI 888-890). In Chapter XII, just before the real endgame, Jupiter sends one of the Furies to chase away Juturna from the battlefield. Juturna moans: "*The tumult of thy wings I know full well, and thy death-boding call. The harsh decrees of that large-minded Jove I plainly see.*" (Aeneid XII 876-878).

#### 34. **Medicine, magic, and mysteries**

In the *Aeneid* we find only one mention of ordinary medicine, but several about sorcery and magic with herbs. That magic is also connected with mystery can perhaps be deduced from the following: "*But, sister mine, thou knowest, and the gods their witness give, how little mind have I to don the garb of sorcery. Depart in secret, thou, and bid them build a lofty funeral pyre inside our palace-wall*" (Aeneid IV 492-494). The sorceress Circe is also mentioned more than once: "*Great bristly boars and herded bears, in pinfold closely kept, rage horribly, and monster-wolves make moan; whom the dread goddess with foul juices strong from forms of men drove forth, and bade to wear the mouths and maws of beasts in Circe's thrall*" (Aeneid VII 17-20). A certain Iapyx was allowed to acquire Apollo's arts, since Apollo was in love with him: "*The gifts of augury were given, and song, with arrows of swift wing: He [Iapyx] when his sire was carried forth to die, deferred the doom for many a day, by herbs of virtue known to leechcraft, and without reward or praise his silent art he plied*" (Aeneid XII 395-398). Venus brings this Iapyx the dictamnus herb that she had picked on the Ida in Krete. When Iapyx then takes care of Aeneas' leg with this herb,

all the pain disappears immediately. Altogether 30 verses (*Aeneid* XII 395-424) are devoted to medicine.

### 35. **The supreme command of Zeus**

In the *Aeneid* Jupiter is positioned much higher than all the other gods, compared to Zeus in the *Iliad*. No games are played with Jupiter. Juno is already anticipating Zeus' anger when she says to the Fury Alecto: "*But yon Olympian Sire and King no more permits thee freely in our skies to roam. Go, quit the field!*" (*Aeneid* VII 557-559). In the following passage, Jupiter's omnipotence is re-emphasized: "*Then Jupiter omnipotent, whose hands have governance supreme, began reply. Deep silence at his word Olympus knew, Earth's utmost cavern shook, the realms of light were silent, the mild zephyrs breathed no more, and perfect calm overspread the leveled sea*" (*Aeneid* X 100-103). When Juno responds to a prohibition of Zeus to support Turnus even longer, she does so with a submission that we cannot find for Hera in the *Iliad*: "*Because, great Jove, I knew thy pleasure, I from yonder earth retired and Turnus' cause, tho, with unwilling mind*" (*Aeneid* XII 808-810).

### 36. **Sea gods and sea monsters**

The oral characteristic of sea gods and sea monsters is much more prominent in the *Aeneid* than in the Gamma-passages of the *Iliad*. For example: "*There is a sacred island in mid-seas, to fruitful Doris [wife of sea god Nereus and mother of fifty sea nymphs] and to Neptune dear*" (*Aeneid* III 73-74). The following verses follow a prayer by Cloanthus during a rowing competition: "*From the caverns under sea Phorcus and virgin Panopea heard, and all the sea-nymphs' choir; while with strong hand the kindly God of Havens rose and thrust the gliding ship along*" (*Aeneid* V 239-242). Cybele, the mother goddess of Mount Ida, complains to her son Jupiter that the ships built with the wood of the Ida are in danger of being destroyed. To this, Jupiter replies: "*Whatever ships shall find a safe Ausonian haven, and convey safe through the seas to yon Laurentian plain the Dardan King, from such I will remove their perishable shapes, and bid them be sea-nymphs divine, like Nereus' daughters fair, Doto and Galatea, whose white breasts divide the foaming wave*" (*Aeneid* IX 98-103).

### 37. **Centaurs and Amazons**

Both Centaurs and Amazons can be found in the *Aeneid*. In a sailing competition, one of the ships is called the *Centaur*: "*He of whom the*

*Sergian house shall after spring, rides in his mighty Centaur” (Aeneid V 121). In a list of the armed forces two warriors are compared with “two centaurs, children of the cloud” (Aeneid VII 674). There is also a prominent Amazon present: “Swift through the midmost slaughter proudly strides the quiver-girt Camilla, with one breast thrust naked to the fight, like Amazon” (Aeneid XI 648-649 ).*

### 38. **Nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers**

A striking number of characters in the *Aeneid* have a nymph or a goddess as mother and, sometimes, a god as father. To begin with, the main character, Aeneas, is a son of Venus. We also read that Latinus, whose name is derived from the Latin language, is a son of gods: “*He was the son of Faunus, so the legend tells, who wed the nymph Marica of Laurentian stem. Picus was Faunus’ father, whence the line to Saturn’s loins ascends*” (Aeneid VII 47-49). King Euander tells Aeneas: “*With prophecy severe Carmentis, my nymph-mother, thrust me on, warned by Apollo’s word*” (Aeneid VIII 335-336). As a final example, there is “*Messapus, the steed-tamer, Neptune’s son*” (Aeneid IX 523).

### 39. **Precious, divine weapons**

In the *Iliad*, Achilles received armor forged by the fire god Hephaistos via his divine mother, Thetis. In the *Aeneid* it is Venus, the divine mother of Aeneas, who convinced the same fire god, Vulcan, Venus’ husband, to forge armor for Aeneas (Aeneid VIII 369-453). In addition, Venus refers to the goddesses Thetis and Aurora (Eos), who already had Vulcan forge the armor for their sons Achilles and Memnon: “*Thou wert not unrelenting to the tears of Nereus’ daughter [Thetis] or Tithonus’ bride [Aurora].*” (Aeneid VIII 383-384). The main characters receive armor that is slightly more expensive, anyway: “*Fierce Turnus girds him, emulous to slay: a crimson coat of mail he wears, with scales of burnished bronze. Beneath his knees are bound the golden greaves. Upon his naked brow, no helm he wears, but to his thigh is bound a glittering sword. Down from the citadel runs he, a golden glory*” (Aeneid XI 486-490). King Latinus also has armor with a divine characteristic: “*Latinus first, looming tall-statured from his four-horse car; twelve rays of gold encircle his bright brow, sign of the sun-god, his progenitor*” (Aeneid XII 162-164).

### 40. **Corpses that are often mutilated**

In the underworld, Aeneas sees Deiphobos, an old acquaintance who

was mutilated by the Greeks at the fall of Troy because he had remarried Helen: “*Here Priam’s son, with body rent and torn, Deïphobus is seen,—his mangled face, his face and bloody hands, his wounded head of ears and nostrils infamously shorn*” (Aeneid VI 494-497). We also read about “*the bodies of the slain: young Almo’s corpse and gray Galaesus’ bleeding head*” (Aeneid VII 575). The corpse of the monster Cacus is already hideous without being mutilated: “[Hercules] dragged forth by the feet the shapeless corpse of the foul monster slain. The people gazed insatiate on the gruesome eyes, the breast of bristling shag, the face both beast and man, and that fire-blasted throat whence breathed no more the extinguished flame” (Aeneid VIII 264-267).

#### 41. The strife between Hera and Zeus

When it comes to the relationship with Jupiter (Zeus), Hera is much more powerful than her Roman counterpart, Juno. Juno is afraid of her husband and brother Jupiter, and does not dare to openly stand in his way. Yet Venus complains to Neptune about the resentment of Juno toward Aeneas and the Trojans: “*Stern Juno’s wrath and breast implacable compel me, Neptune, to abase my pride in lowly supplication. Lapse of days, nor prayers, nor virtues her hard heart subdue, nor Jove’s command; nor will she rest or yield at Fate’s decree*” (Aeneid V 783-784). The following passage, however, shows that Juno does comply with Jupiter’s orders: “*But now the whole throng from the camp he sees massed to the onset. Nor will Juno now dare give him vigor to withstand, for Jove had sent aerial Iris out of heaven with stern commandment to his sister-queen*” (Aeneid IX 801-804). In Chapter X, Jupiter teases Juno because Venus can go her way undisturbed on the battlefield. “*Juno made meek reply: ‘O noblest spouse! Why vex one sick at heart, who humbly fears thy stern command? If I could claim today what once I had, my proper right and due, love’s induence, I should not plead in vain to thee, omnipotent, to give me power to lead off Turnus from the fight unscathed*” (Aeneid X 611-615).

#### 42. Lineages to an ancestor

Because of adopting the Gamma-tradition, the Romans’ pedigrees rise to King Priamos, with his fifty sons. However, other Trojans also have that honor. During a sailing competition, it is mentioned that the Memmi, the Sergii, and the Cluentii are three Roman families whose pedigrees rise to Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus (Aeneid V 117-

123), respectively. A family tree can also rise to a god: “*He [Latinus] was the son of Faunus, so the legend tells, who wed the nymph Marica of Laurentian stem. Picus was Faunus’ father, whence the line to Saturn’s loins ascends. O heavenly sire, from thee the stem began!*” (Aeneid VII 47-49) During the fight, in accordance with the European Beta-tradition, the warriors brag with a noble family: “*Behold Murranus, boasting his high birth from far-descended sires of storied name, the line of Latium’s kings!*” (Aeneid XII 529-530).

**43. Insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly**

Just like in the *Iliad* and the Trojan Cycle, the gods in the *Aeneid* can be quite cruel: “*Not Helen’s hated beauty works thee woe; nor Paris, oft-accused. The cruelty of gods, of gods unaided, overwhelms thy country’s power, and from its lofty height casts Ilium down*” (Aeneid II 601-603). Juno complains how other gods can exert their hatred on peoples, while she is not allowed to: “*Mars once had power the monstrous Lapithae to slay, and Jove to Dian’s honor and revenge gave over the land of Calydon. What crime so foul was wrought by Lapithae or Calydon?*” (Aeneid VII 304-308). Moreover, King Euander speaks of Mezentius, whom he hated, as follows: “*May Heaven requite them on his impious head and on his children!*” (Aeneid VIII 484-485)

**44. Seafaring, storms at sea, and islands**

In the beginning of the *Aeneid*, with the help of the wind gods, Juno lets Aeneas and his Trojan followers end up in a heavy storm to prevent him from reaching Italy: “*Low-hanging clouds conceal from Trojan eyes all sight of heaven and day. Night over the ocean broods. From sky to sky the thunders roll, the ceaseless lightnings glare, and all things mean swift death for mortal man*” (Aeneid I 88-91). Before that, Juno made a reference to the Trojan Cycle, in which Athene was angry because Aias had dragged Cassandra from the temple of Athene to rape her: “*She [Athene], from the clouds, herself Jove’s lightning threw, scattered the ships, and ploughed the sea with storms. Her foe, from his pierced breast out-breathing fire, in whirlwind on a deadly rock she flung*” (Aeneid I 42-45). In the stories about his wanderings, Aeneas also describes how he arrived at the Strophades islands: “*From such sea-peril safe, I made the shores of Strophades—a name the Grecians gave to islands in the broad Ionic main—the Strophades, where dread Celaeno bides with other Harpies.*” (Aeneid III 209-212).

#### 45. Mount Ida

The Romans worshiped the Phrygian goddess Cybele (the *Magna Mater*) as the mother of the Olympic gods. She was addressed as the “*mother of gods, O Ida’s Queen benign*” (*Aeneid* X 252). The Ida was, therefore, possibly holier for the Romans than for the Greeks. However, the Ida seems to be linked to religious mysteries that had their origins at Mount Ida in Krete, as evidenced by the following passage: “*Mother of Gods, what time in Ida’s grove the brazen Corybantic cymbals clang or sacred silence guards her mystery and lions yoked her royal chariot draw*” (*Aeneid* III 111-113). The Greeks, or at least the initiates, could, therefore, know more than Virgil. Chapter IX deals with the fleet that Aeneas had built with the wood from the trees on the Ida: “*When Aeneas first on Phrygian Ida hewed the sacred wood for rib and spar, and soon would put to sea*” (*Aeneid* IX 80-81). Finally, the Ida is often called the place of origin of the Trojans: “*If Troy [literally: Ida] two more such sons had bred, the Dardan horde had stormed at Argos’ gates, and Greece to-day were for her fallen fortunes grieving sore*” (*Aeneid* XI 285-287).

#### 46. Mighty mothers, women, and goddesses

The male heroes in the *Aeneid* have divine mothers, fight against Amazons, have a woman at home who also dares to take matters into her own hands, and pray to the mother goddess Cybele. Venus, the divine mother of Aeneas, helps her son in both small and large deeds: “*A clear sunbeam smote his god-like head and shoulders. Venus’ son of his own heavenly mother now received youth’s glowing rose*” (*Aeneid* I 588-590). That a noble ancestry also counts on one’s mother’s side is evident from the following description of Drances: “*slack of hand in war at council board accounted no weak voice, in quarrels stronger still; of lofty birth in the maternal line, but by his sire’s uncertain and obscure*” (*Aeneid* XI 339-341). When men are on the battlefield, women can also take the necessary action: “*Striplings and women, in a motley ring, defend the ramparts; the decisive hour lays tasks on all. Upon the citadel a train of matrons, with the doleful Queen, toward Pallas’ temple moves, and in their hand are gifts and offerings. See, at their side the maid Lavinia, cause of all these tears*” (*Aeneid* XI 475-480).

#### 47. Phantoms, dreams, and false appearances

Just like in the Gamma-passages of the *Iliad*, we regularly find phan-

toms, dreams, or sham figures in the *Aeneid*. On the battlefield, it is a matter of phantoms created by the hands of a god. Beyond that, it can also be ghosts or dreams with which the living can come into contact with the dead. We read this about the murdered husband of Dido: “*But as she slept, her husband’s tombless ghost before her came, with face all wondrous pale*” (*Aeneid* I 353-355). In the night of the fall of Troy, the following happens to Aeneas: “*While on this quest I roamed the city through, of reason reft there rose upon my sight— O shape of sorrow!— my Creusa’s ghost, hers truly, though a loftier port it wore*” (*Aeneid* II 771-773). The connection between ghosts, dreams, and false appearances is made clear in the following passage: “*Windy words she gave of soulless sound, and motion like a stride—such shapes, they say, the hovering phantoms of the dead put on, or empty dreams which cheat our slumbering eyes*” (*Aeneid* X 639-642).

#### 48. **Fatal marriages and romances**

A notorious romance with a fatal ending is that between Aeneas and Dido, the queen of Carthage. When Aeneas decides to leave, Dido commits suicide. Even more misery comes from the relationship between Aeneas and Lavinia, the daughter of King Latinus who was engaged to Turnus. When Latinus promises her hand to Aeneas based on an oracle, Turnus starts a war.

An oracle gave father Latinus the following advice: “*Seek not in wedlock with a Latin lord to join thy daughter, O my son and seed! Beware this purposed marriage! There shall come sons from afar*” (*Aeneid* VII 96-98). That the marriages are connected with calamity is evident from the following words of Juno: “*I can smite the subjects of both kings. Let sire and son buy with their people’s blood this marriage-bond! Let Teucrian and Rutulian slaughter be thy virgin dower, and Bellona’s blaze light thee the bridal bed! Not only teemed the womb of Hecuba with burning brand, and brought forth nuptial fires, but Venus, too*” (*Aeneid* VII 316-320). Miserable marriages may also be mentioned casually: “*Anchemolus of Rhoetus’ ancient line, who dared defile his step-dame’s bridal bed*” (*Aeneid* X 389-390).

#### 49. **Priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods**

Much more than the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid* shows great piety, which can probably be explained by the greater piety of the Romans at the time of Virgil. When Aeneas enters into a conversation with his divine mother



Venus, he realizes that he is talking to a goddess, upon which he quickly makes the following promise: *“This right hand shall many a victim on thine altar slay!”* (Aeneid I 334) The following display of piety makes the Iliad blush: *“Him the god Ammon got by forced embrace upon a Libyan nymph; his kingdoms wide possessed a hundred ample shrines to Jove, a hundred altars whence ascended ever the fires of sacrifice, perpetual seats for a great god’s abode, where flowing blood enriched the ground, and on the portals hung garlands of every flower. The angered King, half-maddened by malignant Rumor’s voice, unto his favored altars came, and there, surrounded by the effluence divine, upraised in prayer to Jove his suppliant hands”* (Aeneid IV 198-205). Euander says the following at the feast of Hercules in honor of the victory over the monster Cacus: *“This votive holiday, yon tables spread and altar so divine, are not some superstition dark and vain, that knows not the old gods, O Trojan King! But as men saved from danger and great fear this thankful sacrifice we pay”* (Aeneid VIII 185-189).

#### 50. **Huge, composite, evil monsters**

Besides the Centaurs and the Amazons, we also find much more bizarre life forms in the Aeneid. During Aeneas’ visit to the underworld, many are described at the same time: *“Then come strange prodigies of bestial kind: Centaurs are stabled there, and double shapes like Scylla, or the dragon Lerna bred, with hideous scream; Briareus clutching far his hundred hands, Chimaera girt with flame, a crowd of Gorgons, Harpies of foul wing, and giant Geryon’s triple-monstered shade”* (Aeneid VI 285-289). When entering the underworld, this three-headed giant dog must be passed: *“Here Cerberus, with triple-throated roar, made all the region ring, as there he lay at vast length in his cave. The Sibyl then, seeing the serpents writhe around his neck, threw down a loaf with honeyed herbs imbued and drowsy essences: He, ravenous, gaped wide his three fierce mouths and snatched the bait, crouched with his large backs loose upon the ground, and filled his cavern floor from end to end”* (Aeneid VI 417-423). An important story in Roman mythology is the victory of Hercules over Cacus: *“A cavern once it was, which ran deep down into the darkness. There, th’ half-human shape of Cacus made its hideous den”* (Aeneid VIII 193-194).

#### 51. **Twins**

Apart from being raised by an animal (see oral characteristic G65), Ro-

mulus and Remus also embody the oral characteristic of semi-divine twins. Some monsters also show up in pairs: “*Two plagues there be, called Furies, which were spawned at one birth from the womb of wrathful Night with dread Megaera, phantom out of hell; and of their mother’s gift. Each Fury wears grim-coiling serpents and tempestuous wings*” (Aeneid XII 845-849). The twins of Latona (Leto) refer to Apollo and Artemis: “*By earth and sea and stars in heaven, I swear, by fair Latona’s radiant children twain, and two-browed Janus, by the shadowy powers of Hades and th’ inexorable shrines of the Infernal King*” (Aeneid XII 197-199). Finally, there are very common twins who participate in the battle: “*Then came twin brethren, leaving Tibur’s keep (named from Tiburtus, brother of them twain) Catillus and impetuous Coras*” (Aeneid VII 670-672).

This oral characteristic clusters outside the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* with the shameful, divine conception, being abandoned as a baby, fratricide, and being raised by an animal. This may indicate that the twins belong to a story type that was more widely known than the Gamma-tradition. The story of Cain and Abel, for example, is not part of the Gamma-tradition.

## 52. Parallels with Eastern oral traditions

The most prominent oral characteristic from the East is composite monsters, especially when snakes are incorporated in their bodies. In addition, there are twins and the child raised by an animal. As shown in the book on the Mykenian Alpha-tradition (Blondé 2018), the Garden of the Hesperides is a parallel with the Garden of Eden in the Bible. The *Aeneid* contains the following reference to it: “*From thence is come a witch, a priestess, a Numidian crone, who guards the shrine of the Hesperides and feeds the dragon; she protects the fruit of that enchanting tree*” (Aeneid IV 483-485). Twins were fed by a slave girl, who was given as a prize in a competition: “*A fair slave was the prize, the Cretan Pholoe, well taught to weave, and twin boy-babes upon her breast she bore*” (Aeneid V 284-285). The Fury Alecto makes Queen Amata mad: “*From her Stygian hair, the fiend a single serpent flung, which stole its way to the Queen’s very heart that, frenzy-driven, she might on her whole house confusion pour*” (Aeneid VII 346-348).

## 53. Contests and solemn games

That the games had higher religious content in the Roman Gamma-

tradition can be seen from the following story told by Aeneas: “We offered thanks to Jove, and kindled high his altars with our feast and sacrifice; then, gathering on Actium’s holy shore, made fair solemnities of pomp and game” (*Aeneid* III 279-280). Nevertheless, this oral characteristic of the Gamma-tradition has also had a reciprocal influence on Roman culture: “Still we know them [the games] for the ‘Trojan Band,’ and call the lads a ‘Troy.’ Such was the end of game and contest at Anchises’ grave” (*Aeneid* V 601-603). The following passage also shows this, which describes the scenes on the shield for Aeneas: “Near these were pictured well the walls of Rome and ravished Sabine wives in the thronged theatre violently seized, when the great games were done” (*Aeneid* VIII 635-637).

#### 54. Snakes

The oral characteristic of snakes has steadily gained importance during the evolution of the Gamma-tradition, so we see it appear regularly in the *Aeneid*. To start with, there are references to other stories in which snakes occur: the snakes that killed the priest Laokoön and his two sons (*Aeneid* II 203) and the snakes sent by Hera that were strangled by Herakles in his baby days (*Aeneid* VIII 288). They also occur in the Homeric similes: “He glittered like some swollen viper, fed on poison-leaves, whom chilling winter shelters underground, till, fresh and strong, he sheds his annual scales and, crawling forth rejuvenate, uncoils his slimy length” (*Aeneid* II 471-474). However, quite a few mentions occur in the story of the *Aeneid* itself: “He scarce had said, when from the central shrine a gliding snake, coiled seven-fold in seven spirals wide, twined ’round the tomb and trailed innocuous over the very altars. His smooth back was flecked with green and azure” (*Aeneid* V 84-87). The following verses are about the goddess Alecto: “Her father Pluto loathes the creature he engendered, and with hate her hell-born sister-fiends the monster view. A host of shapes she wears, and many a front of frowning black brows viper-garlanded” (*Aeneid* VII 327-329).

These were the oral characteristics of which we find at least three examples in the *Iliad*. In the *Aeneid*, which stands much further in the evolution of the Gamma-tradition, we also find at least three examples for the following oral characteristics.

## 55. The founding of cities and colonizations

Several well-known stories from Roman mythology are about the foundation of the city that is even more famous than Troy: Rome. According to Roman historians, a dozen cities in Italy were said to have been founded by Diomedes: Aequeum Tuticum (Ariano Irpino), Argyrippa, Beneventum (Benevento), Brundisium (Brindisi), Canusium (Canosa), Drione (San Severo), Garganum, Histonium (Vasto), Salapia, Sipus, Spina (near Santa Maria di Siponto), Venafrum (Venafro), and Venusia (Venosa). The Diomedic Islands (Isole Tremiti) also remind us of Diomedes. When a messenger from Latinus arrived at Diomedes to call for his help, he was—at least according to Virgil—just laying the foundations of the city of Argyrippa (*Aeneid* XI 246). Virgil also pays attention to the construction of Carthage, the city of Dido. What is most often mentioned in the construction of a city is the construction of its city walls. Apart from founding cities, the concept of “city” is itself an important oral characteristic of the Gamma-tradition in the *Aeneid*, since not all mentions of cities are given a reference to their foundation.

When Dido is about to commit suicide, she recalls the following: “*The founder I of yonder noble city, I have seen walls at my bidding rise*” (*Aeneid* IV 654). A part of the *Aeneids*, Aeneas’ followers, remain in Sicily, so we see the following actions at the foundation of Acesta: “*Aeneas, guiding with his hand a plough, marks out the city’s ground, gives separate lands by lot, and bids within this space appear a second Troy. Trojan Acestes takes the kingly power, and with benignant joy appoints a forum, and decrees just laws before a gathered senate. Then they raise on that star-circled Erycinian hill, the temple to Idalian Venus dear; and at Anchises’ sepulchre ordain a priesthood and wide groves of hallowed shade*” (*Aeneid* V 755-761).

## 56. Madness, crazy deeds, and suicide

Besides Dido’s suicide and madness in Chapter IV, we can easily find three more examples of madness. At the fall of Troy we read the following about Coroebus, the fiance of Cassandra: “*Coroebus’ eyes this horror not endured and, sorrow-crazed, he plunged him headlong in the midmost fray, self-offered to be slain*” (*Aeneid* II 407-408). When Iris sets fire to the fleet by swinging a torch full of power, Ascanius responds with: “*What madness now?*” (*Aeneid* V 670). In addition, the Fury Alecto makes Queen Amata mad by throwing a snake at her chest:

*“Betwixt her smooth breast and her robe it wound unfelt, unseen, and in her wrathful mind instilled its viper soul” (Aeneid VII 349-351).*

#### 57. Seers and oracles

We find more seers and oracles in the *Aeneid* than in the Gamma-passages of the *Iliad*. The seer Helenos is addressed as follows: *“Offspring of Troy, interpreter of Heaven! Who knowest Phoebus’ power and readest well the tripod, stars, and vocal laurel leaves to Phoebus dear, who know’st of every bird the ominous swift wing or boding song, o, speak! For all my course good omens showed” (Aeneid III 359-363).* Then one seer – Helenos – sends Aeneas to the next seer – Sibylle: *“To that Sibyl go. Pray that her own lips may sing forth for thee the oracles, uplifting her dread voice in willing prophecy” (Aeneid III 456-457).* We read about Rhamnes in the battle passages: *“Of royal stem was he and honored of King Turnus for his skill in augury; yet could no augur’s charm that bloody stroke forefend” (Aeneid IX 326-328).*

#### 58. Difficult wanderings in far-off places

Immediately after the fall of Troy *“to wandering exile then and regions wild the gods by many an augury and sign compelled us [Aeneas and his followers] forth” (Aeneid III 4-5).* When Aeneas later meets the seer Helenos, he tells him the following: *“First, that Italia (which nigh at hand thou deemest, and wouldst fondly enter in by yonder neighboring bays) lies distant far over trackless course and long, with interval of far-extended lands. Thine oars must ply the waves of Sicily; thy fleet must cleave the large expanse of that Ausonian brine. The waters of Avernus thou shalt see, and that enchanted island where abides Aeaean Circe, ere on tranquil shore thou mayest plant thy nation” (Aeneid III 381-387).* Later, it appears that it is the wish of the gods that Aeneas wanders in search of its final destination. After a meeting with the god Mercury, we read this: *“He [Aeneas] fain would fly at once and get him gone from that voluptuous land [Carthage], much wondering at Heaven’s wrathful word” (Aeneid IV 281-282).*

#### 59. The stories of the Trojan Cycle

The stories of the Trojan Cycle were, of course, well known to Virgil, and referring to them was a characteristic of the Gamma-tradition. At their first meeting, Dido asked Aeneas further and further: *“Now many a tale of Priam would she crave, of Hector many; or what radiant arms Aurora’s [Eos] son [Memnon] did wear” (Aeneid I 750-751).* With

the divine weapons from Memnon, Dido refers to the Aethiopis. With the sacrifice of Polyxena on Achilles' grave, the Aethiopis is again referred to, this time by Andromache: "*O, happy only was that virgin blest, daughter of Priam, summoned forth to die in sight of Ilium on a foeman's tomb! No casting of the lot her doom decreed. Nor came she to her conqueror's couch a slave*" (Aeneid III 321-324). When Aeneas is about to leave, Dido makes a reference to the Kypria: "*I was not with the Greeks what time they swore at Aulis to cut off the seed of Troy*" (Aeneid IV 425-426).

#### 60. **Immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter**

The higher degree of religiosity of the Roman Gamma-tradition not only translates into more sacrifices and prayers, but also into the description of theories about immortality and the hereafter. Such descriptions fit best with Aeneas' descent to the underworld, where he meets his father Anchises: "*O father,*" said Aeneas, "*must I deem that from this region souls exalted rise to upper air; and shall once more return to cumbering flesh?*" (Aeneid VI 719-721). Then Anchises gives Aeneas a long explanation about the ins and outs of the hereafter in the underworld. The gods also enter into a discussion on this subject. Jupiter complains about the following to the mother of the gods Cybele: "*Wouldst thou, my mother, strive to oversway the course of Fate? What means this prayer of thine? Can it be granted ships of mortal mold to wear immortal being? Wouldst thou see Aeneas pass undoubting and secure through doubtful strait and peril? On what god was ever such power bestowed?*" (Aeneid IX 94-97). The very last verses of the Aeneid also deal with this theme: "*The failing limbs sank cold and helpless, and the vital breath with moan of wrath to darkness fled away*" (Aeneid XII 951-952).

#### 61. **The leader followed by a large group**

Various leaders of a people are mentioned in the Aeneid: Aeneas leading the Trojans, Antenor leading the Veneti, and Diomedes leading the Dorians, each time to Italy. The story of Antenor is outlined as follows in the Aeneid: "*Antenor, though th' Achaeans pressed him sore, found his way forth, and entered unassailed Illyria's haven, and the guarded land of the Liburni. Straight up stream he sailed where, like a swollen sea, Timavus pours a nine-fold flood from roaring mountain gorge, and whelms with voiceful wave the fields below. He built*

*Patavium there, and fixed abodes for Troy's far-exiled sons; he gave a name to a new land and race. The Trojan arms were hung on temple walls, and, to this day, lying in perfect peace, the hero sleeps*" (Aeneid I 242-249). Aeneas' leadership even is a pull factor: "*I swear thee by the favored destinies of great Aeneas, by his strength of arm in friendship or in war; that many a tribe (O, scorn us not, that, bearing olive green, with suppliant words we come), that many a throne has sued us to be friends*" (Aeneid VII 234- 237). We learn nothing more about the leadership of Diomedes in the Aeneid than that he has an "*illustrious town*" (Aeneid XI 226) and that there are "*strongholds of Greeks and Diomed the King*" (Aeneid XI 243).

**62. The inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action**

This oral characteristic, which would have been associated with Greek homosexuality at the time of Plato, is found in the Aeneid, but not in the Iliad. When Nisus is planning an expedition to look for Aeneas at night, we read this: "*Beside him was Euryalus, his friend: Of all th' Aeneadae no youth more fair wore Trojan arms; upon his cheek unshorn the tender bloom of boyhood lingered still. Their loving hearts were one, and oft in war, they battled side by side*" (Aeneid IX 179-183). We also find casual statements of youthful beauty: "*Iulus then, a fair youth, but of grave, heroic soul beyond his years*" (Aeneid IX 310-311). A typical Platonic description of homosexuality is found in Chapter X: "*And also poor Cydon would be there alongside his youngest lover—Clytius, whose cheeks the first beard down shines—being felled by Trojan violence. Yes, in his misfortune he had known nothing of all the lovers he had had*" (Aeneid X 324-327).

**63. Revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed**

In Greek sources, the revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed are mainly found in the Odyssey and the Trojan Cycle. We also find them in the Aeneid. The oldest of the Furies speaks as follows: "*To Italy, ye fare. The willing winds your call have heard; and ye shall have your prayer in some Italian haven safely moored. But never shall ye rear the circling walls of your own city, till for this our blood by you unjustly spilt, your famished jaws bite at your tables, aye—and half devour*" (Aeneid III 253-257). The seer Helenos predicts the following condition for the success of Aeneas' expedition: "*Beside a certain stream's sequestered wave, thy troubled eyes, in shadowy flex grove*

*that fringes on the river, shall descry a milk-white, monstrous sow, with teeming brood of thirty young, new littered, white like her, all clustering at her teats, as prone she lies. There is thy city's safe, predestined ground"* (Aeneid III 389-393). The Sibylle also explains the conditions that Aeneas must fulfill to descend to the world of the dead: *"No pilgrim to that underworld can pass but he who plucks this burgeoned, leafy gold; for this hath beauteous Proserpine ordained her chosen gift to be"* (Aeneid VI 140-143).

#### 64. **House as home, family, or family tree**

The term *house* (*domus*) occurs in various meanings in the *Aeneid*, but in the first place as a noble dynasty. Jupiter explains his will with regard to the rule of the Romans, as follows: *"Such my decree! In lapse of seasons due, the heirs of Ilium's kings [literally: Assaracus' house] shall bind in chains Mycenae's glory and Achilles' towers, and over prostrate Argos sit supreme"* (Aeneid I 283-285). If a house does not have a son, it can survive through a daughter, if necessary: *"O heavenly sire, from thee the stem began! But Fate had given to King Latinus' body no heirs male: For taken in the dawning of his day, his only son had been, and now, his home [house] and spacious palace one sole daughter kept, who was grown ripe to wed and of full age to take a husband"* (Aeneid VII 50-53). Nevertheless, *house* in the sense of *building to live in* also often occurs: *"my father's dwelling [house] stood apart embowered deep in trees"* (Aeneid II 299-300).

#### 65. **The son raised by an animal**

The most important example of this oral characteristic on Roman soil is the twins Romulus and Remus. They were raised by a she-wolf after Amulius had left them as foundlings when they were babies. Amulius wanted to wipe out his brother's offspring, but was later killed by the twins himself. Virgil says the following about them: *"Here three full centuries shall Hector's race have kingly power; till a priestess queen, by Mars conceiving, her twin offspring bear. Then Romulus, wolf-nursed and proudly clad in tawny wolf-skin mantle, shall receive the sceptre of his race. He shall uprear and on his Romans his own name bestow"* (Aeneid I 272-277). Another mention of Romulus, Remus, and the suckling she-wolf can be found in the *Aeneid* VIII 630. A poetic comparison is made by Queen Dido: *"No goddess gave thee birth. No Dardanus begot thy sires. But on its breast of stone Caucasus bore*



*thee, and the tigresses of fell Hyrcania to thy baby lip their udders gave*" (Aeneid IV 365-367). We might also include the following inversion of this oral characteristic: "*For a fair stag, tall-antlered, stolen away even from its mother's milk, had long been kept by Tyrrhus and his sons*" (Aeneid VII 483-484).

#### 66. The mother goddess Cybele

In the *Aeneid*, Cybele is the most important deity apart from Zeus. She is known as the Great Mother and as the Berecynthian Mother of the Olympic gods. She does not live on Olympus herself, but on the Ida. According to Virgil, her origin is from Krete, where is also a mountain with the name Ida: "*the Protectress of Mount Cybele, mother of Gods, what time in Ida's grove the brazen Corybantic cymbals clang, or sacred silence guards her mystery, and lions yoked her royal chariot draw*" (Aeneid III 111-113). That the religious importance of Ida has increased compared to Olympus is clear from the enumeration of the gods that Aeneas invokes in his prayer: "*calling loud upon the Genius of that place, and Earth, eldest of names divine; the Nymphs he called, and river-gods unknown. His voice invoked the night, the omen-stars through night that roll. Jove, Ida's child, and Phrygia's fertile Queen: He called his mother from Olympian skies and sire from Erebus*" (Aeneid VII 136-140). The power of Cybele is evidenced by the fact that she could prevent the ships built with the wood of the Ida from being burnt down entirely: "*Nymphs, anon transformed by kind Cybele to sea-ruling powers. In even ranks they swam the cloven wave,—nymphs now, but once as brazen galleys moored along the sandy shore*" (Aeneid X 220-223).

#### 67. The woman in love who betrays her father or hometown

Dido's love for Aeneas is regularly asserted: "*Dido the while with varying talk prolonged the fateful night and drank both long and deep of love and wine*" (Aeneid I 748-749). Moreover: "*Of what avail be temples and fond prayers to change a frenzied mind? Devouring ever, love's fire burns inward to her bones; she feels quick in her breast the viewless, voiceless wound. Ill-fated Dido ranges up and down the spaces of her city*" (Aeneid IV 65-69). King Jarbas, in a prayer to Jupiter, complains about Dido's betrayal as follows: "*She has proclaimed Aeneas partner of her bed and throne*" (Aeneid IV 213-215). The betrayal only really becomes clear from the point of view of Vir-

gil's contemporaries, for whom the Carthaginians and the Romans were archenemies.

**68. The queen who dies of sorrow or suicide**

Two queens die from suicide in the *Aeneid*: Dido and Amata. The suicide of Dido in particular is described in detail. It starts with the death wish: "*Then wretched Dido, by her doom appalled, asks only death. It wearies her to see the sun in heaven*" (*Aeneid* IV 450-451). It ends with the flames of the stake that Aeneas and his followers could still see while they sailed away: "*Not yet was known what kindled the wild flames, but that the pang of outraged love is cruel, and what the heart of desperate woman dares, they knew too well, and sad foreboding shook each Trojan soul*" (*Aeneid* V 4-7). When Amata believes that Turnus has died, she commits suicide in a fit of sadness: "*She [Amata] rent her purple pall, and with her own hand from the rafter swung a noose for her foul death*" (*Aeneid* XII 602-603).

Thus, all Gamma-characteristics are highlighted from the point of view of the Romans. In the following section, passages from the *Aeneid* are provided with numbers in square brackets.

## **Analyzed *Aeneid* passages**

The first passage that is numbered with the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition concerns Queen Dido and Aeneas, who spend the night talking:

*Dido [G46] the while with varying talk prolonged the fateful night and drank both long and deep of love [G48] and wine. Now, many a tale of Priam [G2] would she crave, of Hector [G2] many, or what radiant arms [G39] Aurora's [G3] son [G38,G59] did wear, what were those steeds [G23,G22] of Diomed [G5,G22], or what the stature seemed of great Achilles [G4,G22].*  
(*Aeneid* I 748-752)

Of all Greek heroes, the two great Greek heroes of the Gamma-tradition are named here: Diomedes and Achilles. Outside the context of the Gamma-tradition, heroes like Odysseus, Aias, and Agamemnon could not go unmentioned. Combining Diomedes with Achilles under the denominator of Greek hero and combining Diomedes with his horses are examples of the Gamma-tradition's tendency to cluster its oral characteristics (oral characteristic G22).

Having a goddess as mother, such as Memnon, who acts in the Trojan Cycle, is also typical of the Gamma-tradition. Then the question of divine armor is not far away.

The full set of Gamma-characteristics in this passage is the following: Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the Olympic gods (G3), Achilles (G4), Diomedes (G5), clusters of oral characteristics (G22), precious, special horses (G23), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), precious, divine weapons (G39), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), fatal marriages and romances (G48), and the stories of the Trojan Cycle (G59).

In the following passage, Aeneas tells Dido about the fall of Troy, particularly about the trick with the wooden horse. Sinon is a Greek who tells the Trojans lies about the horse:

*Thus, Sinon's [G59] guile and practiced perjury our doubt dispelled. His stratagems and tears wrought victory where neither Tydeus' son [G5,G22], nor mountain-bred Achilles [G4,G22] could prevail, nor ten years' war, nor fleets a thousand strong. But now a vaster spectacle of fear burst over us, to vex our startled souls. Laocoön [G33,G59], that day by cast of lot [G25] priest [G49] unto Neptune [G9], was in act to slay a huge bull at the god's appointed fane [G49]. Lo! Over the tranquil deep from Tenedos appeared a pair (I shudder as I tell) of vastly coiling serpents [G50,G52], side by side, stretching along the waves, and to the shore.  
(Aeneid II 195-205)*

Again, Diomedes and Achilles are mentioned as Greek heroes, without mentioning other Greek heroes. Then the oral characteristic of the monsters is noticeable, which is probably an influence from the East (oral characteristic G52). The monsters are further described in detail as scaly snakes with combs, and they kill Laokoön and his two sons. The Trojans interpret it as the revenge of the gods (oral characteristic G43), because Laokoön had predicted the downfall of Troy (oral characteristic G33) and had thrown his spear into the sacred Trojan Horse.

The full set of Gamma-characteristics in this passage is the following: Achilles (G4), Diomedes (G5), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), clusters of oral characteristics (G22), the fate and wishes of the gods (G25), predicting death

or downfall (G33), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), parallels with Eastern oral traditions (G52), and the stories of the Trojan Cycle (G59).

The following passage introduces the wanderings of Aeneas and his followers, just after the narration of the fall of Troy in Chapter II of the *Aeneid*. The fate and the wish of the gods (oral characteristic G25) are central:

*When Asia's [G10] power and Priam's [G2] race and throne, though guiltless, were cast down by Heaven's decree [G25], when Ilium [G10] proud had fallen [G7] and Neptune's [G9] Troy in smouldering ash lay level with the ground [G7], to wandering [G58] exile then and regions wild [G59] the gods by many an augury and sign [G25] compelled us forth. We fashioned us a fleet within Antander's haven, in the shade of Phrygian [G10] Ida's [G45] peak (though knowing not whither our fate [G25] would drive, or where afford a resting-place at last). (Aeneid III 1-7)*

This passage contains the following Gamma-characteristics: Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the fall of Troy (G7), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the fate and wishes of the gods (G25), Mount Ida (G45), difficult wanderings in far-off places (G58), and the stories of the Trojan Cycle (G59).

The end of Chapter III also ends the nighttime narration of Aeneas. In Chapter IV the narrator, Virgil, makes a Homeric simile that compares Aeneas with Apollo:

*To greet her come the noble Phrygian [G10] guests. Among them smiles the boy Iulus, and in fair array, Aeneas [G6], goodliest of all his train. In such a guise, Apollo [G9,G22] (when he leaves cold Lycian hills and Xanthus' [G21,G22] frosty stream [G19,G22] to visit Delos to Latona dear) ordains the song, while 'round his altars [G49] cry the choirs of many islands, with the pied, fantastic Agathyrsi [A18,G1]. Soon the god moves over the Cynthian [G13] steep; his flowing hair, he binds with laurel garland and bright gold. Upon his shining shoulder as he goes, the arrows*

*[G20,G22] ring—not less uplifted mien Aeneas [G6] wore—from  
his illustrious [B21,G12] brow, such beauty shone.  
(Aeneid IV 140-150)*

In this Homeric simile we find a characteristic Gamma-cluster: Apollo–archery–Lykia–Xanthos river. Here, the question arises whether these oral characteristics are presented as a cluster by the Gamma-tradition because they are conceptually linked or whether these oral characteristics would never have been conceptually linked without the Gamma-tradition.

The full set of Gamma-characteristics in this passage is the following: strange peoples (A18) of the Mykenanian Alpha-tradition (G1), Aeneas (G6), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), the shiny light around the great hero (B21) in the European Beta-tradition (G12), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), rivers (G19), bow and arrow (G20), the name Xanthos (G21), clusters of oral characteristics (G22), the Lykians (G24), and priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49).

In the following passage, the goddess Iris poses as an insane (oral characteristic G56) woman, namely, the elderly Trojan woman Beroe:

*What hinders them to raise [G55] a rampart [G14] here and  
build a town? O, city of our sires! O, venerated [G49] gods  
from haughty foes [G7] rescued in vain! Will nevermore a wall  
[G14] rise in the name of Troy [G10]? Shall I not see a Xanthus  
[G2,G19,G21] or a Simois [G2,G19], the streams to Hector [G2]  
dear? Come, now! I lead the way. Let us go touch their baneful  
ships with fire [G56]! I saw Cassandra [G59] in a dream [G47].  
Her shade, prophetic [G57] ever, gave me [G46] firebrands, and  
cried, “Find Ilium [G2] so! The home [G55] for thee is where  
thou art. Behold, the hour is ripe for our great act! No longer  
now delay to heed the heavenly omen [G25]. Yonder stand four  
altars [G49] unto Neptune [G9]. ’T is the god, the god him-  
self, gives courage for the deed [G56], and swift-enkindling fire  
[G56].” So having said, she seized a dreadful [G56] brand; then,  
lifting high [G56], waved it all flaming, and with furious [G56]  
arm hurled it from far [G56].  
(Aeneid V 631-643)*

This passage contains the following oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition: Gamma-specific proper names (G2), the fall of Troy (G7), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), defensive walls (G14), rivers (G19), the name Xanthos (G21), the fate and wishes of the gods (G25), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), phantoms, dreams, and false appearances (G47), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), the founding of cities and colonizations (G55), madness, crazy deeds, and suicide (G56), seers and oracles (G57), and the stories of the Trojan Cycle (G59).

The following passage is devoted to the religiosity (oral characteristic G49) that surfaces in the verses of the Gamma-tradition:

*But Fate's decree [G25] to this, thy realm, did guide [G58]. Here, Dardanus [G2,G15] was born and with reiterate command [G25], this way Apollo [G9] pointed [G57] to the stream of Tiber [G19] and Numicius' [G13,G19] haunted [Latin: sacra] [G49] spring [G19]. Lo, these poor tributes from his greatness gone Aeneas [G6] sends, these relics [G49] snatched away from Ilium [G2, G10], burning [G7]: With this golden bowl [G49], [father] [G42] Anchises poured libation [G49].  
(Aeneid VII 239-245)*

The following Gamma-characteristics are found in this passage: Gamma-specific proper names (G2), Aeneas (G6), the fall of Troy (G7), Apollo and Poseidon (G9), the environment of Troy (G10), eponyms (G15), rivers (G19), the fate and wishes of the gods (G25), lineages to an ancestor (G42), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), seers and oracles (G57), and difficult wanderings in far-off places (G58).

The time has finally come for Aeneas and his followers to prepare for the war (oral characteristic G29):

*"Seek not, my friend. Seek not thyself to read the meaning of the omen [G25]. 'T is to me Olympus [G3] calls. My goddess-mother [G38] gave long since her promise of a heavenly sign [G18] if war [G29] should burst and that her power would bring a panoply [G39] from Vulcan [G3] through the air, to help us at*

*our need. Alas, what deaths over Laurentum's [G16] ill-starred host impend! O Turnus, what a reckoning thou shalt pay to me in arms! O Tiber [G13,G19], in thy wave what helms [G12] and shields [G12] and mighty soldiers slain [G31,G40] shall in confusion roll! Yea, let them lead their lines to battle, and our league abjure [G26]!" He said: and from the lofty throne uprose. Straightway he roused anew the slumbering fire sacred [G49] to Hercules [G11], and glad at heart adored, as yesterday, the household gods [G3] revered [G49] by good Evander, at whose side the Trojan [G10] company made sacrifice [G49] of chosen lambs, with fitting rites and true. Then to his ships he tried him, and rejoined his trusty followers [G61], of whom he took the best for valor known, to lend him aid in deeds of war [G29]. Others he bade return down stream [G19] in easy course, and tidings bear to young Ascanius of the new event, and of his father. Horses then were brought for all the Teucrians [G10,G42] to Etruria bound; and for Aeneas [G6] one of rarest breed [G23], over whom a tawny robe [G23] descended low, of lion-skin, with claws of gleaming gold [G23]. Noised swiftly through the little town [G55] it flies that to the precinct of the Tuscan King [A3,G1] armed horsemen speed. Pale mothers [G46] in great fear unceasing pray [G49]; for panic closely runs in danger's steps. The war-god [G3] drawing nigh looms larger.*  
*(Aeneid VIII 532-557)*

The following Gamma-characteristics are found in this passage: the king and his court (A3) in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition (G1), the Olympic gods (G3), Aeneas (G6), the environment of Troy (G10), Herakles (G11), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), destructions of cities (G16), typical interactions between god and human (G18), rivers (G19), precious, special horses (G23), the fate and wishes of the gods (G25), duels and quarrels that often end peacefully (G26), the war between two camps (G29), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), precious, divine weapons (G39), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), lineages to an ancestor (G42), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), the founding of cities and colonizations (G55), and the leader followed by a large group (G61).

The following passage is about the total fight, and shows that the European Beta-tradition (oral characteristic G12) is also anchored in the Roman Gamma-tradition:

*He, too bold, casting his shield [B1,G12] far from him, had outspread his left hand on the wound [G17]: Then sudden flew the feathered arrow [G20], and the hand lay pinned against his left side [B2,G12], while the fatal barb was buried in his breathing life. The son [G42] of Arcens now stood forth in glittering arms [G39]. His brodered cloak was red Iberian stain, and beautiful [G62] was he. Arcens his sire had sent him to the war [B1,G12]; but he was bred in a Sicilian [G44] forest [G13] [of Mars] [G3] by a stream [G19] to his nymph-mother [G38] dear, where rose the shrine [G49] of merciful Palicus [G13], blest and fair. But, lo! Mezentius his spear [B1,G12] laid by, and whirled three [G32] times about his head the thong of his loud sling: The leaden bullet clove the youth's mid-forehead [B2,G12], and his towering form fell prostrate its full length along the ground [B1,G12]. (Aeneid IX 577-589)*

We have the following Gamma-characteristics in this passage: the Olympic gods (G3), the mixture with the European Beta-tradition (G12), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), injuries (G17), rivers (G19), bow and arrow (G20), three times the same action (G32), precious, divine weapons (G39), lineages to an ancestor (G42), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), and the inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action (G62).

The typical background situation outlined for the fighters (oral characteristic B26) is also found in the *Aeneid*. Instead of using the Mykenian Alpha-tradition for that, as is mostly the case in the *Iliad*, the Gamma-tradition is used in the *Aeneid*:

*Next Ocnus summoned forth a war-host from his native shores [G19], the son of Tiber [G19], Tuscan river [G19], and the nymph [G13,G38] Manto, a prophetess [G46,G57]: He gave good walls [G14], O Mantua, and his mother's [G46] name [G15], to thee,—to Mantua [G15] so rich in noble sires [G42], but of a blood diverse, a triple [G32] breed, four stems [G55] in each. (Aeneid X 198-202)*



The Gamma-characteristics in this passage are the following: defensive walls (G14), eponyms (G15), rivers (G19), three times the same action: the number three, followed by the number four (G32), lineages to an ancestor (G42), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), the founding of cities and colonizations (G55), and seers and oracles (G57).

The last analyzed *Aeneid* passage is dedicated to taking care of the dead (oral characteristic G28).

*Aeneas [G6] now built funeral [G28] pyres along the winding shore, King Tarchon at his side. Each thither brought [G28] the bodies [G40] of his kin, observing well all ancient ritual [G28]. The fuming fires burned from beneath, till highest heaven was hid in blackest, overmantling cloud [G30]. Three [G32] times the warriors, sheathed in proud, resplendent steel [G39], paced round the kindling pyres [G28]; and three [G32] times fair companies of horsemen circled slow, with loud lamenting [G28], 'round the doleful flame.  
(Aeneid XI 184-190)*

The Gamma-characteristics in this passage are the following: Aeneas (G6), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), the god who envelops a person in a cloud: the concept cloud (G30), three times the same action (G32), precious, divine weapons (G39), and corpses that are often mutilated (G40).

These were the analyzed passages of the *Aeneid*. In the next chapter, which is also the last, the conclusions follow.

## Chapter 7

# Conclusions

Just like the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition, the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad* is revealed, because passages display the characteristics of the different oral traditions to an unequal extent. For example, the triumphant raids of Diomedes and Achilleus are much more colored by the Gamma-tradition than any random passage in the *Iliad*. Besides that, the oral characteristics of the Gamma-tradition often occur in clusters. We can also discover and define the Gamma-tradition via this route. Examples of such a cluster are: Apollo–bow and arrow–Lykia or Apollo–Poseidon–walls–monster. Although the elements from a cluster usually go together naturally, they are placed together more often than we would expect from a story without clusters.

Unlike the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the European Beta-tradition, we find the Gamma-tradition well beyond the *Iliad*, both in Greece and in Italy. The majority of the stories in these two countries are colored by the Gamma-tradition. In the *Odyssey*, seafaring and the wrath of Poseidon are two prominent Gamma-characteristics, as well as Odysseus' victory over the suitors with bow and arrow. Despite these broad lines, there are hardly any shorter Gamma-passages in the *Odyssey*. We would probably have found such passages for the stories of the Trojan Cycle, if not only a short content had been saved for posterity. The Gamma-tradition is clearly reflected in that short content. However, in the many later stories of which the Greek mythographers have recorded so many variants, it is often the Gamma-tradition that is most evident. The main example of this is the *Argonautica* of Apollodorus.

The Gamma-tradition appears to be a modernized variant of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition. While the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition seems to originate from the Peloponnese, the Gamma-tradition is linked to the Aeolian region in northern Greece and the region around Troy. Many oral character-

istics can therefore be linked between the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the Gamma-tradition. For example, the Mykenaian Alpha-characteristic “The hero assisted by the gods” may have evolved into the Gamma-characteristic “The god who envelops a person in a cloud.” While the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition is strongly linked to digressions, that is to a lesser extent the case for the Gamma-tradition. This means that the Gamma-tradition is very difficult to define within the *Iliad*, without first having sharply defined the Mykenaian Alpha-characteristics with the help of digressions. If that does not happen, a greater oral tradition is formed, namely, the union of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition and the Gamma-tradition, which is omnipresent in the *Iliad*.

In the *Iliad*, the Gamma-tradition is strongly mixed with the European Beta-tradition, in the sense that they are usually applied in the same passages. Yet the delineation between these two oral traditions is much easier to make, since only 18 Gamma-characteristics appear to be related to European Beta-characteristics. The European Beta-tradition is about the war on the battlefield, while the Gamma-tradition is more religious in nature and wants to discuss mythology and the interaction between gods and people. In any case, the Gamma-tradition can also be used to create stories that have nothing to do with the battlefield of the European Beta-tradition, as evidenced by many non-*Iliadic* Greek stories and the first six chapters of the *Aeneid*. Finally, there are also Gamma-passages in the *Iliad* that do not have any European Beta-characteristics, and vice versa: European Beta-passages without Gamma-characteristics.

The Gamma-tradition is also strongly influenced by stories from the Near East. The following Gamma-characteristics were also found in the Biblical destruction stories: destructions of cities (G16), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), predicting death or downfall (G33), sea gods and sea monsters (G36), lineages to an ancestor (G42), insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly (G43), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), difficult wanderings in far-off places (G58), revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed (G63), and the woman in love who betrays her father or hometown (G67).

Curiously, a series of correspondences can also be found between the Gamma-tradition and the biography of Jesus Christ as presented in the New Testament. We find the revealed conditions (G63), present in the Old Testament, the lineages to an ancestor (G42), which is King David for Jesus, the leader of a group of followers (G61), having a God as father (G38), and being the King (A3,G1) of the Jews. There is the theme of immortality (G60), and the medicine and magic (G34) that Jesus used to gain followers. The

title *Christ*<sup>75</sup> (the *Anointed*) also correlates well with the Gamma-tradition, in which we find Jason who was anointed by Medea with a magic ointment (G34, *Argonautica* III 845), and Sarpedon by Apollo with ambrosia (G28, *Iliad* XVI 680). At his birth, Jesus was—at least in some apocryphal gospels—surrounded by animals (G65, Proto-Gospel of James) and dragons (G50, Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew). During his life, he was baptized by immersing him in a river (G31), he had forty days of difficult wanderings in the desert (G58), he brought an end to a storm (G44), and he learned his followers how to pray (G49). Associated to his death are his mutilated corpse (G40), the injuries that he shows after his resurrection (G17) in the form of a hallucinated or dreamt ghost (G47), the care for his body (G28), women (G46), and being taken up in a cloud (G30, Acts 1:9). Like the Gamma-tradition, the Jesus biography appears to be linked to international and Eastern stories (G52), such as the savior story and, probably, the tele-story. All of this supports the thesis that the biography of Jesus is heavily influenced by oral traditions.<sup>76</sup> Especially the following two patterns are very characteristic: the immersion of a body in a river as baptize practice and the ghost in the afterlife that shows wounds, just like Eriphyle and Deiphobos in the *Aeneid* (VI 445–446 and VI 494–498).<sup>77</sup>

The spread and evolution of the Gamma-tradition seems to go hand in hand with the Cybele cult (oral characteristic G66). That cult originates in Phrygia (Turkey), but has spread to the Greek mainland and Italy from there. Cybele is easy to follow, both as an oral characteristic of the Gamma-tradition and as a cult that can be deduced from archaeological findings. This confirms the theory that an Aeolian oral tradition, rather than a Greek oral tradition, has been adopted by the Romans. Both Cybele and the matriarchal oral characteristic “mighty mothers, women, and goddesses” (oral characteristic G46) are also increasingly found in the successive phases of the Gamma-tradition:

<sup>75</sup>In the Old Testament, this title was preserved for kings, high priests and prophets.

<sup>76</sup>See also Carrier 2014. Carrier draws attention to many oral patterns, but in particular also to the striking similarities between Plutarch’s (AD 46–119) biography of Romulus, the mythical founder of Rome, and the biography of Jesus Christ (Carrier 2014, p. 56).

<sup>77</sup>All together, we have the following 20 Gamma-characteristics in Jesus’ biography: The king and his court (A3) in the Mykenian Alpha-tradition (G1), injuries (G17), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), the god who envelops a person in a cloud (G30), immersing a body in a river or in the sea (G31), medicine, magic, and mysteries (G34), nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers (G38), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), lineages to an ancestor (G42), seafaring, storms at sea, and islands (G44), mighty mothers, women, and goddesses (G46), phantoms, dreams, and false appearances (G47), priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49), huge, composite, evil monsters (G50), parallels with Eastern oral traditions (G52), difficult wanderings in far-off places (G58), immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter (G60), the leader followed by a large group (G61), revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed (G63), and the son raised by an animal (G65).

the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition in the *Iliad*, the Gamma-tradition in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the Trojan Cycle, the *Argonautica*, and the *Aeneid*.

The discovery of the Gamma-tradition does not bring a historical war of Greeks against Trojans any closer. Within the Gamma-tradition there are many cities in the vicinity of Troy that were destroyed by Achilles. Troy seems to be no more than the largest city—or the most appealing ruin—in the Aeolian region of Asia Minor where the stories have started to center. In this way, Troy plays the role in the Gamma-tradition that Thebes played in the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition.

The most important conclusion regarding the Gamma-tradition is that the Roman stories are not so much derived from the Greek stories in general, but rather, from the Gamma-tradition as it occurs in the *Iliad*: often mixed with the European Beta-tradition. However, it remains an open question whether there has been an uninterrupted European Beta-tradition that has been handed down to Virgil or whether Virgil imitated the European Beta-tradition. What can be said with certainty is that the Gamma-tradition in the *Aeneid* is not an imitation, because of the many typical Gamma-characteristics that do not stand out in the whole of the *Iliad*, but do emerge from an analysis. Examples of such characteristics are rivers, the triple act, and the Lykians. Moreover, Virgil systematically uses an evolved Gamma-tradition that has more oral characteristics. Finally, there are many Roman sources outside the *Aeneid*, which also clearly build on the Gamma-tradition. The many cities founded by Diomedes exemplify a Gamma-characteristic within such Roman sources.

The Ionian Epsilon-tradition is also present in the *Aeneid*, as evidenced by the presence of Homeric similes and the hospitable reception of Aeneas by Dido. Yet we find few, if any, passages in the *Aeneid* that bring together a striking number of characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon-tradition. Here, too, an imitation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can be suspected, which were available to Virgil as written sources.

Finally, this: Distinguishing individual oral traditions means important scientific progress that involves additional research in various fields: literature, history, archeology, and linguistics. This applies in particular to the Gamma-tradition.

This was it for the Aeolian Gamma-tradition. The following book is about the narrative Delta-tradition. While the Aeolian Gamma-tradition is a variant of the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition, the narrative Delta-tradition is a variant of the European Beta-tradition. Instead of lengthy combat passages, attractive fairy tales are presented to the audience.

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# Overview of oral traditions

## Published

1. *The Alpha-Tradition: On the Origin of Greek Stories*  
Full name: The Mykenaian Alpha-tradition
2. *The Beta-Tradition: On the Origin of the Iliad*  
Full name: The European Beta-tradition
3. *The Gamma-Tradition: On the Origin of Roman Stories*  
Full name: The Aeolian Gamma-tradition

## To be published

1. *The Delta-Tradition: Iliadic Fairy Tales*  
Full name: The narrative Delta-tradition
2. *The Epsilon-Tradition: Homer's Finishing Touch*  
Full name: The Ionian Epsilon-tradition



# Overview of the Alpha-characteristics

- A1. Wars on cities
- A2. Bloody feuds
- A3. The king and his court
- A4. The brave hero
- A5. The change of power
- A6. The cycle of misery
- A7. The revenge on the return
- A8. The special education
- A9. Fatal women
- A10. Failed marriages
- A11. Divine dynasties
- A12. Places and personal names
- A13. Large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep
- A14. Long wanderings
- A15. Digressions
- A16. Recruiting soldiery
- A17. The move to a distant place
- A18. Strange peoples
- A19. The seven-gated Thebes
- A20. The remuneration of the king
- A21. Polytheism
- A22. The punishment of the gods
- A23. The hero who defeats a whole army
- A24. The exiled son
- A25. Destinies
- A26. The abduction of cattle



- A27. The number nine
- A28. Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, and Nestor
- A29. The hero assisted by the gods
- A30. The honorable funeral
- A31. Ate, goddess of delusion
- A32. The flight after a crime
- A33. The marriage with a king's daughter
- A34. Riches of the soil
- A35. The story of a character's life
- A36. The secret intercourse of a mortal and a god
- A37. The painful, prolonged captivity
- A38. The mortal abducted by a god
- A39. Erinyes and wrathful goddesses
- A40. Delegate counselors
- A41. Holiness
- A42. The abduction of a woman
- A43. Superlatives
- A44. The human who fights the gods
- A45. Palaces with solid walls
- A46. The overpowering of a wild animal
- A47. Games
- A48. Cunning ambushes
- A49. Old age

# Overview of the Beta-characteristics

- B1. The battle scene
- B2. Gruesome injuries
- B3. Chariots
- B4. Progressive typical scenes
- B5. Thematic typical scenes
- B6. The intervention of the gods
- B7. Duels
- B8. The clan system
- B9. The combat psychology
- B10. Fixed formulas
- B11. The duo of brave warriors
- B12. Robbing the armor, the horses, or a corpse
- B13. Godfathers and bastard sons
- B14. The direction of Zeus
- B15. The fight for a corpse
- B16. Highborn champions
- B17. The chase and the flight
- B18. The triumphant raid of a single hero
- B19. Bluff, scorn, and reproach
- B20. The warrior who does not fight
- B21. The shiny light around the great hero
- B22. The blood revenge
- B23. Sons-in-law
- B24. The rampart and the ditch
- B25. Allies
- B26. Background information for every warrior

- B27. Ares, Eris, and Iris
- B28. The combat teacher
- B29. The fame for posterity
- B30. Incineration, urns, and burial mounds
- B31. The corpse that remains for dogs and birds
- B32. Chariot warriors and infantry
- B33. Huge crowds of warriors
- B34. The worried wife waiting at home
- B35. The care for a wounded warrior
- B36. One or two heroes who stand fast alone
- B37. The driver who should watch the horses
- B38. Precious weapons
- B39. Gathering up the army for the fight
- B40. The warrior in need and the helper
- B41. The warrior who blames his companion
- B42. The cowardly archer
- B43. The withheld honor gift
- B44. The resentful warrior
- B45. Fame for the father

# Overview of the Gamma-characteristics

- G1. The close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha-tradition
- G2. Gamma-specific proper names
- G3. The Olympic gods
- G4. Achilles
- G5. Diomedes
- G6. Aeneas
- G7. The fall of Troy
- G8. Paris and Pandaros
- G9. Apollo and Poseidon
- G10. The environment of Troy
- G11. Herakles
- G12. The mixture with the European Beta-tradition
- G13. Local nature gods and nymphs
- G14. Defensive walls
- G15. Eponyms
- G16. Destructions of cities
- G17. Injuries
- G18. Typical interactions between god and human
- G19. Rivers
- G20. Bow and arrow
- G21. The name Xanthos
- G22. Clusters of oral characteristics
- G23. Precious, special horses
- G24. The Lykians
- G25. The fate and wishes of the gods
- G26. Duels and quarrels that often end peacefully
- G27. The wrath of Poseidon
- G28. Taking care of the dead and wounded

- G29. The war between two camps
- G30. The god who envelops a person in a cloud
- G31. Immersing a body in a river or in the sea
- G32. Three times the same action
- G33. Predicting death or downfall
- G34. Medicine, magic, and mysteries
- G35. The supreme command of Zeus
- G36. Sea gods and sea monsters
- G37. Centaurs and Amazons
- G38. Nymphs and gods as mothers or fathers
- G39. Precious, divine weapons
- G40. Corpses that are often mutilated
- G41. The strife between Hera and Zeus
- G42. Lineages to an ancestor
- G43. Insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly
- G44. Seafaring, storms at sea, and islands
- G45. Mount Ida
- G46. Mighty mothers, women, and goddesses
- G47. Phantoms, dreams, and false appearances
- G48. Fatal marriages and romances
- G49. Priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods
- G50. Huge, composite, evil monsters
- G51. Twins
- G52. Parallels with Eastern oral traditions
- G53. Contests and solemn games
- G54. Snakes
- G55. The founding of cities and colonizations
- G56. Madness, crazy deeds, and suicide
- G57. Seers and oracles
- G58. Difficult wanderings in far-off places
- G59. The stories of the Trojan Cycle
- G60. Immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter
- G61. The leader followed by a large group
- G62. The inexperienced, desirable juvenile taking part in the action
- G63. Revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed
- G64. House as home, family, or family tree
- G65. The son raised by an animal
- G66. The mother goddess Cybele
- G67. The woman in love who betrays her father or hometown
- G68. The queen who dies of sorrow or suicide