THE *PERIPLOUS* TRADITION IN THE *ILIAD* AND THE *HOMERIC HYMNS*

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Este artículo estudia el Catálogo de las Naves de la *Iliada* y los *Himnos Homéricos* a Dioniso, Demeter y Apolo dentro del contexto de la literatura de viajes *(periplos)*. Se interpreta el espacio narrado en estos textos como un proyecto social que busca apropiar la geografía mediante el uso del mito; se convierten así las relaciones espaciales en formas de expresión de ideas políticas y religiosas. Se argumenta que dichas representaciones espaciales contienen implicaciones sociales y hacen parte de la construcción de identidad panhelénica.

Poesía de Catálogo / Periplos / Geografía / Panhelenismo / paisaje

This paper studies the Catalogue of Ships of the *Iliad* and the *Homeric Hymns* to Dionysus, Demeter and Apolo as part of the genre of travel literature (*periplous*). Also it considers space as a social project in which political and religious ideas are expressed. It argues that the geography represented in the Catalogue and the *Hymns* takes part in the construction of Greek identity and panhellenic ideas.

The position of Homer as a geographer is an issue which was circulating in ancient scholarship, but which has not been investigated in modern Homeric studies. However, the recent revival of geographical discourses in the humanities, made it possible to return from a literary perspective to the subject of geography in Homer and in other ancient literary works[1].

The information found in literary texts of the known world used existing data recorded in journeys of exploration, colonisation and commerce, and mixed that information with social constructs, such as myth and the fantastical imagery with its tales about remote lands and encounters with exotic creatures. Ancient geography was to a great extent the result of

[1] A Spanish version of this paper was published in NOVA TELLUS (2006), Anuario del Centro de Estudios Clásicos, Universidad Autónoma de México. Vol 24.2: 43-75.

travel information. That information, together with the accounts of the realm of myth, became a social tool with political and religious dimensions, and took part in the construction of Greek culture. In this paper, I will study the Catalogue of Ships (henceforth CS) which includes also the Trojan Catalogue, and the Homeric *Hymns to Dionysus*, *Demeter* and *Apollo*, and I will set them into the wider context of travel literature. I will also explore the social implications which they have as a geographic construct of self-definition and identity. The geographical account of the *Hymns* and of the CS consolidated in mythical discourses the experience and knowledge of space.

Travel was a decisive element in the consolidation of geographical thought. It is possible to assume that during the colonisation period, the Greeks developed a geographical project in order to give organisation to the foundation and administration of colonies, as the Romans did in order to control their colonies. However, in Greece that geographical project was replaced by an interest in genealogies. Nevertheless, in the light of modern discourses on nation, it is possible to study different kinds of representation of space as forms of geography, as we studied in the case of genealogies.

The Catalogue of Ships and the *Hymns* are examples of social projects to interpret space. By the use of myth, spatial relations became a medium through which political and religious ideas could be expressed. From that perspective, we can argue that the *Hymns* reflect, on the one hand, how a society gave particular meanings to space in relation to religious believes, and on the other hand, they are also examples of travel literature.

No Homeric scholar has compared the CS to any other ancient literary work, nor has it been studied within the wider context of travel literature. Kirk and Page[2] suppose that some source must have existed from which Homer obtained his geographical information; they do not go as far as to look for a source of comparison. For a long time the CS has been approached for what it is not: according to Page[3] it is not necessarily an order for battle, and it is not composed to fit the Trojan War, but it existed before and was later adapted to it. It has been argued that it is not a *periplous*, and most scholars agree that it is not based on itineraries, such as the list of *theorodokoi* from Delphi as suggested by Giovannini[4]. I think that it is now time to ask what kind of document the CS is.

I will also consider that travel literature sets the real geographic dimension to understand the CS. However, my argument is not only that Homeric geography owns a great deal to the *periplous* tradition, but also I argue that geographical discourses are a social construction of identity.

[2] Kirk (1985) 183, Page (1959).
[3] Page (1959) 135.
[4] Giovannini (1969) 52.

According to Smith[5], collective memory and mental cartography are involved in the construction of identity. The *Hymns* and the Catalogue of Ships are examples of a collective memory based on mythical accounts, which, in association with Homer's contemporary Greece of the 8th century BC, contributed to create a cultural identity. Travel literature and geography were part of the construction of identity.

The heroic *periploi* and the mythical journeys of gods and heroes were social constructs to interpret spatial relationships. In the *Hymns of Demeter, Dionysus* and *Apollo*, travel is the principal feature around which the stories of the gods are built. These mythological journeys, although bound into the social and cultural context of myth, reflect the knowledge of the world in a given time. They also show the contacts between Greece and other cultures, and the social dimension of travelling in terms of imaginary places and ethnic interests.

The early form of *periploi* were written in formulaic language to enumerate towns or landmarks on the coasts, occasionally mentioning places on the inland, and were written as a guide for mariners. Afterwards, these early *periploi* became more literary accounts than proper maritime charts showing an interest for the exotic and the fantastic. Practical elements such as the direction of the wind, good harbours, location for water supply, the distance between one place to another, were replaced by description of inhabitants. This became a genre of ethnography and history which started to flourish in the 5th and 4th centuries BC[6]. The *periplous* of Scilax[7] is a halfway example of the early *periploi* and their development into a literary genre. It is written in formulaic language, and kept useful information of distances, which reflect the model of the old *periplous* written as a guide for mariners; but it also shows an interest for ethnographic details and landscape description.

A relevant aspect for us in relation to the *Periplous* of Scilax, is that the genre of *Periploi* normally refer to remote and distant lands, while the *Periplous* of Scilax includes a journey around Greece. That journey focuses on the Gulf of Corinth and central Greece (Boeotia and Attica), and moves to the North-western Peloponnese (Elis, Arcadia, Mesenia, and Lacedaimon). Then it moves South to Crete and the Cycladic islands, and then back to the North-eastern coast of the Peloponnese (Epidaurus, Hermione, and Trezenia), to return finally again to Corinth. From there, it

[5] Smith (1986) 178, 206.

[6] Evans (1991) chapter 3, refers to how the information of early *Periploi*, already with ethnographic and literary taste, instead of mere practical books, were influencing Herodotus writing. See also Garcia Moreno A and F.Gómez Espelosin (1996) 37-97.

[7] *FGrHist.*709 (Jacoby) Late 4th Century.

heads North, passing through central Greece (Attica and Boeotia), then on to Thessaly and Macedonia. The *periplous* aims to include the totality of Greece, reaching its frontiers to the South (Crete) and North (Thessaly-Macedonia), passing twice by central Greece. It generates a ring route in the area of the Gulf of Corinth; an area which, as we will see, is also important in the Homeric *Hymn*s, especially in those of *Dionysus* and *Apollo*.

I will study in detail the *Hymn to Apollo* further below. In the mean time, I will refer to the *Hymn to Dionysus* and *Demeter*. The *Hymn to Dionysus* does not depict a detailed journey. Nevertheless, it can be studied in association with travel writing. It refers to the contrast between Greek geography and far away places from where the god came; for example, familiar places like Naxos, Elis (river Alpheios) and Thebes are mentioned in contrast to remote locations like Mt. Nysa in Phoenicia, and other localities in Cyprus and Egypt (*Hymn to Dionysus* l.1-7). The contrast between distant places and familiar locations can be interpreted as a spatial relationship of centre/periphery: those remote locations may refer to the Asiatic origin of the god in opposition to the description of central Greece, which is the area visited by him, and where he was worshipped.

In the *Hymn*, the god is linked with the areas of Boeotia, the Cycladic islands and the north-western part of the Peloponnese; and we must become aware that the description of the area of central Greece referred in the *Hymn*, mentions the same places which are highlighted in the ring route of the *Periploi* of Scilax (see above). The fact that Dionysus is not wandering in the frontiers of Greece, but in the central zone by the Gulf of Corinth, may say something about how an outsider got a position in the heart of Greek culture, and his wanderings in Greece can be considered as a political expression of the importance of his cult.

In the *Hymn to Dionysus*, the sea is the place were the story develops. His wanderings, his epiphany and transformation into a lion, and the miracle of the wine (*Hymn to Dionysus* ll, 41-47) can be interpreted as being part of the fantastic expectations of mariners when they are at sea exploring distant and new lands. The routes and the places mentioned in the *Hymn* have to be seen as important places of Greek history for political or religious interests, and not mere names picked at random. The *Hymns* may refer to places where the god was born, or from where he came, or a number of different localities where his oracle was established, or to areas where his cult was spread. From the *Hymns to Dionysus*, we can conclude that travel was an important component of geographical records, and that literary geography owns much to the *periplous* tradition.

Fantastical encounters and imaginary places were part of the Greek mental cartography. For example, the Greek imagined the Ethiopians, the people living in the limits of the inhabited world, as good hosts of the Olympic

gods[8]. Heroes travelled to imaginary location, as Heracles to the garden of the Hesperides, and Io to the land of the Amazons[9]. There were also mythical places associated with religious beliefs, for example, the Island of the Blessed, where there is no winter (*Od.*6.563-568; Hesíodo *Erga* 167-173)); but above all, it was the underworld the place which fired the Greek cartographic imagination.

The *Hymn to Demeter* narrates the mythical journey of Kore to the underworld and her return to Earth. The underworld was a place on the Greek mental map located behind the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar). The popularity of the literary accounts about journeys to the underworld is attested in the numerous examples of heroes visiting Hades, such as Odysseus, Heracles, and Orfeo.

This *Hymn* has been commonly interpreted as a myth of agriculture[10]. The rape and return of Persephone were identified with seasons of agriculture; the period Kore stays in Hades is related to the time of sowing in autumn, and the period she spends with her mother is related to the growth of the crops in spring (*Hymn to Demeter* 15-20; 90-94)[11]. The fertility of the soil and the famine with which Demeter threatens mankind when she knows of the rape of her daughter, suggests the possibility of considering cultivated land as an important poetic feature in epic poetry. The *Hymn* constructs the theme of agriculture in relation to the theme of *nostos*, in which mother and daughter are reunited. That resembles the end of the *Odyssey*, in which cultivated land is also the background of the meeting of father and son.

There are two cases in which nature becomes associated with the religious spirit. One is in epiphanies, were nature is transformed in the presence of the god, and another is in the location of sanctuaries and sacred places, which were normally built in spectacular scenarios[12]. Rutherford has argued that an important aspect of pilgrimage was sightseeing. The pilgrimage route was formed by way stations and sacred places visited along the journey. Pilgrims were engaged in contemplation of natural sights such as springs and fountains, and also of works of art, like temples and statues[13].

Nature contributes to the creation of religious feeling during pilgrimage. In fact, modern aesthetics on art and nature refer to the importance of

[8] Romm (1992) 45-60.
[9] On Heracles see West (1997) 458-472. On Io, see West (1997) 442-457, also White (2001) 117-118.
[10] Foley (1994). Rudhardt (1994).
[11] Richardson (1974) 13.
[12] De Polignac (1995).
[13] Rutherford (1998) 138-142. Professor Ian Rutherford kindly gave me a copy of his chapter on sacred routes (forthcoming).

landscape in conformation of the religious spirit. For example, Carroll[14] works with the assumption that religion made use of natural scenery to give rise to emotional responses. Through religion, space becomes significant to people, for it gives a social meaning to landscape.

Within the religious context of geography, the work of Giovannini deserves special attention. He argues that the geographical itinerary of the CS can be compared to the routes followed by the sacred envoys (qewrod oi of Delphi) as recorded on inscriptions from Delphi of around 200 BC[15]. Giovannini[16] ound that some inscriptions from the Hellenistic period listed political units which were organised in a similar geographical sequence to that of the CS, and also found that most of the epithets used by the Oracle of Delphi were equal to those mentioned in the CS.

He has been criticised by many scholars, but his real contribution was to highlight that the CS is modelled upon a geographic tradition of routes, as those of the sacred envoys to Delphi[17]. In act, a system of roads was developed in the 8th century BC in association with panhellenic institutions, such as the Olympic games and the Oracle of Delphi, and the accounts of the journeys of gods and heroes must have, to a great extent, been modelled upon the network of ancient roads.

The construction of geography through travel (*Periploi* and itineraries) is a tradition which is reflected in literary geography: Giovannini is an example of someone who wants to establish which historical routes are reflected in those journeys which appear in a literary source. However, nor the mythical-poetical journeys described on the *Hymns*, nor the geography of the Catalogue are simple descriptions of routes.

The Catalogue of Ships and the *Hymns* are examples of space represented as a social product. If we remember from the Introduction, Marxism considers spatial relations as a social product. My idea of using that notion in this context is to study spatial relationships as the result of the interest of a society in giving meaning to space with political, economic and religious purposes. If we consider Greek geographical discourses as social products, we will be able to understand how geography took part in the

[14] Carroll (1993) 244-265.

[15] Giovannini (1969) 57.

[16] For example, Πελασγικὸν˙ Αργος, Arcadia Πολύμελος, Argiens λινοθώρηκες are epithets which only appear in the CS, and nowhere else in the *Iliad*. For the inscription of Delphi, see *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenic* (1921) 4-33 where there is the reproduction of the "Liste Delphique des Théorodoques".

[17] Kirk (1985) 185: comments that Giovannini "deserves great credit for drawing attention to an important possibility: that there was a long-standing tradition of the simultaneous despatch of sacred envoys along traditional routes covering all the Greek cities, and that the structure of the catalogue, whatever special information may be derived from Mycenaean times, is modelled on such a tradition".

way in which the Greeks built their culture by giving a social meaning to their spatial relations. It is through the kernel of culture that geography becomes a project of identity.

The CS is not a document of someone who describes an ongoing journey. However, I believe that it is travelled organised, for it follows a sequence of routes which may refer to real itineraries and *periploi* followed by different people for different purposes, like for example, pilgrimage, trading, participation in panhellenic festivities etc. The significance of the COW becomes apparent if it is seen in the light of travel literature. However, the COW is not a *periplous*. It shares with it its formulaic enumeration of places, but it differs from it, in that it mentions inland places, and that it is not written in the first person, which is one of the distinctive aspects of the *periploi* genre. Nevertheless, the COW and the *Hymns* belong to the same geographical tradition of space as depicted in *periploi*. Ancient geography shaped the conception of space in the form of itineraries, and the construction of maps were made in terms of routes. Although we do not have in Greece examples of graphic depiction of routes, like for example in Roman times the Peutinger table[18], we still can argue that the CS and the *Hymns* were based on itineraries, and that travel was at the base of ancient representation of space.

Let us now see in detail the *Hymn to Apollo*. It depicts three routes which help to understand the Catalogue of Ships. Contrary to the *Hymn to Dionysus* and *Demeter*, the journeys of Apollo are closer to a real topographical description than to the realm of myth[19]. The theme of the *Hymn* is to narrate the movements of Leto and Apollo and to explain their purposes: to find a place for the birth of Apollo, and to find a place for the establishment of his sanctuary. The *Hymn* helps to understand the CS since in the *Hymn* it is clear that the geographical account is based on a journey, that means, the representation of space is constructed upon a route that is being followed by someone.

Although it is not obvious that the CS is a route to be followed, one can say however, that it is based on stories of journeys. My idea is that Homer bases his idea of geography upon the notion of a space which is constructed upon stories of journeys. The *Hymn* offers a valuable

[18] The Peutinger table is the most important document of ancient cartography. It is the conventional name of a MS c.1200 aC. of a late Roman world-map, itself a 4th century modification of a 2nd century, and perhaps even earlier design. It represents the inhabited world from Spain and Britain to India. It depicts the network of ancient roads, becoming an example of *Itineraria Picta*.

[19] Giovannini (1969) 64: "C'est bien plus à une source commune (dison mieux: à une tradition commune), qu'il faut attribuer la relation entre les deux poèmes". For references to the *Hymn* and the CS, see also Visser (1997) 249.

contribution to the study of geography because it shows the arrangement of space through the act of travelling.

The *Hymn* narrates the birth of Apollo and the establishment of his sanctuary. It is composed of two sections: the Delian and the Pythian sections. There is scholarly debate about whether the *Hymn* is one work composed of two sections, or whether it is two separates *Hymns* united at some stage, or whether it was composed as a coherent unity. Two scholars whom I have followed in my study of the *Hymn*, Miller and Penglase, think of the *Hymn* as a unity[20]. Miller places more emphasis on the geographical aspect of the *Hymn*, while Penglase focuses on the purpose of the journeys (which he considers journeys for power), and explains the unity of the *Hymn*, using parallels from Mesopotamian myths[21]. In the *Hymn to Apollo* there are three geographical itineraries and each one is clearly separated from one another[22].

These routes are: 1) A journey through northern Greece, the Thracian seaboard and the eastern and central Aegean; 2) a *periplous* along the Magnesia peninsula, and an inland route through central Greece; and 3) a *periplous* around the Peloponnese. The Catalogue of Ships is also composed of three routes: 1) a route which describes central Greece and the Peloponnese; 2) a route which describes the eastern Aegean; and 3) a route which describes Thessaly. Let us first see in detail the routes of the CS, and afterwards we will study the routes of the *Hymn*.

1. THE ROUTES OF THE CATALOGUE OF SHIPS.

1.1) The First Route: central Greece and the Peloponnese.

The description starts with Aulis in Boeotia, then it moves towards Orchomenos, Phocis, Locris, Euboea, Athens and Salamis. From Salamis, the list moves to the northeast Peloponnese: in a clockwise sweep, it moves from the Argolid and Mycenae, down to Lacedaimon, Pylos, Arcadia and Elis. From the northwest Peloponnese, it moves in a clockwise direction to the Cephallonian Islands and then Aetolia.

[20] Miller (1986). Penglase (1994).

[21] Penglase (1994) 117: "The *Hymn* is, of course, a work of the Homeric tradition and is based on inherited material and on inherited formulae which have their origin in oral tradition".

[22] Another interesting case of journeys appear in Sophocles' *Io* (*Frag* 269a Radt). Heidel (1937) studies the journey of Io and the knowledge of the boundaries of the known world (*terra cognita*).

1.2) The Second Route: the eastern Aegean.

From Crete, the description moves to Rhodes, Sume and Cos. There is an interruption, and then it returns across the Aegean to Thessaly, to describe Achilles' contingent.

1.3) The Third Route: Thessaly.

It begins with Achilles' domains; it proceeds up to the north side of Mt. Othrus, further beyond to Iolkos, then to the northern and central parts of the Thessalian Plain, then across to the Pindus again, and finally back to the Magnetes in the east (counter-clock wise direction).

In these three routes, there is one significant interruption. After the description of central Greece and the Peloponnese (the first route), the description changes direction completely. Instead of describing Thessaly (the third route), the description jumps to Crete, and in a anti-clock wise direction goes to the eastern Aegean (the second route).

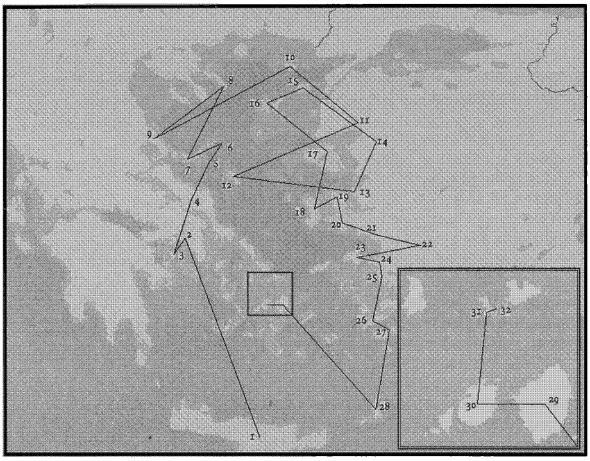
Kirk[23] supposes that in the Catalogue the division of the territories is distributed in a geographical order as if it were following a certain kind of route which follows the actual physicality of the Greek territory. However, I suggest that the routes have been modified in order to suit the story; the interruption is created for a literary need to highlight the kingdom of Achilles, for it is the first contingent of the list which constitutes Homer's Thessaly. The interruption seems to serve as a literary purpose of giving significance to Achilles' domain rather than, as Kirk[24] thinks, a geographical need to follow the natural routes of Greece of someone who travels without a map. The *Hymn* and the CS are similar in that both conceive space as a route. Let us now study in detail the three routes of the *Hymn*.

2. THE ROUTES OF THE *HYMN TO APOLLO*.

2.1.The First Route of the *Hymn*: a journey along the coast of northern Greece and Thrace, the Eastern and the central Aegean. (See Map 1)

Leto searches for a land in which to give birth to Apollo. The conception of the geography of this tour seems to imitate the CS: it has a similar narrative structure and depicts also a rugged landscape.

[23] Kirk (1985) 186.
[24] Kirk (1985) 186.



Mapa 1
1. Crete - 2. Athens - 3. Egina - 4. Euboea - 5. Aegae - 6. Eiresiae - 7. Paratethus
8. Thracian Athos - 9. Pelion - 10. Thracian Samos - 11. Ida - 12. Scyros - 13. Phocaea
14. Autocane - 15. Imbros - 16. Lemnos - 17. Lesbos - 18. Chios - 19. Mimas
20. Corycus - 21. Claros - 22. Aesagea - 23. Samos - 24. Mycale - 25. Mileto - 26. Cos
27. Gnido - 28. Carpathos - 29. Naxos - 30. Paros - 31. Renaea - 32. Delos

Leto visits Crete, Athens, the Egina island, Euboea, Aegae, Eiresiae, Peparethus, Thracian Athos, Pelion, Thracian Samos, Ida, Scyros, Phocaea, Autocane, Imbros, Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Mimas, Corycus, Claros, Aesagea, Samos, Mycale, Miletos, Cos, Cnidos, Carpathus, Naxos, Paros, and Rhenaea (*HyAP* 30-44). Her journey is described in a clockwise spiral from Crete up to the western coast of the Aegean, across the Thracian seaboard, down Ionia and the eastern islands to Carpathos -that is, nearly full circle to Crete again- with a final swing inward through the Cyclades to Rhenaea, and finally from there to Delphi[25].

The study of the use of epithets is the most important aspect for understanding the narrative structure of Homeric epics. I will list the epithets,

[25] Miller (1986) 33-34, Sowa (1984) 105.

and study the landscape they construct, and that will show that the *Hymn* and the CS posses the same aesthetic criteria in narrating space.

Epithets for places or for landmarks that appear in the *Hymn* and in the CS:

- Peparethus near the sea (ἀγχιάλη Πεπάρηθος). (32)
  In the Catalogue the epithet ἀγχιάλη is applied to Chalcis and Antron (Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον (2.640), ἀγχίαλον τ'' Αντρῶνα).

- The high hill of Autocane (Αὐτοκάνης ὄρος αἰπὺ). (35)
  The sheer hill of Aesagea (Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπύ). (40)
  In the Catalogue the epithet αἰπύ is applied to the mountain Kyllene (Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ) (2.603), and to the city of Dion (Δίου τ' αἰπύ πτολίεθρον) (2.538)

- Steep Cnidos (Κνίδος αἰπεινὴ). (43)
  In the Catalogue the epithet αἰπεινὴ is applied to Gonoessa (αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν). (2.573)

- Pelion's towering heights (Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα). (33)
  The heights of Corycus (Κωρύκου ἄκρα κάρηνα). (39)
  Steep heights of Mycale (Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα). (41)
  In the Catalogue it is said "the white crest of Titanus" (Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα) (2.735).

- Windy Carpathos (Κάρπαθος ἠνεμόεσσα). (43)
  In the Catalogue the epithet ἠνεμόεσσα is applied to Enispe (ἠνεμόεσσαν ' Ενίσπην) (2.606).

- Rocky Rhenaea (' Ρήναιά τε πετρήεσσα). (44)
  In the Catalogue the epithet πετρήεσσα is applied to Aulis, Pytho and Kalidon (Αὐλίδα πετρήεσσα (2.496), Πυθῶνα τε πετρήεσσαν (2.521), Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν) (2.640).

- Fair-lying Imbros (' Ιμβρος τ' εὐκτιμένη). 36)

In the Catalogue the epithet εὐκτιμένη is applied to Aepy "fair-founded Aepy" (εὐκτιτον Αἰπύ) (2.592).

Epithets of the *Hymn* that do not occur in the CS:

- Euboea famous for ships (ναυσικλειτή τ' Εὔβοια). (31, 219)
- Shady hills of Ida (῾Ιδης τ' δρεα σκιόεντα). (34)
- Craggy Minas (παιπαλόεις τε Μίνας). (39)
- Smouldering Lemnos (Λῆμνος ἀμιχθαλόεσσα). (36)
- Sacrosant Lesbos (Λέσβος τ' ἠγαθέη). (37)
- Chios, brightest of all the isles that lie in the sea. (Χίος, ἢ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται). (38)
- Gleaming Claros (Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα). (40)
- Watered Samos (Σάμος ὑδρηλή) (41). In the Catalogue Samos appears without an epithet (2.634).

The Hymn and the CS use the same epithets and follows the same geographical criteria. They both emphasise the rugged landscapes of Greece, up to the point, as we will see below, that both Catalogues close with rugged sites.

Miller makes a valuable contribution when he considers the geographical sequence of territories as an important aspect of the narrative structure of the *Hymn*. He studies the use of epithets for places and points out that a mountainous scenery is constructed by mentioning mountainous places one after another, and that these mountainous places are arranged in three consecutive verses. He says: "Formal and metrical considerations, however, take precedence over strict geographical sequence. An organisation of the lines into triplets is discernible: in the second and fourth of these groups (33-35 and 39-41) each line ends with a reference to mountains"[26]. The verses are:

> Θηρίκιός τ' ' Αθόως καὶ Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα
> θρηικίη τε Σάμος ῾Ιδης τ' δρεα σκιόεντα,
> Σκῦρος καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Αὐτοκάνης δρος αἰπύ

> In Thracian Athos and Pelion's towering heights
> and Thracian Samos and the shady hills of Ida

[26] Miller (1986) 34.

in Scyros and Phocaea and the high hill of Autocane
(Translation from Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library).
*(HyAp.*33-35*)*

παιπαλόεις τε Μίμας καὶ Κωρύκου ἄκρα κάρηνα
καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπύ
καὶ Σάμος ὑδρηλὴ Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα

and craggy Mimas and the heights of Corycus
and gleaming Claros and the sheer hill of Aesagea
and watered Samos and the steep heights of Mycale.
(Translation from Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library).
(*HyAp.* 39-41)

The agglomeration of mountainous places creates a panoramic view of a rugged scenery, as if we were seeing it through the eyes of the goddess as she flies. That kind of enumeration of mountains and rugged areas in sequence (two rugged places mentioned in one verse, and verses of this type placed one after another) is not common in the CS. There are no examples in the CS where two rugged places are mentioned in a single line[27], and there are only two cases where references to 'rugged' are mentioned consecutively. One example comes from the Boeotian contingent, in which two places are characterised as rugged, Αὐλίδα πετρήεσσαν and πολυκνημόν τ' Ἐτεωνόν (*Il.*2.496-497). The other examples come from the Trojan Catalogue: the contingent of the Carians is characterised by Mt. Phthiron described as Φθιρῶν ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον and Mt. Mykale described as Μυκάλης ἀπεινὰ κάρηνα (*Il.*2. 868-869).

In the *Hymn*, the vision of a rugged landscape is constructed by using three consecutive verses, each one containing two rugged sites. By using this narrative pattern (enumeration of places in sequence), the *Hymn* arranges a group of natural features into a rugged panoramic view. In contrast, in the CS the general system of creating a rugged landscape is by mentioning one single rugged place in each verse, either an epithet or a landmark. Therefore, the *Hymn* presents a wider panoramic view, whereas the CS, using landmarks to demarcate or identify domains, presents fractions of territories, and it that way it is clear that it represents a cultural construction of political geography.

An important aspect of geographical accounts is the way in which they end. I want to draw a comparison between the closure of the *Hymn*

[27] See the examples of similes of animals in which two animals are mentioned in one verse (*Il.*11.113: ὡς δὲ λέων ἐλάφοιο ταχείης νήπια τέκνα). See Bocchetti C. (2006).

and of the Catalogue of Ships. They both end with a rugged landscape: the Catalogue of the Achaeans closes with the Magnetes' contingent which is characterised by Mt. Pelion[28] (*Il.*2.756-758), and the *Hymn* ends with Rhenaea characterised as πετρήεσσα, Delos' closest neighbour (*HyAp.* 44-46).

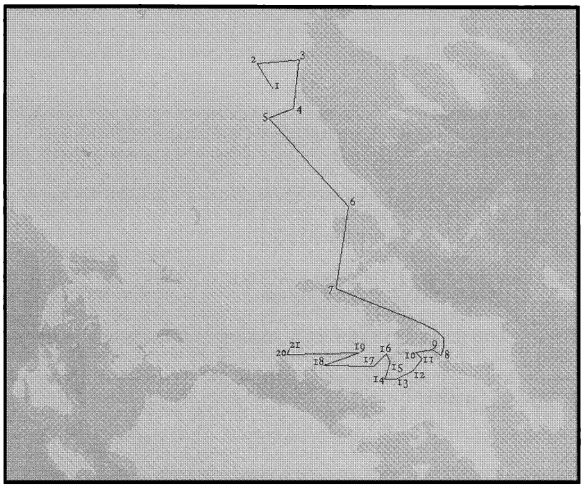
The geographical sites in which the *Hymn* and the CS close reflect the importance which certain kind of natural scenery had for ancient Greek culture. Rugged scenarios were part of the way in which the Greeks interpreted their land; their prominence in myth and in literary accounts, show that they were used as means of explaining the relationship between the Greeks and their country. Landscape interplays with identity. The CS presents territories through the interaction between places and their inhabitants: "They who lived about Thaumakia and Methone" (*Il.*2.716). The *Hymn* starts with the same notion of listing people and lands, and aims to be a Catalogue of all the mortals Apollo rules over, πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν. But towards its end, it became simplified and ends as a catalogue of lands[29]. A rugged landscape is present at the end of both closures. In literature and in myth we can search for social responses to understand space and environment.

2.2. The second route of the *Hymn*: a *periplous* around the Magnesian peninsula, and inland routes through central Greece. (See Map 2)

Apollo searches for a place for the foundation of his oracle. This route has to be seen in association with the third route (see below), in which Apollo travels along the coast of the Peloponnese searching for the ministers for his sanctuary. I think that these two routes depict two possible ways of travelling to Delphi. The second route is the description of the journey of someone who wants to go to Delphi coming from Northern Greece: He would travel by sea along the Magnesian coast, reaching Euboea from where he would enter central Greece, and then travel through Boeocia, Phocis and Locris to finally arrive at Delphi. The third route is the description of someone who wants to go to Delphi coming from the south of the Peloponnese: that route depicts a *periplous* all around the west coast of Laconia, arriving to Crisa via the Gulf of Corinth.

Let us now focus on the description of the second route. It concentrates on the areas of Boeotia, Orchomenos and Phocis. The narrative is constructed in the second person, and the narrator, addressing the god himself, speaks as if he were reminding to the god of the lands he has

[28] Mt. Pelion is part of the Vale of Tempe.
[29] Miller (1986) 33.



Mapa 2
1. Olympus - 2. Pieria - 3. Lectus - 4. Enienae - 5. Perrhabi - 6. Iolco - 7. Ceneo
8. Lelanto - 9. Euripus - 10. Mont Glaucus - 11. Mycalessus - 12. Teumessus
13. Thebas - 14. Onquestus - 15. Cephissus - 16. Ocalea - 17. Haliartus - 18. Telphusa
19. Phlegyaea - 20. Crisa - 21. Delphi

visited. The narrator describes the movement of Apollo from one place to another, and the description is focused more on the route itself than on the idea of a panoramic representation of space (contrary is the case of the first journey in which we do obtain a panoramic view).

Apollo travels through the following places: Pierai, Olympus, Lectus, Enienae, Perrhabi, Iolcus, Euboea, Lelantine plain, crossing the Euripus to Mycalesos, Teumessus, Thebes, Onchestos, Cephissus, Lilaea, Ocalea, Haliartus, Telphusa, Phlegyae near the Cephisan Lake, and finally Crisa beneath snowy Parnassus (216-246). Let us see the description of the places and the epithets mentioned in the second tour, and how that description differs from the CS.

Places of the *Hymn* that appear in the CS:

The wood-clad abode of Thebes (Θήβης δ' εἰσαφίκανες ἔδος καταειμέ νον ὕλη) (225)

Cephissus' sweet stream (Κηφισσὸν καλλιρέεθρον) (240)
In the Catalogue it says "the well spring of Cephissus".(2.523)

Lilaea (241)
In the Catalogue Lilaea appears characterised as " Lilaea by the spring of Cephissus".
(Λίλαιαν πηγῆς ἐπι Κηφισοῖο). (2.523)

Many towered Ocalea (' Ωκαλέην πολύπυργον) (242)
In the Catalogue Ocalea does not appear with an epithet.(2.501)

Crisa (Κρίσῃ ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησοῖο, Κρίσην ὑπὸ Παρνησὸν νιφόεντα) (269)
In the catalogue of ships Crisa is characterised as "The sacrosanct" (Κρῖσάν τε ζαθέην) (2.520)

Epithets of the *Hymn* that occur in the CS.

Onchestos and Haliartus are places that appear in both the *Hymn* and the Catalogue with the same epithet: Grassy Haliartos (' Αλίατρον ποιή εντα) (243),(2.503) and Onchestos Poseidon's bright grove (Ογχηστὸν Ποσιδήιον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος) (230),(2.506).

Places that do not occur in the CS:

Lectus, Teumessus, Telphusa, Phlegyaea and Parnassus.

The places which are not mentioned in the CS are significant in particular to Apollo. For example, there is a detailed description of the area of Crisa, under Parnasus (283-285), and of the area of Telphusa. The technique of detailed descriptions is absent from the CS. Although the *Hymn* seems to imitate the CS, and both are based upon the same geographical tradition, the *Hymn* emphasises the places which were important in relation to Apollo, and it adapts the tradition adding the information which is relevant to the subject which it develops.

The second route taken by Apollo is divided into three different journeys: 2.2.1) the first part is a *periplous* along the coast of Magnesia arriving in

Euboea; 2.2.2) the second part is the description of Apollo's wanderings in different locations of Boeotia, Locris and Phocis, locations which may refer to the sacred places of Apollo's cult; and finally, 2.2.3) the third part is the description of a journey from Orchomenos to Delphi.

2.2.1) Apollo travels from Pieria to Euboea passing by Mt. Olympus, Lectus, Enienae and the area of Perrhabi, Iolcos, and enters Boeotia via Euboea.

Pieria was a region in Macedonia were the Muses where worshipped, and a place also associated with Apollo. Apollo follows the Magnesian peninsula, mentioning places located or visible from the coast, like Mt. Olympus and the Perrhabi which was a Thessalian tribe who lived on the coast, and arrives to Iolcos, which is a sea town, and from where he then moves on to Euboea.

2.2.2) Apollo enters Boeotia and travels in central Greece.

From Euboea, Apollo entered central Greece and wandered through Boeocia, Locris and Phocis. Apollo went to Boeotia through the Euripos channel. When he entries Boeotia, the narrative changes: the god's journey is at a slower pace, and the narrative stops to describe each place visited by him. The first city mentioned in Boeotia is Mycalessus (222-224). Why does Apollo go from Pieria to Delphi via Euboia? Why then not go directly? The entry to Boeotia through Euboea reflects a historical road which existed between Chalcis and Thebes. This road, as Gomme[30] has explained, was a high pass over Mt. Messapion: the ascent, from the side of Euboea is extremely steep, and at nine kilometres from Chalcis, the top is reached. Then after one short steep bend, the descent westwards is straight and very gradual, leading down through open fields to the plain of Thebes. Mycalessos was situated just below the steep part of the descent, only six miles from the coast, but on the land side of the pass counted as an inland town.

In Boeotia, Apollo visits Mycalessus, Teumessus, Thebes, Onchestus, and Haliartus; all of them are mentioned in the CS, except Teumessus. The CS does not start with Mycalessus but with Aulis; Mycalessus is an inland place but the CS needs a port in order to describe the gathering of the ships at the beginning of the Catalogue. If the *Hymn* were copying the CS, the journey of Apollo through central Greece would have started at Aulis. However, the fact that Apollo enters Boeotia, arriving first at Mycalessus, suggests that his journey follows the road mentioned above.

The journey of Apollo is half a *periplous* and half an inland itinerary. If someone is coming from the north and wants to go to Delphi, he must follow a route which is half a *periplous* by the Magnesian coast, and half an

[30] Gomme (1937) 21-29.

inland itinerary crossing central Greece. There are two other possible routes, but longer and more difficult to use: one is to travel by boat by the Magnesian coast and then all around the Peloponnese to enter Delphi via the Gulf of Corinth, and the other is to travel through an inland road through Thessaly, as the Persians did under Xerxes.

One of the principal aspects of the *Hymn* is the visit of Apollo to Telphusa. She will tell him to undertake the foundation of his sanctuary in Crisa. The arrival of Apollo at Haliartus is delayed in the narrative by the insertion of another unexpected itinerary. What I mean is that Apollo was in Onchestus, and Haliartus is just next to it. Apollo, however, appears without an explanation in Lilaea, a place far in the north, in the area of Phocis (239-241). Why does Apollo not go from Onchestos immediately to Haliartus, but instead changes direction to Lilaea and the river Cephissus? If he was in Onchestus, why did he not travel from there to Haliartus? But he appears in the north returning to the direction of Onchestus, and entering Boeotia again. This can be explained from a literary perspective as a way of delaying the encounter between Apollo and Telphusa. It can also be explained from a religious perspective if we keep in mind that the *Hymn* may follow a pilgrimage route to Delphi which included the visit to sacred places; and, perhaps, the river Cephissus was a relevant stop as a way station to Delphi[31].

From the area near Cephissus, Apollo goes south to enter again the territory which in the CS is the Contingent of the Boeotians. He passes Ocalea and arrives at Haliartus where he meets Telphusa. He seems to be following roughly two well-known routes of Boeotia: one linking Plataia with Thebes, and another linking Haliartus or Kopais with Orchomenos[32].

2.2.3) Apollo goes from Telphusa to Crisa under Parnassus, passing through Phlegyae. He killed the monster Python and made the foundation for his sanctuary. He seems to be following an inland route from Lilaea-Orchomenos to Crisa. Here, there is again another anomalous geographical change. If he were in Haliartus, it would have been more convenient to travel through the sea to reach Crisa. However, he travels inland from Haliartus, back again to the Cephissus river (where he has already been), and then moves west in the direction of Crisa. It seems to me, that in general, he was following the pilgrimage route and its way stations to Delphi. From Crisa, Apollo returns to Telphusa (in order to punish her since she betrayed him), but this journey is not described at all.

The journeys of Apollo are confused in terms of the logic of the itinerary, for Apollo, although he is very close to the place he wants to reach next,

[31] For the meaning of way stations in pilgrimage, see Rutherford (forthcoming).
[32] Gomme (1937) 30-39.

changes direction to remote places in order to delay his arrival with no apparent reason. That can be interpreted as the need to include locations in his journeys which were not part of the a practical or real route, but were included in order to expand his wanderings and to include places which were of religious significance to his pilgrimage and cult.

There is an interesting aspect to point out in the description of lands as they appear in the *Hymn* and in the CS. In the *Hymn*, 'countries' do not separate the territories through which the god travels, while in the CS, a hero's domain demarcates land. Apollo travels through the areas which are, in the CS, the contingent of Boeotia, Orchomenos and Phocis. Apollo's journeys in these areas are divided into three different routes, routes which separate the territories into the same divisions as the contingents in the CS.

1) From the Euripus to Onchestos (the contingent of the Boeotians)

2) From the Cephissian stream to Haliartus (the Orchomenos contingent)

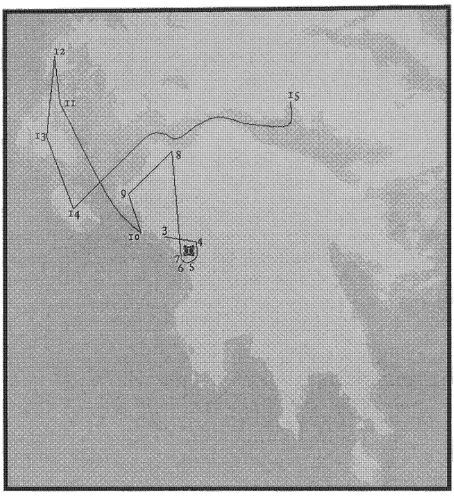
3) From the Cephissian lake to Crisa (the Phocian contingent)

In the *Hymn*, describing three routes that Apollo followed creates the separation of the each area; in the CS, each of these areas is a separate contingent. The journeys of Apollo describe different areas, and each geographical area is conceived as a separate journey. The *Hymn* arranges the geographical account in terms of journeys, and also is aware of the limits of each territory; that contributes to the understanding that the COW operates within divisions of domains, which highlights the fact that it is clearly a political, geographical project.

2.3. The Third Route of the *Hymn*.

Apollo looks for ministers for his sanctuary. He transformed into a dolphin, sails a ship from Crete into the direction to Crisa. He travels along the west coast of the Peloponnese passing by Arene, Argyphea, Thryon, the river Alpheios, Aepy, Pylos, Cruni, Chalcis, Dyme, Elis, Pherae, Ithaca, Dulichion, Same, Zacynthus, and finally enters the Gulf of Corinth in the direction to Crisa (*Hy.Ap.* 409-432). (See Map 3).

The Peloponnese of the *Hymn* is described in similar terms as those of Homer's Peloponnese, and most of the locations mentioned in the *Hymn* appear in the CS. The *Hymn* seems to reflect a real *periplous*; it mentions only the places on the coast, and does not mention Arcadia, which is at the centre of the Peloponnese. It is important to notice that Arcadia is mentioned in the CS (*Il.*2.603-614).



Mapa 3

1. Arene
2. Argyphea
3. Thryon
4. Aepy
5. Pylos
6. Cruni
7. Calchis
8. Dyme
9. Elis
10. Pherae
11. Itaca
12. Dulichio
13. Same
14. Zacynthus
15. Crisa

Places of the Hymn that occur in the CS:

Lovely Argyphea (᾽Αγρυφέην ἐρατεινὴν). (422)
In the Catalogue Αὐγειὰς ἐρατεινὰς is mentioned twice
῾Αραιθυρέην τ᾽ ἐρατεινὴν(2.571),᾽ Αρήνην ἐρατεινὴν(2.591)

Well-placed Aepy (εὔκτιτον Αἶπυ). (424)
In the Catalogue it appears in the same way.(2.593)

Sandy Pylos (Πύλον ἠμαθόεντα). (424)
In the Catalogue, Pylos is not described as 'sandy' (2.591), but it is 'sandy' every where else in the *Iliad*. There is no other city described as sandy in the Catalogue.

Fair Elis (᾽Ηλιδα δῖαν). (426)
In the Catalogue it appears in the same way (2.615)

The steep mountain of Ithaca (᾽Ιθάκης τ᾽ ὄρος αἰπὺ). (428)
The Catalogue says "Ithaca and leaf-trembling Neritos". (2.632)

Wooded Zacynthus (ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος). (429)
In the Catalogue it appears without an epithet (2.634), but it is "wooded Zacynthus" elsewhere in the *Iliad*.

Crisa land of vines (ἀμπελόεσσαν). (438)
In the Catalogue it appears as Κρίσάν τε ζαθέην "Crisa the sacrosanct". (2.520)

The city of Thryon appears both in the CS and in the *Hymn* without an epithet, and the river Alpheios is mentioned in the same way in the Iliad (*Il.*2.592) and in the *Hymn* as ᾽Αλφειοῖο πόρον .

Aurelio Peretti[33] thinks that the journey of Apollo around the Peloponnese is the description of a *periplous*. The ship follows the coast mentioning landmarks, cities, harbours, rivers, islands and gulfs, and the poet gives a distinctive aspect of each locality according to the epic tradition. The sequence of places and the locations mentioned are relevant as maritime routes, and gain significance from a nautical perspective when someone travels around the Laconian peninsula.

Sacred routes were not so different from roads used for commerce and transport. It is possible that this *periplous* is the description of a route that follows pilgrims on their way to Delphi. Graf[34] suggests that the point of reference to Apollo Delphinios in *HyAp.*496 may be that pilgrims coming via *Crisa* made sacrifices to Apollo "the god of the dolphins" when they had successfully completed their voyage; and that may indicate that there was also a sea route of pilgrimage to Delphi.

To compare the *Hymn* to a *periplous*, highlights the debt which literary geography owes to the *periplous* tradition. The similarity between the *Hymn* and the CS shows how much the *periplous* tradition is also reflected in the COW. We can conclude that literary geography owed a great deal to the *periplous*, but because it is the result of a social construct, it takes part in the way in which the Greeks structured their panhellenic identity.

Geography, associated with myth, was a social tool for prestige, knowledge and power, for it was a medium of articulating identity. Myth has been studied mainly in the role it has in giving prestige and legitimisation,

[33] Peretti (1979) 15-16.
[34] Graf (1979) 5.

through heroic genealogies, to the foundations of colonies. However, there has been little concern in the use of myth as a medium to confer prestige and heroic identity when it is attached to literary geographical accounts.

The CS is not a geographical document of Mycenaean times, but Mycenaean elements appear in order to give legendary connection and prestige to the 8th century BC contemporary Greece. The ancients did not distinguished as carefully as we do between the legendary and historical past, and for them, history began in the earliest ages recalled in mythological tales. For that reason the COW was not an old-fashioned, archaic or anachronistic geographical account to the Greeks who were contemporaries with Homer. The Mycenaean heritage is part of the legendary identity which the Greeks used to give validation and prestige to its present: for example, Corinth was an important economic emporium in the 8th century BC, it does not have Mycenean remains, so it is not related to the Trojan War. However, Corinth, due to its economic wealth, claims prestige and heroic connections by its association with Mycenae in the CS.

The CS is a cultural map of Greece. It is a social construct of space in which history, religion and politics were structured within the background and the heroic prestige which it was conferred by Mycenae and the myth of Troy. The fact that the geographical discourse was structured in a catalogue form, made it possible to introduce to it modifications according to the different political and religious interests of different periods. Due to the fact that this catalogue form could be easily modified, the CS was always changed to express contemporary identities throughout different periods of Greek history.

The theme of the movements of gods is a subject of oriental origin. It is recurrent in early Babylonian texts, and it is attested in Greek literature as early as Mycenean times. West[35] thinks that students of Classical Greece will understand fully the significance of Greek culture if it is studied in association with Near Eastern influences. In his book, *The East Face of Helicon*, he establishes the common literary topics which both cultures developed. The Eastern influence on Greek poetry and myth did not burst in at one particular time and then stop. Oriental elements continued to percolate throughout all the periods of Greek ancient history.

In spite of its oriental origin, the theme of the journey of gods was adapted to the Greek scheme of formulaic poetry. In fact, Penglase[36] considers that journeys of gods in Mesopotamian literature were journeys for power, and that the Homeric *Hymns* are entirely different from the religious poetry we find among other nations. The praises of the god never take the

[35] West (1997).
[36] Penglase (1994).

form of an inventory of his power and attributes (except the *Hymn to Ares*), nor do they follow an oriental model of using heaping attributes and expression at random on whichever god is being celebrated to create for his image an aura of might and majesty[37].

In the particular case of the *Hymn to Apollo*, the religious theme is not attached to the supernatural features of the god, but on the social significance of his cult. The *Hymn* emphasises the route of way stations to Delphi, instead of the divine attributes of Apollo. For example, his epiphany does not modify the landscape, and nature is not transformed in his presence; as it occurs for example, in the *Iliad* when grass ambrosia grows by the Scamander to feed the horses of Hera (*Il.*5.773)[38]. The god does not travel either at a supernatural speed, as he does in the *Iliad* where he can get from Delphi to Thessaly with a single step (*Il.*13.20). Neither he flies, as occurs, for example, in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* (66-74) where the goddess travels through the clouds[39]. The journeys of Apollo in the *Hymn* are modelled upon the geographical tradition of the CS.

As we saw by comparing the epithets and the landscape in each Catalogue, the geography of the *Hymn* seems to imitate the geography of the CS. Its religious significance is adapted to the same geographic tradition of the CS, becoming in this way also a social construct of cultural identity.

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[37] Frankel (1975) 250.
[38] Also *Il* 14.346-351.
[39] Also *Il.*13.62, *Od.*1.320.

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