Performing Homer

The epic poems the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, attributed to Homer, are among the oldest surviving works of literature derived from oral performance. Deeply embedded in these works is the notion that they were intended to be heard: there is something musical about Homer’s use of language and a vivid quality to his images that transcends the written page to create a theatrical experience for the listener. Indeed, it is precisely the theatrical quality of the poems that would inspire later interpreters to cast the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* in a host of other media-novels, plays, poems, paintings, and even that most elaborate of all art forms, opera, exemplified by no less a work than Monteverdi’s *Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria*. In *Performing Homer: The Voyage of Ulysses from Epic to Opera*, scholars in classics, drama, Italian literature, art history, and musicology explore the journey of Homer’s *Odyssey* from ancient to modern times. The book traces the reception of the *Odyssey* through the Italian humanist sources—from Dante, Petrarch, and Ariosto—to the treatment of the tale not only by Monteverdi but also such composers as Elizabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, Gluck, and Alessandro Scarlatti, and the dramatic and poetic traditions thereafter by such modern writers as Derek Walcott and Margaret Atwood.

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The *Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera* series provides a centralized and prominent forum for the presentation of cutting-edge scholarship that draws on numerous disciplinary approaches to a wide range of subjects associated with the creation, performance, and reception of opera (and related genres) in various historical and social contexts. There is great need for a broader approach to scholarship about opera. In recent years, the course of study has developed significantly, going beyond traditional musicological approaches to reflect new perspectives from literary criticism and comparative literature, cultural history, philosophy, art history, theatre history, gender studies, film studies, political science, philology, psychoanalysis, and medicine. The new brands of scholarship have allowed a more comprehensive interrogation of the complex nexus of means of artistic expression operative in opera, one that has meaningfully challenged prevalent historicist and formalist musical approaches. This series continues to move this important trend forward by including essay collections and monographs that reflect the ever-increasing interest in opera in non-musical contexts. Books in the series are linked by their emphasis on the study of a single genre - opera - yet are distinguished by their individualized and novel approaches by scholars from various disciplines/fields of inquiry. The remit of the series welcomes studies of seventeenth-century to contemporary opera from all geographical locations, including non-Western topics.

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a graduate seminar at Princeton University offered by Robert Fagles entitled “Odysseus through the Ages.” This seminar took place the same year that Gary Tomlinson published his *Metaphysical Song*, and the collision of texts and ideas circulating that year bore fruit in this essay. Encouragement by another professor, Scott Burnham, prompted the author to “read the *Odyssey* as opera.”

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Acknowledgments

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We are grateful to the musicians and entire production team whose production of Monteverdi’s *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria* at Princeton University’s Richardson Auditorium, New Jersey, in January 2009 was the original impetus for this volume. Our special thanks to Michael Pratt, the production’s music director, whose championing of baroque operas at Princeton not only introduced undergraduate singers to this extraordinary repertory but has created so fertile an environment for collaboration between the scholars and performers; to director Andrew Eggert and assistant director, Micaela Baranello, both of whom contributed to this volume; and our principal cast members, our former students Alexis Rodda (Penelope), Maya Kherani (Melanto), Adam Fox (Ulysses), Princeton voice teacher David Kellett (Eumete), and a special thanks to our guest artist, tenor Kim Scown (Iro). We are grateful as well for the support of the Princeton University Department of Music, the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, and the Princeton Program in Renaissance and Early Modern Studies, in particular directors Marina Brownlee and Nigel Smith who supported this collaborative project in its early stages, and Princeton’s Program in Italian Studies, especially Pietro Frassica, whose essay concludes this volume.

Our special thanks as well to Kyle Masson, whose impeccable editorial assistance over the last year has been invaluable.
In the climax of Monteverdi’s Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria, Ulisse, disguised as the old beggar, succeeds where the three suitors had failed before him: he strings his own bow. The suitors Pisandro, Antinoo, and Anfinimo cry out in astonishment while Minerva, ever Ulisse’s helper, descends in a machine. Calling upon both Giove and Minerva, Ulisse destroys the suitors and all their associates, save the beggar Iro, whose hunger will drive him to suicide in the subsequent scene. There is no evidence to tell us what audiences might have seen on the stage at the opera’s first performance at the Teatro San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice during the 1639–40 season, but we know something of what audiences might have heard. Monteverdi represented Ulisse’s destruction of the suitors through sound: a brief instrumental sinfonia with vigorous, repetitious rhythms, that sonically enacted this violent moment in Homer’s epic. In so doing, Monteverdi exploited one of his new stylistic innovations—the “stile concitato”—the agitated style that he refers to in his preface to the Eighth Book of Madrigals, the Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi, intended to compensate for music’s apparent inability to imitate the harsh violent emotions, such as anger.

That he would have been compelled to use this novel style at so critical a juncture in Il ritorno d’Ulisse, among the earliest operas to represent epic and the first to grapple with Homer, illustrates something of the challenges inherent in performing an epic, not only with opera, but in the variety of different genres and contexts considered in this volume. Why should this be? After all, the notion of performance is seemingly intrinsic to the Iliad and Odyssey and is at the core of all our fantasies about the blind Homer singing his own verses; indeed singing, playing, dancing, and reciting were of importance in the realms inhabited by Achilles and Odysseus. Nonetheless, what Monteverdi surely realized (and what becomes apparent in so many of the essays in this volume) is that the very vastness of the Homeric epic—the geographic and temporal range, the number of characters, the extremes of emotion, and their penetration into so many cultural contexts—make it both an elusive and irresistible subject for performers. Rife with visual and sonic imagery and dramatic potential, the Odyssey in particular has beckoned to countless artists, writers, and composers who wove variations on this great poem with the conviction that it still mattered for them and their contemporaries, despite the fact that no single attempt could fully capture its richness.
Introduction

This volume began nearly a decade ago at a conference at Princeton University in which the Princeton University Opera Theater performed *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria*, with music direction by Michael Pratt and stage direction by Andrew Eggert, whose essay is included in this volume. Under the watchful eye of Homer himself, as represented in the Tiffany mosaics of Richardson Theater in Alexander Hall, Princeton undergraduates undertook the challenge of bringing the concluding books of the *Odyssey* to life through the music of Claudio Monteverdi and the poetry of Giacomo Badoaro in an opera first presented on Venetian opera stage in 1640. As with most Venetian operas, we know relatively little about the initial production—how it looked, who sang in it, or even how it was received—yet what we do know from studying the music and the poetry is that the Venetians could not resist the temptation to remake Homer in their image. They captured something of the Republic’s antipathy for court life (apparent in the suitors’ scenes), Venice’s ambivalence about women and female chastity (embedded in the contrast between Penelope and Melanto), and the somewhat ironic approach to the question of hunger (be it for food or sex), embodied in Iro’s mad scene and suicide that follows the violent death of the suitors. Homer may be Homer; but here it is seen and heard through the lens of Venice’s distinct brand of humanism, replete with the playful heterodoxy of Venice’s Accademia degli Incogniti, to which Badoaro belonged. The questions that we posed for ourselves in putting together the conference and then, subsequently, this volume, had to do with the performative potential of Homeric epic. In the end we discovered that the questions were even more fundamental.

This collection, from many points of view, asks, “What is in a name?” The name of Homer, the names and nature of Homeric characters (and those imagined into existence by later writers), and the various genres—epic, opera, cantata, and *maggio*—that adapted Homer in so many different ways, all demand and defy definition.

**Who is Homer?**

The name of Homer evokes a set of texts—*Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the quintessential dyad of the Western canon—yet centuries of reception and research have connected the name of Homer with a set of dichotomies: authorship and anonymity, individual and collectivity, written and oral composition, written and oral circulation, persistence and contamination. Such dichotomies have a long history in Classical Studies and other disciplines involved in exploring the reception of Homeric works. The nature of the composition of the poems has been long debated, and the pioneering work of Parry and Lord in the 20s, 30s, and 40s marked the success of the theory of oral composition, in part already foreshadowed by the foundational work of F.A. Wolf in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.\(^1\) In Classical Studies, the discussion over the primacy of oral versus written composition and circulation is ongoing and vivacious, as demonstrated by the recent debate between Gregory Nagy and Hayden Pelliccia.\(^2\)

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have been dissected and reconstructed as works of a collectivity, an individual, and a combination of the two. The focus on performance has afforded the collection a capacious interpretive tool, which is able to address both the complex interplay of orality and written composition and
circulation as well as the impure readings the reception of the Homeric poems demand. By foregrounding the performances within the Homeric texts and their intrinsic performative aspect, essays like “‘Like an expert singer skilled at lyre and song’: Reading The Odyssey as Opera” by George Harne and “Soundings of the Lyre: Performing Homer in Archaic Greece” by Deborah Steiner pose the question of the performative nature of the epic itself. Harne’s essay reads Homer’s texts as opera, analyzing episodes in which the image of the author or his characters take on the qualities of performers, hence reflecting “constructions of subjectivity that would later constitute operatic experience in various forms.” Steiner’s piece, on the other hand, situates for us the act of performance within the rich context of the practice in Archaic Greece: “funerary laments, wedding songs, paeans, the pan-pipe tunes that shepherds play, harvest songs, and even full-fledged choral performances complete with youths and maidens dancing.”

A corollary of the question “Who is Homer?” is “Which Homer?” The long tradition of the Homeric texts is far from linear. In 1498, when the two “false narrations” of the Homeric matter, by Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, are the subject of the first critical edition, at the hands of the humanist Francesco Faraone, the incunabula containing their tales were by far more numerous than many ancient writers, including Homer.3 More than a hundred years earlier, Francesco Petrarca was eagerly awaiting his friend Leontius Pilatus’ Latin translation of the Iliad and the Odyssey, in a time when almost no humanist intellectual could access the Greek texts. In parallel with the scant diffusion of the Homeric texts, the tales that circulated for centuries under the names of Dares and Dictys had deeply pervaded the literary milieu, influencing a number of authors and texts destined in turn to wide dissemination, such as the Roman de Troie by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. The myriad rivers of the Homeric diffusion present unique problems, both from the point of view of philological reconstruction and from the point of view of the study of genre.

What is a character?

As the essays tread a path between the figure of Odysseus and that of Ulysses, one is reminded of the quintessential adjective the Homeric text uses for Odysseus: polytropos. The hero with many shapes, whose powerful mind allows protean adaptation to the circumstances, is the figure of variation and change, and possibly the most fitting case study for the stability of what we call a literary character. What remains, we could ask, of Ulysses, in this multiplicity of names and contexts, in this dissemination of genres and performances? Essays on the persistence of the Homeric character in early modern versions of epic (Stoppino) and their century long survival well into the contemporary (Cavallo) give a sense of the importance of the construction of a character for the history of ideas.

Even more importantly, the multifarious nature of the character of Odysseus brings the contributors to a reflection on the figure of Penelope and ultimately on the constructions of gender these characters traverse and parse. If Odysseus is polytropos, so too is Penelope: she is faithful and steadfast to be sure, though this has not prevented the occasional critic from questioning her chastity4; but whereas the Homeric Penelope is exceedingly resourceful—one senses in the Odyssey that Odysseus
admires her as much for her intellect as anything else—in the hands of subsequent interpreters, from Ariosto (Stoppino) to Badoaro/Monteverdi (Rosand), she was vulnerable to changing conceptions about female subjectivity, masculinity, and power.

For some, the source of fascination was a character about whom we know so much less: Telemachus. If part of the distinct appeal of the *Odyssey* is that it is a tale of mature love, we might understand why Telemachus, a young man whose future lies before him, bore political weight at the turn of the seventeenth century (Ketterer and Cabrini). Salignac de La Mothe Fénélon’s *Les Aventures de Télèmaque* reminds us as well of the generative power of the homeric imagination, for if a sequel to the *Odyssey* can be imagined into being, so too can a host of characters who variously illuminate, contaminate, and transform our central protagonists. Homer too is a character as fascinating as the protagonists in the epic he presumably authored. In 1897, it was Samuel Butler who proposed (perhaps seriously, perhaps in jest that the esteemed author might have been a woman (Hall). The desire to bring a more conventional Homer to life is apparent in the Tiffany mosaics designed by J. Holzer for Princeton’s Alexander Hall also in the last decade of the nineteenth century, where the central mosaic shows the white-robed Homer, flanked on one side by the Trojans (Helen, Paris, and Mentor) and the other by the Greeks (Odysseus, Penelope, and Telemachus). One wonders precisely what message this was intended to impart to the privileged young men studying the liberal arts at Princeton at the turn of the twentieth century (Figure 0.1).

![Homer surrounded by Helen, Paris, and Mentor (from the right) and Telemachus, Odysseus, and Achilles (from the left), Tiffany Glass, designed by J. A. Holzer, Alexander Hall in Richardson Auditorium, Princeton University, courtesy of Princeton University Library.](image_url)
What is a genre?

Performing Homer also questions the meaning of genre and posits genre at the center of the critical debate. The essays presented in the volume explore multiple incarnations of the Homeric texts and of the Odyssey in particular. Various critics have shown the persistent presence of Homer within the canonical and non-canonical Western tradition. Piero Boitani, in particular, has called for an “impure reading” of the Homeric persistence through the figure of Ulysses. According to Boitani, only a reading that is adaptable to constant changes in meaning and ideological reconfigurations, only a reading that is “oblique and impure” can produce an understanding of literature in history. In this perspective, genre plays a fundamental role, and the essays in Performing Homer follow the Homeric text from a privileged position. The focus on performance allowed the authors to move across genres and historical periods, constantly questioning the specificity of the Homeric heroes and narrations within a perceived universality of the “figure of Odysseus.” The principal genres treated here are epic and opera (along with related genres, such as the cantata, operetta, and the maggio, a form of Italian folk opera.) On the surface, there would seem to be little in common between epic and opera: one is ancient, the other an invention of the early modern world; one is unconstrained by the Aristotelian unities of verisimilitude, limited only by the poet and reader’s imaginations, the other, necessarily restricted by the conventions of theater, has been for so much of its existence the locus of aesthetic battles, some aimed at purifying the genre of its epic tendencies. That opera’s vernacularization of the classics was so influenced by the Renaissance chivalric epics in general and Ariosto in particular (Stoppino) adds another layer of complication.

Nonetheless, it is the tension between epic and opera that allows them to shed light on each other through their peculiar commitment to performance. The essays on the privileged connection of the Odyssey with all aspects of performance (Steiner, Harnell) lead us by way of Ariosto to the ample reflections on the ways in which Homeric themes and characters have been staged, be it through dance (Baranello), visual spectacle (Eggert), intertextuality (Rosand, Schulze), as a musical journey seen through the mind’s eye (Cabrini), as traditional folk theater (Cavallo), or as a set of heroic ideals whose relevance had faded (Ketterer). Yet, the power of Homer and the Homeric tradition is apparent in the numerous thematic strands that recur again and again in this volume and transcend temporal and generic boundaries, from the individual characters, to representations of gender and power, to visual and aural effects, to the role of the gods, and even special objects such as Achilles’ “silver bridge,” the lyre, and most significantly the bow, in both its musical and non-musical manifestations.

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We have divided the volume into three sections that explore the generic and chronological range of the responses to Homer. The first section, “Epic Theatricalities,”
is devoted to the intrinsic theatrical nature of the Homeric poems and its persistence in their chivalric reincarnations. Deborah Steiner’s essay, “Soundings of the Lyre: Performing Homer in Archaic Greece,” and George Harne’s “Reading the Odyssey as Opera” explore the intrinsically performative (and operatic ante litteram) nature of the Homeric texts. Steiner gestures toward the rich context of festivities and gatherings that hosted performances, and Harne reads the Odyssey from the point of view of operatic voice and subjectivity. In the essays by these two authors, two Homeric objects—the bridge of Achilles’ lyre and Odysseus’ bow—are unveiled in their multifaceted nature. At the same time objects of performance and war, they reveal the deeply performative essence of the Homeric poems. Eleonora Stoppino takes on the multiple refractions of the Homeric texts in the rewritings connected to the Italian renaissance chivalric epic. Stoppino follows the figure of Ulysses (and Penelope) in the most important chivalric poem of the early sixteenth century, Ludovico Ariosto’s Orlando furioso, and explores the connections of the Greek hero and his wife with the querelle des femmes.

“Staging a Baroque Homer” focuses on the musical treatments of Claudio Monteverdi’s Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria. Hendrik Schulze, exploring Badoaro’s apparent surprise at Monteverdi’s transformation of his libretto that rendered it almost unrecognizable to the poet, proposes that the early decades of Venetian opera were marked by two different approaches to opera, embodied by poet and composer: the one inspired by epic, in which characters exemplified allegorical principles, and the other, influenced by Aristotle’s notions about drama, that sought to develop more fully rounded, human characters. The dissonance between opera and epic manifests itself differently in Ellen Rosand’s essay, which illustrates the tension between Homer’s Penelope and the heroine created for the Venetian operatic stage by Badoaro and Monteverdi. Badoaro’s altering of the plot at critical junctures and Monteverdi’s judicious editing of the libretto (particularly Penelope’s opening monologue) underscore her role as an emblem of chastity, minimizing her cleverness and autonomy. She reminds us as well that song itself was a signifier of female chastity in the early years of Venetian opera; Monteverdi withholds Penelope’s desire to express herself with unchecked lyricism until the end of the opera, even as she withholds her favors from the suitors.

Micaela Baranello and Andrew Eggert both grapple with one of the most elusive elements of the opera—its visual components. Baranello turns to one of the mysteries of Monteverdi’s Il ritorno: a sung ballo (ballet) for eight Moors doing a Greek dance listed in the libretto in Act 2, Scene 3, for which no music survives. Taking account of the contested nature of song and pleasure in the opera manifest in Penelope’s reluctance to sing (Rosand), Baranello proposes that the scene with the ballo has a diegetic quality, invoking the endless banquets at Penelope’s “gloomy court.” The reference to other genres—madrigals, intermedii, and court opera (areas in which Monteverdi himself had much experience)—shows something of the generic self-consciousness of early opera. Andrew Eggert turns to contemporary performances of Il ritorno and in particular the challenges of visually representing an opera based on the Odyssey: the many different locales.
Wendy Heller and Eleonora Stoppino

(including the ocean and moving ship), the large number of characters, not to mention the gods who must arrive with or without machines. Comparing a number of productions currently available on video, he shows the various ways in which twentieth- and twenty-first-century technologies could create some of the seminal visual effects upon which the plot turns.

The power of music, gesture, and stage spectacle to animate, transform and contradict Homer is also apparent in the third section, “Traditions and Afterlife,” which touches on the fate of Homer in a variety of genres (folk opera, opera seria, cantata, and operetta) and performance contexts, from the outdoor theaters, opera house, intimate chamber settings). Jo Ann Cavallo focuses on adaptations of the Homeric epics in contemporary popular culture and exposes the reader to a little-known but extremely long-lived performative practice: the maggio epico tradition of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines. The maggio epico, a form of folk opera, is one of the few extant popular traditions based predominantly on canonical texts and performed in standard Italian. By comparing La guerra di Troia (The Trojan War) by Mario Pellegrinotti (1908–?), and La caduta di Troia (The Fall of Troy) by Davide Borghi (b. 1973), Cavallo shows both the specific features of the genre (exemplary behaviors, the opposition of good and evil, community solidarity) and the adaptations of the matter to specific—and sometimes contrasting—value systems. Michele Cabrini and Robert Ketterer both focus on the differing musical reception of one of the most widely disseminated homages to Homer: Fénélon’s Télémaque (1699) in early eighteenth-century Italian opera and French cantata. Ketterer considers the failure of Alessandro Scarlatti’s Telemaco (1718), with libretto by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci, the last Italian opera of the early eighteenth century to focus on the fortunes of the young Telemachus and his escape from his father’s erotic nemesis, Circe. In this instance, the trappings of epic in the world of opera—sensuality, magic gardens, mixture of comedy and tragedy, and dangerous femmes fatales—seem to have lost their charm on the operatic stage, being either insufficiently high-minded for opera reformers or simply too old-fashioned. Michele Cabrini turns from opera to the reception of Homer (and Fénélon) in the French cantata, a genre that—in the absence of a staging and often including a narrator—is in fact ideally suited as a vehicle for epic, where both music and poetry can take the listener on a journey using many shared narrative strategies. From the futurity of reception studies, Edith Hall traces back to the Victorian genre of operetta (the classical burlesque) the roots of the revolutionary publication of Samuel Butler’s The Authoress of the Odyssey (1897). In connecting Butler’s radical revision of authorship to the musical scene of his times, Hall brings the reflection back from the multiplicity of the character to the protean nature of the imagined author.

In the Epilogue, Pietro Frassica traces the arch of the figure of Ulysses as a myth for the human unconscious. From Homer to Dante, from Primo Levi to Derek Walcott, Frassica takes the reader on a journey of poetry and imagination. At the same time, his essay highlights the central elements that make Ulysses as a myth the image of multiplicity and, at the same time, persistence.
Notes


Part 1

Epic theatricalities
1 Soundings of the lyre
Performing Homer in archaic Greece

Deborah Steiner

Wagner was not the first to imagine his composition as a Gesamtkunstwerk, a work of art that drew into its compass multiple forms of representation. Homeric epic is no less multifaceted; not only does the performer accompany his recitation by playing on the lyre, assuming first the role of one character and then of another, but within his poem he evokes and even supplies selections from a full range of other types of compositions and modes of instrumentation: funerary laments, wedding songs, paeans, the pan-pipe tunes that shepherds play, harvest songs, and even full-fledged choral performances complete with youths and maidens dancing.

But even as the poet samples these heterogeneous modes, he gives us notoriously few clues concerning the issues that continue to perplex readers of his works: how does the singer, the figure whom epic styles the aoidos, perform his own poetry; what were the venues for which these compositions were designed; what was the social (and gender) makeup of the audience that heard the bard recite; and what was the nature of the music that accompanied his performance? Here, epic sharply distinguishes itself from other early forms of song, which include abundant internal references to the performing poet (sometimes even supplying his name), its context, and audience. Or, to put the problem differently, virtually nothing that the Homeric poems say about performances of song corresponds to the structure of the Iliad and Odyssey—monumental works that would require some twenty hours of listening time were each to be recited in its entirety—or to what we think their settings may have been. While we have long since abandoned attempts to discover who might have composed these works (indeed, for many, “Homer” is simply a name invented long after the poems came into existence and whose author was not so much any historical person as the tradition in which he worked), scholars continue to puzzle at the “performative” questions that the poems raise.

After a brief review of existing responses to the unknowns surrounding early productions of epic song (by the second half of the sixth century at least, among the venues for Homeric epic was the Athenian Panathenaia, where professional rhapsodes would deliver portions of each song, one after the other), I wish to resort to one of the only stratagems available for hazarding some answers: depictions of individuals performing epic-style songs within Homeric poetry itself.
While these have been endlessly scrutinized, my reading of just one such scene aims to bring out fresh facets of the episode. Drawing on several other musical “interludes” within the poems to explicate the passage, I highlight aspects of particular relevance to this volume: issues of performance dynamics, sonorities, musical traditions and instrumentation, and the agonistic impetus framing the song each time it was recited.

If we take our initial cue from the Homeric commentators of antiquity, for these scholars, scholiasts, grammarians, and antiquarians, the answer to the problems posed above seemed self-evident: Homer includes a self-portrait in the *Odyssey* in the person of the bard Demodocus, who entertains the Phaeacians with his two epic lays at the palace of Alkinous on Scheria in book 8. Like Phemius, the second singer in the song, who similarly performs his hero-centric tales for the suitors back in “real world” Ithaca, Demodocus looks rather like a court poet, a quasi-permanent fixture who comes at the bequest of the elite when the feast requires music and song. A third, more shadowy figure, described as a “singer man” (αοιδὸς ἄνηρ) also appears in the orbit of a palace. This is the individual whom Agamemnon, prescient, left behind in Argos to watch over Clytemnestra (Od. 3.267–68). But the adulterous Aegisthus prevails, and the guardian finds himself dispatched to a desert island, where he becomes the “prey and spoil of birds.” For all the best attempts of ancient scholars to identify this character (one Hellenistic author thinks he is Demodocus, whom Clytemnestra so respected that she ordered him banished, not killed), he remains an enduring enigma.

But already apparent in Demodocus’s name (“received by the people”) is a gesture toward his more “demotic” role and to the second model we encounter in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: that of the traveling musician-singer who goes from place to place, performing in return for food, shelter, and whatever additional remuneration he can garner. In Eumaeus’s list of the so-called démioergoi (“public workers”), the swineherd includes bards alongside seers, doctors, and carpenters (Od. 17.382–85), individuals characterized by an itinerant existence in which they hire themselves out for pay. The Thracian Thamyris, glimpsed in *Il.* 2.594–600 while en route from the home of Eurytus in Oechalia, is true to this second type, and the later *Lives of Homer* paint their protagonist as similarly peripatetic, rewarding those who pay him enough, and bringing calamity on those who deny him proper reception by slandering them in his verse. In the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, a hexameter composition conventionally dated to the sixth century, we get a tantalizing glimpse of “Homer” himself. In the mutually advantageous pact that the bard makes with a local maiden chorus on Delos, they will celebrate “the blind man who lives in rocky Chios” as the best singer; he, in return, will diffuse their praise “wherever I go as I roam the well-ordered cities of men” (174–75).

How, then, do we explain these co-existing representations and performance contexts? Recent scholars have proposed a variety of responses. The notion of the “court poet” has, for good reasons, fallen out of favor, viewed now as an idealized representation internal to the songs and wistful bid for status on the poet’s part, or as an indicator of the other-worldly character of life on Scheria.
The scenes featuring Demodocus and Phemius might also be kernels preserved from much earlier strata of hexameter poetry, reminiscences of Mycenaean times when performers would have been accommodated within the palace culture of the day. The simultaneous presence of the two models may also register an ongoing shift in the status of the poet, his transformation from an authoritative “maître de vérité” who transmits the truths he receives from the gods to a mere hired craftsman, plying his trade in a crowded and competitive market place. In this new performance economy, the setting for the songs’ delivery has also changed: in place of the palace milieu earlier assumed, the most widely accepted current view is that the sites for Homeric performances would most likely be funeral games (see Hes. Op. 653–56), grand marriage celebrations, and local and inter-community religious festivals held at sanctuaries.

Occurrences like these satisfy many of the necessary criteria for performances of the Iliad and Odyssey. First, the fact that these occasions drew diverse audiences at least partially explains the nuanced ideological orientation of Homeric poetry. The Iliad’s all but exclusive focus on kings and aristocrats and its largely dismissive depiction of the lower classes seem designed to play to an elite audience. But Agamemnon’s deficiencies as leader, his ill-founded arrogance and greed, would supply a cautionary example to contemporary basileis (local chieftains) and find a sympathetic hearing in the small-holder and peasant who might have suffered from a local “gift-gobbing” king (Hes. Op. 39). Even as the Odyssey casts its social net more widely, and includes in its narrative the rural population, the pastoralist and the countryside dweller who works his farm and tends his trees, its conclusion firmly restores the hierarchy and relations of dependency that the renegade suitors—traitors to their class—have upended. The scale of the Iliad and Odyssey offers a second strong argument for gatherings extending over several days. Performances of “extracts” of the poems (Demodocus’s first and third songs in Od. 8 provide a model for these) could take place at more informal occasions, in the homes of local aristocrats, but it is hard to imagine that a composer would create works as complex and tightly structured as the two Homeric poems unless they could be delivered in their entirety, over a series of successive days. Only a period of sanctioned leisure, such as religious festivals afford, would guarantee a public with the necessary time to spare. Moreover, both internal and external evidence suggests that Homeric epic views itself as performed “to the people (laos),” as it would be in sixth-century Athens, when the citizens of the polis would gather for the poems’ recitation at the Panathenaia.

One recent and persuasive voice has been raised against this prevailing orthodoxy. As Oswyn Murray argues, each of the two poems may require a different approach. Whereas, almost without exception (but see the scene treated below), the Iliad includes no account of the performance of an epic-style song, the banquets in Scheria and Ithaca, as already noted, supply the settings in which the Odyssean aoidos recites his hero-focused narratives, stories that mirror the poet’s own. More than this, much of the action of the second poem is “cast as recollection within the context of the banquet, or as events taking place around the
banquet.” As Murray further shows, the *Odyssey* can be divided up into a series of “cantos,” each of which would provide entertainment for a feast, many filled with “metasympotic” terminology and references to the activities in which the audience would itself have been engaged. Much as the seventh- and sixth-century sympotic poets would do, the Odyssean poet populates his composition with hosts good and bad, individuals who take their wine in excess, or prove gluttonous, or fail to make their due contribution to the feast. Only a sympotic setting would explain the poem’s dominant preoccupation.

Public festival, private banquet, a heterogeneous public gathered to celebrate a divinity, an exclusive, all-male elite audience enjoying entertainment within the home—is it one or all of these? The issue remains unanswerable. But rather than speculate further, I want instead to focus on a scene in the *Iliad* and to explore three of its many facets: first, its singularity and what this reveals about how normative recitations of epic song are supposed to work; second, how it illuminates technical aspects of early music, song, and performance dynamics; and third, its agonistic dimension.

I begin, then, with one of the most charged moments in the *Iliad*, when Agamemnon, having brought destruction on his people by prompting the self-banishment of their greatest warrior, Achilles, and that hero’s petition to Zeus to grant success in battle to the Trojans, has decided to make amends. Selecting three ambassadors, he dispatches them to Achilles’s encampment, where they come upon the hero (9.186–91):

> And they found him delighting his heart with the shrill lyre, beautiful, finely wrought (δαιδαλέῃ), and upon it was a silver bridge, the lyre which he took from the spoils having destroyed the city of Eëtion; in this he was delighting his heart as he was singing the glorious deeds of men, and Patroclus alone sat opposite him in silence, waiting for him to leave off from singing.

By way of preliminary, I would note that nothing more succinctly encapsulates the fact of Achilles’s withdrawal from the community of fighters to which he properly belongs than his current activity. While the hero should, in the words of the poem itself, be both a valorous fighter and fine public speaker, singing the “glories of men” (*klea andrôn*)—an expression that is the epic tradition’s way of describing deeds that receive commemoration in the medium of hexameter poetry—is an occupation that belongs strictly to the professional *aoidos*. No other Iliadic hero ever raises his voice in solo song this way. Indeed, it is intriguing to play this moment off a remark later in the episode when, expressing his sense of deracination and the atopic existence his withdrawal has imposed on him, Achilles likens the treatment he has received to that suffered by a “wanderer” or migrant (μετανάστην, 648), the individual who moves, as the itinerant singer does, from one venue to the next.

Achilles is out of place as well as out of character in a second respect. On no other archaic occasion, as preserved in either a poetic or historical source, are non-ritual songs performed in the context of the war camp. Instead, the enjoyment of poetry belongs among the hallmarks of a milieu that celebrates its remoteness.
from the field of battle, where the singer entertains his fellow drinkers with songs that intercalate warfare and partying, while making clear the difference between them. The sympotic lover fights on the battlefield of eros, the cups from which guests drink are warships sailing around the room, and the symposiast reclines on a couch in the manner of the warrior recumbent on his spear or the hard bench of a sea-going vessel, all the better to bring home the peace and pleasure that the present occasion affords. Singers posing as fighters are doing precisely that—adopting a persona; fighters, in this episode and a second instance treated later on apart, do not assume the singer’s role.

A fresh indication of Achilles’s self-imposed isolation is the seemingly solipsistic quality of his activity. The passage’s opening and closing phrases imagine the hero doing what no other Homeric singer ever does—“pleasing his own heart” (186, 189). While the verb *terpô* twice used is the *vox propria* for the delight that music and song generate (Phemius, the Ithacan bard, is son of Terpius, “Giver of Pleasure”), song’s purpose is to bring delight to others, to enchant an audience. Here, as in other aspects of the scene, the poet seemingly anticipates a type of performance behavior visible only in the later pictorial tradition; beginning in the early fifth century, artists, the Brygos painter most famously,12 portray richly attired citharodes with their heads tipped back, their lips slightly parted, playing on stringed instruments and similarly self-absorbed (see Figure 1.1); oblivious to the audience gathered about them or positioned on the object’s other face, they model the impact of their performance on the listener.

As this illustration also makes clear, part of the visual as well as aural charm of the musician-singer’s performance depended on his richly ornamented lyre, whose genealogy the Homeric poet pauses to detail. At first we are invited to dwell on the object’s beauty, preciosity, and the skill that went into its manufacture; objects qualified as “daidalic” are luxury goods exhibiting intricate craftsmanship, brilliant colors, variegation, and metallic fixtures.13 But as the passage proceeds, the object acquires a significance that extends beyond its aesthetic qualities and encompasses broader thematic and generic-cum-musicological concerns.

First, there are the story strands and associations embedded in the instrument. Just as the poet earlier invested Helen’s web, another work of consummate and intricate craftsmanship, with properties that drew us back to the battlefield, its woven designs exactly mirroring the events currently taking place outside the walls of Troy as Iris then describes them to the queen (3.125–31), so too the terms used of the lyre are deeply implicated in the world temporarily forsaken by its player. This beauteous object emerges from a scene of carnage. Already in book 6, Andromache, daughter of the king of Thebes, described the sack re-evoked here; as she reports of the occasion that left her bereft of family, Achilles killed her father Eëtion, “but did not strip his elaborately-wrought (δαιδαλέοισιν) armour, for his heart respected the dead man, and he burned the body in all its elaborate war-gear, and piled a grave-mound over it” (6.417–22). While Andromache’s mother is led away in captivity, as the sorrowing speaker further recalls, Achilles subsequently released her in return for ransom. All-destructive though this earlier attack might seem, it stands in opposition to the mode of conduct that Achilles
will adopt in the battles leading up to Troy’s own sack and already intimated in the poem’s proem (1.4–5). In the course of these, Achilles will despoil the bodies of his victims, not just refusing them the burial granted Eëtion, but rejecting the pleas for ransom that he accepted before. The lyre and its music provide a glimpse of the code of conduct on which Achilles is turning his back.
Reinforcing the instrument’s involvement with the world of battle is its place among the goods plundered from Thebes. The distribution of booty is, of course, the nub of the dispute between Achilles and Agamemnon, but the lyre’s inclusion amid the spoils does more than take us back to a time when the hero could claim his proper share and group concord was consequently maintained. If, as Achilles goes on to comment later in book 9 (412–16), the *kleos aphthiton* (“immortal renown”) preserved and disseminated by the poet performing on his lyre is the one compensation for a martial death that a fighter might look to receive, then warfare and its spoils here prove the necessary precondition for that subsequent musical propagation and the posthumous recompense that it allows the dead. A lasting reminder of the destruction wrought by the warrior, the lyre provides the medium whereby that devastation becomes not just the stuff of personal glory, but is “aestheticized” and made a source of pleasure both visual and aural.

Dissonance and aesthetic harmony co-exist at a further level. Line 187 pauses to detail the silver “bridge” (ζυγόν) or crossbar spanning the instrument’s other elements and that the sixth-century Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* includes in its description of the making of the very first lyre (not a phorminx, but the *chelys*, the tortoise shell lyre first visible in the pictorial repertoire of the late eighth and early seventh centuries). Having fashioned the instrument’s two curved arms, and attached these to the tortoiseshell body, Hermes “joined a yoke (ζυγόν) upon them both, and stretched out seven sheep-gut strings to sound in concord (συμφώνους)” (50–51). The Iliadic poet’s choice to single out the “silver yoke” of Achilles’s instrument (the epithet makes us linger on an element that might otherwise go unremarked) supporting the “consonant” strings calls attention to musical unison and, beyond that, to things concordant in the world outside. Indeed, as John Franklin’s discussion of the term notes, “the yoke or joint is the simplest device by which harmony may be established, unifying the divergent impulses of two things…towards a single purpose.” As he illustrates, both Greek and Sanskrit supply numerous instances of the intimate connection between the derivates of proto Indo-European *ar-* (this the root of the Greek verb ἀρρίσκω, to fit things together, and of the ἁρμονία cognate with Homer’s name) and *ieug-*, on which terms for “yoking” are built. Bracketing the Homeric description on either side are two such sets of pairs. In a notorious crux, the seemingly three-person embassy has, in the lines immediately preceding Achilles’s appearance, been reduced to two, while also present in the scene is Patroclus, the hero’s alter ego and his second self. But, as a component of an object seized in plunder, that crossbar has a darker side; qua yoke, it succinctly calls to mind the captivity imposed on the women and children who survived the sack, now divided from, not conjoined with, the individuals and community to which they once belonged.

Like so much else in this musical intermezzo, the silver bridge alerts us to the instrument’s displacement from its proper time and context. In the rich traditions surrounding Achilles’s lyre, some of which may already have been current in Homeric times, the instrument was none other than the tortoiseshell prototype invented by Hermes (mysteriously transmuted into the phorminx) by means of which, as the *Hymn to Hermes* richly details, the younger god brought
about his lasting compact of friendship with his brother Apollo, and which was then given as a wedding gift to Cadmus on the occasion of his marriage to Harmonia, whose name instantiates her husband’s capacity to create civic-musical concordance through his act of founding (and not plundering) a second Thebes. Cadmus subsequently brought this lyre to Lymnessos, a city in the Troad close to the Homeric Eëtion’s Thebes, and home to the Iliadic heroine Briseis (another victim of war); it was there that the instrument fell into the hands of Achilles in another city-sacking venture.

A well-known anecdote preserved by Diodorus Siculus further reflects the “concordizing” strand vested in the construction and music of the lyre, when the Spartans were afflicted with civil strife, the lyre-playing of the famous citharode Terpander produced joyful tears and political reconciliation among the warring citizens. Indeed, in the language Diodorus uses here, Terpander “reharmonized” (sunêrmose) the Spartans by virtue of “the harmony of his song” (tês harmonias têi oïdêi). Punning on the two-fold meaning of nomos, both law or custom and musical melody, Demetrius of Phalerum’s report of the incident observes that the Lesbian musician’s kitharôidia helped Sparta “towards both civic concord (harmonia) and the preservation of the nomoi.” The lyre’s enduring power to turn division into consonance apparent in this story may derive from its origins in the Near East, the region that gave the Greeks so much of their musical lore as well as the stringed instruments themselves. Visible in very early Mesopotamian and other Near Eastern texts is a tradition of musical divinities, whose lyres or harps are the necessary implements in magical rituals of cosmic and civic regeneration. Add to this Pindar’s celebration of the lyre’s capacity to quell all de-harmonizing, cacophonous powers at Pyth. 1.1–29 and the tension written into Achilles’s lyre stands still more starkly exposed: the instrument that should maintain the values integral to communal, civic life now tells the story of the destruction of the same.

The adjective “shrill” (λιγείη, 186) further contributes to the darker aspects of the instrument evoked in Iliad 9. For all that the term occurs within a traditional noun-epithet phrase, context colors the formulaic diction here. When the poet situates the lyre at the sack of Thebes, thereby recalling Andromache’s poignant account of the event, its typically positive sonority (the Muses’ own voices are “shrill”) is undercut by another setting in which that same property appears: it is the sound of the lament typically uttered by a woman on the occasion of the death of a fallen hero and/or, more appositely still, of a city sacked. Following Demodocus’s performance of the tale of the capture of Troy, where he accompanies himself on a phorminx also qualified as shrill (λιγείαν, 8.67; cf. 536), Odysseus is moved to weep in the manner of a woman—and we are inevitably made to think of Andromache here—who entwines herself about her dead husband, fallen in defense of his city, and “shrieks shrilly” (λίγα κωκύει, 8.527). Once again, this glance toward lamentation belongs within the larger musicological tradition surrounding the instrument on which Achilles plays. The link between lyre-playing and lament is written into the cult title Kenuristêis given to Apollo on the island of Cyprus, and that is cognate with the kar, originally a Canaanite stringed instrument, which figures alongside the lyre in Linear B inscriptions on the Pylos
Soundings of the lyre

11 tablets; the name Kinyras also belongs to a king of Cyprus who makes an early appearance at II. 11.19–23 and is ancestor of the priestly guild of the Kinyradai. Ancient etymologists gloss Apollo’s cult title and Kinyras’ name with the terms κινυρίζω, κινύρομαι, and κινυρός, which all refer to the performance of laments and to plaintive, mournful sounds. No wonder then, as the twelfth-century Byzantine commentator Eustathius would inform us in his note on the lines, that on the Cyprian king’s death, his fifty daughters would be turned into a chorus of halcyons, archetypal performers of lament in the Greek imaginary.

The thematics of the phorminx exist alongside the more “professional” and extra-narrative concerns sounded by the passage and the poet’s use of the scene to promote both the particular version of the story that he tells and the mode in which he composes over those of rival singers and other musical and generic traditions. As the instrument’s “Theban” origins make clear, it belongs to the Aeolic part of Greece and stories concerning Achilles’s exploits in these areas, on Lesbos and in the cities of the Troad, would have been particularly congenial to aoidoi performing to local audiences in this region. In the practice visible at many points in the Iliad and Odyssey, Homer likes to “sample” other poets’ compositions, sometimes those of a more localized character, giving them a twist that makes clear the superior veracity of his (panhellenic) version of events. The traditions preserved by Diodorus Siculus and Philostratus cited above suggest this impetus behind Homer’s narrative of the lyre’s genealogy; while other sources may follow the Aeolic rhapsodes in locating the lyre at Lyrnessos and associating its capture with Briseis rather than Andromache, Homer signals his originality (or return to narrative “authenticity”) by transferring events to Thebes and linking it, through Andromache, to Troy’s future fall.

The Aeolic region of Greece was home to several other poetic traditions that drew on the same subject matter as epic poetry. As Timothy Power’s study shows, native to Lesbos was a flourishing culture of kitharôidia that incorporated stories concerning the Trojan War, propagated by the kithara-players who “must have been the primary inheritors of their native oral poetry” (258). In his account of the evolution of this genre, Power suggests a professional rivalry between citharodes and Homeric rhapsodes, both competing in the musical contests at panhellenic festivals where they treated the same subjects in their different forms. It comes as no surprise to find Demodocus and Phemius implicated in these polemics. By the fourth century, both names figure in lists of early citharodes, and in Demetrius of Phalerum’s account, Agamemnon actually meets Demodocus on the occasion of the musician’s winning performance in one such contest staged at Delphi; Demodocus so impresses the king with his skill that it is he whom Agamemnon then appoints as the “singer man” charged with watching over Clytemnestra.

This Aeolic tradition of kitharôidia would have set its stamp on other singers of the region, among them the sixth-century Lesbian poets. While the monodic and choral lyric works of Sappho and Alcaeus patently draw on the Ionian epics composed by Homer and other aoidoi, metrical and dictional features of their songs attest to their incorporation of elements from a more localized musical idiom. Sappho fr. 44 V, a work describing the nuptials of Hector and Andromache, mixes
the separate strains; even as its reference to *kleos aphthiton* attests to the circulation of the subject matter and formulae of epic poetry in the lyric genre, the use of a dialect form of Priam’s name suggests a different, and perhaps citharodic influence (note, too, the presence of Apollo playing on the lyre in the piece). Also striking is the way in which the Sapphic fragment glances to the same story that Achilles tells: here Hector brings Andromache to Troy from the Aeolic city of Thebes (44.6). In Gregory Nagy’s reconstruction of a stage of musical history before the differentiation of lyric and epic into its separate strands, “what Achilles sings to the tune of this Aeolic lyre is an echo of the loves and bittersweet sorrows heard in lyric song”; not just simultaneously *aoidos* and citharode, the Iliadic hero belongs within this third tradition of erotic poetry, where later poets and artists would also place him. In his depiction of this pan-musical Achilles—whose identity melds with that of the performing bard, not only because both are lyre-accompanied tellers of epic stories, but also because the hero, *aoidos*-like, narrates a event that the poem has already told, while making it anew—Homer encompasses multiple poetic modes in a single sweep.

At the close of the interlude, in an intriguing glance to the future, not past, of the epic tradition, we discover Patroclus, “waiting for [Achilles] to leave off from singing.” Is the poet signaling this lone audience’s disengagement, even impatience with the performer’s self-distraction from the martial sphere? Or, insofar as Patroclus is depicted waiting for Achilles to conclude at a certain point in his story, does the Homeric poet anticipate the “aesthetics of rhapsodic sequencing” practiced at the sixth-century Panathenaia, which required each rhapsode to pick up from the point where his predecessor’s recitation left off? Patroclus’s anticipatory stance locates him and Achilles, albeit fleetingly, in the “professionalized” setting surrounding later rhapsodes.

Internal performance context is also key to the episode. A phorminx has appeared at an earlier moment in the *Iliad*, and on an occasion that works both as correlate and corrective to the present scene. At the close of book 1, in an interlude designed to hold the mirror up to the disruptive events in the war camp down below, the Olympians gather in the home of Zeus to enjoy a banquet. With the harmony that the Achaeans have so disastrously failed to achieve restored by Hephaestus’s clowning, Apollo appears playing upon the “very beautiful lyre” as he leads the Muses “singing antiphonally with their beautiful voice” (603–4). This visualization of the god takes the audience back to the moment when, at the poem’s opening, Apollo came onto the scene with a very different object in hand, the bow (1.45) with which he shot his plague-bearing arrows which decimated the Achaeans. Any number of elements at the level of diction and theme link Apollo and Achilles, two individuals who can simultaneously destroy the Achaeans in their *mênis* and save the people from the wholesale destruction unleashed by this cosmic wrath. From killer, Apollo has turned musician-singer, and while the Homeric poet does not specify the contents of the song sung by the Muses as he plays, we have good reason to attribute to them a composition that might include Achilles’s own subject matter. In the “replay” of this Iliadic scene in the Homeric
Hymn to Apollo, where the god again leads the chorus of Muses, the divinities sing not just the “divine gifts of the gods” but the “sufferings of mankind” (ἀνθρώπων τλημοσύνας, 190–91), much like Achilles’s subject matter in book 9. But the presence of these singing Muses is also the point at which Apollo’s musicianship departs from the Achillean model; where the lyre-playing god leads his ensemble in a choral composition, the mortal aoidos sings a monody.

The god’s performance bears on the scene in book 9 in one final respect. The parallelism between bow and lyre bracketing Iliad 1 is deeply inscribed in the Greek language (where the objects share the terms πήχεις, κέρατα and ζυγόν) and culture, and is of course native to Apollo. In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the divinity claims three prerogatives at his birth: oracular prophecy, the lyre, and the “curved bow” (κίθαρίς…καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, 131). In a glance back to the first book of the Iliad, this hymnic composition opens with Apollo entering Olympus equipped with his bow and closes its first part with him as a lyre-player leading the Muses in song, which is just the trajectory that the Homeric Apollo follows when he substitutes his plague-dealing weapon for his instrument. Observing the concordance of things seemingly opposed, Heraclitus remarks on how something “at variance with itself agrees; it is an attunement [or “fitting together,” harmoniē] turning back on itself, like that of the bow and lyre” (51 DK). Pindar’s first Pythian articulates the same contiguity-in-opposition: reflecting on the powers of lyre music, its capacity to tame even the most warlike and monstrous of beings, the poet attributes to the instrument a musical/martial volley (ῥιπαῖσι, 10) and the “shafts” or kêla (12) that at Il. 1.53 Apollo shoots from his plague-bearing bow.

But it is, of course, Homer who anticipates these intercalations of bow and lyre, not just in the Iliadic juxtapositions noted above, but at a super-charged moment in the Odyssey when the hero of that work delivers a performance no less “atopic” than that of the Iliadic Achilles. As the disguised Odysseus takes up the great bow with which he will clear his halls of the importunate suitors, he strings it, “even as a man well-versed in the lyre and in singing easily draws the sheep’s gut around the new peg…even so without trouble Odysseus strung the great bow and taking it in his right hand, made trial of the string; and it sang beautifully, like the swallow in voice” (21.406–11). The conflation of bow and lyre succinctly signals the profoundly aberrant nature of the hero’s vengeance and the central problem posed by his nostos (“return”): this seemingly exemplary host, whose homecoming should signal the restoration of order to his house, slaughters guests feasting peacefully (if indecorously) at his table. If we accept a sympotic setting for the Odyssean poet’s performance, then this is a terrifying moment for his real-world audience too, the doubles for the suitors as they similarly drink in the dining hall to the song of the lyre-playing—or is he a bow-wielding?—bard. But the simile devised by the poet also echoes an older tradition concerning musical performances, and in particular those accompanied by the lyre. In Minoan and Mycenaean art, the player on the strings can provoke a divine epiphany, where the deity manifests himself as a bird, and very frequently in swallow form. Indeed, the divine appearance elicited by the hero’s playing on the “lyre” occurs shortly
afterwards: in answer to this avian summons, Athena arrives to participate in the battle, in the likeness of this same swallow as she perches on the roof beams of the dining hall (22.238–40).

Within this Iliadic episode, Homeric epic reveals its “totalizing” agenda, drawing every contemporary performance genre into its sphere: epic, kitharoidia, and even, by virtue of its glance to Apollo, choral lyric, with the last, perhaps, presenting the greatest challenge. It is surely not fortuitous that, as scholars have noted, choral poets like Stesichorus were redeploying the content and diction of Homeric poetry at the same festival venues where the Iliad and Odyssey continued to be performed. In the innovations this second group of composers introduced, the chorēgos (“chorus-leader”), marshaling and conducting his singing, dancing, brilliantly dressed and visually compelling chorus members, delivered a pathos-charged work at once shorter, more cohesive, and more metrically and musically diverse (anticipations of opera here) than that of the solo aoidos reciting to his lyre. In so doing, the result would have been “to sweep the lonely singer from the marketplace.” The scenes staged in Achilles’s war-camp, at the Iliadic divine banquet, and performed by Odysseus and in Odysseus’ dining hall might form among that seemingly beleaguered figure’s ripostes.
Notes

Introduction

1 Friedrich August Wolf, Prolegomena ad Homerum (1795); Albert Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

Chapter 1

1 Demetrius of Phalerum fr. 144 Fortenbaugh and Schüttrumpf = scholia ad Od. 3.267.
For this argument, see Johannes Haubaud, *Homer’s People: Epic Poetry and Social Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).


Ewen L. Bowie, “Early Greek Elegy, Symposium, and Public Festival,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986): 15–16 cites the sources describing how singers performed in the tents of Spartan kings on the eve of battle, but, as he notes, these are in the context of the symposia hosted by the leaders.

This is not to deny that those who performed at symposia, some more talented amateurs and symposiasts than full-time poets, would also have formed part of a community’s band of fighters. My point is simply that the wit of sympotic songs depends in no small part on the disjuncture between the singer’s assumed martial persona and his actual position.

See, for example, the citharode depicted on an amphora of c. 480, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 26.61 or the youthful singing player on the amphora attributed to the Berlin Player, of c. 490, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.38, shown in Figure 1.1.


For detailed discussion and illustration of these and other stringed instruments, see Sheramy D. Bundrick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 14–34.

The Homeric singer would probably have used the four-string variety phorminx.


See Diod. Sic. 5.49 for the story. In the alternate account of the city’s origins, it is founded by Amphion, who builds Thebes by means of playing on the lyre, an instrument, again, given to him by Hermes. Philostratus (On Heroes 11.10) knows a different story; while Lyrnessos is again the source of the lyre, on this occasion it belongs to that Ur-musician and lyre-player Orpheus.


Demetrius of Phalerum ap. Scholia E, Q ad Od. 3.267.


What follows summarizes the findings of Franklin, “Lyre Gods in the Bronze Age,” 47–49.

I borrow the term from Richard Martin who, in lectures at several venues, has detailed parallels between the ancient bard and the contemporary rap singer, and whose practices ‘sampling’ describes. The rap singer uses material from other singers with polemi-

23 Power, The Culture of Kitharoidia. Much of the material that follows is drawn from Power’s discussion.

24 For the evidence, see Power, The Culture of Kitharoidia, 252.

25 Demetrius of Phalerum fr. 144 Fortenbaugh and Schütztrumpf = scholia ad Od. 3.267.


28 Nagy, Pindar’s Homer, 1990, 72–73; for the way in which a composition-in-performance tradition can accommodate this patent anachronism, see Nagy, Homeric Responses (Austin, TX: University of Austin Press, 2003), 39–48.


Chapter 2


3 Martin West introduces the question of musical performance (in light of the fragment at Epidaurus) in his article “Homer’s Meter,” in A New Companion to Homer, ed. Ian Morris and Barry Powell (New York: Brill, 1997), 218–19. West also considers the sung meters of Homer and the singing voice in ancient Greek music more generally in his Ancient Greek Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 42–43, 135, 208–9. Richard Rutherford surveys the current thinking concerning the oral basis and musical performance of the Homeric epics in his Homer (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9–20. See also William G. Thalman, Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 116: “Although the fact that writing was known in Greece by the eighth century B.C. makes the existence of written texts theoretically possible, hexameter poetry was still disseminated as it had always been—through performances…. It still makes sense, then, to speak of an essentially oral society no matter how much use may have been made of writing in composing and preserving our texts. The audience was conditioned to hear poems rather than read them, and the poetic art included delivery as well as composition.” See also ibid. 119, 121–23. Concerning the “Homer Question,” see Gregory Nagy, Homeric
This process of constructing subjectivity through song and its antecedents within the *Odyssey* will be treated at length. This essay does not seek to construct a general theory of eighth-century (or late-Mycenean) subjectivity, but rather seeks to clarify how the post-operatic reader might construct a musical subjectivity—given the ambiguities inherent in musical voice—when reading the *Odyssey* in the twenty-first century.


Though the links between Homer, Odysseus, and Apollo will be traced in this essay, the reigning figure for this process of weaving must be Penelope at the loom: “Arguably the most important symbol in the *Odyssey* is neither Odysseus’s bow nor Phemius’ lyre but Penelope’s huge loom. The weaving Penelope has reappeared in countless paintings, sculptures and tapestries over the centuries…. In the *Odyssey*, Penelope’s making and unmaking of the same shroud for her father-in-law is also the primary image of the oral poet’s endless re-creation of his song.” Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses*, 115. See also ibid., 22, 116, 121–29.

Concerning the Muses in particular, see n. 10. This relation between the Homeric narrator and the Muses exists within the larger relation between the self-conscious narrator and the tradition of epic poetry. Zachary Biles has acknowledged the widely held notion that “Homer retrojects poetic values onto the heroic world in an effort to glorify his profession and the authority of the Muses” while seeking to counter this notion by arguing that “the presentation of song in the *Odyssey* is not unequivocally positive.” Zachary Biles, “Perils of Song in Homer’s *Odyssey*,” *Phoenix* 57 (2003): 191. Biles also has observed that “[t]he poem’s preoccupation with bards and song has long been recognized as an indication of a high degree of poetic self-consciousness. By taking as its subject not only the stories and themes of the past but also the actual phenomena of song, both its making and reception, the *Odyssey* draws attention to Homer’s pro-

Beyond the poem’s opening invocation, Homer also inserts himself into his epic by subtly establishing links between his own poetic labors and those of characters within his tale. Central among these is “the first song of Demodocus, in which Odysseus functions as a prominent figure,” so that Demodocus “mirrors the poet of the epic [i.e., Homer] who sings the adventures of the same character.” Yoav Rinon, “*Mise en abyme* and Tragic Signification in the *Odyssey*: The Three Songs of Demodocus,” *Mnemosyne* 59 (2006): 212–13. Rinon also outlines the ways in which Homer weaves—via Demodocus’ second song—“a more complex net of interconnections” between himself, Hephaestus, and Demodocus. Homer and Demodocus are joined via their representation of the nature of the poet while Demodocus and Hephaestus are joined via epithets and their respective disabilities. According to Rinon, this web of relations extends to link Hephaestus and Odysseus in a “strong analogy…which is partly based on suffering” (208–13, 216–17). Scott Richardson also takes up the relations formed between Homer and the bards within the *Odyssey*: “The realm of songdom [within the Homeric epic] is where character and narrator…can meet on the same metaphysical plane.… The bards within the story are images of [the Homeric narrator], and the songs they sing are his own songs.… He needs no quotation marks because Demodokos’s voice and his own blend quite naturally into each other.” Scott Richardson, *The Homeric Narrator* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1990), 83, 86.


According to Jong the divine inspiration of poems confers immortal fame to the poet and indestructibility of the poems: “Just as gods are immortal, their products are immortal; enlisting the Muses at the moment of the creation of his poems, the [Homeric] narrator thereby also ensures their lasting existence...[the Homeric narrator’s] poems, made with divine assistance, are indestructible, indeed themselves partake in and thereby confer immortal kleos.” Irene J.F. de Jong, “The Homeric Narrator and his own Kleos,” Mnemosyne 59 (2006): 205–6. Cf. Edith Hall, The Return of Ulysses, 147.

Concerning the negotiation between the Homeric narrator and his muse in the proem of the Odyssey, see Elizabeth Minchin, Homer and the Resources of Memory: Some Applications of Cognitive Theory to the Iliad and the Odyssey (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 174–80.


Concerning poetry as a locus of mediation between the human and divine, Thalmann suggests that “[the Homeric Hymns] established a link between poet and audience on the one hand and a god or gods on the other—a connection that was parallel to the singer’s own relation with his patrons, the Muses, and that displayed the power that poetry was felt to have of mediating between the human and the divine.” Thalmann, Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry, 121, 126–29, 133. Thalmann has also observed a “remarkable parallel” between the representation of Odysseus in the Odyssey and Hermes in the Homeric hymn to that god. Ibid., 173–74.

Concerning Demodocus’s inspiration and his relation to Homer, see n. 8 above. Concerning Phemius’ description of himself both as “self-taught” and as the recipient of divine gifts, see Sheila Murnaghan, Disguise and Recognition in the Odyssey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 172, n. 45. On the more general inspiration of earthly poets by the gods, see Penelope Murray, “Poetic Inspiration in Early Greece,” The Journal of Hellenic Studies 101 (1981): 87–100. Concerning the “numinous presence” of poetry and the “magic” of song, see Thalmann, Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry, 125–33.

Segal considers the direct link that Homer establishes between the bard and Apollo and the social consequences of this link: “Yet the poem elevates the bard far above these workaday necessities [associated with the craftsman] not only through the recurrent language of divinity and inspiration but also...by allowing him to participate in heroic feasting and an equivalent of gift exchange.... In fact, the singer has a far loftier model, namely, the god of the lyre, Apollo.... It is a touch of brilliant self-advertisement (as it were) that in the happiest society the bard gets the highest honor.” Segal, Singers, Heroes, and Gods in the Odyssey, 145–46. Concerning the social status of the bard more generally and Odysseus’s presentation as a bard, see Ibid., 142–163.

Jong posits the connection between Homer and Odysseus as “well known and well-studied”—[an] indirect promotion of epic poetry in general, e.g., in the form of his alter ego’s Phemius and Demodocus or his illustrious ‘colleague’, the hero-singer Odysseus.” Jong, “The Homeric Narrator and His Own Kleos,” 197–98: “[Odysseus] will soon start recounting his adventures on the way home, voicing his own klea in a manner very much like that of a professional singer. But in my view it is not far-fetched to take this passage also as a tribute which the Homeric narrator indirectly pays to himself.”

Richardson also observes the “merging” of the Homeric narrator and Odysseus: “Odysseus takes over the role of bard from Homer and, in a sense, merges with the narrator no less than Demodokos does shortly before.... The [Homeric] narrator...is
indirectly quoting himself, as it were, since he is indirectly quoting Odysseus the bard.” Richardson, *The Homeric Narrator*, 88.

Steven Lowenstam recognizes the link between Demodocus and Odysseus through which the former stands as “the paradigm of the bard” anticipating the latter, who, in offering “the most dazzling tale of the poem,” assumes “the role of singer for four books.” Steven Lowenstam, *The Scepter and the Spear: Studies on Forms of Repetition in the Homeric Poems* (Lanham: Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1993), 171 with n. 69.

Concerning the analogies between Odysseus’s narratives—in which he tells his story first to the Phaeacians and then to Penelope—and poetic song, see Murnaghan, *Disguise and Recognition in the Odyssey*, 148–49, 152–53.

Other aspects of the narrative link Odysseus to poetic activity in general: “The indirection with which he asserts himself makes Odysseus like a poet, whose role it is to speak in voices not his own of experiences he never had, telling of others’ achievements, and making no claim for himself (except perhaps indirectly, as in Homer’s portrait of Demodocus). This affinity may account for the similarity between Odysseus’s disguise as a homeless wanderer and the role given to poets in various legends.” Murnaghan, *Disguise and Recognition in the Odyssey*, 166. See also Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, 170–76. “The aspect of Odysseus most important to the poem has yet to be mentioned, however. Just as the poet…can be conceived as a hero, in the *Odyssey* the hero is represented as a poet.” Ibid., 170.

Concerning *kleos* as a link between the epic hero and the poet, see Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, 132. Regarding the social status of the bard more generally and Odysseus’s presentation as a bard, see Segal, *Singers, Heroes, and Gods in the Odyssey*, 142–163 and the citations from Richardson in n. 9 above.

13 At the court of Phaeacia and at Ithaca, Odysseus will be called god-like, and in both cases he will dismiss the comparison and affirm his humanity. These dismissed comparisons will carry greater resonance retrospectively after the stringing of the bow in book 21.


15 Odysseus’s sufferings become an issue again when his crew approaches the island of the Sirens. Among their other allures, the sirens promise to “know all the pains that the Greeks and Trojans once endured on the spreading plain of Troy.”

Concerning the Sirens’ status as “bards” singing “epic kleos in the abstract,” see Segal, *Singers, Heroes, and Gods in the Odyssey*, 100–106.

16 According to Bernard Knox, Eurytus was “one of the great archers Odysseus mentions when he claims mastery of the bow among the Phaeacians (246–60). Eurytus had even challenged Apollo to a contest, an insult for which the god killed him. According to later sources, Apollo had given him a bow and trained him in its use; if so, the bow Iphitus gave Odysseus comes from the hand of the archer god himself, to be used against the suitors on Apollo’s feast day.” Bernard Knox, n. 21.16 (p. 515) in Robert Fagles trans., *Homer: The Odyssey* (New York: Viking, 1996).


17 In both cases, “struck” is expressed by cognates of the same word, “Bάλλw”: “anebάλλετο” (1.155) and “Bάλλετ” (22.6). See Cunliffe, *Homerian Dialect*, s.v. “Bάλλw.” According to Thalmann, “On the verge of his greatest triumph, the qualities in Odysseus that make it possible are drawn together in one magnificent comparison. All the earlier portrayals of his poet-like talents stand behind these lines and make them seem absolutely appropri-
ate. But here as never before in the poem, Odysseus the poet and Odysseus the warrior are one.” Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, 176. Thalmann goes on to discuss “the linking of archery with the playing of a stringed instrument” in the *Hymn to Apollo* and its relationship to the “terrifying epiphany” in Odysseus’s moment of transcendence.

Concerning the interrelations of hero, god, and bard within this scene, see Segal, *Singers, Heroes, and Gods in the Odyssey* 98–100, 106–108 (on the shift “from trope to action”).


**Chapter 3**


2 Giancarlo Fiorenza (“Homer’s *Odyssey* and the Image of Penelope in Renaissance Art,” in *Homère à la Renaissance. Mythe et transfigurations*, edited by Luisa Capodieci and Philip Ford, 223–40 [Rome: Académie de France à Rome – Villa Médicis / Somogy éditions d’Art: 2011]) has persuasively argued that this transfer is part of a general process in the adaptation of the *Odyssey* material throughout the early Renaissance, by which the figures of Ulysses and Penelope become more connected with the domestic spheres of emotions and feelings.


5 Francesco Petrarca is the clearest proponent of the centrality of chastity to the character in his *Triumphus Pudicitie*: “But I will tell of some in the forefront/ Of truest honour; and among them all/ Lucretia and Penelope were first, / For they had broken all the shafts of Love / And torn away the quiver from his side, / And they had plucked the feathers from his wings.”


10 Quotations of the *Furioso* are from the Segre-Debenedetti edition.


14 See Bigi’s comment in his edition of the *Furioso*: “The comparison to Penelope acquires an odd meaning, if we take into account what Ariosto himself will declare in XXXV 27, 8.” *Orlando furioso*, edited by Emilio Bigi (Milan: Rusconi, 1982).

15 This logic of subordination and subalternity is only applicable within the dominant classes of the time, it is worth to observe.

16 “The invader of Latinus’ ancient kingdom.”


22 See D’Agostino, *Le gocce* and *Il Medioevo degli antichi*.


Chapter 4

1 All of the twelve known manuscript copies of Badoaro's libretto, which was never published, are in five acts. The single extant score, although in three acts, seems to have been copied from a score that was in five. See Nicola Usula, “Sul Ritorno d’Ulisse in patria: verso una ridefinizione delle coordinate spazio-temporali del manoscritto Viennese,” Il Saggiatore Musicale, in press.


3 I have adopted the libretto text given in Francesca Zardini and Grazia Lana, Gli Ulissi di Giacomo Badoaro: Albori dell’Opera a Venezia (Verona; Fiorini, 2007), which is based on a single manuscript. A philological edition of all twelve librettos by Nicola Usula is in progress. Translations are mine.

4 For instance, the stratagem of weaving. For the significance of this omission see below, especially n. 12.


6 This reversal does not solve one of the most notorious mysteries in the Odyssey, namely, the question of whether and when Penelope recognizes the disguised beggar as Ulysses; see, among others, Lillian Eileen Doherty, Siren Songs: Gender, Audiences, and Narrators in the Odyssey (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), esp. 42–49; but Badoaro’s libretto at least mitigates the situation by deputizing Minerva to inspire Penelope to propose the contest in the first place. In 3.5, Minerva, who has been Ulisse’s guide throughout the drama (and throughout the Odyssey), tells him that she will inspire Penelope to propose the contest: “Io faro che proponga la tua casta consorte gioco, che a te fia gloria, sicurezza, vittoria, e a Proci morte. All’hor che l’arco tuo ti giunge in mano, e strepitoso suon fiero t’invitta, saetta pur, che la tua destra ardita tutti conficherà gl’estinti al piano” (p.182). (I will make your chaste consort propose a game that will bring to you glory, security, victory, and to the suitors death. When your bow comes into your hands and a warlike sound inspires bravery, shoot, so your passionate right hand will nail all the dead to the ground.). And when Penelope eventually proposes it, several scenes later (4. 3), she does so as if in a trance, as she subsequently recognizes: “Ma che, ma che promise? Bocca facile, ahi troppo discordante dal core. Numi del ciel, s’io dissi, snodaste voi la lingua, m’apriste i detti. Saran tutti del cielo e delle stelle prodigiosi effetti” (Zardini and Lana, p. 192). (But what, what did I promise; loose tongue, too discordant with my heart. Gods in heaven, you untied my tongue and freed my speech. These will all be marvelous effects of heaven and the stars.).

7 This and all other quotations from the Odyssey are taken from Richard Lattimore’s translation The Odyssey of Homer, trans. Lattimore (New York: Harper, 1965).
8 Federico Malipiero, *L’Odissea d’Omero trapportata dalla greca nella Toscana favella* (Venice: Corradicci, 1643), Bk 21, 78: “Io non sarò già mai per soffrire o Antinoo, che in questa Corte sia oltraggiato verun’ospite introdottovi da Telemaco mio figliuolo. Credi forse, che s’anche questo Mendico togliendo quell’arco di terra e lo caricasse, ch’io fossi per prenderlo per marito, e per sieguirlo (come sua isposa) nelle sue case? Questa fora una vanissima scioccheria appo cui la credesse di voi. Ne lece ne deve Penelope maritarsi, ch ad’un Prencipe, e Principe grande. Questo Peregrino e Mendico, non sia marito degno della mia persona.” Malipiero was a fellow member of the Accademia degli Incogniti with Badoaro and was well acquainted with *Il ritorno d’Ulisse*, as we learn from the preface to another of his publications, *La peripezia d’Ulisse overo la casta Penelope* (Venice: Surian, 1640), which, he claims, was inspired by hearing Monteverdi’s opera.

9 Another means of stressing Penelope’s virtue is Badoaro’s elimination of her defense of Helen’s adultery (23. 218–24). Although this passage has been considered spurious by many critics, beginning early in the history of the text’s reception, Badoaro is not motivated by questions of authenticity here. This is clear because he replaces that passage with a prominent speech in Act 3 (scene 3) in which, instead of defending her, Penelope excoriates Helen for her lasciviousness. On this passage, see Richard Heitman, *Taking Her Seriously: Penelope and the Plot of Homer’s Odyssey* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), esp. 100–101.

10 I have always thought that many of the major differences between libretto and score could be ascribed to Monteverdi’s editing; but this is no longer self-evident. Recent work on Monteverdi’s manuscript score by Nicola Usula (cf. n. 1 above), including the plausible suggestion of a date of the early 1650s, that is, well after Monteverdi’s death, has raised questions about whether it can be assumed to reflect Monteverdi’s revisions at all. Usula suggests that the manuscript could have been copied from a score by Monteverdi (in five acts) that had been, or was being, revised for performance after his death; in short, that there was an earlier setting, of which the extant score is an edited version. I can accept this hypothesis at the same time as I continue to see Monteverdi’s hand—as demonstrated in many of his other works—in these revisions. In fact, the coherence of his alterations in the interpretation of both Penelope and Ulisse—vis-à-vis Homer, but also Badoaro—might actually substantiate that the composer was the dramatist we consider him to be.

11 This scene includes the above-mentioned angry condemnation that Badoaro substituted for Penelope’s defense of Helen’s lascivious behavior in Homer. Cf. n. 9.

12 The virtually identical passages are found in books 2 (93–110), 19 (138–56), and 24 (128–46). Some authors have criticized this redundancy as evidence of the intervention of later poets. But others see the repetition as significant for Penelope’s characterization. Barbara Clayton, *A Penelopean Poetics: Reweaving the Feminine in Homer’s Odyssey* (Lexington Books: Lanham, Maryland, 2004), 23, for instance, suggests that the three-fold repetition insures that the reader believes Penelope weaves and unweaves till the end, despite what Homer tells us, thereby supporting her argument for a Penelopean poetics.

13 Sarah Van der Laan (*The Choice of Odysseus* [New York: Oxford University Press, in press]), has proposed a compelling historical context for Badoaro’s revised vision of the relationship between the characters, namely, the *questione delle donne* as debated among the members of the Accademia degli Incogniti in seventeenth-century Venice. See below, n. 15.

14 On the connection between Penelope’s lyrical expression and her sexuality, see Tim Carter, “‘In Love’s Harmonious Consort’? Penelope and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria,*” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5 (1993), 395–405.

15 Sarah Van der Laan, *The Choice of Odysseus*, especially chapter 5, convincingly argues for the resonance of long simmering debates regarding the *questione delle*
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donne within Badoaro’s libretto, ascribing the opera’s emphasis on Penelope’s chastity at the expense of her caniness to a misogynist (or at least deeply ambivalent) view of women within the Venetian Accademia degli Incogniti. The group, of which Badoaro was a prominent member, was a leading intellectual force in Venice from its founding in 1630 to the 1660s, when its influence began to wane. Members of the Accademia were involved with all forms of Venetian cultural and political life, including opera, and they published tracts and novels on a variety of topics. As Wendy Heller has demonstrated, their writings about the nature of women and their role in society—including discussions of the virtues and vices of classical heroines—were of central importance in the formation of the most basic conventions of Venetian opera. Penelope interested them because of her mixture of cleverness and constancy. Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2003), especially chapter 2. The most recent literature on the Accademia degli Incogniti includes Jean-François Lattaricò, *Venise incognita: Essai sur l’academie libertine au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2012).

Chapter 5

1 I am grateful to Laura Kennedy for reading, discussing, and thus improving this paper.
2 “Ammiriamo con grandissima meraviglia i concetti così pieni, non senza qualche conturbazione, mentre non sò più cognoscere per mia quest’opera”; Giacomo Badoaro to Claudio Monteverdi, no date, I-Vmc, Ms. Cicogna 564. For a somewhat different reading of this passage, see Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi’s Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1–7.
4 See Rosand, *Monteverdi’s Last Operas*, 1.
8 Michelangelo Torcigliani, *Argomento et scenario delle nozze d’Enea in Lavinia* (Venice: no publisher named, 1640), 1 and passim.
12 Strozzi’s published epics include *La Venetia edificata*, (Venice: no publisher named, 1621), and *Il Barbarigo overo l’Amico sollevato* (Venice: Giovanni Pinti, 1626).
14 It is worth noting that the technique of drawing in the audience through an interest in the plot still is an essentially epic one (see Staiger, *Basic Concepts of Poetics*, 110–116).
15 On the role of academies such as the Accademia degli Incogniti during the first decade of Venetian opera, see Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 37–40; Rosand, *Monteverdi’s Venetian Operas*, 19–21 and passim.
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17 Ah malvagi nocchieri
Apprendeste del mare,
E da’ venti spietati, ed infedeli
Ad essere crudeli;
Vi sia sempre nemico
Il monarca de l’acque,
E contro il vostro legno
S’armin d’orgoglio, e sdegno
I più superbi, e più feroci fiati,
Che tiene sotterati
Ne l’alpestri caverne Eolo severo;
Ogni porto sicuro,
Ogni [c]alma tranquilla
Divenghi à vostri danni
Di Cariddi voragini, e di Scilla.
Giovanni Faustini, *La virtù de’ strali d’Amore* (Venice: Miloco, 1642), 1.3.


21 Mar[naro] p[rimo]:
L’Anima, che dal ciel
La sua origine trà
Mentre, ch’involta stà
Nel material suo vel,
Dev’ella ogni martir
Patiente soffrir,
Ch’ogni cosa quà giù
Deriva di là sù.
Mar[naro] s[eco]ndo:
E sordo il fato ogn’or
A gridi del mortal,
Ne l’human pianto val
A franger suo rigor:
Tù gemi in vano, in van
Tù sei di te tiran,
Che non si trova più
Rimedio à quel che fù.
Faustini, *La virtù*, 1.5.

22 In questo basso mondo
L’uomo puol
Ciò che vuol
Tutto fa, tutto fa,
Che’l Ciel del nostro oprar pensier non ha.

23 “De’l Human tragedia questo è il fine”; Monteverdi and Badoaro, *Il ritorno*, 3.1 (or 5.1).

24 “Pera chi vuol perire: / Al fuggire, al fuggire!” Faustini, *La virtù*, 1.5.


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29 Ellen Rosand has a somewhat broader definition of Faustini’s dramatic approach, which she sometimes calls Faustini formula (cf. Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 176; 178; 322).

Chapter 6

1 This paper was given as a conference paper at *Performing Homer: From Epic to Opera* at Princeton University (January 2009) and *Song and Dance* at Harvard University (February 2010). I am indebted to all my colleagues who have read and commented on this paper; Wendy Heller for her support, paper; Bibiana Gattozzi for her translation assistance; and Barbara Sparti for her advice on the *moresca*.
2 *Ulisse* exists in two versions; this scene is Act 2, scene 5 in the three-act division and Act 3, scene 2 in the five-act division. For a schematic of the two different versions of the opera, see Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi’s Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 71.
3 Act 2, scene 6 in the three-act version and Act 3, scene 3 in the five-act version.
4 The single extant score is available in facsimile as Claudio Monteverdi and Giacomo Badoaro, *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria: Ms. Wien*, ed. Sergio Vartolo, *Musica drammatica* 9 (Florence: SPES, 2006). See also the critical edition edited by Rinaldo Alessandrini (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), which does not include the ballo in any form. The text of *Ulisse* survives in eight manuscript libretti, many of which were copied in the eighteenth century. Of these, only I-Vmc Cicogna 564 can be shown definitively to date from the seventeenth century. For a discussion of these librettos, including a table of all eight, see Rosand, *Monteverdi’s Last Operas*, 53.
5 The provenance of this score is disputed. *Ulisse* was very successful, and after being premiered in Venice was performed in Bologna, and then revived in Venice the following season. Alan Curtis has argued that the score hails from the opera’s Bologna production; see his introduction in Claudio Monteverdi and Giacomo Badoaro, *Il Ritorno d’Ulisse in Patria*, ed. Alan Curtis (London: Novello, 2002), ix; Rosand considers this possible but concludes on the basis of the extensive revisions that it most likely is from the Venetian premiere. Rosand, *Monteverdi’s Last Operas*, 86–88.
7 For example, Tim Carter questions whether the text of *Ulisse* is as “secure” and simple as he says it often is taken to be—but he never mentions the missing ballo as one of the textual cruxes. Tim Carter, “‘In Love’s Harmonious Consort’? Penelope and the Interpretation of ‘Il Ritorno d’Ulisse in Patria,’” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5 (1993): 1–16.


20 Alm, “Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence,” 221. Translation Alm’s.

21 As for the number of Moors compared to the number of suitors, *Il corago* notes that “I balletti che si rappresentono su le scene vorrebbono essere fatti di molte persone, poiché maggior diletto arreca il vedere molti in una scena che tre o quattro solamente” (The ballets performed on the stage should wish to be comprised of many people, since the greatest delight is brought when one sees many [dancing] on the stage rather than only three or four.) *Il Corago, o, vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche*, 101.


23 *Il Corago, o, vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche*, 102. *Il corago* notes that “accade talora accompagnare il ballo con il canto” (Sometimes the dancing is accompanied by singing).

24 *Il Corago*, 102. “Perciò spetterà all’uffizio del corago il vedere che il maestro di ballo si confaccia con il canto” (Therefore it is the job of the staging master to see that the dancing master coordinates himself with the singing).

25 For much more on exoticism and cosmopolitanism in balli, see Alm, “Dances from the ‘Four Corners of the Earth’: Exoticism in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera,” in
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1 Alm, “Dances from the ‘Four Corners,’” 254.
3 Alm cites the blackened faces, as does the Grove article, but Barbara Sparti claims that the evidence for this is very thin. Alm, “Dances from the ‘Four Corners of the Earth,’” 238; for a dissenting view, see Alan Brown and Donna G. Cardamone, “Moresca,” Grove Music Online, n.d., http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19125, accessed July 27, 2018.
7 Introduction to Monteverdi and Badoaro, Il Ritorno d’Ulisse in Patria, xii.
9 The most detailed examination of this topos is found in Marisa Biaggi, “‘Ogni amante è guerrier’: Monteverdi and the War of Love in Early Modern Italy” (PhD Dissertation. Princeton University, 2006).
10 Massimo Ossi, Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi’s Seconda Pratica (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 205.
12 Tim Carter asks whether Penelope’s commitment shows “a hardness of heart that contravenes even the laws of nature,” and her prolonged failure to acknowledge her husband shows that she is “foolishly blind to the truth.” Carter, “In Love’s Harmonious Consort?,” 11.
13 See Table 8 in Rosand, Monteverdi’s Last Operas, 78–80. Monteverdi’s compositional process is discussed in the same chapter, 69–88.

Chapter 7

3 For details of the manuscript and rubrics describing stage effects, see Ellen Rosand, Monteverdi’s Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 69–86.
4 Diane Paulus’s production (part of a Monteverdi cycle created at Chicago Opera Theater with conductor Jane Glover) featured a unit set designed by architect Rafael
Viñoly that realized the opera’s spectacular effects through the use of multiple levels and hidden interior spaces.

5 Performed in Richardson Auditorium of Alexander Hall at Princeton University, the production utilized the non-proscenium architecture of the space for a site-specific staging.


13 Audi’s spare retelling of *Ulisse* shares this visually minimalist aesthetic with his productions of Monteverdi’s other operas, uniting them as a production trilogy. For a review of the entire cycle, see Wendy Heller, “Venice without the Carnival: Pierre Audi’s Monteverdi Cycle on DVD” *The Opera Quarterly*, 24, no. 3–4 (2008), 293–306.


**Chapter 8**


2 For a recent argument that the epic maggio dates back to the Renaissance but was discontinued during the Counter-Reformation and revived in its current form in the late
eighteenth century, see Michele Feo, “Il Maggio prima del Maggio.” Il paese 19 no. 3 (2008), pp. 1, 3.
3 Marco Piacentini, “Tradizione e innovazioni,” paper presented at the conference “La tradizione del Maggio. La gente, la passione, l’orgoglio,” organized by the Centro Studi e Documentazione sul Maggio drammatico of Villa Minozzo (August 26, 2000).
6 Maggio performers are called maggerini and maggiarini in Emilia, maggianti in Tuscany. In this essay I adhere to the usage adopted by the respective maggio companies.
7 I could not locate a video of this performance, but one can see the same location and set-up in scenes from another maggio (Tristano e Isotta) by the same company in my documentary Il maggio emiliano (minutes 31:33–42:09).
8 Marco Piacentini, head of the Frassinoro company, later explained to me that the eye socket contained an egg that had been emptied and filled with red paint so as to burst and simulate blood upon impact.
9 It was also performed in the summer of 2017 by the company’s youth contingent. For the record, the Val Dolo company is comprised of individuals from the neighboring valley towns of Romanoro, Morsiano, Farneta, and Gova.
10 Although the current title and privileging of the action in Ithaca over the voyage may recall Monteverdi’s Ritorno di Ulisse in patria, the maggio plot does not resemble that of the earlier opera. The maggio’s original title, in any case, appears to have been Le avventure di Ulisse (Vezzani 362). My examination of the maggio is based on the version adapted by Aravecchia and printed for the 1996 performance. For the record, Vezzani notes that Sesto Bonicelli (1906–1985) composed a maggio entitled simply Ulisse (359), but it does not appear to be extant.
11 There are also sometimes ottave by villains who die unrepentant. In Luca Sillari’s Orlando Innamorato, for example, the dying fairy Dragontina sings an ottava cursing her victors and wishing that they join her in Hell that very winter (stanza 183).
12 The television version, by contrast, alludes to the fate awaiting the disloyal servant girls after they remove the corpses and clean the hall as well as to the anticipated hostile reaction of the suitors’ male relatives upon learning of their deaths.
13 See Vezzani, “Gli autori del maggio drammatico,” 354, 393, 205, 213, 385; Fioroni, L’epopea del maggio, 84–85. Gelsomino Zambonini (1919–2014) of Asta also authored a Guerra di Troia (Vezzani 404–5). Although it appears to be extant since Venturelli mentioned having a copy in his archive (Introduction, 3), I was not able to consult it for
the purpose of this essay. Venturelli also alludes to additional maggio adaptations of the Iliad (Introduction, 3).

14 Vezzani, 205.
15 Lorenzo Aravecchia noted that his grandfather enjoyed playing the part of the villain (excerpt #1 at http://edblogs.columbia.edu/eboiardo/lorenzo-aravecchia).
16 Napoli notes that the Catanese puppet tradition, following its literary sources, also portrayed the Greeks, including Achilles, in a negative light while privileging the Trojans, even to the point of providing Hector with Orlando’s insignia and sword Durlindana (171–2).
17 Although Borghi acknowledges that he was inspired to compose La caduta di Troia after viewing Petersen’s Troy, his maggio is not, however, simply an adaptation of the film. The printed libretto notes various additional sources, from Italian translations of Homer’s original poems, to Alessandro Baricco’s Omero, Iliade, to modern novelistic and cinematic versions. My intention in this essay, in any case, is not to compare Borghi’s maggio to his list of sources, but rather to focus on its very different moral stance with respect to Pellegrinotti’s maggio.
18 The development of opposing ethical and ideological perspectives in other plays within the maggio tradition is explored in Cavallo, “National Political Ideologies and Local Maggio Traditions of the Reggio Emilia Apennines: Roncisvalle vs. Rodomonte” and “Staging the Liberata’s Female Protagonists in an Apenninic Folk Tradition.”
19 The source of the information in this paragraph is Venturelli, Introduction to La guerra di Troia (Lucca: Centro tradizioni popolari, 1983), 3–16.
21 It might be noted, however, that Achille’s final ottava salutes his father, wife (“sposa”), and son (230); he’s apparently oblivious to the incongruity this creates since Achille spent a good part of the maggio enraged over the seizure of his female companion by Agamemnon.
22 Venturelli, Appendix, La guerra di Troia.
23 Indeed, the Val Dolo’s capomaggio Lorenzo Aravecchia is a noted pioneer in composing maggi with psychological depth and an acknowledged inspiration to Borghi.
24 Quoted by Borghi (9). The published translation of the Baricco quotation is less literal: “between the lines of a monument to war, the memory of a stubborn love for peace” (152).
25 Recent critical studies of Greek and Roman epic have devoted much attention to how the lament challenges and even, in some cases, subverts the celebration of glory in war that generally underpins epic narrative. See, in particular, Sheila Murnaghan and Elaine Fantham.
26 Romolo Fioroni relates a similar reaction to the demise of Orlando and his peers at the first performance of his Roncisvalle: “nel momento in cui il pubblico vede morire l’eroe, quello non me lo perdona e non l’accetta” (“At the moment in which the public sees the hero die, they don’t forgive me for that and they don’t accept it”; interview excerpt #6 in http://edblogs.columbia.edu/eboiardo/romolo-fioroni).

Chapter 9

1 This essay was written with the support of the University of Iowa College of Liberal Arts and Sciences’ affiliation with the Newberry Library Renaissance Consortium.
2 On Fénelon’s dependence on the Aeneid in Télémaque, see for example Andrew Ramsay’s “A Discourse upon Epick Poetry” in the 1719 English translation, The Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses, trans. I. Littlebury and A. Boyer (London: Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row), 6: “‘Tis sufficient to observe here, that the author of the Télémachus
has, in all the parts of his work, imitated the regularity of Virgil, by avoiding all the defects that are charged on the Greek poet [Homer]. All our author’s episodes are coherent, and so artfully interwoven with one another, that the first naturally brings on the next, and so on…. In the six first books, wherein Telemachus speaks, and relates his adventures to Calypso, this episode, in imitation of that of Dido, is contrived with so much art, that the unity of the principal action remains perfect and entire.” See also L. Goupillaud, De l’or de Virgile aux ors de Versailles (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 195–249. For other Classical influences see James Herbert Davis, Jr. Fénelon (Boston: Twayne, 1979), 90–91.

3 Cottellini’s libretto for Gluck’s opera is still sometimes said to be an adaptation of Capetti’s libretto—e.g., Jeremy Hayes, “Telemaco” (Grove Music Online, 2002. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/o-mo-9781561592630-e-5000905007, accessed July 31, 2018) but this is not so. There are similarities between the two librettos due to their common origin from Fénelon’s Télémache, but the texts and dramatis personae of the two differ considerably. As the Appendix here indicates, the scattered works between those of Alessandro Scarlatti and Gluck include two short componimenti titled Telemaco for Rome in 1741; a 1749 componimento titled Alcuni avvenimenti di Telemaco that has material from the end of Fénelon’s work connected with the betrothal of Telemachus to the daughter of Idomeen; and an anonymous opera boscarecchia for Venice in 1764, titled Il Telemaco nell’isola Ogigia.


5 This story’s first extant version is in Servius’s fourth-century C.E. commentary on Aeneid 3.121, but it is Fénelon’s version of the story that is the inspiration for eighteenth-century Idomeneus librettos. Judging from Claudio Sartori’s Libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800 (6 vols. in 7, Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–94), vol. 3, nos. 12677–12684, it was never a popular subject. Drammi per musica titled Idomeneo appear in 1756 (Anon.-Galuppi), 1781 (Varesco [after Danchet]-Mozart), 1794 (Sertor-Paer). There was also a 1728 amateur tragedia titled Idomeneo, set with balli and intermedii in Bologna, repeated in 1751, a serenata in 1778 in Palermo (Sansone), and a scena lirica in Naples in 1792 (Petrilli) repeated in Lisbon in 1795. See also Laura Naudeix “Télémaque et sa voix d’opéra,” in Fénelon: Mystique et Politique (1699–1999), Actes du colloque international de Strasbourg pour le troisième centenaire de la publication du Télémáque et de la condamnation des Maximes des Saints, edited by Francois-Xavier Cuche and Jacques Le Brun (Paris: Champion, 2004), 516–17 and n. 3; 524–27.


7 Riley’s introduction in Fénelon, Telemachus, xv– xviii. For a general introduction to the work see also Le Brun’s “Notice” in Fénelon, Oeuvres, vol. 2, 1241–62, with an annotated bibliography of editions, 1264–77.

8 That at least is what Fénelon said in his own defense a decade later: “Je n’ai jamais songé qu’à amuser M. le duc de Bourgogne par ces aventures, et qu’à l’instruire en l’amusant, sans jamais vouloir donner cet ouvrages au public. Tout le monde sait qu’il ne m’a échappé que par l’infidélité d’un copiste.” Memoire au Père Le Tellier (1710)


10 “Si un Roi observoit tous ces divins precepts, il diviendroit la victime de son Peuple, & sa condition seroit pire que celle d’un particulier. Je souhaite à toutes les Nations le Prince de Mentor; mais où le trouver? Mentor veut un Roi sans foiblesse, & sans passions: cela se peut il! Les Rois étant maîtres & hommes tout ensemble, il est impossible qu’ils ne soient sujets à des vices éclatans!” (90). The *Critique* is generally ascribed to Guedeville and published in Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1700, but this is a fictitious imprint according to entry in the catalogue at the Newberry Library (Case Y 762. F3824).

11 Pierre Faydit, *La Télémacomanie; ou, La censure et critique du roman intitulé, Les aventures de Télémåque fils d’Ulysse, ou Suite du quatrième livre de l’Odyssée d’Homere* (Eleutherople/Rouen 1700), 3. “de la même main, dont il offer tous les jours sur l’Autel au Dieu vivant ce Calice adorable, que contient le Sang de JESUS CHRIST, le prix de la redemption de l’Univers, il ait presenté a boire à ces memes ames, qui en ont été rachetées, la Coupe du Vin empoisonnee de la Prostituée de Babylone.”


On the German operas see also Renate Brockpähler, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland* (Emsdetten/Westf.: Lechte, 1964), 289 and n. 24 (Naumburg); 128–29 (Darmstadt).
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19 Ramsay’s “A Discourse upon Epick Poetry” (1719), 2. The answers to Faydit, including a rejection of his criticism of the erotic elements in Télémaque, are on pages 28–37 of the English edition.

20 The score was published as Télémaque et Calypso: tragédie en musique (Paris: C. Ballard, 1714); the libretto as Télémaque, tragédie (Paris: s.n. 1715). On the libretto see Forment, “Dall’ ‘effeminato,’” 91 and note 23.

21 Mercure galant (December 20, 1714), 12, 226. I am grateful to Charles Dill for this reference and for providing me with a text of the review.

22 The librettist and composer are unknown. There was apparently a revival of the cantata in the summer of 1717 at the Seminario Romano under the title Il Modello d’un eroica virtù. Forment, “Dall’‘effeminato,’” 87 and note 6; Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, Drammaturgia Romana II (1701–1750) (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1997), 129, with notes 184 & 185.

23 Forment, Ibid., especially 91–94.


25 Forment, “Dall’‘effeminato,’” 90: “La censura papale o le ambizioni personali devono aver dissuaso Capeci dal citare Fénelon come sua reale fonte di ispirazione.”


28 Forment, Ibid., 94–98.

29 The scenes are Act 1, scene 5, Act 1; scene 11, Act 2, scene 8; Act 2, scene 13; Act 3, scene 6–8.


31 Cf. M. Boyd, “Alessandro Scarlatti,” 7. Opera in Grove online, who suggests that Scarlatti’s popularity as an opera composer was waning, and that the Roman venue worked because “conservative patrons and audiences were more receptive to a style rapidly becoming outmoded in Naples.”


33 So, too, Forment, “Dall’‘effeminato,’” 105–06, speculating on Muratori’s possible reaction to the opera’s denouement.


35 Reinhard Strohm, Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 51. “Télémaque...is peculiar in that its
libretto and scenic style is entirely in the French manner, with a mythological prologue and much emphasis on the *merveilleux*, as the subject requires.”

For example, a sorceress in a dragon chariot flies over a Hell’s mouth in the composite scene design, probably by Buontalenti, and an engraved illustration by d’Alfiano for the fourth of the 1589 Florentine Intermedi. See James Saslow, *The Medici wedding of 1589* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 232–33, figs 51 and 52. For a Hell’s mouth that encompasses the whole stage with a rowing figure inside, see the famous design by Burnacini for *Il Pomo d’Oro* in Wolfgang Greisenegger, “Set Design and Costumes” in Andrea Seebohm and Wolfgang Greisenegger, *The Vienna Opera*, trans. Simon Nye (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 180, fig. 233.

This chart is based primarily on Sartori’s *Libretti italiani*, with additions from the catalogue of Telemachus titles in Forment, “Dall’ ‘effeminato’,” 107–11, and that of Naudeix “Télémaque et sa voix,” 516–17. It does not include cantatas and serenatas on these subjects.

Same title, no author given for 1674 and 1704.

This is not Cotellini’s libretto.

### Chapter 10

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11 Mikkonen, “The ‘Narrative is Travel’ Metaphor,” 286.


13 For the literary themes that engender tension between circularity, stasis, and forward motion, see François-Xavier Cuche, Télémaque entre père et mer, second ed. (Paris: Champion, 1995), 63–65, 199–200.

14 On the declining fortune of Homer’s Odyssey in France in the second half of the seventeenth century, see Hepp, Homère en France au XVIIe siècle, 480, 507, 511, 624–627; and Requemora, “L’imaginaire du voyage dans Les Aventures de Télémaque,” 450.


16 Charles-Hubert Gervais, Cantates françaises avec et sans symphonies...Livre premier (Paris: Ballard, 1712), 59–81; Jean-Baptiste Morin, Cantates françaises à une et à trois voix avec symphonie...Œuvre 1Ve (Paris: Foucault, 1712), 38–62; Élisabeth


20 “Puisqu’on prend tant de plaisir à voir, dans un paysage du Titien, des chèvres qui grimpent sur une colline pendante en précipice; ou, dans un tableau de Teniers, des festins de village et des danses rustiques, faut–il s’étonner qu’on aime à voir dans l’Odyssée des peintures si naïves du détail de la vie humaine? On croit être dans les lieux, qu’Homère dépeint, y voir, et y entendre les hommes.” [Since we take such pleasure in seeing a Titian landscape with goats clambering about a steeply over-hanging hillside, or, in a picture by Teniers, village festivals and country dances, is it surprising that we should take delight in the naïve paintings of ordinary human life that figure in the *Odyssey*?] You think that you are in the places that Homer describes, that you see and hear the people]. François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Oeuvres de Fénelon, archevêque de Cambrais* (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, fils et cie, 1865), 3: 222. Trans. Worvill, “From Prose peinture to Dramatic tableau,” 169n47.


22 Ibid.


25 For a detailed discussion of Gervais’s aria types, see Montagnier, *Charles-Hubert Gervais*, 86-89.


30 On Fénelon’s pedagogical intent, see Volker Kapp, *Télémaque de Fénelon: La signification d’une œuvre littéraire à la fin du siècle classique* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1982), 21–90.


39 Ibid., 90.
40 Morin, Cantates françaises à une et à trois voix avec simphonie, 55–56.
43 The emphasis on never-ending journey is also an allusion to the dedicatee of these cantatas, Maximilian Emanuel II of Bavaria (1662–1726) who was forced to live in exile at the French court in the early eighteenth century. On this aspect, see Adrian Rose, “Élisabeth-Claude Jacquet de la Guerre and the Secular cantate française,” Early Music 13, no. 4 (1985): 531.
45 The storm is supplemented by various speeches by different divinities. For a discussion, see de Jong, Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey, 139.
47 For a discussion of sleep as a motive in the Odyssey, see Ibid., 148.
48 Ibid., 316–317.
49 Ibid., 149.
50 Jacquet de la Guerre, Semelé, l’Ile de Delos, le Sommeil d’Ulisse, Cantates francaises, 56–57.
51 Alexandrine verse signals the “heroic style” typically reserved for gods in French baroque opera. See Buford Norman, Touched by the Graces: The Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 2001), 111–115.
53 Lattimore, trans., Odyssey, 100–102.

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12 Wolf, Prolegomena ad Homerum, sive De operum Homericorum priscas et genuina forma variisque mutationibus et probabili ratione emendandi (Halle: Libraria Orphanotrophei), 1795.
20 It was not published until after Butler’s death, as Samuel Butler and Henry F. Jones, Ulysses: a dramatic oratorio in vocal score with accompaniment for the pianoforte (London: Weeks & Co., 1904).
24 See Hall and Macintosh, Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre, figs. 13.2 and 13.3. Included at the front of F. C. Burnand, Ulysses, or, the iron-clad warrior and the little tug of war: an entirely original burlesque (London: T.H. Lacy, 1864).
25 See Hall and Macintosh, Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre, ch. 14 with fig. 14.3.
29 Cornford Review of “The Odyssey,” 222.
42 Notes

34 Henderson, The Incarnate Bachelor, 171.
36 Hall and Macintosh, Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre, ch. 14.
37 Percy Fitzgerald, Principles of Comedy and Dramatic Effect (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1870), 150.
43 Emily Soldene, My Theatrical and Musical Recollections (London: Downey, 1897), 299.
46 Jones, Samuel Butler, 274.
51 Streatfeild, “Butler.” Naucrates’ story is retold by the Byzantine scholar Eustathius of Thessalonica, in his Commentary on the Odyssey 1.2. An earlier author, Photius of Constantinople, attributes this slightly different version of the same tale to Ptolemy Chennus (a Greek mythographer active first and second century CE): “Phantasia, a woman of Memphis, daughter of Nicarchus, composed before Homer a tale of the Trojan War and of the adventures of Odysseus. The books were deposited, it is said, at Memphis; Homer went there and obtained copies from Phanites, the temple scribe, and he composed under their inspiration.”
52 Streatfeild, “Butler.”

Chapter 12

2 Hollander, The Inferno.
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Chapter 1


Chapter 2


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Chapter 3

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**Chapter 4**


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Chapter 8


Chapter 9


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