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Oral Tradition seeks to provide a comparative and interdisciplinary focus for studies in oral literature and related fields by publishing research and scholarship on the creation, transmission, and interpretation of all forms of oral traditional expression. As well as essays treating certifiably oral traditions, *OT* presents investigations of the relationships between oral and written traditions, as well as brief accounts of important fieldwork, a Symposium section (in which scholars may reply at some length to prior essays), review articles, occasional transcriptions and translations of oral texts, a digest of work in progress, and a regular column for notices of conferences and other matters of interest. In addition, occasional issues will include an ongoing annotated bibliography of relevant research and the annual Albert Lord and Milman Parry Lectures on Oral Tradition. *OT* welcomes contributions on all oral literatures, on all literatures directly influenced by oral traditions, and on non-literary oral traditions. Submissions must follow the list-of reference format (style sheet available on request) and must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope for return or for mailing of proofs; all quotations of primary materials must be made in the original language(s) with following English translations. Authors should submit two copies of all manuscripts. Most contributions will be reviewed by at least one specialist reader and one member of the editorial board before a final decision is reached. Review essays, announcements, and contributions to the Symposium section will be evaluated by the editor in consultation with the board.

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Editor's Column

This issue of *Oral Tradition* marks the beginning of our fifth year of publication, and it thus seems appropriate to thank the individuals who have fostered our growth since the inaugural issue of 1986. I am especially grateful to a series of administrators who in one way or another saw value in this field and assisted in the establishment of the journal and the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition at the University of Missouri-Columbia: Melvin George, Theodore Tarkow, Milton Glick, Gerald Brouder, Lois DeFleur, and Larry Clark. We are also indebted to the English department, particularly the former and present Chairs, Timothy Materer and Ellie Ragland-Sullivan. At the "other end" of the process, Charles Gribble, president of Slavica Publishers, has followed through on his firm's commitment to launch and maintain the journal, even as we moved from typescript to disk to desktop publishing. And mediating between authors and publisher has been a host of talented editorial assistants, headed by Ed Tyler.

In future issues of the journal we plan a variety of contents, with approximately every third number devoted to a special area or topic. Upcoming special issues include Ruth Finnegan's and Margaret Orbell's collection on the oral traditions of Oceania (5, ii-iii); a group of essays on Yugoslavia, edited by John Miletich; and a third number on Native American traditions, under the joint supervision of Barre Toelken and Larry Evers. For every such highly focused collection we plan two miscellanies or "potpourri" issues, with emphasis on the variety of oral traditions—modem, medieval, and ancient. We see the documentation (if this not too "un-oral" a term) of that heterogeneity as our primary mission; indeed it is our hope that an increased awareness of the richness and complexity of oral traditions worldwide will help all specialists to a greater understanding of their own particular corners of that world.

Toward such an end this issue presents a wide variety of scholarship on oral traditions from various places and eras. John D. Smith opens the discussion with an article on the folk-*Mahābhārata,* the Rajasthani popular—and oral traditional—version of the great Sanskrit epic; Smith's observations and analysis stem from his considerable experience carrying on fieldwork in the Indian state of Rajasthan, and offer another perspective on the interface between orality and literacy. In the next essay, on the Old English written text "Solomon and Saturn I," Marie Nelson scrutinizes what amounts to a "fictional representation of an oral performance" which was probably written by its author in an idiom that was nonetheless oral traditional in origin. The result is a productive complication of earlier ideas about "written" versus "oral" in Anglo-Saxon poetry, a helpful contextualizing of the various layers of signification in what has always seemed a curious poem. From King Solomon Keith Dickson takes us to Nestor and other ancient Greek *senex* figures in his essay on "A Typology

of Mediation in Homer." Starting with a single formula, Dickson cleverly examines the group of characters with which it is associated as well as the "contextual parameters" within which it is employed, and is able to lay bare correspondences that suggest interpretive backgrounds for figures, situations, and developing sequences of events.

Just as these three initial essays probe new dimensions of studies in oral tradition, so the next three selections recall some of the work that made them possible. In this sixtieth anniversary year of Milman Parry's "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making.[1]. Homer and Homeric Style," we have devoted a section of the journal to three of the most important influences on his research and scholarship.! The first of these, a translation of Wilhelm Radloff's preface to his foundational work among the central Asian Kara-Kirgiz, has been prepared especially for this purpose by Gudrun Böttcher Sherman with the assistance of Adam Brooke Davis. Next comes Edgard Sienaert's introductory article on Marcel Jousse, whose 1924 monograph on *Le Style oral rythmique et mnémotechnique chez les verbo-moteurs* was repeatedly cited by Parry. To accompany these two pieces of the puzzle we have reprinted a third item, a translation of the first part of *La Poésie populaire yougoslave au début du XXe siècle* (1929) by Matija Murko,[2] arguably the greatest of all contemporary influences on Parry's ideas.

Annalee Rejhon closes this issue with a contribution to our Symposium section, in this case an extended comment on the medieval Welsh and French traditions, with reference to the physiology of the brain and Frederick Turner's essay "Performed Being: Word Art as a Human Inheritance."[3] Future numbers of *OT* will include articles on Old Norse, Old Irish, Anglo-Saxon, African and African-American, and other traditions, as well as an essay on conversational style and Ruth Finnegan's 1989 Milman Parry lecture. As we hope has become our own modest "tradition" over these five years, we welcome submissions to the journal in any and all areas; in short, we look forward to learning more about oral tradition.

John Miles Foley, Editor

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[1] For a full discussion of Parry's work and its antecedents, see John Miles Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), chaps. 1-2.

[2] Originally published in Foley, ed., *Oral-Formulaic Theory: A Casebook* (New York: Garland, 1990), pp. 3-30.

[3] *Oral Tradition*, 1 (1986): 66-109.

Oral Tradition, 5/1 (1990): 3-19

Worlds Apart: Orality, Literacy, and the Rajasthani Folk-*Mahābhārata*

John D. Smith

It will be helpful to begin by quoting some sample statistics on levels of literacy in present-day India. The following are selected from the *India Literacy Atlas*, and relate to the 1971 census; it may be noted that in most categories these figures show an increase of around 5% over those for 1961.

Constituency	Percentage literacy
India as a whole	29.34
Rural India	23.60
Urban India	52.48
Indian men	39.51
Indian women	18.44
Men in rural Rajasthan	22.58
Women in rural Rajasthan	3.85
Tribals in India as a whole	11.30
Tribals in Rajasthan	6.47
Tribal men in Rajasthan	12.03
Tribal women in Rajasthan	0.49

These figures make it plain that literacy is very restricted in India, and also that it is very unevenly distributed, being lowest in the countryside, among women, and among tribals. There are regional variations also: the levels for the Western Indian state of Rajasthan are significantly lower than the national averages, no doubt reflecting the relative poverty of that state as well as earlier substandard provision for education in some of its constituent princely states.

It is a safe assumption that a larger proportion of Indians can read and write nowadays than at any time during the past; and few would take issue with the further proposition that literacy among rural people, women, and tribals has probably always been lower than average. In other words, the ability to participate in literate culture—whether actively by writing or passively by reading—has never been available to as much as one-third of

the population, and has been notably lacking among those whom the folklore-collector would regard as his richest sources. Whatever else Indian popular culture may be, it is thus overwhelmingly a culture of non-literate people.

No less important, for many who *can* read and write these skills are purely functional: they do not play any significant part in the transmission of verbal culture. The *dhobī* may be able to read a laundry list and write a bill, but this does not make him a reader, let alone writer, of novels or plays or poetry. Thus even where functional literacy exists the spoken word retains the importance it has always had as a cultural medium. It is instructive to read Lord's remarks on an evidently parallel situation among the "singers of tales" of Yugoslavia (1986:20-22, 28, 40, 50):

> If a singer in Montenegro learned to read, was he immediately immersed in Russian literature? Of course not, because Russian letters influenced the literary elite in Montenegro, insofar as literary circles existed there, and the singer who learned to read would not readily enter into these circles. Singers are usually in rural areas. . .often among herders. The singer's world must change for the merger to take place, or else the singer himself must change worlds. . . the world of "literacy" is removed from that of orality. . . for [the epic singer] Nikola the world of literacy was not the written literature, abundant as it was, but the newspaper, including perhaps whatever of literature appeared in it. . .. It is an intriguing question whether the world of literacy has as great a difficulty in comprehending the world of orality as we have found that the world of orality has in understanding the world of literacy. The gap is felt on both sides.

Lord's insistence on the existence of a "gap" between two "worlds" that are "removed" from one another is salutary, for highly literate scholars have a tendency to assume, with real but unconscious arrogance, that orality is merely literacy's unsophisticated twin. Non-literate peoples, it is presumed, have "texts" just as do literate peoples; but instead of committing them to paper they commit them to memory. Such assumptions ignore the large amount of work that has been done in many parts of the world on the nature of oral composition and transmission. While verbatim memorization of fixed texts is known in certain traditions,[1] it is very far from being the norm. This has been demonstrated in particular by the work of Parry and of Lord himself on South Slavic oral epic (esp. Parry 1971, Lord 1960), which showed that the performance of such an epic was simultaneously an exercise in composition. The bard creates his tale as he performs it, assembling it out of appropriate stock phrases ("formulae") and standard scenes ("themes"), but he does not aim to produce a single "correct" form of words on every occasion, and no two

[1] The clearest example seems to be that of Somali oral poetry; see Finnegan 1977: 73-75 and the references cited there.

performances will be the same. In such traditions—that is to say, in almost all oral traditions—to speak of "texts" is meaningless. Texts belong to the other world, the world of literacy, for a text is something that cannot normally exist at all without being held in its fixed form by means of writing.

The "gap" between the two worlds, and Lord's suggestion that "the world of literacy has as great a difficulty in comprehending the world of orality as we have found that the world of orality has in understanding the world of literacy," raise problems for the scholar wishing to study a popular culture. The whole basis of most scholarship is books, manuscripts, and texts of other sorts; and this is inevitably particularly true of those who deal with the past rather than the present. For historians, texts are primary. But Indian popular culture does not generate texts, and texts relating to Indian popular culture are secondary with respect to that culture. Written sources dealing with lower-caste and tribal people are not merely relatively uncommon, they are also always the work of higher-caste, non-tribal people; and the information that they contain, valuable though it may be, is inevitably colored by that fact.

An example will help to show the dangers involved. References to the low-caste Nāyaks of Rajasthan in two learned works, the seventeenth-century Chronicle (*Khyāta*) of Mũhato Naiṇasī and the twentieth-century *Ethnographic Atlas of Rajasthan*, are made under the name Thorī (Sākariyā 1964:58-79; Mathur 1969:84-85). This is indeed another name for members of the Nāyak caste, but it is an abusive term roughly equivalent to "Gyppo" or "Nigger." The point here is not that Naiṇasī and the compilers of the *Atlas* (whose dedication quotes Gandhi on the evils of untouchability) are socially prejudiced, but that they are fundamentally ignorant, and thus historically unreliable. Wherever their information has come from, it has not come from Nāyaks. In such a situation errors are inevitable, and it comes as no surprise to discover that the *Atlas* takes a third synonym, *Āheṛī*, as denoting a separate caste-group (Mathur 1969:94-95). The moral would seem to be that written source-material on members of low castes is likely to be inaccurate; if it is contemporary it should be checked, and if it is historical it should be treated with extreme suspicion.

Once it is conceded that there *is* a gap between oral and literate cultures in India, the next task is to investigate its width. This is clearly something that will vary considerably from region to region, and the situation I describe here for Rajasthan should not necessarily be assumed to apply in other states. But the Rajasthani case does have general implications which it would be well not to overlook, for it illustrates just how extreme can be the divergence between related popular and high-culture traditions in a single region, and thus how dangerous the mutual ignorance and incomprehension of Lord's two worlds can be. The gap

between the two can sometimes be a yawning chasm into which no one is more likely to tumble than the scholar who ventures into the realm of orality without first shedding the bundle of literate preconceptions he habitually carries about with him.

One reason for the degree of idiosyncrasy of Rajasthan's very rich and varied oral culture must lie in the low level of literacy referred to earlier, which reduces the numbers of those directly exposed to literate culture, and in doing so also weakens literate influence on the oral culture. There are other contributory factors. It is significant that the region never fell under direct central rule, whether Muslim or British, but was until recently governed by (often chauvinistic) local princes. Another factor is the nature of the terrain, a large proportion of which consists of inhospitable arid desert, inevitably reducing contact with the outside world. Finally there is Rajasthan's unusually large population of tribals: 12.13% of the total population in 1971, as compared with 6.94% for India as a whole (*Census* 1971:35). Their contribution to the oral culture of the state is a major one, but their relationship with mainstream Hindu culture is somewhat marginal.

Whatever the reasons, it is easy to find quite spectacular examples of Rajasthani oral culture diverging from literate norms. As an anecdotal illustration, I can refer to two brothers with whom I worked in 1973 and again in 1976, when I was engaged in making recordings of the epic of Pābūjī. This epic is performed by Nāyaks as a religious ritual in honor of its hero, who is a deity widely worshipped by Rebārī camel-herds and shepherds, and by rural Rajpūts.[2] Though low-caste, the performers are thus priests,[3] as is confirmed by the word *bhopo* that is used to describe them: a *bhopo* is normally a shamanistic folk-priest who is possessed by his deity. The two brothers[4] were performers of the epic of Pābūjī, and were very competent and very pious. Early in their performance they always included a song invoking various gods, including "the *avatāras*"—a group among whom turtle, fish, and man-lion were specifically mentioned. But when I asked them who these figures were *avatāras* of, they appeared not to understand the question; and when I suggested that they might be *avatāras* of Viṣṇu it became evident that that name was not familiar to them.

If Rajasthani popular culture can produce Hindu priests who have

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[2] For general information and a plot summary, see Smith 1986.

[3] It is not in fact unusual for non-Brahmin Hindu priests to be of lower caste than those who patronize them. See for example Pocock 1973:ch. 3, and—for another case associated with ritual performance of an epic—Roghair 1982:26-29, 32-34, 374 (s.v. *Māla*).

[4] Javārjī and Rāṇā, from the village of Caṭāḷiyo (26° 45′, 73° 20′).

never heard of Viṣṇu, it would obviously be interesting to see what it can do with one of Hinduism's great stories, that of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* narrative is well known throughout India, normally in versions that clearly derive at no great distance from the original Sanskrit epic, but it has been known for some time that there exists a Rajasthani folk version which contains major deviations from the "standard" story. Kṛṣṇkumār Śarmā has published short descriptions of the Rajasthani folk-*Mahābhārata* (1968:44-52 and 1980:160-67), and Suśīlā Guptā of Bikaner has produced a Ph.D. dissertation on the same topic (which I have unfortunately not been able to see); and in 1982 I was myself able, with the help of Komal Kothari, to make a recording of four of the episodes (*ḍevāḷs*) as performed by a group of four men from near Jodhpur.[5] This recording is less than ideal, for the lead singer was an 80-year-old opium addict whose mind was mostly elsewhere, and his deputy, though charming and eloquent, was not particularly well-informed. But before leaving Jodhpur I was able to go through the material in fair detail with a native Rajasthani speaker, thus making it very much more accessible to me; and where there remain gaps or obscurities I have sometimes been able to remedy them by consulting the summaries published by Śarmā, which are generally very close to the versions I recorded.

Śarmā gives no background information on the tradition of performance, so all that can be said here is what Komal Kothari and I could extract from the performers we recorded. These consisted of two Megvāḷs (traditionally a leather-worker caste), one Rajpūt, and one Hīrāgar (status not known). The lead singer said he had learned from a Kāmaṛ, and my assistant Parbū, a Nāyak, told me that members of his family used to perform the *ḍevāḷs*, so there is evidently no caste-exclusivity. Most of the *ḍevāḷs* are said to have been composed by one Pā̃co, who lived in a remote but evidently mythical past. In the version we recorded, they were performed to the accompaniment of a drum, finger-cymbals, and a drone provided by a string-instrument, with interspersed passages of spoken *arthāv* "explanation." The singers, who do not regularly perform together, said that performances were normally commissioned as part of a religious night-wake: any occasion might prompt a request to perform, but especially a wedding-procession, a return from pilgrimage, or a death. One of them had most recently performed at a caste-fellow's house, another at the house of a Kumār (potter caste); so again there is evidence of non-caste-exclusivity.

From these performers we recorded four *ḍevāḷs*, two of which correspond to narratives summarized by Śarmā. The first, not found in

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5 Mā̃gīlāl, a Megvāl! from the village of Ḍigāṛī; Gokuḷjī, a Megvāḷ, and Sā̃gisṃh, a Rajpūt, both from the village of Nā̃daṛī; and Jasārām, a Hīrāgar from the village of Nā̃daṛā. (These are all small villages about six miles east of Jodhpur.)

Śarmā's work, is called *urjan bhārat*, "the story of Arjuna": it tells of Arjuna's hazardous mission to locate the remains of his father Pāṇḍu (here called "Piṇḍ") so that the last rites can be properly performed, and of his single-handed defeat of a demon army. Next comes *ãvaḷī bhārat*, apparently, though very obscurely, "the myrobalan story," corresponding to the two parts of Śarmā's *bhīmā bhārat*: a plot-summary of this episode is given below. The third *ḍevāḷ* we recorded was *ṭĩṭoṛi bhārat*, "the story of the sandpiper," corresponding to Śarmā's *dropad ro avatār*: Bhīma is afforded a vision of Draupadī being venerated by all the gods and granting a sandpiper a boon of safety for her eggs in the coming battle. Lastly there is *karaṇāvaḷī*, a story with no equivalent in Śarmā, telling of the great generosity of Karṇa and his wife, and of Karṇa's death.

Of these stories, the first and third constitute "extra" episodes built around familiar characters: they are not associated with any particular part of the main *Mahābhārata* story, and consequently do not contradict elements of that story. The fourth, the story of Karṇa, tells of events wholly unknown to the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*,[6] but can reasonably be seen as amplifying, rather than contradicting, the story found there. It is the *ãvaḷī bhārat* that stands in sharpest contrast to the standard Sanskrit-derived story, for it contains what is clearly a reflex of a very significant section of the main narrative, but in a weirdly distorted version.

The simplest way to indicate the degree of this distortion is to summarize the relevant part of the story in both the Sanskrit and Rajasthani versions. In the Sanskrit text the passages in question are a short part of the *Ādi-parvan*, running from 1.139 to 1.144, and the whole of Books 2, 3, and 4—*the Sabhā-, Āraṇyaka- and Virāṭa-parvans*. The essential lines of the story are as follows. The Pāṇḍava brothers Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakuta, and Sahadeva have incurred the bitter enmity of their hundred Kaurava cousins, the eldest of whom is the wicked Duryodhana. While the Pāṇḍavas are hiding in the forest after Duryodhana's unsuccessful attempt to burn them to death in an inflammable house of lac, a *rākṣasī* (female demon) named Hiḍimbā sees and falls in love with Bhīma. Her brother Hiḍimba appears: Bhīma fights and kills him, but Hiḍimbā begs to be allowed to marry Bhīma, and Yudhiṣṭhira agrees to this on condition she returns him to his family every night. Soon a child is born to them, a boy named Ghaṭotkaca, demonic in appearance but good at heart. Not long after this, the Pāṇḍavas acquire their joint wife, Draupadī. But soon their cousins the Kauravas, jealous of the Pāṇḍavas' prosperity, challenge them to a gambling match in which Śakuni plays Yudhiṣṭhira and cheats him of all his wealth and power, finally taking away even his liberty and that of his family. The Pāṇḍavas are sent into exile in the forest for twelve years with a thirteenth year to be spent incognito. They have

[6] But not unknown in other parts of India—see further below.

various adventures in the forest, then travel to Virāṭa where they live disguised for a year in the King's palace. The Queen's brother Kīcaka tries to rape Draupadī, who summons Bhīma to her aid. Bhīma tells her to make a false assignation with Kīcaka, and then goes in her place; when Kīcaka comes hoping for embraces, he kills him.

Thus, in very brief summary, the events as recounted in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*; now follows the narrative of the *ãvaḷī bhārat*. The Pāṇḍavas had planted a very fine banyan tree, which had grown to enormous size. One day the hundred Kauravas came and challenged Nakula, youngest of the Pāṇḍavas, to a stick-game; the rule was that one person would throw a stick, and whoever was "it" had first to touch someone else and then pick the stick up. Nakula agreed, and Duryodhana threw the stick. But then the Kauravas all climbed into the tree: every time Nakula climbed up to touch one of them, another would get down and take the stick and say, "It's still your turn." Since the Kauravas specified that whoever was "it" could not eat, Nakula began to grow very hungry as the months passed and the unending game went on. Eventually Bhīma noticed that Nakula looked unwell, and when he heard what had happened he decided to play in his stead. Armed with the beam from an oil-press by way of a stick he went to challenge the Kauravas. On the way, Kṛṣṇa, who was worried that Bhīma might not be able to think out a way to defeat the Kauravas, arranged a demonstration for him: he assumed the form of a monkey and began shaking fruit down from a tree. Bhīma took the hint, and when the game began and the Kauravas climbed up into the banyan tree he shook it until they all fell out again. At this point the Kauravas' mother Gāndhārī arrived, and, seeing her hundred sons all lying there dead [*sic*], she appealed to Kṛṣṇa to punish the Pāṇḍavas by banishing them to the forest for twelve years. After various adventures in the forest, including an encounter with Śiva, the Pāṇḍavas found themselves near Kairāṭa-nagarī where there lived a mighty demon called Kīcaka. Kīcaka had a curious habit: every day he would tell his wife to stand still and then shoot an arrow through her nose-ring, and after doing this he would ask her if there was anyone else as mighty as he in the world. Every day the Queen would answer no. Eventually she wearied of this, and, on her father's advice, the next day she answered Kīcaka that the Pāṇḍavas were stronger than he. He tested their strength by subterfuge and found out that Bhīma was indeed stronger than himself, so he sent Bhīma off on a pretext, wrapped the other Pāṇḍavas in a bundle, and took them off to Kairāṭa-nagarī, where he intended to sacrifice the four remaining brothers to the Goddess and make Draupadī his wife. Bhīma realized what had happened and began to trace his abducted family. On the way he encountered Kīcaka's sister Hurmā, who made him marry her and at once gave birth to Ghaṭokaca, as strong as Bhīma himself. When Bhīma and Ghaṭotkaca reached Kairāṭa-nagarī,

they found their family living in disguise. Draupadī told Bhīma that Kīcaka had evil designs on her. Bhīma told her to make a false assignation with Kīcaka in the temple to the Goddess, and he disguised himself as a woman and went there in her place. When Kīcaka arrived he was killed by Bhīma with the help of Ghaṭotkaca.

This is quite different from the "extra" episodes which have been tacked on to existing characters, for the narrative of the *ãvaḷī bhārat* is a variant of, and clearly ultimately derives from, the standard classical narrative, many of whose elements it preserves. The characters who occur are almost without exception major figures in the Sanskrit epic, and stand in the same relationships to one another that they do there. The five Pāṇḍava brothers, their mother Kuntī and wife Draupadī, the hundred Kauravas led by Duryodhana, their mother Gāndhārī, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Ghaṭotkaca, Kīcaka—all these appear and are recognizably the same people/gods as appear in the Sanskrit text. Their names too are with few exceptions the same names, merely normalized to Rajasthani pronunciation (Urjan for Arjuna, Bhĩv for Bhīma, etc.). Ghaṭotkaca's demonic mother, originally Hiḍimbā, has been further normalized to the Muslim female name Hurmā, but that is the most deviant case.[7] Most important, the overall sweep of the story is the same: the Pāṇḍavas are exiled to the forest for twelve years after being cheated by the Kauravas in a game; Bhīma, who has acquired a son named Ghaṭotkaca by a female demon, subsequently kills Kīcaka, who intends to rape Draupadī while she and her brothers are living in disguise in Virāṭa/Kairāṭa-nagarī, by impersonating her and keeping a false assignation with him.

The main lines of the *ãvaḷī bhārat* narrative may be closely related to the story told early in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, but its details are wildly discrepant. The Kauravas challenge the Pāṇḍavas to a game, but it is a children's game, not a gambling-match;[8] the Pāṇḍavas' banishment is a punishment for Bhīma's excesses, not the stake played for in the game; the Kauravas do not live to fight another day; Kīcaka and Hiḍimba have been fused into a single character. Moreover, this list gives little hint of the real

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[7] In three other cases the form of name used is actually an etymological derivative of the Sanskrit name, a point of some interest in that it suggests a long and continuous tradition of oral *Mahābhārata* performance in the region. Abhimanyu appears as Ahamno or Ahamdo, Ghaṭotkaca as Ghaṛūko; Yudhiṣṭhira appears in Śarmā's summaries as Jahuṭhal (presumably = Jahuṭhaḷ), with typical Rajasthani vowel-change and early substitution of *-l-* for *-r-*. In the version I recorded this name had been further modified by analogy to become Jeṭhaḷ, "eldest brother," which is of course what Yudhiṣṭhira is.

[8] It is also an old game, for it is plainly the same as that described by G. N. Sharma from a seventeenth century painting which depicts "a game… played by a group of boys. One of the boys who could not climb the tree in time had to stay on the ground and was to catch others who succeeded in climbing the tree. This game is played with a staff in hand" (1968:134).

nature of the changes that the folk version of the story has introduced, which do not become apparent from a straightforward plot-summary. Qualitatively, the narrative has been altered beyond recognition. From being a story of heroism, of the conflict between good and evil, of the problems caused for man by the ill-will of the gods (see Smith 1989), it has become a collection of hyperbolical, often comic, tales of magic and the miraculous, enacted by two-dimensional characters and with no apparent claim to any deeper meaning. So extreme is the transformation that, in another environment, we might reasonably suspect deliberate parody; but this is an explanation that cannot hold up in the face of Hindu attitudes toward stories of Hindu antiquity, and which anyway has no support from those who sang and listened to the *ḍevaḷs*.

In this respect there is no distinction between the various episodes, which all share a similar ethos: the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas have been transplanted into the world inhabited by Rāmdev, Pābūjī, Devnārāyaṇ, Gogo, and the other medieval heroes of present-day Rajasthani epic and miracle-song. This makes itself plain in the characters of the heroes and those of the gods, and also in the events out of which the stories are built.

The heroes have become paper-thin: Bhīma is overwhelmingly strong but also stupid, Karṇa is generous to the point of self-destruction, and Draupadī is venerable, gracious, and dangerous; the others are mostly nonentities. We know that the Pāṇḍavas are heroic fighters because we are told, but there is little in their deeds to indicate heroism. Where the Sanskrit text revels in detailed blow-by-blow and arrow-by-arrow accounts of warfare, and culminates in the slaughter of 1,660,020,000 people (O'Flaherty 1976:260-61, quoting Zaehner), the Rajasthani narratives contain no real fighting at all. There are frequent references in the *urjan bhārat* to a mysterious "war in Māsul," but the only combat that is described as occurring there or anywhere else is a war which Arjuna fights single-handed against an army of demons, and which he wins with a single arrow. In the same way "the war at Kurukṣetra"—the centerpiece of the Sanskrit epic—is mentioned from time to time but is never actually described. This is presumably because the *ā̃vaḷī bhārat*'s reworking of the story kills the Kauravas off prematurely, so that there is actually no one left for the Pāṇḍavas to fight. Bhīma's solo conflict with Kīcaka is described, but the usual hyperbole and miraculous elements make their appearance: Bhīma repeatedly tears Kīcaka's body in two, but the two halves keep coming together until Ghaṭokaca teaches his father a rather silly spell to prevent this happening.[9] Warfare is retained as part of the heroes' characters, but not as part of their actions: fighting is not what this version of the *Mahābhārata* is about.

[9] It is a phrase spoken when one snaps and throws away a used toothbrush-twig: *dātaṇ phāṭā ar pāp nāṭā* ("twigs are snapped, sins are fled").

The picture of the gods that the *ḍevāḷs* create is also very different from that found in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. Those who appear are Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, and the Goddess (i.e. Śiva's consort Pārvatī/Śakti), and of these the Goddess is all-powerful, as she is in many Rajasthani stories. The *ḍevāḷ* called *ṭĩṭoṛĩ bhārat* begins with a heavenly conversation between Śiva and his wife in which Śiva asks how the strength and merit of Bhīma and the other Pāṇḍavas can be destroyed, and the Goddess offers to be born as Draupadī to bring about a great war and annihilate them. (It is later in the same episode that Bhīma, who has not realized who Draupadī really is, sees her honored by all the gods in turn.) This is a truly typical Rajasthani motif: in both the Pābūjī and Devnārāyaṇ epics the Goddess takes incarnation as a woman to destroy the heroes, and a song sung by my informant Parbū Bhopo as part of his performance of the Pābūjī epic makes it clear that this is repeatedly her task. Parbū was explicit that the meaning of the verb "dupe" (*chaḷ-*) in this passage was "exterminate" (*khapā-*):

> You duped Pābūjī son of Dhāḍhal
> when you were called Deval;
> old lady, you were called Deval.
> You duped Rāma and Rāvaṇa,
> Jagadambā, when you were called Sītā.
> In the *kaliyuga* you are known as Kāḷī;
> in the *kaliyuga* you are known as Kāḷī:
> you have a great abode in Calcutta.
> You drink blood;
> you eat men.
> Jagadambā, you duped the twenty-four Bagaṛāvats[10]
> when your name was Jeḷū-Jaimtī.
> Your discuses fly through the air.
> You have duped the great and the great.
> You duped the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas,
> old lady, when your name was Draupadī. . ..[11]

Śiva, by contrast, when anything more than a conversational foil for his all-powerful wife, is represented as a cowardly buffoon: when the Pāṇḍavas approach him during their forest exile he first hides from them, assuming the form of a small buffalo-calf, and then runs away when his disguise is penetrated. As for Kṛṣṇa, the great god of the Sanskrit epic, he is reduced in most of his appearances in the *ḍevāḷs* to a sort of divine odd-job man, called into the narrative when blessings or curses are needed. There is, however, one episode in which he figures more prominently, and with something of the same dubious morality for which he is notorious in

[10] The brother-heroes who form the subject of the first half of the epic of Devnārāyaṇ.

[11] Translated from a performance by Parbū recorded in Jodhpur in 1976.

the *Mahābhārata*: this, the story of the death of Karṇa recounted in the *ḍevāḷ* called *karaṇāvaḷī*, is summarized below.

Like their human and divine dramatis personae, the events out of which the *ḍevāḷs* are constructed are in general far removed from those found in the Sanskrit epic. This is true not merely of the broad sweep of the stories, as with the *ā̃vaḷī bhārat* described above, but also of the very numerous small motifs which form the basic narrative building-blocks, and which are in general thoroughly typical of those occurring in local epic and miracle-song. The *urjan bhārat* alone, for example, contains the following: lying once before speaking the truth; a horse kept in an underground place; the sea speaking and granting passage to a hero; the sun concealed by dust from the hooves of a hero's horse; a parrot acting as messenger; bad omens before an ordeal; destroying an enemy army single-handed leaving only a sole survivor; female relatives of the enemy becoming vultures and haunting battlefields; an impossible request. Some—certainly not all—of these conventional story-motifs may possibly occur in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* also, but in present-day Rajasthan these and others like them are the commonplaces of oral epic narrative.

The Rajasthani folk-*Mahābhārata* thus shares a great deal with other contemporary Rajasthani heroic songs, and indeed it seems to have a particularly close relationship with the *parcos* or miracle-songs of another local Rajasthani deity, Rāmdev.[12] To begin with, Rāmdev's disciple Hārjī Bhāṭī is credited as the composer of the *ṭī̃ṭoṛī bhārat*. Then the *ṭī̃ṭorī bhārat* itself contains a narrative element that recurs identically in one of Ramdev's *parcos*:[13] the eggs of a sandpiper are protected in a battle by a bell falling over them from the throat of an elephant. Finally, the *parco* telling the story of Harjī Bhāṭī contains a sequence very similar indeed to one occurring in a *ḍevāḷ* not recorded by me but summarized by Śarmā (1980:160-61) under the title *ā̃bāras kī kathā* ("the story of the mango-juice"): as a test the heroes have to make *khīr* (rice-pudding) with milk from immature animals and sand or stones.

The *ḍevāḷs* thus have a great deal in common with other oral narratives performed in Rajasthan; but they also share narrative elements with other oral traditions from elsewhere in India. In particular, the story of Karṇa's death recounted in the *ḍevāḷ* called *karaṇāvaḷī* is closely similar to versions of this story found in Central and South India, though it does not occur in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. There is nothing especially surprising about this; it is not unknown for stories related to the Sanskrit

[12] See Binford 1976; Rāmdev is an interesting case of a local deity who is beginning to achieve quite widespread acceptance, with temples in many major cities of India.

[13] At the end of *billī ro parco*, "the story of the cat" in my recording of a performance by the wife and brother-in-law of Parbū Bhopo made in Jodhpur in 1976.

epics or Purāṇas to be widespread throughout South Asia without there being any Sanskrit "original" to trace them back to—a good example is the story of the ash-demon Bhasmāsura (=Tamil Vallarakkaṉ: Blackburn 1988:48-8, n.2, and 230-31; also Ackerley 1983:70-78), which has been recorded in several parts of Central and South India, and even in Sri Lanka, and which I recorded from my Rajasthani informant Parbū Bhopo in 1976. Though a similar story appears in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (10.88.14-36), it cannot be regarded as the source of the various oral stories told today, for there are many elements common to most or all of these that are not found there. The story of Karṇa's death is apparently another similar case.

According to the version recounted in the *ḍevāḷ*, Duḥśāsana once trod on Draupadī's dress:[14] Karṇa saw him do so and laughed, and Draupadī, enraged, vowed to break Karṇa's teeth. She appealed to Kṛṣṇa to help her take her revenge, and Kṛṣṇa replied that he would destroy Karṇa's celebrated nobility of character. He went to the war at Kurukṣetra,[15] assumed the form of a poor weak Brahmin and approached Karṇa. Lying to convince Karṇa that he was who he claimed, Kṛṣṇa begged from him. Karṇa replied that he was involved in a battle and not in a position to give him anything; and he told him instead to go and make the same request to his wife Karaṇāvaḷī, who would treat him as generously as he would himself. Kṛṣṇa went to see Karaṇāvaḷī, and told her that her husband had died four days previously in the war at Kurukṣetra; Karaṇāvaḷī, delighted that he had met such a noble end, prepared to distribute all his wealth among the poor. Kṛṣṇa told her that he had himself come to beg for a gift, and she went off to fetch one for him. As soon as she had gone Kṛṣṇa left; he went back to Karṇa and told him that he had received no honor and no gift from Karaṇāvaḷī. Karṇa told him to fetch a stone and break out his teeth, which contained two jewels; Kṛṣṇa did so, and Karṇa presented the jewels to him. Kṛṣṇa was not yet satisfied, and complained that it was wrong to offer a gift defiled with blood, so Karṇa called upon the river Gaṅgā to come and wash the jewels, and she did so. Karṇa also said that he recognized Kṛṣṇa for who he was, and requested to see him in his full divine form. Kṛṣṇa granted this request, and gave Karṇa various blessings for his generosity and nobility, including a promise to cremate his body in a place where no one had ever died or been born—a promise which he later carried out, though with difficulty—whereupon Karṇa died.

There is a close parallel to this story at the end of the "Karaṇ parv"

[14] This insult seems likely to be a reflex of the famous episode in the Sanskrit version where Duḥśāsana tries to strip Draupadī naked in the assembly-hall (2.61.40 ff.).

[15] As already noted, the war at Kurukṣetra is referred to but no actual fighting is described as taking place.

of the *Mahābhārata* story as performed by Tījan Bāī, a leading exponent of the oral tradition known as *Paṇḍavānī* which is popular in the Chhattisgarh area of Madhya Pradesh in Central India.[16] In this version Karṇa, severely wounded by Arjuna's arrows, is approached by Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa refuses the offer of the keys to Karṇa's treasury, and Karṇa replies that in that case he cannot give him anything; but Kṛṣṇa asks for Karṇa's diamond teeth, and requests an arrow with which to extract them. Karṇa himself takes up an arrow and removes his teeth, but Kṛṣṇa refuses them as they are blood-stained. Karṇa fires an arrow, and where it lands a stream of water gushes forth; he washes the teeth and presents them to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa now offers to make him immortal, but Karṇa declines: since he has seen the god Kṛṣṇa before him, his life has no further point. Instead he asks to be cremated in a spot as pure as that where he was born, reminding Kṛṣṇa that his mother was a virgin. Kṛṣṇa agrees to this, adding that if he cannot find a pure enough place on Earth he will cremate him on the palm of his own hand.

Very similar to both these stories is one which is apparently well known in Andhra Pradesh, and which was the subject of a film entitled *Dāna Vīra Śūra Karṇa*.[17] As in the version from Madhya Pradesh the visit to Karṇa's wife does not occur, and in addition the gift Karṇa finally makes is of a single tooth which is covered in gold. More important, Kṛṣṇa's motivation for his deeds is different: instead of testing Karṇa he aims to teach Arjuna a lesson. As in the Sanskrit version of the story, Karṇa's chariot becomes stuck as he fights in the great battle, and Arjuna takes the opportunity to overwhelm him with arrows. Then Arjuna speaks boastfully of his great accomplishment, and Kṛṣṇa acts so as to quell his pride by demonstrating Karṇa's true greatness.

Also clearly related is the following episode from the fourteenth century Tamil version of the *Mahābhārata* by Vīlliputtūrār (8.2.236-58): "Karṇa is dying after being shot, when Kṛṣṇa takes the form of an old Brahmin and approaches him on the battlefield with a request for a boon. Karṇa rejoices at the opportunity of one final gift; the Brahmin requests that he give him all his *puṇya* "merit" earned throughout his life. Karṇa of course agrees without hesitation; the Brahmin demands that he perform the ritual sign of pouring water with the gift, and Karṇa pours out his blood, issuing from his wounds. Now the Brahmin asks what Karṇa would like as a dying boon, and Karṇa asks that if he has to be reborn, he be given a heart which is incapable of refusing any request for a gift. This is too much for Kṛṣṇa: he embraces the dying hero, bathes him in his tears, then reveals himself in his true form . . ." (David Shulman: personal

[16] I interviewed Tījan Bāī twice during her visit to England in June, 1987.

[17] Information from B. Limbadri, a student at Oriental Sanskrit College, Bhimavaram, Andhra Pradesh

communication).

Whatever the precise relationship of the *ḍevāḷs* with other narrative traditions from Rajasthan and elsewhere, the really remarkable thing about them must be that they tell a highly deviant version of the *Mahābhārata* story—a story whose "classical" version is well known throughout the whole of India. In doing so they provide a very clear warning about the extent to which oral traditions may diverge from literate norms. But the *ḍevāḷs* do not merely deviate from the story of *Mahābhārata*, they have also completely changed the narrative tone: heroism has been replaced by magic spells, the heroes have become two-dimensional figures, the gods are the subject of comic substories, and the narrative cuts its own throat by killing off the villains before the heroes go into exile, and thus eliminating the great war after which the *Mahābhārata* is named. My assistant Parbū, himself a performer of the non-Sanskritic epic of Pābūjī, clearly disapproved of the *ḍevāḷs*, and was worried at my interest in them: he asked me why I did not read the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* instead, and told me that parts of the Rajasthani stories were wrong. One is bound to wonder how much longer the folk-*Mahābhārata* can survive—when schools, radio, television, the film industry, even comic books, all constantly tell and retell the orthodox story, it seems unlikely that such a strange mutant of it can retain what status it has for much longer. Already there are clear signs of decreasing popularity: members of Parbū's family no longer perform *ḍevāḷs*, and Komal Kothari and I had some difficulty in finding performers to record; of those whom we eventually found, one said that prior to our recording he had not performed for six or seven months, while another said he had not performed for four or five years. The Rajasthani folk-*Mahābhārata* appears to be dying as the result of increased dissemination of the orthodox narrative: the world of literacy, with its built-in greater prestige and with the aid of late twentieth-century communications technology, is overspreading one small region of the world of orality. One is bound to ask whether other oral traditions are in similar danger of extinction at the hands of high-caste literate culture and its standardizing influence.

To answer this question we have first to attempt to isolate the factors that serve to put any particular oral tradition under threat. In the case of the folk-*Mahābhārata* tradition two such factors are evident, and I believe that they are crucial in explaining why that tradition is in such severe decline. The first is the *ḍevāḷs'* levity of narrative tone, noted above; the second is the lack of any ritual function for the tradition.

Hinduism is well known for its tolerance, and it comes as no surprise that a religion capable of accepting conflicting philosophies and conflicting claims for divine supremacy can also accept conflicting versions of mythological stories. Sanskrit sources for such stories frequently

contradict each other, sometimes seriously, and vernacular accounts often diverge yet more sharply, both from the Sanskrit "originals" and from one another; none of this seems to cause any problems to anyone. Folk—not to mention film—versions of such stories naturally contain their own idiosyncrasies, yet once again no offense is caused. Nor has there ever been any objection to humor forming an element in the telling of the stories, as witness the figure of the *vidūṣaka*—the Brahmin buffoon—in Sanskrit drama, including mythological drama. But where a tradition actually makes light of a well known narrative, it is likely to meet with disapproval. As an example from outside Rajasthan we may consider the *sā̃gs* or folk-dramas of Haryana, which are often based on stories from mythology, and whose light-hearted and sometimes bawdy treatment of such stories has provoked the hostility of the Arya Samaj: as a result, *sā̃gs* are nowadays performed less frequently than in the quite recent past. Revivalist Hindu movements like the Arya Samaj are nowhere near as strong in Rajasthan as in Haryana, and there is no evidence of orthodox attempts to suppress performance of *ḍevāḷs*; but Parbū's reaction to the *ḍevāḷs* he heard suggests that for many Hindus the narratives of the folk-*Mahābhārata* must represent a trivializing of something that ought to be treated with greater respect.

At least as important a factor in the decline of the folk-*Mahābhārata* tradition is its lack of ritual function. If told as folktales, the stories might serve as acceptable entertainment; yet in fact they are performed in the manner of a religious observance—at night-wakes, with alternating passages of song and explanatory spoken *arthāv*. This is the standard, highly repetitive format of Rajasthani ritual performance, typified by the epics of the hero-deities Pābūjī and Devnārāyaṇ. But whereas in the epic traditions performance takes place for religious reasons, and may be used as a way of securing divine aid, the *ḍevāḷs* seem to have no such *raison d'être*: their heroes are not gods, and the gods who do figure in them are normally propitiated in more orthodox ways. The folk-*Mahābhārata* is thus a set of myths that have lost their meanings, performed in the manner of a ritual that has no purpose, and it is not difficult to understand why its popularity has waned.

This should not be taken as suggesting that Rajasthani oral narrative traditions in general are in danger, but rather as indicating precisely what characteristics such traditions need to possess if they are to prosper: the epic traditions of Rajasthan are strikingly rich in mythic and ritual meaning and they continue to enjoy widespread popularity (see further Smith 1989). Indeed, it may be that the orality of these traditions is a strength rather than a potential weakness, for Hindu worship—including Vedic ritual—has always emphasized oral skills: books may be used for learning from, but they are not for use in ritual performance, and there is no "holy book" of

Hinduism to compare with the Bible, the Koran, or the *Gurū granth sāhib*. The Vedas are holy of course, but they are holy in performance, not as a manuscript or printed volume. The Rajasthani epic traditions thus square with expectations of how a ritual should be conducted, even if their "primary" orality is actually far removed from the secondary oral ability of the literate Brahmin who learns texts from a book. At the same time, however, a *bhopo* of Pābūjī like Parb, will insist that the epic he performs "really" derives from a big book composed by high-caste Cāraṇ poets and kept in Pābūjī's native village of Koḷū: for him it is the *written* word that carries authority. It is an intriguing paradox that the two widely-separated worlds of orality and literacy should each seek legitimacy by claiming characteristics belonging to the other.

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King Solomon's Magic: The Power of a Written Text

Marie Nelson

The written text on which I propose to focus in this paper—a *Pater Noster* inscribed in Germanic runes and Roman letters—is actually a text within a text. The larger text, an Old English dialogue to which editors have given the name "Solomon and Saturn I,"[1] I will argue, provides a context for the performance of a charm. It presents the Biblical King Solomon as a master magician who draws his power from the written words, indeed, from the written *letters*, of the *Pater Noster*. I will be giving attention, then, to a fictional representation of an oral performance.

It is not my intention to claim either that "Solomon and Saturn I" was orally composed, that is, created by a performer as he performed it before an audience; or that it was composed in writing, that is, with the opportunity to work slowly and go back to correct "mistakes" that writing affords, though I will have something to say about the greater likelihood of written composition. What I propose to do is discuss the way the poem develops what Alain Renoir might call "an empirical context within the text proper" (1988:18), in this case an extended exchange between two speakers that constitutes a setting for the performance of a charm by one of those two speakers. In doing so, I will refer to features of other Old English poems that are clearly identifiable as charms—the "Journey Charm" and "Nine Herbs Charm," for example—and to Thomas A. Sebeok's discussion of the charms of a people now living in Mari, a Soviet Socialist Republic situated on the north bank of the Volga, between Gorky and Kazan. First, however, it will be well to give brief attention to the pioneering work that has made possible the kind of reading I suggest.

Albert B. Lord, defining "formula" as Milman Parry defined it in his study of Homeric poetry—as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (1960:30), had already analyzed *Beowulf* lines 1473-87 in terms of

[1] Citations will be to Menner 1941. Unless otherwise indicated, lines will be taken from Menner's A text, which is based on CCC [Corpus Christi College Ms.] 442, which he presents parallel to a B text based on CCC 41. Reference will also be made to Kemble 1848 (1974) and to Dobbie 1942.

their use of formulaic language when Francis P. Magoun wrote "The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," a 1953 article that is often taken as the beginning of oral-formulaic study as it applies to Old English poetry. Part of the reason for the considerable number of responses to Magoun's "Oral-Formulaic Character" essay would seem to lie in his manner of presentation. Using the same definition of "formula" and the same general procedures that Lord had used, Magoun analyzed *Beowulf* lines 1-25, then drew bolder conclusions than Lord had ventured to draw.

One of Magoun's conclusions was that "oral poetry is composed entirely of formulas, large and small, while lettered poetry is never formulaic," an "always and never" claim that he hedged only slightly with "though lettered poets occasionally repeat themselves or quote verbatim from other poets in order to produce a specific rhetorical or literary effect." Magoun also concluded that "the recurrence in a given poem of an appreciable number of formulas or formulaic phrases brands the latter as oral, just as a lack of such repetitions marks a poem as composed in a lettered tradition" (1953:446-47). Assertions as strong as these were bound to, and did, call forth a series of responses.

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (1986, 1988) has discussed those responses, many of which provided useful refinements of Parry and Lord's definitions of "formula," "formulaic system," and "theme," in detail, so reference to just one paper of the series, Larry D. Benson's "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry," will, I hope, suffice as an example of a counter-claim. Working from poems like Exeter Book Riddle 35, a fairly close translation of a Latin poem by Aldhelm that nevertheless makes use of formulas; a group of Old English psalms that, though they are close translations, are still heavily formulaic; and "The Phoenix," in which a poet uses formulaic language in his Old English translation of a long Latin poem, Benson asserts that "we must use the greatest caution in assuming the oral composition of any surviving Old English poem," and, with something less than the greatest caution, "when we know that a poet was literate, used written sources, and intended at least part of his poem for readers, we should assume written composition" (1966:40). We can readily find these three reasons, and more, to assume that "Solomon and Saturn I"—though it includes formulaic epithets like *sunu Dauides* ("son of David") to refer to King Solomon and phrases like *hæleða under hefenum* ("heroes under heaven")[2] to neatly fill a half-verse—was a written, not an oral composition.

First of all, though the poet does not specifically say that he himself reads, he makes a number of references to writing. As the dialogue opens,

[2] See Riedinger 1985:294-317 for discussion of the "convenient epithet" and for the "something under the heavens" phrase, for which she proposes the term "set."

Saturn, the first speaker, claims to have gained wisdom from books and to have been taught by interpreters of books. Having introduced himself in this way, Saturn says he seeks a special knowledge that he understands is contained in a particular text, then asks Solomon to direct him to that text—a wonderful "palm-twigged *Pater Noster*." As Robert J. Menner notes (1941:43), Saturn's phrase suggests that the poet actually saw tablets on which the words of the *Pater Noster* were inscribed and ornamented with palm branches; and when Solomon later speaks of the *Pater Noster* as being "golden" and "adorned with gems" and says it has "silver leaves," this, again, suggests a text that has been seen, a written text. And there are also linguistic indications that the poet was literate. The poet uses the Latin nominative singular in the name *Saturnus*, he refers to *istoriam* (B4, "history"), he calls the *Pater Noster* a *cantic* (B24, "canticle or song"), and, of course, he uses Roman, as well as runic, letters to spell out the words of the *Pater Noster*.

A second reason to assume that the Old English "Solomon and Saturn I" was composed in writing may be found in the fact that our anonymous poet could have acquired his story in written form. Though the Latin texts he might have used are not available to us, some of *their* probable sources are still extant. Tracing the story the Anglo-Saxon poet inherited, Menner points out that dialogues in which Solomon plays a major role go back to legends about the wise king of the Old Testament who was the supposed author of a series of Biblical texts and many books of magic—and to the Talmud and Cabbalistic writings. An extensive literature concerning Solomon and Saturn came to western Europe through contacts with the Orient, Menner says, and as those stories passed from Hebrew to Greek to Latin the dialogue form played an important part in their transmission. The inherited form itself provides further reason to believe that "Solomon and Saturn I" was a written composition, since, as Walter Ong has observed, the dialogue was one of the means by which early writers enabled readers to place themselves in relationship to written texts (1982:103).

Benson's first two reasons for assuming written composition, then, can certainly be called upon here. A poet who uses occasional Latin words and inflections and has a character introduce himself by saying what he has read is very likely to have been a literate man. The Old English "Solomon and Saturn I" poet is also likely to have acquired his story from written sources. His poem not only presents the same characters, but it develops the same themes—the testing of Solomon's wisdom and Solomon's triumph over a host of demons—that are found in the Talmud and in Cabbalistic texts. Finally, as we shall see when Solomon calls each runic and Roman letter of the *Pater Noster* by name, Benson's third reason to assume that a text was composed in writing—that at least part of the text should rely on

an audience's acquaintance with the significations of written letters—is also applicable to the text under consideration.

But the task here is not to settle the perennially recurring question of oral or written composition. It is to show how a poet establishes a dramatic context for the performance of what must be regarded as an oral genre—a charm; so at this point it will be well to acknowledge a particular difficulty that Old English scholars who attempt to write about oral genres must deal with. As John D. Niles explains, without knowing its social contexts, we can be at a loss even to determine the genre of a given poem (1980:47). Anglo-Saxonists cannot travel back in time, nor can we call the performers of Old English riddles, proverbs, and charms back to life in order to hear them speak and see them interact with their audiences. We can learn a great deal from careful descriptions of contemporary performance, but the best that most of us can do, as far as our own task of observation is concerned, is to read the written texts that have come down to us with the intention of learning all we can about the performance of oral genres from the reports, fictional or otherwise, that we find in those texts.

Scenes that show performers performing, however, are somewhat few and far between;[3] so if we are to learn all we can, we must also give close attention to what Fred C. Robinson has called the poem's "most immediate context," its manuscript context (1980). In the case of "Solomon and Saturn I," we have two manuscripts, one of which would seem to provide some justification for reading the poem not simply as a charm, but as a poem that presents the performance of a charm.

"Solomon and Saturn I" appears with two other Old English Solomon and Saturn dialogues in complete, but not completely readable, form in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422. The first page of this manuscript is largely illegible because it was once pasted to its cover, and, as Dobbie and Menner describe it, there are other problems with damaged or faded handwriting. Fortunately, for the sake of basic readability and for a suggestion about genre as well, the first ninety-three lines of "Solomon and Saturn I" are also preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41, which, Dobbie notes, was one of the manuscripts that Bishop Leofric gave to Exeter Cathedral, a fact that dates the manuscript before the bishop's death in 1072.

As Dobbie describes CCC 41, it contains a number of short texts in its margins, including the first ninety-three lines of "Solomon and Saturn

[3] Donald K. Fry (1975) presents four performance scenes: *Beowulf* 853-917; *Beowulf* 2105-14; *Egil's Saga*, chapters 59-60; and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 24. The scene I focus on here, though it does not shed light on the topic of oral composition as Fry's examples do, can nevertheless be taken as an example that may teach us something about oral performance.

I," written in a single, small, rather unusual eleventh-century hand (1942:1). As Raymond J. S. Grant characterizes this second manuscript context, the ninety-three "Solomon and Saturn" lines are found with a number of other Old English and Latin "blessing and charms," along with a conglomeration of other texts, including a record of the gift to Exeter, selections from a martyrology, some homiletic writing, and so forth, in the margins of an Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Grant, however, does not see the compilation as being so random as the above list might suggest. He finds that the charms of this manuscript fall into three easily defined groups: those against theft, those against specific physical ills, and "loricas," or "charms for the general protection of the body and soul throughout every phase of this life and the next." It is easy to see why the "Journey Charm," in particular, should be called a lorica, since it provides its performer an opportunity to promise protection against every hostile being that travels on the land.[4] The reason to include "Solomon and Saturn I" in this category is not so readily apparent, but Grant calls it "the most extended lorica" of CCC 41 (1978:26).

One of the hard questions we might well ask is: did the scribe who wrote the first ninety-three lines of "Solomon and Saturn I" in the margins of CCC 41 consider what he was writing to be a charm? That he knew charms and valued them enough to preserve them would seem to be self-evident, but the presence of the other, more miscellaneous texts also to be found in his handwriting precludes our answering this question about the genre of the poem with a definite yes. Nevertheless, the "extension" of what Grant has taken to be a charm provides opportunity to talk about what seems to be nothing less than a setting for the performance of a charm, an "empirical context within the text proper."

In preparation for my discussion of this setting, without making any pretense that some kind of magical transference makes it possible to extend conclusions drawn from observations of contemporary real-life charm performance to a fictionalized representation of performance from a far distant past, I will now introduce the terms with which Thomas Sebeok describes "The Structure and Content of Cheremis Charms" (1964).[5] "A *narrator*," he says, "addresses—or a singer sings to—a palpable *audience,* spinning a text which, to be effective, requires: a *context* molding his recitation; a *tradition* fully, or at least partially, in common to the speaker and his listeners; and, finally, a physical and psychological *nexus* enabling them to enter and remain in contact" (363).

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[4] For discussion of this charm see Stewart 1981:259-73 and Amies 1983:448-62.

[5] Sebeok and Lane (1949:130-51) explain that the "Cheremis" are known to themselves and Soviet officialdom as the "Mari," and that they speak languages belonging to the Uralic family, specifically the Volga-Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric group.

In "Solomon and Saturn I," Saturn, though he is the first to speak, can be considered an "audience," since his purpose is to ask Solomon to speak to him. In lines 1-20, Saturn presents himself as a man who has long sought and still seeks for knowledge. He has read the books of Libya, Greece, and India; he has been advised by translators about the wisdom of these books. He has sought, but not found, what he refers to as *se gepalmtwigoda Pater Noster* (B12, "the palm-twigged Our Father"). He requests that Solomon "put him right" or "satisfy" him with truth by "saying" that "song," thus permitting him to go forth "whole" and return to his home in Chaldea. Saturn promises to pay for the words of Solomon with thirty pounds of gold and his twelve sons, and his promise establishes the genuineness of his request. Saturn's second speech is a question about who can open the doors of heaven (36-38). His third speech is a request for further knowledge that concludes with this description of his own mental state (57b-62):

> [M]ec ðæs on worolde full oft
> fyrwit frineð, fus gewiteð,
> modðgemengeð. Næ[nig] manna watð
> hæleða under hefenum, hu min hige dreoseð
> bysig æfter bocum. Hwilum me bryne stigeð,
> hige heortan neah hædre wealleð.
>
> Curiosity about things of the world
> very often presses me for answers, yearning,
> it moves, disturbs the mind. No man knows,
> no hero under the heavens, how my thought darkens,
> restless after [reading] books. Sometimes a burning rises in me,
> a thought close to the heart anxiously wells up.

Saturn's restless searching has brought him no satisfaction. All his reading has brought only disturbance to his mind. In calling upon, or "testing" the wisdom of Solomon,[6] what he asks for is a remedy for a mental affliction—his inability to find peace of mind.

Solomon, who speaks three-fourths of the lines of the poem, is, in Sebeok's terms, the "narrator," the speaker who mainly spins the "text." He asserts—and his sentence takes on the syntax of proverbial wisdom—that those who do not know how to praise God are possessed by the devil and, like the beasts of the field, go *butan gewitte* (23b, "without understanding"). Solomon claims that the *Pater Noster* has the power to

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[6] "Solomon and Saturn II," a poem I discuss elsewhere (1989:12-24), develops the "testing" theme more directly by presenting Solomon and Saturn as two contestants engaged in a riddling match. In the poem being considered here, there are, however, suggestions of the testing-of-wisdom theme in Saturn's opening claims of his own learning and in his request for Solomon's "answer" to his problem, which concerns a need for a special knowledge.

open the gates of heaven, fell death, and quench the devil's fire. He says that the power of which he speaks, a function of both written and spoken words, comes from Christ, who (50b-52)

> gewritu læreð,
> stefnum steoreð and h[im] stede healdeð
> heofona rices, heregeatewa wigeð.
>
> teaches the scriptures,
> guides [men] through sounds, and holds [for them] the
> foundation of heaven-kingdom, fights with war-gear.

Saturn, then, is the primary "audience," the audience within the dramatic structure of the poem. Solomon is the "narrator." Though Saturn's wisdom is not equal to Solomon's, he shares a "tradition" that attributes great power to the Lord's Prayer. He may not know the prayer, but he has heard of its power. Otherwise, he could not have requested that Solomon teach him the words he believes will satisfy his curiosity and settle his restless mind.

From the first or second century onward, great efforts were exerted to encourage Anglo-Saxon Christians to learn the words of the *Pater Noster*. Although, as Menner points out, a great many laymen "regarded it chiefly as a powerful means of warding off spiritual or physical evil" (1941:39), it can be assumed that the larger "audience" of those who heard "Solomon and Saturn I" subscribed, like Saturn, to a tradition that attributed power to prayer. Along with this tradition, the larger listening, or reading, audience might well have shared a belief in the special power of the written word. The performer of the charm "For Unfruitful Land,"[7] for example, was required, in addition to reciting a number of *Pater Noster*s,[8] to write the names of the four apostles on four crosses to placed at the corners of a field; and charms that employed SATOR formulas were included in CCC 41 and in other manuscripts as welines[9] In addition to

[7] For the text of this charm, see Dobbie 1942:116-18; for text and facing translation Storms 1948:172-77; for consideration of its performance Niles 1980 and Nelson 1984.

[8] See Jolly 1985 on the use of Christian prayers in Anglo-Saxon charms.

[9] For SATOR formulas see Grant 1978:19-22 and Storms 1948:281-83. Storms explains that the magical power of the SATOR formula, which is apparently based on the letters of the PATER NOSTER, depends on the letters being written in such a way that the word SATOR can be read from right to left, left to right, top to bottom, and bottom to top. He presents the formula below in connection with a CCC 41 charm for childbirth:

belief in the power of the written word, there was a general attribution of special, magical power to texts written in runes, a native, pagan alphabet.[10] And finally, it can be assumed, there was a belief that the power to utter a name was consistently accompanied by power over the thing, creature, or person named.[11]

If power over individual destinies was associated with the control of words, then, loss of control was just as surely associated with loss of language and a concomitant loss of reason. The fourth chapter of the book of Daniel tells how Nebuchadnezzar, a king of the Chaldeans, lived as a dumb beast deprived of reason because he did not know the word of God; the Old English *Andreas* presents the disciple Matthew saying that, as a result of being forced to drink a mind-destroying potion, he must "dæde fremman swa þa dumban neat" (67, "perform deeds as the dumb beasts [perform them]") (Krapp 1932:4); and Solomon, giving his view of the condition of the man who does not know the words of the Prayer, says

> [he] weallað swa nieten,
> feldgongende feoh butan gewitte (B22b-23)
>
> [he] wanders like an animal,
> a beast travelling in the field without intelligence.

Two more "traditions" may further establish Solomon's credibility as a magician who has a remedy for "unsoundness of mind." The title of an Old English charm, "Wið Deofle and Ungemynde" ("Against the Devil and Insanity") points to a commonly held belief about the cause of mental disturbance (Storms 1948:260-63). The devil caused men to suffer from "unsound mind." And who had power over the devil? Solomon. During the Old English period, it was believed that Solomon had written not just Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the Book of Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, but also many books of magic that demonstrated his power

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S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

[10] Menner (1941) provides much relevant information about runic lore. For general background and specific uses of runes, see also Kemble 1840, Halsall 1981:3-27, and Page 1987.

[11] For example, calling out *sigewif* ("victory-women"), the name given queen bees, is one of the ways in which the performer of "For a Swarm of Bees," one of the several charms included in CCC 41, asserts his control.

over the demons of the underworld. And Solomon was a type for Christ,[12] who of course triumphed over Satan and harrowed hell.

These "traditions," then, would seem sufficient to establish a psychological "nexus" between Saturn, whom we may consider as primary "audience," and Solomon, the "narrator" of "Solomon and Saturn I." They would also make it possible for contact between the "Solomon and Saturn I" poet and his larger audience to be maintained. That larger audience might be expected to see fairly easily that the "context" that molds Solomon's recitation is his intention to demonstrate to Saturn that what he has asked for will indeed help him. In fact, familiarity with ways that performers of Old English charms relied on the power of words[13] might make it seem almost a matter of course for a great magician to find his source of power in the words of a written text. In any case, these are the words with which Solomon describes his source of power (B 63-67):

> Gylden is se Godes cwide, gymmum astæned,
> hafað seolofren [leaf]. Sundor mæg æghwylc
> þurh gæstæs gife godspellian.
> He bið sefan snytero and sawle hunig
> and modes meolc, mærþa gesælgost.
>
> Golden is the word of God, adorned with precious stones,
> [it] has silver leaves. Everyone, individually, through
> the gift of the Spirit, can declare the gospel.
> It is wisdom to the heart and honey to the soul
> and milk to the mind, most blessed of glories.

The *Pater Noster* has the power to fetch the soul from the perpetual night under the earth and unbind the fetters of the devil, even if he binds the soul with fifty locks.[14] It destroys hunger, it plunders hell, it turns aside the storm, it establishes wonder. The *Pater Noster* is a firm foundation for the courageous men of middle-earth, it is stronger than every stone. It is leech for the lame, light for the blind, a door of understanding for the deaf, tongue for the dumb, shield for the sinful. It is the hall, or great domain, of the Creator, carrier of the flood, savior of the people. It is the guardian of the wave, the lowly fishes, the surging flame of serpents, the wood in

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[12] Frye (1982:178) cites their rank as king and their recognition as men of wisdom as attributes that establish the relationship between Solomon and Christ.

[13] See Nöth 1977 for consideration of the magic act and the magic word.

[14] Menner notes the possibility that the B scribe's spelling of *clusum* ("locks") may be a direct imitation from Latin *clausa*. Here it is also interesting to note that Bede tells a story (see Sherley-Price 1955:243-45) of a prisoner whose chains fell off when friends sang masses for his soul.

which wild animals live. It is the guardian of the wasteland, and also of the enclosures in which men keep their valued possessions.

All this power, Solomon tells Saturn, is accessible to the man who knows the words of the Prayer. With this preface and this promise, Solomon turns to the *Pater Noster* as the performer of the "Nine Herbs Charm" turned to the natural world. When the magician of the "Nine Herbs Charm" gathered herbs for his unbeatable, all-purpose remedy, he called their names out one by one. In naming his herbs, the "Nine Herbs" performer personified them, and at the same time he asserted his control over the nine stalwart warriors who would defeat the nine poisons that threatened the physical health of human beings.[15]

Solomon also asserts his power with his voice. Indeed, by uttering the names of the letters of the prayer he brings them to life.[16] The source of his power is a written *Pater Noster*, but what is particularly interesting about this is not the fact that it is a *written* text, nor that it is written in runes (though these runes, like the ones Woden saw on the ground when he suffered on the tree of the world, will be seen to have tremendous power), nor even that it is a prayer (the *Pater Noster* does not *function* as a prayer in this poem[17]), but the way Solomon gives individual life to each of its runic and Roman letters. Wrenching each letter from its *Pater Noster* context, separating each signifier from its normal alphabetic function,[18] the great magician hypostasizes[19] his units of power as he utters their names. One by one, the named letters become warriors ready to serve the will of Solomon.

ᛈ (P), the first letter of the Prayer, is given animate life and

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[15] See Dobbie 1942:119-21 and Storms 1948:186-96; also Braekman 1980 and Weston 1985 for magico-religious backgrounds of "Nine Herbs."

[16] See Foley 1979 and 1981 for discussion of the dependence of charms on oral performance for their power.

[17] That is, it is not used to address a request to a superior being.

[18] The Old English runes had dual significations. Performing their logographic functions, runes could stand for whole words; performing their alphabetic functions, they could represent single sounds and thus be used to spell words. The individual letters of the Old English "Rune Poem," an alphabet poem that begins "ᚠ (feoh) byþ frofur fira gehwylcum" ("F [wealth] is a benefit to all men"), perform both functions; but the runes of Solomon's *Pater Noster* have just alphabetic functions, at least until he speaks them to aggressive life.

[19] Kenneth L. Pike (1967:108) says that spelling words aloud is a form of hypostasis, since parts of a formal sequence of letters normally utilized for reading as wholes are named individually and thus given existence as separate entities.

equipped with a golden goad to smite the devil. ᚪ (A) follows in his path with overpowering strength and also strikes the devil. ᛏ (T), as John P. Hermann points out (1976), acts in a way that finds a precise counterpart in Prudentius' Psychomachia. The T rune stabs the tongue of the fiend, twists his throat, and breaks his jaw. ᛖ (E), to whom Solomon attributes a wish always to stand firm against all devils, also injures him. Solomon confers high rank, a capability to feel emotion, and a considerable degree of physical strength upon the next letter. ᚱ (R), the prince of book-letters, angrily seeks the devil, seizes him by the hair, breaks his shanks on the rocks, and forces him to seek refuge in helines Roman N and O together,[20] "twins of the church" (who seem in their "two-ness" to be at least distantly related to chervil and fennel, the "very mighty two" of "Nine Herbs"), attack the devil. With ᛋ (S), both the Christian Sun/Son associations[21] and the acts of Prudentius' Sobrietas are called upon. ᛋ , the prince of angels and staff of glory, grabs the fiend by his feet, breaks his jaw on the hard stones, and strews his teeth among the hordes that inhabit helines With this detail and its completion of the call to life of the letters that spell out PATERNOSTER (each letter is hypostasized just once), there is a temporary lull of violent action. The thane of Satan, very still, hides himself for a time in the shadows.

The action begins again when another "mighty two," ᛩ (Q) and U (U), which do go together in the Latin equivalents of English WH words, join forces. The two "bold folk-leaders," equipped with "light spears, long shafts" (here variation comes into play, providing another kind of doubling[22]), do not hold back their "blows, severe strokes." ᛁ [I], ᛚ (L), and the angry Á (C) follow, girded for war, and the poet now takes the shape of a letter as his stimulus for descriptive characterization. The curved C carries bitter terror and forces the devil underground. Two more letters, ᚠ (F) and ᛗ (M), set fire to the devil's hair, again recalling Prudentius' great allegory of spiritual battle, and finally ᛜ (G), sent by

[20] See Meling 1976 for a proposal that Roman *n* and runic ᚾ be taken as "twins of the church."

[21] Logographically, as its short "Rune Poem" description shows (see Halsall 1981:88), the rune ᛋ signified the word *sigel* ("sun"). The "Solomon and Saturn I" poet's "prince of angels" is a circumlocution for the *Sunu* ("Son") commonly associated with *sigel*.

[22] I am using the term "variation" here in the sense in which it is defined by Arthur G. Brodeur (1959:40): "a double or multiple statement of the same concept or idea in different words."

God as a comfort to men,[23] follows after ᛞ (D), full of magic power, and the two join with "fire," for which no runic symbol is given, perhaps because ᚪ, the logograph for "torch" or "fire," has already been used. This sequence ends with the Roman letter *H*, which takes on the character of a warrior equipped by an angel, and with Solomon's assertion of the letter-warrior's power to throw the devil up to high heaven with his blows, strike him until his bones glitter, his veins bleed, and his fighting rage gushes forth.

The *Pater Noster* of "Solomon and Saturn I" functions, as we have just seen, as a master magician's source of verbal power, not as a prayer. With the completion of this demonstration of his ability to "speak" its letters to life, Solomon directly asserts his belief in the power of the spoken word (146-50a):

> Mæg simle se Godes cwide gumena gehwylcum
> ealra feonda gehwane fleondne gebrengan
> ðurh mannes muð, manfulra heap
> sweartne geswencan, næfre hie ðæs syllice
> bleoum bregdað. . ..
>
> For every man, the saying of God, [spoken]
> through the mouth of a man, can always put all devils,
> the dark throng of sinful ones, to flight, no matter
> how variously they change their forms. . ..

Here, by joining *cwide* (which can be translated "word," but the context suggests the appropriateness of "saying") to *ðurh mannes muð* ("through the mouth of a man"), Solomon emphasizes the necessity for those who would overcome devils to speak the words of the *Pater Noster*.

What follows is a short account of the various forms the devils to be overcome may take. The passage is difficult, but Dobbie (164) concludes that "it is at least clear that lines 150b ff. represent the evil spirits as taking successively the forms of birds, fish and serpents." In these forms, the shape-shifting devils threaten the lives of men and beasts on land and sea. Here, as the poem moves toward its conclusion, a devil (the subject of the sentence is an indefinite "he," but the agents of the preceding sentences have all been demons) is said to sometimes fetter the hand of a warrior and make it heavy when he needs to defend his life in battle. This "sometimes" leads to a short passage that deals, once again, with written and spoken words.

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[23] Here, as in the case of ᛋ (S), there is a correspondence to the logographic significance of an individual rune presented in the "Rune Poem."

This time the words are written on a sword. It will be well to have an account of the writing of those words before us (161-63a):

> Awriteð he on his wæpne wællnota heap,
> bealwe bocstafas, bill forscrifeð
> meces mærðo.
>
> He writes on his weapon a host of death-marks,
> deadly book-letters, casts a spell on the sword,
> the glory of the sword.

Tradition provides at least two possible explanations for the letters cut into the blade of the sword. The positive associations of "the glory of the sword" suggest that they could be victory-runes. In this case, their power, like the power of Solomon's hypostasized runes, could be enhanced, even brought to life, by the spoken words of the man who wields the sword. On the other hand, they may be death-runes that cast a spell on the sword and render it useless. The "he" that serves as subject of the verb "Awriteð" in 161a, like the "he" of 158a, who fettered the hand of a warrior, may well refer to an individual member of the group of shape-shifters. In this case, the *Pater Noster* that Solomon says the warrior must sing would function as a counter-spell. In either case, the man who hopes to survive in battle must sing the words that Solomon prescribes. This is Solomon's instruction for utterance (166-69):

> . . . symle he sceal singan, ðonne he his sweord geteo,
> Pater Noster, and ðæt Palmtreow
> biddan mid blisse, ðæt him bu gife
> feorh and folme, ðonne his feond cyme.
>
> [the man] must always sing the *Pater Noster*
> when he draws his sword, and pray to the Palm-tree
> with happy heart, so that both life and strength of hand
> may be given him, when his enemy comes.

The instruction to "sing" the words, especially in the light of Heather Stewart's discussion of directions for the performance of charms (1985), supports an interpretation of Solomon's words as directions for the performance of a charm. *Singan*, Stewart points out, was consistently used with respect to the utterance of longer incantations, and the *Pater Noster* would seem to fall into that category. And the fact that the "he," presumably a warrior, of 166a is also directed to "pray" to the Palm-tree should not obscure our recognition of the general nature of Solomon's

instructions, because, as Storms and others have pointed out, a charm can certainly include a prayer. We far more often hear about how Anglo-Saxon Christians followed St. Gregory's counsel on the value of incorporating pagan traditions into Christian ritual, but in this case an old tradition, to adapt Kemble's trenchant phrase, has just been "*christened* by the addition of a little holy water" (1848:7). Whether consisting of victory-runes or death-runes, the "text" that has been spun establishes a "context" for the utterance of words intended to accomplish specific, practical purposes.[24] The strange and difficult poem we find preserved, in part, in the margins of Corpus Christi 41 and marching down the middle of the page in Corpus Christi 442 shows Solomon seizing the very letters with which the *Pater Noster* is written. Solomon "speaks" those letters to life. Having thus demonstrated his power—and the primacy of the spoken word—the legendary magician claims that any man who "speaks the words through his mouth" can triumph over a host of demons. Finally—and the imperative stance is a prerequisite for the performance of charms[25]— Solomon says that the man who draws the sword must utter the words he tells him to say.

If the words written on the sword are victory-runes, they must be "spoken" to life if they are to help the man who wields it; if they are death-runes their malevolence can be overcome, Solomon assures Saturn, by uttering the words of the *Pater Noster*. In either case it is clear, since Solomon prescribes their use in the manner of charm performance, that the words of the written *Pater Noster* have been incorporated by a very viable oral tradition in "Solomon and Saturn I."

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[24] Bronislaw Malinowski (1954:37-38) distinguishes between the magical rite that has "a definite practical purpose" and the religious ceremony that has "no purpose directed toward a subsequent event."

[25] Charms need not necessarily present performers with opportunities to utter grammatically imperative sentences like those we see, for example, in "For Unfruitful Land" and "For a Swarm of Bees"; but they do consistently present opportunities for their performers to take command, that is, to manipulate words and things in ways intended to accomplish specific ends.

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A Typology of Mediation in Homer[1]

Keith Dickson

The tale of *Iliad* 1 proceeds along a linear course punctuated by crises at which alternative paths come into sight; choices are made, as if at crossroads, and then the narrative continues along the path ostensibly determined by those choices. What more specifically structures its progress is a rhythm of Crisis, Mediation, and Response, in which the latter event rarely marks a true narrative closure, but instead only opens out on further crises, paths that fork and fork again. A priest's appeal for restitution of his daughter is rejected by a king, and plague ensues. The mediation of a prophet leads on the one hand to approval and the propitiation of offended deity, but on the other to strife between warrior and king. An elder's attempt to mediate their conflict (in which the successful intercession of a goddess is itself embedded) fails to win acceptance, and the warrior withdraws from society. His crisis triggers a second divine intervention in the form of an appeal to the highest god, whose acquiescence on the one hand subordinates all the subsequent narrative to the guidance of a Plan, at the same time as it generates conflict with yet another deity. The book closes with successful mediation of their strife, with everything ostensibly right in heaven, though impending disaster among mortals.

This study attempts to disengage the event of Mediation from its central place in this narrative course in order to map its contours better. Its point of departure—no more or less arbitrary than any beginning—is a formulaic line. The address-formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν [He in kind intention toward all stood forth and addressed them] (9X, 6X) introduces the intercessory speeches of

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Kalkhas (73) and Nestor (253) in *Iliad* 1; despite (and because of) their failure, their influence on the progress and direction of the ensuing narrative is critical.[2] The formula not only implicitly adverts to functional parallels between them, but also situates both within a well-defined group of similar figures in Homer. A clear typology of the Mediator emerges from examination of the characters with whom the formula is associated and the contextual parameters in which it is used.

1: *Ethos*

While the formula appears nine times without variation in the *Iliad* (1.73;253, 2.78;283, 7.326;367, 9.95, 15.285, 18.253) and six times in the *Odyssey* (2.160;228, 7.158, 16.399, 24.53;453), in the latter poem it also accommodates a small number of allomorphs. The shape most frequently taken follows the "he addressed him with qualification" pattern analyzed by M. Edwards,[3] which in place of the hemistich #ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων admits two instances (*Od*. 2.24, 24.425) of #τοῦ ὅ γε δάκρυ χέων [shedding a tear for his sake] in lines widely separated but thematically quite close. In each case, the qualifying phrase is used with reference to an aged father's grief in remembrance of his deceased son—Aigyptios for Antiphos in the first Ithakan Assembly (*Od*. 2), Eupeithes for Antinoos at the beginning of the informal assembly of Ithakans in Book 24—and in the second of these two passages the #τοῦ ὅ γε δάκρυ χέων hemistich is repeated at the close of the speech that it was used to introduce (*Od*. 24.438). This apparent restriction of the formula to instances of goodwill and sorrow displayed by elderly figures is itself an interesting one; its significance will be explored later. The other cases of the line with ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν# filling the second hemistich take the form of #τοῖσιν δ' - ∪ ∪ -, with the name of the speaker (Alkinoos 3X, Amphinomos 3X, Antinoos 1X) substituting for the qualifying /participle/ or /noun + participle/ in the space between the A1 and B1 caesura.

Speeches introduced by ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν show similar patterning. The line in each case serves to mark the following speaker as an authority-figure whose advice implicitly deserves the attention and approval of his audience. Respect accrues to the

[2] The text of Homer used in this study is that of the standard Oxford edition. English translations of important lines and phrases (meant more as an aid to the Greekless than as definitive renderings) are those of Lattimore 1961 and 1965, with occasional (and slight) adaptation.

[3] Edwards 1970:10-12. See also the related studies by the same author in the list of references.

speaker in most instances because of his great age; fully two-thirds (10 of 15X) of all uses of the formula predicate it of old men. This is obviously the case with Nestor himself (*Il.* 1.253, 2.78, 7.326, 9.95; *Od.* 24.53), whose longevity forms the core of his ethical type, and with whom the whole-line formula is indeed most often (5X = 33%) used.[4] But it applies equally to other elders as well: Priam (*Il.* 7.367), Halitherses (*Od.* 2.160, 4.453), Mentor (*Od.* 2.228), and the Phaiakian Ekheneos (*Od.* 7.153). The type of the Elder in fact comes to expression by recourse to a small complex of idioms in these ten instances, which in addition to the intentional markers of Goodwill (or Sorrow) also make reference to the Elder's circumspection and the temporal scope of his knowledge. Thus Halitherses (*Od.* 2.188), Ekheneos (*Od.* 7.157), and Nestor (*Od.* 24.51) are all qualified by the closing hemistich παλαιά τε πολλά τε εἰδώς# [knowing many ancient things], which (though based on the extensive endline formula - ∪ ∪ εἰδώς#) appears nowhere else in either poem. Moreover, the formula for circumspection, ὁ γὰρ οἷος ὅρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω# [who alone looked both ahead and behind], closing the line after a patronymic (Πανθοΐδης / Μαστορίδης) that extends as far as the A2 caesura, is found only with reference to Halitherses (*Od.* 24.452) and the Trojan Poulydamas (*Il.* 18.250)—who despite his youth embodies many of the features traditionally associated with advanced age. An enjambed line with the same formula as far as the B2 caesura also characterizes Halitherses in *Od.* 2.158-59: Μαστορίδης ὁ γὰρ οἷος ὁμιλικίην ἐκέκαστο / ὄρνιθας γνῶναι [Mastor's son, for he alone of his generation | knew the meaning of birdflight]. An allomorph of the line with πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω# after the C2 caesura—but admitting a different first hemistich and the substitution of ἅμα for ὅρα—in one instance (*Il.* 1.343) denies precisely this capacity to Agamemnon (οὐδέ τι οἶδε νοῆσαι ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω [and has not wit enough to look ahead and behind]), and in the other (with enjambement of the verb) serves to represent Priam as an exemplary elder by contrast with the impetuousness of young men (*Il.* 3.108-10):

§1 αἰεὶ δ' ὁπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν φρέν(ες ἠερέθονται·
οἷς δ' ὁ γέρων μετέῃσιν, ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω
λεύσσει, ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γένηται.

[4] The bibliography on the figure of Nestor, apart from attempts to associate him with the archaeology of Pylos, is relatively sparse. Except for Vester 1956, most studies concentrate on individual scenes or speeches. See, e.g., Cantieni 1942, Davies 1986, Lang 1983, Pedrick 1983, Segal 1971, and occasional remarks in Frame 1978 (esp. 81-115) and Whitman 1958.

Always it is, that the hearts in the younger men are frivolous,
but when an elder man is among them, he looks behind him
and in front, so that all comes out far better for both sides.

Specific details of this characterization will concern us shortly. The remaining five instances of the whole-line formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν, though predicated of young or middle-aged men, only serve all the more to confirm the priority of the Elder as intercessory figure. We have already noted the responsion between Halitherses and Poulydamas in the shared formula: /Patronymic/ + ὁ γὰρ οἶος ὅρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω. Though coeval with Hektor and in fact the hero's Double,[5] Poulydamas in his capacity for circumspection plays expressly the role of older man in their confrontation on the Trojan plain. He approaches the paradigm of the Elder more closely than do any of the other younger men (Odysseus, Thoas, Amphimonos) connected with the address-formula, for the contrast between rhetorical and military prowess in whose terms he is opposed to Hektor (*Il*. 18.252) is precisely what traditionally distinguishes old men from young ones. This much is clear from Nestor's own qualification of his praise for Diomedes in *Iliad* 9.53f.;56-59:

§2 Τυδεΐδη, περὶ μὲν πολέμῳ, ἔνι κάρτερός ἐσσι
καὶ βουλῇ μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλευ ἄριστος
. . .
. . .ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἵκεο μύθων.
ἦ μὲν καὶ νέος ἐσσί, ἐμὸς δέ κε καὶ πάϊς εἴης
ὁπλότατος γενεῆφιν· ἀτὰρ πεπνυμένα βάζεις
Ἀργειῶν βασιλῆς, ἐπεὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.

Son of Tydeus, beyond others you are strong in battle,
and in counsel also are noblest among all men of your own age.
. . .
. . .Yet you have not made complete your argument,
since you are a young man still and could even be my own son
and my youngest born of all; yet still you argue in wisdom
with the Argive kings, for all you have spoken was spoken fairly.

The same sentiment is expressed at, e.g., *Odyssey* 3.124-25 and 4.204-5.

Circumspection, linked with command of persuasive rhetoric, is likewise associated with the other young men to whom the formula ascribes goodwill. Thus Odysseus (no untried youth but hardly a greybeard)

[5] On Patroklos as Double, see Redfield 1975:143, Willcock 1976 (at 11.57-60).

addresses the Akhaian Assembly after his rebuke of Thersites with scepter in hand—#ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων [he stood holding the sceptre] (whose closest parallel is the hemistich #σκῆπτρον ἔχων ἑστήκει used at *Il.* 18.557 to describe the paradigmatic King depicted on the Shield)—while beside him Athene in the likeness of a herald enjoins silence on the crowd (*Il.* 2.279-83). Here above all else the intersection of Mediator with Counselor is evident. The link becomes clearer in the case of the Aitolian Thoas (*Il.* 15.281-85). Along with his prowess as a fighter (ἐπισταμένος μὲν ἄκοντι | ἐσθλὸς δ' ἐν σταδίῃ [skilled in the spear's throw | and brave in close fight]), his skills in debate are remarkable for one so young: ἀγορῇ δέ ἑ παῦροι Ἀχαιῶν / νίκων, ὁππότε κοῦροι ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μῦθον [In assembly few of the Akhaians | when the young men contended in debate could outdo him]. The status Thoas enjoys is in fact marked in an earlier passage (*Il.* 13.215-18) in which Poseidon assumes his voice—#εἰσάμενος φθογγήν (cf. the allomorph #εἴσατο δὲ φθογγήν used of Iris' impersonation of Polites at *Il.* 2.791)—to address Idomeneus. Similar features characterize Amphinomos in the *Odyssey* (16.394-99). His control of speech more than that of any other suitor pleased Penelope, since his intentions were the best: μάλιστα δὲ Πηνελοπείῃ / ἤνδανε μύθοισι, φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσιν [and he pleased Penelope | more than the others in talk, for he had good sense and discretion]. The end-line formula φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσιν# is elsewhere used only of Klytaimestra prior to her seduction (*Od.* 3.266) and of Eumaios (*Od.* 14.421), to describe his reverence for the gods.

The association of age with persuasive rhetoric runs throughout the representation of the elders whose words the ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν formula introduces. Nestor is not only one of the major proponents of practical intelligence (μῆτις) in the *Iliad* (cf. 7.324-25 = 9.93-94, 23.311-18), but also and chiefly the paradigm of the orator, the λιγὺς ἀγορητής "from whose tongue the voice flowed sweeter than honey" (*Il.* 1.251). The hemistich λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής# [lucid speaker of Pylos], filling the line after the B2 caesura, is repeated once elsewhere (*Il.* 4.293), when Nestor calls his troops to order. Its allomorph, λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητής [although a lucid speaker], appears on three occasions (*Il.* 2.246, 19.82; *Od.* 20.274); here the sense is concessive, and its contrast with the formula used of Nestor is an interesting one. The allomorphic versions all occur in speech, not diegesis, and advert to a speaker's failure to command the respect or attention of his audience. In *Iliad* 19, an apologetic Agamemnon acknowledges the difficulty faced by even the best orator when confronted by an unruly crowd. In the *Odyssey* passage, its tone is sarcastic: Antinoos taunts Telemakhos and threatens to shut his mouth permanently, lucid

speaker that he is. Equally biting is its use by Odysseus in *Iliad* 2 to refer to Thersites—whose physical ugliness (212-20) is an index of even more repellent social deformities, and whose role in the narrative is precisely the opposite of Nestor's. Elsewhere, forms of the adjective λιγύς (alone or compounded) skew their reference between the natural and human worlds, from the "shrillness" of birdsong (2X), whip (1X), and wind (6X) to the keening of mourners (5X), the lure of Seirenes (1X), the lyre's sweet piercing sound (7X), and the lucid quality of the herald's voice (6X).

In this context, it is in fact worth a slight digression from the *ethos* of the Mediator to note the intersection of the traits of rhetorical prowess, advanced age, and goodwill in the related figure of the herald (κῆρυξ). Of the 88 instances of the noun in its various inflections, only one-fifth (18X) exhibit adjectival or clausal modification. This ranges from simple epithets (most of which survive as *hapax legomena*) such as λιγυφθόγγοισι (5X), ἀγαυοί# (2X), ἀστυβοώτην#(1C), ἠπύτα (1X), and ἠεροφώνων# (1X), to clauses like Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν# [messengers of gods and men] (2X) or οἳ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασιν# [who serve the *demos*] (1X). The largest group of modifiers (5X)—to which must be added an additional five instances (for a total of 10 of 23X = 43%) in which the common noun is replaced by the name of the herald—clusters around the trait of "sagacity" or "prudence" that comes to expression uniquely in formulas built upon the ubiquitous participle πεπνυμεν-:

§3	A	. . . πεπνυμένω ἄμφω#	(2X)
	B	. . . πεπνύμενα εἰδώς#	(4X, of Medon)
	C	. . . πεπνύμενα μήδεα εἰδώς#	(2X)
	D	. . . φίλα φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς#	(1X)
and cf.	E	. . . πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδε' ἔχοντες#	(2X)

The last example (E) is used on both occasions of Priam and his aged herald, and should be compared with its allomorph ἔστι δέ μοι γρῆϋς πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδε' ἔχουσα [I have one old woman, whose thoughts are prudent] (*Od*. 19.353), spoken with reference to the Nurse, Eurykleia. The "wisdom" or "compactness of mind" of the herald is in fact a trait most often associated with maturity—cf. the mid-line formula πυκινὸν ἔπος used only with Priam (*Il*. 7.375), Nestor (*Il*. 11.787), and Zeus (*Il*. 24.74), once (*Il*. 24.744) of Hektor by Andromakhe. The advanced age of the herald—or of the best kind of herald—is an abiding characteristic. For his mission to Akhilleus in *Iliad* 24, Priam chooses Idaios as his charioteer. The herald is twice described (*Il*. 24.282;674), along with Priam, by the E-

formula, and is himself earlier associated with both A (*Il*. 7.276) and C (*Il*. 7.278). His age is emphasized in the virtually identical lines #κῆρυξ τίς οἱ ἕποιτο γεραίτερος. . . [Let one elder herald attend him] (*Il*. 24.149;178), and also in Hermes' comment οὔτ' αὐτὸς νέος ἐσσί, γέρων δέ τοι οὗτος ὀπηδεῖ [You are not young yourself, and he who attends you is aged] later in the same book (368).

The disguised Odysseus describes the herald Eurybates (in a passage striking for its *hapax legomena*, which contribute to the credibility of the Beggar's tale) as κῆρυξ ὀλίγον προγενέστερος αὐτοῦ [a herald, a little older than he was] (*Od*. 19.244). Compare this with the restriction of this adjective (3X, 4X) elsewhere to description of intercessory figures such as Nestor (*Il*. 2.555, 9.161) and the Phaiakian Ekheneos (*Od*. 7.156, [11.342]). The Eurybates passage (*Od*. 19.248) further associates age with sound-mindedness (οἱ φρεσὶ ἄρτια ἦδη# [his thoughts were sensible]), in a formula directly echoed in the phrase φρεσὶν ἄρτια βάζειν# used by Alkinoos of the sensible man (*Od*. 8.240). Related in turn (and to come full circle) is πεπνυμένα βάζεις# in Menelaos' compliment to Nestor's son Peisistratos (*Od*. 4.204-6)—

§4 ὦ φιλ', ἐπεὶ τόσα εἶπες ὃς ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνὴρ
εἴποι καὶ ῥέξειε, καὶ ὃς προγενέστερος εἴη·
τοίου γὰρ καὶ πατρός, ὅ καὶ πεπνυμένα βάζεις

Friend, since you have said all that a man who is thoughtful
could say or do, even one who was older than you are—
why, this is the way your father is, so you too speak thoughtfully.

—as well as Nestor's to Diomedes (πεπνυμένα βάζεις#) in the lines quoted earlier (*Il*. 9.58; see §2). To these may finally be added the description of Periphas, herald of Ankhises, whom Apollo impersonates to encourage the terrified Aineias in a passage that succinctly binds the κῆρυξ in an associational web of age, paternity, and goodwill (*Il*. 17.322-25):

§5 . . .ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων
Αἰνείαν ὄτρυνε, δέμας Περίφαντι ἐοικώς,
κήρυκι Ἠπυτίδῃ, ὅς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι
κηρύσσων γήρασκε, φίλα φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς.

. . .had not Apollo in person
stirred on Aineias; he had assumed the form of the herald
Periphas, Epytos' son, growing old in his herald's office
by his aged father, and a man whose thoughts were of kindness.

To return to the characterization of intercessors in the strict sense of the term—i.e. as qualified contextually by the address-formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν—we note the description of Priam as θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος# [equal of the gods in counsel] (*Il*. 7.365), in a formula appearing elsewhere only with reference to Patroklos (*Il*. 17.477; *Od*. 3.110) and Nestor's father Neleus (*Od*. 3.409). The preeminence Halitherses enjoys in reading birdflight is matched by his ability to put omens into words (*Od*. 2.159: καὶ ἐναίσιμα μυθήσασθαι#). Although the figure of Mentor is not linked with formulas shared by the other elders, his association with persuasion (πειθώ) is an abiding one; this trait will occupy our attention when we come to examine the typical nature of responses to the speech of intercessory figures. Athene's frequent impersonation of Mentor at critical moments in the *Odyssey* (Books 2, 3, 22, 24) also emphasizes his prominence as a counselor. The aged Ekheneos (*Od*. 7.155-58), finally, "oldest of the Phaiakians" (ὃς δὴ Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν προγενέστερος ἦεν), is likewise marked by his "possession" of speech (#καὶ μύθοισι κέκαστο).

One last subgroup of Mediators associated with the whole-line formula remains to be considered. In addition to experience and soundness of mind, prophetic insight can also provide the basis for authoritative speech and thus merit attention and respect. Further, though Mediation most often occurs between human antagonists, the seer's hermeneutic position at the boundary between the human world and that of divinity marks him especially for an intercessory role. In this capacity Kalkhas of course figures prominently in the opening of the *Iliad* (cf. also *Il*. 2.299-330); and his speech is prefaced by the first instance in the poem of the formulaic statement of Goodwill (*Il*. 1.73). It is in fact tempting to locate the point of intersection between Prophet and Elder—with the exception of Theoklymenos in the *Odyssey* and Kalkhas here, all Homeric prophets are old men—in we have called "circumspection," the trait embodied in the formulaic ὅρα {ἅμα} πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω {|λεύσσει}. The precise sense of this phrase is not so easy to determine. Whereas all nine of the occurrences of πρόσσω alone have a clearly spatial meaning, the instances (49X) of ὀπίσσω unevenly skew it between spatial (17X = 35%) and temporal (32X = 65%) reference. These figures of course have no necessary bearing on the sense of the conjunction of the two in πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω#, and the best that can be said may well be that the phrase simultaneously intends a "look" in both spatial and temporal directions that the term "circumspection" only inadequately renders. The ability "to see both ahead and behind" in the mortal world finds its counterpart in the far broader (and explicitly) temporal sweep of prophetic vision. Kalkhas alone in Homer is given the descriptive verse (*Il*. 1.70) ὃς

ἤδη τά τ'ἐόντα τά τ'ἐσσόμενα πρό τ'ἐόντα [who knew all things that were, the things to come and the things past], though the essential core of the formula (after the A2 caesura) recurs in Hesiod (*Th.* 38; cf. *Th.* 32). The prophet's claim to immediate (visual) access to events that both precede and postdate his own temporal horizon—an access that thanks to the Muses (cf. *Il.* 2.485: ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα [For you are goddesses, you are present, and you know all things]) the poet himself can enjoy—will occupy our attention in what follows.

A synopsis is in order here. It will perforce be provisional and tentative. One insight that emerges clearly from the study of clustered formulas at all levels of their manifestation (colon, line, generic scene) is the interdependence of the units involved. The traits associated with Mediation seem to cross and overlap with a variety of figures: Old Man, Young Man, Nurse, Double, Prophet, and Herald. What must be especially resisted at this point is the temptation to grant priority to the *ethos* of a fictional character or character-type (and so to what may prove to be the fiction of autonomous agency itself) over the context in which that agency comes to expression—a temptation only strengthened by habits of reading and interpretation, to say nothing for the moment of deeper presuppositions these habits imply. For reasons that only the conclusion of this study can hope to justify or even to articulate fully, the initial choice to present a typology of Mediation in Homer by splitting up the unity of the phenomenon into an *ethos* and its contextual parameters—themselves in turn split further into parameters of situation and response—risks misrepresenting the true nature of the issue. Granted this proviso, undoubtedly a cryptic one at this point, we can proceed with a summary account of traits that constitute the *ethos* of the Mediator.

Several have been isolated. The most prominent of these, given our choice of the formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν as a point of departure, bears on the quality of his intentions. The Mediator is a kindly figure, fair-minded (ἐϋφρονέων // φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσιν# // φίλα φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς#, etc.), and thus better capable of grasping a given situation without personal bias. Advanced age is privileged, but by reason of features that can also appear (precociously) in the young. Such features include first and foremost the trait we have inadequately rendered as "circumspection"—a trait defined at least in major part in terms of temporal range (ὅρα {ἅμα} πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω {|λεύσσει} // ὃς ἤδη τά τ'ἐοντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ'ἐόντα). Thanks to the experiential breadth his age has won for him (παλαιά τε πολλά τε εἰδώς#), to prophetic gifts or to (a still vaguely defined) "soundness of mind" ({πεπνυμένα} μήδεα εἰδώς# // πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδε' ἔχοντες#), the Mediator

enjoys the ability to "see both before and after" the present (and always critical) situation. Analysis of the actual content of intercessory speeches would show that this "sight" generally comprehends either (1) the generic status of the present situation (and thus issues in speeches whose rhetorical mode is that of the parable or paradigm);[6] (2) its specific etiology (when the Mediator is also a Prophet), and so too the proper response it enjoins along with the consequences of failure to respond properly; or else (3) a firm sense of what is "right and fitting" to do.

At this point, and in terms of the broader temporal range that advanced age lends the Mediator, it may also be fitting to speak to the variation #του ὅ γε δάκρυ χέων [shedding a tear for his sake] in two instances of the overall address-formula. In addition to kindly intentions, a specific kind of grief also marks the speech of elderly figures. The responsion between Aigyptios and Eupeithes, respectively at the beginning and the end of the *Odyssey*, is a rich one that the present study can explore only superficially. The fact that the formula in each case thematizes memory is itself important, not only in view of the temporal breadth of intercessory figures, but also in terms of the objectivity this breadth permits. What indeed relates Aigyptios and Eupeithes along the axis of the formulaic line they share is their antithetical responses to the same deep personal sorrow. Both have lost sons, and in both cases Odysseus himself is to some degree (more or less directly) to blame. Their responses could not differ more, however. Aigyptios subordinates his grief to the welfare of the community at large, which hinges on the return of its absent King: no assembly has met on Ithaka since Odysseus left for Troy, he says; may Zeus prosper the fortunes of whoever has called them together now (*Od*. 2.25-34). This is a marked expression of community, of piety, of resignation to the will of Zeus despite intimate loss, in a story in which the issues of reverence and justice are paramount. Eupeithes' appeal in Book 24 exhibits precisely the opposite attitude. For him the (justified) revenge wrought on the suitors only demands another round in a socially destructive cycle of vendetta. Personal motives of grief and shame override his concerns for justice and communal integrity (*Od*. 24.425-38). Absorbed by sorrow that touches him no less deeply than does the sorrow of Aigyptios—and despite even the index of divine sanction for Odysseus' revenge, to which Medon's speech (439-49) adverts—Eupeithes is incapable of the kind of acquiescence that Aigyptios shows. Precisely because of this he suffers the last death in the *Odyssey*—significantly, at the hands of a father who has also tasted the grief of an absent son.

There remains the association with persuasive rhetoric, by which all intercessory figures are without exception characterized. The absence of explicit reference to command of speech in the single case of Kalkhas (*Il*.

[6] See Lohmann 1970:183-209, Pedrick 1983.

1.68-73) is not a true counterexample. Prophets have little need of eloquence, since (for cultural reasons that the narrative always endorses) their mantic status alone suffices to affirm the authority of what they have to say, to lend them sight "both before and after," and so to command obedience. Persuasion (πειθώ) in particular is a concept that exposes the distortion caused by our choice to examine the typology of Mediation under three separate headings, since above all other concepts it points up the co-implication of *ethos* and response. The characterization of Mediators as persuasive is in some sense nothing more than a narrative prolepsis of the approval their advice wins—and this approval in turn is in a way already predisposed by just that proleptic characterization. Persuasiveness is essentially a perlocutionary attribute: the Active πείθειν [to persuade] necessarily implies the verb in its Middle Voice: πείθεσθαι [to obey]. We will see that this much is clear and perhaps even clearest in cases in which the Mediator's advice is in fact rejected.

2: *Situation*

Turning now from the kinds of character involved in the typology of Mediation to their contextual parameters, we note fundamental similarities among the situations in which intercessory figures appear. In by far the majority of cases (12 of 15X = 80%), the context in which the ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν formula is used is that of Debate, whether during an official Assembly (*Il*. 1.73;253, 2.78;283, 7.367, 9.95; *Od*. 2.160;228) or else on any occasion in which a dispute arises without the trappings of a formal council (*Il*. 7.326, 18.253; *Od*. 16.399, 24.453). In all these instances the situation is one in which events have for one reason or another reached a critical impasse: (S1) the plague sent by Apollo (*Il*. 1), (S2) the confrontation of Akhilleus and Agamemnon (*Il*. 1), (S3) Agamemnon's "false" dream (*Il*. 2), (S4) the Assembly to decide the issue of retreat or perseverance at Troy (*Il*. 2), (S5) plans for the burial of warriors and the construction of the defensive wall (*Il*. 7), (S6) the Trojan Assembly (*Il*. 7), (S7) the Embassy to Akhilleus (*Il*. 9), (S8) the debate between Poulydamas and Hektor in the Trojan encampment on the plain (*Il*. 18), (S9-S10) the first Ithakan Assembly (*Od*. 2), (S11) the suitors' plot to kill Telemakhos (*Od*. 16), (S12) the planned vengeance of the Ithakans for Odysseus' slaughter of their sons (*Od*. 24). These contexts admit a variety of scenic structures. The Mediator's speech can be prompted by the turn of events themselves (S1, S3, S5, S8, S9), in which case it is most often the first speech in the series (S5, S8, S9) or else is preceded by a formal request for intercession (S1, S3). Alternately, it may come as the third element in the Statement-Counterstatement-Reconciliation

(A-B-C) pattern studied by Lohmann in some Homeric Assembly scenes (S2, S4, S6, S7, S10, S11, S12).[7]

In four instances of the address-formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν in Assemblies (S1, S3, S6, S10), the Mediator is additionally marked by the presence of a formula that introduces a change of speaker: Ἤτοι ὅ γ' ὣς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο· τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη [He spoke thus and sat down again, and among them stood up] (*Il.* 1.68, 7.365). This whole-line formula appears only six times (5X, 1X) in the poems, accounting for the largest share (32%) of the total number (19X) of instances of the colon ∪ ∪ ἕζετο between the B1 and C2 caesuras, with ἕζετο in this position in turn comprising nearly 60% (19 of 32X) of all occurrences of this form of the verb (initial #ἕζετο = 34%). In one case (S2) a variation is used that allows for expanded description of the actions of the previous speaker, but nonetheless preserves the essential elements "/X spoke/ - /X sat/ - /Y stood up among them/" (*Il.* 1.245-48):

§6 Ὣς φάτο Πηλεΐδης, ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ
χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον, ἕζετο δ' αὐτός·
Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐμήνιε· τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ
ἡδυεπὴς ἀνόρουσε. . .

Thus spoke Peleus' son, and dashed to the ground the sceptre
studded with golden nails, and sat down again. But Atreides
raged still on the other side, and between them Nestor
the fair-spoken rose up. . .

In addition to the ubiquitous #Ὣς φάτο + /patronymic/, allomorphs of elements in these lines include initial #- ∪ ∪ - {δ'} ἀνόρουσε (8 of 18X) completed by #ἐς δίφρον (3X) and various other phrases on a single basis. The closing hemistich ἕζετο δ' αὐτός# is unique.

Also noteworthy is the fact that instances S1 (Kalkhas) and S2 (Nestor) in *Iliad* 1 and S10 (Mentor) in *Odyssey* 2 share the same overall pattern of expanded (3-4 line) description of the speaker between the alternation-formula #Ἤτοι˛ Ὣς φάτο. . . and the address-formula #ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων. . .·

§7

(a) X finishes and sits; (Y) stands	*Il.* 1.68 / 1.245-46 / *Od.* 2.224
(b) Identification of Y	*Il.* 1.69 / 1.248 / *Od.* 2.225
(c) Expanded description of Y	*Il.* 1.70-72 / 1.249-52 / *Od.* 2.226-7
(d) Address-formula	*Il.* 1.73 = 1.253 = *Od.* 2.228

[7] Lohmann 1970:9-11. One of the earliest (and still very useful) studies is of course that of Arend 1933 (esp. 116-21); see also Edwards 1980.

It has been suggested (Lang 1983) that the expansion at §7(c) accomodates the description of a character who has not previously been mentioned in the story, and so provides a means for his introduction. The fact is that the three passages cited in §7 do indeed coincide with the first appearance of Kalkhas, Nestor, and Mentor, respectively, in the text of the poems. In the case of Priam (S6), already well-known by the time of the Trojan Assembly in *Iliad* 7, the §7(c)-element is missing, and the scene instead follows the pattern §7(a)-(b)-(d) (= *Il.* 7.365/366/367). However, the assumption—a highly *textual* one—implicit in the notion of the "first appearance" of a character may well be inappropriate to oral literature. This assumption is especially conspicuous in Lang's unlikely suggestion that the figure of Nestor does not belong originally to "the Trojan War story, or even . . . the *Iliad* itself," but is instead an "importation," and for this reason is given an "unprecedented and elaborate introduction" in *Iliad* 1 (1983:140-41). It may risk less distortion to concentrate instead on the function that an expanded description appears to serve both within its own narrative context and also in its relation to other passages that can be identified as allomorphs.

Significantly enough, the remaining two instances of the alternation-formula precede the speeches of Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.101) and Alexandros (*Il.* 7.354) respectively, both of whose Counterstatements reject the advice of the previous speaker (Kalkhas-Akhilleus/Antenor) and thus signal the need for an intercessor (Nestor/Priam). It is especially worth noting how the pattern outlined in §7 also structures the introduction to Agamemnon's reply to Kalkhas (*Il.* 1.101-5), but with a crucial difference at the level of content:

§8 (a) Ἥτοι ὅ γ' ὣς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο· τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη 101
(b) ἥρως Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων 102
(c) ἀχνύμενος. μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι 103
πίμπλαντ', ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐΐκτην· 104
(d) Κάλχαντα πρώτιστα κακ' ὀσσόμενος προσέειπε 105

He spoke thus and sat down again, and among them rose up
Atreus' son the hero wide-ruling Agamemnon
raging, the heart within filled black to the brim with anger
from beneath, but his two eyes showed like fire in their blazing.
First of all he eyed Kalkhas bitterly and spoke to him.

This variation in turn suggests that the alternation-formula in the sequence (a)-(b) marks a point at which the ensuing action offers distinct alternatives. One speaker finishes and sits, another rises and is identified, generally by way of patronymic and/or a name + epithet formula. What he says may either affirm or reject the previous Statement, and the sequence (c)-(d) allows for a prolepsis of the nature of his response by making reference to the basis for his authority—Kalkhas (S1): seercraft from

Apollo; Nestor (S2): command of rhetoric, longevity; Mentor (S10): authority delegated by Odysseus—and the quality of his intention in speaking. The case of Agamemnon in §8 is conspicuous in the degree to which the imputation of malicious intent fills the entire (c) section. In terms of narrative logic, the colon κακ' ὀσσόμενος προσέειπε# [he eyed bitterly and spoke to him] in the address-formula at 105 follows "naturally" from the two lines that precede it, and *a fortiori* the same can be said of each instance of the formula #ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν in the passages charted above in §7.

Nestor's advice on the construction of a defensive wall out of the pyre of the cremated dead in *Iliad* 7 (S5)—a σῆμα whose monumentality threatens to eclipse the fame of the Trojan wall built by Poseidon and Apollo (*Il.* 7.443-63; 12.13-33)—can also be adduced here. His speech (327-43) is enframed by the formulas already identified as markers of Mediation: Crisis (the Trojan threat to the ships)-Assembly (informal, and for this reason lacking the formula for alternation of speakers)-Goodwill (325). Here the address-formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων . . . is preceded by a set of lines (324-25) that advert to Nestor's *ethos* as a Counselor: τοῖς ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μῆτιν / Νέστωρ, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή [the aged man began to weave his counsel before them | first, Nestor, whose advice had shown best before this]. These lines appear again a few books later (*Il.* 9.93-94) in the scene in which the embassy to Akhilleus is proposed (S7), and the second line is repeated at *Odyssey* 24.52 (S14). Moreover, their match with the expansion-element at §7(c) is obvious.

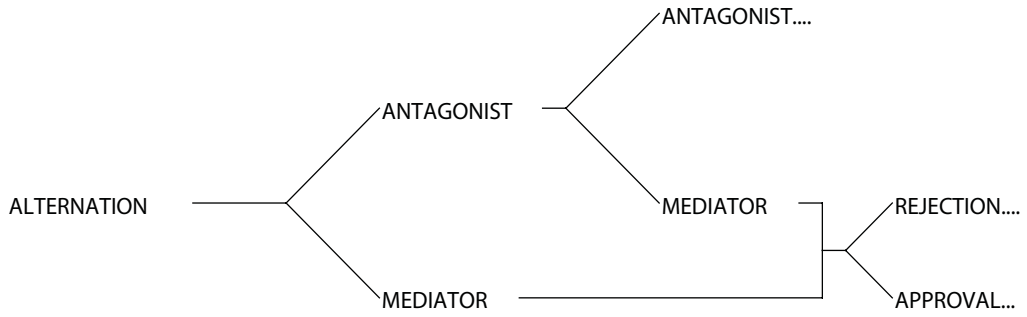
The remaining instances of #ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν (*Il.* 15.285; *Od.* 7.158, 24.53) occur when the issue is no less critical, for they arise in situations that follow upon conspicuous violations of the natural or ethical order of things. The speech (S13) of Thoas in *Iliad* 15 is prompted by Apollo's sudden infusion of strength into the half-dead Hektor, and succeeds in rousing the Greeks to defend themselves against the Trojan assault on their ships (285-99). Insofar as the intercession of Kalkhas in the first book is sought to account for the unexpected plague that strikes the Akhaians, it may also be grouped in this category; and the same can be said of the seer Halitherses' interpretation of the omen of the eagles that interrupts the Assembly on Ithaka (*Od.* 2.146-56). In *Odyssey* 24.35-59, the shade of Agamemnon recounts (S14) how the unnatural keening of Thetis and the Nereids almost drove the Greeks to abandon Akhilleus' funeral rites until Nestor, παλαιά τε πολλά τε εἰδώς# (51), restrained them from taking flight in their ships. Finally (S15), when Odysseus concludes his first speech to the Phaiakians by withdrawing from their midst and sitting in the ashes of the hearth (*Od.* 7.153-54), the aged Ekheneos breaks the ensuing silence to draw attention

to this breach of custom and demand a hospitable response from Alkinoos (155-66).

The homogeneity of the situations that mark the appearance of an intercessory figure makes their parameters fairly easy to map. In every case, the prior course of events in the story has reached a Crisis, a significant juncture or node at which narrative possibilities fork in different directions. The alternative vectors are as distinct as they are antithetical: death by plague vs. remedy (S1), withdrawal vs. participation of Akhilleus (S2, S7), retreat vs. perseverance of the Greeks (S3, S4), neglect vs. performance of burial rites (S5, S14), defeat vs. defense (S5, S13), retention vs. restitution of Helen (S6), attack vs. defense (S8), disruption through anarchy (S9, S10) or vendetta (S12) vs. social integration, homicide vs. survival of Telemakhos (S11), neglect vs. performance of the rites of hospitality (S15). A cursory glance at these alternatives (and a busier mind) could easily group them under fewer and more generic kinds of opposition. More important than their reduction to a single polarity, however—at the risk of overlooking the richness of innovation even within formal constraints—is to notice once again the coimplication of *ethos* and context that they point up.

Despite the prominent role played by the ethical formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν (along with its reflexes) as the mark of an intercessory figure, that mark is itself conditioned by situational factors. This is clearest when—in over 60% (5 of 8X) of the cases in which it appears in formal Assembly scenes—#ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων . . . is preceded by the formulaic alternation of speakers, expressed four times by the line Ὣτοι ὅ γ' ὣς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο· τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη and once (*Il.* 1.245-48 = §6) by a version of that formula stretched to accomodate additional description. Here Mediation figures merely as one among several divergent narrative vectors opened up by the simple fact of Alternation. While it is true that there can be no intercession without the figure of the Mediator—which would seem to privilege *ethos*—the latter's presence is itself dependent on the specific situational parameters that call for intercession "in the first place." The two reciprocally constitute each other. Further, intercessors do not even arise necessarily from their context, but are instead included in the range of possibilities their context admits. The Other who gets up to speak next may well in fact be an Antagonist like Agamemnon in his reply to Kalkhas (*Il.* 1.101-2), or like Paris (*Il.* 7.354-55), who rises to challenge Antenor's advice in the Trojan Assembly. In terms of the course of events in the narrative and the situations that crystallize in that course, Mediator and Antagonist occupy alternative nodes through which the narrative can pass, and which in their turn (as we will see in the next section) offer further narrative options:

§9



The possibility that the Antagonist's speech may be answered by yet another antagonistic figure instead of a Mediator is realized in the complex exchange between Agamemnon and Akhilleus in *Iliad* 1, comprising a total of six separate speeches in whose course the intercession of Athene (with an additional three speeches) is embedded. Moreover, and more importantly, Alternation in the above schema is itself just one of several possibilities engaged along the forking path of a far more extensive concatenation of events in Book 1, stretching back at least as far as Khryses' (rejected) Appeal to Agamemnon—if not beyond it, into the unrecorded voices of the tradition. Viewed in terms of its interdependent relation with its context, *ethos* too therefore seems less a privileged essence somehow qualitatively distinct from the events that swirl around, impinge on and flow from it, and more like a simple event itself: a verbal construct, a node, a point of juncture in the narrative design. An examination of the response to Mediation will carry these reflections farther.

3: *Response*

In the course of a critical situation that strains social harmony, custom or verisimilitude, an Elder—or one like him, precociously endowed with prudence and command of persuasive rhetoric—rises to speak. Narrative logic dictates that the response to his speech take one of three forms: outright approval, outright rejection, or some partial acceptance (along with partial denial) of (all or part of) his advice by (all or part of) his audience. Outright approval accounts for nine (= 60%) of the fifteen cases under review (S3, S4, S5, S6, S7, S11, S13, S14, S15), with partial acceptance—taking the form of either (1) acknowledgment of the soundness of the advice but failure to implement it (S2), or (2) approval by some but not all of the addressees (S12)—comprising an

additional 13%. The fact that nearly three-quarters of the speeches introduced by an address-formula that explicitly adverts to the speaker's Goodwill in Crisis earn a positive response marks this outcome with high probability in the narrative and thus (from the viewpoint of the external audience) a high degree of expectation. This of course says nothing of the ultimate soundness of the advice thus given and accepted. Good counsel may fall on deaf ears, but it is equally possible that advice that in the long run precipitates the demise of those who follow it may initially win resounding approbation. The latter case in fact opens a potentially ironic rift between the (abstract) level of the story and that of the (concrete) narrative itself—to borrow Genette's terms.[8] Priam's counsel (S6) to offer restitution of everything but Helen herself—yet another indication of impaired judgment in that administration—only helps to confirm Troy's doom, despite the fact that the Trojans approve of it heartily (*Il*. 7.379). Nestor's advice to construct a defensive wall around the ships (S5) is hailed by the Akhaians (*Il*. 7.344), and in fact proves to be of no small tactical value, yet also draws down Poseidon's wrath when they fail to make proper sacrifice before building it—a procedural detail Nestor apparently overlooks mentioning. The most conspicuous example, however, is Patroklos' approval of Nestor's suggestion in *Iliad* 16 to borrow and fight in the armor of Akhilleus, which brings about the surrogate's death at the same time as it is essential in advancing the story of Akhilleus' return. Ironic Mediation (for lack of a better descriptive term) seems in fact to characterize much of Nestor's advice in the *Iliad*; we will return to this issue at a later point.

Approbation can take a variety of forms—or better, comes to expression at a number of levels—depending on whether the Mediator's speech is followed by another speech (*mimesis*) that expresses outright approval, or else by the narrative description (*diegesis*) of actions that implement his advice, with or without some reference to the attitude of his

[8] Genette 1980:25-29. After a brief review of the often contrary uses of the terms "narrative" and "story" in contemporary literary discourse, Genette offers the following working definitions: "I propose . . . to use the word *story* for the signified or narrative content," which he specifies as the "totality of actions and situations taken in themselves, without regard to the medium, linguistic or other, through which knowledge of that totality comes to us: an example would be the adventures experienced by Ulysses from the fall of Troy to his arrival on Calypso's island." The term *narrative* is reserved by him to denote "the signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text itself," that is, "the oral or written discourse that undertakes to tell of an event or series of events: thus we would term *narrative of Ulysses* the speech given by the hero to the Phaeacians in Books IX-XII of the *Odyssey*, and also these four books themselves, that is, the section of Homeric text that purports to be the faithful transcription of that speech." For additional examples, and an application of these terms to analysis of temporality in the *Odyssey,* see Bergren 1983.

audience.[9] Which form is taken does not seem to matter greatly in the long run: the story advances through speech and action almost indifferently. In either case, acceptance is always marked by verbal echoes of the spoken advice. Thus Nestor's (mimetic) injunction to the terrified Akhaians at the funeral of Akhilleus (*Od*. 24.54: #ἔσχεσθ', Ἀργεῖοι . . . [Stay, Argives . . .]) achieves responsion in the diegesis of their action subsequent to his speech (57: Ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ ἔσχοντο φόβου μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί [So he spoke, and the great-hearted Akhaians stayed from flight]). The diegesis of Alkinoos' response to the advice of Ekheneos (*Od*. 7.169-70: ὧρσεν ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου εἷσε φαεινοῦ | υἱὸν ἀναστήσας . . . [and raised him up from the fireside, and set him in a shining chair, | displacing his son . . .]) is cast in language that echoes the old man's words (162-63: ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ξεῖνον μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου | εἶσον ἀναστήσας [But come, raise the stranger up and seat him on a silver-studded | chair]). A similar response follows the tempered advice Amphinomos gives the suitors in *Odyssey* 16, though here the responsion does not cross levels but remains instead exegetic in both cases: the narrator's comment that Amphinomos pleased Penelope most because of his command of speech (398: #ἥνδανε μύθοισι) is answered by the description of how the suitors receive what he says (406: Ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀμφίνομος· τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος [So Amphinomos spoke, and his word was pleasing to them]). Although the line is exactly repeated at *Odyssey* 20.247, and is used (with substitution of names) once (*Od*. 13.16) of Alkinoos and four times (*Od*. 18.50;290, 21.143;269) of Antinoos—where the metrical equivalence of these three names might have some bearing on the number of formulas they share in common—the responsion between *Odyssey* 16.398 and 406 is unique.

Most often, and at either or both levels, the vocabulary of approval centers formulaically on the activities of praise (ἐπαίνειν), hearkening (κλύειν), and obedience (πείθεσθαι). There is of course nothing unusual in this; the expression of assent to speeches of any kind, with or without qualification of the intent of the speaker, in most cases has recourse to these verbs.[10] Nearly half (4 of 9X) of the occasions of outright

[9] The terms are ultimately Plato's (*Rep*. 392C-95); for a discussion, see Genette 1980:162-66.

10 Formulaic lines expressing approval in fact on the whole enjoy such wide application throughout the poems—οἱ δ' ἐπανέστησαν πείθοντό τε ποιμένι λαῶν (*Il*. 2.85), Ὣς ἔφατ', Ἀργείοι δέ μέγ' ἴαχον (2X) . . . | . . . | μῦθον ἐπαινήσαντες (*Il*. 2.333-35), Ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνησαν (8X) βασιλῆες (*Il*. 7.344), Ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀνήϊξαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ (2X) (*Od*. 24.463)—that they carry little semantic weight in the context of Mediation except as markers of assent.

approval when that intention is marked as kindly (ἐϋφρονέων) are shaped according to the extensive pattern introduced by #῾Ως ἔφατ᾽ followed by a description of audience response. Two from this group (*Il*. 7.379 = 15.300) are noteworthy in that they belong to a set of speeches that win approval expressed by the formula ῾Ως ἔφαθ᾽, οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδ᾽ ἐπίθοντο [So he spoke, and they listened well to him and obeyed him] (7X, 6X). As L. Muellner (1976:18-19) points out, the line "is always used . . . after an order or exhortation by a man [or woman (cf. *Od*. 6.247, 20.157)] in authority (master of slaves, leader of warriors) to a group of men [or women] (servants, warriors, etc.)." Priam's is the first instance (S6); the second is that of Thoas (S13), whose preeminence in debate among the Greek youth marks him with qualities conventionally reserved for older men. The same line is also used twice of the response to statements made by Nestor. One occasion (*Od*. 3.477), following his order for Telemakhos' chariot to be hitched, is not especially significant. No mediation properly so-called is involved (the formula #ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων . . . is not used), and the passage serves mainly to identify the old man as someone whose commands should be obeyed. The other instance (*Il*. 9.79) bears more weight, however, since it describes the response of the Akhaian leaders to (rather mundane) advice from Nestor that directly precedes his raising of the far more delicate issue—in a speech (S7) introduced by the intercessory #ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων formula—of reconciliation between Agamemnon and Akhilleus (92-113). It wins from Agamemnon the reply ὦ γέρον, οὔ τι ψεῦδος ἐμὰς ἄτας κατέλεξας [Old man, this was no lie when you spoke of my madness] (115), which is unique in the poems.

In one case (S2), and in a few other passages directly associated with intercessory figures (Nestor, Priam) but lacking the formal markers of Alternation and/or Goodwill, a positive response is expressed by the formulaic ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες [Yes, old man, all this you have said is right and fitting] (*Il*. 1.286, 8.146, 24.379; cf. *Od*. 3.331). The line as a whole—with substitution of different Vocative forms (γέρον 3X, τέκος 2X, θεά 2X, γύναι 1X, φίλος 1X; and cf. τέκνον ἐμόν replacing / πάντα ∪ - / at *Od*. 22.486) between the B2 and C1 caesuras—accounts for well over a quarter (10 of 35X) of all instances of κατὰ μοι῾ραν in the poems, and fully 52% of the cases (19X) in which κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπ-# completes the line. Four of the remaining nine cases show variations on a line concluding {τοῦτο} ἔπος κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπ-# [spoke this word right and fitting]; on five occasions the final colon is preceded by a conjunction (ἐπεὶ) or short adverbial modifier (e.g. οὐ). An allomorph of κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπ-# appears four times in the phrase κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξ-# [recounted right and fitting], backing the colon up

against the B2 caesura.

This is not the place to study the full range of this formula, for which an examination of the allomorphs κατὰ κόσμον [in right order] (13X) and κατ᾽ αἶσαν [properly] (4X) would also be needed. For our purposes here, it will suffice to make a few observations requiring less detailed formulaic analysis. To make the data even more manageable, we can begin by excluding from consideration the four instances of κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξ-# (*Od*. 3.331, 8.496, 10.16, 12.35), on the ground that the sense of the verb here (verified contextually) refers more to the completeness or formal arrangement of a prior speech than to its content— in a sense soon to be defined. Mimetic statements incorporating the colon κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξ-# in this respect bear a closer resemblance to the use of κατὰ μοῖραν after the A1 (7X) and A2 (5X) caesuras in the diegesis of orderly activities like sitting in neat rows (*Il*. 19.256; *Od*. 4.783 = 8.54), tending flocks (*Od*. 9.309;342;352) or cutting meat (*Od*. 3.457). Five of the thirteen instances of κατὰ κόσμον (*Il*. 10.472, 11.48, 12.85, 17.205, 24.622) also carry this sense. Such occasions all imply a quasi-objective standard to which the activity in question is said to conform, and much the same notion is implicit in the use of κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξ-# as well, where the issue is that of the point-by-point completeness of a narrative account.

This does not seem to be the case with κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπ-#, however. Its sense instead usually intends the far subtler (ethical) standard of what should or ought to be done or said in a given situation, and so registers assent in terms of generally tacit assumptions about appropriateness and what is "fitting." Thus Nestor's intercession (S2) in *Ilia* 1.254-84 amounts to a lecture on the rights pertaining to the man (= Akhilleus) who is κάρτερος [stronger] (280) and the one (= Agamemnon) who is φέρτερος [more authoritative] (281), respectively. It is a lesson in status and social hierarchy that elicits from Agamemnon the admission ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες (286). Essentially the same lesson—though more succinctly expressed—informs Iris' advice to Poseidon to withdraw from battle rather than risk the anger of Zeus (*Il*. 15.201-4), which wins a similar formulaic response from him (206). Diomedes acknowledges as much (*Il*. 8.146) in reply to Nestor's advice to retreat. This is prompted by a bolt from Zeus thrown in front of their chariot—which incidentally assimilates Nestor to the figure of an interpreter of omens—and is couched in a homily on the disproportionate powers of gods and men. The compliment is returned twice: first (in the shortened form ἐπεὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες) when Nestor approves (*Il*. 9.59) of Diomedes' commitment to fight in the belief that Greek victory at Troy is divinely sanctioned; and later (with substitution of φίλος for γέρον in the whole-line formula) in answer to

the warrior's observation that younger men than Nestor should have the job of waking sleeping generals (*Il.* 10.169). Related to the first of these two instances is the disguised Hermes' use of ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον . . . (*Il.* 24.379) to acknowledge the appropriateness of Priam's inference that the gods approve his mission to Akhilleus.

Equally interesting is the fact that over 60% (12 of 19X) of the time, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπ-# appears in situations that expressly advert to the generational gap between interlocutors. Young or at least explicitly younger people (Agamemnon, Diomedes, "Hermes," Leokritos, "Athene") use it of old ones (Nestor 3X, Priam, Mentor) five times (*Il.* 1.286, 8.146, 24.379; *Od.* 2.251, 3.331), and on seven occasions (*Il.* 9.59, 10.109, 23.626; *Od.* 17.580, 18.170, 21.278, 22.486) it marks the approval (once ironic) given by an elderly figure (Nestor 3X, Eumaios, Eurynome, the Beggar, Eurykleia) to the proposal of a younger one (Diomedes 2X, Akhilleus, Telemakhos, Antinoos, Penelope, Odysseus). In the remaining instances (*Od.* 4.266; 9.351, 13.385, 20.37; 8.397), the formula appears where generational difference is not at issue, but in contexts that nonetheless advert to a difference in status (husband/wife, mortal/god, king/subject). Only once (*Od.* 8.141) is it used between social and generational equals (Euryalos/Laodamas); and twice it is reserved for the poet's own editorial comments (*Od.* 7.227, 13.48).

At least two conclusions can be drawn from these statistics. The first obviously returns us to statements made earlier about traits that accrue to the *ethos* of intercessory figures, among whom advanced age is a prominent characteristic. The Mediator's age not only gives him purchase on the kind of moral (and circumspective) knowledge to which the colon κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπ-# refers, but also empowers him to recognize when others far younger also give "right and fitting" advice. Far more important, however, is the fact that his voice is always that of convention. Advice endorsed as κατὰ μοῖραν generally embodies traditional folk-wisdom, which lends itself easily to summary in gnomic form: Respect authority. Don't abuse privilege. Yield to necessity. Old men do one thing, young men another. Even the mighty are flexible. Give honor to elders. Trust in the gods. Honor guests. Avoid bad company . . .. What is spoken κατὰ μοῖραν therefore appeals to and confirms the ethical values to which the audience subscribes. Moreover, this community of fictional listeners within the narrative is implicitly always represented as sharing the same moral expectations as the community in which the narrative itself is performed. Their ethical horizons are roughly isomorphic, granted even qualitative differences (heroic/mundane) between them that in their turn make for experiential differences (e.g., the opportunity for direct

intercourse with gods) that maintain what has been called "epic distance."[11] The formulaic colon κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπ-# adverts at least to this common horizon, and this accounts for the moral sense made by what transpires in the narrative—to what might be called its ethical closure.

These observations have not digressed too far from the main point. It is simply that the approval won nearly three-quarters of the time by the Mediator's speech is assured both by the proleptic encoding of the grounds for that response—e.g., through formulaic reference to Goodwill and (more generally) to the narrative possibilities inherent in patterns of Crisis and Alternation—and also by the degree to which that encoding assumes the same approval in the audience that receives the narrative. This tacit fusion of ethical horizons is in fact clearest in those cases (4X) in which the Mediator's advice is rejected.

Here more than in contexts in which expectations are fulfilled, the versatility of narrative, or at least the number and range of divergent narrative vectors, becomes especially apparent. This is of course not to suggest that the denial of expectations is any less traditional a feature of oral narratives, that such denial is any less formulaic than fulfillment of expectation, or that it is not a possibility subject to formulaic encoding and thus itself an expectation capable of being prefigured and fulfilled. The fact is that the outright rejection of a well-intentioned Mediator's counsel occurs in roughly one-quarter (4 of 15X) of the scenes now under consideration, and in half this group (*Il.* 1.101-20; 18.284-313) it is keyed in the diegesis that precedes the actual (spoken) denial. In the first case

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[11] See e.g. Bakhtin 1981:13: "an absolute epic distance separates the epic world from contemporary reality, that is, from the time in which the singer (the author and his audience) lives." The claim, like the terminology itself, is borrowed from the Neoclassicism of Schlegel, Goethe, and Schiller; see Todorov 1984:85-91. How implicitly *readerly and textual* a perspective it embodies is clear from such statements as (17): "the epic past is locked into itself and walled off from all subsequent times by an impenetrable boundary, isolated (and this is most important) from that eternal present of children and descendants in which the epic singer and his listeners are located . . .. [T]radition isolates the world of the epic from personal experience, from any new insights, from any personal initiative in understanding and interpreting, from new points of view and evaluations . . .. The epic world is constructed in the zone of an absolute distanced image, beyond the sphere of possible contact with the developing, incomplete and therefore re-thinking and re-evaluating present." It is hard to know where to begin addressing these claims; only a few points can be made here. The fusion of ethical horizons between narrated audience and performance audience in itself of course does much to dismantle the "boundary" mentioned, along with most of the argument whose foundation it provides. See also e.g. Goody and Watt 1968:31-34 and Ong 1982:46-49 on the homeostasis of traditional societies, in which the preservation of tradition is not a matter of the transmission of static (and, as it were, textual) content from one generation to the next but instead an essentially interactive process. It is the result of an open-ended and often highly flexible dialog between memory and the immediate temporal horizon of the audience for whom the past is on each occasion performed and also re-formed, transmitted and at the same time constructed anew.

(S1) this is achieved by the extended characterization of Agamemnon's ill-will towards Kalkhas, running from the #ἀχνύμενος with which it opens (*Il.* 1.103) to the address-formula (105) that closes with κακ' ὀσσόμενος προσέειπε# [he eyed bitterly and spoke to him] (= §8)—with which compare Iris' denial of such an intent towards Priam in the line οὐ μὲν γάρ τοι ἐγὼ κακὸν ὀσσομένη τόδ' ἱκάνω [I come to you not eyeing you with evil intention] (*Il.* 24.172). In the second (S8), Hektor's reply to Poulydamas is introduced by the shorter but highly pregnant #τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη . . . [Then looking darkly at him, he spoke...] (*Il.* 18.284), whose resonance Holoka's recent study has exhaustively explored.[12]

Hektor's confrontation with his Double in *Iliad* 18 indeed offers a prime example of a widespread scenic pattern for Rejection of sound advice, and deserves close (if still incomplete) examination. It should be noted that the narrative relation between these two figures is entirely structured in terms of approved and rejected Mediation.[13] The four scenes in which they appear together in fact exhibit a fine rhythmic alternation of Approval (A) and Rejection (B) that reaches its climax in Book 18:

§10	A1	12.60-81
	B1	12.210-50
	A2	13.722-53
	B2	18.249-313

Moreover, the interlocking formulaic responsion among these scenes is a rich one, as the following chart (§11) attempts to show:

§11	A1	B1	A2	B2
(a) IMPASSE	horses balk at cross-ing Greek ditch	omen terrifies Trojans, who balk at attacking	Trojans pinned down by Aiantes & bowmen	Trojans terrified by return of Akhilleus
(b) ADDRESS	δὴ τότε Πουλυδάμας θρασὺν Ἕκτορα εἶπε παραστάς (60)	=A1 (210)	εἰ μὴ Πουλυδάμας θρασὺν Ἕκτορα εἶπε παραστάς (725)	ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν (253)

[12] See Holoka 1983. His insight is that the nominal meaning of the formula is virtually empty, and in any case irrelevant to its function in the poems—which is instead to evoke an implicit narrative pattern that structures the relations between socially superior and inferior figures.

[13] See Redfield 1975:143-53 for a general discussion of the contrast between Hektor and Poulydamas.

(c) APPEAL	ἀλλ᾽ ἄγεθ᾽, ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες (75)	νῦν αὖτ᾽ ἐξερέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα (215)	αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα (735)	ἀλλ᾽ ἴομεν προτὶ ἄστυ, πίθεσθέ μοι· ὧδε γὰρ ἔσται (260)
(d) REACTION	Ὣς φάτο Πουλυδάμας, ἄδε δ᾽ Ἕκτορι μῦθος ἀπήμων (80)	τὸν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ (230)	= A1 (748)	= B1 (284)
(e1) RESPONSE	diegesis: Hektor dismounts (81)	speech (231-50) plus diegesis (251)	= A1 (749) plus speech (750-53)	speech (285-309)
(e2) RESPONSE	so do Trojans	Trojans follow Hektor (251-52)	none	Ὣς Ἕκτωρ ἀγόρευ᾽, ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶες κελάδησαν (310)
(f) EDITORIAL	none	none	none	νήπιοι· ἐκ γάρ σφεων φρένας εἵλετο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη (311)

A few notes are in order here. (1) At §11(a)B2, the terror of the Trojans at Akhilleus' reappearance is so great that they violate the rules of Assembly by all standing in mass instead of sitting down and taking turns to rise and speak (*Il.* 18.246-47). This precludes use of the regular formula for Alternation—Ἤτοι ὅ γ᾽ ὣς εἰπὼν κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζετο· τοῖσι δ᾽ ἀνέστη—examined earlier, whose presence here would otherwise assimilate this scene even more closely to S1, S3, S6, and S10. The §11B2 pattern in *Iliad* 18 thus constitutes an allomorph of the scene outlined above in §7, with the expanded (three-line) description of Poulydamas' *ethos* (250-52) matching the §7(c) element and the line τοῖσι δὲ Πουλύδαμας πεπνυμένος ἦρχ᾽ ἀγορεύειν [First to speak among them was the careful Poulydamas] (249) replacing the Alternation formula, to form the sequence §7(a_1)-(b)-(c)-(d). (2) The line quoted at §11(b)A2 is the protasis of an extensive contrafactual narrative pattern (always in inverted order) "Then X would have happened if not Y," in which the apodosis is expressed either by ἔνθα κε{ν} (11X) or καί νυ κε{ν} (28X). It too serves to mark Crisis in the narrative, the forking of alternate (and antithetical) vectors, and often the appearance of intercessory figures. While its importance for an understanding of the full resonance of Mediation is undeniable, its analysis must be deferred to a separate study. (3) Elements listed alongside the category of Appeal (c) have been severely limited to items in which some colonic responsion can be shown. A broader kind of

responsion at the level of thematic content in Poulydamas' speeches—especially the repeated reference to Hektor's intractability to persuasion, and to the dichotomy between Counselor and Warrior—warrants extensive study. (4) The same can be said of the content of the speeches in reply, at §11(e1)B1/A2/B2.

Two aspects of this pattern call for further comment here. The first concerns the presence in §11B1 of an element that identifies an important subgroup of critical situations that include Mediation among their narrative possibilities, and additionally serves to draw the figures of Counselor and Prophet even closer together. Though the majority of Mediators are not professional seers, the boundary between these two types remains a flexible one, and is drawn as much by their function in context as by reference to some fixed set of credentials. Thus as the parameters of the situation require, the role elsewhere reserved for adepts like Khalkas (*Il*. 1.92-100), Halitherses (*Od*. 2.146-76), and Theoklymenos (*Od*. 20.345-57) can be shifted to figures such as Poulydamas and Nestor (*Il*. 8.130-44)—and, for that matter, Amphinomos (*Od*. 20.240-46) as well. In the case of Poulydamas in §11(a)B1, in fact, the identification is quite explicit, for the Trojan concludes his speech with the claim ὣδέ χ' ὑποκρίναιτο θεοπρόπος, ὅς σάφα θυμῷ | εἰδείη τεράων καί οἱ πειθοίατο λαοί [So an interpreter of the gods would answer, one who knew | in his mind the truth of portents, and whom the people believed in] (*Il*. 12.228-29). Once again, *ethos* and context are not entirely distinct, but instead seem to be made of interchangeable parts.

The remaining pair of instances (S9, S10) involving the dismissal of an intercessor's advice also match this sub-pattern of Omen-Mediation-Approval/Rejection. Both occur during the Ithakan Assembly in *Odyssey* 2, and represent the abusive response of suitors to attempts at Mediation by Halitherses and Mentor, respectively, each of whose speeches is introduced by ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν (*Od*. 2.160;228). The close proximity of these two scenes—separated only by the speech of Telemakhos (208-23)—along with their essential identity of content and structure, in fact suggest the doubling of a single pattern:

§12	[(a) Omen (eagles)	146-56]
	(b) Mediator (Halitherses - Prophet) speaks	157-76
	(c) Antagonist (Eurymakhos) rejects (b)	177-207
	[(d) Telemakhos speaks	208-23]
	(e) Mediator (Mentor - Elder) speaks	224-41
	(f) Antagonist (Leokritos) rejects (e)	242-56
	[(g) Assembly dissolved	257]

The doubling of elements §12(b)-(c) in (e)-(f) is obvious, and is additionally reinforced by the status of Leokritos in the second group. Unlike Eurymakhos (30X), who takes second place only to Antinoos (56X) for prominence among the suitors, this Leokritos (Euenorides) is a genuine nonentity, merely the shadow Eurymakhos casts in this type-scene. Apart from his speech here, his only other appearance in the poem comes twenty books later at the moment of his (equally formulaic) death (*Od*. 22.294-96): speared from behind by Telemakhos, kidney and diaphragm pierced, face flat in the dust.

Just as clear is the homology between the initial elements §12(a)-(c) and the pattern of Mediation and Rejection in §11B1 and B2. Even more striking, however, is the similarity between §12(a)-(f) in its full form and the overall (though more complex) pattern of Omen-Mediation-Rejection in the Akhaian Assembly in *Iliad* 1. This is especially the case with regard to the sequence of types of intercessory figure (Prophet : Elder :: Halitherses/Kalkhas : Mentor/Nestor) in both scenes. Another parallel between the two Assemblies is perhaps worth noting at §12(f), where Agamemnon's approving response to Nestor (*Il*. 286: κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες#) is inverted in Leokritos' jibe at Mentor, σὺ δ' οὐ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες# [You did not speak properly] (*Od*. 2.251). Perhaps more significant are features that the abusive responses to prophetic Mediation share in these three passages. Agamemnon's rejection in *Iliad* 1, Hektor's in *Iliad* 12, and that of Eurymakhos in *Odyssey* 2 all take the form of (1) an initial impugning of the wits and competence of the Prophet/Counselor (*Il*. 1.106-8 : *Il*. 12.233-34 : *Od*. 2.178-79), followed in the latter two scenes by (2) dismissal of the mantic value of the omen in question (*Il*. 12.237-40 : *Od*. 2.181-82) and (3) a boastful claim to possession of prophetic skills more accurate than those of the Mediator (*Il*. 12.235-36; 241 : *Il*. 2.180).

The effect of redundancies like the one embedded in the structure of the Assembly scenes in *Iliad* 1 and *Odyssey* 2—not to mention the A-B-A-B patterning of Hektor's relation to Poulydamas (§10)—is generally to emphasize the message; this is a feature of all signifying systems, and especially ones that rely chiefly on parataxis. The repeated rejection of a Mediator's sound advice only draws attention to how great a violation of conventional conduct has taken place, and so amounts to an implicit justification of the retribution that inevitably follows. This is why a kind of tautology governs all scenes of Mediation. Once it is formulaically established that the Other who rises to speak in Crisis is indeed a Mediator (and not an Antagonist), the outcome stemming from rejection or approval of his advice takes a predetermined course. Acceptance (generally) always leads to success, dismissal always issues in disaster. The necessity of the outcome is clearer in the case of rejection than approval, if only perhaps

because transgression is less usual (4 of 15X = 26%) and certainly more scandalous, a disruption of traditional values that demands a reassertion of the proper way of things. Clearest of all in Homer is the ineluctability of disaster persuant to rejection of a Mediator who is also a Prophet. Despite a widespread scepticism about seercraft that both poems tolerate (at the level of the narrative) in their characters, the privilege that prophecy enjoys at the level of motivation in the story is always confirmed. Nowhere in Homer are prophecies ever disregarded without peril.[14] The response-pattern that links dismissal of the Prophet-Mediator with dismissal of prophecy itself or with the unjustified arrogation of the vision of prophets by the characters (Hektor, Eurymakhos) who reject their advice only emphasizes this point.

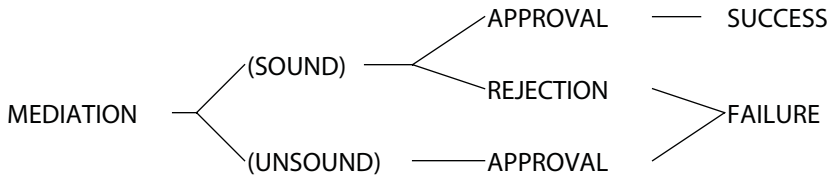
The second and final observation to be made with reference to the synoptic table of passages (§11) concerns the editorial comment on the Trojan rejection of Poulydamas' advice in §11(f)B2. Its phrasing— νήπιοι· ἐκ γάρ σφεων φρένας εἵλετο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη# [fools: for Pallas Athene had taken their wits from them] (*Il.* 18.311; cf. 9.377)—ironically echoes Hektor's earlier reproach of his Double in §11B1—εἰ δ' ἐτέον δὴ τοῦτον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύεις, | ἐξ ἄρα δή τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί [If in all seriousness this is your true argument, then | it is the very gods who ruined the brain within you] (*Il.* 12.233-34). This pair of lines in fact appears once earlier (*Il.* 7.359-60), significantly enough in Alexandros' rebuke of Antenor in the Trojan Assembly scene (S6). The ethical contrast that structures their relationship throughout the poem collapses here into a telling identity. These ironies within the narrative open on a larger sort of irony, however. The editorial #νήπιοι . . . [fools...] in *Iliad* 18 belongs to a large group (31%) of the total number of the occurrences of this noun (15 of 48X) in the poems, which in turn amounts to an even larger percentage (62%) of all instances of the noun in initial position (24X). In all of these instances, as in Hektor's rejection of Poulydamas in *Iliad* 18, the editorial #νήπι- marks a point in the text at which the narrative is interrupted by the poet's own judgment of the foolishness of a character's interpretation of the situation in which he finds himself, generally as the result of bad counsel, which issues in a decision on that character's part to pursue a specific course of action—a judgment justified by proleptic reference to the (disastrous) outcome to which that decision leads. Put more succinctly, the editorial νήπι- always signals a rift in the text between the concrete narrative account on the one hand, and the unfolding of the (abstract) story on the other. In this sense it serves the same

[14] On prophecy in general in the poems, see e.g. Stockinger 1959; for its narratological function, with specific reference to the Phaiakian and Teiresian prophecies in the *Odyssey*, see Peradotto 1974 and 1980.

function— though with opposite sense—as the contrafactual pattern "Then X would have happened if not Y" alluded to above with reference to §11(b)A2. Both mark a textual irony, an opening through which the priority of motivation at the level of the story over narrative motivation can be seen.

In one case, this textual irony affects the typology of Mediation at its core. We have seen that the nature of the response (Approval/Rejection) to Mediation is sufficient to determine the nature of the ultimate outcome (Success/Failure) of the action, as schematized above in §9. Rejection of a Mediator's advice always precipitates disaster for those who spurn it: Agamemnon (S1), whose mistake is admitted (*Il.* 19.76-144) only after the slaughter of countless Akhaians; Hektor (S8), who acknowledges only too late (*Il.* 22.99-103) the soundness of Poulydamas' counsel; the suitors, whose demise is implicitly sealed by their dismissal of prophetic Mediation in the Ithakan Assembly scene (S9, S10); Eupeithes (S12), the last casualty in the *Odyssey*. On the other hand, approval leads just as inevitably to the success of an endeavor in the ten cases in which it occurs (S2-S7, S11, S13-S15). Ironic possibilities complicate this schema, however. If the advice proposed by a Mediator itself proves to be in some sense unsound, its acceptance can have the same result as unimpeachably good advice that is rejected or (as in *Iliad* 18) bad advice that wins approval. Accomodating this possibility, the fuller range of options thus maps out as follows:

§13



Nestor's advice to Patroklos at the close of *Iliad* 11 and its implementation much later (*Iliad* 16) make for perhaps the most telling case in point. Sent for news by an Akhilleus whose curiosity betrays anxiousness that undercuts the firmness of his resolve to stay out of battle, Patroklos visits Nestor's camp. Much like Telemakhos in *Odyssey* 3, he finds the old man enframed in a tableau of domestic ritual: at table with a guest (Makhaon), served by his attendant Hekamede, engaged in the pleasure of talk over wine, pale honey, bread, and onion (*Il.* 11.618-44). Though he initially declines an offer to join them (647-54), Patroklos is nonetheless trapped by one of Nestor's prolonged reminiscences (670-762),

which eventually comes full circle to recount his arrival once at the house of Peleus during ritual sacrifice (769-77). The responsion is exact, with Nestor's rising up to take Patroklos by the hand echoed in Akhilleus' gesture to Nestor himself in the analepsis: ἐς δ' ἄγε χειρὸς ἑλών, κατὰ δ' ἑδριάασθαι ἄνωγε [and took him by the hand, led him in and told him to sit down] (646 = 778). Reminiscence of personal glory here modulates into recollection of Peleus' charge to Patroklos to protect the young Akhilleus at Troy (785-90), and then into Nestor's own advice in the present context (790: ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν), that is, that Patroklos borrow the armor, impersonate the Hero, and so win for the Greeks some breathing-space in the fight to defend their ships (794-803).

Patroklos' response is given by the formula (6X, 1X) Ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρινε [So he spoke, and stirred the feelings in his breast] (804). Four books then intervene, recounting the fated advance of the Trojans, before the narrative resumes again (*Iliad* 16) with the implementation of Nestor's advice. The lacuna is bridged by the simple device of repetition; except for the change of pronouns and the variation of one line (*Il.* 11.799/16.40), the appeal to Akhilleus precisely echoes Nestor's earlier counsel (11.794-803 = 16.36-45). The repetition has the effect of collapsing the distance that separates these two narrative moments, hence effecting a return to the initial (mediatory) situation in *Iliad* 11. The appeal elicits an editorial comment (*Il.* 16.46-47):

§14 Ὣς φάτο λισσόμενος μέγα νήπιος· ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλεν
οἱ αὐτῷ θάνατόν τε κακὸν καὶ κῆρα λιτέσθαι.

So he spoke, supplicating, the great fool; this was
his own death and evil destruction he was entreating.

The judgment μέγα νήπιος is a strong one. It occurs in this form only here, though allomorphs of the phrase in the same position (B1-C2) appear on four other occasions, with various particles (τὸ δὲ 2X / σὲ δὲ / ἔτι) filling out the space before the noun. In all but one case (*Od.* 19.530), which describes an infant child, the comment adverts to foolishness portending disaster: Odysseus' crew drunk on the beach while the Kikonians muster their troops (*Od.* 9.44); blind Polyphemos duped by the ruse of the sheep (*Od.* 9.442); the suitors, who take the death of Antinoos from the Beggar's arrow for an accident (*Od.* 22.32), and who stupidly devour Odysseus' stores, unmindful of the master's return (*Od.* 22.370). The closing hemistich ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλεν# (with allomorphs οὐδ' ἄρ' 5X or τῷ δ' ἄρ' 1X and different inflections of the verb) is likewise reserved for proleptic reference to unseen disaster. Its sense is contrafactual, drawing attention to grief or else total demise that is chosen

unwittingly, hence to the ironic distance between expectation and outcome. The defensive wall of the Greeks proposed by Nestor (S5) was not destined to stop the Trojan assault (*Il.* 12.3); Dolon's boast to return unscathed from his espionage behind enemy lines would prove a hollow one (*Il.* 10.336); on the verge of death, Hektor acknowledges that his hopes for mercy from Akhilleus had been empty (*Il.* 22.356); Odysseus' return from Troy was fated to be painful and prolonged (*Od.* 4.107); the fair west wind that blew from Aiolos' island to Ithaka was only to fail him just within sight of home (*Od.* 10.26); Eupeithes, aggrieved father, sought sweet vengeance but in so doing incurred his own death (*Od.* 24.470).

What links these passages together, and to Patroklos' innocent appeal (*Il.* 16.35-45) to be allowed to impersonate Akhilleus, is the rift they all signal between narrative motivation and motivation at the level of the story. The prominence they give to the exigencies of the story (the sacrifice of Patroklos to the Plan of Zeus) in turn confirms the priority of function over *ethos*, situation, and response within the narrative, at the same time as it also makes Mediation itself a primary tool of that over-arching function. The intercession of Nestor in *Iliad* 11/16 emphasizes even more strikingly than do the other passages examined the role of the Mediator throughout the poems as a kind of "switch" located at a critical juncture in the narrative and (more than other characters) ultimately in the direct employ of the story that guides the unfolding of the narrated events. Plague vs. remedy, social disruption vs. social harmony, defeat vs. victory, ritual propriety vs. neglect of obligations that bind mortals to the gods— the Mediator arises always and only whenever the course of events has reached a fork that leads the narrative along divergent paths and towards different projected ends: failure (often death) on the one hand, success— sometimes death too, but always measured by the specific closure toward which the story moves—on the other. In this sense, and viewed in terms of its function, Mediation represents a cloaked editorial presence in the narrative, and the Mediator himself a kind of editorial figure. This is never clearer than when that Mediation is ironic, since here the distance between expectation and fulfillment, desire and dessert, plan and outcome, narrative and story is possibly its greatest. Homer's comment μέγα νήπιος in *Iliad* 16 only announces more explicitly a prolepsis of disaster already inherent in the Mediator's advice four books earlier, and inhering potentially in all advice given, whatever the authority of its proponent, whenever another rises to speak or to take one's hand in friendship.

4: *Conclusion*

A few conclusions can briefly be ventured now to what has been an

extensive but at the same time also an admittedly incomplete typology of Mediation in Homer. Its very incompleteness is in fact itself a point worth dwelling on.

Despite the emergence of relatively stable contours for that typology, its extent still remains largely uncharted. Each new instance of specific responsion among cola, lines, and generic scenes only seems to open on ever wider and more intricate and more interdependent patterns of responsion. These call for further study, but at the same time also implicitly challenge the approach taken in this analysis. Structurally, the typology is governed by what we have called co-implication, by the fact that its isolated parts all stand in metonymic relation to some whole that never reaches full expression in the text. And it is thanks to this that our approach in terms of categories of *ethos*, situation, and response remains at best a very rough heuristic strategy.

To take only the most striking example, we have suggested that the category of *ethos* ("no more or less arbitrary than any other point of departure"—and no less dangerous, too) apparently enjoys no special privilege. Its boundaries are so flexible—shifting among the figures of Youth and Elder, Prophet, Counselor, Nurse, Double, Father, Husband, Herald, King—that it is tempting to conclude that what passes for character is merely a cluster of traits (goodwill, memory, sorrow, prudence, command of persuasive speech, circumspection, soundness of mind) around a proper name, which in its turn—and far from signifying some unique essence—only marks as it were an empty locus of narrative potentials.[15] What strengthens this impression is the degree to which *ethos* itself in all its flexibility seems to be a function of contextual constraints. Mediator no less than (say) Antagonist rises to speak or fails to rise only within and by reason of prolepses embedded in a certain situation (for example, Crisis). Situation is in turn no independent variable, but instead is plausibly determined by prior concatenations of events in the narrative, which stretch back towards some vanishing-point in the tradition of the story. This is why, for example, the last passage examined in our study (*Iliad* 11/16) is no less valid an instance of Mediation despite its lack of most of the explicit formulaic cues (Debate, Alternation, Ethical Expansion, Goodwill) that seemed so definitive for our study in the first place. All that counted there, as we saw, was the functional identification of the

15 See e.g. Barthes 1974:190-91: "Character is an adjective, an attribute, a predicate.... What gives the illusion that the sum [sc. of traits predicated of a narrative character] is supplemented by a precious remainder (something like *individuality*....) is the Proper Name, the difference completed by what is *proper* to it. The proper name enables the person to exist outside the semes, whose sum nonetheless constitutes it entirely." See e.g. Rimmon-Kenan 1983:29-42 (from whom this quote is drawn [39]) for a brief summary of the problem of the narrative status of "character" and references to more extensive discussions.

speaker with a kind of narrative "switch," a juncture at which alternative endings offer themselves for realization, and at which the "choice" of one or the other lets the priority of story over narrative show itself. Moreover, it shows itself over and perhaps in a sense sometimes even despite motivation in the narrative, for it is just this ironic difference it generates that makes Patroklos' death (unlike Hektor's) a genuine sacrifice, more striking because less justified internally, that is, at the narrative level. His is a sacrifice, after all, at the altar of the Story of the *Iliad*, with the Mediator acting as officiant.

Two consequences follow from this: one procedural, one broader in scope. First, it should be clear that the richness of co-implication requires a method just as protean in order to capture it. To isolate and classify general types is useful and even necessary as a first step, but ultimately risks limiting the full range of narrative possibilities and opportunities for innovation available to poet and audience. Especially given its dependence on a text, this approach tends only to reify the types and patterns it uncovers, to bind and fix them in the room of the possibilities they happened to displace *on one occasion*. Need all Mediation be expressly cued in the text by formulaic reference to Goodwill? Must there be explicit mention every time of the traits we have isolated as peculiar to Mediators? Must someone always speak first and sit down, and then another rise to speak? Or if not to speak, to take one's hand in hospitality? Need there always be an omen or a plague, or will any crisis do, even any simple quandary over choices, to signal his appearance? Despite the high frequency of formulaic echo guiding much of this study—the patterns of colonic match, phrase-count, and specific responsion—is Mediation after all less an object susceptible to quantification than (to borrow M. Nagler's term) a kind of loose Gestalt?[16] And if so, how avoid the risk of overlooking the particulars in favor of reconstituted universal types, thus sacrificing narrative to myth, spontaneity to some monolithic Tradition?[17]

However these questions are answered, and in whatever spirit this risk is run, tradition (however broadly or narrowly conceived) indeed remains the central issue. The community's living tradition, after all, is the

[16] See Nagler 1974. Nagler uses the term initially to refer to the "open-endedness" of "formula systems" or "families" of formulas in Homer, and comments (13): "I would propose that this open-endedness is not merely a descriptive device, that the family is in fact open-ended because the abstract template that generates its members is not limited in its production of particular phrases but can be realized in more or less similar forms in an endless variety of contexts . . .. [T]here does not seem to be a more accurate term for such an entity than 'Gestalt'." The term soon undergoes further expansion to include "patterns and paraphrasable meanings" (17) at the level of generic scene and story. See also 34-45, 86, 201.

[17] This is a danger to which Frame 1978 and Nagy 1979, for instance, seem often to have succumbed.

implicit whole comprising the very possibility of the story (or stories) with which the isolated parts of the narrative contract their relation and from which they take their bearings, so to speak.[18] It clearly supplies the key for their understanding at the same time as it depends on these parts, on the story that guides them, and on the values these stories embody, for its own confirmation and renewal. Viewed in these terms, the question remains how most successfully to reach story through narrative, and tradition itself through the permutations of stories—and how to let that tradition somehow reach and quicken us too. What kinds of Mediation best suit this task?

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[18] The relations among oral narrative, story, and tradition—along with their implications for an oral poetics—are the subject of Foley 1991, especially chapters 1-2. I am grateful to the author for an advance copy of relevant sections of this book, as well as for patient and extensive discussion of its theses.

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Early Scholarship on Oral Traditions: Radloff, Jousse, and Murko

Like all breakthroughs in research and scholarship, Milman Parry's hypothesis of an oral tradition behind the Homeric epics and his subsequent fieldwork in Yugoslavia were brilliant extensions and syntheses of the contributions made by others. In this issue we celebrate both the sixtieth anniversary of Parry's "Studies I" article in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* and essential contributions by three of the scholars who made his pioneering writings possible. For if the 1930 essay marked the path from a traditional to an oral Homer, it was to a significant degree the prior work done by Wilhelm Radloff, Marcel Jousse, and Matija Murko that set Parry on that path. With the help of Dubrun Böttcher Sherman, Adam Brooke Davis, and Edgard Sienaert, we present two translations and an overview designed to collectively illustrate how creatively earlier scholars had documented and analyzed Parry's eventual subject, and in the process how well and thoroughly he had digested their ideas and observations. We hope this section on *Early Scholarship on Oral Traditions* honors both Parry and his forebearers.

Oral Tradition, 5/1 (1990): 73-90

Samples of Folk Literature from the North Turkic Tribes

Collected and translated by
Dr. Wilhelm Radloff

Preface to Volume V:
The Dialect of the Kara-Kirgiz

Born to a Berlin police-commissar and reserve officer and educated during the germination of Indo-European studies, Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (known to Russian scholars as Vasilii Vasilevitch Radlov) turned from his early interest in religious studies to philosophy and philology. Under the influence of the comparative grammarian Franz Bopp and the folk-psychologist Hermann Steinthal, he matriculated in 1854, and turned at once to the neglected field of near-Eastern languages, specializing in Turkish. Centers for Russian studies founded around that time in Berlin and St. Petersburg afforded him the opportunity to work with other Turcologists and students of Eastern Europe and the Near East. A teaching-post in Bernaul gave him the security to make summer research-excursions into Turkic-speaking regions. Various honors followed, as well as duties in the Russian administration of minority schools. He was named to the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1884), to the Directorship of the Anthropological and Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences (1894), and was instrumental in the founding of the International Association for the Exploration of Central Asia and the Far East (1899). This "St. Petersburg" period was the most productive time of an extraordinarily prolific career (Ahmet Temir's bibliography contains one hundred thirty-seven items), including the fifth volume of the enormous *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, the preface to which appears in English here for the first time. This preface, with its suggestions of the principle of multiformity and composition by theme exerted a powerful (and acknowledged) influence on the early thought of Milman Parry.[1] Radloff died in Russia in 1918; very little is known of his private life. His reputation, and those of the "Radloff Circle," suffered from 1937, when he was declared by the Soviet government to have been a German spy; it was for a time forbidden to cite his works in the USSR. His own attitudes towards the peoples he studied and their cultures were complex and changeable, a mixture of profound respect for their integrity and concern for the material privation which might be the price of preserving that purity.

[1] Parry quotes Radloff a number of times in *The Making of Homeric Verse* (ed. by Adam Parry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971]), praising him for a methodicality and thoroughness uncharacteristic of his time (440).

In the years 1862 and 1869, I collected the texts that I have published here while I was staying with the Kara-Kirgiz (the black Kirgiz). This Turkic people, the only one which still calls itself "Kyrgys," inhabits the northern foothills of the Thian-schan on the river Tekes, south of the Issik-koel in the valley of thchu, and they live in the mountains stretching south to Kaschkar and west to Kokand and the river Talas. They are divided into two groups: a) the Ong, the right ones, and b) the Sol, the left ones. The Ong consist of six tribes: 1) the tribe Bugu (stag); they live nomadically along the river Tekes and east of the Issik-koel; 2) the tribe Sary Bagysch (yellow elk); they migrate through the south and west of the Issik-koel; 3) the tribe Soltu or Solto wanders south of the river Schu; 4) the tribe Edigaenae migrates along the river Andidschan; 5) the tribe Tschong Bagysch (big elk) are nomads west of the Kaschgar; 6) the tribe Tscherik (the army) around Kokand. The number of the Sol is much smaller than that of the Ong, and they are nomads along the river Talas for the most part. General Makschejeff estimates that the total number of Kirgiz who are subjected by Russia amounts to 27,825 "Kibitken," that is, approximately 150,000 individuals if one counts five people per family. However, the number is certainly far more than twice as large because none of the nomadic Kirgiz from the former Chanate Kokand are included in this number. I have recently published more detailed information about the history and the geographical distribution of this people;[2] therefore, I consider it superfluous to repeat anything that refers to this publication.

The Kara-Kirgiz speak, as far as I got to know them, a dialect of their own, a dialect which I also call the Kara-Kirgiz. It is very similar to the Kasak-Kirgiz dialect, yet it sharply distinguishes itself from the latter by certain phonetic qualities. I did not have the opportunity to observe any relevant dialect variations within the Kara-Kirgiz dialect. Therefore, I did not have to record speech everywhere in order to pinpoint local dialect features, but could stay at a few places for some longer time to write down longer texts. I did this at the following places: 1) on the Tekes while I was with the tribe Bugu in 1862; 2) west of the Issik-koel while I was with the Sary Bagysch; and 3) south and east of the city Tokmak during my stay with the Soltu in 1869.

As far as the phonetic characteristics of the Kara-Kirgiz dialect are concerned, I have treated those thoroughly in my book *Phonetik der nördlichen Türk-sprachen* (Leipzig, 1881), which is why I simply refer the reader to this work and to the introduction to the first part of my work *Proben der Volkslitteratur*.

The texts that I wrote down while I was staying with the Kara-Kirgiz are almost exclusively epic songs, whose content induced me to translate

[2] *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1884), Part I, pp. 136-42 and 200-35.

them in *gebundener Rede*.[3] This circumstance delayed the publication of this volume because the texts themselves were ready to be printed as early as 1876. Despite the fact that the translation is given in *gebundener Rede*, it is as accurate as possible and matches the original texts, verse by verse, with only a few exceptions.

These epic songs prove to us that the folk poetry of the Kara-Kirigiz is in a particular phase, which I would like to call the epic period. It is approximately the same phase which the Greeks experienced when the epic poetry of the Trojan cycle of legends was still alive in the people's mouths as unrecorded, genuine folk poetry. Therefore, I want to describe briefly this epic period, which, as far as I know, has nowhere been observed to such an extent. The purpose of this endeavor is to facilitate the study of texts which, in my opinion, will considerably contribute to the resolution of the still unsolved "epic question."

I have already pointed out elsewhere that all Kirgiz, the Kasak-Kirgiz as well as the Kara-Kirgiz, excel in eloquence and surpass all of their Turkic fellowmen in this respect. The Kirgiz has an astonishing command of his language; he always speaks fluently without stopping or getting stuck, and he knows how to combine a certain elegance with the precision and clarity of his expressions in his speech. Even the common speech shows a distinct rhythm in syntactic and periodic constructions so that the single sentences follow each other like verses and stanzas, and give the impression of *gebundene Rede*. One can tell that the Kirgiz storyteller loves to talk, and that he wishes to make an impression on his audience by means of a delicately shaped, well-contemplated speech; likewise, one can observe everywhere that the audience takes delight in a well-formed speech, and that they know how to determine whether a speech is perfected in form. Deep silence surrounds the orator/performer if he knows how to mesmerize his listeners; they sit, bent forward with their eyes glowing, and listen to the speaker's words. Each eloquent word and each sprightly pun evokes animated applause. The Kirgiz eloquence surprises nobody because the individual Kirgiz has considerable practice in talking; he chats day and night because the only activities that keep him from conversation are eating and sleeping.

It is not surprising that people who take so much pleasure in beautiful words consider the *gebundene Rede* the supreme art. That is why a quite significant kind of folk poetry developed in all of their groups. Proverbs and old adages in the most wonderfully bound verses, love songs,

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[3] It is not altogether clear what Radloff meant by this recurrent phrase (literally, "bound discourse," "flowing speech"). He characterizes it as the language of poetic performance, which the poet uses "without stopping or getting stuck." The *gebundene Rede* of the natural performance would seem to be in contrast to the halting and interrupted discource necessitated by diction and transcription (Ed.).

historical songs, contest songs, wedding songs and lamentations at funerals, even farces and so forth are recited in all circles and received with pleasure. At the same time, the art of improvising has spread everywhere, and every person in any way experienced with songs is able to honor the present guests by using *gebundene Rede* in improvised praise songs.

If a larger circle of listeners is gathered, not every Kirgiz dares to perform as a singer, of course, but only a few preferred ones who have a special talent for rhythmic recitations and who developed this talent through frequent practice. These people are called by the honorable name *akyn*, and they are frequently widely known. Since the Kirgiz often have larger assemblies and festive dinners (for the event of the funeral dinner [*asch*] is held to be a matter of honor to the family of the deceased), there are frequent opportunities for the singers to display their art. This circumstance has caused a whole caste of singers to develop. These singers, one might say, make singing their occupation; they travel from feast to feast and make a living on their songs. The formation of this caste is especially encouraged by wealthy people and sultans, who like the idea of singers living in their vicinity because the singers cheer them up in times of boredom or grief and praise them in public everywhere. They provide these singers with a living and generous gifts, accept them as their followers, and attend assemblies with them, where they feel honored by the applause their singers receive. This is how it is with all Kirgiz.

Differences in talent, interests, and history between the Kara-Kirgiz and the Kasak-Kirgiz have caused different developments in the folk poetry of the two peoples. The texts that I recorded in the third volume of *Proben der Volkslitteratur* prove that the Kasak-Kirgiz developed a rich lyrical poetry. With the Kara-Kirgiz, however, epic poetry overpowered and suppressed all other folk-poetic creations so that not only lyrical poetry vanished into the background, but also the legend, the fairy tale, and the prose tale were completely absorbed by the epic songs.

Of all the Turkish tribes which I have observed, I have found such a dominance of the epic only in two tribes now living completely separate from each other, namely the Minussinskiz or Abakan Tatars and the Kara-Kirgiz. For the most part, the former group consists of Kirgiz who remained on the Jenissei in the seventeenth century. They are descendants of the ancient Hakas, who destroyed the great empire of the Uigurs in the ninth century.[4] As the Kara-Kirgiz of the Thian-schan are descendants of that group of the Hakas who left the region of the Jenissei springs as early as the tenth century and moved to the southwest, we are justified in assuming that the interest in epic poetry is an intellectual pursuit already

[4] The word *Hakas* is an incorrect interpretation of the Chinese symbols *K'ic-gia-sze* (T'ang-schu Cap. 259b). It evidently represents the name "Kyrgys," which is common as early as the time of the T'ang dynasty.

characteristic of the ancient Hakas. Until now it has been preserved equally in both descendants of this people (the Minussinskiz Tatars and the Kara-Kirgiz), although both peoples have lived completely separate from each other for nine centuries.

The present social conditions greatly differ in these two Turkic tribes. The Abakan Tatars have lost every remembrance of the bloody fights in the seventeenth century; they consist of a number of small tribes, all of which entirely lack the notion of national unity. Hard-pressed by the Russian inhabitants from all sides, they have almost given up their former nomadic life; they keep only a few cattle, farm half-heartedly, and make their living mostly on what they take in their hunting expeditions in the vast forests and mountains surrounding the Abakan and Jenissei prairies during the fall and winter months. The Kara-Kirgiz, on the other hand, are genuine nomads, who were able to survive the horrible fights with the Kalmucks, the Chinese, and the Kasak-Kirgiz because of the mountainous character of their residences. The characteristics of the land account for the fact that the Kirgiz have maintained their warrior-like attitudes. Until recently, they have lived independently among the Chinese, the Russians, and the Kokands, and have had to defend themselves in all directions. They migrate in dynasties, not in *auls* like the Kasak-Kirgiz. All the inhabitants of a large area along the river change their residence together at the same time because they are exposed to attacks from strangers while moving, and need to have large support teams ready. Despite their warrior-like lifestyle, the Kara-Kirgiz distinguish themselves from their neighbors by their large number of cattle. The consciousness of tribal unity has developed much more strongly in them than in the other North Turkic tribes. The battles of the previous century united them, if not politically (because this is not possible with a nomadic people) then at least in their goals and their ideals, which they consider the traits that distinguish them from their neighbors.

Naturally, the epic poetry of such different peoples had to develop differently as well. With the Minussinskiz Tatars, who were not unified and who were discontent with their poverty, only single heroic tales could develop; these are not related at all to each other. These tales describe the wonderful fates of giant heroes. The hero is born into misery and sorrow, and only escapes death because of his bodily strength and the invincible resistance of his heroic nature. Barely grown-up, he starts to take his vengeance upon his father's destroyers. His heroic expedition leads him through the vast strata of the earth; he crosses streams and oceans with the help of his loyal companion, his heroic horse. With the horse he climbs the sky-high mountain ridge, and at last even ascends to the seat of the gods; he descends into the deep subterranean strata and fights there with horrible giants and swan-women. If he is defeated by the power of the

circumstances through his shortcomings, then it is his horse who saves him, his horse who, even if he dies prematurely, revives him. After having taken home the ultimate prize for his battles, the woman chosen for him by the gods, he re-establishes his jurte [a sort of igloo or teepee made of skins or felt] in his father's lands, on the sea shore, and occupies himself with the leadership of his people and hunting until, mostly because of his own lack of caution and against the will of his loyal wife, he plunges into new battles, in which he perishes.

It is a certain, dream-like, blurred fairy-tale world that these heroic tales describe, distant from the poor earthly existence; it is a world of the imagination, in which the otherwise impoverished spirit of the people takes delight. It is especially the improbable, the supernatural, and the unnaturally gigantic that seize the audience in these stories, and that fill them with horror. One can understand this kind of poetry fully only if one tries to picture the circumstances under which it is recited, and under which it exerts its full influence on the audience. This occurs chiefly on fall and winter evenings when the hunting groups which roam about in the wood-covered mountains for weeks prepare for the nights in cabins made of branches. The hunters, tired from their exertions, then sit around the fire wrapped in their furs; they have just refreshed themselves with a meal, and they take delight in the warmth of the fire; then the singer takes his instrument in his hands and begins to sing the monotone melody of a heroic song with a dark, throaty voice. The dark night surrounding the whole scene, the magic light of the fire, and the roaring of the storm that howls around the cabin and accompanies the singer's throaty sounds, form the necessary background for the brightly illuminated misty scenes of the songs.

The epic songs of the Kirgiz give us a completely different picture. The feeling of "national" unity among the Kirgiz brought all the epic folk songs together into a whole. Like new crystals that develop in a saturated sodium solution during evaporation and group together around a large crystal center in the fluid, or like fine iron filings that cluster around the magnetic pole, all single legends and tales, all historical memories, stories, and songs are strongly attracted to the epic centers and become, by being broken into pieces, parts of a comprehensive picture reflecting a culture's thoughts and aspirations—its collective spirit. It is not the miraculous nor the horrible of the fairy-tale world that the Kirgiz esteems and seeks in his songs, but he sings about his own life, his own feelings and efforts, the ideals which are shared by all individuals as members of the entire community. He does not seek the gigantic or the unnatural, but the natural and the real. Despite their miraculous, frequently supernatural fates, the heroes in these songs are human beings who have good qualities as well as weaknesses and defects, exactly like real people. The exaggerated and the

unnatural only serve as ornamentation for the descriptions of life; they are supposed to brighten up the bleak reality, and they are supposed to make the poetic description fit for the audience.

The true center of this people's collective literature is the highly regarded heroic image of the ideal prince of the Muslims, or Er Manas, son of Jakyp Kan, from the tribe of the Sary Nogai. He is the greatest of all warriors, traveling with his forty companions (Tschoro) around the world and defeating all enemies. All nations have felt the strength of his arm; he smashed the Chinese people, chased the Svart away, scattered the people of the Kalschar, and tortured the Persians. His horse is a white dun, unequalled by any other horse; white armor is his garment, which no arrow is able to penetrate. Not only the enemies fear the mighty one; even his own father is afraid because [Er Manas] does not spare his aging father, nor his mother who loves him above everything, when he is enraged. Just as no one equals the Greek hero Achilles in strength, so no Muslim is able to measure up to Manas. The only worthy adversary who opposes him is the pagan prince Joloi, the great eater, who, because of his gigantic body and his superhuman strength, can only be defeated if he goes to sleep (a death-like sleep characteristic only of him) after monstrous consumption of food and drink. His horse is the mighty Atsch Budan, the only one to equal Manas' white dun in size.

Besides these two heroes, the Kirgiz epic knows a whole series of independent Muslim princes: Jamgyrtschi of the Kara Nogai, the mighty wrestler; the old Er Koschai, who opened the door to Paradise; Er Koektschoe, son of Aidar Kan and descendant of Kambar Kan; Er-Toeschtueck; Juegoerue, who traffics with the dead; and many others. The main figures among the pagans who enter the action are Kara Kan, Urum Kan, and Kongyr Bai, the Chinese.

The Kirgiz epic is like the Greek epic. Despite all of its poetic ornamentation, the Greek epic describes the political life of the entire Greek culture, representing Greece as a more or less close federation of single Greek states. Although these states are often hostile to each other, they present a united front to their enemies. The Kirgiz epic also describes the social conditions of the Kirgiz, a genuinely nomadic people, without any tight bonds among its members; a people who in the flow of its social life resembles a turbulent ocean whose waves are driven back and forth so that no solid, tangible components can ever detach themselves to form a stable state. The rushing water covers vast stretches of land and devastates, but it returns to its original bed after having expanded as far as possible. We see battle after battle, but no result from the enormous expense of energy; we see the heroes fade away and find in their children a new generation, who accomplish in the same kind of battles only what their parents achieved. This generation wastes its energy as well. The nomad

never provides for the future; he lives in the present, takes delight in the quiet as long as an excess of strength does not impel him to action, or as long as no invading enemy forces him to leave his peace and quiet behind to protect its foundations. When we see the scenes[5] of the epic pass before us without having a clear idea of what motivates the change of appearances, we should never forget that we are dealing with a nomadic people, who have ideals different from those of a settled people living on farming and constantly working on the expansion of its social life. The descriptions in the Kirgiz epic are similar to the scenes of the Greek epic world, which portray the beautiful sky of the south and the sunny regions of Asia Minor and Greece, and describe the colorful activities of the culturally ambitious Greeks. As in the Greek epic, we also find in the Kirgiz epic huge, ragged ridges and awe-inspiring, romantic gorges, but between those are vast, bleak prairies, lush but monotonous green areas which form the paradise of the cattle-raising nomads. Human life is as monotonous here as is nature. The social orders are separated according to the strength and cattle people possess. Despite that, various passions surge in their hearts. Hatred and love, pain and joy, greed, revenge, and dedication are the emotions of the prairie nomad and the stimuli for his actions. The Kirgiz epic describes these emotions just as does the Greek epic. However, one should not expect too much from this poetry and should not dwell on it too long while reading it, because otherwise the sameness of the images becomes tiring for the reader. The reader who follows this advice will also find pleasure here.

Frequently, the conflict between the Islamic religion and heathenism appears as the cause of fierce battles. The ethical motif of protecting one's religious faith is not an original, organic part of the stories, however; it was added [to them] from the outside after the fights in the last century had actually taken place. Even though these battles had not really been religious, the Kirgiz began to build up religious hatred towards their non-believing lords after the Muslims had been harassed by the Kalmuck princes and the Chinese. Such hatred has continued to live on in this culture, even though the Kirgiz do not understand much of the Islamic religion themselves, and despite the fact that they are generally called non-believers by neighboring Muslim city-dwellers.

In the battles described, one often finds echoes of the horrible fate in war which, as mentioned before, befell the Kirgiz people during the previous century. Nevertheless, the main heroes who must survive these fights, Manas and Joloi, are by no means historical personalities; they are

[5] The German word *Bilder*, here translated as "scenes" or "images," has for Radloff some overlap with *Vortragsteil* (lit., "part or piece of a performance or song") and *Bildteil(chen)*, *Teilbild* ("part or piece of a picture"). All these terms correspond roughly to what Parry and Lord will later call "themes" and "type-scenes" (Ed.).

mythical figures much older than the historical memories of the Kirgiz. The historical memories merged with the ancient tales and stories to form completely new creations of the imagination. In these new creations, the commemoration of actual events only serves as ornamentation and as a way of completing the older legends.

I divided the recorded epic songs into three groups and listed them under the titles *Manas*, *Joloi*, and *Er Toeschtueck*. However, the reader should not conclude that I recorded three finished epics. *Er Toeschtueck* is a fairy-tale also known among other Turkic tribes; here it appears in the form of an epic song, and I will refer to it again later. *Manas* and *Joloi*, on the other hand, consist of a series of episodes, which cannot even remotely represent the whole Kirgiz epic. The epic genre, as it lives among the people, cannot be represented at all. It is the poetic mirror of the people's entire life and striving. Of course, the reflection only captures single characteristics (not the whole picture). As a people's life manifests itself in individuals, so does the collective epic, the poetic mirror of this people's life, manifest itself only in single episodes recounted by various individuals. Therefore, these episodes can only be considered individual representations of a part from the whole.[6] It would be a futile endeavor to attempt to assemble the whole picture from the single parts, for the epic is not something finished; it is a culture's collective consciousness, which lives in the people and changes with it. If we could really succeed in recording all episodes that now live among the people, we would have to begin to record again after having completed the collection. In the meantime, the various singers' personal conceptions would have changed and created new episodes. However, the more complete the collection became the more difficult it would be to establish the whole picture, because the number of variants, repetitions, and contradictions increases with the number of episodes. To bring all of these into balance would be absolutely impossible for someone not belonging to the culture.

Since the actual purpose of my recordings was only to collect the necessary language material to be able to examine the Kara-Kirgiz dialect, I simply recorded the native's dictations of a significant number of texts, exactly the way they recited them. I did not care whether repetitions and contradictions existed; I did not shorten the texts to avoid the repetition of things already told. But I also believed that I could represent the nature of the real epic only in that way.

Then I presented the single episodes in the order of Manas' life. The first episode, "Manas' Birth," which I recorded while I was staying with the Sary Bagysch south of Tokmak, was of meager content and seems to be

[6] *Individuelle Darstellung* may perhaps be better rendered as "unique presentations;" in this passage we have a precursor of the later notion of the multiformity of the oral performance (Ed.).

a song triggered by my question about the birth of Manas. My question alone sufficed to urge the singer to a new song. The second episode describes the conversion of the Kalmuck Alman Bet to the Islamic religion, and it is in some ways very similar to the tale of Oghus Kan. Alman Bet then goes to Koektschoe as a companion, but he leaves him again soon and goes to Manas, with whom he remains as his most loyal companion for the rest of his life. The third episode tries to give the complete picture of Manas' life. It begins with the praising of Manas' deeds, then goes on to an entirely unmotivated fight between Manas and Koektschoe (which is obviously caused by Alman Bet's going over to Manas). The description of the fight is very detailed. After that, Manas' wedding procession and the marriage ceremony with Kanykaei is described. Subsequently, Manas dies without his motives becoming clear to us. Then the relatives' fates follow, and the hero's revival.

In discussing this episode, I would note that the singer presents Manas as a friend of the White Tsar (the Russian Emperor) and of the Russian people throughout his performance. As the story develops, the tsar is present as an active participant. The tsar was only included because of my presence [as recorder]. The singer thought that the Russian civil servant might dislike the fact that Manas also defeated the Russians. Therefore, he made sure that there was a variation that would please me. This incident shows us clearly that while performing, the singer takes his audience into consideration.

The fourth episode contains the festive dinner of Bok Murun, a wealthy man. This episode describes the events at a funeral. All heroes of the Muslims and pagans gather there, the ones about whose deeds the Kara-Kirgiz sing. The fifth episode introduces us to the cause of Manas' death in the third episode. Despite Kanikaei's warning, Manas receives as brothers his father's relatives, who come from the Kalmucks, and is killed by them. The sixth and seventh episodes describe Manas' death and the fates of his son Semaetaei and his grandson Seitaek. In the second group, *Joloi*, this powerful hero's life is described. Here we find no echoes of the song of Manas, but this lack of echoes is the result of the singer's personal interpretation. Several times I have heard songs which relate Joloi's fate to that of Manas exactly as the two are related at the feast of Bok Murun.

The song of *Er Toeschtueck* is the fairy tale about Jaer Tueschtueck (the earth-sinker), who received his name from his raids underneath the earth. The fairy tale appears in volume IV in a detailed form. Here, the Kirgiz falsely calls the earth-sinker "Er Toeschtueck" ("the hero Toeschtueck"). The singer presents the beginning in detail and describes the fairy tale in typically epic breadth. Unfortunately, he is partially unfamiliar with its subject, for the journey under the earth differs from the fairy tale and is tedious. We can tell from various statements in "Bok

Murun" that this particular singer simply lacks the knowledge. Besides, he had exhausted himself while singing the long song of Joloi, and then he recited the *Er Toeschtueck* for me in an inaccurate and hurried manner. Many passages, like the motives for the courting of nine sisters, seem to have been left out. The courting expedition is mixed with the older brothers' journeys to get their brides. The youngest brother's remaining behind is omitted, and many other things are imprecise and incoherent.

The recording of the songs that were being dictated was difficult in many ways. The singer is not used to dictating so slowly that one can follow with a pen; therefore, he often loses the thread of the story and maneuvers himself into contradictions by omitting things. These contradictions are not easily resolved by asking questions, which confuse the singer even more. Under these circumstances, the only thing left for me to do was to have a singer recite one episode to me first while I was taking notes about the development of the episode, and then I could proceed to the recording when I was familiar with the content of the episode. If then the singer became guilty of leaving out things while slowly dictating to me, I could easily alert him to those. However, the reader will notice that many deletions occurred despite this procedure.

The singer recites his songs in the meter of the *Dshyr* (see the introduction to Volume III), and he uses different rhyme schemes according to his poetic skills. Generally, the rhyme is an end rhyme (certainly caused by the influence of the Kasak-Kirgiz folk poetry). Even if the originally Ural-Altaic acrostic rhymes still appear quite frequently, they have long since been superseded by the end rhyme. During his performance, the singer always uses two melodies: the first, in a fast pace, is used for the telling of facts; the second is slower-paced and used for solemn recitation during conversations. I had the opportunity to observe the change in melodies in all singers with some experience. Otherwise, the melodies of the various singers are almost completely the same. As far as the clarity of their pronunciation goes, the Kara-Kirgiz singers surpass the singers of all the other tribes, even the Kasak-Kirgiz. The rhythmic recitation interferes with the understanding of the words so little that it is easy even for non-Kirgiz to follow the song. This fact made the process of my recordings much easier.

Every singer with some talent improvises his songs on the spur of the moment so that he is not even capable of reciting a song twice in completely the same manner. One should not believe, however, that such improvisations are new creations each time. The improvising singer is in the same situation as the improvising piano player. The latter creates a mood by putting together various courses, transitions, and motifs with which he is familiar, and he thus creates the new from the old he knows. The singer of epic songs proceeds in the same way. Through extensive

practice in reciting, he has a series of themes [*Vortragsteile*] available, if I may so put it, which he assembles in a manner suitable to the development. These themes are the descriptions of certain incidents and situations, such as a hero's birth, the growing up of a hero, the praising of weapons, the preparation for a battle, the clangor of a fight, the heroes' verbal exchange before a fight, the description of persons and horses, the characteristics of famous heroes, the praising of the bride's beauty, the description of the residence, of the *Jurte*, of a dinner for guests, an invitation to the dinner, the death of a hero, the lamentation, the description of scenery, of nightfall, dawn, and many other things. The singer's art is to order all these ready-made themes [*Bildteilchen*] and to link them by means of newly composed verses. Now the singer can sing in different ways about all the aforementioned themes. He knows how to sketch one and the same scene [*Bild*] in a few brief strokes; he can describe it more thoroughly; or he can go into a very detailed description of epic breadth. The more different themes [*Bildteilchen*] the singer has at his disposal, the more varied his song will be, and the longer he will be able to sing without tiring his audience with the monotony of his images [*Bilder*]. The measure of the singer's ability is the number of themes he knows and the skill with which he puts them together. A talented singer can sing about any possible subject and recite any desired story *extempore* as long as he is clear as to the course of events. When I asked one of the most successful singers with whom I became acquainted whether he could sing this or that song, he replied to me: "I can sing any song there is because God has planted this gift for singing in my heart. He supplies my tongue with the word without my having to search for it. I have not learned to sing any of my songs; everything gushes out of my insides, out of myself." And the man was completely right. The improvising singer sings without thinking about it; he sings only about the things he has always known[7] when someone encourages him to sing; he sings like a speaker whose words come out of his mouth continuously, without intentionally and consciously articulating this or that word, as soon as his train of thought requires words. The experienced singer is able to sing for a day, a week, a month, just as he is able to speak and talk all this time. But just as the garrulous talker comes to an end and becomes boring because he finally begins to repeat himself, the singer runs the same danger. If one lets him sing too long, his supply of scenes [*Bilder*] will be depleted, and he will repeat himself and become tiresome. The song of Toeschtueck, for example, proves this. It was recited to me by the same singer who had dictated the song of Joloi. The singer even wanted to recite the song of Juegoerue, but I had to interrupt it in the middle, and I did not include this fragment in my literature samples

[7] *Aus innerer Disposition,* by which Radloff seems to mean the psychic condition created by his cumulative knowledge and experience (Ed.).

because it was simply a boring reiteration of previous descriptions which lacked any interest.

The singer's competence [*innere Disposition*] depends on the number of themes [*Bildteile*] he knows, but this alone is insufficient for singing, as I said before; encouragement from the outside is also necessary. Such encouragement comes naturally from the crowd of listeners surrounding the singer. Since the singer wishes to earn the crowd's applause, and since he is not concerned only about fame but also about material benefits, he always attempts to adjust his song to the audience around him. If he is not directly called upon to sing a specific episode, he begins his song with a prelude which is supposed to introduce the audience to the ideas of his song. By linking the verses in a most artful way, and by making allusions to the most prestigious persons present, he knows how to entertain his audience before he goes on to the actual song. When he can tell from the audience's vocal approbation that he has gained their full attention, he either goes on to the plot directly or gives a brief sketch of specific events that preceded the episode he is about to sing, and then he begins with the plot. The song does not proceed at an even pace. The excited applause of the audience continually spurs the singer on to new efforts, and he knows how to adjust his song to audience circumstances. If wealthy and noble Kirgiz are present, he knows how to skillfully weave in praises of their dynasties, and he sings about those episodes which he expects will stir the nobility's applause in particular. If only poor people are in his audience, he includes some bitter remarks about the arrogance of the noble and wealthy. The more applause he gleans, the more often and assiduously he cultivates it. Take, for example, the third episode of *Manas*, which should suit my taste completely. But the singer understands well when he has to come to an end. When signs of fatigue appear, he seeks to raise the audience's attention once more by stirring their highest emotions. He tries to evoke thundering applause, and then suddenly arrests his song. It is admirable how well the singer knows his audience. I myself have witnessed how one of the sultans suddenly jumped up during the song, ripped his silk garment from his shoulders and, cheering, tossed it to the singer as a present. It is very interesting to observe what exactly evokes the greatest applause from the Kirgiz audience; frequently, it is passages which do not impress me in the least because they appear to me to be verbiage and artificial rhyme-patterns. So, for instance, the singer's most difficult task, and the most highly regarded part of the song of Manas, is to perform the address of the forty companions in a dignified manner. The reader will find a variety of such addresses in all of the *Manas* episodes.

Unfortunately, I must concede that despite all my efforts I did not succeed in completely reproducing the singers' songs. The repeated singing of the same song, the slow dictations, and my frequent

interruptions slackened the singer's excitement, which is often necessary for good singing. He could only dictate in a fatigued and lax manner what he had recited to me with fervor a short time before. Although I was generous with applause and gifts to encourage the singer, these could not make up for natural motivation. Therefore, the recorded verses have lost much of their freshness. But I hope what I have accomplished was indeed as much as was possible. Furthermore, the translation is only a weak recasting of the original, because some expressions, which were put in only for the sake of rhyme and rhythm, were left out of the translation because they appear to be superfluous and illogical.

I believe that the controversy about the epic question has led to unresolvable antitheses because all parties did not understand, and could not understand, the true nature of the ἀοιδός. The *aoidos* is precisely the singer of the Kirgiz songs, as he is described in the songs of Homer.[8] The singer belongs to the prince's court. Only he knows the art of the epic song; he is under the control of the Muse who inspires him for the song (exactly as the [Kirgiz singer] said himself, as mentioned before, only in fewer poetic words). With respect to this, I note that Niese interprets Homer's words incorrectly (*Od*. 8. 62-64)—

> κῆρυξ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν ἄγων ἐρίηρον ἀοιδόν,
> τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε·
> ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν,

—that is, that the singer learned the art. The singer only learns passively by listening. He does not recite well-known songs because songs do not exist at all during the period of the authentic epic. There are only subject areas that are sung about, as the Muse, that is the singer's inner singing power, inspires him. He never sings other people's poetry; he always composes himself as I described in a detailed manner above. It is correct that art also seeks after sustenance, but I think Niese takes this too literally. Homer's words (1.154) ὅς ῥ' ἤειδε . . . ἀνάγχῃ simply mean that the singer was driven by the desire for gain or fame, for he did not have such an inspiring audience anywhere else nor could he perform as frequently as he could at the suitors' festive meals.

Aoidoi can exist only at a time when their culture's folk poetry itself is the sole intellectual product reflecting the culture's collective spirit. They can only exist as long as there are no other creators of ideas besides them. Only a culture completely unaffected by the idea of individualism can produce *aoidoi* and develop a period of authentic epic. With the beginning of individualism and the knowledge of reading and writing, the *aoidos* vanishes and is replaced by the rhapsode (like the *akyn* of the Kasak-

[8] Cf. Niese, *Die Entwicklung der homerischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1882).

Kirgiz), who does not create anymore by singing but who performs songs he has heard from others. By looking at numerous records of folk literature from different tribes, I saw that a folk singer could retain only a very limited number of verses from an acquired song. I also came to the conclusion that oral transmission of very long songs, like, for instance, a song of the length of several books by Homer, is completely impossible. By this, I do not mean to say that the human memory is incapable of retaining and memorizing a very large composition (I myself have known Muslims who knew the entire Koran by heart, word for word, and they recited it without leaving one word out). But this is only possible if the long work exists in writing so that the learning individual can put it into his memory, piece by piece. He can do this either if someone reads it to him or if he reads out loud to himself. A text that is not accurately written down and therefore not fixed is always in a fluid state and becomes something completely new in ten years. According to my experience, then, I hold it impossible that so enormous a work as Homer's poetry could have survived a decade had it not been written down. How then did this poem originate? Is it a work created by one human being, is it one poet's composition, or a combination of individual songs of the *aoidoi*? After all I have read on the epic question, I feel obligated to lean towards the first view. Yet I dare nonetheless to call Homer's poems authentic epics.

We witnessed a similar creation in this century: I am talking about the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, which was collected by Lönnrot. Lönnrot had always loved the epic songs of his fellow citizens, and he enjoyed, from his youth on, having old songs sung to him. Thus he became a singer of epics himself. He was a man of high education and began to get an understanding of the people's entire epic repertoire by acquiring episodes. He decided to collect the epic songs and publish them. Steinthal regrets that Lönnrot did not publish the material of the Finnish epic in its unrefined state.[9] I believe that this reproach is unfounded. Lönnrot could not do that because the *Kalevela* is the way it is, the creation of a single poet. He could have written down individual songs, but nothing would have been achieved thereby for the epic as a whole [*Gesamtepos*]. The collective image in a chain of events is simply a reflection of the intangible whole as mirrored in Lönnrot's personal vision. He would not have been able to present this collective picture had he not himself written down almost half of the poem. By retaining the songs in his memory, the single parts grouped together inside him and formed the whole poem that was written down later. The contradictions also disappeared, those which interfere with the creation of the larger song when a non-participant attempts to compile the single songs. But even Lönnrot was not able to eliminate all contradictions, because to do so would have divested the folk song of its characteristic,

[9] "Das Epos," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 41.

fluid nature. Even Lönnrot's unified poem is full of contradictions, and in many places we find insertions that may or may not belong in their indicated places.

Steinthal says with respect to the origin of the Finnish *Kalevala*: "Before 1832, nobody knew about a complete Finnish epic, to say nothing of a comprehensive name for the *Kalevala*—no one, not even a Finn, not even Lönnrot, who grew up among these songs and was a singer of runes like any of the Finnish peasants. That is the miracle: nobody knew about the unity, and yet it was there. It was alive in the songs which were sung, and no one was aware of it. Only when Lönnrot, who himself knew many songs, began to collect songs and had others collect them, a mass of material was found which indicated some organization. The unity of these songs was in no one's consciousness, inasmuch as nobody was aware of the unity, and yet the unity did not exist in some mystical transcendence but was inherent in the songs, and therefore in the culture's consciousness."[10] That proves that for the Finns the era of the authentic epic, the way in which it exists with the KaraKirgiz, was already in the past in 1832. In the epic period, each individual is aware of the unity of the songs to the extent to which he can perceive the whole. The collective epic is at this stage so enormous that one cannot speak of a complete representation at all. The individual can describe only one episode, which is, depending on his general knowledge of songs, reflected in only a part of the overall epic.

Consequently, we can see from the origin of the Finnish epic the origin of the epic *per se*, and that only a man who is an oral poet himself, an epic singer of his time, can compose an epic. If the truly epic period has passed, as in the case of the Finns, a collection of small episode-songs, carefully pursued for many years with the cooperation of many assistants, needs to be recorded before the quantity of the material allows the singer an insight into the whole epic corpus. But if the recorder of an authentic epic is in close contact with oral poetry, that is, if the consciousness of the totality of the epic is still alive in each member of the culture, the recorder must be a famous *aoidos* who, before deciding to write down the epic, has digested the largest possible mass of constituent parts.

Consequently, three conditions must be met for a poet to be able to write down an authentic folk epic. First, his culture must have, from the very beginning, an apparent appreciation for epic songs, which, in the course of time and under the influence of powerful historical events can develop into an epic permeating the entire culture. Second, this culture has to be unaffected by self-consciousness until the authentic epic has fully blossomed. During this time of "unculturedness," such a culture must also have lived through a series of historical events and ethical battles as a unified people. Third, at the peak of epic poetry, a powerful urge for

[10] *Ibid.*, 38.

culturedness has to manifest itself suddenly in the people, an urge which spurs a part of this people on to an unimagined high degree of culturedness within a short time.

The first two conditions are indispensable for the formation of the period of authentic epic poetry because an epic talent can only mature if the culture's consciousness can develop substantial epic foci through an eventful past. Around these centers, the epic songs can group themselves. But the epic period is not able to spawn poetic individuality because authentic folk poetry distinguishes itself from art-poetry in that it lets the individual flourish in the universal. However, the creation of a complete epic (if I may so term the great epics, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Song of Roland*, because they try to give a total picture despite their episodic character) requires an individuality which can digest the entire material of the epic period and constitute a whole. Only culturedness can create such individualities. But the cultured man can unite his culture's feeling and thinking into a whole picture only if the entire culture still recognizes this total picture [*Gesamtbild*] in scenes [*Teilbilder*], that is, if that person is still able to contribute to the creation of an episode like a real *aoidos*. He has to proceed just like any *aoidos*; he has to order the various scenes [*Teilbilder*] he has internalized according to an artistically designed plan. Since he did not create the pieces, the complete epic he designs will be a compilation of material created and sung by the culture. These episodes originated and were sung at different times and under different circumstances. In this respect, the complete epic differs from art epics that poets like Goethe composed. The art epics in their entirety and their parts are a product of the poet's mind, whereas in the authentic epic the poet is only the instrument which renders the material sung in the culture.

The investigation of the Greek epics has become significantly more difficult in that we do not have those epics in their first form when they were created by the *aoidos* Homer. Instead, they underwent changes over the course of many centuries; the manifold insertions and deletions that occurred which make it difficult to identify the original epic. But we should not assume that all contradictions stem from later insertions, because these contradictions are characteristic of every true oral poetry. If one wants to locate the most characteristic part of the Greek epics, one must identify especially the scenes [*Teilbilder*] which are repeated in different places in a more or less varied form. They are not the individual's creations, but material developed in the culture, material created from the period of the authentic epic, the building blocks from which the poet created his epic. Then one has to establish the cycles of tales which center on certain personalities and events, and to compare them with each other. Such comparisons could perhaps help us to gain an idea of

how the Greek *aoidoi* recited their episodes, that is, an idea of the episodes of the (so to speak) pre-Homeric oral poetry of the Greek people. For such investigations, the study of the Kara-Kirgiz epic episodes goes back to a period very similar to the one that produced Homer's epics. In these episodes the reader finds, as I already indicated above, truth and poetry mixed, historical facts transferred to heroes of old legends, and the diachronic represented as the synchronic—because the purpose of the epic is not to represent historical facts but to create an ideal world which reflects a culture's consciousness with all its memories and ideals. For this reason, historical research does not give sufficient information about Homer's world. Homer's world, that is, the reflection of the Greek *Zeitgeist*, has to be researched from within itself, because only in the epic does it present itself in its full beauty.

May the reader forgive me if I restrict myself to establishing only general points in this introduction. At this juncture I wanted merely to create an understanding of how my records relate to the people's epic period. I may later have the opportunity to return to this subject and to compare the episodes of the Kara-Kirgiz epic with subjects of tales that we find in Turkic cultures in general. Such a comparison would entail an investigation of how subjects of tales developed into an epic and an examination of the changes they underwent.

Besides the epic songs, which showed neither obsolete words nor unknown expressions, and which are sufficient as a dialect sample, I have included two additional lamentations, one song sung by girls and the song of Kul-Myrsa. These songs were dictated to me by people unfamiliar with epic songs. Nevertheless, even the lamentations and the last-mentioned poem have the character of epic songs; they almost appear like scenes [*Teilbilder*] cut out from the epic songs. One might convince oneself of the truth of this claim by comparing the lamentations with the prelude to the third episode of *Manas*, or the song of Kul-Myrsa with the frequent conversations of Kan Joloi. I had written down even more of these songs, but because all of them are too much like the epic songs, and yet do not provide the same interest, I did not include them in my collection.

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Marcel Jousse: The Oral Style and the Anthropology of Gesture

Edgard Richard Sienaert

> From written style to oral style on to
> global style, such has been the advance of
> my research and the achievement of my work
>
> Marcel Jousse

Marcel Jousse is little-known to the English-speaking scholarly world: Milman Parry—who was his student in Paris—and Adam Parry mention him and so do Albert Lord and Walter Ong, but his work is by and large either unknown, ignored, or not mentioned. Yet he was a precursor whose seminal work, more than thirty years ahead of its time, expounded many of the ideas contained in studies such as those of H. Riesenfeld (*The Gospel Tradition and its Beginning: A Study in the Limits of* Formgeschichte, 1957) and B. Gerhardson (*Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*, 1961). None of his published works is at present available in English although a translation of *The Oral Style* is soon to appear (Jousse 1990). The purpose of this article is to introduce Marcel Jousse through a short presentation of the origin and reception of his work, an outline of his ideas, and a bibliography.

Marcel Jousse was born in 1886 in the then still rural and oral Sarthe region Southwest of Paris. It was there that he returned to die in 1961, an end not without some cruel ironies: for four years a stroke had left him progressively without movement and speech, after a life spent researching human gestural and verbal expression. And his death, largely unnoticed, came one year after the publication of Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales* (1960), the first of a host of studies that were to vindicate and corroborate many of his intuitions and findings for so long passed over in silence. As he wrote himself in a letter dating from 1955: "I have published as much as Bergson, but incomprehension and a conspiracy of silence paralysed everything." And yet, in 1925, his first publication, *The Oral Style*, had

evoked enormous interest: it seemed so novel in its reconstruction and rehabilitation of orality, so all-encompassing in its possible applications, that it was called "the Jousse bomb." It had echoed widely in continental Europe in the years immediately following its publication and Jousse was enthusiastically receive:; in Rome, where he was invited to give lectures at the Pontifical Biblical Institute and where Pius XI remarked about *The Oral Style*: "It is a revolution, yet it is pure common sense;" at the University of Louvain, where he lectured on the anthropology of language in 1930; in Paris, where he taught at various academic institutions and where he was offered an inaugural chair in linguistic anthropology in 1932, a post which he occupied until the end of his active life in 1957; and at the first international congress of applied psychology held in Paris in 1929, where he presented his ideas to a very receptive audience of psychologists, psychiatrists, and ethnologists—the scientific fraternity of the then-budding social sciences. If these successes confirmed the originality, merit, and scale of his views, however, they also generated a very-soon-embittered exegetical debate between the adepts of the traditional philological school and those of Jousse's oral style theory. The fact was that his ideas clashed head-on with age-old tenets of biblical exegesis: as Father Léonce de Grandmaison, Jousse's by no means unsympathetic superior remarked, before even the publication of *The Oral Style*: "You are right. I know very well that you are right and yet, in me, my whole training rebels against you. . . ." Such strong visceral opposition, the resistance of a culture for ages based nearly exclusively on the study of written texts, was to continue unabated for the whole of Jousse's lifetime. It was in no small measure responsible for the silence that was soon to surround him, although it is true too that his own unswerving conviction and his uncompromising and even defiant stance, right from the beginning, did little to facilitate matters.

In more ways than one, *The Oral Style* had indeed been an act of defiance. The first publication of a scholar then just under forty years old, it had a long and provocative title: *Le Style oral rythmique et mnémotechnique chez les Verbo-moteurs*; it comprised some 200 dense pages with very little spacing, interspersed with Hebrew, Arabic, and Chinese quotations in the original characters, and it had the appearance of an interminable string of quotations with the names of the scholars in square brackets, the author providing the linking passages and a unifying but very often unusual terminology. As for content, there can be no doubt too that Jousse paid the price for being "one of those prophetic geniuses who have the gift of perceiving, half a century before everyone else, some of the governing lines of the future" (Madaule 1976:94). There may also have been practical reasons for this silence, such as the relative rarity of his publications—some five hundred pages of essays, some of which he

reworked and which constitute two thirds of the first of three volumes of re-publications edited by his closest collaborators. But if the impact of his more than one thousand lectures was undoubtedly very real, it was necessarily limited to his live audience. Even his written style is markedly impregnated by oral discourse and tends accordingly to be affective. Jousse, in fact, exemplified his research on oral-style expression in whatever form his teaching took.

This was more than the art of a "natural" teacher and more was involved than just didactic concern. For the idea of marrying theory and practice touches on a fundamental principle of Jousse who saw himself as, and indeed in essence was a man of the concrete, professing to be a *paysan*, ("a peasant)", *le paysannisme* meaning the return to original man, man not separated from the soil from which he was made, not divorced from the real. It meant the return to the *anthrôpos* and this anthropological premise constitutes the principal axis of Jousse's scholarly thinking. His search was for the permanent and universal psycho-physiological laws, the anthropological laws, that unify what time, space, and custom had separated in so many ethnic varieties. He consistently believed in and stressed a human, an anthropological continuity, refusing to see writing as a dividing invention in the history of humanity. To him, writing had not created a hiatus between oral- and written-style man, between orality and literacy, but the civilization of writing was preceded and shored up by an oral-style civilization. And as style implies laws of expression, it was his aim to unearth these stylistic laws from under the written texts or to discover them wherever the absence of writing had left them intact.

Jousse's sources for observation, verification, and confirmation of his central intuition and conviction were manifold. First his youth in an illiterate peasant milieu: he evokes his childhood memories in the introduction to his *The Oral Style*—his near-illiterate mother, who went to school for three winters only but who, like the other women of the village, knew her Gospel "by heart" and rhythmo-melodied it for him, and the long evening gatherings of the peasants when stories would be told and songs sung. Then came his encounter with and study of the Amerindians while a trainee officer in the United States during the first World War, and which was to inaugurate a life-long interest in what he called the ethnic laboratory. In the years following the war he intensely studied experimental phonetics and rhythmics, pathological psychology and ethnology, under, respectively, Professors Rousselot, Janet and Dumas, and Marcel Mauss, studies which in practice brought him in contact with kinetically and linguistically incapacitated patients as well as with child pedagogics. Finally, there was the study of the graphic and chirographic testimonies of oral people of the past and of the present—Berbers, Bantus, Afghans, Malagasy, Slavs, Assyro-Babylonians, Ethiopians, Hindus,

Ancient Greeks, the Koranic peoples, and, above all, the Israelites of the Old and the New Testament. All these experiences and studies revealed to him a similitude of mnemonic faculties and mnemotechnical devices, similar because deeply rooted in fundamental human language. To uncover the laws that govern this universal human language from under ethni particularities, to identify the characteristics of the expression that flows from it (and which constitutes what he called the oral style), and to examine how this anthropological oral style can revitalise education and expression of faith—this was to be Jousse's lifelong quest, personal and professional, for, as he put it, in an oral-style balancing couplet:

> The story of my life is that of my work,
> The story of my work is that of my life

The Fundamental Human Language

What Jousse endeavoured to answer through all his investigations into the multifaceted oral world was a basic question: how does man, placed amid the innumerable actions of the universe, conserve the memory of these actions and transmit it faithfully from generation to generation to his descendants? More specifically: how does oral man, oral society, in the absence of writing, remember, conserve, and transmit its values and beliefs? Or: how does oral memory work?

Quoting Aristotle's *Poetics* 148b—"it is from childhood on instinctive human beings to imitate, and man differs from the other animals as the most imitative of all"—Jousse starts out from the fact that the act of miming is the first expression, the first language of humanity and of the human being. What man is miming, ex-pressing, is what the environing universe im-presses upon him. This universe Jousse conceives of as a dynamic whole in which all parts interact constantly. They act, are being acted upon, and react incessantly, hence his formula for a tri-phase cosmological energy, a cosmos of which the essential, infinitely multiplied element is an Action acting upon another Action:

Agent	agissant	Agi
Agent	acting	Acted

It is through the constant pressure exerted by the universe upon man, through the constant impregnation of reality upon him, that man experiences and perceives the real. Being part of reality and being globally subjected to its actions, prior even to any awareness, man apprehends the reality that reverberates in him. He is fashioned, sculpted by things, by the

ambiant world that impresses itself on him, plays itself out in and through him. Man thus first relates to the world which imposes upon him the play of actual experiences. But this is not a passive process: on reception of reality, man is also animated by an energy that is released and that makes him react in the form of gestures. Gesture, in Jousse's terminology, is the result of a reverberation, of an action of the universe in man: "Le Geste, c'est l'énergie vivante qui propulse cet ensemble global qu'est l'Anthropos" ("Gesture is the living energy which propels this global whole that is the Anthropos" [Jousse 1974:50]). Man thus is all gesture and gesture is the whole of man. Considering that all the information and all the forms of human thought and expression are gestural, Jousse was to call this the Anthropology of Gesture.

The human gestures obey the biological rhythm created by a concentration of energy followed by an energetic explosion after an action exercised upon man. The expressive quality and efficacy of gestural language is due to the fact that the subject relives in his gestures the phases of the experienced action in the order in which he saw them occur. The continuous gesture then is a propositional gesture similar to the basic grammatical proposition: subject-verb-object. In this way man plays out what was played in him, plays out his receptions, his "intussusceptions"—to "intussuscept" meaning taking possession of the outside world and carrying it inside. Play, then, is the osmosis of man and the reality that imposes itself upon him, it is the way by which reality is progressively instilled into him from childhood. It is this act of playing out, this play, that is at the origin of all art, for man needs to reproduce what he sees. He cannot but play out, he cannot do without art. Unlike the anthropoid, however, the anthropos can, through his bodily gestures, in an orderly fashion and in order to master them, consciously replay a perceived and intussuscepted gesture. This capability to re-play a once perceived reality in its absence, to re-present something past, is unique to man and it is memory that allows him to do so and thus makes him unique: through memory he replays experienced reality stored in him, through memory he conserves and transmits consciously his past actions and reactions and so is enabled to shape his future according to the experiences of the past. Memory is the reactivation of gestures previously internalized, shaped, played in us with the cooperation of our body. And the greater the participation of our body has been in the play—the more gestures participated in the playing out of the reception at first—the better will this past impression be expressed subsequently, the more efficiently will the stored facts be released, for memories are not ideas, much less images built into us, but gestures involving the whole of the human compound. Memory being gestural replay, the better the play—the intussusception—the better the re-play—the memory.

The original language then is corporeal, it is the expression of the entire body, of the entire being, of the whole of man. The gestures by which man replays can be differentiated according to the part of the body onto which the expression is transposed, according to which element of the human compound is called upon for ex-pression of the im-pression: the body as a whole, the eyes, ears, hands, the phonatory system—gesticulation can be corporeal, manual, ocular, auricular, or laryngo-buccal. Man went from *corporage* to *manuélage* to *langage* as global language was progressively concentrated in manual language—the sign language of the hands— and in laryngo-buccal language—that of the phonatory system, a gesticulatory reduction explained by a concern to economize energy and to free movement for purposes other than communication. This evolution is there for all to see, in all human beings who do not rely on writing—the "still spontaneous" peoples, children, deaf and dumb persons—and, on a secondary plane, in most verbal expression of literates, especially when emotion "takes over", clearly signaling that corporeal, ocular, and manual gesticulation is imbedded in the anthropos, that it is properly anthropological.

The Oral Style

The shift from mimic global, corporeal, and gestural language to laryngo-buccal language is a vital one, for at this point man moves away from anthropology into ethnology: the initial global universal and spontaneous *mimage* becomes localized conventional and socialized *langage*" Living in a particular society, in a particular ethnic milieu that imposes upon him a language and a behaviour through which he is going to express himself, man relates in the second place to his ethnic milieu. Nevertheless, Jousse's "ethnic laboratory" reveals to him, under a great diversity of cultural, social and linguistic mechanisms, underlying, unchanged anthropological laws—common strains in graphic and oral testimonies which form a style: the oral style. These stylistic laws are:

1. *Le rythmo-mimisme*: the law of rhythmo-mimicry. Man is a mimic, he receives, registers, plays, and replays his actual experiences; as movement is possible in sequence only, mimicry is necessarily linked with rhythm.

2. *Le bilatéralisme*: the law of bilateralism. Man can only express himself in accordance with his physical structure which is bilateral—left and right, up and down, back and forth—and like his global and manual expression, his verbal expression will tend to be bilateral, to balance symmetrically, following a physical and physiological need for equilibrium. Hence the omnipresence of parallelism in oral style, not just

in form, but also in thought as the recurrent recourse to comparison and analogy shows.

3. *Le formulisme*: the law of formulism. The biological tendency towards the stereotyping of gestures creates habit, which ensures immediate, easy and sure replay; it is a facilitating psycho-physiological device as it organizes the intussusceptions and the mnesic replay in automatisms—acquired devices necessary to a firm basis for action. Formulism is a storehouse linking up with memory in order to maintain firm teaching, founded on a faithful tradition. In the oral style, stereotyped formulas adapt flexibly to a concrete reality, as the traditional formulas can be juxtaposed in new, more or less original combinations, although these will always accord with the physical laws of the body from which they arose.

These three anthropological laws underpin the oral style, which is thus profoundly rooted in the body, hence its great efficacy from the mnemotechnical point of view for in it the movement of body and voice contribute to the shaping of thought in a memorizable form. Jousse studied in particular these anthropological oral style laws and their interplay with an ethnic milieu in the Old and the New Testaments.

Endeavouring to find the voice of Jesus in the Gospels, he asked the following questions: What language did Christ speak? In what milieu did he teach? In what form did he receive the tradition, the "Scripture"? What form did his own teachings take and how were they in turn transmitted by his disciples? This meant detecting and analyzing the memorizing techniques of expression of the Rabbis of Israel as they can be reconstructed from the written version of the Old Testament and which ensured the dogmatic fixity and the recitational correctness of the transmission from mouth to mouth: the balancings, formulae, clamp-words, memorizing rhythms and melodies which will naturally—ethnically—be those of the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth who memorized them for thirty years, and which can be retraced too in the various written versions of the New testament: in him the texts of the Rabbis find their echo and realization. The written text of the Gospels is a palimpsest under which lies the oral tradition. Under the Greek, a mere transfer-translation, are found, repeated and memorized orally from childhood by the Aramaic speaking people of Galilee, the original Aramaic formulas of the Targums which had previously, after Babylon, been translated for the people from the Hebrew. Under the Greek phonemes can be found the Aramaic phonemes and the anthropological mimemes which restore the original and gestural logic of the Palestinian ethnic milieu, its mindset and its expression. Specifically structured in Aramaic, thought in Hebrew, these texts in their structure and thought can be discovered beneath the Greek text, and from behind the Greek transfer-translation of

the Gospel the voiced Gospel of Christ himself can be heard, the one learnt by the disciples, but which could only be spread over the world in Greek. Only by replacing the Gospel in the Galilean environment where it originated can it be fully and correctly understood, and Christianity can only be understood through judaism. Thus Jousse demythifies the person of Jesus, of Christ, to prove Him to be rigorously historical as Rabbi Ieshua of Nazareth, whose teaching is a technical construct in accordance with the pedagogical rules of his milieu and of his time: He was anthopologically and ethnically informed by Israel.

Formative Educational Value of Anthropological Oral Style

When global anthropological immediate *mimage* becomes localized ethnically mediated *langage*, the real and its expression become separated. In ethnic language, socialized expression clouds the deep anthropological mechanisms to the point where they are forgotten. If all expression implies a process of abstraction—something is drawn from reality, abstracted from reality—anthropological expression uses concrete abstraction, drawn directly from the real, as opposed to algebraic abstraction, which is cut loose from reality. Such separation of the real and its expression becomes even more problematic with the introduction of writing, when gestural replay becomes graphic replay with the concomitant danger of such graphic replay replaying itself and its social restrictions rather than experienced reality. The generalisation and predominance of writing in modern society also lead to the near-abandonment of much of the original anthropological means of communication, especially as Western education became dualistic, separating the development of body and soul (e.g. Jousse called gymnastics *un trémoussement absurd*e—"an absurd jiggling"). By ignoring the mnemonic faculties and mnemotechnical devices of oral society and oral style, cultures of the written word are depriving themselves, indeed to the point of mutilation, of what is one of their constituent parts and which therefore holds extremely powerful educational potential. Without questioning the gains of literacy, Jousse wanted to minimize the losses incurred by its introduction. He was therefore an ardent proponent of a renewal of pedagogical methods, founded on a global anthropology which reveals the psychosomatic conditions for an efficient oral communication, built on the motor elements of the indivisible human compound. It is such reconstruction of the original Palestinian rythmo-melodies transposed into French that Jousse undertook in his Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Rythmo-pédagogique in Paris from 1928 onward in order to test the practical pedagogical benefits that could be derived from his findings on oral style in a modern literate environment.

Jousse reconstituted fifty-six recitatives of the Gospels according to the laws of oral style which his learners assimilated— "intussusceptioned"—gesture by gesture, formula by formula, schema by schema, mirroring and echoing a live teacher as was the case in the global teaching of the Rabbis of Israel. Because the living rapport between teacher and learner is so basic to these pedagogics, Jousse and his "rhythmo-melodizers," Mlles. Gabrielle Desgrées du Loû and Gabrielle Baron, steadfastedly refused to have recordings made of these recitatives, although the latter later relented and had the complete series of fifty-six recitatives recorded on four fifty-minute video-cassettes. The very last session given by Mlle Baron in June 1986—she was then ninety years old—is available as the "*Vidéo-Testament"* de Gabrielle Baron.

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The Oral Style consists of two parts. "The Anthropological Foundations of Oral Style" treats the psycho-physiological foundations of all oral style, in all cultures that do not have writing at their immediate disposal: in man all is gesture and all human gesture obeys universal laws; speech is laryngo-buccal gesture and, in its universal characteristics, spontaneous oral expression reflects these laws of gesture; there is therefore a true oral style. The second part, "The Oral Style," concentrates on the characteristics of oral style itself, on the mnemonic faculties and the mnemotechnical devices of oral style milieux, with particular attention to the implications of this anthropological research for the study and understanding of the New Testament and of Jesus of Nazareth.

Thirteen essays published between 1931 and 1952. They are, in the order Jousse wanted them to be read:

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2. *Mimisme humain et Style manuel*, Paris, Geuthner, 1936, 24 pages.
3. "Le Bilatéralisme humain et l'Anthropologie du Langage" in *Revue anthropologique* 4-6, 7-9, 1940, 1-30.
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6. "Les Lois psycho-physiologiques du Style oral vivant et leur Utilization philologique" in *L'Ethnographie* 23, 1931, 1-18.
7. "Les Outils gestuels de la Mémoire dans le Milieu ethnique palestinien. Le Formulisme araméen des Récits évangéliques" in *L'Ethographie* 30, 1935, 1-20.
8. *Rythmo-mélodisme et Rythmo-typographisme pour le Style oral palestinien,* Paris, Geuthner, 1952, 16 pages.
9. "Judèhen, Judéen, Judaiste dans le Milieu ethnique palestinien" in L*'Ethnographie* 38, 1946, 60-77.
10. "Père, Fils et Paraclet, dans le Milieu ethnique palestinien" in L'*Ethnographie* 39, 1941, 3-84.
11. "Les Formules targoûmiques du 'Pater' dans le Milieu ethnique palestinien" in L'*Ethnographie* 42, 1944, 87-135.
12. *La Manducation de la Leçon dans le Milieu ethnique palestinien* Paris, Geuthner, 1950, 63 pages.
13. *Etudes sur la Psychologie du Geste: les Rabbis d'Israël. Les Récitatifs rythmiques parallèles: genre de la Maxime*, Paris, Spes, 1930, 211 pages.

The first twelve essays are in the main reproduced in the three volumes published posthumously (see below). The thirteenth appeared in book form: it represents the living mechanism of Palestinian oral style and it contains, apart from a succinct introduction on the principles and characteristics of oral style, and in order of increasing complexity, a bi-colour graphic and typographic representation of fifty parallel rhythmic rabinic recitatives translated by Jousse into French. It strikingly brings out their fixed and varying parts, in black and red respectively.

Three volumes published posthumously under the general heading *Anthopologie du Geste*, Paris, Gallimard:

L'*Anthopologie du Geste*, 1974
La Manducation de la Parole, 1975
Le Parlant, la Parole et le Souffle, 1978

Of volume I, chapter 1 ("Le rythmisme") and chapter 2 ("Le bilatéralisme") were assembled by Jousse himself and are based on lectures and essays. In order to complete the ternary construct of Jousse's schema, the editor has added the unaltered essay 11 under the title "Le Formulisme." Volume II is composed of essay XII ("La manducation") without its conclusion ("La Méthodologie gallo-galiléenne"), omitted for the sake of unity so as to link up directly with part II ("La Manducation de l'Enseigneur dans le milieu paysan galiléen"—"The manducation of the teacher in the Galilean peasant milieu"). Volume III is composed of six chapters, which are respectively essays 2, 1, 3, 7 (partly), 10, and 9 followed by a short conclusion on "The Gallo-Galilean Tradition"—for Jousse saw united in his research as in his person the traditions of his land of birth and those of the Promised Land, a vision on which he expands in the conclusion of essay 12 and in the first item of the unpublished work.

The Anthropology of Gesture initiates us in what Jousse sees as the three basic anthropological laws, each studied in particular in the Hebreo-Aramaic tradition: rhythmo-mimism, bilateralism (from which is derived the parallelism that characterises oral style), and formulism—the latter exemplified by the Lord's Prayer, composed of a series of targumic formulas used as living dominos by Rabbi Ieshua of Nazareth.

The Manducation of the Word explains the techniques that allowed rigorously exact memorization and transmission of the Word from generation to generation over 2000 years: manducation by the mouth used for the consumption of food as well as for the emission of speech, the teaching received by the learner being a true nourishment from the teacher.

Speech, the Word, and Spirit concentrates on the anthropology of language and of significant gesture: human mimism is inseparable from the style with which the very being of man expresses itself, his body, his hands. The learner becomes, from childhood, the living receptacle of a family and national tradition which is received as being divine and as making divine: it is the creative, accepted, eternal Word, it is also the truth, the *souffle de vérité*—the breath, the spirit of truth.

"Henri Bremond et la psychologie de la lecture" in *Revue des cours et conférences* 1933, 22-25. On the significance for the psychology of reading of the French religious historian and literary critic's study on the essence of poetry (*La Poésie pure,* 1926).

"Une science en pointillé" in *Cahiers Marcel Jousse* 1, 1987, 11-14. Extract from a lecture given by Jousse on 27 November 1933 at the Ecole d'Anthropologie. The "dotted line" is that of the new science of experimental linguistic anthropology created by Jousse, who took it out of

the hands of metaphysicians and philologists to whom it almost exclusively belonged, but who could do no more than indicate a direction and sketch a basic methodology. Language being gesticulation, this new anthopology of gesture should be applied in psychiatry, in cases such as apraxia and aphasia, and in pedagogics which should study the spontaneous play of human mechanisms in children.

Unpublished

Du style oral breton au style oral évangélique: Gabrielle Desgrées du Loû. An essay written in memory of the woman who for twenty-five years rhythmo-melodied the recitatives of the Gospel according to Jousse's transcriptions. Links the Galilean and the Gallic oral traditions. One study used by Gabrielle Desgrées du Loû for her rhythmizations was *Le Divan palestinien. Contribution à l'ethnographie de la Palestine. Recueilli et publié avec la traduction des mélodies*. Gustave Dalman, Leipzig, J.C. Heinrich, 1901.

The lectures given by Marcel Jousse from 1931 to 1957 at various academic institutions, mainly in Paris. Taken down in stenography and later typed, they are available in Paris at the Ecole d'Anthropologie, the Institut Catholique, and the office of the Association Marcel Jousse. All announcements of Jousse's lectures stated: "Ce Cours a pour but de rechercher une liaison entre les Disciplines Psychologiques, Ethnologiques, et Pédagogiques." ("This course aims at linking the disciplines of psychology, ethnology, and pedagogics").

At the Sorbonne, Amphithéâtre Turgot, from 1931 until 1945 and again from 1951 till 1957, under the general title *La Psychologie du Geste et du Rythme*, before an *auditoire libre* and therefore of varied interests, but with a large number of students and teachers of philosophy, of psychologists and sociologists to whom he presented his new anthropology of gesture (246 lectures).

At the Ecole d'Anthropologie, from 1932 to 1950, on *The Anthropology of Language*: origin of language, gesture, writing and on mimism and mimicry in general. Lectures on the rhythmic recitatives of the rabbis of Israel and especially on Rabbi Ieshua of Nazareth. The post-war lectures were entitled: "The Anthropology of Language and the Colonization;" "The Anthropology of Language and Civilizations;" "The Anthropology of Language and the Gallo-Galilean Civilization—its Gestures, its mimism and its methodology." His public consists mostly of doctors, psychiatrists,

ethnologists, and anthropologists (351 lectures).

At the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, from 1933 to 1945, on the psycho-physiological laws of memory in the Palestinian oral style, Old and New Testaments. Public: mostly people involved in religion. Here he demonstrates the oral composition of the Gospels: texts of the childhood of Ieshua by witnesses, the doctrinal teachings of Ieshua himself and the compositions of the learners, the disciples having become themselves teachers of the works and words of their Rabbi (300 lectures).

In the Laboratoire de Rythmo-pédagogie, from 1933 to 1940—an experimental laboratory he himself founded and where the laws of evangelical oral style were studied and put into practice. Lectures on the evangelical pedagogics and on their application in primary education. Public: especially future pre-primary teachers.

At the Faculté de Philosophie de Jersey, 1934-37. Fifty-four lectures on anthropology and on psychological technology, the anthropology of mimism and the Palestinian psychology, the anthropology of mimism and the problem of knowledge in the Palestinian ethic milieu.

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The Singers and their Epic Songs[1]

Matija Murko

One finds mention of the folk poetry of the South Slavs beginning with the seventh, then in the tenth century, and, in relation to the epic songs in particular, from the thirteenth century forward. Documents of any length bearing on the epic songs become more and more numerous among all South Slavic peoples from the fifteenth century, and they are printed for the first time in *Fishing* (*Ribanje*) by the Dalmatian author P[etar] Hektorović. From the first half of the eighteenth century, there already exist ample manuscript collections as well as numerous enough imitations of epic songs: among the latter the *Pleasant Conversation of the Slavic People* (*Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*) by the Franciscan Croatian monk Andrija Kačić-Miošić, originally of the Makarska region in Dalmatia, stands out; this poem dates from 1756 and eventually became the single most widespread Croatian book. Kačić-Miošić sang episodes from the history of all the South Slavic peoples, and especially of their battles against the Turks, in the spirit of the true folk epic poetry, and he included in his work a considerable number of actual folk songs. It was through the Latin translation of this work that for the first time the world heard the "Illyrian bards" speak. Nevertheless, the principal architect of their glory was an Italian naturalist, the abbot Alberto Fortis, who in his *Viaggio in Dalmazzia* (1774) devoted an entire chapter to the music and poetry of the mountain folk of Dalmatia, the "Morlaks," and published the original as well as an Italian translation of one of the finest folk epic songs, the *Sad Ballad of the Noble Spouse of Hasanaga*. Through the translation made by Goethe, which was printed for the first time in the *Volkslieder* of Herder (1778), where some translations of Kačić-Miošić are also to be found, this ballad became an integral part of world literature; it was also translated five times into French. Fortis had compared the Illyrian national epic songs to Ossian; the comparison to Homer was made in principle as early as the end of the eighteenth century by a physician from Split named

[1] Text enlarged and completed from the lectures given at the Sorbonne the 23rd, 24th, and 25th of May 1928, at the invitation of the Institute for Slavic Studies. The first part appeared in Murko 1928.

Bajamonti, and by a poet from Ragusa writing in Latin, Ferić (*Ad clarissimum virum Julium Bajamontium Georgii Ferich Ragusini epistola*, Ragusa, 1799).

It was from these sources, as well as through his personal relations with the Serbs and Croats, that a Viennese slavist, the Slovenian B. Kopitar, would learn of the great richness of their national songs. He sought to insure that these songs were collected. The unhappy outcome of the First Serbian Revolt in 1813 brought to Vienna Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, descendant of a Hercegovinian family, a talented and self-educated peasant whom Kopitar would make the reviser of the orthography and written language of the Serbs, an excellent grammarian, a remarkable lexicographer, and the celebrated collector of Serbian folk songs, proverbs, and tales. In the period of romantic enthusiasm for folk poetry and the national ethos, the first edition of Karadžić's Serbian national songs (1814-15) was to be received with correspondingly great enthusiasm, notably by Jakob Grimm: the second edition (Leipzig, 1823-24; Vienna 1833), in the wake of the excellent and musical translation by Miss Talvj (later to become Mrs. Robertson), provoked among the scientific critics[2] (once more above all Jakob Grimm), among Goethe and the poets, a veritable ecstasy that, thanks to other translations, won over all of Europe and even America.

This gave way in France to the famous hoax by Mérimée: *The Guslar*, *or a Selection of Illyrian Poems Collected in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Hercegovina* (Strasbourg, 1827). Goethe recognized that this collection was a fraud, and was greatly amused with it, but the Englishman Bowring, the German W. Gerhard, and even the great Russian poet Pushkin made translations of these supposed folk songs. Nevertheless, the French had also at hand a translation of the genuine national songs of Vuk Karadžić in the *Folk Songs of the Serbians Collected by Vuk Karadžić and Translated in the Manner of Talvj*, by Miss Elise Voiart (Paris, 1834, 2 vols.).

The third edition, much enlarged, of folk songs collected by Vuk, called the "Vienna edition" (1841-65), established their reputation and became the basis for scientific study as well as for new translations (of which the best was by S. Kapper, into German at first and then afterward into Czech). At the end of the last century there appeared in Belgrade a new standard edition, augmented by numerous epic songs found in Vuk's papers, songs which he had put aside for various reasons during his lifetime. Today the complete collection comprises nine substantial octavo volumes, of which only two, the first and the fifth, contain lyric songs, all of the others being completely composed of epic songs, a fact that

[2] That is, the practitioners of the "scientific" approach to literature and language—philology [Ed.].

characterizes well the richness of the Yugoslav folk epic poetry.[3]

Even during Vuk's lifetime, as well as after his death, the Serbs and Croats published a whole series of collections of folk songs, enough to fill a library. And one should mention the collections of songs from the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries from all along the southern Adriatic coast, those of Miklosich and B. Bogišić, member of the Institute, as well as the songs from the first half of the eighteenth century from the northwestern regions that were found in Erlangen in Bavaria and recently published by G. Gesemann; the collection of the Croatian Society (Matica Hrvatska) of Zagreb, whose rich resources furnished numerous variants—notably in volumes V and VI—and a selection of Moslem folk songs from the northwest of Bosnia—volumes II and IV (1898, 1899)—whose introduction, which we owe to Luka Marjanović, constitutes the finest study of the folk epic poetry that has been written since Vuk Karadžić. Ten years previously, Kosta Hörmann had published in Sarajevo a first anthology of Moslem folk songs from the entire Bosnia-Hercegovina area.

In the period of the Turkish invasions, the Slovenians also had an abundant epic literature, and many magnificent ballads were transcribed at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth. The first critical edition of these folk songs was that of K. Štrekelj. This collection was at the same time the finest made in any Slavic tongue.

The example of the Serbs and Croats was followed by the Bulgarians; for them folk epic poetry did not exist except in the western regions, and that poetry was comparable—in an earlier period—to that of the Serbs and Croats, but with less artistic finish in the form. Mostly after their liberation, the Bulgarians published numerous documents [recording this tradition], in large part in the *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija* [*Anthology of Folklore*].

Among the South Slavs, the best known folk epic poetry is that of the Serbs; Vuk Karadžić was the first to study it in his great and classic collection, where from the start none but the finest songs played a part, edited in conformity with his linguistic and aesthetic principles: the official edition put together in Belgrade nearly doubled the size of the original. It is on Vuk's collection, which appeared precisely during the period of romantic enthusiasm for the folk song, that the greater part (and the best) of subsequent translations was based.[4]

Nevertheless, today one merges the epic poetry of the Serbs and that

[3] But see now the songs published posthumously from Vuk's manuscripts: Mladenović and Nedić 1973-74 [Ed.].

[4] In France: A. d'Avril, *La Bataille de Kossovo* (an attempt to gather together all of the poems on Kosovo into a single unique collection); Auguste Dozon, *L'Epopée serbe*: *Poésies populaires serbes*; F. Funck-Brentano, *Chants populaires des Serbes*.

of the Croatians under the single heading of Serbo-Croatian epic poetry, just as one does with the language of these two branches of the same people; this poetry was and remains equally alive among both groups, it has traveled from east to west and from north to south and back, and it has been equally collected, imitated, and celebrated in both regions. Since a significant part of the poetic oeuvre stems from Moslems who were often neither Serbs nor Croatians, it is better to apply the more general term "Yugoslav."

This Serbo-Croatian, or Yugoslav, folk poetry, in particular the epic poetry, became an important element of the national literature; for some time it was considered the only form of modern literature among the Serbs, the necessary basis for the written language reformed by Vuk Karadžić. That was why the national poetry was excessively praised not only by romantic authors and patriots, but also by rigorous philologists; on the other hand, in more recent times it has gone unacknowledged, and today the popular epic poetry is much less familiar to the Yugoslav intellectuals themselves.

Among the Slavic peoples, the Russians, far to the north, have an abundant folk epic poetry, very ancient and very interesting in its imaginative character. The name of these national songs, *byliny* or *stariny*, corresponds to that of the French *chansons de geste*. The Ukrainians have preserved only a small number of moving and more lyrico-epic *dumy*, related to battles undertaken against the Tatars and the Turks. The richest, the most perfect from an artistic point of view, the most realistic and the most humane of the Slavic folk epic poetries is the Serbo-Croatian, which is further distinguished again by the fact that it has remained alive to our time and has preserved its creative power. This epic poetry, which even before being universally known was compared to that of Ossian and Homer, offers analogies with the ancient works and sheds light on Greek folk epic poetry and on that of the Romance and Germanic peoples. It presents in one respect an advantage over Old French and medieval Spanish epic: whereas the Romance traditions often allude to the battles against the Saracens and the Arabs, without our having any songs from the enemy featuring Christian heroes [in a different light], among the Yugoslavs there exist at the present time anti-Christian songs, often celebrating the same heroes as do the Christian poems, since the Turks, with whom the Yugoslavs were perpetually at battle, were for the greater part of the time Moslems in the same country (in Serbo-Croatian *musliman*).

These Moslems ordinarily showed more fanaticism than real Turks, although they might have spoken the Serbo-Croatian language. The Bosnian beys had a great influence in Turkey, and they long dominated not only Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro, but also the greatest part of Dalmatia and Croatia, all of Slovenia, and most of Hungary. It will suffice merely to

cast a glance over a religious map of Bosnia-Hercegovina[5] to determine how complicated the region still is today, even after the emigration of a great number of Moslems. In the villages, Moslems are usually in the majority relative to Orthodox, Catholics, and Jews.

The Moslem epic songs attracted my attention because of their interest in innovation [*nouveauté*] against the background of their importance for the history of the civilization. I drew up a report on these songs at the international congress held in Berlin in 1908.[6] In 1909, 1912, and 1913 I made trips of some duration through Bosnia and Hercegovina, as well as neighboring regions of Croatia and Dalmatia, with the intention of studying the folk epic poetry *in situ*. I quickly realized that I would not be able to, nor should I, limit myself to consideration of Moslem epic poetry, which was intimately connected in all respects to the epic poetry of the Catholic and Orthodox peoples. An example will make the point. In the course of my second field trip, I entered a café one day during Ramadan (in Serbo-Croatian *ramazan*), the month of fasting for Moslems, where every night a Catholic singer performed songs for Moslems. Surprised, I inquired how this situation was possible. They answered: "We live in harmony: *onda bilo, sad se spominjalo* (that which was, one evokes its memory now)."[7] From this moment on, I was no longer amazed to see Christian singers performing for the beys and pashas of Bosnia for weeks and entire months. Among the people, Moslems listen to Christian singers just as Christians listen to Moslem singers. It can happen that the songs are selected or adapted, but on the whole there is no need for this, because each *junak* (hero) is universally honored, with whatever acknowledgment is fitting.

I have furnished preliminary, detailed reviews in the publications of the Viennese Academy of Sciences[8] on the principal results of these field trips and on the phonographic transcription of songs from Bosnia and Hercegovina. I could not then write a work of more depth on the folk epic poetry, the [First World] War and the unstable situation of the Yugoslav territories having prevented me from resuming my fieldwork for some

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[5] See *Razdioba*.

[6] See Murko 1909.

[7] This decasyllabic phrase is a very common formula in Serbo-Croatian epic, especially Moslem epic; it occurs almost exclusively during the *pripjev* (or proem) to songs, as the singer is describing the process of traditional oral performance in preparation for the start of his narrative. [Ed.]

[8] See Murko 1912, 1913, 1915a and b. I have furnished an abstract of my remarks, from the perspective of literary history, in my study Murko 1919.

time.[9] It was not until 1924 that I could travel within the ancient *sandžak* of Novi Pazar, which up to 1913 had been under Turkish domination and was linked historically and administratively with Bosnia-Hercegovina until the occupation of these provinces by Austria-Hungary. I found in Novi Pazar a situation analogous to that which could have prevailed in Bosnia-Hercegovina before the occupation of 1878, and I made acquaintance with a patriarchal way of life that was truly epic, extremely idiosyncratic but very durable.[10]

In 1927 I wished to see the land of the famous ballad about Hasanaga's wife; to my delight I found the folk epic poetry still alive in that Croatian region near the small village of Imotski in Dalmatia (which continued under Turkish domination until 1717), but it was in vain that I sought stories about Hasanaga and Pintorović bey; nonetheless, I believe that one could, with the aid of documents drawn from Dalmatian and Bosnian archives, put together a survey of the properties owned by their descendants. On the other hand, the tragic conflict of this "sad ballad" now became clear to me for the first time. It is because she had been raised so strictly according to Moslem customs that Hasanaga's wife was not able, for modesty's sake, to go see her ill husband, even though he longed for her visit, having himself already acquired more humanistic, more Western attitudes in the course of frequent travels to the cities of great civilization along the nearby Adriatic coast. I also went to see the homeland ofA[ndrija] Kačić[-Miošić], but there the folk epic poetry is already dead.

During my trips I did not seek new songs, and I did not transcribe any, except in fragments—such recording being a difficult task at best, and, at the time of harvest and the other labors associated with agriculture, almost impossible. But I gladly compared written and sung texts when the songs were printed; in addition, one day I studied two songs that the same singer had dictated twenty years previously in Zagreb and which had gone through important and instructive changes.

The essential purpose of my observations was to come to know the manner in which the folk epic poetry lives; who the singers are; for whom, when, and how they sing; whether folk songs are still being created; and why the folk poetry is disappearing and dying. Many of my observations confirm, complete, or clarify facts already known, but I have also gathered a fair amount of new material. My reports [note 8 above], which appeared during the Balkan Wars and World War I, were not circulated widely enough, but they did attract the attention of specialists on folk epic poetry.

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[9] But see his posthumous work, *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike: Putovanja u godinama* 1930-32, 2 vols., Djela JugoslavenskeAkademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, knjige 41-42 (Zagreb:Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1951) [Ed.].

[10] See *Prager Presse*, 11 January and 25 January, 1925.

Engelbert Drerup showed how one could use my remarks for comparative studies in his work entitled *Homerische Epik* (I, *Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart*).

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Where does narrative epic poetry still live in the mouths of its people? In the Vojvodina, that is to say in the southern part of ancient Hungary, and in Syrmia (western Slovenia), where it admitted to a certain poverty from the time before Vuk Karadžić, the poetry has died out completely; the same is true for Serbia, with the exception of the mountainous area in the southwest (the Russian Hilferding had already found nothing there in 1868-69). In Slovenia, where toward the end of the eighteenth century epic songs were still often sung and imitated, there are none today. In southwest Croatia, from which region came a number of Vuk Karadžić's fine songs, they are in the process of disappearing. On the other hand, they are still sung frequently enough in the mountainous areas of Dalmatia, which were neglected by their Venetian and Austrian governments, and which preserved a character as patriarchal as certain other Balkan lands. Where the national epic poetry is very well conserved is in Bosnia, and better yet in Hercegovina and Montenegro, chiefly on the ancient border between these latter two provinces, where Christians and Moslems did not cease from continuous battles until the occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1878, and in the *sandžak* of Novi Pazar situated between Montenegro and Serbia before the Balkan Wars. These are in general lands of plateaus, inhabited by the people of the Dinaric Alps—strong, heroic, and at the same time possessed of a delicate sensibility and endowed with a natural rapport between imagination and intelligence, as well as with a sense for language and form.[11]

Vuk Karadžić called these epic songs "heroic" (*junačke*), but he likewise represents among them mythological songs, legends, stories, and ballads. The people themselves employ the term "heroic" (*pjesme junačke, o junacima, o junaštvu*) or "ancient" (*starinske*, cp. Russian *stariny*) to designate those songs that celebrate heroes, or personages of more or less historical character. These songs constitute the greater part of the popular epic poetry; they are much enjoyed and renowned.

The song itself, which is usually a species of recitation mixed with music, is performed with accompaniment on a primitive instrument, the *gusle* (in Hercegovina and in Montenegro the ancient form *gusli* is customarily preserved), a sort of violin with horse-hair strings, more often one but two in the northwest regions. In northwest Bosnia, the Moslems exclusively employ—and the Christians also make some use of—the

[11] J. Cvijić, *Govori i članci,* II, pp. 80ff.; Branko Lazarević, *Tři jihoslovanské nejvyšší hodnoty*, p. 6.

tambura or *tamburica*, a type of small guitar or mandolin with two metal strings which is likewise known in the north of Dalmatia and in the district of the Lika in Croatia, and which was formerly used in Slovenia.

Scholars have long spoken, in the spirit of romanticism, of the people-as-singer [*peuple-chanteur*] or of the people-as-bard [*peuple aède*] (in German *das singende Volk*), and have truly believed that it was the people as a whole in a nation who sang. Today it is known that the representatives of the folk epic poetry are certain gifted individuals, spread in more or less great numbers through the lands and the villages of a patriarchal civilization. Among the people, these representatives are called simply the "singers" (*pjevač, piva*); their literary name of *guslar* (player of a *gusle*, in ordinary speech *guslač* among the people) is in less common use and is less exact, since a large percentage of singers do not accompany themselves on the gusle. There is no condition or profession one would find unrepresented among them. In the countryside the singers are for the most part farmers; in the towns they are artisans. In the mountainous regions they are mostly shepherds who delight in singing the epic songs, and these songs were naturally cultivated by the *hajduks* ["outlaws, brigands"], common during the revolts in Turkey and also in the Christian lands, against the public order, ordinarily for the sake of idealism. Among the singers were also found, and are still found today, the noblest Moslem lords, the beys, as well as priests of all faiths up to and including an Orthodox archbishop. The epic song was especially honored among the native monks of the Franciscan order, and the devotion which they showed it went so far that in 1909 in a seminary in the Mostar district I saw a *gusle* hanging on a hook above the bed of every novice.

Besides these amateurs, one also encounters professional singers, especially among the Moslems, in northwest Bosnia and further south. Even those who in most recent times ordinarily sang in Turkish coffeehouses, usually in winter and during the month of Ramadan, had and customarily still have some occupation, but formerly there existed among them true professionals who travelled in the orbit of Moslem nobility from one to the next, staying in one place for weeks and months to entertain the master and his guests. Many nobles supported their own particular singers, who were occasionally even Christian. This position was equivalent to that of servants of an elevated rank or of soldiers, more exactly non-commissioned officers such as commanders of squads and standard-bearers (*bajraktar[i]*); at the court of Dedaga Čengić, son of Smailaga Čengić, the tale of whose death was sung by the Croatian poet Ivan Mažuranić in a celebrated epic, there was, during the second half of the last century, a singer of this type who held the rank of commandant. These traces of Moslem traditions would allow us to formulate an idea of the way in which the oral epic poetry lived in centuries past, even if we were to

ignore the fact that it had been cultivated among the Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian nobility. There is no doubt in my mind that the real folk epic poetry springs, in the same way as does folk art in general (the costumes, for example), from the most elevated Christian and Moslem social milieus, but, in the course of centuries, has evolved along its own lines.

I must also address myself to another assumption. The legendary Homer is represented as blind, and some indications given by Vuk Karadžić himself have encouraged the erroneous impression that many of the singers, and especially the best of them, are blind. In reality, in the lands where the national epic poetry is still flourishing, blind singers are extremely rare, and these unhappy individuals usually lost their sight at an advanced age, most of the time as the result of smallpox. It is only in the regions where the folk epic poetry is in the process of disappearing or is already dead that one sees blind and crippled beggars depending on singing for a way to exist.

I was surprised to observe that Moslem women know how to recite the epic songs, but not to sing them, and that among the Christian women singers are found, in the present day always as rare exceptions other than in the north of Dalmatia.

The singers begin to learn to play the *gusle* and to pick up the epic tradition from early childhood—on the knees of a father or grandfather, or of other relatives or friends, then in public—the greater part of the time between ten and twelve years of age, but always in general while young, "while they still have nothing else on their minds," up until the age of perhaps twenty-five. It is ordinarily sufficient for them to hear a song sung a single time, though more than once when they grow older; yet in Gacko, the aged Janko Ceramić, 68 years old, assured me that he could repeat the next day an entire song heard the preceding evening. Nevertheless, the songs that make up this poetry called "oral" or "traditional" are not always transmitted from one mouth to the next; they are very often, and more and more, taken from books and pamphlets, and this practice goes on even in Hercegovina, the classical territory of the epic song. One can by no means dismiss the possibility that even the blind singers themselves might not have learned their songs from the mouths of other singers, since someone may have read the songs to them, [or] they could learn from another singer whom a priest, schoolmaster, or some other person has instructed. It is among the Moslems that the oral tradition is best preserved, because they are more traditional in spirit and think better of illiterates. The singer who learns a song that is read to him must have it repeated more times in order to know it.

The Moslem singers know how to evaluate those from whom they have learned their songs, and who are customarily are found among their kin. The Christian singers acquire material everywhere that people sing,

but often also at home or among their relatives. When they hear of a fine singer, they may travel many hours seeking him. A certain number of songs are spread about by travellers or by wagon-drivers and laborers who move around from place to place.

People sing during the long winter nights around the hearth and during gatherings (*sijelo*, *silo* [lit., "village"]) in the houses of well-to-do peasants, throughout the evenings, at the time of ritual and familial celebrations, and in general on all joyous occasions, especially weddings, which until recently lasted an entire week when they took place in the parents' household, and longer still when the bride was brought from a distance. Thus it was that the singer Janko Ceramić of Gacko accompanied the guests of the Ljubušak beys for 34 days, when all three of them were married at a single time. In certain regions the groom's family and that of the bride each has its own singer, and these two compete to see who will perform better and longer: it is a disgrace if another singer leaves the bride's house victorious in such a competition. One also sings publicly in the coffeehouses, principally among the Moslems, at the time of *zbori* (masters' assemblies or celebrations), [or] near the monasteries and churches, as at the markets. People would also often sing while traveling on horseback, mostly at night, but in this case without the *gusle*. Among Moslems in the north and northwest of Bosnia, there are singers who during the winter spend entire months journeying from territory to territory; in the season of Ramadan certain villages and their coffeehouses engage these singers for all or a part of the thirty-day duration. The pashas and feudal lords summoned such singers for Ramadan and for other occasions in order to entertain themselves and their guests. The women too were allowed to listen to the singers—but from behind a curtain, unless the singer were a parent to one of them, a person before whom they had no need to veil themselves. The nobles especially desired singers who would come for a stay of some length in their domain to settle down, to work there or collect taxes. Naturally, in the Christian villages they most often summoned singers who were also Christian. In a word, the national epic poetry was and is—for the nobility, the middle class, and peasantry—what concerts, theaters, and other amusements are for us. In Dalmatia a peasant told me this: "You people in the city, you have your music, and we have our songs."

* * *

It is therefore not surprising that these songs may be extremely long and may last many hours, an entire night and even, among the Moslems, two and three nights. Among the songs collected by Vuk Karadžić, there is one whose length some found astonishing: *The Wedding of Maksim Crnojević* (*Ženidba Maksima Crnojevića*), which comprised 1225 verses of ten syllables and filled 42 pages of printed text in a grand-octavo volume,

that is, a length greater than that of any book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. In 1891 *The Wedding of Senjanin Tadija* was published, a song by an Orthodox singer of Travnik in Bosnia which runs 3412 decasyllabic verses. The Moslem songs are particularly long; the Croatian Society (Matica Hrvatska) in Zagreb has in its archives eleven songs from two to three thousand lines and four between three and four thousand lines; such length caused them to be set aside by the editor, and the longest published song [from this collection] has no more than 1862 lines.

First of all I make the observation that the singer can shorten or lengthen his songs at will according to his artistic personality; for example, there are singers who are famous for knowing better than anyone else how to portray a young girl or woman, a hero (*junak*), his horse or armament, while others do not occupy themselves at all with such things. A singer can also modify songs as he goes, according to the time available, his own mood, the audience before whom he is performing, and the payment he has reason to expect. Moreover, the audience can directly influence him, and, when a song lasts too long, someone may cry out to him: *Goni, goni*! ("faster, faster!" [lit. "get going, get going!"]). I cite the example of a certain prisoner from Lepoglava in Croatia, from whose dictation songs of 2500 and 4400 verses were transcribed, even though the same songs had no more than 1200 and 1500 verses when sung by the man in Bosnia who had taught him. One comes to realize that these songs are not sung continuously, but with pauses. Each session usually lasts a half-hour to an hour. In 1911, at a wedding in Hercegovina, a singer fifty years old sang for an hour and a half consecutively in a competition, from which he emerged victorious.

The singers are not prepared to specify exactly the number of songs that they know. They commonly say that they know 30 or 40, or a hundred, or better yet that they can sing a new one every night for three months, or even for a year. They do not usually exaggerate, and I would estimate that their repertoires might be even more considerable than they themselves indicate. To give an idea of the richness, I recall that between January 2 and February 17, 1887, in Zagreb the Moslem Salko Vojniković from Bosnia sang, or, to be more precise, dictated 90 songs comprising a total of 80,000 verses, about double the combined length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, given that the decasyllabic verses are shorter than hexameters and the number of verses three times greater. And there have been philologists who doubted that a single singer could know all of Homer by heart! Such a memory is all the more astonishing in that the singer had no prompter.

People have long believed, and believe still, that the singers do not change their songs. Even John Meier, who remarked that the [Homeric] rhapsodes were improvisers, remained convinced by the accounts he had received of Russian and Yugoslav epic poetry that the singer would adhere

closely to the text and would not change one iota. I have already said that, on the contrary, he can shorten or lengthen his songs at will, and that the same poem can be very different in content in the versions of different singers. It is absolutely certain that under such conditions a text cannot remain unchanged. I have demonstrated this experimentally. On two occasions I brought with me a phonographic apparatus perfected by the Viennese Academy. I could not record the long epic songs on this machine, but it did suffice for fragments of less than 30 verses to verify something unexpected. Since it was necessary to write down each text before phonographic recording, I asked the singer first of all to practice outside the tent while a stenographer transcribed the text. I thus had three texts at the same time from a single session, and even four in one case.[12] The comparison showed that not only isolated words or word-order but entire verses appeared in a wholly new form or simply disappeared, so that of 15 dictated lines [in one version], for example, there might remain [in the next version] no more than 8 sung lines. A fine singer from northwest Bosnia himself modified the opening line on each occasion.

He said the first time:

Beg Osman beg rano podranio (etymological figure)
"Osmanbeg arose early";

then while practicing:

Beg Osman beg na bedem izidje
"Osmanbeg mounted the ramparts";

and afterward he sang:

Beg Osman beg niz Posavlje gleda.
"Osmanbeg gazed out over the Sava plain."

Professor Vladimir Ćorović of Belgrade, originally a native of Hercegovina who therefore well understands the national epic poetry, has declared in a critical evaluation that the singer, embarrassed, made an

[12] Although the language is inexplicit, Murko is describing a process whereby he obtained at least three different texts of the same material, one or two of them recorded and one or two taken (sometimes without the singer's knowledge) from dictation. Milman Parry and Albert Lord followed a similar procedure in their fieldwork, asking a *guslar* to repeat the opening of a song (called the "Proba" technique in Nikola Vujnović's notes) or to perform the same song again a day or more later. Both the Murko and Parry-Lord experiments amounted to strategies through which they could obtain variant texts of the same material for comparative evaluation. See Murko's deductions immediately below [Ed.].

error. There can be no question of such a thing with a professional singer. Accordingly, I paid particular attention to this issue the following year. In the Orthodox monastery of Duži near Trebinje in Hercegovina, we listened to the songs of a peasant associated with the monastery (*kmet* [a landless peasant]) and much beloved by the monks and the abbot. Earlier one of these monks and a schoolmaster had written down the beginning of one of his songs from dictation. I now requested that they transcribe the variants throughout the present song, but they were forced to give up at the second verse. I repeated the experience with a teacher and a student near Bijelo Polje in the *sandžak* with similar success. It is thus very clear to me that the songs we possess today in printed form were not all sung only a single time or, more exactly, dictated only a single time before being committed to writing. This is also why all of the attempts to reconstruct a song in its "original" form are futile. The comparison of different variants cannot enable us to determine the primitive content of a song or even parts or single verses. Having had the kind of experience described above, I was able to show[13] that Vuk Karadžić had not written down the song *Jakšići kušaju ljube* (*The Jakšići Test their Wives*), which appears in his *Srpske narodne pjesme* of 1845 (the Belgrade edition, vol. 2, pp. 624-27), from dictation by a young man of eighteen years from Užica in Serbia, as he himself affirms—although the event is inherently possible—but that he simply borrowed it from the Croatian poet A. Reljković, who had published it in his *Satir* in 1779 to instruct the men of Slovenia not to place trust in their women. Vuk Karadžić reprinted it verse for verse, even though identity between texts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would be impossible, and according to his usual custom made changes in the song-text which were solely of a phonetic, morphological, and lexicographical order.

Most Moslem singers sang in expectation of reward. The beys gave them grain, horses, oxen, even pairs of oxen as in the case of the Hindu singer of the Rigveda, cows, sheep, clothing, and ducats, and even, as late as the last century in Hercegovina, land. In the course of recent years, people from these regions have passed from a natural economy to a cash economy, but, as for the singers, collections made with saucers in the coffeehouses yield less and less money, and the singers are "honored" today more often with coffee, tea, lemonade, cigarettes, and tobacco. In the case of the Christian singers, when they are not expressly hired, there is no question of payment; the custom is to give them only something to drink and to smoke. The singers all like to drink, chiefly the *aqua vitae* (*rakija* [highly distilled plum brandy]), since beer and wine do not have a salutary effect on the voice. Nevertheless, the Christian singers do not disdain these latter beverages. Such drinks do not adversely affect a singer, says one

[13] *Sbornik prof. Jana Máchala*, pp. 329-35.

man, because for him "it passes while he is shouting."[14]

The singers retain their songs as long as they do thanks to the well-known epic repetitions, utilized for example for messages, and to the various clichés reserved to celebrate aspects of feminine beauty, heroes, costumes, horses, arms, duels, and so on. I knew a Moslem singer, already affected by modern civilization, who sang these commonplaces, but who narrated the real action. Many singers recite one part while singing, another part while narrating. There are those who narrate better than they sing, but also those who do not know how to narrate at all. The Montenegrin Marko Miljanev, from the Vojvodina and self-taught, related to us the entire history of his clan (the *Kuči*) by alternating between recitation, for the old traditions, and verse. Poetry and prose can thus co-exist perfectly side by side, a fact which is not without importance for the study of analogous conditions in the ancient oral literature of other peoples.

The singer, seated, begins with an instrumental prelude on the *gusle* or on the *tamburica* (when he accompanies himself on the tamburica, he can also remain standing); then comes a short prologue during which he speaks about his art and assures [those present] that he is about to sing a "true" song about "the old times" or "the old heroes."[15] Often he also gives voice to his patriotic sentiments and offers greetings to the audience, in particular to those of an elevated social rank.

Of the musical aspect of the song, I can say nothing, not being a specialist. I merely make the observation that the song is on the whole a monotone recitation that produces a non-musical impression, and which is likewise incomprehensible to the cultivated people of the region, especially when they have lost contact with the common people.[16] In any case, for the admirers of beautiful poems related to ancient Serbian history, it is better not to hear them sung. The Russian Rovinskij, author of a classic

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[14] This explanation may seem problematical to those who have never heard or seen a *guslar* perform. As indicated by the singers' own use of the verb *turiti* ("to drive out, impel") to denote the actual singing of a song, oral performance is a very strenuous exercise that requires a good deal of physical exertion. Songs are not sung *sotto voce*, but in full voice in a manner approximating "shouting" (*criant*) [Ed.].

[15] I reproduced for my lecture [see note 1 above] a phonograph disk which had recorded on it the beginning of the song *The Wedding of Banović Mihajlo*, which tells of the vicissitudes attending a marriage between a Christian and a Turk.

[16] The first collector of Yugoslav tunes, Kuhač, has declared, with respect to the best Moslem singer, Mehmed Kolaković, who was in Zagreb, that his recitations did not at all deserve the term "song." He did not as yet have a sense of historical evolution. When, at the start of the year 1928, a very fine Montenegrin singer, T. Vučić, was brought to Berlin so that he could establish phonograph recordings of some of his songs, many experts in the history of music declared that people probably sang in more or less the same manner in Germany in about the tenth to twelfth centuries.

book on Montenegro, tells us that a Frenchman, an admirer of Serbian folk poetry, having gone to Cetinje expressly to hear the songs, could not listen to them for very long and quickly departed. This is also why Serbian emigrants, throughout the Great War, were wrong to make an exhibition of the singing of epic poems with *gusle* accompaniment. In America, Serbian and Croatian laborers would sing behind closed doors, for fear of mockery. Before a public who do not understand the language, people would not sing the poems, even short ones, or excerpts longer than what is sufficient to give an idea of the character of the national epic poetry after a brief introduction; there is also an opportunity to give such an idea before beginning the text.

The essence is the content or subject matter, with its poetic form. The language, rich in tropes and figures and infinitely plastic, resounds magnificently on the lips of fine singers. In the end the melody also pleases those who understand the spoken words, when they have listened long, and especially when they see the singer—caught up with enthusiasm for his heroes and their exploits—adapt himself to the flow of the action, express his feelings through his mimicry, and wax truly dramatic. He starts slowly, but he accelerates the rhythm and can achieve a remarkable speed [of delivery]; he ceases to play his instrument at these times. During such moments even a parliamentary stenographer would be helpless to follow him.

There are different kinds of songs; in many places, people distinguish songs reserved for peasants from those reserved for the cultivated classes. In a general way, a song is darker and more indistinct in the northwest region of Bosnia, and much livelier and clearer in Hercegovina and in Montenegro. It is not that the playing of the *gusle* may not be able to engage interest; one cannot believe that such beautiful sounds could emanate from such a primitive instrument. That will always be for me a memory as imperishable as the music to which the Archimandrite Nicephor Šimonović of the Montenegrin monastery of Kosijerevo had me listen.

One may also be amazed at the physical exertion of the singers, who sing, according to my observations, from 13 to 28, or on the average 16 to 20, decasyllabic verses per minute for whole hours and even all night, often in cramped quarters and before a large audience, so that they become bathed in perspiration.

What struck me the most is the magnificent delivery of the singers. Can one picture for himself what it is to sing long poems, without error in subject matter, in irreproachable poetic verses, with the greatest of speed? This is not possible except among singers who do not learn the poems by heart, or word for word, but who re-create them anew each time in brilliant improvisation, thanks to their "science" of language and of poetry.

A fine singer can make a mediocre poem remarkable, and a poor singer can spoil the best poem. It was not in error that Vuk Karadžić often sought a singer of quality to dictate a certain song that had not pleased him. The listeners also appreciate this art of the singer. A bey one day expressed to me his admiration in these terms: "Myself, I would not attempt a composition of even three words." In Hercegovina people told me of peasants who would give the best ox from their stable to know how to sing one certain song.

The singers are artists, a fact shown by their extreme jealousy of one another. One day in Sarajevo, after having collected recordings of three singers, I gave the same payment to all three. One among them refused to accept it. I sensed immediately that I had bruised his ego in some way. The people present in effect warned me that he considered himself a much better singer than the other two, an observation which he confirmed himself the next day. In Hercegovina a young man nineteen years old said to me: "As many as we are here, we are all enemies to one another. It is painful for me when I meet another who knows more about [singing] than I do." And he went on to explain, with reference to me: "You also, Mr. Professor, you travel more widely than do other professors in order to gain an understanding of things, and so you would consider yourself much better than your fellows." In fact he had a point: this took place in a village where there was not even an inn, so that I was obliged to resort to the hospitality of the local constabulary.

The audience listens to the singer with maximum attention, interest, and sympathy for the heroes, and is sometimes extremely moved by the whole of a poem or by certain episodes. During the pauses for rest, the members of the audience make various remarks, question the singer, and critique him, to which criticism he does not fail to respond. One time I reproached a singer for having given a favorite Moslem hero, Hrnjica Mujo, four brothers instead of the two he is credited with elsewhere; he retorted in a bitter tone: "That's how another told it to me; I wasn't there when they were born." There is one process of criticism which does not lack originality: when the singer is absent during a pause for rest, someone greases the strings and the bow of his instrument with tallow, which makes it impossible for him to continue.

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We know, by virtue of the existing collections of folk songs, that only a very small number of them celebrate events that took place before the Turkish occupation. The overwhelming majority of Serbo-Croatian epic songs treat the battles against the Turks, which begin in Macedonia, reach their climax with the great disaster at Kosovo, are transported across the Danube and then into Croatia, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, lead into the

liberation of Serbia, and which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crop up unceasingly on the borders of Montenegro, and reach their end at the time of the Balkan Wars and the Great War. Nonetheless, the greatest battles and their consequences form the subject of but few of the poems; far the majority are devoted to the deeds and actions of favorite heroes—such as Prince Marko from the Christian side, and from the Moslem sector of Bosnia, Djerdjelez Alija and Mustajbey of the Lika—and in the same way to small struggles fought along the Turkish-Christian border, chiefly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Christians who had escaped from Turkey (*uskoci*) could gain distinction for themselves there, in the service of the Viennese emperor in the vicinity of Senj (Zengg) on the Croatian seaboard, or in service to the Venetian doge in the Kotar plains around Zara; but it was very common to see them attacking the Turks on their own initiative, in the same way as did other leaders of such bands and various *hajduks* (in the poems these bands ordinarily numbered 30 men). The Moslems were likewise little concerned with the official peace, as witnessed by their songs about Hungary and the Lika district in Croatia. It was chiefly this kind of guerilla operation which offered occasions for personal heroism, duels, adventures, acquisition of rich booty and beautiful women and girls, who often willingly fled the Christians for the Turks and vice versa, romantic marriages, attacks at weddings, freeing of women and imprisoned heroes, distant trips on horseback (*obdulja*), various knightly sports, feasts during which the Turks drank a great deal of wine, and so forth. In the Christian quarter various heroes are distinguished: Ivo and Tadija Senjanin, Ilija Smiljanić, Stojan Janković; on the Turkish side Mustajbeg of the Lika, Hrnjica Mujo, and Halil, whose renown spread from northwest Bosnia to the north of Albania.

People say that the Moslems, a traditional group, live more in the past, and that they especially evoke the era of their domination in Hungary and the Lika in Croatia. Yet they also possess poems on their battles with Austria in the eighteenth century, on their occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and on the continual skirmishes along the Montenegrin border; but these poems are little known. Those of the most recent epoch, in particular, have not even been collected, much less published. Likewise, the Bosnian and Hercegovinian Catholics are to an extent traditionalists, and the poems they sing the most are those of Kačić[-Miošić] and the recent collections (above all that of Jukić). Philologists were formerly astonished to encounter this or that song by Kačić[-Miošić] among the people, but in Hercegovina I made the acquaintance of Catholic singers who knew by heart all of Kačić[-Miošić]. The songs of this Franciscan had also spread among the Orthodox people, especially in Montenegro, and were even encountered in Macedonia (Galičnik). I was surprised that the Bosnian and Hercegovinian Orthodox did not know the magnificent songs relating to the

ancient history of Serbia as well as I expected, any more than did the Orthodox people of Montenegro. When I collected recordings in Sarajevo, the intellectual Serbs present asked a singer from the region if he knew the poems about Prince Lazar, Miloš Obilić, and Vuk Branković. He answered: "No, I'm illiterate."[17]

Nowhere except in Hercegovina did the sense of these words become entirely clear to me: people sang for me chiefly poems on the recent and modern battles fought by Hercegovina and Montenegro against the Turks, and I learned that these poems came mostly from published collections. One of them, the *Kosovska Osveta* (*The Revenge for Kosovo*) is particularly widespread. It is by Maksim Šobajić, and it reports the battles of the Hercegovinians, Montenegrins, Serbs, and Russians in the period 1875-78. But there are in addition the Greco-Turkish, Russo-Japanese, Italo-Turkish, Balkan, and World Wars, which are also celebrated in the poems of known and unknown singers. In a poem dating from 1912, the sultan already makes use of the telephone:

> *Telefonu care doletio,*
> *na telefon zove Enverbega.*[18]
>
> "The tsar hastened to pick up the telephone,
> on the telephone he called Enverbey."

In a word, the singers wish to and indeed must show themselves modern in all respects; the public requires songs relating to actual events, although such poems do not generally attain the beauty of the ancient songs and although they often are no more than mere accounts, just as the Russian P. Rovinskij called the Montenegrin poems modern, or indeed like newspaper articles, as some would say of certain Montenegrin poems in Vuk Karadžić's collection. What is most surprising is that the epic poem of Hercegovina and Montenegro, provinces where it is flourishing the most, is the greater part of the time of literary origin. In the second half of the last century, Orthodox and Catholic priests, schoolmasters, and other literate persons recited and sang to singers and to other people poems drawn from books, and today the singers very often know how to read the texts themselves; there are even some among them who learned to read only for the sake of learning the epic poems, which are spread abroad in innumerable printed reproductions, books or pamphlets, in Cyrillic or

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[17] In early 1928 the singer T. Vučić, having been invited by me to sing the poem *Majka Jugovića* for the Seminar for Slavic Philology in Prague, asked for the text collected by Vuk Karadžić, which he studied assiduously before appearing in public.

[18] Transcribed in Hercegovina in 1913.

Latin characters.

I devoted a good part of my effort to determining whether more folk songs were coming into existence, and if so in what manner. I collected thirteen expressions that designate the creation of a poem, but the one most current in Hercegovina, the term *isknaditi*, *knaditi*, is almost unknown in literature and is treated as "obscure" in the great historical dictionary of the Yugoslav Academy. I also often heard it said that the singers knew how to "put back to back" (*nasloniti*) one poem with another, that they knew how to condense many poems into one and how to modify, correct, and complete poems. One singer declared that a poem could not be good "if the singer knows nothing to add from his own ornamentation [*ajouter son crû*]." In a general way one can say (see above what was said on the delivery of the songs) that at least in our own day all singers of any quality are improvisers. Also it is superfluous to debate, as have the classical philologists, the question of whether the pre-Homeric bards were followed by rhapsodes or by mere reciters, since there are bards, that is singers who themselves compose the poems [they perform], still today among the rhapsodes. I have myself seen many of these singer-poets, and I have reliable accounts testifying to others.

Among the singers are people of every social rank, all of them capable of immediately composing a poem on some martial deed or on any other interesting event. Many unremarkable singers told me that they could even narrate my meeting with them in a poem, and I received a poem of this type from a blind female singer from Dalmatia. A 75-year-old bey from Bosnia also claimed the same ability. The exploits of leaders in small battles were frequently celebrated by the men in their bands. In the same way, among the poems relating to the death of Smailaga Čengić there is one which was sung by his *bajraktar* (standard-bearer), on horseback, even as he returned from the field of battle. Rare are the leaders who sang of themselves. The most curious of these in recent years is Jusuf Mehonjić of the *sandžak* of Novi Pazar, who fought against Serbia after the Balkan Wars, against Montenegro and the Austrians, and even against the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and who recorded his campaigns in decasyllabic verse in a log of his travels which is to be found at the Ministry of the Interior in Belgrade, its author having lost it during his flight. Other people also, for example shepherds and shepherdesses, who did not observe an action except from far away or even had no connection other than hearing it being described, occasionally composed a poem on the subject. Songs of this type were composed collaboratively by many different authors, whose verses were adopted, corrected, or rejected. This was the way it was done in the Montenegrin army, where, after the battles, reports were carefully edited in this manner, distributed in manuscript copies among the military singers, and finally published. To be

cited and placed in the action of a poem was, in Montenegro, the greatest mark of distinction, the equivalent of medals and decorations in other armies.

I was very surprised to hear it often said that battles of some importance could not be celebrated except by those "who had studied," who "had been at school," pursued their studies "for twenty years," or even who are "like you," said one person, indicating me. Effectively, an ordinary folk singer would not be capable of describing in its entirety a battle in which many Montenegrin troops had participated. This is also the reason why one does not find in the Yugoslav epic poetry full accounts of great battles, but only episodes and events that bear some relation to those battles, and only rarely an action like the siege of a town. One sees that the people themselves conceive of the poets, authors of epic poems, as individuals who are very gifted and at the same time very cultivated. It is nonetheless the epic poetry of Hercegovina that for the most part inspired Jakob Grimm and the Slavists to believe in a kind of origin, a mystical genesis of folk epic songs, works which were created, so they said, by an entire people—[a theory] in which, for example, the great Slavic philologist Miklosich believed until his death (1891).

Nevertheless, the narrative epic song can also be subjective, even while being composed by many authors. In addition, certain poems and collections can offend or displease. People have criticized a poem as widely known as Maksim Šobajić's *Kosovska osveta* (*The Revenge for Kosovo*) for being partial to the Montenegrins, and for assessing too lightly the services performed by the Hercegovinians. National tribunals looked into the matter, and the poem was even burned! Analogous disputes have arisen in Montenegro, where each clan has its own epic poetry.

I have already said that the epic poems can border on newspaper articles. I had confirmation of this from the singers themselves. When I asked a revolutionary who had fought against Turkey and Austria, and who was in some vague way a *hajduk* in the Balkans, why he did not sing about his own exploits, he responded to me: "It's not worth the trouble; that's a job for journalists, men of learning." And, just as one can pay to insert personal news in the press, so one can, through financial means, secure an appearance in a folk song. In Nevesinje the singer Alexis Ivanović recounted to me that after the Battle of Vučji Do (1876) his uncle saw two such "men of learning" approaching him. They asked two *pleta* (about two francs) to describe him as a *junak* (hero) who mowed down the Turks; but the penniless man could not afford such glory.

Besides the events of war, people also celebrated other bloody encounters through the songs, as well as all interesting goings-on: weddings, elections; in Bosnia and Dalmatia, proclamations are distributed in decasyllabic verses; in this way one celebrates popular political leaders,

for example Etienne Radić; last year in Dalmatia, I myself saw the program of the popular Catholic party explained via the same medium, in a pamphlet of respectable dimensions. The ancient provincial government of Bosnia-Hercegovina received [legal] complaints and appeals in decasyllabic verses. In a word, the epic verse continues to live among the people, in the manner of all of the apparatus of epic poetry. Thus it is that a singer from the vicinity of Gacko began a poem on our meeting in the following manner:

Poletiše dva sokola siva

"Two [grey] falcons rushed together,"

meaning the two constables whom the sub-prefect of the district had sent to find him so that he and I could be introduced. Attention has recently been drawn to these introductions and other heroic-epic processes by G. Gesemann (*Studien zur südslavischen Volksepik*, pp. 65-96). This kind of imitation can also be transformed into parody: in Bosnia, an attendant in a coffeehouse told me that along with his friends he had composed, in the style of the epic poems, a song celebrating the wedding of a proud bey, one who was in reality a poor peasant.

According to the claims of singers and the belief of the people, the epic songs had to be true. The same is not the case with the most recent songs, which do not allow anything but an understanding of the idea that the people formulated from various repeated events; all the more reason to doubt the truth of the older songs.

There was a lively dispute among Serbian historians—between the romantics and the critics—over the relative historical truth of the national songs. It has been proven, for example, that the last tsar of Serbia, Uroš, survived his assassin by many months; that Miloš Obilić was not the son-in-law of Prince Lazar, and that there could therefore not have been any dispute between the sisters-in-law; and that the real son-in-law of Lazar, Vuk Branković, was not the traitor—the Ganelon—indispensable to this passage in the national poem. In general, the entire cycle of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 is a myth, but a magnificent myth. Every poet, the folk epic poet like all others, has the right to handle his subject as he sees fit, and to modify the facts and the characters according to his needs. Nevertheless, the essence of numerous poems, even the older ones, is historical. What is above all remarkable is the veracity of the songs from the point of view of the history of the civilization, and, from this perspective, many folk epic songs deserve rehabilitation. In them one sees perfectly reflected the feudal life of the Yugoslav noblemen of the Middle Ages, which the Moslems of Bosnia and Hercegovina have preserved into

the second half of the nineteenth century. One understands what opposition, going as far as insurrection, the feudal lords of Bosnia showed against the reforms of the Turkish sultans themselves, until their dominion had been shattered (1850-54) by Omer pasha, former sergeant-major of cadets in Austria, and originally a Serb. Until that date these lords warred among themselves, and they maintained in their troops singers whose duty it was to celebrate their glory, to entertain and incite their soldiers. This is one altogether faithful way in which the epic songs describe life as it was on the Turko-Austrian and Venetian borders up to the peace of Karlovci (1699), and then later on the same borders and on the Montenegrin frontiers as well as in the interior of ancient Turkey.

The national epic poetry is dying in all regions because it has ceased to be reflective of reality. The feudal aristocracy is no longer interested in the poetry, since its military glory was annihilated by Omer pasha and by the occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The songs on the battles along the frontiers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries today constitute a perfect anachronism. A modern state would not know how to lend an interested ear even to the heroism of *hajduks*. Small skirmishes are no longer the order of the day, the *handžar* or *yataghan* (cutlass) has given way to the magazine-rifle, to the machine gun, less epic weapons; in contemporary war it is not possible to challenge an adversary to single combat; what prevails today is not heroism but, as my singers said to me, "discipline"; one of them added: "and politics." A person would not any longer know how to teach the strategy and tactics employed in the folk songs. The circumstances of the professional singers are more and more difficult, and the people themselves sing less and less, in accordance with the complete transformation of the economic situation. One *aga* (great landholder) from northern Bosnia explained it to me in the following terms: "People sang when they had nothing to do (*od besposlice* [as a result of unemployment]),but at present the "Swabian" (= the German, in the pejorative sense of "Welsh" for the French in Germany, but in fact any man who crossed the Sava river and was wearing a hat or a military cap) requires that they work." Having asked a Hercegovinian Catholic on another occasion whether it was also the "Swabian" who had compelled him not to sing any more, he responded: "No, it is my wife and children." The Christian intellectuals reacted against long wedding ceremonies and other inauspicious amusements, which were one of the prime occasions for singing. The people themselves do not find as much pleasure in the epic songs because they have lost faith in their truth and utility, and the youth prefer the lyric songs, and other games and diversions. The choral song and the musical societies with folk instruments (*tamburaši*) contribute equally to the disappearance of the epic songs. In Plevlje, in the *sandžak* of Novi Pazar, I was struck in 1924 to see that a choral group of Serbian

singers had wished to surprise me with their choirs directed by the pope (Orthodox priest) of the area, and that the public paid very little attention to the *guslar* who was summoned on my behalf; the singer was whisked away to the Moslem lecture hall, where a large audience listened to him with attention and lively interest. But the greatest enemy of the singer is modern instruction. The collections have caused people to lose interest in the folk songs (I could not gain the confidence of numerous singers without assuring them that I would not make a transcription of their poems): today any child can amuse the nobility, the citizens, and the rural population by giving them a reading of the folk songs, a practice already carried on in the coffeehouses. The poems are in themselves still interesting, and children carry to school large collections published by the Croatian Society (Matica Hrvatska) and others, in order to read them in secret.

Finally, the folk epic poetry has lost its principal support, the five-century resistance against the Turks. Turkey is today far away, and as for the Moslems within the country, they have reconciled themselves to modern civilization. They have so well adapted themselves to the situation that the Yugoslav Moslem organization is today[19] a governmental party in Belgrade, and a Moslem is Minister of Commerce and Industry and actually a substitute for the Minister of Finance. Let us mention in passing that this amounts to proof that Yugoslavia, or the realm of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, is not practicing Balkanization but rather organization—social, national, and political progress. Soon one will be able to shout: "Yugoslav epic poetry, folk and oral, has died, long live Yugoslav epic poetry!" It will continue to live through its magnificent poems as an important element of the literature and of national civilization, it will provide yet more inspiration—and with greater success than before—to epic and dramatic poets and other artists, as it has to the great sculptor Meštrović, and it will nourish the national opera, all of which influences were foreseen a century ago by B. Kopitar, master and friend of Vuk Karadžić. Nevertheless, the national Yugoslav epic poetry will always remain a fertile field for study by native and foreign scholars. We hope that French scholarship as well will devote to this poetry the same attention it has given its own national *oeuvre*, bringing to such study the experience gained from brilliant work with their *chansons de geste* and epic poetry of the Middle Ages.

Translated by John Miles Foley

[19] That is, in May 1928.

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The Effects of Oral and Written Transmission in the Exchange of Materials between Medieval Celtic and French Literatures: A Physiological View[1]

Annalee C. Rejhon

The exchange of literary materials between Celtic and French cultures in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is characterized by a striking dichotomy: works that were transmitted orally were profoundly transformed to accommodate the needs of the receiving culture, while those transmitted in writing remained essentially static, frozen—as it were—in their vellum manuscripts.

What follows is an elaboration on this dichotomy with an attempt at explaining it in the light of the physiological phenomena that necessarily underlie it: that is, the workings of the bicameral brain as they are at present understood. I should say at the start that the work that first got me thinking along these lines was the seminal article of Frederick Turner, "Performed Being: Word Art as a Human Inheritance," that appeared in the inaugural issue of this journal (1986, i). The present article, therefore, is, in a way, a response to that work, one that applies the general principles suggested therein to the fields of medieval Welsh and French literatures.

The Celtic material in question represents a body of mythology and literature that in the twelfth century was common to all Brittonic peoples. Welsh, Cornish, and Breton were still mutually intelligible. The works consisted primarily of the Arthurian material that had been developing in the Celtic milieu from at least the ninth century onward. Their dissemination resulted above all from 1) the interaction and intermarriage in the Welsh Marches of Welsh and Norman families who patronized

[1] Presented as a paper at the Conference on Materialities of Communication, held at the Inter-University Centre of Post-Graduate Studies, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, March 30, 1987. A much reduced version appeared in the journal *kultuRRevolution* (Rejhon 1988).

translators and English, French, and Welsh minstrels,[2] and 2) the activities of bilingual Bretons, both in Brittany and on the Island of Britain.[3] Many of the latter accompanied William the Conqueror to Britain and were awarded estates. Through these channels the contents of Celtic poems and tales passed, largely in oral form, into French literature to find expression in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, Béroul, and Thomas, the lays of Marie de France, and troubadour poetry.

Many of the proper names that appear in these French and Occitan works reflect their Celtic origin, having been borrowed from Welsh, Breton, or Cornish tradition; the story-themes (to use Rachel Bromwich's term) that were associated with the names did not always accompany them, however. Rather they were most often borrowed independently, a phenomenon that occurred in transmission not only to the Continent but within the Celtic oral tradition itself.[4] Since we are without early medieval Breton or Cornish texts, we must look to Welsh tradition for the prototypes of many Continental Arthurian figures. Some of the more illustrious names, in addition to Arthur himself, of course, are: Gwalchmai (Gauvain), Peredur (Perceval), Cai (Keu), Bedwyr (Bedoier), Gwenhwyfar (Guenievre), Esyllt (Isolt), March (Marc), Owein fab Urien (Yvain li fiz Urien), and Drystan (Tristan). The considerable phonetic transformation undergone by most of these names is witness to the fact that most if not all of them were orally transmitted.[5]

Some of the Celtic story-themes that found their way into French literature are the Hunt of the White Stag (a form of the dynastic Sovereignty myth of the Celts in which the ruler of the land mates with a goddess who represents the land itself); the Waste Land; the King Wounded through the Thighs; the Otherworld Visit (which in the French often takes the form of a quest); and the Queen's Abductions. The original corpus of narrative themes was shared among all Celtic peoples and grew out of an already distant mythology, based on pagan beliefs. Many of them came to

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[2] As Bullock-Davies puts it (1966:18), "*Cyfarwyddiaid* [Welsh story-tellers knowledgeable in Celtic lore and mythology], latimers, and French, Welsh and English minstrels lived together in the same castles along the Welsh Marches from the time of the Conquest. They could not have failed to impart to one another something of each of their native literatures."

[3] On the role of the Welsh latimer Bledri in the dissemination of Celtic material, particularly to the south of France, see Bullock-Davies 1966:10 ff., and Gallais 1967.

[4] The information in this and the next paragraph is based on Bromwich 1983. See also Bromwich 1965.

[5] Bromwich holds that the last two names are evidence that written transmission was occasionally involved since the obscure vowels in the name—the *o* of Owein and *y* of Drystan—are not pronounced with the Welsh values in their French forms. See Bromwich 1983:43 and 1978:480.

be associated with Arthur and his entourage; he drew into his orbit also originally independent Celtic heroes, some of whom were associated with the "Old North," that is, those British kingdoms that in northern England and southern Scotland fell to the English by the seventh century. That Arthur was attracting such heroes already early on in Welsh tradition is demonstrated by the existence of a Welsh poem known as "Pa gur" ("What man [is the gate-keeper]?"), dated to before 1100, which provides a list of Arthur's followers. This and other Welsh poetry, triads, and stories (in particular the native Arthurian tale of *Kulhwch and Olwen*—also dated to before 1100[6]) reflect an active and primarily oral Welsh Arthurian tradition and it was by oral transmission and mental translation that it made its way to the Continent.[7]

In contrast, the borrowing into Welsh from French, already in the twelfth century a prestige culture, appears to have been effected through clerical channels and was mostly a written and learned phenomenon; the Welsh translations of *chansons de geste*, such as the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, depart rarely from the originals in any substantial way, to the point that one can, for example, glimpse the assonances of the *Chanson de Roland* in the language of its counterpart *Cân Rolant*.[8]

Let us turn to this text for a moment. I found in my edition of this work that the Welsh translation was a faithful reflection of its Old French model, its greatest variations involving condensation, particularly in the more static scenes and where the telling of an event is repeated in the Old French, as in cases of the epic technique of *laisses similaires*. Passages involving action—particularly the descriptions of individual battles— seemed to appeal most to the translator and these he rendered in all their bloodthirsty detail. His taste for the vivid is apparent now and then in a metaphoric description that is used to heighten certain moments in the narrative. Whether the source of the metaphoric embellishments is an Old French passage or whether it is rather to be ascribed to the enthusiasm of the translator inspired perhaps by his own native tradition is sometimes difficult to determine. One example of the latter appears in his description of the swiftness of horses given as a gift to Charlemagne: the ease of their gait is said to be such that not a hair stirs on the head of their riders, an expression also found in the early native tale *Kulhwch and Olwen*. But more interesting for our purposes are the few places where the translator

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[6] On the dating of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, see Knight 1983:12.

[7] For the early Welsh poems that contain references to Arthur, see Jarman 1981.

[8] See my edition and translation of *Cân Rolant* (1984:68). See also Rejhon 1984:27 regarding the clerical channels of transmission and 1984:25 ff. and 68 ff. on the role of clerks in the translation of the *Roland*.

seemed to be translating word for word without understanding the sense of the Old French. I found two candidates for such misunderstandings: the first was the possible misinterpretation of Anglo-Norman *umbre* "shade [of a tree]" as a kind of tree, an "*wmbyr* tree"; the second, the literal rendering of *Munjoie*, Charlemagne's war cry, as "Mountain of Joy" or "Hill of Joy" (as in "let us shout together on the Hill of Joy").[9]

As with the Welsh version of the *Chanson de Roland*, the Welsh *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* parallels quite closely the Old French as it came down to us in the unique manuscript that disappeared over a century ago from the British Museum. A substantive difference such as the mixing of certain details of the description of King Hugo's palace with those of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is likely to have been due to the use of a manuscript that contained a slightly different redaction of the tale than that found in the British Museum manuscript.[10]

As with *Cân Rolant*, there are additions and omissions of lines in the Welsh for which it is difficult to say whether they reflect the Old French model or were the doing of the translator himself.[11] Some condensing of the text is apparent as well.[12] One misunderstanding on the part of the Welsh translator, however, shows just how close the Welsh text is to the Old French version. It even appears as if the Old French lines we have were the very ones the Welsh translator was reading. The lines in question tell of Bertram's boast that he will take three shields, climb to the top of a pine tree, and "*La verrez les m'ensemble par tel vertud ferir / E voler*

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[9] See Rejhon 1984:89-91; see also Surridge (1985:74-76) for "*xénismes*" (words that a translator lifts directly from his model, in this case French) found in *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn*. This translation has been dated to the mid-thirteenth century by its editor, Watkin (1958:lix); for a critique of Watkin's edition, see Surridge 1985:77.

[10] The details in question are the moon and the fishes in the sea in the description of the church in the Old French (see Aebischer 1965: ll. 126-27; all line numbers refer to this edition) that occur in the Welsh version's description of Hu Gadarn's (= Hugo's) palace. See Williams 1968:189, ll. 3 ff.; all line numbers to the Welsh text refer to this edition. A detailed examination of the differences between the Welsh translation and the Old French version will appear in the edition of the Welsh version of the *Pèlerinage* that I am preparing.

[11] See, for example, the explanation of why Hu Gadarn plows as he does, namely, following the example of Adam, in *Ystorya* (Williams 1968:187, ll. 22-27), and Hu's refusal to let his daughter go back to France with Oliver because it was too far away (203, ll. 14-16). Elsewhere the Welsh text omits the oath taken by Charlemagne's Queen to the effect that she will throw herself from the highest tower in Paris to show she did not mean to disgrace him by her reference to Hugo's superiority in wearing the crown (233; note to 180, l. 10).

[12] An example is the omission of the lines that describe the foods prepared for the final feast of Hugo and Charlemagne; the Welsh translator simply says that no owner of a tongue could describe the many and various dishes that were there (203, ll. 1 ff.; Aebischer 1965: ll. 834 ff.).

cuntremunt, si m'escriërai si/ Que en quatre liües envirun le païs / Ne remandrat en bois cerf ne daim a fuïr, . . ." (ll. 595-98) ["There you will see me strike them together with such force / and [see them] fly upwards, and I will shout out such that for four leagues around / there will not remain in the wood to flee, either stag, or fallow deer . . ."][13] These lines, which have proved tricky for more than one Old French specialist,[14] also posed problems for the Welsh translator who understood "*e voler cuntremunt*" to refer to Bertram himself rather than to the shields, the result being that he has Bertram rise up into the air (*ac a ymdyrchafaf y'r awyr* ["and I will rise into the air"]) like a bird flapping two shields together on either side of him, and putting to flight beasts and husbandmen for fear of the bird.[15]

Intriguingly, the Welsh *Pèlerinage* participates in both the oral and written spheres of transmission. As I have mentioned, this translation resembles quite closely the Old French version found in the British Museum manuscript; yet, as I have shown elsewhere (1987), the comic French work itself must have resulted from the oral reception, probably in Norman England, of a Celtic tale concerning the abduction of Guinevere and the rivalry between Arthur and an Otherworld king over her favors. This tale was fused with a serious *Pèlerinage* that circulated in the twelfth century and that grew out of French legends concerning Charlemagne's unhistorical trip to the East as well as Carolingian traditions regarding the Frankish emperor's rivalry with the kings of Constantinople. That Arthur as well as Charlemagne figured in popular imagination in a tale regarding a trip to the East is reflected in a twelfth-century addition to Nennius telling of Arthur's journey to Jerusalem (see Stevenson 1838:49, n. 4). The fourteenth-century compiler Jean d'Outremeuse also recounts a trip of Arthur to Antioch and Jerusalem (see Borgnet 1869:II, 214 ff.).

Turning to the Welsh versions of Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain, ou le Chevalier au Lion*, *Erec et Enide*, and *Conte du Graal* (or *Perceval*), we see that they offer exceptions to the scheme presented at the beginning of this article, since, unlike the other Welsh works based on French models, they probably derive from the aural reception of a reading of Chrétien's romances. Chrétien, of course, had originally taken elements of his plots and many of his characters from Celtic models, probably through the intermediary of Breton. His protagonists turn up again in Welsh lore, as

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[13] I have removed a semi-colon that Aebischer placed after *cuntremunt* since I understand *si que* (11. 596-97) to depend on *par tel vertud* (1. 595) ("with such force... that").

[14] See the previous note and Aebischer's note to 1. 593. See also Picherit 1984:81, note to 11. 595-96.

[15] See Williams 1968:195, 1. 31 to 196, 1. 9. The text quoted is 196, 1. 4.

proved by their presence in the Welsh triads—which is never true of the heroes of *chansons de geste* translated from the French.

Chrétien's works must have been transmitted into Welsh by a bilingual adaptor who had a prior understanding of the Celtic lore upon which the material was based. Certain names and themes—originally Celtic—would have had a rich resonance of meaning for the Welsh hearer. In fashioning the tale back into Welsh, and with no written document to keep the French version intact, the adaptor was free to modify the tale for the benefit of his own audience, focusing on those features that had a particular meaning in a Welsh milieu, and eliminating those that he perceived as lacking even an exotic interest. Examples of this phenomenon in the three Welsh romances abound. Let us consider a few.

In the final lines of the Welsh version of *Yvain*, *Iarlles y fynnawn* [*The Lady of the Fountain*], also known as *Owein*, the hero, Owain, is associated with a flight of ravens (*branhes*), an indication absent from the French version. The lines in question tell that Owain became Arthur's *pennteulu* or "chief of the warband," and imply that the warband consisted of Owain's ravens with whom he would be victorious wherever he would go.[16] Bromwich has suggested that these ravens refer to Owain's own men since the word *bran* ["raven"] is often used in Welsh poetry to represent a warrior. Not only would Yvain li fiz Urien have been easily recognized by a Welsh audience as Owain fab Urien, the historically attested northern British hero celebrated in the poetry of the bard Taliesin (see Bromwich 1983:47 and 1978:479 ff.), but his association with ravens would have been understood as well. This rapprochement is seen elsewhere in Welsh tradition in the native Arthurian tale, *Breudwyt Ronabwy* [*The Dream of Rhonabwy*], a good part of which is concerned with the savage battle

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[16] The passage in question reads:

> Ac Owein a trigywys yn llys Arthur o hynny allan yn pennteulu. . .. Sef oed hynny trychant cledyf Kenuerchyn a'r vranhes. Ac y'r lle yd elei Owein a hynny gantaw, goruot a wnaei.
>
> [And Owain remained in Arthur's court from then on as chief of the warband. . .. Those were the 300 swords of the descendants of Kynuarch and the Flight of Ravens. And where Owain, and they with him, would go, he would be victorious.]

The lines quoted are from Thomson (1975:11. 817-21 [see 61-62 for notes to 1. 820]). (All line references to *Owein* are from this edition.) I follow Bromwich's interpretation (supported by Thomson's punctuation) that *teulu* "warband" is being equated here with Owein's ravens, on which see Bromwich 1978:481 and 561.

fought between Arthur's men and Owain's ravens.[17]

Another bit of traditional Celtic lore seems to have found its way into the beginning of the tale, but this time it causes an inconsistency. In *Yvain* we are told that after dinner the queen detains the king and he falls asleep so that he misses a tale of adventure told by Calogrenant to his entourage; in *Owein* the tale is told by Cynon (the counterpart of Calogrenant) after dinner as well, since Kei has served everyone mead and chops except the sleeping king. But when the tale is finished we have the rather incongruous information that everyone adjourns to go to dinner once again (this time with the king). The dynamics of Chrétien's complex narrative, as Tony Hunt has pointed out, require that Arthur hear the tale *after* dinner; the inconsistency of the two dinners in the Welsh—one right before and one directly after the tale-telling—may have been due in the Welsh version to the redactor wishing to follow Chrétien's version but at the same time recalling a motif that no doubt grew out of Celtic eating taboos, that is, that Arthur did not eat meat on a feast day until after he had heard a tale of adventure, hence his inclusion of yet another meal, so that Arthur might hear the tale *before* the dinner.[18]

In *Chwedyl Gereint vab Erbin* [*The Tale of Geraint son of Erbin*], the Welsh version of *Erec*, we see that, as in *Owein*, the protagonist Erec has been given a particularly Welsh name, Geraint, one which was borne from the sixth century onwards by several rulers of Devon, according to Bromwich (1961:465, n. 3). Interestingly the name "Erec" is of Breton origin, deriving from "Gueroc," the traditional founder of Vannes (Bromwich 1983:49).

The Welsh tale itself, while it follows fairly closely the narrative of Chrétien's *Erec*, has some startlingly Celtic traits that are absent from the French version. A particularly Celtic feature surfaces right at the start of *Gereint*: the role of the porter at Arthur's court. Not only does Chrétien include no porter in his romance, but the accompanying scene of a

[17] See Richards 1948:11-18. No native Welsh tradition regarding Owain, however, gives him the epithet "Knight of the Lion" that is found in Chrétien's *Yvain*, which probably accounts for its absence in the Welsh version. Nor does the hidden name motif of Chrétien's *Yvain*, in which the epithet plays a central role, turn up in *Owein* in anything but a rudimentary way (see Rejhon 1985-86).

[18] Hunt 1974:94 ff., esp. 97. On the taboo motif, Hunt refers to Reinhard (1933:182 ff.) and Cross (1952:C200-42). Another aspect of the Welsh text that shows the Welsh adaptor's fashioning the tale according to a tradition with which he and his audience are familiar is pointed out by Diverres (1981-82:155 ff.) He suggests that Chrétien's episode of the Noire Espine sisters in *Yvain* was omitted from *Owein* because the central issue of that episode involved a legal matter that would have had no meaning or resonance in Welsh society. This legal matter involves primogeniture of inheritance by two sisters, and as Diverres points out (156-59), Welsh women could not inherit a father's land before 1284 (the date of the Statute of Rhuddlan) and, even after that date, partibility was applied rather than primogeniture.

messenger arriving at Arthur's court with news of the fabulous white hart is also absent from *Erec*.[19] Both texts indicate Arthur's intention to hunt the stag, however.[20] The description of the porter Glewlwyd Mighty Grasp as Arthur's chief porter sounds very much like the one found in *Kulhwch and Olwen* in which we learn that Glewlwyd serves Arthur on every January first, while his men perform the duty of porter the rest of the year. Likewise in *Gereint*, Glewlwyd says he performs the office only at one of the three special festivals, while his men do it the rest of the year; both texts name Penpighon and Llaesgymyn as two of these men.[21] Glewlwyd Mighty Grasp also figures as a porter in the early "Pa gur" poem from the Black Book of Carmarthen.[22]

Another example of a passage present in *Gereint*—but absent in *Erec*—that echoes the same Welsh tradition as that which is reflected in *Kulhwch* is in the section of the tale in which Gereint sets out with Enid to visit his own kingdom and his father following his marriage to her. In *Erec* we are told that the hero is accompanied by sixty knights (ll. 2240-41); in *Gereint* (col. 411, ll. 27 to col. 412, ll. 1-5) he has nineteen named companions, the majority of whom are found in *Kulhwch and Olwen*.

In *Historia Peredur vab Efrawg*, the Welsh version of Chrétien's

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[19] See Evans (1907) 1977:cols. 385, 11. 35 ff. (All references to *Gereint* are from this edition.) For the French text see Roques 1970:28 ff. (All references to *Erec* are from this edition.)

[20] The Hunt of the White Stag episode itself reveals that the adaptor of *Gereint* may have known a version of this tale in which the head of the stag is given to Enide by Arthur, for this is what occurs in the Welsh text, as opposed to Chrétien's where he simply has Arthur give Enide a kiss. Bromwich (1961:464, n. 1) believes that this detail indicates that the Welsh tale "preserves a slightly better version," no doubt because it reflects better the Celtic Sovereignty theme of which the pursuit of a magic white animal is an essential component (see 442-43, n. 4). The giving of the head to Enide may well reflect an equation of the white stag with Enid; both stag and woman reflect Sovereignty, the figure that the ruler, Arthur, or perhaps originally Erec, must dominate in order to rule the land. Bromwich suggests that in an earlier version Enide herself was the prize to be won by Erec from the hunt (464).

[21] See Evans (1907) 1977:col. 385, ll. 35-42 to col. 386, ll. 1-8; for the text of *Kulhwch and Olwen* see col. 456, ll. 112. Like *Gereint*, *Owein* also mentions the role of Glewlwyd Mighty Grasp as someone who acts as Arthur's porter (see Thomson 1975:1, ll. 4 ff.). This information is absent in Chrétien's version of the tale. (See note 22 below.) Interestingly, a detail that *Gereint* (col. 389, ll. 10-12) and *Kulhwch* (col. 455, ll. 28-30) share is that each hero wears a purple mantle with four golden knobs at the corners; this detail is absent from Chrétien's description of Erec (ll. 94 ff.). Arthur's own mantle in *Breudwyt Ronabwy* is described too as having such a knob at each corner (see Richards 1948:11, ll. 16-17).

[22] See Roberts' edition of the poem (1978:300-2). For a discussion of the role of porter in the "Pa Gur" poem and in *Owein*, see 298-99.

Perceval, we have once again a particularly Welsh hero. The French name "Perceval" was apparently an approximation—influenced by folk etymology—of the Welsh "Peredur," but while Chrétien's version simply refers to him as "li Gallois," the Welsh adaptor saw fit to emphasize that he was from the north of Britain—the "Old North" referred to previously—so he is called Peredur vab Efrawc *o'r Gogled* [Peredur son of Efrawc *of the North*] (see Goetinck 1976:7, l. 1 and 8, l. 8, and Bromwich 1978:490), recalling perhaps the Peredur mentioned as one of the warriors in the tenth-century poem *Y Gododdin*.[23]

As for the narrative of *Peredur* itself, it closely resembles that of Chrétien's *Perceval* in only the first and last parts of the tale.[24] The two middle sections—absent in *Perceval*—contain much that has a native Celtic flavor. The first of these middle sections has been characterized by I.C. Lovecy as "a series of tales—perhaps not originally told of Peredur—which have been attracted into a tale of a major hero, just as other tales became attached to Arthur, and independent heroes were brought into his court." (I have shown elsewhere [1985-86] that this part of the tale was also influenced by a reminiscence of Chrétien's *Yvain*.) Lovecy also proposes that the second of the middle sections was originally a Celtic Sovereignty tale; he finds that this section as it stands now "seems more an abbreviated (or perhaps more Celtic) telling of much the same tale [as that told in the first and last parts of *Peredur*]" (141). He singles out a particularly Celtic element in this section, a fight perpetuated by a cauldron of regeneration.[25]

The question inevitably arises as to why there is such a difference in the nature of the output of the variously received materials: why are the orally received tales so profoundly changed by the receiving culture while the written material is not? To approach an answer, let us consider the individual body that is the medium of reception—and more specifically, the mind, assuming, of course, that the physiological workings of the human brain have not undergone appreciable evolution in the last eight centuries.

Research on the biology of the brain has revealed that there are two

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[23] Bromwich 1978:488 ff. She indicates (488) that the name Peredur belonged to one or more northern British heroes and suggests that behind the tale of *Peredur* lies a faint recollection of dynastic traditions concerning a ruler of one of the small British kingdoms of Yorkshire (*Efrawc* means "York") who ruled sometime before the late fifth-century battle of Catraeth, made famous by the *Gododdin* poem (490). For the dating of the *Gododdin*, see Sweetser 1985:505-7.

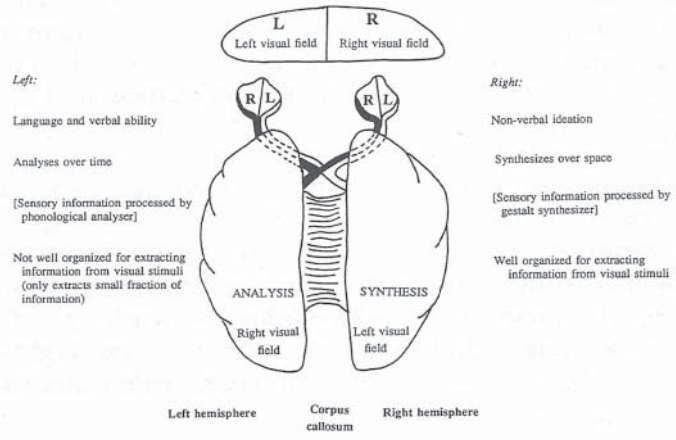
[24] In speaking of the first and last parts of *Peredur* I am following Thurneysen's quadripartite division of that tale, for which see his review (1912:185-89) of Williams 1909; see also Lovecy 1977-78:139-40.

[25] Lovecy 1977-78:141-42. For the cauldron of regeneration, see Thomson (1976:xxxii-xxxiii, 11. 139 ff. and 11. 375 ff.)

modes of information processing, each specific to one or the other of the two hemispheres that make up the neocortex of the brain: the left hemisphere governs language and verbal ability and analyses over time; the right hemisphere governs non-verbal ideation and synthesizes over space (Levy 1973:177 and 1974:167; Sperry 1970:129). To paraphrase the conclusions regarding the brain's lateral specialization drawn by Jerre Levy, an authority in this field of research, sensory input is processed in images in the right brain by means of a gestalt synthesizer, whereas it is processed in linguistic form in the left brain by means of a phonological analyzer (Levy 1974:167). The left hemisphere, which governs the right hand as well as the whole right side of the body, is generally agreed to be the dominant hemisphere in humankind; the right hemisphere, which governs the left hand and left side of the body, is the weaker of the two. Complex and abstract mental functions result from both working together exchanging information through the corpus callosum, the main body that connects them.[26] (See figure 1.)

Figure 1

The Bicameral Brain*



*Based on Levy (1973:163 and 177), Levy (1974:167), and on Sperry (1970:129).

Frederick Turner has proposed that the rhythmic language of oral performance elicits a particular kind of cooperation of the left and right brains. Rhythm—and particularly a variation from rhythm—produces for the right brain a gestalt-like message which, since it is not linguistic, is

[26] Sperry 1970:133 ff. The anterior commissure and the hippocampal commisure are the more minor bodies that connect the two hemispheres, on which see Sagan 1977:159.

inaccessible to the left brain (see Turner 1986:78). Essential to the successful cooperation of the left and right brains in the perception of narratives is plot, since it unites the left brain's capacity for dealing with large units of time with the right brain's pattern recognition capacity (80). Moreover, the limbic system, that part of the forebrain that is between the more primitive reptilian complex and the later evolved neocortex, is triggered at the same time, causing it to send neurochemical rewards, or endorphins, to the cerebral cortex (74, 81). The whole process apparently works by allowing the self to identify with the plot's characters, to empathize with their described experiences; put another way, the limbic system sends out signals to the brain that result in emotions and sensations that reflect the organism's relation to its perceived environment.[27] Thus "plot," whether in a tale or poem, can be said to have a role in cortical world-construction and the limbic rewards associated with it.[28] Turner believes (76) that oral performance is itself a cosmogenetic activity, one that is vital perhaps in maintaining the human world-construct. By oral performance he is specifically referring to the delivery of metered poetry by the voice, and what we have in the transferring of oral material from Celtic to French and vice-versa is primarily, as will be discussed shortly, just that. Turner, in collaboration with Ernst Pöppel (1983:296), maintains that all speakers of orally delivered material will pause for a few milliseconds at regular intervals about every three seconds to consider the syntax and lexicon of what is to be uttered in the following three seconds; the listener participates with a similar pause (not necessarily in synchronization with the speaker) in which he stops listening and processes what he has heard. This three-second pause constitutes what Turner and Pöppel call a brain "pulse," one that allows the gathering and organization of all kinds of information, not just auditory, but visual, tactile, and so on, into a bundle to be sent to the cortex.[29]

Both sides of the brain are necessary for understanding, whether information is transmitted orally or through a written medium. Since a

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[27] Turner (1986:81) suggests that the self is "the governing subset of mental relations, including a set of symbols reflexively representative of that subset," and that this self-subset is integrated with those of the characters of a story who have their own "smaller subsets with their own symbol clusters."

[28] For "world-construction" Turner (76) uses the term *Umwelt*, by which he means that working relationship that an organism has with its environment that allows it to make predictions that govern its actions in that environment, and he sees the human *Umwelt* as more learned than inherited.

[29] 1983:297-98. They suggest that this three-second pulse universally determines the master rhythm of human poetic meter (301) and that because metered language contains a steady repetition of sounds, in tune with the auditory brain pulse, this kind of language is heard in "stereo" mode (affecting the verbal capacities of the left brain and the rhythmic receptivity of the right brain) whereas unmetered prose is heard only in "mono."

written tale is by definition a linguistic phenomenon, the left brain naturally is very much involved in both its reading and writing. But I would argue that the right brain participates more significantly in the perception and execution of the written word while the left or verbal brain dominates in the case of orally transmitted information. In the latter instance, the rhythmic driving language of oral transmission together with the images of the performance itself (the body language of the performer and his delivery are bound to convey a particular interpretation to the hearer) do engage the right brain, particularly since the right brain's neural patterns are well organized for extracting information from visual stimuli (see Levy 1974:167), but the predominantly verbal aspect of the whole exercise argues for a left brain hegemony. The writing and reading of a written text, generally considered to be a left brain activity, involves also, however, the ability to perceive and decode the written word which is essentially the spatial representation of an idea on vellum or paper (or computer screen, for that matter), which indicates significant right brain activity. Levy has pointed out that the left brain's neural organization is such that its visual synthetic processes "extract only a small fraction of the information contained in a visual stimulus" (*idem*). As for the generation of language, the right brain is not verbal; it is the left that is considered to be the "speaking brain" (see Sperry 1970:126). Yet that writing can be initiated by the right side of the brain has been shown in experiments performed by R. W. Sperry and collaborators on commissurotomy patients, persons in whom the forebrain commissures have been surgically cut, and in whom communication between the left and right hemispheres has been blocked. One of these experiments demonstrates that if a printed word is shown to the right hemisphere via the left visual field, the patient can manage to write blindly in script with his left hand what he has seen, but since the left hemisphere, into which information enters via the right visual field, did not see it, he cannot verbalize what it is he saw (see Sagan 1977:162-63 and Nebes and Sperry 1971:254 ff.). The right brain's participation in reading and writing is not compromised, it seems to me, by the addition of speaking aloud or internally words that are read, as was apparently the practice of medieval scribes, since the word has to be read off the parchment in the first place.[30]

Aural reception of a "read" text would work for the hearer exactly the way it does for any oral performance: that is, there would be left brain dominance. As occurs in the hearing of an orally improvised performance, the information would be gathered in bundles at three-second intervals, according to Turner's model, and sent to the cortex where it would encounter the information already stored there that makes up the cultural resonances of the hearer's own world-construct. The new information

[30] On the muttering aloud of medieval readers, see Chaytor 1945:19.

would be absorbed and integrated into the construct and retained in memory by means of plot, which serves as an organizing device in much the same way as Renaissance rhetoricians used spatial metaphors to keep track of the sequence of topics in speeches, conceiving of them as, for example, a succession of rooms in a house. This process involves the right brain's spatial dominance combined with the left brain's verbal dominance and capacity to deal with large units of time (see Turner 1986:79 ff.).

The type of reception that was involved in the passing of Chrétien's romances into Welsh literature would have followed this model. The fact that the French romances are composed in verse enhanced the memorability of the text through poetic rhythm, while at the same time the plot aided the hearer further in organizing and recalling the material. The romances would not only have been interesting to the bilingual Welsh/French listener in their own right—the "driving" mechanism of the poetry furthering engagement of the affective midbrain (see Turner 1986: 80)—but they would have touched off those cultural resonances stored in the cortex and originating from his first-hand experience of the Celtic material mirrored in the French romances.

In reproducing this remembered material, the Welsh transmitter would naturally reflect his own world-construct in the new rendering, generating changes in the narrative, as we have seen, that can be either minor or substantive. He would not so much be translating remembered words and sentences from the foreign language as rendering or communicating ideas in his native language—certainly a verbal and linguistic left brain activity.

The same may be said for the effect of the translation of the orally heard Celtic material into French. The world-construct of the bilingual French/Welsh or French/Breton redactors certainly had its influence on the Celtic poems and tales that were being received into French, as witness the transformations undergone by the Celtic plot-themes and names when they entered the world of French cultural concerns. (The evolution of the comic *Pèlerinage*, discussed earlier, is one example of this phenomenon.) The originally Celtic material may be seen to undergo major transformation in French—perhaps even to a greater extent than Chrétien's romances were modified when passing into Welsh—because, unlike the romances, the Celtic material had no cultural resonances in the receiving French culture. But it did have novelty, which appeals to the habituative tendency of the human nervous system—that is, its tendency to respond more readily to the new and unexpected (see Turner and Pöppel 1983:278-79 and 303). The enormous change effected in the orally received foreign material may also reflect the "procrustean" tendency of the brain's human information processing which, according to Turner and Pöppel, "reduces the information it gets from the outside world to its own categories, and

accepts reality's answers only if they directly address its own set of questions" (278). The questions asked must be determined by the brain's own world-construct.

The brain's procrustean impulses would tend, I think, to cause change in any received material, were it transmitted orally or in writing. But a fundamental difference in the nature of the regenerated materials hinges on the role of memory. The imposition of the hearer's world-construct on the material he has heard is much greater when he must rely on his mind's ability—great though it may be—to retrieve this material by means of a plot line, than for the reader of the written word where long-term memory of the material plays a relatively minor part, the reader/translator having access at every moment to the written page.[31] If translation is done word for word without understanding, errors such as we have seen in *Cân Rolant*'s "*wmbyr tree*" and "Hill of Joy" can creep in, but aside from determined attempts to condense material, most change from the original would be effected when a translation is being produced "sense for sense," as the medieval Welsh translator Gruffyd Bola termed it.[32] On the whole, however, as I believe I have made clear, relatively little is changed in the translation of written material compared to that received orally. On reason for the relative closeness of the Welsh translations of *chansons de geste* to their originals may lie precisely in the lack of a performance: that is to say, there is no visual gestalt, no storyteller or poet to nuance the words with gesture or facial expressions, no interpretation to be encoded by the right brain to influence the reworking of the material.

But what is going on in the brain's act of "remembering," or processing the material through memory? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the left hemisphere is essentially designed for analysis while the right is more apt for synthesizing (Levy 1973:161-63). Information that enters the brain aurally, as in the case of the Celtic poems and tales that came into French and the Chrétien material that came into Welsh, was processed predominantly through the left hemisphere, optimally skilled at analysis or breaking up the whole of the material into its component parts; it could not help but be radically changed as it was regenerated, particularly since it was being sifted through the world-construct reflected in the other language. The information received via writing, such as the *chansons de geste* that were translated into Welsh, would have required little or no long-term memory, but would have been subjected to the right hemisphere's neural predisposition for synthesis—a tendency to take

[31] This is so even though Chaytor (1945:19) speaks of an auditory rather than visual memory of the read word on the part of medieval copyists.

[32] For Gruffydd Bola's own words see Williams 1966:67, n. 7.

separate elements and form from them a coherent whole. There would be an inclination in the reception of a written text to maintain the integrity of the whole, even though a certain amount of change would result from the necessity to translate sense for sense, which is a linguistic breaking up of sorts to make an idea in one language accessible in another. This sort of change is minimal, however, when compared to that undergone by the material received aurally.

In conclusion, I have applied these speculations about the role of the bicameral brain, which are naturally part of a general phenomenon—the transmission of narrative materials—to cross-linguistic and cross-cultural transmission and to the Welsh-French situation in particular since that is my own field of interest. This situation, however, can be seen as a case in point, the wider ramification being that the amount of change undergone by medieval narrative in general when it is translated into another culture may be assigned to the ways in which the brain receives it and regenerates the tales for the new cultural milieu.

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Chaucer, like all early authors, is known to us primarily through the medium of books. Without a goodly measure of bookishness, in fact, one is unlikely to survive the initial shock and persevere beyond the first week or two in an undergraduate class that studies him in the Middle English. For those few odd birds whom such semester-long experiences do not satisfy, advanced study and scholarly research demand years of immersion in dead languages, arcane traditions of medieval lore, and other singularly bookish pursuits. Perhaps it is no fluke, then, that the characteristic accent of Chaucerian criticism has fallen on intra- or inter-textual relations of one sort or another. And indeed, much in Chaucer's *oeuvre* calls for such treatment: he enjoyed depicting himself as a comically bookish fellow, and the allusions to lettered authorities, medieval and ancient, that populate his pages do indeed attest to a lifelong engagement with the learned traditions of his age. At the same time Chaucer had an eye and an ear for the folklife of his world in a way that another preeminent poet of the Middle Ages, Dante, did not, and *this* aspect of Chaucer's achievement has not been so fully dilated upon.

Thus it is significant that, in the same year, two books have appeared that, in radically different ways, explore relations between the *Canterbury Tales* and oral artistry. Perhaps the orality of Chaucer is a topic whose time at last has come. At least two significant lines of connection can be drawn between Chaucer's poetic creation and the oral world. The first stems from the probability that Chaucer intended his work, at least in part, for oral delivery. This dimension of Chaucer's poetry and other medieval literature was expounded upon half a century ago by Ruth Crosby and Bertrand Bronson, and it has inspired periodic scholarly forays ever since. In fact for Chaucer, as for many other medieval authors, the evidence is thoroughly ambiguous, since on some occasions he seems to refer to his poetry in oral performative and on other occasions in textual terms. Much ink has been spilt on this issue; a sensible compromise between extreme positions is that Chaucer envisioned the dissemination of his work in both ways, through oral presentation and in book form. Without a doubt Chaucer's narrative is singularly well adapted to reading aloud; its very diffusive chattiness, now comic, now serious, ever flowing on through an inexhaustible golden abundance of magical rhyme, makes for the most marvelous listening entertainment. Chaucerians have always known this—since, as Betsy Bowden points out, they are repeatedly performing it to themselves and to their classes. Yet theory has not in general caught up with experience. For the aesthetic implications of an art form that was, in part anyway, designed for live rendering have rarely been examined in a rigorous and thoroughgoing fashion.

That the poetry itself was created to playa role within an oral interchange, that oral performative dynamics are built into the poetic structure, alerts us to one crucial context for its interpretation. Yet the performative process is not only *around* the poetry: Chaucer depicts it explicitly *within* his poetry-and here we turn more narrowly to the *Canterbury Tales*. For, if we buy Chaucer's fiction, what is this his *magnum opus* except the retrospectively transcribed proceedings of an oral tale-telling contest, conducted by no one other than "the folk"? It is indeed remarkable that, amid all the controversy that has surrounded oral-formulaic theory and the study of oral tradition, the pertinence of this the supreme masterpiece of Middle English has so seldom been looked into. For Chaucer furnishes us, along with a word-for-word record of the tales he heard on the road to Canterbury, with considerable information, of the sort that would interest ethnographers,

concerning the character and social standing of the tellers as well as the dramatic circumstances of their performances. Of course, none of this really happened; it is all a fiction, one of Plato's lies. No one feels compelled to believe that the historical Chaucer actually heard any of these tales on a pilgrimage; and some of them he indisputably lifted from written sources. But might not Chaucer's account nonetheless provide us with a modestly accurate and insightful description of folkloric processes? Might not his own talents as a poet have fed in part on the efforts of such folkloric practitioners in the art of oral storytelling?

This commonly neglected dimension of the *Canterbury Tales* is the subject of Carl Lindahl's *Earnest Games,* a major re-inauguration of folkloric method in Middle English studies. Yet Lindahl dissociates himself from earlier Chaucerian folklorists (such as Child and Whiting and Utley) who limited themselves too narrowly to canonically "folkloric" genres or material transmitted in oral-memorial fashion. In fact, oral tradition as a diachronic phenomenon is not Lindahl's concern. His approach moves rather through medieval social history and its "two basic means of communication: the elite and the folk" (7). This is indeed the crucial and grounding distinction for the entire book. Chaucer himself, while well-versed in elite literature and personally connected with the life of the court, was nonetheless unusually well attuned (by the standards of medieval authors) to the world of folk culture, which orients itself around community experience rather than lettered *auctoritas* and institutionalized learning. Chaucer's powers as an ethnological observer in this homely arena of common life underlie the realism of his depiction of community interactions among the pilgrims. This centering in the narrative level of the Canterbury pilgrims and the community process of their interactions rather than within the separate worlds of the individual tales marks Lindahl's approach throughout. **It** determines his choice, further, to view their exchanges in the light of scholarship and records relating to social history that are seldom featured in Chaucer scholarship.

The first half of the book, entitled "The Shapes of Play and Society," looks for models for the Canterbury pilgrimage community in several domains of fourteenth-century life. One such model Lindahl finds in the parish guilds (as distinct from the craft guilds). Like the pilgrim assemblage, these guilds were primarily middle-class institutions whose membership, including clerical and feminine representation, sampled from a moderately diverse economic and occupational range and catered to entertainment as well as spiritual needs. In the next chapter Lindahl turns to the medieval pilgrim more narrowly, studying the mingling of play and piety that was common in pilgrimages, though not in elite literature, and arguing for the conventional association of pilgrim-wanderers with proficiency in the oral arts. Yet perhaps the most striking of these early chapters is the fourth, which argues that "Chaucer shaped his poem to simulate the medieval festival" (46), by which he means entertainments such as the *Cour Amoureuse,* London Pui, the Mayings, Feast of Fools, Christmas guisings, and other such occasions. The nine most common traits in these festivals—an autocratic ruler, amateur performers, enforced participation, formality, processionality, a mingling of the sacred and profane, wider festival context, competition, and hierarchical structuring-appear in the *Canterbury Tales* with a regularity unmatched in Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Sercambi's *Novella*. Though these contexts (guild, pilgrimage, and festival) diverge from one another, Lindahl's analysis of similarities between their patterns of in-group interaction and those in the *Canterbury Tales* is striking. It is hard not to be persuaded that he has found real social backgrounds to the kind of association Chaucer has depicted in his pilgrim assemblage.

The second section, entitled "Conventions of Narrative War," turns from the pilgrims themselves to what they say, and particularly to the verbal dueling in which the pilgrim churls excel. Such verbal abuse entailed the mastery of a dangerous rhetorical art by which the practitioner steered clear from various rocks of disaster. One of these was slander. For while most offenses on this account were relegated to trial in minor courts before neighbors, the contemporary legal records suggest that slander was nonetheless taken quite seriously. Since attacks on social superiors were the most severely

reprimanded, the bitterest feuds typically sprang up between the rival vocations and approximate social equals. Thus verbal feuding never engulfs the high-ranking Knight, whose "good speaking" is authoritarian in a *gentile* and deferential way. Yet even bickering peers such as the Miller and Reeve usually avoid flagrant abuse but rather draw from a range of strategies that Lindahl enumerates, such as the deflected apology, conditional insult, and mock praise. Lindahl examines closely the "rhetorical folk duels" of the Miller and Reeve, Host and Cook, and Friar and Summoner, analyzing the strategies that the various combatants employ and commenting on their relative success. The last chapter in this section, on the "license to lie," retraces some of this same ground from the standpoint of the *Schwank,* which Lindahl argues at some length to be preferable to the *fabliau* as a characterization of the "Miller's Tale" and others of this class. An oral narrative form centering around the "basic human drives" and mocking "foibles and pretensions" especially of those high in the social order, the *Schwank* employs such tactics as attack through the situational aptness of the tale to its target, concealment through "anonymity" or a refusal to name the target directly, subtle tests and challenges, and stereotyping. Such tactics allow a tale-teller to abuse with a measure of impunity. Lindahl studies at length the manner in which an assortment of pilgrims—the Miller, Reeve, Friar, Summoner, Clerk, Merchant, and Manciple—employ these devices.

In the concluding chapter, constituting the third part of the book, Lindahl brings us "back to court," arguing that, in his manner of address to his aristocratic audience, Chaucer acted himself partly in a manner of a folk poet. Indeed, several of the crafty rhetorical tricks of the Miller (defected apology, indirect insult, elaborate disclaimer, and repetition of the insult on a higher level of abstraction) Chaucer himself employs. Possibly such practice owes to the oral delivery of the *Tales,* though even if Chaucer did not design his tales for such a mode of dissemination, the laws of folk community register within their rhetoric anyway. For the precariousness of Chaucer's personal and professional standing within the rather volatile world of court politics in late fourteenth-century England instructed him in the folk arts as a skill necessary for his very survival.

It is this aspect of Lindahl's account from which I find myself most dissenting. To be sure, Chaucer's age was a straited one, and Chaucer himself was subjected to the hazards that any small player must be, so close to the seats of controversy in a dangerous political game. Undoubtedly these personal circumstances registered within his poetry. At the same time, Chaucer's poetry conveys a spirit of freedom and delight and pure humor that Lindahl's construction does not altogether give justice to. The gathering clouds of cultural oppression that loom so large in the awareness of many critics today have cast shadows over what remains the rather happy world of Chaucer's poetry, shadows that, in this case, are perhaps more the making of the modern scholar than the medieval poet. Further, while Chaucer really does seem to have exhibited an unusual degree of attunement to the ways of "the folk," for all that his greater sympathies seem to me to have run with his formal allegiances. For the churls, however insightfully and sometimes warmly portrayed, remain, in the pilgrim company, a raucous crowd. The breadth of Chaucer's vision includes them, but I find it hard to believe that he identified with them in a major way.

Yet these criticisms, addressed to that level of interpretation where scholars inevitably reassemble the building blocks of meaning in the light of their own personal proclivities, cannot even begin to diminish the contributions of this book, which are impressive indeed. Lindahl has established the pertinence of folkloric patterning, oral tradition, and a wide world of fourteenth-century non-elite culture to Chaucer's crowning poetic endeavor with a thorough scholarly authoritativeness that is hard to gainsay. Throughout he is well-informed on scholarship and alive to critical and historical issues relating to his argument. The writing is exceptionally clear, and his analysis is always cogent and centers on specific and well-defined features of style and structure. Perhaps the most compelling argument for Lindahl's approach, however, is its fecundity in producing results. Rarely does one encounter a book delivering so full a yield of genuinely fresh perspectives and insights from ground so thoroughly trampled and picked over as

Chaucer's poetry. Many new directions are indicated in *Earnest Games;* one hopes that traditional literary scholars as well as folklorists will strike out on them.

It is remarkable that a single year should give birth to two studies of the *Canterbury Tales* so plainly relevant to the interests of this journal as to invite joint treatment in a review, yet so utterly divergent in virtually every other respect. While Lindahl's primary emphasis falls on the performances of the pilgrims within the fiction, Betsy Bowden's *Chaucer Aloud,* as the title suggest, deals with the performance of the poetry itself. Implicitly this topic relates to the possible oral performance milieu of Chaucer's original compositions, although Bowden does not dilate upon this dimension of significance in her study. Her interest centers rather on the interpretive possibilities registered in and arising from oral renderings of the *Tales* by present-day scholars. And herein lies undoubtedly the book's originality and its claim to have pointed out a new horizon in Chaucer studies. For it is accompanied by a ninety-minute cassette tape of readings from the *Tales* by thirty-two scholars, which the author collected between 1979 and 1983. These taped selections are essential to the book, since four of the twelve chapters concentrate on their interpretation. These tapes are not professional quality, nor does Bowden represent them as such. Rather, they provide evidence on the oral interpretation of Chaucer; and to bring home their significance is one of Bowden's major aims.

How do these performances and Bowden's interpretations of them fit into the book's larger designs? In fact, though Bowden's approach is striking in its novelty and rich with possibilities, her central idea is not fully coherent. Her focus is limited to three character—the Prioress, the Pardoner, and the Merchant. I do not entirely understand the reason for this particular selection, though Bowden plainly wishes to focus on cruces generating divergent interpretations. These divergences usually stem from problems of character and character motivation, whether relating to one of the three pilgrims themselves or to a figure in their tales. Bowden approaches such interpretive cruces through three sources of evidence. The first, modern scholarly interpretation, is treated in a rather cursory manner—and understandably so, since Bowden has other axes to grind. The evidence of the recordings we shall be discussing more fully presently. The final source consists in what she calls "readers' responses" to the three pilgrims through the four centuries from Chaucer's death until the early nineteenth century, a purely pragmatic cutoff date selected to avoid the prolixity of the Victorians. These "responses" include, occasionally, "direct commentary on Chaucer's text," though these early centuries do not provide this in abundance. More often, Bowden works with illustrations from early printed editions, such as those in John Urry's 1721 edition, or the drawings of Thomas Stothard or William Blake. Most of all, however, Bowden focuses on the "interpretations" of Chaucer implicit in a variety of adaptations, translations, and modernizations. This leads her to such material as the fifteenth-century *Tale of Beryn,* a rendering of the *Prioress' Tale* by William Wordsworth, and especially Alexander Pope's re-creations in the Pope/Betterton edition of 1712 and elsewhere. A special favorite of Bowden's, Pope's version provides the center of gravity for three chapters on early treatments of the "Merchant's Tale." Appendix B, "Canterbury Tales Modernizations, 1700-75," provides a useful catalog that one hopes will one day be extended to cover the entire premodern period. Bowden plunges into this rather esoteric material with an infectious enthusiasm, and she does lead one to wonder why this channel of premodern literary tradition—which attracted the contributions of several major poets-has so largely dropped out of view today.

Bowden's alternation between such writerly modernizations of Chaucer and scholarly readings gives rise to such chapter titles as "The Prioress on Paper" and "The Prioress on Tape." The question that grows increasingly insistent, however, is what these two very distinct sorts of material have to do with each other. What one might have anticipated was a diachronic study of these three Canterbury pilgrims and their paraphernalia in what might, oxymoronically, be characterized as a kind of highbrow folk tradition. In the early centuries, these pilgrims and their tales were seldom encountered

directly in their Middle English texts but lived rather in a zone between their attribution to a celebrated English poet, on the one hand, and an assortment of illustrations and modernized versions, on the other. The phenomenology involved is reminiscent of an oral folk tradition—which Bowden several times invokes—with its multi forms and continuous reshaping and self-adaptation to present reality. Likewise, the modern taped recordings, while they do reflect a disciplined scholarly immersion in the Middle English, nonetheless hark to a very real twentieth-century pedagogical "folk tradition." Flourishing above all in the classroom, this professorial art form teases out a new image of Chaucer between a fixed text, lying open on students' desks, and live performances, designed to tantalize student appetites for arcane literature while ventilating the professorial urge toward histrionics. The possibilities for comparison between these two types of Chaucerian tradition—the early print and the modern pedagogical—are intriguing. Yet Bowden never explores questions of this kind. Indeed, the only rationale she seems to provide for the present-day readings aloud is that all these interpretations attest to the nonhegemonic diversity of meaning to which Chaucer's poetry can give rise. There needed no ghost returned from the graveyard of eighteenth-century esoteric a to tell us this. The poverty of this conclusion is disappointing, particularly when measured against the richness of the brew Bowden has prepared for us.

Nonetheless, the inclusion of the cassette with the text and the extensive effort of interpretation that Bowden gives to these live renderings represent an audacious move. And one must credit her here and everywhere with an unusual candor in exposing her methods and assumptions. The tape selections break down into a series of "cuts," A through O. Each cut consists of a series of performances of a single passage, ranging in length from a few lines to nearly a hundred, by different readers. Bowden subdivides her chapters on oral performances into sections on the individual cuts, and in each section she provides a schematic-summary of her interpretations. Further, the performed passages from the *Canterbury Tales* are reproduced in an included brochure, doing away with the need to cart around an edition of Chaucer's text as an accessory to a critical study that already demands a tape recorder or walkman. This organization is plainly designed to facilitate the integration of visual reading (of Bowden's text) with aural listening (to her taped selections); scholarly readers who want to do *Chaucer Aloud* justice must be prepared for this multi-media approach. The resulting experience is an unusual one, and one hopes that more ventures of this kind will be attempted.

Bowden assumes, reasonably enough, that any reading aloud itself constitutes an interpretation; and her project, in the four chapters focused on the cassette tape, consists in interpreting these interpretations, in the sense of explaining what these interpretations are. Her method, as she herself acknowledges, is subjective and impressionistic. Speech synthesizers receive a few passing nods, but by and large her conclusion is that the spotlights of such technology do not pierce far through the foggy twilights of personal artistic expression where binary complexities are best left unresolved. I am not sold on this rather quick dismissal and would like to see a more rigorous application of techniques derived from linguistics with the assistance of audio technology, though this would demand a specialized expertise which few humanists possess. Nonetheless, such methods eschewed, what Bowden does provide are detailed "close readings" that center on intonation, accent, pitch, pacing, and other performance variables. Again, she does not provide criteria for her interpretations but relies instead on her intuitive sense and gut feelings for what the performers were trying to convey. I must confess that this approach arouses my suspicions; her interpretations are, to my taste, over-read and over-dramatizing, to the point where some of the subtlety of Chaucer becomes obscured. It is true that these problems originate in some—though by no means all—of the performances themselves. At the same time, Bowden has obviously listened to the tapes with exceeding care, and her readings, whatever their excesses, really do convey a vivid response to what she has heard. Moreover, I find it difficult to suggest what method should be preferred to hers, arbitrary though I find her method to be. Yet in such an experimental endeavor the specific

conclusions will undoubtedly prove less significant than the sheer fact of the attempt. Furthermore, Bowden has presented her work unpretentiously and honestly. And in the process she has raised questions of a new type in literary criticism.

Yet the book is riddled with other problems of a more incidental sort. The writing exhibits a marked penchant for the informal and the "cute" in a way that may grate on some sensibilities (as it does mine). Further, it is not particularly economical: the book runs on longer than it needs to. In short, while the exposition never fails in its liveliness and immediacy of self-presentation, it is not always well thought out. On several levels, the book lacks intellectual rigor. But for all that, what *Chaucer Aloud* has attempted is genuinely innovative. It has opened a new direction and a new horizon in Chaucerian criticism. Whatever its deficiencies, for this it has earned an enduring place of honor.

When one examines the books side by side, one is struck by the rarity of points of contact between Lindahl's and Bowden's probings, despite the fact that, if one draws out a few conceptual connections, their projects are significantly interrelated. Plainly there is a wide world of Chaucer still waiting to be explored. Perhaps the age of electronic orality is engendering a sensibility whereby we can attune ourselves to medieval communication in a way that has not been possible during the intervening centuries of immersion in the world of print. Quite beyond what they accomplish in themselves, these books sketch out new pathways rich in promise for the future of medievalism.

Allegorical Speculation in an Oral Society: The Tabwa Narrative Tradition, Robert Cancel. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, l22. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989. x + 230 pp. Glossary; Bibliography.

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Robert Cancel's work is on the Tabwa oral narrative called the *inshimi* among the Bemba-speaking Tabwa in Zambia. The noun *inshimi,* derived from the verb *ukushimika* "to tell stories, preach, or converse," reminds one immediately of the Xhosa *iintsomi* of South Africa. The similarity in structure probably indicates a common Ur-Bantu (or Malcolm Cuthrie's Common Bantu) form. It is interesting to note, however, that the Xhosa language does not have a corresponding verb.

Cancel's research was carried out in northern Zambia in an area between Lakes Mweru and Tanganyika. His fieldwork started in 1975 and continued for approximately two years among the Tabwa (5). He admits that this is a relatively short period in which to learn a language, let alone a culture. I like his honesty; the same cannot always be said of field workers everywhere in this regard. Some have made dubious claims regarding their "fluency" or "competence" in the target language after a brief sojourn among the speakers, enabling them to interpret forms such as oral narratives in a way that would not be possible to the "uninitiated." Fortunately this is not one of Cancel's shortcomings. He openly acknowledges help he received through models from similar studies as well as from anthropological and ethnographic research conducted on relevant groups in Zambia and Zaire. This does not, however, detract from his extremely useful contribution as regards oral narrative among the Tabwa in particular, and oral narrative in general.

Another case in point is his acknowledgment that the tale-telling events "were rarely spontaneous events" (22). Although this would certainly not seem to be the ideal situation, the fact of the matter is that the serious field worker in Cancel's circumstances has no other option. He openly admits that his "mere presence could have altered any number of the conditions of performance" (22). There have been instances in the past where field workers were at pains to stress the fact that the storytelling performances forming the basis of their analyses were never "contrived"or "organized." They "stumbled" upon these performances

and then merged with the audience so as to become barely noticeable, enabling them to witness a "spontaneous" performance. With a foreign worker in your midst, this does not seem feasible.

Cancel rightly maintains that determining a method for analyzing his data comes down to a matter of choice, although an "educated choice" (1). His view of an oral tradition as polysemic, operating on various levels, is commendable. This excludes the usage of any single approach to its structure and function. His view of the Tabwa oral narrative tradition is grounded in three disciplines: literary criticism, folklore, and anthropology. Following Alton Becker's model for exploring Javanese shadow theater, Cancel identifies three specific dimensions of the tradition: the first is the linguistic presentation of the verbal text; the second the intertextual relationship between the narrative and other narratives in the tradition or the traditional context; and the third the living context of the performance itself (18). This ties in with John Foley's insistence that in comparing oral traditions, one should keep in mind that there should be similarity regarding the tradition, the genre, and the text (1988:109-11).

It is also heartening to see that Cancel believes that literary scholarship can help in bringing together works from a written tradition and those from an oral tradition. To be sure, there are differences, but it is true, as Cancel says, that the commonality between these two traditions has been played down in favor of the more highlighted differences.

In Chapter 2 Cancel takes a look at the formal structure of the narratives. His basic narrative unit is the *image,* which he defines as "the visualization of a character, action, or relationship" (24). Other key concepts in his analysis are plot, repetition, theme, allegory, metaphor, and two "basic structural models," that is, the expansible image-set and the patterned image-set (33). Cancel should perhaps have singled out "episode" as a key structural concept in his analysis too, because the term features very prominently throughout the discussion. It is quite obvious that Cancel had been strongly influenced by the work of Harold Scheub on the Xhosa *iintsomi* (1975), as he acknowledges (33). His reference to audience expectation being confirmed (or thwarted) reminds one of Jurij Lotman's (1973) aesthetics of identification, where the code of the sender (narrator) is the same as that of the recipients (audience) as opposed to the aesthetics of contrast (in literary forms, for example) when the author's code and that of his readership may differ considerably.

Cancel's selection of performances and his discussion in Chapter 2 satisfactorily illustrate the concepts he introduces. I find his method of including non-relevant remarks by audience members in his translations more distracting than helpful. The aim ostensibly is to give an authentic ring to the transcription. The inclusion of remarks, in whatever form, by members of the audience on the narrative itself or aiding the narrator in his or her performance, on the other hand, is extremely important. It is well known that the audience and the narrator jointly shape the performance within most oral narrative traditions.

Chapter 3 deals with the performance context, the living event, and it is as Cancel rightly states a vital part of the storytelling tradition. His discussion of narrators and their individual styles and idiosyncrasies reminds one again vividly of Scheub's work on the Xhosa *iintsomi*. One wonders whether Cancel should not have adopted a different way of presenting his translations of the Tabwa narratives, given the transcription he provides on pages 61-63 to illustrate the grouping of words used by the narrator. The illustrations of narrators in action, even frozen as they are, do add color to the discussion. It is always extremely difficult to capture the imagination of the reader when describing narrators and their techniques such as body movement, mime, gesture, and facial expression. Cancel again (75) refers to the effect his presence may have had on the performances. Although he admits that he does not know, it is commendable of him to acknowledge the fact that the "normal" context of story-performance, as he calls it, may have been altered by his presence.

In chapters 4,5, and 6 Cancel proceeds to analyze tales that are more complex in composition. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with narratives that share a similar structural

framework by way of the same basic polarities, characters, plot, and action. These related narratives constitute an "armature." In chapter 6 Cancel illustrates how the thematic argument of the narrative is composed by allegorically aligning various elements in the narrative. In all three chapters the establishing of sets of polarities or oppositions appears to be the key process.

I fail to understand the reason for Cancel's inclusion of an appendix following every chapter. After chapter 3, having discussed the performance context, he adds three narratives. The mere representations of the translated texts, admittedly with minor indications of instances where narrators had "performed," simply mean very little in terms of the foregoing discussion. One suspects that the narratives are included for comparative purposes or to illustrate variant forms of the same tale-type. If one compares the relatively short narratives in the appendices in chapters 5 and 6 with the tales analyzed in those chapters, they appear much simpler in structure. Why include them? A general appendix at the back would better have served the purpose of providing additional data for the interested scholar. One would also have liked to see a few tales in the vernacular together with their translations. The book is unfortunately marred by quite a few annoying and unnecessary typographical errors in the text.

In spite of minor criticisms, Cancel has in my opinion made a valuable contribution as regards the study of oral narrative tradition among the Tabwa specifically and in Africa generally. It is quite clear that different societies in Africa share many characteristics in oral narrative tradition. Cancel's largest contribution lies in his formal application of metaphor and allegory to the composition of story in performance, and his book is a welcome addition to the ever-growing and fascinating field of oral narrative.

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