Para-Narratives in the Odyssey: Stories in the Frame

Maureen Alden

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Dedication

Maureen Alden

(p.v) For Michael

οὐ γάρ μοι θνήισκων λεχέων ἐκ χεῖρας ὄρεξας,

οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὗ τέ κεν αἰεὶ

μεμνήιμην νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα δάκρυ χέουσα. **(p.vi)**

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(p.vii) Preface

Maureen Alden

This book about para-narratives in the *Odyssey* is intended as a companion volume to *Homer Beside Himself*. In that volume, I tried to demonstrate how the subsidiary narratives of the *Iliad* explore and interpret the concerns of the primary narrative. In the *Odyssey* too, the primary narrative of how Odysseus secures his return home to recover his wife and punish her suitors is explored and illuminated by all the many subsidiary narratives by the poet and his characters. There have been some surprises along the way: I was not expecting the poem's deliberate play on versions of myth that it does not use, or so much evocation of ritual in narrator text. The book has taken a long time to complete, against a grim background. I would not have survived to finish it without the medical expertise and prompt action of Dr. Denise Deasy, Dr. Oonagh Cleland, and Dr. Gary Dorman. Linda Ballard, George Huxley, Adrian Kelly, Elizabeth Minchin, William Odling-Smee F.R.C.S., Ruth Scodel, Richard Seaford, and Fred Williams have all been kind enough to discuss ideas and read portions of the manuscript. I am most grateful for their expert advice. It should not be assumed, however, that any of these scholars necessarily agrees with the views here expressed. Michael Longley kindly allowed me to use his poems, which are reproduced here by permission of Penguin Random House UK. I would also like to express my thanks to Hilary O'Shea, Charlotte Loveridge, Georgina Leighton, and other staff at the Oxford University Press. For the errors remaining in the work, I alone am responsible. My debt to my very brilliant, kind, and patient husband, Michael Allen, is beyond words. He allowed me to try out ideas and portions of the manuscript on him, and supported and encouraged my efforts with unfailing generosity. As a very inadequate token of my love and admiration, this book, too, is dedicated to him.

Belfast

27 September 2016 **(p.viii)**

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(p.xi) List of Abbreviations

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- *AT*
  The Types of the Folk-Tale: A Classification and Bibliography, by A. Aarne, rev. and trans. Stith Thompson, 2nd edn (Helsinki: Helsinki International Folklore Fellows Communications, 1964), first published 1961.
- *CEG*
  Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum viii–v a. Chr. n., ed. P. A. Hansen (Berlin and New York, NY: W. de Gruyter, 1983).
- *CIL*
  Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1862–).
- *DK*
  Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, i–iii, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz (Berlin: Weidmann, 1951–2).
- *EGF*
  Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, ed. M. Davies (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1988).
- *EGM*
  Early Greek Mythography, i–ii, ed. R. L. Fowler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000–13).
- *FGrHist.*
  Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–58).
- *FHG*

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, i–iv, ed. Car. and Theod. Müller (Paris: A. Firmin Diderot, 1841–51).

- Finglass
  Stesichorus: The Poems, ed. M. Davies and P. J. Finglass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- *GDI*
  Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, ed. H. Collitz et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1884–1915).
- *GEF*
  Greek Epic Fragments, ed. M. L. West (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- *Gesamtkommentar*
  Homers Ilias: Gesamtkommentar, i–viii, ed. J. Latacz et al. (Munich, Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2000–10).
- *IC*
  Inscriptiones Creticae Opera et Consilio Friderici Halbherr Collectae, i–iv, ed. M. Guarducci (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935–50).
- *IEG*
  Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati, ed. M. L. West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
- *IG*
  Inscriptiones Graecae (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1873–1980).
- *IGIDS*
  Inscriptiones Graecae ad Inlustrandas Dialectos Selectae, ed. F. Solmsen, 4th edn ed. E. Fraenkel (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930).
- *LfgrE*
  Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos, ed. B. Snell (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1955–2010).
- **(p.xii)** *LGS*
  Lyrica Graeca Selecta, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968, repr. 1973).
- *LIMC*
  Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (Zurich: Artemis, 1981–97).
- LSJ^{9}
  A Greek–English Lexicon^{9} (with Suppl.), ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).
- *OED*
  The Compact Oxford English Dictionary (complete text reproduced micrographically), 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), first published 1971.
- *OLD*
  Oxford Latin Dictionary, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
- *PEG*

Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta, i, ed. A. Bernabé (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1996), first published 1987.

- *PMG*
  Poetae Melici Graeci, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).
- *RE*
  Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894–1980). New revised edition begun by G. Wissowa, supplemented by numerous subject entries, edited by W. Kroll and K. Witte. 2nd series (1914–).
- *SLG*
  Supplementum Lyricis Graecis, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). (Numbers given as S-.)
- *TrGF*
  Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, i, ed. B. Snell, 1971; ii, ed. R. Kannicht, 1981; iii, Aeschylus, ed. S. Radt, 1985; iv, Sophocles, ed. S. Radt, 1977; v, Euripides, ed. R. Kannicht, 2004 (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht).
- UFTM
  Ulster Folk and Transport Museum.

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Introduction

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Abstract and Keywords

The progress of the main narrative of the *Odyssey* is frequently suspended by the para-narratives told by the poet and his characters. These can take the form of paradigms providing a model of action for imitation or avoidance by a character. They can also guide interpretation of the main narrative by exploring variations on its basic story shape. A veiled hint may be conveyed through an αἶνος purportedly based on personal experience. Previous work on narratives in the *Odyssey*, including narratology and narrative strategy, is briefly surveyed. The Homeric poems were showcased in the Athenian festival of the Panathenaea, and religious practice becomes a further source of para-narrative as the Athenian rituals of the Plynteria and Arrephoria are evoked by Penelope's actions and stories as the poem draws to its end. Athenian control of the pan-Ionian festival in Delos may explain the Apollo paradigm used of Odysseus.

Keywords: Para-narrative, paradigm, story shape, αἶνος, survey, narratology, narrative strategy, Panathenaea, Plynteria, Arrephoria

The *Odyssey* is an epic development of an international story found as a legend and as a folk tale, in song and in prose.[1] A story (λόγος), as Aristotle informs us,[2] relates something which happened in the past. The story of the *Odyssey* is not long:

> ἀποδημοῦντός τινος ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ παραφυλαττομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ μόνου ὄντος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν οἴκοι οὕτως ἐχόντων ὥστε τὰ χρήματα ὑπὸ μνηστήρων ἀναλίσκεσθαι

καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικνεῖται χειμασθείς, καὶ ἀναγνωρίσας †τινὰς† αὐτὸς ἐπιθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσώθη τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς διέφθειρε.

A man has been away from home for many years, and is kept away by Poseidon, and is on his own, and in addition the situation at home is such that his resources are being spent by the suitors, and his son is being plotted against, and he arrives overwhelmed by suffering, and when he has recognized certain people and himself makes an attack, he himself is preserved, but he destroys his enemies.

Aristotle, Po. *1455b 16–23*

But the progress of this main narrative action is frequently suspended by the many para-narratives set beside it.[3] They are the subject of this book, which seeks to examine their relationship to the main narrative and to their immediate context. They take a variety of forms and serve a variety of purposes, but all relate to their context in some way, whether they are told by the poet or by his characters. They may be understood differently by different audiences, and not all members of the poet's audience will interpret them in the same way.

(p.2) 1. Parallel Narratives in the Voice of the Poet-Narrator

Analogous or parallel situations[4] are inserted into the narrative itself, so that one episode resembles and sheds light on another. No sooner has the poet told us in his own voice that Odysseus is stranded on the island of Calypso (although the gods intend him to return home), than the narrative is interrupted by the analogous situation of Telemachus in Ithaca. The young man leaves the island and travels to Pylos and Sparta, where he is entertained and receives news of his father. The suitors plot to kill him on his return. Then the narrative returns to Odysseus, who leaves Calypso's island and arrives shipwrecked in Scheria, where he is entertained and relates his experiences. The Phaeacians take him home to Ithaca, where, in disguise, he observes the behaviour of the suitors, his wife, and the condition of his household, before defeating the suitors in the bow contest and re-establishing his position in Ithaca. The subordinate but parallel narrative about Telemachus is analogous to the narrative about Odysseus in that both Telemachus and Odysseus leave islands where they have been acutely depressed, both make journeys, both are befriended by Athene, and both return from abroad to a hostile environment at home. The narratives about Telemachus and Odysseus are intertwined in the final books when the νόστος (return) of Odysseus and the νόστος of Telemachus are related together.

2. Paradigmatic Speeches by the Poet's Characters

But the poet's characters, Athene and Nestor, compare Telemachus' impending return from abroad, not with that of his father, but with Orestes' return from exile abroad to take vengeance on his mother's lover, Aegisthus. They use the example of Orestes as a paradigm,[5] or model of action for Telemachus to imitate. (A negative paradigm would exemplify action to be avoided.) Athene/Mentes (1.289–302) and Nestor (3.195–200) invite Telemachus to copy Orestes' example by dealing with his mother's suitors by himself, if need be. (Athene is more careful than Nestor, who fails to specify that Telemachus should first find out if his father is dead.)[6] A paradigm is an example, and the **(p.3)** term is also used of the model made by an artist as a pattern for the work planned (LSJ[9]). It works on the principle of παρα-δείκνυμι

(exhibit side by side). In an argument or attempt at persuasion, it is a kind of 'induction [with] a demonstrative function: it communicates a "fact" from the past which seems to be comparable to the present and…explains why the present is as it is and why people act as they do or must act in a certain way.'[7] Aristotle tells us that 'there are two types of paradigm: one is relating matters which happened in the past, the other is making them up oneself. The latter category is subdivided into comparisons and stories'.[8] Athene and Nestor compare the situation of Orestes with the similar situation of their addressee, Telemachus, implying that in such circumstances, Orestes did the right thing. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Oresteia story is used elsewhere in the poem by the poet-narrator and his characters as a contrasting parallel to Odysseus' late but successful return. Other paradigmatic stories told by the poet's characters include Athene's story to Telemachus of the young Odysseus visiting Ephyra for arrow poison (1.255–64), Nestor's account of the fates of the Greek heroes and the death of Agamemnon (3.103–95, 262–312), and the stories told by Helen and Menelaus to Telemachus in Sparta (4.242–64, 271–89, 341–586). Odysseus tells more paradigmatic stories than any other character, to Nausicaa (6.162–74), Arete (7.242–97), Athene (13.256–86), Eumaeus (14.199–359, 468–503), Telemachus (16.226–34), Antinous (17.419–44), Amphinomus (18.125–50), Melantho (19.71–88), Penelope (19.165–202, 221–48, 269–307, 336–42; 23.310–41), and Laertes (24.261–4, 266–79, 304–14); above all, his *apologos* to Alcinous and the Phaeacians takes up most of four books of the poem (9.12–11.330, 11.382–12.450).

Paradigms present an argument to the addressee, but many also have a key significance apparent only to the poet's audience in the context of the poem as a whole.[9] When Odysseus asks to try stringing the bow (21.281–4), Antinous says the wine has maddened him (21.293), as it maddened the Centaur Eurytion, whose drunken folly in the house of Peirithous (21.298) started the νεῖκος (quarrel) between Centaurs and men (21.303).[10] Centaurs are **(p.4)** particularly susceptible to drink (Pindar fr. 166 SM), and Antinous intends to compare Odysseus to Eurytion and warn him against over-reaching himself under the influence of wine.[11] He simply says that Eurytion μαινόμενος κάκ' ἔρεξε δόμον κάτα Πειριθόοιο (in a frenzy did wicked deeds in the house of Peirithous) (21.298): he does not need to specify what Eurytion did, because the story was so well known. Antinous thinks he is patronizing a social inferior, and intends the uncouth Centaur, who tried to carry off the bride from the noble gathering of the Lapith wedding feast, as an analogy for the scruffy, apparently uncultivated beggar, with his misplaced ambition to carry off Penelope from the noble gathering of her suitors. But behind his back, the poet is using Eurytion as an analogy for Antinous and the suitors, who have drunk as heavily as the Centaur and of whom Telemachus has already used the verb μαίνεσθε (18.406). Antinous cannot see that he is telling the story against himself.

2.1. Paradigmatic Models

As well as the two kinds of paradigm identified by Aristotle, the term can be used in a third sense, which is closer to the architect's model. This kind of paradigm is employed by the poet himself, as well as by his characters. For example, Odysseus uses the figure of Heracles, and his endurance of particular trials and performance of particular labours, as a narrative parallel, or paradigm, for his own endurance of similar trials and performance of similar

labours, even if their other trials and labours are not closely parallel (11.601–26).[12] Odysseus' punishment of the suitors is godlike in its decisiveness and severity: the figure he presents when he confronts them with the bow evokes the paradigm of the archer god, Apollo, whose chastisement is equally devastating (*Il.* 1.46–52; *Il.* 24.602–8).[13] In certain cases, the procedures of ritual may be imitated in the events of the main narrative: the paradigm they offer will be as familiar to the audience as the parallels drawn from narrative tradition (see Chapter 4).

2.2. Story Shapes

The stock-in-trade of the poet of the *Odyssey* includes a vast range of story shapes and multiple examples of each from which paradigms can be drawn. He can expand or abbreviate them as required, and may use the same story to **(p.5)** achieve different effects. Ancient literature loves to think in narrative parallels, such as Herodotus' list of tit-for-tat abductions (Io, Medea, Helen),[14] or Sophocles' parallel to Antigone as she goes away to be walled up in the chamber in the rock which will be her grave:

> ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς
> ἀλλάξαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς·
> κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν τυμβή-
> ρει θαλάμῳ κατεζεύχθη.
> Danaë, too, endured in her living body
> to exchange the heavenly light for brass-bound courts:
> she was yoked concealed
> in a grave-like bridal chamber.

Danaë is followed by the additional parallels of Lycurgus, imprisoned ἐκ Διονύσου πετρώ- | δει καταφάρκτος ἐν δεσμῷ (shut up by Dionysus in a rock-like bond), and the wife of King Phineus walled up τηλεπόροις δ' ἐν ἄντροις (in far-distant caves).[15] None of these parallels is an exact match for Antigone's situation, but all reflect it, with slight differences.

The *Odyssey* explores variations on its basic story shape of the hero returning after long absence at war in the returns of Nestor, Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Odysseus, all contrasted with Ajax's failure to return at all (see Chapter 2). Odysseus' story about the Cyclops returning to find intruders in his cave (9.231–555) is a variation on the main narrative, in which the head of the household (his narrative self) will return to find intruders in his house (see also this chapter, §4.1, and Chapter 8). Helen's story of how Odysseus infiltrated the city of Troy disguised as a slave (4.242–64) is a variation on the narrative in the poet's voice of how, at home in Ithaca, Odysseus infiltrates in disguise the hostile territory his palace has become. He avoids the mistakes he made in Helen's tale, where he was recognized by the heroine and bathed by her, and even told her his plans: the dangers of such a course are illustrated by Menelaus' answering story (4.271–89) about Helen's perfidy (see Chapter 5).

3. Other Narratives about Events prior to, or Independent of, the Main Plot

Other narrative digressions, such as the genealogy of Theoclymenos (15.225–55), are related by the poet in his own voice to *his* audience alone: to all the characters, Theoclymenos remains anonymous. (His *nom parlant* means 'known to the gods'.) Since the genealogy

establishes his descent from **(p.6)** the most distinguished prophets, including Amphiaraus, his prophetic utterances should command respect, although sympathetic characters are agnostic about them (15.525–38; 17.151–65), and the suitors ridicule them (20.350–83). Similar digressions in the poet's own voice include the paradosis of Odysseus' bow (21.11–41), and the story of how he got his scar (19.392–468).[16] Stories like these in the voice of the poet-narrator occur at moments of heightened tension in the main narrative, and explain a detail of extreme significance when it is introduced for the first time.

4. Para-Narratives

The term 'paradigm' (see this chapter, §§2 and §2.1) covers the speeches in which the characters use an example from myth or past experience to persuade their listener(s), but we need the broader term para-narrative, which embraces the parallel situations (this chapter, §1) narrated by the poet in his own voice in the narrative itself, and also the narratives by the poet or his characters about events prior to, or independent of, the main plot (this chapter, §3). The last two are sometimes described as the 'play-within-the-play',[17] and as *mise en abyme*: miniature episodes within a work of literature which hold up a mirror to the main plot and reflect, with slight differences, the work as a whole.[18]

4.1. Mirror Stories

The stories told by characters may function as an argument in their immediate context, but they frequently also relate through theme to the main plot. They reflect some of its elements[19] (sometimes as in a distorting mirror) or show **(p.7)** how the narrative could have developed differently. Demodocus' song of Ares and Aphrodite appears at first unconnected with the main plot, until we become aware that it rehearses, with a different cast, elements of Penelope's situation in Ithaca, and of Odysseus' problems in dealing with it. The story aligns the suitors with the adulterer Ares, an alignment repeated in the other para-narrative triangle of Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, and the adulterer Aegisthus. The story of the Wooden Horse (4.266–89, 8.492–520, 11.523–32), a danger hidden in plain sight, is the perfect analogy for Odysseus' presence in Scheria (where he may prove the ruin of his hosts), and in Ithaca among his wife's suitors.[20] The *Cyclopeia* is a split mirror which shows two images of Odysseus in his dealings with the suitors: the first fragment reflects him as his narrative self in the *Cyclopeia*, but in the second, he appears as a discreet and intelligent Cyclops returning home (see Chapter 8).

4.2. αἶνος (Veiled Hint) and Personal Experience

When Odysseus returns to Ithaca, he goes in disguise to the swineherd Eumaeus, who looks after him and feeds him. The weather turns wet and windy as the night draws on, and Odysseus announces that he will tell a story to express a wish: εὐξαμενός τι ἔπος ἐρέω (14.463). The story is about something which he says actually happened to him: he forgot to bring a cloak when sleeping outside on a freezing night at Troy, but confided in his commanding officer, who thought up a way to get him the use of another man's cloak for the night (14.469–503). The story makes no explicit reference to its addressee, but its narrator would like Eumaeus to interpret it as if it did: the officer helped the speaker in a situation parallel to that in which the speaker presently finds himself, and in which he hopes that Eumaeus will help him. The swineherd recognizes the story for the rhetorical device it is, a

well-judged αἶνος[21] (14.508) purportedly from personal experience, and he lends Odysseus a cloak. The epithet πολύαινος (of the many hints) is used four times, exclusively of Odysseus.[22] An αἶνος is an allusive tale with an ulterior purpose, and communicating through an αἶνος assumes that the addressee is capable of seeing past its surface meaning. The story is a complimentary way of petitioning Eumaeus (whose equivalent in the story is the commanding officer), without an explicit request which might put him in a difficult position.[23] To speak in αἶνοι implies a closeness of sympathy which enables the addressee(s) **(p.8)** to understand their deeper meaning: Phoenix's audience for the story of Meleager are all φίλοι (friends) (*Il.* 9.528); Penelope calls the stranger φίλος (19.254) when she tells him her dream of the geese; Odysseus addresses Eumaeus as ὦ φίλε (14.115, 149) when telling him the cloak story, which has a nice ironic twist, in that the commanding officer who helped its narrator by a deception was Odysseus himself, the present speaker, up to his usual tricks.

We are accustomed to traditional fables in which the actions and sayings of talking birds and animals illustrate an idea intended to be understood metaphorically and applied to the present situation. Such traditional fables have morals. For example, it is foolish for the weak to bewail or protest against the violence of the powerful, because in resisting, the weak person suffers ridicule as well as pain: so the hawk advises the complaining nightingale caught in its talons.[24] Penelope's dream (19.535–53) seems to combine personal experience (she is a figure in the dream) with the traditional animal characters of fable to hint at her desires: the eagle's slaughter of the pet geese is a metaphor for Odysseus' potential slaughter of the suitors, which would be most welcome to her (19.569). The moralizing tales about having lost a privileged status by failure to govern himself which the disguised Odysseus tells to Antinous and Amphinomus (17.419–44; 18.138–40) offer, as always, a plausible explanation of the speaker's presence and predicament, but they also imply that their addressees, too, might come down in the world if they persist in their present violence and overconfidence. Odysseus' account to Alcinous of his experiences is not simply a virtuoso feat of storytelling for its own sake: it illustrates a whole string of setbacks to the goal of return which parallel the Phaeacians' repeated postponements of Odysseus' return. Personal experience can also be the basis of a νεῖκος,[25] a taunt or rebuke. Athene (in the form of Mentor) jeers at Odysseus for not being the man he was when he fought at Troy (22.224–35), in order to spur him on to greater efforts when Agelaus threatens Mentor's wife and children if 'Mentor' fights in Odysseus' support (22.213–23). And Laertes uses the prowess of his youth when he ruled the Cephallenians and captured Nērikos[26] (24.376–81), to illustrate how effectively he would have fought if he had been with Odysseus when he killed the suitors.

5. Context and Practicalities

In a book on para-narratives in the *Iliad*, I explained my views about the oral composition of the Homeric poems and their recording in writing by dictation **(p.9)** to an amanuensis.[27] Since the *Odyssey* is later than the *Iliad*,[28] its use of para-narrative is arguably more sophisticated. It is certainly aware of material found in the Cyclic Epics, such as the funeral of Achilles,[29] although the poems of the Cycle were not recorded until after the *Odyssey* was composed. Oehler collected twenty-five paradigms in the *Odyssey*, but his treatment of them is very brief. Olson offers excellent treatments of the poem's comparison of Agamemnon–Clytemnestra–Aegisthus–Orestes to Odysseus–Penelope–the suitors–Telemachus, and of the

stories told by Helen and Menelaus in Book 4. He also focuses on the narrative techniques of the poet and his character, Odysseus. Edwards shows how the *Odyssey* is in competition with the *Iliad* and its hero, Achilles: it celebrates its own hero's effectiveness in fighting in ambush. Louden identifies recurring sequences of successive motifs in the main narrative.[30] The narratological approach of de Jong and Richardson considers narrator(s) and audience(s), their relationship, and the point of view from which the story is told (focalization).[31] Some aspects of the narrative are presented from several points of view: for example, the suitors complain that Penelope has encouraged them and deceived them (2.89–110; 24.125–46), but the same events achieve a quite different effect when related by Penelope (19.137–56), even although many lines recur in the three passages. Another narratologist, Bakker, indicates the competition between the Homeric narrator and his character, Odysseus. Doherty exposes the double standard in the *Odyssey*'s assessment of narrators: the poem tends to see female narrators such as the Sirens and Helen as dangerous to its androcentric bias. Narratology has recently blossomed into subdivisions, such as cognitive narratology and theory of mind (assumptions made by characters about another character's state of mind). Until recently, it has required mastery of a highly technical terminology and system of classification, but Scodel's work on shifts of focus, mind-reading, and gap management (when little information is given about a character's state of mind) offers an excellent, and very accessible, close reading of several passages from both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[32]

The *Odyssey*, as Peradotto argues,[33] presents human experience as balanced between different outlooks and conflicting outcomes, constructed by the voices in which it is told. The voice of myth, which he identifies with the heroic, with centralizing, unifying, dominant power, he calls centripetal: it is in **(p.10)** dialogue in the poem with the centrifugal voice of folk tale, which he identifies with the disunifying, decentralizing, disempowered, and with the trickster. Odysseus is both active (πολύμητις, πολυμήχανος) and passive (πολύτλας): the indeterminacy which the poem embraces is never resolved. An excellent survey of feminist approaches to the *Odyssey* is given by Doherty,[34] who goes on to argue that the poem strongly points its audiences towards specific responses, and invites its female audiences to identify with idealized female figures such as Arete and Penelope, whose purposes are subordinated to those of the hero. Quite a number of critics who are troubled by the male bias of the poem naturally gravitate to Penelope, an exemplary female figure in a context suspicious of women.[35] Like Peradotto, Katz focuses on indeterminacy, looking at how 'fissures in the text…condition its meaning'. She identifies two narrative possibilities for Odysseus' homecoming: he could return to be murdered by his wife's lover(s) or new husband (the Clytemnestra paradigm), or he could return, like Menelaus, to find his wife gone (the Helen paradigm). The application of the latter as a potential model for Odysseus' return is spelled out only by Penelope (23.218–21). Felson-Rubin argues that the poet retains his audience's interest by allowing them to watch Penelope while leaving her motives unexplained. The poet also shows how she is regarded by various male characters. As a character, Penelope is left in the dark about her own status: for most of the poem she does not know if she is wife or widow, or which plot she is in, Marriage Avoidance or Bride Contest.[36]

The minimum option, that the audience will be told what it absolutely needs to know to make sense of the text, is argued by Scodel.[37] But when Diomede chooses Odysseus to accompany

him on the night mission of *Iliad* 10, the latter protests that Diomede should not say too much about him, since εἰδόσι γάρ τοι ταῦτα μετ᾽ Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις (you are saying these things in the presence of Argives who know) (*Il.* 10.250). What Odysseus thinks the Argives know on this occasion is that joint action by himself and Diomede is a common theme in the tradition, and that he also has a number of solo night missions to his credit.[38] The Homeric audience at its most sophisticated is probably capable of taking an allusion to myth or the poetic tradition without explanation, although the poet-narrator may also exploit his appeal to audience sophistication to slip in invented details for his own narrative purposes. We have already seen that Antinous does not need to spell out (even to a **(p.11)** seemingly vagrant addressee) what Eurytion did in the hall of Peirithous (21.295–302): conversely, when Achilles tells Priam the story of Niobe to persuade him to eat when he is grieving for Hector, he invents the improbable parallel that Niobe remembered to eat when she was grieving for her twelve children slain by Apollo and Artemis (*Il.* 24.602–17).[39] A narrator, primary or secondary, can suppress details and rely on the audience to fill them in (or not), and can emphasize whatever is most relevant to the point he/she presently wishes to make. Where details are suppressed or altered, the audience may still be aware of their reverberations. This is particularly marked and deliberate in the poem's replication of the suitors' fate in its version of that of the homecoming Agamemnon, although the force of the version found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* is also felt (see Chapter 3). Of course, the members of any audience will differ in their individual degrees of attentiveness and sophistication.[40]

A well-executed narrative strategy, as explained by Minchin, begins with *entrance talk*, which negotiates for the audience's attention, and an *abstract*, which outlines the scope or point of the story. This is followed by *orientation*, or background information (which enables the audience to make sense of the story), and *complicating action*. The story proper concludes with a *resolution*, the end-point in the series of events being narrated. In addition, there may be a *coda*, a comment or conclusion, followed by *exit talk*, which leads back into the conversation in which the story was told. So, for example, in the case of Athene/Mentes' story to Telemachus of seeing Odysseus on his way back from a visit to Ephyra for arrow poison, the *entrance talk* is

> ὢ πόποι, ἦ δὴ πολλὸν ἀποιχομένου Ὀδυσῆος
> δεύῃ ὅ κε μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφείη
> εἰ γὰρ νῦν ἐλθὼν δόμου ἐν πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι
> σταίη, ἔχων πήληκα καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δύο δοῦρε,
> how scandalous! Indeed you are very much in need of the absent Odysseus
> who would lay hands on the shameless suitors
> If only he were to come now and stand at the outer doors of the palace,
> with a helmet and shield and two spears,
> 1.253–6,

that is, looking impressive. The *abstract*, τοῖος ἐὼν οἷόν μιν ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτ᾽ ἐνόησα (such as he was when first I saw him) (1.257) indicates the point (I once saw him looking impressive) of the coming story. The *orientation* which enables the audience to make sense of the story explains that I saw him when he was my father's guest, on his way home from Ephyra: **(p.12)**

> οἴκῳ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ πίνοντά τε τερπόμενόν τε,
> ἐξ Ἐφύρης ἀνιόντα παρ᾽ Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο· –
> drinking and enjoying himself in our house,
> on his way back from Ephyra, from Ilus, son of Mermerus.
> 1.258–9

The *complicating action* explains that Odysseus had gone to Ephyra to get a drug, but he could not obtain it:

> ᾤχετο γὰρ καὶ κεῖσε θοῇς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς
> φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρα οἱ εἴη
> ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν οὔ οἱ
> δῶκεν, ἐπεί ῥα θεοὺς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἐόντας.
> for Odysseus had gone there too on his swift ship
> in search of man-killing poison, so that he would have it
> to anoint his bronze-tipped arrows: but Ilus did not give it to him,
> since he stood in awe of the gods who live for ever.
> 1.260–3

The endpoint of the story, its *resolution*, is ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δῶκεν ἐμός· φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς (but my father gave it to him: for he loved him exceedingly) (1.264). The *coda*, or comment, is τοῖος ἐὼν μνηστῆρσιν ὁμιλήσειεν Ὀδυσσεύς (being such an impressive man, Odysseus would deal with the suitors (1.265). And the *exit talk*, which leads back into the conversation, amounts to (a) 'That would be the end of them': πάντες κ᾽ ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε (and they would all have a swift doom and a bitter marriage) (1.265–6), and (b)

> ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται,
> ἤ κεν νοστήσας ἀποτείσεται, ἦε καὶ οὐκί,
> οἶσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι·.
> but surely these things lie in the lap of the gods,
> whether he will come back and take revenge, or not,
> in his palace.
> 1.267–9

If, as often happens in the *Odyssey*, a story is told by invitation, as when Odysseus asks Demodocus to sing of the Wooden Horse, entrance talk and abstract are unnecessary: the abstract has already been provided by Odysseus:

> ...ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον
> δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ,
> ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
> ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας, οἳ Ἴλιον ἐξαλάπαξαν.
> ...sing the sequence
> of the Wooden Horse, which Epeius made with Athene,
> which once godlike Odysseus brought into the acropolis as a trick
> when he had filled it with men who sacked Troy.
> 8.492–5

(p.13) Men's stories in all-male groups are full of first-person statements, with plenty of fact and detail, but deficient in emotional response, like the false tales of Odysseus, although emotional response may be added in mixed company. The presence of women encourages men to talk at length, as Odysseus does when recounting his *apologos* at the Phaeacian court in the presence of Arete. Characteristic of women's stories in general are the centrality of troubling difficulties (as in Penelope's tale of her emotional distress (19.124–61)), focus on characterization, displacement of the teller as the main protagonist, and a tendency to build on stories told by others in an all-female group.[41] The lies of Odysseus have received much critical attention:[42] Kelly has recently shown that their speaker adopts the pose of metanastic poetics, with its moralizing and disinterested advice.[43] I am indebted to all the scholars mentioned in this survey, as well as the many others mentioned in the bibliography.

It is not easy to decide which text of the poem to use. The edition of Von der Mühll,[44] which I follow, sometimes cites variants without indicating their source. There would have been a case for using van Thiel's more recent edition, which is based on consideration of a dozen older manuscripts, and supplemented in the apparatus by important variants in the papyri and other manuscripts. Van Thiel deliberately edits the vulgate, the consensus of medieval manuscripts which have come down to us. On the basis that the Alexandrian critics did not have access to authentic variants, he does not fully report their readings, which he regards as conjectures.[45] He does not always bracket interpolated verses (e.g. 14.504–6), or record atheteses or omissions which have their own value as evidence of the state of the text known to the Alexandrians. For example, at 1.93 and 285, where Athene sends Telemachus to Pylos and Sparta, Zenodotus' reading, that she sent him to Pylos and Crete to see Idomeneus, who was the last of the Greeks to return home, is inconsistent with the rest of the narrative. S. West makes a case for considering such readings as *lectiones difficiliores*, which in this case preserve the trace of an earlier design for the *Telemachy*.[46] We need a new edition of the scholia to the **(p.14)** *Odyssey*: fortunately, Pontani is providing one, but as only three volumes have so far appeared, I have used the edition of Dindorf.[47]

The Homeric poems, perhaps especially the *Odyssey*, appear to have undergone a degree of reprocessing under the sixth-century Pisistratid regime at Athens.[48] In 566 BC, during the archonship of Hippocleides, there was a major reorganization of the Panathenaic festival[49] in honour of Athene Polias, at which her cult image was presented with a peplos woven on the Acropolis by the *arrephoroi* under supervision by the *ergastinai*.[50] According to the author of [Plato] *Hipparchus*, Pisistratus' son, Hipparchus, brought the poems of Homer to Athens (probably obtaining a written text from the Homeridae of Chios), and compelled the rhapsodes to go through them at the Panathenaic festival:[51] the orator Lycurgus mentions a rule that only Homer's poems could be performed there.[52] The Pisistratids incorporated the Homeric poems into the Panathenaea to enhance Athenian prestige, not least (as we shall see) by validating the city's cult and ritual. Like the Erechtheus of Athenian cult (7.81), Odysseus is linked in the *Odyssey* to his patron, Athene, and his antagonist, Poseidon, the two gods who contend for supremacy in Athens. Odysseus' olive-tree bed (23.189–201) evokes the olive tree which grew on the Acropolis next to the temple of Athene Polias, and which was said to be the very tree which Athene bestowed on the city in her contest with Poseidon.[53] The golden lamp by which Athene guides Telemachus and Odysseus (19.34) recalls her sacred lamp in the

Erechtheion.[54] The son of Nestor who accompanies Telemachus to Sparta is called Peisistratus (3.36, 400 etc.). When Athene leaves Scheria, she goes to Marathon and Athens (7.80–1): Pisistratus landed **(p.15)** at Marathon in 546 BC when he returned from Eretria and seized the Athenian Acropolis (Herodotus 1.61–2). These Odyssean echoes of Athenian religious practice and ritual are well known,[55] but to them we should now add the poem's mimicry of the Athenian rituals of the Plynteria and Arrephoria (see Chapter 4, §3.3.9). Penelope's seclusion with her loom recalls that of the *arrephoroi*, who lived for a year on the Acropolis while they wove the peplos for Athene. At about the same time as the Homeric poems were showcased in the Panathenaea, the Pisistratids took charge of the pan-Ionian festival at Delos, which honoured Apollo with its contests in boxing, dancing, and song.[56] This may help to explain Odysseus' reference to the altar of Apollo at Delos (6.162) and the Apolline imagery used of him as the poem draws to its close (see Chapter 6, §3 and Chapter 9, n. 29).

Notes:

(1) AT 974 'The Homecoming Husband', and see L. Edmunds (1993: 23–5, 81–6); W. Hansen (1997: 446–9 with nn. 6–8), (2002); Alden (1997: 521–4 with nn. 29–34).

(2) Aristotle, *Rh*. 1394a 2–5.

(3) For para-narratives, see Alden (2000: 13–47). When I first used the term, I was unaware of its use in a study of Proust, where it is defined as 'A narrative with a purely virtual existence, developing parallel or alongside the main narrative, hence para-narrative': Pimentel (1990: 210). The study is not always easy to understand, and I am not absolutely sure what is meant by 'a narrative with a purely virtual existence' (she offers some help (1990: 46–7)), but I too intended 'para-narrative' to refer to a narrative 'parallel [to] or alongside the main narrative', for some aspect of which the para-narrative is a kind of metaphor or diagram.

(4) On analogous situations, see Rutherford (1985: 138–4); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 24–7); Alden (2000: 15–21).

(5) On paradigms, see Oehler (1925: 5–31) (twenty-five examples from the *Odyssey*); Willcock (1964), (1977); Austin (1978) (the dramatic function of paradigms in the *Iliad*); Andersen (1987), (1993: 3–20); Alden (2000: 23–47, 292–4).

(6) Martin (2000: 55).

(7) Van Groningen (1953: 31), based on Aristotle, *Rh*. 1356b.2–11.

(8) παραδειγμάτων δ' εἴδη δύο· ἓν μὲν γάρ ἐστι παραδείγματος εἶδος τὸ λέγειν πράγματα προγεγενημένα, ἑν δε τὸ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν. τούτου δ' ἓν μὲν παραβολὴ ἕν δὲ λόγοι. Aristotle, *Rh*. 1393a 28–30.

(9) For argument function and key function, see Andersen (1987: 3–7).

([10]) The Centaurs got drunk at the wedding feast of Peirithous, and tried to carry off the bride and other women: Hesiod [*Sc.*] 178–90; Plutarch, *Thes*. 30; Pausanias 5.10.8; Sch. V on 21.295 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.702)); Ovid, *Met*. 12.210–535; Diodorus Siculus 4.70.3–4 (here the Centaurs win); Apollodorus, *Epit*. 1.21; 1st Vatican mythographer 2.60.1–2 (= Zorzetti (ed.) (1995: 91)), where the feast is started by Mars throwing a thunderbolt among the guests at the feast; Hyginus, *Fab*. 33; Servius on *Aen*. 7.304. Sch. bT on *Il*. 1.262 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: i.83, 262a)) indicates that the strife of Lapiths and Centaurs was a strife about women. In his paradigm to Achilles and Agamemnon Nestor implies that the latter is drunk, like Eurytion (*Il*. 1.259–73): see Alden (2000: 76–82).

([11]) Oehler (1925: 7–9); L. Edmunds (1993: 35–6), (1997: 418–20).

([12]) See Finkelberg (1995a) and Chapter 6 in this volume.

([13]) For different approaches to Odysseus as god, see Olson (1995: 205–23); E. Cook (2012).

([14]) Herodotus 1.1.1.–1.3.2.

([15]) Sophocles, *Ant*. 944–7, 957–8, 983.

([16]) Although de Jong (2001: 477) analyses 19.392–468 as what goes through Eurycleia's mind when she sees the scar, the story of the boar hunt is in the style of heroic narrative, and shows no trace of Eurycleia's perspective: Scodel (2002b: 109–10).

([17]) Thalmann (1984: 158).

([18]) 'Ainsi, dans tels tableaux de Memling ou de Quentin Metzys, un petit miroire convexe et sombre reflète, à son tour, l'intérieur de la pièce où se joue la scène peinte. Ainsi, dans le tableau des Méniñes de Velasquez (mais un peu différement). Enfin, en littérature, dans *Hamlet*, la scène de la comédie, et ailleurs dans bien d'autres pièces. Dans Wilhelm Meister, les scènes de marionettes ou de fête au chateau. Dans *La Chute de la maison Usher*, la lecture qu'on fait à Roderick etc. Aucun de ces exemples n'est absolument juste. Ce qui le serait beaucoup plus, ce qui dirait mieux ce que j'ai voulu dans mes *Cahiers*, dans mon *Narcisse*, c'est la comparaison avec ce procédé du blason qui consiste, dans le premier, à en mettre un second "en abyme"': Gide (ed. Marty) (1996: i.171)). See also Steiner (2003); Rinon (2006).

([19]) Létoublon (1983); Andersen (1987: 8–10); Alden (2000: 11, 15–16, 19–20 n. 18, 54–5, 174–5, 239–40, 295–6 with bibliography).

([20]) See Andersen (1987).

([21]) See Hofmann (1922: 49–76 at 51); Perry (1959: 23–5, with n. 26); Verdenius (1962); Nagy (1999: 235–41); W. Hansen (1988), (1997: 457); van Dijk (1997: 124–5); Alden (2000: 30–7 with bibliography).

([22]) *Il*. 9.673; *Il*. 10.544; *Il*. 11.430; *Od*. 12.184.

([23]) Scodel (2008: 16).

(24) Hesiod, *WD* 202–12. For three interpretations, see van Dijk (1997: 127–34).

(25) See Alden (2000: 37–8, 116–18, 121–2, 157–8, 164–5 n. 35).

(26) Thucydides 3.7.4–5 locates Nērikos on Leucas: see Hope-Simpson and Lazenby (1970: 103).

(27) Alden (2000: 1–47, 297–304). See also Fowler (2004) and Martin in Finkelberg (ed.) (2011: i.173–4) both with bibliography.

(28) Janko (1982).

(29) 24.36–92 cf. *Aethiopis* Argumentum 16–23 (*PEG* i.69).

(30) Oehler (1925: 5–31); A. T. Edwards (1985); Olson (1995); Louden (1999). For discussion of approaches to Homer's narratives, see Alden (2000: 292–6).

(31) S. Richardson (1990), (1996); de Jong (2004), (2001), (2009); de Jong (ed.) (2004: 1–10 (for terminology), 13–24).

(32) Doherty (2001); Bakker (2009); Scodel (2014a).

(33) Peradotto (1990).

(34) Doherty (1995a: 36–63).

(35) Bergren (2009); Murnaghan (2009); Winkler (1990); Katz (1991); Felson-Rubin (1994); Doherty (1995a), (1995b), (2001).

(36) Katz (1991: 6–7, 42–53, 59–63, 183–7); Felson-Rubin (1994).

(37) Scodel (2002a: 124–54).

(38) Proclus, *Chrest*. (*Ilias Parva*) Argumenta 1.6, 1.15 (= *PEG* i.74–5); 4.242–58; 14.468–502: see Fenik (1964: 12–13); Nagy (1999: 34–5).

(39) Willcock (1964: 141–2); Alden (2000: 27–9).

(40) In Petronius, *Sat*. 15.48, the character Trimalchio pontificates on the *Cyclopeia* of *Odyssey* 9 without much grasp of its events.

(41) Minchin (2001: 185–9), (2007: 245–81). I am most grateful to her for advice on this section.

(42) Erbse (1972: 8, 10–11, 90–1, 154–5); Walcot (2009); Clay (1983: 86–9); Haft (1984); Goldhill (1991: 36–56); Pratt (1993: 55–94); Reece (1994); Grossardt (1998); Clayton (2004: 53–82).

(43) Kelly (2008a: 182–200); and (with reservations) Martin (1992). Hesiod, *WD* is wisdom literature: see Scodel (2014b), and the story of his father's migration from Aeolian Cyme to Ascra in Boeotia (*WD* 633–40) is metaphorical: see Clay (2003: 181–2); Nagy (2009: 290–4).

(44) Von der Mühll (ed.) (1993).

(45) Van Thiel (ed.) (1991): see Janko (1994) for review. For manuscripts collated and policy statement, see van Thiel (1991: XVIII–XIX, xxi–xxiii). For the view that the readings of the Alexandrian scholars are mostly conjectures, see also van der Valk (1949), who has a useful summary on pp. 179–80; Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: iv.20–37, esp. 20–9); Haslam (1997 at 84–7) and in Finkelberg (ed.) (2011: iii.848–55); Fowler (2004 at 231–2): *contra* Martin (2000: 43–51).

(46) S. West (1981); S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.33–50 at 42–4); M. L. West (1998: 100); *contra* Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: iv.22–5).

(47) Pontani (ed.) (2007), (2010), (2015); Dindorf (ed.) (1855).

(48) See Jensen (1980: 128–71); Burkert (1987); S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.36–9); Finkelberg (1988) (for adjustments by other states, too); Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: iv.29–37); Shapiro (1998); Graziosi (2002: 195–9); Andersen in Finkelberg (ed.) (2011: ii.668–70). Against any sixth-century policy of revising the text in Athens: Davison (1955) (but he accepts the evidence for texts having been brought to Athens under the Pisistratids); Lesky, *RE* Supp. XI s.v. Homeros, cols 831–43.

(49) 'Agon gymnicus, quem Panathenaeon vocant, actus': Eusebius, *Chronica* on Olympiad 53.3–4 (i.e. 566–5); Ἱπποκλείδης, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος Παναθήναια ἐτέθη (Hippocleides, in whose archonship the Panathenaic festival was established): Pherecydes 2 *EGM* 276–7.

(50) For the *arrephoroi* and *ergastinai*, see Boutsikas and Hannah (2012, esp. 234–6) with bibliography, and Chapter 4, §3.3.9, and on the Panathenaic festival, Neils (1992).

(51) Ἱππάρχῳ,...ὃς...τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διιέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οἵδε ποιοῦσιν (Hipparchus,...who...first brought the poems of Homer into this land, and compelled the rhapsodes to recite them in successive relays, as they still do now): [Plato], *Hipparch*. 228b.

(52) οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηαίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη (in your fathers' eyes he was a poet of such worth that they passed a law that every four years at the *Panathenaea* he alone of all the poets should have his work recited): Lycurgus, *In Leocr*. 102. For further references to sixth-century Athenian influence on the poems, see Jensen (1980: 207–26, with fold-out chart at the back).

(53) Pausanias 1.27.2.

(54) Pausanias 1.26.7.

(55) See Nagy in Finkelberg (ed.) (2011: i.112–16).

(56) *h. Ap*. 146–55; Hesiod, fr. 357; Thucydides 3.104.1–4): see Graziosi (2002: 222–6).

Para-Narratives in the Odyssey: Stories in the Frame
Maureen Alden

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Para-Narratives of Return

Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

The returns of the other heroes preface the adventures of Odysseus' *apologos*, which reflect on his desire to escape from the Phaeacian court. To achieve *nostos* requires restraint of the heart. Odysseus must escape the potential detainer, Nausicaa, and her island paradise, as he escaped the detainer, Calypso, and her (remarkably similar) island paradise. Of the heroines he saw in Hades, Tyro's fate rebukes Alcinous' lax supervision of Nausicaa, and Chloris evokes the story of her much-wooed daughter, Pero (won by an unnamed seer who escaped rustic cowherds): Pero is analogous to Penelope. Odysseus tells the Phaeacians about the Trojan War dead, then describes Minos presiding over a Hades in which the indefinite postponement of Tantalus' gratification parallels the repeated postponement of Odysseus' return: Odysseus' narrative effort, like Sisyphus' rock-rolling, seems interminable, but like Heracles, the hero performs the labours required of him.

Keywords: apologos, nostos, restraint, Pero, Hades, Tyro, Minos, Tantalus, Sisyphus, Heracles

The hero's return from war or travelling is a major theme of storytelling and epic poetry all over the world, and contains elements we recognize in the *Odyssey*: absence, devastation, return, retribution, (re)marriage.[1] The theme is one of great antiquity: the tale of the Egyptian hero Sinuhe, who returned to Egypt after an absence in Asia of more than a generation, is known from manuscripts dating as early as 1800 BC.[2] A court official relates his experiences in another Egyptian story, *The Shipwrecked Sailor*,[3] which shares a number of elements with the *Odyssey*: the hero's ship is wrecked in a storm and he is the sole survivor; he is washed up

on an island ruled by a prophetic serpent, which tells him that he will stay on the island for four months, but if he is brave and controls his heart, he will see his wife and his home again. A ship calls at the island after four months and takes the hero home, laden with treasures given by the serpent: his return resembles that of Odysseus, laden with gifts from the Phaeacians, and also that of Menelaus, laden with treasures from Egypt (3.300–12). The *Odyssey* explicitly makes a similar requirement for self-control on the part of the hero, who is warned by Tiresias σὸν θυμὸν ἐρυκακέειν καὶ ἑταίρων (restrain your heart and that of your companions) (11.105).

The *apologos*, the hero's first-person account of his adventures since leaving Troy, is framed by third-person narratives in the poet's voice, relating first the hero's escape from Calypso and sojourn among the Phaeacians, and then his careful preparation for the successful ambush of his wife's suitors. The whole is prefaced by the returns of the other Greek heroes told to Telemachus by Nestor and Menelaus. Naturally, these will be eclipsed by Odysseus' long-delayed return and triumph over his wife's suitors.

(p.17) 1. Return from Troy

In the *Iliad*, Chryses prays for the Greeks to

> ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ᾽ οἴκαδ᾽ ἱκέσθαι
> sack the city of Priam, and arrive safely home.
> *Il.* 1.19

The Sack of Troy[4] is nothing without a successful νόστος (return),[5] as Agamemnon found (24.95–7). He complains in the *Iliad* to the assembled Greeks that Zeus deceived him with the promise of a safe return (*Il.* 2.111–13), and Odysseus and Hera refer to similar promises (*Il.* 2.288 = *Il.* 5.716 = *Il.* 2.113). The return of the Greeks from Troy was a well-known theme of poetry: the Ithacan bard Phemius sings about it (1.326–7), and Aeolus questioned Odysseus about it (10.15–16). The Epic Cycle included a poem in five books on the *Returns* (*Nostoi*), which we know from a summary by Proclus (a Neoplatonist of the fifth century AD),[6] and we also have fragments of a sixth-century poem on the *Returns* (Νόστοι) by Stesichorus.[7] In the *Odyssey*, νόστος is used for the action of returning home,[8] and for the story or song about the heroes' return(s) (1.326; 10.15): it can also refer to a quest or uncompleted return.[9]

2. Detention on an Island: Odysseus (1.1–10)

The poem defines itself at the outset as one of νόστος,[10] showing its hero detained on the island of Calypso in need of his return and his wife (νόστου κεχρημένον ἠδὲ γυναικός) (1.13). Odysseus struggled for his life and the return of his companions (1.5), whose day of return (νόστιμον ἦμαρ) Zeus took away, because they ate the cattle of the Sun (1. 8–9; cf. 12.419). But his sacrifices at Troy have established him as a righteous man (1.65–7), and in time the gods mark a return home (οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι) (1.17) on his thread of destiny. It becomes the divine will (1.87) when Zeus muses (1.29–36) on the fate of **(p.18)** Aegisthus, who seduced Clytemnestra in her husband's absence, and killed Agamemnon on his return (τὸν δ᾽ ἔκτανε νοστήσαντα) (1.36).[11] Zeus' remark that Hermes was sent to warn Aegisthus that vengeance would ensue[12] offers a precedent for sending Hermes to advise Calypso that the gods intend Odysseus to go home (1.84–7; 5.29–42).

3. Departing from an Island: Ithaca

The divine assembly of Book 1 ends with Athene's departure for the island of Ithaca (1.88–105). Disguised as Mentes, a family friend, she finds Telemachus oppressed by his mother's suitors and in despair at his father's failure to return (1.166–8). As the prince converses with his visitor, the bard sings about the ᾽Αχαιῶν νόστον…λυγρόν…ἐκ Τροίης (dreadful return of the Greeks from Troy) (1.326–7).[13] Although the theme distresses Penelope (1.341), Telemachus insists that Phemius should continue the Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον (the harsh fate of the Greeks) (1.350): Odysseus was not the only one to lose his νόστιμον ἦμαρ (day of return), and many other men were lost too (1.355).

The goddess tells Telemachus that his father is detained[14] on an island by savage (ἄγριοι) men (1.197–9), and he should seek news about him from Nestor in Pylos and Menelaus in Sparta[15] (1.280–6). The reminiscences of **(p.19)** these heroes, in voices ranging from their own first-person accounts to circulating reports and divine revelation, present a whole kaleidoscope of patterns for return, from Nestor's comparatively straightforward journey to the long-delayed homecoming of Menelaus. Nestor, whose *nom parlant* means 'he who returns home happily' or 'he who brings home his army happily',[16] was among the first of the Greeks to return from Troy, and Menelaus was the last (1.286).

4. Telemachus in Pylos and Sparta

In Pylos Telemachus explains that he is looking for news of his father, who fought at Troy. The fate of his comrades is known, but of Odysseus there is no report:

> ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ πάντας, ὅσοι Τρωσὶν πολέμιζον,
> πευθόμεθ᾽, ἧχι ἕκαστος ἀπώλετο λυγρῷ ὀλέθρῳ.
> κείνου δ᾽ αὖ καὶ ὄλεθρον ἀπευθέα θῆκε Κρονίων.
> οὐ γάρ τις δύναται σάφα εἰπέμεν ὁππόθ᾽ ὄλωλεν,
> εἴ θ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἠπείρου δάμη ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν,
> εἴ τε καὶ ἐν πελάγει μετὰ κύμασιν ᾽Αμφιτρίτης.
> For of all the others, as many as were fighting with the Trojans,
> we have heard, where each one perished by baleful destruction.
> Only of him did the son of Cronus make even the death unknown,
> for no one can say clearly when he perished,
> and if he was overcome on land by hostile men,
> or on the sea amid the waves of Amphitrite.
> 3.86–91

4.1. Nestor's Return (3.103–200)

Telemachus asks his host to tell him about his father's career in Troy ὅπως ἤντησας ὀπωπῆς (as your eyes met the sight) (3.97), and Nestor begins to reminisce[17] about the Trojan War, referring first to the sea-borne plundering expeditions led by Achilles (3.105–6),[18] and the fighting around Troy (3.107–8), where, he says, the best men were killed:[19] **(p.20)**

> …ἔνθα δ᾽ ἔπειτα κατέκταθεν ὅσσοι ἄριστοι·
> ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κεῖται ἀρήϊος, ἔνθα δ᾽ ᾽Αχιλλεύς,
> ἔνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος, θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος,
> ἔνθα δ᾽ ἐμὸς φίλος υἱός, ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβής,

> Ἀντίλοχος, περὶ μὲν θείειν ταχὺς ἠδὲ μαχητής.
> ...There, then, were killed as many as were best:
> there lies warlike Ajax, there lies Achilles,
> there lies Patroclus, a counsellor equal to the gods,
> there lies my dear son, at once mighty and fearless,
> Antilochus, who excelled in speed for running and as a warrior.
> 3.108–12

These four fallen warriors form a catalogue of heroes who died at Troy which also appears in both *Nekyiai* (11.467–70 ≈ 24.15–18). They have lost their return, as Achilles foresaw (*Il.* 9.412–13), but their bones are buried at Troy[20] and their glory is assured.

Nestor then turns to the nine years of fighting at Troy, where Odysseus collaborated with him in strategic planning (3.126–9) and outshone the other Greeks in trickery of every kind (3.121–2). The city was sacked in the tenth year, and the Greeks embarked for home, but Zeus plotted a λυγρὸν...νόστον (baleful return) (3.132) for them. They had angered Athene,[21] who caused the Atreidae to quarrel at an assembly where Menelaus favoured returning home immediately (3.141–2), but Agamemnon wanted to placate the goddess with hecatombs (3.143–7). Odysseus sailed with Menelaus and Nestor, leaving Agamemnon and his supporters in Troy, but on reaching Tenedos, a further quarrel broke out in Menelaus' party and Odysseus returned to Agamemnon in Troy (3.157–64). Menelaus caught up with Diomede and Nestor in Lesbos, and together they sailed across the open sea north of Chios to Geraestus on the southern tip of Euboea (3.165–78); Diomede reached Argos on the fourth day (3.180–2),[22] and Nestor went on to Pylos (3.182–3). His swift and uneventful return explains why he does not know at first hand who else reached home or perished (3.184–5). Instead, he tells Telemachus what 'they say' (φάσ᾽) (3.188):[23] the Myrmidons reached home with Neoptolemus **(p.21)** (3.188–9);[24] Philoctetes arrived safely (3.190), and Idomeneus brought his companions back to Crete (3.191–2).[25] Even the Ithacans (καὶ αὐτοὶ...νόσφιν ἐόντες) (even you yourselves...in your remote situation) have heard how Agamemnon returned home to Mycenae, where Aegisthus ἐμήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον (had plotted dreadful destruction) (3.193–4).

4.2. Nestor's Separation from Menelaus (3.276–312)

Nestor has not mentioned Menelaus' homecoming: if he had remained with Nestor's party, he would have reached Sparta before Nestor arrived at Pylos. Telemachus cannot understand how Aegisthus managed to kill Agamemnon (who was much stronger) (3.250) if Menelaus was there to prevent him: this is why he picks up Nestor's phrase ἐμήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον (plotted dreadful destruction) (3.194) and asks τίνα δ᾽ αὐτῷ μήσατο ὄλεθρον (What destruction did he [Aegisthus] plot for him [Agamemnon]?—and where was Menelaus (3.249–50)? Nestor does not answer the first question at all: the story of Agamemnon's murder is left for Menelaus to tell.[26] He explains only that Menelaus could not help his brother because he delayed at Sounion to bury his steersman, Phrontis (3.276–85).[27] This exhausts Nestor's eyewitness knowledge of his fate, but he goes on to relate that Menelaus sailed down the coast of the Peloponnese to Cape Malea,[28] where a storm sent by Zeus drove his ships off course, wrecking most of them on the south coast of Crete (3.286–99). The rest

were driven to Egypt (3.299–300), where Menelaus gathered riches during the whole of Aegisthus' seven-year reign in Mycenae (3.301–3), returning in the eighth year, on the very day when Orestes killed his father's murderer (3.305–12). The pattern of Menelaus' long absence abroad is a negative **(p.22)** example for Telemachus, who should not stay long away from home, in case the suitors divide up his goods in his absence (3.313–16):[29] he should make haste for Sparta, to learn what he can there (3.317–27).

4.3. Menelaus: Delay in Foreign Parts (4.81–92)

Menelaus fills out Nestor's brief mention of his travels in Egypt (3.301–2): he spent seven years travelling in Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt, and visited the Ethiopians, the Sidonians, the Eremboi, and Libya (4.83–9). But the treasures he brought back give no satisfaction (4.93), because while (εἷος) he was collecting them,

> ...τεῖός μοι ἀδελφεὸν ἄλλος ἔπεφνε
> λάθρῃ, ἀνωϊστί, δόλῳ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο.
> ...meanwhile another man killed my brother
> in secret, unexpectedly, by a trick of his accursed wife.
> 4.91–2

The prospect that this pattern could be repeated if his father returns home in his absence might in itself deter Telemachus from staying long away from Ithaca, but Menelaus emphasizes his point by a second example: Peisistratus and Telemachus will have heard from their fathers how he lost a great deal of wealth (4.95–6), the property which Paris stole together with Helen while her husband was away in Crete at the funeral of his maternal grandfather, Catreus.[30] Menelaus recouped the losses suffered in his first absence by collecting wealth in the second, but both were equally disastrous. His collecting to repair the fortunes of a house despoiled by the lover of its lady is a negative pattern for Telemachus, who resists the temptation to make up the suitors' depredations by collecting wealth in foreign parts, and deflects (4.594–608; 15.87–91) his host's perverse attempts to detain him, encumber him, and take him on a gift-collecting tour of the cities of Argos and Hellas (4.587–92; 15.80–5). In versions of the poem which used the real-world alternatives of the 'false' tales rather than the wanderings of the poem as we have it, Menelaus' delay in favour of collecting in the eastern Mediterranean would have had a parallel with Odysseus' delay in favour of collecting in Thesprotia and the Greek mainland (14.323–4; 19.282–4).[31]

(p.23) 4.4. Detention on An(other) Island: Menelaus (4.431–85)

Menelaus and his wife entertain Telemachus with an evening of stories about his father (see Chapter 5, §§4 and 5), but the next day, when the prince asks what became of Odysseus (4.322–31), Menelaus resumes the narrative of his own return. He begins where Nestor left off, with his visit to Egypt (3.302), or, to be exact, when he had already left Egypt and was becalmed on the island of Pharos, said to be a day's journey from the Egyptian coast (4.356–7). After twenty days with no wind (4.360–2), the men were so hungry that they went off by themselves to fish (4.368–9),[32] and Menelaus was visited by a divine helper, Eidothea, the daughter of Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea. She asked if he was willingly resigned to his suffering, having been detained on the island for a long time (4.371–3) (see Table 1). The way

home, she said, and even what had happened there in his absence, could be learned from her father, Proteus, a servant of Poseidon (4.384–93) and shepherd of seals, who brought his seals ashore and counted them every evening before they all settled down to sleep in a cave (4.400–7). Eidothea concealed Menelaus and three of his companions in troughs scooped out of the sand, and covered them with newly flayed sealskins (4.435–40), telling them to seize her father[33] when he lay down to sleep among the seals (4.414–22), and to release him only when he reverted to his original form: he would then reveal which god detained them, and how to return home (4.423–4). (Old Men of the Sea, like Proteus and Nereus,[34] need to be forced into providing helpful information.) Eidothea, like Circe, and the witch of Endor (1 Samuel 28), and to some extent, like the divine ale-wife Siduri, who sends Gilgameš to Ur-šanabi to be ferried across the Waters of Death to consult the sage, Ūta-napišti,[35] facilitates the hero's consultation with a prophet or god.

(p.24) Eidothea must have known that the number of Proteus' seals was a multiple of five, and that he counted them in fives (πεμπάσσεται) (4.412) every evening. She deliberately sent Menelaus with *three* companions so that the last pentad would be one short: her trick was to throw the total out from its usual multiple of five. All morning, the seals came ashore and

> ἔνδιος δ᾽ ὁ γέρων ἦλθ᾽ ἐξ ἁλός, εὗρε δὲ φώκας
> ζατρεφέας, πάσας δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐπῴχετο, λέκτο δ᾽ ἀριθμόν.
> ἐν δ᾽ ἡμέας πρώτους λέγε κήτεσιν, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
> ὠΐσθη δόλον εἶναι· ἔπειτα δὲ λέκτο καὶ αὐτός.
> at midday the old man came out of the sea, and found the sleek seals,
> and went to and fro to them all, and counted the number,
> and he was counting us first among the sea monsters, nor in his heart
> did he think it was a trick; but then he [lay down/counted himself] too.
> 4.450–3

It is impossible to distinguish λέκτο, the aorist middle of λέγω (count) (4.451) from the aorist of λέχομαι (lie down), so that λέκτο καὶ αὐτός (4.453) may be read both as 'he lay down himself too' and as 'he counted himself too'. Proteus lay down, as Eidothea said he would, but this time he was tricked into counting himself as a seal too, to make up the seal missing from the last pentad, making him not only the counter, but also one of what was counted.[36] (Proteus has a clear parallel in Polyphemus, another shepherd who was tricked.)[37] Menelaus seized Proteus as planned (4.431–59), and when asked to say ὅς τίς μ᾽ ἀθανάτων πεδάᾳ καὶ ἔδησε κελεύθου, νόστον θ᾽ (which of the gods binds me fast and hinders my journey and my return) (4.469–70), Proteus advised that he should have made hecatombs to Zeus and the other gods (4.472–9),[38] and would have to return to Egypt to make them. As well as complying with these instructions (4.581–3), Menelaus raised a funerary mound in Egypt for Agamemnon (4.584), having learned from Proteus of his murder (4.512–37). Eidothea's advice on how to escape from an island (Pharos) looks back to and mirrors the recent experience of Telemachus, its addressee, who, on Athene's advice, has escaped from the long stalemate on Ithaca, and gone to look for news of his father on the mainland: it also anticipates how Odysseus could escape from Calypso's island.

(p.25) 4.5. Abortive Returns: Oilean Ajax (4.499–510) and Agamemnon (4.512–37)

About the Greeks Menelaus left behind at Troy (4.486–90), Proteus disclosed that

> ἀρχοὶ δ᾽ αὖ δύο μοῦνοι ᾽Αχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
> ἐν νόστῳ ἀπόλοντο·...
> εἷς δ᾽ ἔτι που ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῳ.
> but only two leaders of the bronze-shirted Achaeans
> perished on their way home...
> and one is still detained alive on the broad deep sea.
> 4.496–8

Ajax, he said, was lost together with his ships (4.499). The audience is expected to know that he means not Telamonian Ajax, whose death at Troy Nestor mentioned earlier (3.109) (see this chapter, §4.1), but Oilean Ajax, whom Athene hated (4.502). (Her hatred would be explained by the very well-known story of how he violated her temple by dragging away Cassandra as she clung to the statue of the goddess: when the Greeks resolved to stone him, he took refuge at the same image, and escaped punishment.[39] Athene, who had helped the Greeks to sack Troy, was thus doubly insulted, and the object of her wrath was not only Ajax, but all the Greeks (including Odysseus) who failed to punish him.)[40] When Ajax was shipwrecked, Poseidon brought him to the Gyraean rocks (4.500–1)[41] where he boasted that he had escaped the sea against the will of the gods (4.504). Poseidon heard him, and **(p.26)**

> αὐτίκ᾽ ἔπειτα τρίαιναν ἑλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρῇσιν
> ἤλασε Γυραίην πέτρην, ἀπὸ δ᾽ ἔσχισεν αὐτήν.
> καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτόθι μεῖνε, τὸ δὲ τρύφος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ,
> τῷ ῥ᾽ Αἴας τὸ πρῶτον ἐφεζόμενος μέγ᾽ ἀάσθη·
> τὸν δ᾽ ἐφόρει κατὰ πόντον ἀπείρονα κυμαίνοντα.
> straightway, then, taking his trident in his strong hands,
> he drove it at the Gyraean rock, and split it apart.
> And the mass remained on the spot, but the splinter fell into the sea,
> the splinter on which Ajax was sitting when he first committed great folly:
> and it carried him down into the boundless, billowing sea.
> 4.506–10[42]

Ajax angered Poseidon by boasting without restraint: Odysseus has already angered Poseidon by boasting after blinding his son, the Cyclops (9.502–5, 523–5).[43]

Agamemnon was the other Greek leader who died in the course of his return. Hera protected him, and he would have avoided destruction, but a storm blew him off course at Cape Malea and drove him to the southern part of the Argolid, where Aegisthus lived (4.514–20).[44] If Agamemnon had come ashore there, he would have avoided Aegisthus' lookout (σκοπός), but the gods changed the wind, Agamemnon arrived where he was expected, and the lookout reported his coming (4.524–8).[45] Aegisthus set an ambush (λόχον) (4.531) in his house (4.530–1), brought Agamemnon there from the shore (4.532–4), and killed him as he dined (4.534–7). Something like this could happen to Odysseus if he returns openly to Ithaca and walks into a trap, or to Telemachus: Aegisthus' lookout corresponds to the suitors' lookouts (16.365) watching for Telemachus' return; Aegisthus' twenty ambushers (4.530) correspond to the twenty ambushers (4.669) waiting for him on Asteris between Samē and Ithaca.[46]

Proteus advised Menelaus to return home (4.544–5), where **(p.27)** he might arrive in time to kill Aegisthus, or find that Orestes had already killed his father's murderer; if the latter, at least Menelaus would be there for Aegisthus' funeral (4.546–7). His advice seems uncannily relevant to Telemachus, its secondary recipient, who must not return home too late to prevent his mother's remarriage or to assist his father in dealing with her suitors.

4.6. The Third Man (4.551–60)

Proteus also mentioned a man detained alive at sea (4.498), whom he identified as Odysseus, held on an island by the nymph Calypso (4.555–60: see Table 1). He did not reveal how Odysseus came to be on the island in the first place: that is left to Hermes and Calypso, and for Odysseus to tell to the Phaeacians.

4.7. Eternity on An(other) Island: Menelaus (4.561–9)

Finally, and rather unexpectedly, Proteus revealed that Menelaus was not fated to die in Argos:

> ἀλλά σ᾽ ἐς ᾽Ηλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
> ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς ᾽Ραδάμανθυς,—
> τῇ περ ῥηΐστη βιοτὴ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν·
> οὐ νιφετός, οὔτ᾽ ἂρ χειμὼν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ᾽ ὄμβρος,
> ἀλλ᾽ αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας
> ᾽Ωκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους,—
> οὕνεκ᾽ ἔχεις ᾽Ελένην καὶ σφιν γαμβρὸς Διός ἐσσι.
> But the gods will send you to the Elysian plain
> and the ends of the earth, where is fair-haired Rhadamanthys,—
> there, where life is easiest for men:
> there is no snow, nor hard winter, nor ever rain,
> but Oceanus always sends the whistling breezes
> of the south-west wind to refresh mankind,—
> because you have Helen as wife and in their eyes you are the son-in-law of Zeus.
> 4.563–9

Menelaus, having escaped from the island of Pharos, will soon be back on another island, Elysium in the Isles of the Blessed, and this time for good: Rhadamanthys will be there because he is a son of Zeus, and Menelaus will be there with Helen because he is Zeus' son-in-law.[47] The Elysian plain is a concept like the νῆσοι μακάρων (Isles of the Blessed), where heroes are settled **(p.28)** at the ends of the earth to enjoy a carefree existence and three crops per year(Hesiod, *WD* 167–73). The μάκαρες (Blessed) must originally have been the gods themselves, the usual sense of μάκαρες in ancient epic.[48] Their garden is out in the Atlantic Ocean by the pillars of Heracles, beyond which Nereus, the Old Man of the Sea, allows no ship to pass.

5. Escape from an Island: Ogygia

Odysseus is to escape from an eternity like the one destined for Menelaus. Calypso's Ogygia is an island paradise in the far west, full of trees and vines, waters in four streams (cf. Genesis 2.10–14), and flowery meadows (5.63–73), very like the garden of the gods: Hermes (the conductor of souls) looks around it with approval (5.73–4). Odysseus could stay there with

Calypso and become immortal (5.206–9)—a prospect very similar to that which awaits Menelaus—but refuses because he wants to go home (5.215–20). He has good reason, for Calypso and Ogygia are associated with death, like Elysium.[49] Hesiod applies the adjective Ogygian to the Styx;[50] Ogygia's black poplars (5.64) grow also in Hades (10.510); the celery[51] and violets of its flowery meadows (5.72)[52] are used to deck biers; they are planted on graves, and celery is served at funerary banquets; violets were among the flowers in the Kore's hand when she was abducted (*h. Cer*. 6–8).[53] Calypso, like the Hesperides in the garden of the gods, inhabits a cave; and her name, the Concealer, Burier, is linked to the verb καλύπτειν (to cover),[54] which the *Iliad* associates with death in expressions such as τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσ' ἐκάλυψεν (darkness covered his eyes)[55] and τέλος θ **(p.29)** ανάτοιο κάλυψεν (the end of death covered [him]).[56] While Odysseus remains with Calypso, he is ἀκλειῶς, ἄϊστος, ἄπυστος (without fame, unknown, disappeared without leaving a trace) (1.241–2).

She complains, when ordered to give him up, that the jealous gods deprived other goddesses, too, of their mortal consorts: Orion, a consort of her opposite number, the Dawn,[57] was killed by Artemis; Iasion, a consort of Demeter, was killed by Zeus (5.121–8). Odysseus might have shared their fate if he had accepted Calypso's offer of immortality.[58] Since there is no help for it, Calypso bathes Odysseus, puts divine clothing on him (5.264), and sends him off on a raft, but in the storm sent by Poseidon (5.291–381), the clothes weigh Odysseus down (5.321), and the White Goddess, Leucothea, has to urge him to strip them off, abandon the raft, and swim for the land of the Phaeacians using her veil (κρήδεμνον) as a kind of divine lifebelt (5.343–7).[59] To escape from Calypso and a blessed afterlife at the ends of the earth is to return to 'the real world, his real wife and (ultimately) real death'.[60]

6. Yet Another Island, not Unlike the Last

The daughter of the king of Scheria directs Odysseus to the palace of her father, Alcinous, whose garden Odysseus passes on his way (7.112–31).[61] Its constant supply of grapes, manicured kitchen gardens, and two springs recall the vines, springs, and lush water meadows surrounding Calypso's cave on Ogygia (5.68–73).[62] As if to reinforce our sense of *déjà vu*, the poet makes **(p.30)** Odysseus stop to admire it, as Hermes stopped to admire his surroundings on Ogygia:

> ἔνθα στὰς θηεῖτο [διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης] [πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς].
> [The Argus-slayer, the conductor,] [much-enduring godlike Odysseus] stopped to gaze in wonder.
> 5.75 ≈ 7.133

When the queen asks him τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; (Who are you, and where are you from?) (7.238), his opening, Ὠγυγίη τις νῆσος (there is an island called Ogygia) (7.244),[63] does not make clear at first that Ogygia is not his home, but literally where he has just come from (πόθεν) (7.238).

Only later does he reveal that he was washed up there when Zeus wrecked his ship (7.248–54).[64] The external audience will remember that Odysseus swam ashore on Scheria after Poseidon wrecked the raft on which he had sailed away from Calypso (7.267–75). They will hear in his description of the remoteness of her island:

> ...οὐδέ τις αὐτῇ
> μίσγεται οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
> ...nor does anyone
> come in contact with her, either of gods or mortal men.
> 7.246–7

an echo of Nausicaa's allusion to the similar remoteness of the Phaeacians:

> οἰκέομεν δ᾽ ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ
> ἔσχατοι, οὐδέ τις ἄμμι βροτῶν ἐπιμίσγεται ἄλλος.
> we live apart, the last in the much-surging sea,
> nor does anyone else of mortals come in contact with us.
> 6.204–5

Odysseus' account of his arrival in Scheria and reception by Nausicaa (7.267–96) follows and replicates many of the details of his arrival in Ogygia and reception by Calypso (7.245–66).[65] In both cases he arrived by night (7.253, 283) after many days at sea on an improvised float (7.252–3, 267–8); Calypso received him kindly, nourished him, and gave him clothes, like Nausicaa (7.256, 259–60, 264–5; 7.292–6). The external audience knows of Calypso's sexual interest in Odysseus, and her wish to keep him **(p.31)** (1.15; 5.118–29; 208–9): it heard Nausicaa tell her maids that she would like a husband like the handsome stranger, and wishes he would stay (6.244–5); she is afraid that the Phaeacians will suppose that she will keep him (6.281). For the benefit of Alcinous and Arete, Odysseus suppresses his initial pleasure in Calypso's erotic attention (implied by οὐκέτι ἥνδανε νύμφη (the nymph no longer pleased him) (5.153)), telling them only that ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν (she never persuaded the heart in my breast) (7.258).[66] Arete can see that the stranger is wearing clothes she made herself (7.234–5), which he clearly obtained from Nausicaa (6.214, 228), and her question, τίς τοι τάδε εἵματ᾽ ἔδωκεν (who gave you these clothes?) (7.238), is an invitation to explain what happened at the laundry (potentially the scene of sexual encounter away from the city).[67]

Odysseus' tale of arrival at Calypso's island as a destitute shipwrecked sailor in need of food and clothing is designed to be the perfect analogy for his arrival in Scheria as a shipwrecked sailor in need of the same things. But there was a drawback to Calypso's kindness in that she kept him for seven years, although for most of the time he wanted to leave. That is why he asks for safe conduct home θᾶσσον (more quickly) (7.151–2): he does not want the Phaeacians to detain him as Calypso did.[68] Calypso's function as a detainer potentially analogous to Nausicaa seems lost on Alcinous, who is so impressed by Odysseus' tact that he offers the hand of his daughter and great riches if his guest will remain in Scheria (7.311–16).[69] (Marriage was how the king of Lycia kept Bellorophon.)[70] But Alcinous will not insist—ἀέκοντα δέ σ᾽ οὔ τις ἐρύξει (no one will detain you against your will) (7.315). His alternative offer, to have Odysseus taken home, even if he lives farther away than Euboea (7.317–21), is accepted with enthusiasm, but there is no doubt that leaving the Phaeacians will be an escape, as indicated by Nausicaa's later reference to the ζωάγρια (ransom) Odysseus owes her (8.461–2).

7. Odysseus' *Apologos*

Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογος is Plato's (*Rep*. 10.614B) and Aristotle's (*Po*. 1455a 2; *Rh*. 1417a 14) term for Odysseus' account of his adventures to Alcinous. Words in the same family are elsewhere used of speeches of self-defence **(p.32)** against legal attacks and other threats,[71] and there is a defensive aspect in Odysseus' *apologos*, which must absolve the glorious conqueror of Troy (8.517–20; 9.19–20) from responsibility for the loss of his entire contingent on the way home.[72] Although they make up only a small part of the poem, the fantastic adventures which Odysseus describes in books 9–12 are what most people think of when the *Odyssey* is mentioned. The returns of other heroes, together with the need to explain why that of Odysseus has been delayed so long and what brought him to the island of Calypso, build up to them.[73] From antiquity to the Renaissance the adventures were considered allegorical, and interpreted as trials to be overcome before reaching one's spiritual home.[74] More recently, they have been regarded as symbolic, and interpreted as tests to be undergone before attaining the level of maturity required to reach home, or in terms of the death and rebirth of the self,[75] or as a feat demonstrating the enchantment of poetic storytelling: Odysseus tells his story like a bard (11.368), and the Phaeacians listen in silence (13.1).[76] He spent seven years with Calypso (7.259) and a further year with Circe (10.469): his other adventures take about three months,[77] and most audiences would hardly think about the time unaccounted for. Anticipations by the poet-narrator, and Zeus, and Odysseus, as well as cross-references and recall (both within Odysseus' narrative and later)[78] authenticate the *apologos*. Embedded prophecies seem to confirm its veracity: the blinded Polyphemus remembers a warning by the seer Telemus that one day Odysseus would turn up and blind him (9.507–16); Hermes repeatedly warned Circe that Odysseus would come (10.330–2); Tiresias' prophecies (11.100–37) are mostly fulfilled in the subsequent narrative.[79] The adventures display **(p.33)** correlations and mirroring,[80] and they also seem to reflect on the circumstances of their telling, and Odysseus' desire to escape from the Phaeacian court. Any symbolic significance will therefore be secondary to the goals which the character Odysseus hopes to achieve by telling these particular stories in this particular narrative context. They charm their Phaeacian audience in much the same way as Eumaeus is charmed (17.514–21) by Odysseus' 'false' tales (14.151–64, 192–359, 468–506). They are stories to get something, or rather, several things,[81] and the return which is their chief purpose becomes less urgent when gifts are in prospect (11.356–61; 13.13–15).

Nausicaa's assistance enabled Odysseus to supplicate Arete for safe escort to return home (πομπή) (7.151). Alcinous intends to provide πομπή the following day (7.189–96), and when it comes, he renews his promise (8.31) and orders a ship to be launched (8.34–8). But instead of setting off, Odysseus finds himself sitting around at the Phaeacian games νόστοιο χατίζων (in want of his return) (8.154–7). He has already explained that Calypso made him wait for seven years: now, in the hope that the Phaeacians will not make him wait much longer, he regales them with variations on the theme of not getting home, tales of woe, tribulation, and failure.

8. The Case against Return

Alcinous hinted that Odysseus would have to suffer whatever the Fates had in store for him when he reached home (7.197–8). The poet's audience is already aware that Agamemnon was murdered by his wife's lover, and that Odysseus might return to a murder plot by his wife's

suitors (see Chapter 3). The Phaeacian bard illustrates a different problem with going home in his second song (8.266–366) (see Chapter 7, §2.6), a risqué burlesque in which Hephaestus catches his wife *in flagrante* with Ares, after giving the impression that he had gone away from home. Odysseus' recent rejection of marriage to Nausicaa is questioned by this analogy to the painful and humiliating situation he might find at home if he insists on going there. If he is not to appear foolish by persisting in his desire to return home, he must convince the Phaeacians that he can deal with whatever awaits him there. His *apologos* demonstrates his resourcefulness and invites the admiration and sympathy of its audience in much the same way as the other para-narratives of pity (see Chapter 9). Odysseus' adventures easily outclass those of Nestor, Menelaus, and the other **(p.34)** Greeks, and deliver the novelty, glamour, and excitement which allow the *Odyssey* to take its place among the traditions of heroic endurance, such as Jason's journey to bring back the Golden Fleece, and Heracles' labours in the service of King Eurystheus.[82]

9. Odysseus' Wanderings

Odysseus relates his adventures after leaving Troy as follows:

1) Ismarus (9.39–66).
He leaves Ismarus, and Zeus sends a ***storm (A)*** *(9.67–75). The hero is driven westwards from Cape Malea. He runs before the wind for nine days, arriving at*

2) The Lotus Eaters (9.83–104).
3) The Cyclops (9.105–564).
4) Aeolus (10.1–30).
Aeolus' bag of winds is opened and ***storm (B)*** *carries the ships back to him.*
Aeolus (10.56–79).
Aeolus refuses to help. The men sail on dejectedly and reach

*5) Telepylus and the Laestrygonians (10.80–132).
*6) Circe in Aeaea (10.135–574).
*7) Hades (Book 11).
*8) Circe: the way to Thrinacia (12. 1–143).
*9) The Sirens (12.39–54, 166–200).
*10) (The Clashing Rocks (12.59–72): avoided (12.202–21)).
*11) Scylla/Charybdis (12.73–125, 223–59).
*12) Thrinacia (11.104–14; 12.127–41, 261–402).
They set sail from Thrinacia, but the mast is broken by a ***storm (C)****. Zeus wrecks the ship, and Odysseus is carried on the keel to Charybdis.*

13) Charybdis/Scylla (12.103–7, 235–44, 430–41).
14) Calypso in Ogygia (12.447–50) (and 7.244–66).
A ***storm (D)*** *wrecks Odysseus' raft, and he is obliged to swim to the island of Scheria.*

15) Scheria and the Phaeacians.

(p.35) The adventures are grouped symmetrically around the *Nekyia*, which is framed between the encounter with Elpenor (11.51–80) and his burial (12.8–15) and enclosed by the two episodes with Circe as an outer frame. There are two groups before the *Nekyia* (Ismarus, Lotus Eaters, CYCLOPS); (Aeolus, Laestrygonians, CIRCE), and two groups after it (Sirens, Scylla/Charybdis, THRINACIA); (Charybdis/Scylla, Calypso): the adventures in capitals are narrated at greater length.[83] Unity is achieved by similarities in the structure of the adventures (finding new people, confrontation, and escape),[84] and by the repeated refrain which follows five of them:

> ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι ἦτορ
> from there we sailed on, distressed in heart
> 9.62 = 9.105 = 9.565 = 10.77 = 10.133

There is no exact correspondence, point for point, between any two of the adventures, but motifs recur, such as Odysseus going to sleep while the crew make some dire mistake (10.31–55; 12.338–65);[85] the use of drugs (9.94–7; 10.235–6, 316), magic (10.237–43, 319–20), erotic power (10.296, 333–5), or the magic of song (12.39–44, 183–93) to make the travellers forget their return. The Cyclops, the Laestrygonians, and Scylla prevent return by eating their victims (9.291–3, 311–12, 344; 10.116, 124; 12.256), and Charybdis, too, is a kind of mouth which sucks in and vomits out (12.237–43, 431–41). Mistrust and divisions between Odysseus and his men, lack of restraint on one side or the other, and failure to stay together[86] also blighted the homeward journey of the Greeks from Troy (this chapter, §§4.1–4.5). Leaving Circe and Calypso, the female detainers who conclude each of the two instalments, makes clear that NNausicaa will not be able to detain Odysseus in Scheria.[87]

(p.36) 9.1. Ismarus (9.39–66)

From the outset, Odysseus tries to dissociate himself from the mistakes of his men, who seem equally keen to distance themselves from his (10.429–37). He relates that he came first to the Cicones, Trojan allies (*Il.* 2.846; *Il.* 17.73) living at Ismarus in Thrace.[88] He sacked the town, but the crew, instead of departing as he wished (9.43–4), drank wine and slaughtered sheep and cattle on the beach while the Cicones summoned assistance and counter-attacked. The raiders barely escaped with their lives, and six men were lost from each ship (9.60–1): their obstinacy paves the way to their destruction by their own folly in the subsequent adventures. The debacle at Ismarus is redolent of the raid on Egypt described in Odysseus' false tale to Eumaeus (14.240–84), and the crew's insistence on feasting on the Cicones' captured cattle despite Odysseus' instruction to the contrary anticipates their slaughter of the Sun's cattle in Thrinacia (12.353–65).[89] In Eumaeus' view, the gods do not care for raiding, which brings fear of punishment (14.82–8).

Punishment comes from Zeus in the form of terrible storm[90] lasting two days (9.67–75); even so, Odysseus would have reached home unharmed (καὶ νύ κεν ἀσκηθὴς ἱκόμην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν) (9.79), but as he tried to round Cape Malea (9.80–1), the wind and the current drove him past Cythera and carried him westwards for nine days. His subsequent adventures are off the map, in a world which resembles 'the other side'.[91] Its paradises, with their abundant

vegetation, trees, springs, and streams,[92] are very like one another (and like their Phaeacian context). Apart from the adventures marked with * in the list at the beginning of §9 in this chapter, which appear to have been borrowed from an early tradition of the voyage of the *Argo*[93] and spliced into the **(p.37)** *apologos* between storms B and C, these travels seem to be in the west: when Odysseus sets off from Ogygia for Scheria, he takes an easterly direction, keeping the Great Bear on his left (5.271–7). The development of such a return journey for Odysseus was probably not instantaneous, and adventures which might once have belonged to Odysseus seem to have been reallocated to his Cretan alias (14.257–313; 17.425–43), or to Menelaus.[94] There may once have been versions of the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus, not Menelaus, was blown *eastwards* from Malea to the cities of Egypt and the Levant, being marooned for a time on an island off the Egyptian coast where he met Eidothea and consulted Proteus. In the *Odyssey* as we have it, however, Odysseus is blown *westwards* from Malea to the Lotus Eaters and Polyphemus.

9.2. The Lotus Eaters (9.83–104)

The Lotus Eaters gave Odysseus' scouts and herald the lotus to eat: it made them want to stay forever with their generous hosts and νόστου λαθέσθαι (forget about their return home) (9.97). (Comparable stories of food which prevents return include that of Persephone, compelled to stay in Hades for eating a pomegranate seed there.)[95] It would have been easy to settle down to eat the lotus, but Odysseus dragged his men away and tied them under the rowing benches while the others rowed the ships out to sea (9.98–104). His Phaeacian audience, with kindly intentions (like the Lotus Eaters (9.92–3)), have invited him to stay (7.311–16), and the story is designed to convey his determination right from the start to return home.

9.3. The Cyclops (9.105–564)

Odysseus came next to the Cyclops, Polyphemus. Their encounter, which has many parallels in folk tale,[96] is discussed in detail in Chapter 8. Led by a god, Odysseus moored his ships at an uninhabited island (9.146–50), but heard bleating of sheep and goats from the mainland opposite (9.167: cf. 12.264–6), and went to investigate (9.172–80). There, in a cave, he and his men found **(p.38)** crates of cheeses, and lambs and kids in pens. They lit a fire, sacrificed, and ate the cheeses. (In view of the dangers of eating food in the other world (see this chapter, §9.2) this was very unwise.) The owner returned with his flocks in the evening and closed the door with a huge stone. He offered his guests no food, but ate two of them and two more the following morning, before shutting the rest in the cave and returning to the pastures. In the evening he ate another two, and even told Odysseus he would be last in the queue (9.369–70). Odysseus made him drunk enough to go to sleep, blinded him, and escaped under the sheep going out of the cave.

Eating your guests is an extreme way of detaining them, and the Cyclops' punishment warns the Phaeacians not to detain their guest. But Eurylochus, second-in-command of the Ithacan force, blames Odysseus' ἀτασθαλίη (presumption)[97] (10.435–7) (see Table 4) for the deaths of the Cyclops' victims. Neither Odysseus nor his giant host restrains θυμός: the Cyclops would not spare anyone εἰ μὴ θυμός με κελεύοι (unless my heart bid me) (9.278), and Odysseus indulged his μεγαλήτορα θυμόν (proud heart) and revealed his name κεκοτηότι

θυμῷ (from his angry heart) (9.500–1) (Table 2), enabling the Cyclops to curse him. The blinding and the curse provoke Poseidon's anger and condemn Odysseus to wandering. Likewise, the slaughter of the cattle of the Sun provokes the anger of Helios, and the loss of Odysseus' last remaining ship and companions. The two episodes share common elements (see this chapter, §9.12 and Table 5 below), and neither Poseidon nor Helios is at all concerned with mitigating circumstances.[98] Entering the Cyclops' cave is like entering the world of the dead: getting in is easy, getting out requires a stratagem ὥς τε περὶ ψυχῆς (as a matter of life and death) (9.423). The men drove the stolen sheep onto their ship, but Odysseus relates that Zeus did not care for the sacrifice of the stolen ram (9.553), and plotted to destroy the ships and their crews (9.554–5). It begins to look as if the Cyclops' dark-fleeced (9.426)[99] sheep were no ordinary flocks, as the flocks and cattle of the Sun will later prove to have been no ordinary beasts. There may have been versions of the Cyclops story in which Poseidon's anger was occasioned by the theft of sacred flocks, as well as by the blinding of their shepherd.[100]

(p.39) The last four lines of the Cyclops' prayer have the force of a prophecy (φήμη):

> ἀλλ᾽ εἴ οἱ μοῖρ᾽ ἐστὶ φίλους τ᾽ ἰδέειν καὶ ἱκέσθαι
> οἶκον ἐϋκτίμενον καὶ ἑὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
> ὀψὲ κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας ἑταίρους,
> νηὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίης, εὕροι δ᾽ ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ.
> But if it is his fate to see his family and reach
> his well-built home and his native land,
> let him come late, and in bad case, with the loss of all his companions,
> on a foreign ship, and let him find troubles in his house.
> 9.532–5

To the Phaeacians, it must look as if what the Cyclops prayed for is happening to Odysseus, who has lost his companions and is seeking passage on a foreign ship. The *Cyclopeia* invites them to admire his cleverness in escaping from the ogre: it implies he will escape from them too. And it invites them to pity him for incurring Poseidon's wrath. Perhaps they should be careful about helping Poseidon's enemy.

9.4. Aeolus (10.1–79)

Aeolus, the custodian of the winds (10.21–2)[101] on his floating island, has much in common with the Phaeacians: like them (6.203), he is φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι (dear to the immortal gods) (10.2). A sheer cliff went straight up (λισσὴ δ᾽ ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη) round his island, exactly like the sheer cliff which goes straight up round Scheria (10.4b = 5.412b), and there was a bronze wall all round it (10.3–4), like that around Scheria (6.9) and Alcinous' palace (7.82–7). Aeolus' six daughters were married to his six sons, and spent their days in feasting (10.7–9), like the Phaeacians.[102] Aeolus kept Odysseus for a month, and questioned him about Troy, the ships of the Greeks, and their return (10.14), rather as Alcinous questions the hero about Troy (8.577–86). When he asked to be allowed to leave, Aeolus provided safe conduct (πομπή) (10.17–18), reflecting the πομπή (7.151) that Odysseus has been asking for, and Alcinous has been promising (7.191, 193, 317; 8.30–3). Aeolus gave **(p.40)** Odysseus an ἀσκός (bag) tied with a silver string (10.19–24) containing all the winds except the zephyr: his

crew opened it while he was asleep (10.31–55). It mirrors the strongbox into which Arete put all Odysseus' treasures and told him to tie it up with a cord in case anyone tried to open it while he was asleep (8.439–45). When Odysseus and his men were blown back to Aeolus, and asked for a second chance at return (10.61–9), Aeolus and his children became speechless, exactly like the Phaeacians when Odysseus walked into their feast (10.71a = 7.144a). The story is a polite way of saying that Alcinous' promises to provide πομπή and launch a ship have so far been like a bag of wind that leaves you back where you started. Aeolus' refusal to help the object of divine displeasure (10.73–4) offers Alcinous a pattern for refusing to help Odysseus, whom the Cyclops' prayer and Zeus' rejection of his sacrifice have shown to be in trouble with the gods. But Alcinous ignores the pattern along with his father's warning (8.565–9) that one day the practice of giving safe escort would anger Poseidon.

9.5. Telepylus and the Laestrygonians (10.80–132)

The men rowed on for six days and nights with no sign of land or πομπή (10.79), until they came to Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον, Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην (the steep citadel of Lamos, Laestrygonian Telepylus) (10.81–2).[103] It had a remarkable harbour surrounded on both sides by steep cliffs and entered by a narrow strait between jutting headlands (10.87–90).[104] As with the Cyclops' cave, getting in was easy: all the other ships went in and were moored together in the perfect stillness of the harbour (10.91–4), but Odysseus moored his ship to a rock outside the entrance (10.95–6) and climbed up to a lookout point (10.97). (If we believe that the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius conforms to an early tradition about the voyage of the Argo, the Laestrygonian episode appears to be based on the Argonauts' encounter with the Γηγενεῖς (earth-born Giants),[105] in which the Argonauts divided into two parties: one climbed **(p.41)** Mount Dindymon to a lookout point, and the Giants blockaded the exit of the harbour with rocks hurled from cliff tops.[106] They attacked Heracles and the younger heroes left with the Argo in the harbour, but the reconnaissance party climbed down from the lookout to attack the Giants from the rear and destroyed them. The story shape has been adapted in the Laestrygonian episode to make it more closely analogous to Odysseus' experiences among his Phaeacian hosts.) From the lookout point, Odysseus saw smoke rising, and sent scouts and a herald to investigate (10.99–102). They met a maiden fetching water from the spring, Artacie.[107] She directed them to her father's house, where they found her mother (10.103–13).[108] (Nausicaa likewise sent the hero to her mother (6.303–7), and the goddess Athene, disguised as a little girl with a pitcher (like the Laestrygonian maiden) guided him to Alcinous' house (7.18–79).) The Laestrygonian queen summoned her husband, Antiphates (Death Dealer),[109] who seized one of the new arrivals, and prepared him for dinner. When the other two fled to the ships, the Laestrygonians came running (like Giants (10.120)) to hurl down boulders onto the ships in the harbour below, harpoon the men like fishes, and take them home for dinner (10.117–24). The Laestrygonian hue and cry (βοή) (10.118) recalls the shouts of the Cyclops to his neighbours: compare

> οἱ δὲ βοῆς ἀΐοντες ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
> and they, on hearing the hue and cry, were running some from one place, some from another
> 9.401

with

> αὐτὰρ ὁ τεῦχε βοὴν διὰ ἄστεος· οἱ δ᾽ ἀΐοντες
> φοίτων ἴφθιμοι Λαιστρυγόνες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
> but he raised the hue and cry through the city; and on hearing it
> the mighty Laestrygonians were running, some from one place, some from another
> 10.118–19

(p.42) Odysseus abandoned the fleet to its fate. Suddenly back at his own ship without explanation of how he got there, he cut the cable and the crew rowed off to the open sea. The Laestrygonians ate all the sailors caught in the harbour, whereas the Cyclops trapped only twelve of Odysseus' men in his cave in the first place, and was eating them at the rate of only four a day. The Laestrygonians were bad hosts, who ate their guests instead of feeding them, and prevented them from leaving when they wanted to go. Odysseus is hinting at his growing anxiety: since the Phaeacians have not yet taken him home, perhaps they might be intending to eat him.

9.6. Circe in Aeaea (10.135–574)

Odysseus came next to Circe's island. She and her brother, Aëetes, were children of the Sun, and their mother was Perse, the daughter of Oceanus (10.137–9). Her island is described as Aeaean, after Aeaea, the Dawnland, where the sun rises and the Dawn has her palace and dancing floor (12.3–4), close to Oceanus (11.1–13; 12.1–3).[110] The men went ashore and slept for two days, their bearings completely lost (10.190–2). Odysseus saw smoke from within the forest, and sent Eurylochus with a reconnaissance party to investigate. They found a palace in a clearing, and all around it men transformed into wolves, lions, and other animals (10.216–19).[111] They heard Circe singing as she wove inside the house (10.221–3): they called out, the door opened, and everyone went in except Eurylochus. She gave them drugs, struck them with her wand, and drove them, in the outward form of pigs, into her pigsties.[112] When Eurylochus told him all this, Odysseus went to investigate in person. On the way, Hermes gave him moly as an antidote to Circe's drugs, and advised him to rush at her with his sword.[113] Hermes had told Circe to expect Odysseus (10.330–2), and she recognized him when he drew his sword, invited him to her bed, and swore not to harm him (10.333–46). She restored his companions (10.383–97), and at the end of a year (10.467), Odysseus asked **(p.43)** her to send them home (10.483–4). But she said that they must go first to Hades, where the shade of Tiresias (10.491–5) would tell them the path and measures of their route (10.539–40).[114] The obligation to visit Hades puts an obstacle (such as Alcinous keeps on interposing) in the way of immediate return—and some of the ghosts Odysseus meets in Hades seem to behave very much like his Phaeacian hosts.

9.7. *Nekyia* (Book 11)

(*Nekyia* was the standard name for the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*.)[115] Circe advised (10.517–38) on how to consult Tiresias, and sent a wind (11. 7–8) which carried the ship past the city of the Cimmerians (11.14–15).[116] They moored by the streams of Oceanus, and went to the house of Hades, where the rivers Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus flow into Acheron

(10.512–14; 11.20–2). There Odysseus dug a trench,[117] poured libations, and sprinkled barley (10.517–20; 11.25–8), promising sacrifices on his return to Ithaca (10.521–5; 11.29–33). He sacrificed Circe's black ram and ewe, letting the blood flow into the trench (10.527–9; 11.35–6). The ghosts came immediately (10.529–30; 11.36–7), but Odysseus drew his sword to keep them away until he could consult Tiresias (10.535–7 ≈ 11.48–50).

(p.44) 9.7.1. Consultation by Necromancy: Elpenor, the Human Victim

The first to arrive at the trench was Elpenor, Odysseus' oarsman (11.51), who had fallen from the roof of Circe's house and broken his neck (10.552–60; 11.61–5). Preoccupied with the journey to Hades, Odysseus had left the body unburied in Circe's palace (11.53–4). Elpenor supplicates for burial (11.66–78), but there is a suspicion in the air that his death was no accident: other sources suggest that a human victim is required for consultation by necromancy,[118] and Elpenor was dispensable.

He had not been cremated or buried,[119] so was not yet in Hades: he still had his νόος (mind) and φρένες (literally 'diaphragm', seat of rational thought), and could speak without drinking the blood. In Hades, Tiresias retains his φρένες intact, and to him alone Persephone has granted νόος after his death (10.493–4). (The Theban Amphiaraus also retains his prophetic powers, because he was swallowed alive into the earth and remains fully alive in Hades.)[120]

9.7.2. Nekyomanteion: Tiresias, Anticleia, and the Case for Return

The major Greek and Roman νεκυομαντεῖα (oracles of the dead) were Acheron in Thesprotia, Avernus in Campania, Heraclea Pontica on the south coast of the Black Sea, and Taenaron at the top of the Mani peninsula, but there were other oracles of the dead all over the ancient world, from Persia to Egypt and Etruria.[121] At the νεκυομαντεῖον in Heraclea the eccentric Spartan regent Pausanias consulted the ghost of a young woman he had killed.[122] The visitor to the oracle at Lebadeia sacrificed a ram over a trench, before going down a **(p.45)** ladder into an underground chamber to consult Trophonius himself.[123] Orpheus consulted the νεκυομαντεῖον at Acheron in Thesprotia when he was told his wife had died, and Periander, tyrant of Corinth, also consulted it.[124]

Odysseus' consultation of Tiresias is very like consultation at a nekyomanteion. Within the poem it has a counterpart in Menelaus' consultation of Proteus,

> ὅς κέν τοι εἴπῃσιν ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου
> νόστον θ᾽, ὡς ἐπὶ πόντον ἐλεύσεαι ἰχθυόεντα.
> who will tell you the path and measures of your route,
> and your return, how you will come over the fishy sea.
> 4.389–90 = 10.539–40

Proteus told Menelaus that the gods would grant his return if he went back to Egypt and made the requisite sacrifices (4.472–80), and Tiresias predicted that Odysseus' return would be hard (11.101), and he would not escape Poseidon's wrath for having blinded his son, the Cyclops (11.101–3). Return was possible (11.104–5) if, on approaching Thrinacia, Odysseus would σὸν θυμὸν ἐρυκακέειν καὶ ἑταίρων (restrain your heart and that of your companions), but anyone who harmed the cattle of the Sun grazing there would perish (11.104–14). If the

men damaged them on their own initiative, Odysseus would come home late and alone, on a foreign ship.[125] Restraint of the heart entails respect for the Sun's cattle.

Eidothea had advised that Proteus would, if required, provide information on what had happened at home in Menelaus' absence (4.391–3), and Tiresias, too, has much to say about what Odysseus may expect to find at home:

> ...δήεις δ᾽ ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ,
> ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους, οἵ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσι
> μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἕδνα διδόντες.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοι κείνων γε βίας ἀποτείσεαι ἐλθών·
> αὐτὰρ ἐπήν μνηστῆρας ἐνὶ μεγάροισι τεοῖσι
> κτείνῃς ἠὲ δόλῳ ἢ ἀμφαδὸν ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ...
> ...you will find trouble in your house,
> arrogant men, who are eating up your substance
> paying court to your godlike wife and giving presents.
> But certainly you will pay out their violent deeds when you get there.
> But when you have killed the suitors in your palace
> either by a trick or openly with the sharp bronze...
> 11.115–20.

(p.46) This part of Tiresias' prophecy indicates to the Phaeacians that return will not bring Odysseus the lasting humiliation suffered by Hephaestus in Demodocus' song of Ares and Aphrodite (8.266–366). The hero knows that he will kill his wife's suitors (an option Hephaestus did not have in dealing with the immortal Ares), and has Tiresias' authority to do so. To placate Poseidon after killing the suitors,[126] Odysseus must take an oar on his shoulder and travel far inland until he reaches a people who know nothing of the sea, eat no salt with their food, and are ignorant of ships and their oars. He will know the place when someone tells him he is carrying a winnowing fan on his shoulder.[127] Then he must plant his oar in the ground and sacrifice a ram, a bull, and a boar for Poseidon (11.121–31), before returning home and sacrificing hecatombs to all the gods (11.132–4). Death will come to him out of the sea, and kill him in a wealthy old age, surrounded by a prosperous people (11.134–7), a glowing contrast with Menelaus' translation to the Isles of the Blessed (4.561–9) (this chapter, §4.7).

Page[128] argued that since Tiresias did not tell Odysseus how to get home, that was not the purpose of his visit to Hades (whatever Circe said to the contrary). Tiresias went away, and Anticleia came to drink the blood (11.150–3).[129] Odysseus questioned her:

> εἰπὲ δέ μοι πατρός τε καὶ υἱέος ὃν κατέλειπον,
> ἢ ἔτι πὰρ κείνοισιν ἐμὸν γέρας, ἦέ τις ἤδη
> ἀνδρῶν ἄλλος ἔχει, ἐμὲ δ᾽ οὐκέτι φασὶ νέεσθαι.
> εἰπὲ δέ μοι μνηστῆς ἀλόχου βουλήν τε νόον τε,
> ἠὲ μένει παρὰ παιδὶ καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσει,
> ἦ ἤδη μιν ἔγημεν Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἄριστος.
> Tell me of my father and the son whom I left,
> whether my prerogative is still safe with them, or whether
> some other man already has it, and they no longer think I will return.
> And tell me the thoughts and intentions of my wedded wife,

> whether she remains with my son, and watches over everything continually,
> or whether whoever of the Greeks is best has already married her.
> 11.174–9

It does not seem to matter that Tiresias had just told him that he would find Penelope beset by suitors (11.115–17):[130] at this point Odysseus seems to have gone to Hades to find out from his mother about the situation at home. His questions to Anticleia may belong with another itinerary which brought him **(p.47)** home by way of Thesprotia (see Chapter 9, §§3.2.1 and 3.6.3) where he consulted his mother at the Thesprotian oracle of the dead. In the poem as we have it, Odysseus is not aware until he reaches Hades that his mother has died (11.84–7, 170–3).

As Aristarchus saw, Anticleia answers his questions in reverse order:[131] Penelope remains in the palace, weeping as the passage of time takes its toll (11.181–3). No one has yet usurped Odysseus' prerogative: Telemachus possesses his lands and honours (11.184–7); Laertes remains on the estate in a sorry condition; she herself died from longing for her son (11.197–203). Odysseus learned all this about eight years before reaching Ithaca: the suitors had not yet installed themselves when his mother was still alive, and when Odysseus does get home, he must be informed of their presence by Athene (13.375–81). A listening audience is likely to make a single picture of the situation in Ithaca from Tiresias' prophecy that Odysseus will kill his wife's suitors and his mother's assurances that 'your wife remains loyal, but grieves for your absence, your royal prerogatives are exercised by your son, and your father neglects himself because of his grief for you'. Anticleia's report argues strongly for going home, and Odysseus cannot ignore his father's self-neglect without bringing shame on himself.[132]

9.7.3. The Catalogue of Famous Women (11.225–330): Tyro (11.235–59) and Chloris–Pero (11.281–97)

But Odysseus did not leave at once, as Anticleia advised (11.223), because a throng of ghosts, the wives and daughters of the nobility, clustered around the blood. His pose of being inquisitive about them (11.229)[133] allows him to identify with the understandable curiosity of his Phaeacian audience, and gives him an excuse to focus on the fourteen specifically named female ghosts conveniently referred to as 'the catalogue of famous women' (Table 3).[134] Since he saw many others (11.328–9), the women named are likely to have **(p.48)** particular narrative significance. One by one they came forward to drink (11.228–32) and told him who they were, their parents, husbands, and children, sometimes including a vignette from their past lives: Odysseus seems to report what they told him, and the information, apart from that concerning the 'hateful Eriphyle' (11.326–7), is sometimes said to be presented as if from the women's point of view.[135] Tyro, Antiope, Alcmene, Chloris, Leda, and Iphimedeia appear also in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (Γυναικῶν Κατάλογος or Ἠοῖαι) (references in Table 3), which shares a few lines with the catalogue of the *Nekyia*.[136] There is clearly some relationship between the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and that of 11.225–330, but neither draws directly on the other. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* is not an expansion of that of *Odyssey* 11, but the *Odyssey* does seem to be excerpting from a fuller source, listing, for example, only three sons of Neleus and Chloris (11.286), in a line which appears in the much longer list of twelve sons given by Hesiod (*Cat*. fr.33a.9–12).[137]

Page assigned the catalogue of heroines (11.225–330) and the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.484–760) to a supposed Boeotian school of catalogue poetry,[138] but genealogy and catalogues are certainly not exclusively Boeotian, since many others are found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,[139] and there were still more in the tradition. Nestor is said in the *Cypria* to have consoled the jilted Menelaus with a paradigmatic catalogue of heroes who had trouble with women. It related 'how Epopeus corrupted the daughter of Lycurgus [i.e. Antiope (11.260–5)] and was besieged, and the story of Oedipus, and the madness of Heracles, and the story of Theseus and Ariadne' (11.321–5).[140] Epopeus' seduction of Antiope was used as a parallel for Paris' seduction of Helen. Ariadne, slain by Artemis at the request of Dionysus, whom she probably **(p.49)** deserted for Theseus (11.321–5, and see Chapter 4, §1.3.11), could represent Nestor's wishful projection of how Helen should be punished. It is harder to guess how he used the stories of Oedipus and of Heracles' madness, but their stories must have referred to the mother of Oedipus and to Megara (Heracles' wife), who both appear in Odysseus' catalogue (11.271–80, 269–70). Although sometimes said to have 'no direct relevance to the plot of the *Odyssey*',[141] the catalogue of heroines (and, after the interval of 11.330–84, the story of Agamemnon's murder) serves for comparison with the marriage of Odysseus and Penelope[142] (see Chapter 4, §§1.3 and 1.4). At least two of its stories are full para-narratives which reflect on the present action of the poem related in the voice of the poet-narrator.

The first and longest (at twenty-four or twenty-five lines)[143] entry in Odysseus' catalogue is Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus (11.236), king of Elis. Zeus saved her when he destroyed her father and all his family, and brought her to the house of Cretheus (Hesiod, *Cat.* fr. 30), whose wife she later became (11.237). But Tyro was in love with the river Enipeus, and habitually frequented (πωλέσκετο) his lovely streams (11.239–40), where she got more than she bargained for, and not from Enipeus, whose form Poseidon assumed when he lay with her under an arching wave, and made her the mother of Pelias and Neleus.[144] The god departed after instructing her to bring up the children and forbidding her to disclose his name (11.250–3). We do not have to search very hard in the events related by the poet-narrator to find a corresponding figure in Nausicaa, who likewise went on an unchaperoned outing to the river (6.85, 89–90, 97), where she met a man. Nausicaa knows that she could give the impression of having gone looking for such an encounter:

> ἤ τίς οἱ εὐξαμένῃ πολυάρητος θεὸς ἦλθεν
> οὐρανόθεν καταβάς, ἕξει δέ μιν ἤματα πάντα.
> Surely in answer to her prayers some god
> has come down from heaven, and she will keep him all her days.
> 6.280–1

(p.50) She averts the charge by blaming another hypothetical girl:

> καὶ δ᾽ ἄλλῃ νεμεσῶ, ἥ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι,
> ἥ τ᾽ ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἐόντων
> ἀνδράσι μίσγηται πρίν γ᾽ ἀμφάδιον γάμον ἐλθεῖν.
> and I too, disapprove of another girl, who would do such things,
> and who, without the permission of her dear father and mother when they are alive,

> has intercourse with men before she comes to marriage in public.
> 6.286–8

Odysseus uses the story of Tyro to point out to Alcinous in para-narrative how, *mutatis mutandis*, Nausicaa's visit to the washing pools by the river might have turned out:[145] doing the laundry at the seaside affords the opportunity for clandestine sexual activity (as exemplified by Eumaeus' nursemaid (15.417–21), seduced by a Phoenician[146] sailor while washing clothes on the beach).

After Tyro's, the longest entry (seventeen lines) is that of her daughter-in law, Chloris, whom Neleus married for her beauty, and to whom she bore three sons, Nestor, Chromius, and Periclymenus.[147] Eleven of the seventeen lines concern not Chloris herself, but the wooing of her daughter, Pero:

> τοῖσι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἰφθίμην Πηρὼ τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι,
> τὴν πάντες μνώοντο περικτίται· οὐδέ τι Νηλεὺς
> τῷ ἐδίδου, ὃς μὴ ἕλικας βόας εὐρυμετώπους
> ἐκ Φυλάκης ἐλάσειε βίης ᾽Ιφικληείης
> ἀργαλέας. τὰς δ᾽ οἶος ὑπέσχετο μάντις ἀμύμων
> ἐξελάαν· χαλεπὴ δὲ θεοῦ κατὰ μοῖρα πέδησε
> δεσμοί τ᾽ ἀργαλέοι καὶ βουκόλοι ἀγροιῶται.
> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεῦντο
> ἂψ περιτελλομένου ἔτεος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὧραι
> καὶ τότε δή μιν ἔλυσε βίη ᾽Ιφικλείη
> θέσφατα πάντ᾽ εἰπόντα· Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή.
> And in addition to these she bore mighty Pero, a marvel to mortals,
> whom all the neighbours were courting: nor was Neleus
> giving her to anyone who could not drive the spiral-horned, broad-browed cattle
> of mighty Iphiclus from Phylace,
> troublesome as they were to control. Only one man, a noble seer, undertook
> to drive them: but the harsh fate of a god held him back
> and troublesome bonds, and rustic cowherds.
> **(p.51)** But when the months and days of the year
> going round were coming to an end, and the seasons came round again,
> then indeed mighty Iphiclus released him
> when he had uttered all his prophecies: and the plan of Zeus was accomplished.
> 11.287–97

All the neighbours courted Pero, but Neleus would give her only to the man who brought back to Pylos the cattle of Iphiclus from Phylace (in Thessaly) (11.287–91).[148] Odysseus makes obscure (perhaps deliberately obscured) allusion to a much more complex story, the vicarious wooing of Pero by the seer Melampus, on behalf of his brother, Bias, told later in the poet's own voice (15.225–55), with additional details relevant to the context there.[149] The anonymous noble seer (11.291) might well be recognizable as Melampus to an ancient audience, but his significance is clear in any case. In both accounts (11.287–97 and 15.225–42), his return is forcibly[150] prevented, but eventually he succeeds in getting home: in this respect he is paradigmatic for Odysseus.[151] (The second account, related by the poet after Odysseus' arrival in Ithaca, adds the detail that when he returned, Melampus took vengeance

(15.236–7) for the appropriation of his property in his absence (15.230–1):[152] here too, he stands for Odysseus, who will punish the suitors' abuse of his property.) Although the details of the two summaries are often spliced together to 'reconstruct' the narrative,[153] we must not do this if we want to understand the para-narrative significance of *what Odysseus tells the Phaeacians* about the unnamed seer. We must confine our attention to what he says: **(p.52)**

1) Pero had many suitors (11.288).
2) Only one man, a noble seer, undertook the task required to win her (to bring the cattle of Iphiclus from Phylace) (11.291–2).
3) But he was detained abroad (for cattle theft) by a harsh fate, bonds, and rustic (ἀγροιῶται) cowherds (11.292–3).
4) After the passage of time (11.294–5), he was released (when he had told all his prophecies) (11.296–7).
5) The plan of Zeus was accomplished.

Pero and the neighbours who court her (11.288) remind the Phaeacians of what they have already heard (11.115–20) about Penelope and her suitors. From this beginning, Odysseus slides into the para-narrative of the seer who suffered imprisonment abroad by ἀγροιῶται (rustic) cowherds, but nevertheless returned and won the much-courted bride. The five elements highlighted in his story anticipate the elements of his own homecoming, as the poet's audience has been led to expect it will be:

1. Penelope has many suitors.
2. Only one man, Odysseus, can (succeed in the trial to) win her.
3. But he is detained abroad (for cattle theft) (1.7–9) by savage (ἄγριοι) men (1.197–9), or the nymph Calypso (1.14, 55; 7.259–60) and the anger of Poseidon (1.20–1; 9.526–36). (The arch-detainers, Scylla and the Cyclops, are also characterized as ἄγριοι (9.215, 494; 12.119)).
4. After the passage of time (1.16–17, and cf. 1.203–5), he is released (7.261–3).
5. The plan of Zeus (Odysseus' return to Ithaca) (1.77–8) is accomplished.

Other verbal echoes mark the self-reference of his story. πέδησε (held back) is used of the harsh fate which detained the seer (11.292), and Odysseus will tell Penelope that Zeus and the other gods πεδάασκον (persistently held me back) (23.353). The description of the passage of time before the seer's release

> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεῦντο
> ἂψ περιτελλομένου ἔτεος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὧραι
> but when the months and days of the year
> going round were coming to an end, and the seasons came round again
> 11.294–5

is close to ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν (but when indeed, as the seasons came round, the year came in) (1.16), and ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ ὄγδοόν μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ἦλθε (but when indeed the eighth year coming round for me arrived) (7.261), which introduce Odysseus' release by Calypso. Odysseus makes the seer exemplify the desired outcome of his

stay among the Phaeacians: he was allowed to go home when he had told all his prophecies **(p.53)** (11.297–8), and Odysseus hopes the Phaeacians will send him home when he has told all his stories.

The other ladies of the catalogue exemplify domestic possibilities which might well prey on the mind of a long absent husband: the mother of Oedipus, who was unwittingly married to her own son after he had slain his father, is the extreme example of what can happen when a son does not know his father (as Telemachus does not know Odysseus (1.215–16)). Some of the ladies were seduced (Antiope (11.260–5); Iphimedeia (11.305–20)) or deceived (Tyro (11.235–59); Alcmene (11.266–8); perhaps Maera (11.326)) into accepting a god as their lover: others (Phaedra, Procris, Ariadne (11.321–5)) are would-be adulteresses, or otherwise betrayed their husbands (Eriphyle (11.326–7)). The catalogue of heroines has been explained as a successful attempt to please Odysseus' Phaeacian audience, particularly Arete, and Odysseus is said deliberately to play down, or omit, any negative details.[154] His mention by name only of Phaedra and Procris (11.321) might be attributable to a desire to pass over their unflattering stories in silence, but it is also possible that their stories are evoked by the mere mention of their names, which serve as one-word paradigms of betrayal by a woman to preface the more developed para-narrative introduced at the end of the same line, Ariadne's betrayal of Dionysus (who seems to have been her lover before Theseus came along).[155] Propertius includes Tyro with Scylla, Pasiphaë, Myrrha, Medea, and Clytemnestra in a catalogue of lustful women. Ovid includes Phaedra in a similarly allusive catalogue of female passion and lust, told in varying degrees of detail.[156] Such catalogues seem to have been well established in love elegy in the Hellenistic period, and may even have been drawn from mythographic handbooks.[157] Tyro and Phaedra probably appear in Odysseus' catalogue as ciphers for the abstract concept of female lust, offering potential paradigms for Penelope. I do not think it is possible to sanitize what happened to women like Epicaste, the mother of Oedipus, who was married to her own son who had killed his father and widowed her (11.271–4). Oedipus was pursued by his mother's furies as if responsible for the crimes against her (11.280), but the mere mention of such things is damning, and once spoken they cannot be downplayed. In a short catalogue of fourteen women, at least one hangs herself for shame, two are killed by Artemis, perhaps two by their husbands, perhaps **(p.54)** one by her son.[158] There are positive and negative elements in this catalogue, which ends on a decidedly unpleasant note with the hateful Eriphyle ἣ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα (who accepted precious gold for the life of her dear husband) (11.327).[159] Rather like the ladies listed by Antinous (2.118–20), (all but one of) the women of Odysseus' catalogue are not like his peerless wife: they are foils not only for Penelope, but for Arete, too, and contrast with her, and her fortunate situation.

9.7.4. Intermezzo (11.330–84)

It is easy to make a mistake in performing catalogues and lists, and a flawless rendition is met with admiration and relief on the part of the audience.[160] Certainly, when Odysseus breaks off,[161] hinting that he could tell much more (11.328–9),[162] Arete admires his looks, his stature, and his well-balanced mind (11.336–41). Oral performers frequently break off when their audience wants to hear more, and have to be induced to continue by praise and material reward.[163] Demodocus stops singing (8.87), and has to be encouraged to start again (8.90–1),

and later that day Odysseus compliments his performance of the sad fate of the Greeks before requesting the new theme of the Wooden Horse (8.487–95). Alcinous compliments Odysseus' performance (11.363–9) and promises further gifts (11.351–2) before requesting him to begin again with the new theme of the heroes of the Trojan War (11.370–2).[164] The ship which was to sail for Ithaca the following day (7.317–18) has been waiting for some time (8.51–5), but now Alcinous asks his guest to postpone his departure until the next day (11.351). And Odysseus tactfully complies: to go home with more gifts, he would delay even a year (11.355–61).

(p.55) 9.7.5. The heroes of Troy: Agamemnon (11.387–466), Achilles (11.467–540), and Ajax (11.543–564)

The example with which Odysseus broke off, Eriphyle's acceptance of a bribe for the life of her husband (11.326–7), is understood (like other examples from Odysseus' catalogue of heroines) as pitiable: that is, the victim, Amphiaraus, is pitiable. Now Odysseus offers to relate the even more pitiable (καὶ οἰκτρότερ᾽) (11.381) troubles of his comrades who survived the war, only to be killed on their return by the will of a wicked woman (11.382–4). This sounds like the introduction to a list of heroes who fell victim to a woman after coming home from Troy. We know, for instance, the example of Diomede, who fled the scheming of his unfaithful wife (Aigialeia's infidelity was Aphrodite's revenge for the wound (*Il.* 5.336–40)), only to be killed in Italy, where he sought refuge.[165] In practice, however, the poet uses (from the longer list he surely knew) only the most pitiable (οἰκτίστῳ) (11.412; 24.34) example of Agamemnon, whose death at the hands of his wife's lover is the extreme negative pattern which contrasts with the success of Odysseus' more circumspect return (see Chapter 3; Chapter 4, §§1.2 and 1.4; and Chapter 6, §1.3.2).

Odysseus was next approached by Achilles, Patroclus, Antilochus, and Telamonian Ajax, a group the *Odyssey* clearly regards as the glorious war dead (11.467–9: see this chapter, §4.1). They serve not least for comparison with Odysseus' unresolved predicament: in the storm off Scheria, he compared his impending death by drowning with the fate of the heroes who died at Troy (5.299–307), and wished he had died on the day he defended the corpse of Achilles on the battlefield (5.308–10); then at least he would have had funeral honours (κτέρεα) and glory (κλέος) (5.311). Eighteen days of mourning preceded Achilles' cremation and funeral games, ensuring that his name would never be forgotten (24.36–94). His early death and glorious funeral make him a different kind of hero from Odysseus, whose νόστος requires endurance of toil and humiliation.[166]

When Achilles questions Odysseus about what he is doing in Hades,[167] he explains that he is there to consult Tiresias about his journey home, because he **(p.56)** has still not reached Greece or Ithaca, and his troubles are continuous (11.479–82). He thinks that Achilles, by contrast, should not grieve because in life he was honoured equally with the gods and now has great authority among the dead (11.482–6). But Achilles is disillusioned with honour, which came at too high a price (11.489–91): he would prefer survival, even as a labourer hired by a tenant farmer.[168] Odysseus has no news of Peleus,[169] but consoles Achilles with reports of his son, Neoptolemus, who was second in speech and counsel only to Odysseus and Nestor (11.510–12), and in might and courage to no one (11.515): while the other Greeks were wiping

their tears and trembling (11.527), Neoptolemus πόλλ᾽ ἱκέτευεν | ἱππόθεν ἐξέμεναι, ξίφεος δ᾽ ἐπεμαίετο κώπην (was supplicating very much to get out of the Horse, grasping the hilt of his sword) (11.530–1). He took a leading part in the sack of Troy, and sailed for home unscathed and loaded with treasures (11.533–6). Achilles goes away rejoicing in his son's heroic qualities (11.538–40), but Odysseus leaves the impression that his own position is better: while telling Achilles about his son, he has managed to present himself as the victor of the Trojan War.[170] If the audience is also aware of the traditions of Neoptolemus' early death in a quarrel over sacrificial meat at Delphi, or at the hands of Orestes,[171] Achilles is less fortunate in his son than Odysseus will prove to be when Telemachus helps him to take vengeance on the suitors.

Achilles goes away, and the ghosts of Patroclus and Antilochus ask about their particular concerns (11.541–2),[172] but Ajax stands apart. He was the best of the Achaeans after Achilles,[173] the hero of the fighting over the corpses of Patroclus and Achilles,[174] but Odysseus was always his rival. In the embassy to Achilles, Ajax nodded to Phoenix to begin speaking, but Odysseus cut in (*Il.* 9.223–4). In their wrestling match at Patroclus' funeral games, Ajax's strength was balanced by Odysseus' tactics (*Il.* 23.708–39). Their rivalry does not come to any conclusion in the *Iliad*, but it did in the lost poems of the **(p.57)** *Aethiopis* and the *Ilias Parva*. The funeral games for Patroclus imitate the tradition of the funeral games for Achilles preserved by these later poems, and the *Iliad*'s inconclusive wrestling match between Ajax and Odysseus is modelled on the tradition of their contest in the funeral games for Achilles, where his armour[175] was awarded to Odysseus. Ajax slew himself,[176] and Odysseus tells his ghost how the Greek army mourned for him. He blames Zeus for Ajax's misfortune (11.553–62), but the ghost turns wordlessly away and goes with the other war heroes into Erebus (11.563–4). Pindar (*N.* 8.21–32) suggests that lies were told to favour Odysseus in the contest for the arms, so if Ajax was allowed to speak, Odysseus might suddenly appear in an unattractive light. Ajax's silent withdrawal may express 'a kind of resolution and strength which Odysseus will never have', or an injury which goes too deep for reconciliation:[177] Longinus (Περὶ Ὕψους 9.2.) found it more impressive than words could ever be.

9.7.6. *(Catabasis?)* The Hades of Minos (11.568–627)

When Ajax goes into Erebus, he still might speak to Odysseus even there (ἔνθα χ᾽ ὅμως) (11.565), or Odysseus to him, except that Odysseus wants to see the other ghosts (11.566–7).[178] We cannot tell if he follows Ajax into Hades and sees Minos (11.568) at the start of a κατάβασις (descent), or if the interior of Hades is visible from his position by the trench. Aristarchus athetized 11.568–627 on the grounds that Odysseus could not see inside Hades from where he stood:[179] he rightly recognized Minos and his charges as a new departure, but condemned the passage without recognizing its narrative **(p.58)** significance. Odysseus has fulfilled (11.385–564) Alcinous' request to hear about the Trojan War dead (11.370–2), who would by themselves balance the catalogue of heroines before the intermezzo, and he has more immediate reasons for introducing the Hades of Minos than to compete with Heracles, who went there to fetch the watchdog (*Il.* 8.367–9; *Od.* 11.623–6), or Theseus and Peirithous, who went down to abduct Persephone.[180]

In the Hades of Minos, the dead seem to continue with what they did in life: Minos is giving judgements (11.568–71), and Orion is rounding up the animals he has killed in the mountains (11.572–5). Tityus lies stretched out with his hands bound, while two vultures tear at his liver,[181] a fitting punishment for his attempt to rape Leto at Panopeus on her way to Pytho (Delphi) (11.576–81).[182] The torments of Tantalus are described in loving detail (11.582–92): he stands in water up to his chin, thirsty, but every time he bends to drink, the water disappears as if sucked away. Fruit hangs on the branches above his head, but every time he tries to grasp it, the wind blows the branch upwards towards the clouds.[183] In cases like this where full information is given on the crime and torments of Tityus and on Tantalus' torments, but not his crime, the audience is not expected to supplement it, and the poet may be departing from the tradition, or opting for one of a number of variants. Either the audience is expected to know without explanation the reason for Tantalus' punishment,[184] or it does not need to know why he is punished, **(p.59)** and this is true also of Sisyphus (11.593–600), who is condemned without explanation to roll a stone constantly uphill, only to have it roll back down again every time he is about to reach the top.

Heracles compares Odysseus' lot with his own:

> διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν᾽ Ὀδυσσεῦ,
> ἆ δείλ᾽, ἦ τινὰ καὶ σὺ κακὸν μόρον ἡγηλάζεις,
> ὅν περ ἐγὼν ὀχέεσκον ὑπ᾽ αὐγὰς ηἐλίοιο.
> Godborn son of Laertes, Odysseus of many devices,
> unhappy man, surely you too are dragging out some such wretched life
> as I used to bear under the rays of the sun.
> 11.617–19

so it is worth trying to see how he and the other figures in the Hades of Minos relate to Odysseus. There is a vast amount of mythological information which the audience might possibly bring to bear on its understanding of 11.568–640,[185] but in this case, at any rate, it is not required to fill in the **(p.60)** gaps, but to concentrate on the point:[186] i.e. the relevance of *what Odysseus has to say* about Minos and his charges in the context of relating his adventures in response to Alcinous' requests (8.572–80; 11.370–2). The *Nekyia*'s catalogue began ἔνθ᾽ἦ τοι πρώτην Τυρὼ ἴδον (there, truly, first I saw Tyro) (11.235), but none of its subsequent entries is marked in this way, although they too, are introduced by verbs of seeing,[187] like the figures in the Hades of Minos, which also begins ἔνθ᾽ἦ τοι Μίνωα ἴδον (there, truly, I saw Minos) (11.568), but none of its subsequent entries[188] is marked in this way. We remember that Tyro, the first of the heroines, is in some ways analogous to Nausicaa (see this chapter, §9.7.3), and it will become clear that Minos, whose entry is marked like Tyro's, is in some ways analogous to Alcinous.

Büchner[189] interpreted the picture of Minos peaceably dispensing justice as a compliment to Alcinous, the peaceable Phaeacian king, placed deliberately at the start of the vision of Hades. The shades are asking Minos for judgements (11.570–1): Odysseus is asking Alcinous for safe conduct to Ithaca. For the time being, then, let us go along with Büchner: Minos χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα (bearing a golden sceptre) (11.569) corresponds to Alcinous, the most significant of the σκηπτοῦχοι (sceptre-bearing) kings of Scheria (8.41, 47). As Alcinous is

dominant in Scheria (11.352–3), so Minos is dominant in Hades.[190] Tityus and Orion are probably included to set the scene, although as examples of would-be rapists,[191] they may be intended to contrast with Odysseus' refusal to take advantage of his encounter with Nausicaa.

Now, the fruit hanging over Tantalus's head:

> ὄγχναι καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι
> συκέαι τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι
> pears and pomegranates and fine apples
> and sweet figs and flourishing olives
> 11.589–90 = 7.115–16

is straight out of Alcinous' orchard:[192] Odysseus' point is that something Tantalus very much wants is always being dangled before him, only to be whisked away when he tries to grasp it. (Homer has departed from the tradition, where Tantalus is always afraid a rock or a mountain is going to fall on him.)[193] This is what is happening to Odysseus with regard to the 'safe escort home tomorrow' promised him by Alcinous on the day he arrives in **(p.61)** Scheria (7.317–18): the ship has been kept waiting for the whole of that 'tomorrow', and now (11.350–2) Alcinous tells him to wait until the next day (see this chapter, §9.7.4). He does not finally leave Scheria until the third sunset after his arrival (13.31–77). The infinite postponement of Tantalus' gratification is analogous to the repeated postponement of the 'tomorrow' of Odysseus' promised return.

Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, ὃ κέρδιστος γένετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν (who was the wiliest of men) (*Il.* 6.153), is also likely to correspond to Odysseus, who has presented himself, particularly in the Cyclops episode, as a trickster figure. Sisyphus was too clever to die, and seems to have talked his way out of Hades,[194] rather as Odysseus is trying to talk his way out of the court of Alcinous. He shows Sisyphus rolling a boulder up a slope: every time he is about to arrive at the summit, the stone rolls back, and he has to start all over again. Odysseus thought he had finished the narration of what he saw in Hades (11.328–30), but just when he and his tale seemed about to escape (11.330–2), Alcinous' renewed request (11.370–2) rolled back the metaphorical stone, and Odysseus had to start all over again and tell him about the Trojan War dead whom he met there.

Last of all, Odysseus sees Heracles (11.601), or perhaps his εἴδωλον (phantom), since we are also told that Heracles resides with the immortals as the husband of Hebe (11.602–4).[195] Heracles corresponds to Odysseus in several respects. He performed labours (ἄεθλοι)[196] for a lesser man (Eurystheus):

> Ζηνὸς μὲν πάϊς ἦα Κρονίονος, αὐτὰρ ὀϊζὺν
> εἶχον ἀπειρεσίην· μάλα γὰρ πολὺ χείρονι φωτὶ
> δεδμήμην, ὁ δέ μοι χαλεποὺς ἐπετέλλετ᾽ <u>ἀέθλους</u>.
> I was the son of Zeus, but I used to endure boundless misery.
> For I was subject to a very much baser man,
> who imposed difficult <u>labours</u> on me.
> 11.620–2

(p.62) as Odysseus is presently performing (narrative) labours for Alcinous. The fact that Heracles' most difficult labour was the visit to Hades:

> καί ποτέ μ᾽ ἐνθάδ᾽ ἔπεμψε κύν᾽ ἄξοντ᾽· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ᾽ ἄλλον
> φράζετο τοῦδέ γέ μοι κρατερώτερον εἶναι ἄεθλον.
> and once he sent me here to fetch the dog:
> for he could think of no other labour for me harder than this one.
> 11.623–4

suggests that Odysseus considers the narrative of his own visit to Hades the most difficult of the ἄεθλοι[197] by which the Phaeacians test him (8.22–3). His Heracles stands δεινὸν παπταίνων (looking about him terribly), always about to shoot the arrow at his bowstring (11.607–8). The dead suitor Amphinomus will later describe Odysseus δεινὸν παπταίνων as he poured his arrows on the threshold and shot Antinous (24.178–81). Odysseus pays particular attention to Heracles' sword belt (11.609–14), about which he hopes

> μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ᾽ ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιτο,
> ὃς κεῖνον τελαμῶνα ἑῇ ἐγκάτθετο τέχνῃ
> would that he never had designed it, nor would design another such,
> he who conceived that belt in his art.
> 11.613–14

We know of no other description of Heracles' sword belt, which appears to be invented for its context here. If the poet of the *Iliad* is free to let his character Achilles invent mythological details,[198] such as that Niobe ate (*Il.* 24.602, 613), to achieve a parallel with his primary narrative, where Priam must eat (*Il.* 24.601, 618–19), the same is true of the *Odyssey* poet's character, Odysseus. We have already seen that he has adjusted Tantalus' punishment to approximate more closely to his own predicament. It is the character, Odysseus, who conceives the design of the imaginary belt, and his wish expresses the hope that he will not have to design another ghost like Heracles.[199] Heracles had nothing to say, beyond comparing his labours with those of Odysseus, and went firmly back into Hades (11.627). Odysseus reports that he hung about, **(p.63)** hoping to see other heroes (like Theseus and Peirithous), but was afraid that Persephone might send up a Gorgon, and so he went back to his boat (11.636–40)—he would quite like to go to his boat now, as well.

9.8. Circe: the Way to Thrinacia (12.1–143)

When Odysseus returns from Hades, Circe becomes (as Odysseus would like the Phaeacians to become) the ally who facilitates his journey.[200] She tells him the possible routes to Thrinacia, and how to deal with the perils he will face (12.37–110, 118–47). He will come next to the Sirens (12.39–54), and then he can choose (12.56–8) either the way between the Clashing Rocks,[201] which close without warning, and which no vessel but the Argo has ever successfully negotiated (12.59–72), or the nearby route past the monster Scylla, and the whirlpool Charybdis (12.73–126). Then he will come to the island of Thrinacia, where the Sun keeps his seven herds of cattle and seven flocks of sheep (12.127–36). If he and his men leave the cattle alone, they have a chance of reaching Ithaca, but if they harm them they will perish (12.137–9 = 11.110–12).

9.9. The Sirens (12.39–54, 166–200)

Homer does not describe the Sirens,[202] and Odysseus never sees them. They appear in art as hybrids, the upper body that of a woman, the lower that of a bird. Their effigy is placed on tombs, and they seem to conduct the dead to the other world.[203] Circe tells Odysseus (12.39–54) that he will come to an island where the Sirens sit in their meadow amid the bones of men whom they charm **(p.64)** (θέλγουσι(ν)) by their sweet song (12.39–46).[204] Odysseus prepares as Circe advises (12.47–54), by stopping the crew's ears with wax (12.173–7)[205] so that they cannot hear the fatal singing. They bind him to the mast (12.178–9) so that he can listen, delighting in (τερπόμενος) (12.52) the Sirens' voices without succumbing to their power, whose erotic aspect[206] is signified by the meadow (12.45), which can often be the scene of sexual encounter. When Odysseus comes within earshot (12.166–200), the wind drops, and γαλήνη ἔπλετο νηνεμίη (there [is] calm and perfect stillness) (12.168–9) as the ship approaches the island.[207] The Sirens recognize him and appeal to his vanity as a storyteller (or as the subject of stories) and as the conqueror of Troy (πολύαιν'[208] Ὀδυσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν) (Odysseus of the many tales, great glory of the Greeks) (12.184). Their opening gambit is literally 'come hither' (12.184). No one, they claim, ever passed by their island without listening to their song, and whoever heard it returned delighted and καὶ πλείονα εἰδώς (knowing even more) (12.186–8). They know everything that happens on earth (12.189–91). (They are a deceptive duplicate of the Muses.)[209] But while their song delights, there is no guarantee of its accuracy, and their claim that whoever hears them returns knowing more[210] is false: no one returns (12.42–6). Overcome by the desire to listen, Odysseus signals to the crew with his eyebrows to release him, but Eurylochus adds to his bonds (12.192–6) and rows until the Sirens can no longer be heard. Nothing happens to the Sirens when Odysseus does not succumb to their song, but in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (4.891–919) and in the Orphic *Argonautica* (1264–90),[211] they throw themselves off their cliff when Orpheus drowns them out with his own song.[212]

(p.65) The Sirens claim to know πάνθ', ὅσ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ | Ἀργεῖοι Τρῶές τε θεῶν ἰότητι μόγησαν (all that the Greeks and Trojans suffered in broad Troy by the will of the gods) (12.189–90). The subject of Demodocus' first song is expressed in similar terms: ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί (all that the Greeks suffered) (8.490). The Sirens' song makes Odysseus want to hear more (12.193–4), like Demodocus' first song: he asks the bard to μετάβηθι (switch) to the Wooden Horse (8.492–3). But by making Circe warn that whoever listens to the Sirens never has the pleasure of his wife and children beside him on his return (12.41–3), Odysseus implies that if he stays with the Phaeacians on their lovely island listening to Demodocus' poetry he will never return to his wife and son.

9.10. The Clashing Rocks (12.59–72: avoided 202–21)

As far as Circe is concerned, the Argo is well known to all (πᾶσι μέλουσα) (12.70): Odysseus could follow its route through the Clashing Rocks (12.69–72) as Jason sailed home from Aeaea (Dawnland) with the Golden Fleece. Aeaea is the eastern kingdom of Circe's brother, Aëetes (10.135–9), a mythical region located by the stream of Oceanus and the river Phasis (River of Radiance) from which the sun rises (12. 3–4).[213] The poet of the *Odyssey* regards Jason's return from Aeaea as analogous to that of Odysseus from Troy,[214] and perhaps

tightens the connection by making the Argonauts pass the Clashing Rocks on their way home: in later versions, they encounter them on their outward journey.[215] The Argo is thought of as having gone up the Phasis to Oceanus,[216] and back via the Clashing Rocks (which might, at this early date, have been imagined at the straits of Kerch on the Sea of Azov rather than the Thracian Bosporus). Circe's role as adviser on Odysseus' journey is probably based on her similar role as adviser to Jason about his journey to Aeaea in the early Argonautica: in later accounts, Jason's adviser is Phineus.[217]

(p.66) The Argo's successful return with Hera's divine assistance contrasts with Odysseus' own abject failure to get home from Troy, and with the loss of all his companions. He never seriously considers the Argo's route: he is more hopeful about the strait between Scylla and Charybdis, constructed as a parallel danger. Circe explains that the Clashing Rocks always catch the last of the doves which fly through to bring ambrosia to Zeus (12.62–5):[218] this looks like an invention to parallel the six men always taken by Scylla from any ship trying to pass her strait. Odysseus certainly sees the smoke from the Clashing Rocks and the mighty wave, and hears the crash as the rocks collide (12.201–2). The ship stops, and he has to encourage the men to attempt the route past Scylla (12.208–21).

9.11. Scylla (12.73–125, 223–59)

Odysseus' account of Scylla adopts three perspectives. First, Circe describes Scylla's cave high in the sheer rock face, its entrance towards Erebus and the dark. She has the voice of a newborn puppy, twelve limbs and six long necks, each with a head bearing three rows of teeth: she looks all around her rock (12.95), dangling her heads to fish for dolphins and dogfish and whatever passes by; no ship has ever escaped her, but each head always takes a man. Then we hear Odysseus' actual words as he encourages the crew: their escape from the Cyclops through his ἀρετῇ βουλῇ τε νόῳ τε (prowess and counsel and mind) (12.211) argues for doing what he tells them now (12.213). He orders them to row and steer for the cliff (he does not reveal that Scylla's lair is there, or share his knowledge of her certain attack), to avoid drifting towards the Clashing Rocks (12.219–21). Finally, adopting the perspective of survivor/reporter, he says that the men complied (12.222). (If they had thought more about the example of the Cyclops' cave, they might have remembered that they did not all escape from it.)

We eavesdrop as Odysseus asks Circe if he would be able to ward Scylla off (12.114).[219] But a bowshot from a man of great strength (12.83–4) would not reach her cave, and it is no use trying to fight her κορυσσόμενος (helmeted, i.e. fully armed) (12.121, 227). She is immortal and invincible, and speed is essential if her attack is not to be suffered more than once (12.118–26). Odysseus arms himself (12.228–9) as if for an Iliadic fight, but cannot even **(p.67)** see Scylla as he scans the rock: then he becomes distracted by the whirlpool, Charybdis, and that is when the monster strikes. The zooming in from her haunts (12.73–84) to Scylla herself (12.85–100) echoes the Cyclops episode and the monster combats of the *Theogony*, particularly Zeus' fight against the multi-headed Typhoeus (Hesiod *Th.* 820–67), but this time the monster wins. The expectations of martial success aroused by the military vocabulary are confounded by the horrific reversal of an Iliadic simile in which Patroclus drags Thestor from his chariot as an angler drags a fish (*Il.* 16.406–8): like a fisherman with a

very long rod (her necks), Scylla drags six men out of the ship and eats them in the mouth of her cave (12.251–7).

Parallel narrative details develop the comparison (12.209–12) of Scylla to the Cyclops. Like the Cyclops, she is a πέλωρ (monster) (9.428; 12.87), whose lair is a cave (9.182, 237, 337, 402, 447, 458; 12.80, 84). The Cyclops eats six of Odysseus' companions in three instalments, two at a time (9.289–91, 311, 344): Scylla eats six all at once (12.98–100, 109–10, 245–6). The outcome of both encounters is therefore the same, but Odysseus presents that with the Cyclops as a success (to make the Phaeacians admire him), although his original aim, to find out if the inhabitants of the mainland were ἄγριοι (savage) or hospitable (9.175–6, 229), had to be shifted to revenge (9.317) and getting out of the cave (9.420–3). By contrast, his original desire to fight Scylla (12.114) is stated before he ever encounters her, and his helplessness in the face of her attack is presented as failure (inviting the Phaeacians to pity him).

9.12. Thrinacia (11.104–14; 12.127–41, 261–402)

Tiresias predicted that Odysseus might still get home if he respected the cattle of the Sun on the island of Thrinacia:[220]

> ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι μέν κε καὶ ὧς, κακά περ πάσχοντες, ἵκοισθε,
> αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλῃς σὸν θυμὸν ἐρυκακέειν καὶ ἑταίρων,
> ὁππότε κεν πρῶτον πελάσῃς εὐεργέα νῆα
> Θρινακίῃ νήσῳ, προφυγὼν ἰοειδέα πόντον,
> βοσκομένας δ᾽ εὕρητε βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα
> ᾽Ηελίου, ὃς πάντ᾽ ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐπακούει.
> τὰς εἰ μέν κ᾽ ἀσινέας ἐάᾳς νόστου τε μέδηαι,
> καί κεν ἔτ᾽ εἰς ᾽Ιθάκην, κακά περ πάσχοντες, ἵκοισθε·
> εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ᾽ ὄλεθρον
> νῆΐ τε καὶ ἑτάροισ᾽. αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἴ πέρ κεν ἀλύξῃς,
> ὀψὲ κακῶς νεῖαι, ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας ἑταίρους.
> **(p.68)** But still in truth, even so, albeit with terrible suffering, you would make it,
> if you are willing to restrain your heart, and that of your companions,
> when first you make your well-wrought ship approach
> the island of Thrinacia, after escaping the dark blue sea,
> and find grazing the cows and fat sheep
> of the Sun, who beholds everything and hears everything.
> if you leave them unharmed and keep your mind on your return,
> even yet you would make it to Ithaca, albeit with terrible suffering,
> but if you harm them, then I predict destruction for you
> and your ship and your companions. And even if you avoid them yourself,
> you will return late, in a bad way, with the loss of all your companions.
> 11.104–14

There are fifty animals in each of the seven herds of cattle and seven flocks of sheep belonging to the Sun which Odysseus will find on Thrinacia (350 cows, 350 sheep). They never have young and never perish, and are tended by the Sun's daughters, Phaethousa and Lampetie

(12.127–33). Circe repeats Tiresias' warning that return is possible only if the cattle are left untouched: otherwise, disaster will follow (11.110–14 = 12.137–41).

As soon as the ship passes Scylla and Charybdis, it comes to Thrinacia. Odysseus can hear, even out at sea, the lowing of the penned-in[221] cattle and the bleating of sheep (12.264–6: cf. 9.166–7). First to himself, and then to his crew, he repeats Circe's warning:

> ...ἥ μοι μάλα πόλλ᾽ ἐπέτελλε
> νῆσον ἀλεύασθαι τερψιμβρότου ᾽Ηελίοιο
> ...who ordered me most insistently
> to avoid the island of the Sun who delights mortals
> 12.268–9 = 12.273–4

He orders the crew to sail on by the island (παρὲξ τὴν νῆσον ἐλαύνετε) (12.276), but Eurylochus insists that the men need a night ashore (12.279–93). Before they put in, Odysseus makes them swear a solemn oath not to kill ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῇσιν (in base presumption) any cow or sheep they find there (12.297–303). In the morning, he tells them that there are provisions (12.320) on board the ship:

> ...τῶν δὲ βοῶν ἀπεχώμεθα, μή τι πάθωμεν·
> δεινοῦ γὰρ θεοῦ αἵδε βόες καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,
> ᾽Ηελίου, ὃς πάντ᾽ ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐπακούει.
> ...but let us keep our hands off the cows, lest we suffer something bad:
> for these cows and fat sheep belong to a dread godhead,
> the Sun, who beholds everything, and overhears everything.
> 12.321–3

(p.69) The crew are fully aware of why they need to stay away from the cattle,[222] but the prohibition on killing them turns into a trial of endurance: the contrary wind blows for a month, their provisions run out, they are reduced to catching birds and fish, and just when ἔτειρε δὲ γαστέρα λιμός (hunger was wearing down their bellies) (12.332 = 4.369), Odysseus leaves them[223] to their own devices while he goes inland to pray for a way to reach home (12.325–37). The gods send him to sleep while Eurylochus incites[224] his shipmates: ᾽Ηελίοιο βοῶν ἐλάσαντες ἀρίστας| ῥέξομεν ἀθανάτοισι (we shall drive off the best of the cattle of the Sun | and sacrifice them to the gods) (12.343–4). If they reach Ithaca, they will compensate the Sun with a temple and offerings (12.345–7):

> εἰ δέ χολωσάμενος τι βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων
> νῆ᾽ ἐθέλῃ ὀλέσαι, ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἕσπωνται θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
> βούλομ᾽ ἅπαξ πρὸς κῦμα χανὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι
> ἢ δηθὰ στρεύγεσθαι ἐὼν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ.
> But if he is angered somehow about his straight-horned cattle
> and wants to destroy the ship, and the other gods agree,
> I choose to quit life once and for all in the sea with my mouth open
> rather than be drained of strength on a desert island for a long time.
> 12.348–51

Eurylochus prefers θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι (to destroy the heart, i.e. lose his life) (12.350) rather than endure (not eating meat) for an indefinite period (12.351). Despite his 'rhetorical posturing'[225] about the gravity of their situation, the men approve his plan (12.352) and slaughter some of the cattle in an improvised 'sacrifice', but the meat is not theirs to offer, and they behave as if it was a loan to be paid back later. They have no barley to scatter between the victims' horns, and have to substitute oak leaves (12.357–8); they use water for a libation over the sacrificial thigh bones and strips of meat, since they have no wine (12.362–3).[226] Lampetie reports to the Sun ὅ οἱ βόας ἔκταμεν ἡμεῖς (that we killed his cattle) (12.375),[227] and the Sun demands that Zeus and the other gods make them pay for it (τεῖσαι) (12.378). Zeus promises to smite the ship with a thunderbolt out at sea (12.387–8). Odysseus is hardly likely to have **(p.70)** overheard this divine conversation, but maintains the illusion by crediting Calypso as his source (12.389–90). The dialogue establishes that Zeus really did intend to sink the ship.[228] Odysseus awakes, smells the meat, and complains that the gods sent him to sleep[229] εἰς ἄτην (to my ruin) (12.372). The hides get up and walk about, and the meat moos on the spits (12.394–6), but the men feast on the cattle for six days (12.398). When the wind drops on the seventh, they embark. Out at sea a dark cloud gathers over the ship, Zeus' lightning bolt strikes it, and the crew are drowned (12.405–19).

The narrative importance of the crew's failure to pass the test on Thrinacia can hardly be exaggerated: as well as the account (12.260–419) in Odysseus' *apologos*, and the predictions of Tiresias and Circe, Odysseus mentions it twice to Penelope, first in a false tale (19.273–7), and later in his account of his adventures (23.329–32). If the cattle of the Sun had been left alone, he would have arrived seven years earlier, and there would have been no suitors.[230] Even more significantly, the loss of the companions by their ἀτασθαλίῃσιν (presumption) in eating the cattle of the Sun occupies three of the ten lines of the *Odyssey*'s prologue, to the exclusion of all other adventures:

> αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο,
> νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο
> ἤσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.
> For they perished by their own presumption,
> fools, who ate up the cattle of the Sun:
> but he took away from them the day of their return.
> 1.7–9

The proem's programmatic[231] explanation that the crew perished for their ἀτασθαλίη is soon followed by Zeus' complaint that men blame the gods for their troubles, but σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν (by their own presumption) have troubles beyond their due (ὑπὲρ μόρον) (1.33–4)—like Aegisthus (1.35–43). Disregard of Odysseus' prohibition on killing Helios' cattle through ἀτασθαλίῃσιν κακῇσιν (base presumption) (12.300) (see Table 4) associates the crew with Aegisthus and the suitors, who also, despite warnings,[232] perish by their own ἀτασθαλίῃσιν.

(p.71) The crew give way to ἀτασθαλίη in circumstances which Focke and others consider extenuating:[233] they put in at the island because they are exhausted, but when the wind forces them to stay there for a month (12.325), their provisions run out. They can choose

between an insufficient (and unheroic) diet of fish and birds or eating the cattle, and they opt for the latter, hoping to survive long enough to appease the Sun's anger. The narrative must dispose of them[234] in order to explain why Odysseus arrived alone in Scheria: therefore they feast (like the suitors) on cattle not their own, and hope to survive to pay compensation (12.345–7: cf. 22.54–9). They could have chosen not to put in at the island, and not to eat the cattle. Eurylochus blames Odysseus (10.435–8) for ἀτασθαλίη when he went to investigate the bleating of sheep and goats (9.167) audible from the Cyclops' cave (9.170–95), and insisted on staying to see him (9.228–9) although his companions wanted to steal the cheeses and animals and leave (9.224–7). Poseidon's wrath at the Cyclops' blinding (1.69; 11.103; 13.343) could arguably be traced to Odysseus' ἀτασθαλίη on that occasion.[235]

The disaster predicted if the cattle of the Sun are damaged is an extreme version of real life prohibitions against damaging sacred property punishable by fines and penalties.[236] We have literary and epigraphic evidence for herds of cattle and sheep tended at sanctuaries in the Greek world.[237] Herodotus tells the story of Euenius, a shepherd of the Sun's sacred sheep at Apollonia in the Ionian gulf. Unfortunately

> **(p.72)** when he went to sleep, wolves got into the cave past the guard, and ravaged about sixty of the sheep…but…the Apollonians…when they found out…brought him before a court and condemned him to be deprived of his eyesight, because he had gone to sleep on his watch.

Immediately after the blinding, however, the flocks became sterile and the land was blighted, until Euenius was paid the compensation of his choice, as the oracles at Delphi and Dodona instructed.[238] The gods gave him the gift of prophecy.

9.13. The Motif of Trial

Elements common to the story of Euenius and the ordeal of Odysseus in Thrinacia are:

i. animals sacred to the Sun
ii. which must remain at a constant number
iii. ravaged
iv. while someone sleeps who should be looking out for them.
v. Disaster as a result.[239]

For brevity and convenience, Table 5 sets out the elements the story of Euenius shares with Thrinacia, the Cyclops story, and events in Ithaca when Odysseus returns. If Odysseus' 'fabricated' consultation of the oracle at Dodona (14.327–30 = 19.296–9) preserves the trace of consultation of the Thesprotian oracle of the dead in an earlier version of the poem, it looks very much as if Herodotus' story of the flocks of the Sun imperfectly guarded by Euenius further up the coast at Apollonia (in Illyria) is related to both the Cyclops story[240] and the adventure in Thrinacia.

Odysseus had no warning of how he should behave among the Cyclopes: he went with the idea of making trial of them:

ἐλθὼν τῶνδ᾽ ἀνδρῶν πειρήσομαι, οἵ τινές εἰσιν,
ἤ ῥ᾽ οἵ γ᾽ ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξεινοι, καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής.
I will go and put these men to the test, whoever they are,
and see whether they are arrogant, and savage, and not just,
or hospitable, and their mind pleasing to the gods.
9.174–6

(p.73) He did not know that he was being put to the test himself. The Cyclops turned out to be far more savage than Odysseus could ever have expected, and the hero blinded him, full of righteous indignation (9.475–9). He might have got away with it, too, except that the crew's warning not to taunt the giant did not persuade his μεγαλήτορα θυμόν (proud heart) (9.500) and, κεκοτηότι θυμῷ (in the anger of his heart) (9.501), he told the giant his name. The repetition of θυμός is no accident: Odysseus gave in to its promptings before Tiresias had warned him of the need to restrain it (11.105): see Table 2. Tiresias explicitly (11.101–14) connected the Cyclops episode with the trial in Thrinacia, which presents an opportunity to correct (this time with full knowledge of the ordeal's significance) the errors committed in ignorance in the parallel plundering of the Cyclops' cheeses and flocks. Odysseus had learned enough to try to avoid further problems with animals and their owners by not putting in at Thrinacia (12.268–9, 273–6), but the crew ignored the divine warnings and repeated in Thrinacia the depredations committed in the Cyclops episode. They ate the cattle knowing to whom they belonged, knowing that the consequences would be disastrous. This is mechanical justice: if you put x (eating the cattle) in, y (perdition) will come out, and mitigating circumstances make no difference. Odysseus, whom the gods sent to sleep when he should have been in charge of the crew, will suffer comparable diminution of his own herds at the hands of the suitors: Eurymachus even brags χρήματα δ᾽ αὖτε κακῶς βεβρώσεται, οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἶσα | ἔσσεται (your resources shall be evilly devoured, nor will they ever be equal) (2.203–4). The strange portents of the meat mooing on the spits and the hides of the slaughtered cattle walking about are echoed when the meat the suitors are eating becomes a bloody mess (20.348), and the darkness threatened by the Sun (12.383) is realized in Theoclymenos' vision of the suitors' ghosts on their way to Hades: 'the sun has gone from the heavens, and an evil mist has come swiftly overhead' (20.356–7).[241]

9.14. The Way Home

In the morning, the Phaeacians place their gifts on the ship, offer sacrifice and farewells, and put Odysseus to bed on the deck (13.73–6). He is conveyed **(p.74)** swiftly to Ithaca and set down, still asleep, on the sand. The Earthshaker has in mind to shatter the Phaeacians' ship and cover their city with a mountain (13.149–52), but Zeus advises turning the ship to stone instead, to impress all who see it (13.156–8),[242] and that is what Poseidon does (13.162–4). Alcinous recognizes the fulfilment of his father's warning (8.564–70; 13.172–8), and decides that his people must offer escort to visitors no longer (13.180). They are left standing round the altar, sacrificing bulls to Poseidon (13.184–7) as the focus switches to Odysseus in Ithaca.

10. The *Apologos* as Para-Narrative of Return

The *apologos* holds up the progress of the poem's main action, Odysseus' return to Ithaca to reclaim his position and take revenge on the suitors. In it Odysseus gently mocks the gap between the return Alcinous promises[243] and the delays he keeps making to it. The terrible storm which drove the hero west as he tried to round Cape Malea (9.80–1) corresponds to the three entertainments with which Alcinous first defers the safe escort home 'tomorrow' (7.317–18) promised on the day of Odysseus' arrival. Sailing before Aeolus' favourable wind, Odysseus even came within sight of Ithaca (10.29–30), but the vision was snatched away when the crew opened the bag: this corresponds to Alcinous' second deferral of his guest's departure, by asking for an account of his travels (8.572–6). Alcinous goes on to require the account of the Trojan War dead in Hades (11.370–6), and when Odysseus has obliged, he conveys his exasperation by the picture he paints of Minos (analogous to Alcinous) presiding over a Hades in which three heroes correspond to himself: Tantalus, who cannot grasp what he is constantly offered (as Odysseus cannot obtain his much-promised return); Sisyphus, whose rock-rolling is never crowned with success (as Odysseus' narrative efforts never seem to attain the return which is their object), but who is always sent back to begin again (as Odysseus is forced to begin again the narrative of Hades he thought he had completed). The narrative labours which (the inferior) Alcinous imposes on Odysseus correspond to the labours the inferior Eurystheus (11.621) imposed on Heracles. Just as Heracles produced the hound of Hell (11.623–5), the much-enduring Odysseus produces the stories required of him.

(p.75) 11. The *Apologos* as Para-Narrative of Restraint

The *apologos* also serves as a para-narrative trailer which advertises the tactics and methods to be used (as well as those to be avoided) in confronting the situation at home in Ithaca. Tiresias advised that control of the θυμός (heart) was required for safe return (11.104–5). Odysseus learned the dangers of giving in to its promptings in his encounter with the Cyclops (9.500–5), and saw the crew perish for failure to restrain it in Thrinacia. When he returns to Ithaca, he warns Telemachus to confine himself to polite reproof when the suitors mistreat the 'beggar' (16.272–80). He has learned to endure (ἐπετολμήσε) (17.238) when Melanthius insults him (17.216–35; 20.178–82); he plots inwardly (κακὰ βυσσοδομεύων) (17.465 = 20.184) when Antinous strikes him with the footstool (17.462–3), and when Ctesippus throws a cow's hoof at him, he μείδησε δὲ θυμῷ| σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον (smiled with real bitterness in his heart) (20.301–2). The laughter of the maids going out of the palace to sleep with the suitors vexes him even more: his θυμός barks inside him like a bitch defending her puppies from a man she does not know (20.13–15), and he has to remind it that it endured worse in the cave of the Cyclops (20.18–20). And as he tosses and turns, pondering how to attack the suitors singlehandedly and escape afterwards, Athene appears, like μῆτις (guile) personified, and promises that even if they were surrounded by fifty ambushers eager to kill them, Odysseus would still drive off their attackers' cattle and fat sheep (20.49–51). It is not easy to survive in the aftermath of war, as evidenced by the fates of Oilean Ajax (this chapter, §4.5) and Agamemnon, but Odysseus' hard-won ability to restrain his heart eventually brings him the assistance of a goddess who guarantees his successful return.

> The brightest star came out, the day-star, dawn's star
> And the sea-faring ship drew near to Ithaca, to home
> And that harbour named after the old man of the sea, two

Headlands huddling together as breakwater, windbreak,
Haven where complicated vessels float free of moorings
In their actual mooring-places.
At the harbour-head

A long-leaved olive overshadows a shadowy cave
Full of bullauns, basins hollowed out of stone, stone
Jars for honey-bees, looms of stone on which are woven
Sea-purplish things—also, inextinguishable springs
And two ways in, one looking north where men descend
While the other faces south, a footpath for the gods.
When they had scrunched ashore at this familiar cove
And disembarked, they lifted Odysseus out of his hollow
Just as he was, linen sheet and glossy rug and all,
And put him to bed on the sand, still lost in sleep.

Michael Longley, *Gorse Fires*

(London, 1991)

Notes:

(1) See Lord (1960: 245–9, Appendix 3); Kasaipwalova (1980); Foley (1990: 278–328, 359–87), (1999: 115–67); Alden (1997: 521–2 n. 29); Alexopoulou (2009: 18–19).

(2) Hallo (2003: 77–82); Pritchard (1969: 18–22); Louden (2011: 60–3).

(3) Hallo (2003: 83–5). For discussion, see Radermacher (1915: 38–47); Hölscher (1988: 110).

(4) See M. J. Anderson (1997: 75–91).

(5) νόστος is derived from νέομαι, *νέσομαι 'return happily, safely, to be cured, saved': Chantraine (1984–90: ii.744–5) s.v. νέομαι.

(6) See S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.53–4); Hölscher (1988: 96–7); M. L. West (2003: 13 and n. 58).

(7) 169–70 Finglass.

(8) Verdenius (1969); *LfgrE* 1) Heimkehr (return home); 1a) ἐν νόστῳ for missing present participle of νέομαι/νοστέω (return) = heimkehrend (on the way home); 2a) in the genitive with a verb of thinking or desiring: νόστοιο χατίζων (desirous of returning home) (8.156).

(9) See Nagy (1999: 97 n. 2). Malkin (1998: 2–3) uses *Nostos* for the hero who returns.

(10) νόστος and derivatives occur 146 times in the *Odyssey*. On *nostos* and quest, see Bakker (2013: 16–20).

(11) See Chapter 3.

([12]) An ad hoc invention to emphasize Aegisthus' depravity: Willcock (1977), and a pattern for warnings (2.168–9; 20.351–7) to Penelope's suitors: Saïd (1979), (2011: 133–4, 196–8, 201, 206–8, 249–50, 312, 353, 366).

([13]) For the view that the song included the death of Odysseus, see Sch. HER on 1.340 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.62)); Svenbro (1976: 18–21, 29–31); Létoublon (1983); de Jong (2001: 34–5) on 1.325–424: *contra* Rüter (1969: 205); Ford (2002: 6 n. 12); Scodel (2002a: 83–6); Halliwell (2011: 44, n.11).

([14]) For the verb κατέρυκω (I detain), see Table 1 and Reece (1993: 67–9, 74–6, 84–5, 88–90).

([15]) At 1.93 and 285, the Alexandrian critic Zenodotus read not Σπάρτην (Sparta), but Κρήτην (Crete): Sch. HMQR on 3.313 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.150–1)). In some manuscripts two extra lines, κεῖθεν δ᾽ ἐς Κρήτην παρ᾽ Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα | ὃς γὰρ δεύτατος ἦλθεν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων (and from there to Crete to Lord Idomeneus | for he returned last of the bronze-shirted Achaeans) appear after 1.93: see Danek (1998a: 47) on 1.93; S. West (1981: 173–4), (2003: 303–4), (2012: 125); and also Griffin (1987b: 27–8); Reece (1994: 166–9); M. L. West (1998: 100). According to Tsagalis (2012: 313–19), since Zenodotus' readings confirm each other, they represent a form of the text widely current in the third century BC, an authentic trace of an earlier version of the *Telemachy*, in which Telemachus visited the nearest and the furthest away of the returned heroes in Pylos and Crete: Odysseus went to Crete before returning to Ithaca, and Telemachus met him there. However, we have no independent confirmation of such a version. Idomeneus and Crete are prominent in the false tales (13.259; 14.237; 19.181, 190), and Eumaeus mentions an Aetolian who claimed to have seen Odysseus in Crete (14.378–85). For the view that the proem, where Odysseus is said to have seen the cities of many men (1.3), corresponds more closely to the false tales, with their travels in Egypt and Phoenicia, before reaching Ithaca via Thesprotia: see Woodhouse (1930: 126–36); Grossardt (1998: 37–43); Scodel (2005, esp.158). According to Malkin (1998: 122–3), 1.3 may refer to Odysseus' journey with the oar, since Tiresias μάλα πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστε᾽ ἄνωγεν | ἐλθεῖν (told me to go to the very many cities of men city by city) (23.267–8), but see Chapter 9, §3 n. 58.

([16]) Chantraine (1984–90: ii.745) s.v. νέομαι.

([17]) For analysis, see Haig-Gaisser (1969: 23–5). For the themes of Nestor's speech in the Cyclic epics, see Marks (2008: 117–22). Despite Schwartz (1924: 238), Nestor's stories of return are very pertinent: see Klingner (1964: 68–79).

([18]) *Il.* 1.163–8; *Il.* 9.328–34; *Cypria* Argumentum 58, 61–3 (*PEG* i.42).

([19]) *Aethiopis* Argumentum 13, 16, fr. 5 (*PEG* i.68–9, 71); *Ilias Parva* Argumentum 3–5 (*PEG* i.74).

([20]) Achilles' bones are mixed with those of Patroclus, but separate from those of Antilochus (24.76–9: see also *Il.* 23.238–56).

([21]) See Clay (1983: 43–53).

([22]) Homer says nothing about Diomede after his safe return from Troy, but later accounts reveal that his wife, Aigialeia, who had been unfaithful in his absence, was plotting against him (Virgil, *Aen*. 1.269–77; Sch. bT on *Il*. 5.412 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.64–5) 412b); Gantz (1993: 699–700). He fled to Italy, where King Daunus killed him: Mimnermus 22 *IEG*; Timaeus *FGrHist*.566 F 53. Alternatively, Diomede dies in old age in Italy or in Argos, or disappears in the isles of Diomed, where his companions are changed into birds: Virgil, *Aen*.11.272–4; Ovid, *Met*.14.484–509; Strabo 6.3.9; Pliny, *NH* 10.61; Polyaenus, *Strateg*.8.18; Servius on *Aen*. 8.9. On Diomede in Italy, see Malkin (1998: 234–57).

([23]) Penelope likewise receives reports from travellers (14.124–30).

([24]) In the *Nostoi*, Neoptolemus travels by land, meeting Odysseus at Maronea in Thrace: Proclus, Argumentum 13–15 (*PEG* i.95).

([25]) In non-Homeric sources these heroes are driven to seek new homes in the west: for Diomede, see n. 22 above; for Philoctetes, see Apollodorus, *Epit*.6.15b; [Aristotle] *de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 107; Strabo 6.1.3; Virgil, *Aen*. 3.402; for Idomeneus, see Apollodorus, *Epit*. 6.9–10 with Appendix 12 in Frazer (1976–89: ii.394–404); Virgil, *Aen*. 3.121 and 11.264; Servius on *Aen*. 3.121 and 11.264. See also Malkin (1998: 29, 87, 127–8, 136–9, 172–3, 198, 207, 214–26, 231–3, 235, 251); Marks (2008: 127).

([26]) On gaps filled later without repeating material already related, see Besslich (1966: 48–53); Hölscher (1988: 94–102); de Jong (2001: 591–3 (Appendix C)).

([27]) On Phrontis, see Detienne and Vernant (1978: 242–4).

([28]) Cape Malea is the *locus classicus* for storms. Menelaus reports that Agamemnon was blown to the house of Aegisthus by a storm at Cape Malea, but blown back to Nauplion (4.514–22). Odysseus would have reached home after leaving Ismarus, but the wind and the current at Malea drove him past Cythera to the Lotus Eaters and Polyphemus (9.67–81). He tells Penelope that a storm at Malea blew him to Crete on the way to Troy (19.187–8): see Fenik (1974: 26 with n. 25); Rutherford (1985: 139).

([29]) Besslich (1966: 53); Hölscher (1988: 95–8). Athene uses similar arguments to urge Telemachus to leave Sparta: 3.313–16 ≈ 15.10–14.

([30]) *Il*. 3.70; *Il*. 7.345–64; *Il*. 22.114–17; *Cypria* Argumentum 12–18 (*PEG* i.39); Herodotus 2.114.2.

([31]) See Chapter 9, §§3.2.1 and 3.6.3.

([32]) Odysseus and his men are similarly obliged to fish (and forage) when becalmed on the island of Thrinacia. 4.368 corresponds to 12.330–1; 4.369 = 12.332: see Rutherford (1985: 139).

(33) The sealskins may be compared to the sheepskin in which the hero escapes in numerous versions of the Cyclops story collected by Frazer (1976–89: ii. Appendix XIII, *Dolopathos*, and nos 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 (a sheepskin pelisse), 12 (goatskins), 13, 18 (a dogskin), 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 33, 34, 35, 36. Eidothea's δόλος (trick) (4.437, 453) bears all the hallmarks of an ambush (λόχος) (4.388, 395, 441): planning (4.400–26); concealment (4.438–47); attack (4.454–9): see A. T. Edwards (1985: 15–41, 97).

(34) παρ᾽ Ὁμήρωι Πρωτεὺς εἰς πάντα μετεμορφοῦτο (*Od*. 4.455ff.) καθὰ Θέτις παρὰ Πινδάρωι καὶ Νηρεὺς παρὰ Στησιχόρωι (In Homer, Proteus kept changing himself into everything (*Od*. 4.455ff.) like Thetis in Pindar and Nereus in Stesichorus): Paradoxographus Vaticanus Rohdii 33 (= Keller (1877: i.110)). Nereus underwent numerous transformations in Heracles' grasp before reverting to his original form and telling him where to find the golden apples of the Hesperides: Pherecydes *FGrHist*. 3F16 (= F16 *EGM* i.285–6); Barrett (1964: 305) on Euripides, *Hipp*.742–51; Davies (2002: 12). For folk tales in which information is provided by a merman or mermaid, see W. Hansen (1997: 453–4).

(35) *Gilgameš* 10.72–211 (= George (2003: i.682–91 and see also 499–503). For comparison of the consultations with Proteus and Tiresias, see Reinhardt (1996: 105–8); W. Hansen (1972: 8–19); Fenik (1974: 125–6).

(36) See Buchan (2007: 197–221).

(37) For Death as a shepherd, see Gaster (1969: 758, 847); for the flocks of seals, or sheep, or (in Geryon's case) cattle, as the dead, see Davies (1988: 279–81 with n. 17), (2002: 28), and add Circe's pigs to his list; for eating the dead in the underworld to avoid pollution, see Vermeule (1979: 109); Seaford (ed.) (1988: 183–4) on Euripides, *Cyc*. 397.

(38) 'Which god have I offended?' is frequently answered with a list: see Versnel (2011: 43–9).

(39) *Ilii Excidium* Argumentum 15–18 (*PEG* i.89); *Ilioupersis* Argumentum (3) *GEF* 146–7; cf. Apollodorus *Epit*.5.23. For the violence to Cassandra, see Sch. A on *Il*. 13.66 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1875–88: ii.6)); Sch. HEV on 3.135 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.132)); Alcaeus *SLG* S262 (and see Anderson (1997: 77–9, 199–202)); Euripides, *Tr*.69–73; Pausanias 1.15.2; 5.11.6; 5.19.5 (the chest of Cypselus); 10.26.3 (Polygnotus' painting of the Sack of Troy at Delphi); 10.31.2; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 13.420–9; Virgil, *Aen*. 2.403–6; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum* 5.12; 1st Vatican Mythographer 2.79 (= Zorzetti (ed.) (1995: 98)); Tzetzes, Sch. on Lycophron *Al*. 365 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: ii.140–1)). See also Huxley (1969: 158), and *contra* Gantz (1993: ii.652). The scene appears on shield bands of the early sixth century from Olympia: B 1801; B 1654; B 975 (Kunze (1950: ii.7–8 and pl. 7.2 and 4 (Ie); 10 and pl. 18 (IVb); 29–30 and pls 56 and 57 (XXIXγ): all three 161–3)); London B379, a black-figure Siana cup (Smith and Pryce (1926: III H. f. pl. 8, 2)); Naples 81669 (H2422), a hydria (*c*.480 BC) from Nola by the Kleophrades Painter showing the Sack of Troy (= *LIMC* 1/2 s.v. Aias II.44).

(40) Euripides, *Tr*.69–73: see Clay (1983: 46–50); M. J. Anderson (1997: 77–82, esp. 78 with n. 4).

(41) In Myconos (Apollodorus, *Epit*.6.6), or Tenos or south-eastern Euboea, near the Cepharean promontory: see Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: i.281–2) on 4.500–1; S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.223–4) on 4.500–1. Many of the ships which sailed with Agamemnon were lost in a storm near Tenos (Apollodorus, *Epit*.6.5). Poseidon drove Oilean Ajax to the Cepharean rocks on the south coast of Euboea (4.499–511; *Nostoi* Argumentum 12–13 (*PEG* i.94–5)).

(42) For other versions of Oilean Ajax's death, see Virgil, *Aen*. 1.139–45; Apollodorus, *Epit*.6.6; Sch. on *Il*. 13.66 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1875–88: ii.6)); Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 14.530–89; Seneca, *Ag*. 532–56; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum* 6.1; Pausanias 10.31.1 (Polygnotus' painting of Hades at Delphi showed Ajax covered in salt); Tzetzes Sch. on Lycophron *Al*. 365, 389 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: ii.140–1, 146)); Hyginus, *Fab*. 116.

(43) See J.-U. Schmidt (2003: 32–6).

(44) On the repeated motif of the storm at Malea, see this chapter, §4.2 and n. 28; Klingner (1964: 78). For arguments that 4.514–20 are interpolated, see S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.224–5) on 4.514–20; Kunst (1924–5: 22–6); Von der Mühll *RE* Suppl. 7 (1940) cols 708–9; Merkelbach (1969: 47–9); Eisenberger (1973: 82 n. 18). The haphazard geography would not concern an audience: see Scodel (1999: 15–17). Agamemnon's palace is located in Sparta by Stesichorus 177 Finglass; Simonides 549 *PMG*; Pindar *P*. 11.15–32 (and see Finglass (ed.) (2007: 86–7) on *P*. 11.16). For the Atreidae more at home in Lakonia than in Argos, see Pherecydes fr. 134 *EGM* ii.440.

(45) In circumstances which are the mirror image of Aegisthus', Helios keeps watch (σκοπιήν) (8.302) for visitors to Aphrodite in the absence of Hephaestus, her husband.

(46) On Aegisthus' ambush and the suitors' plans to ambush Telemachus (4.669–72, 700–2, 771, 778–85, 821–2, 842–7; 13.425–6; 14.180–2; 15.27–30; 16.364–70, 383–404, 411, 421–78; 20.241–2, 273–4; 22.46–53) see A. T. Edwards (1985: 28–31, 96–7).

(47) Euripides, *Hel*. 1677; Isocrates, *Helen* 62; Apollodorus, *Epit*. 6.29.

(48) See S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.227) on 4.563ff. On the two concepts of the afterlife, a barren Hades and a pleasant Elysium, see Reece (2009: 261–71); Burgess (2009: 106–10).

(49) Underworld and paradise motifs are often conflated: see M. L. West (1997: 422); Burgess (1999: 171, 180). Circe too, is associated with death: see Güntert (1919: 167, 170–1, 182); W. S. Anderson (1963: 81–2); Frame (1978: 21, 73–4); Crane (1988: 15–29 with nn. 11 and 13). Circe and Calypso are mythological doublets at either end of the sun's journey, with closely related characteristics and narrative functions: see Hainsworth in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.276–7); Nakassis (2004: 221–3); for their significant differences, see Louden (1999: 104–22).

(50) Hesiod, *Th*. 806. Frame (1978: 166–9) compares Calypso and Styx.

(51) σέλινον (*Apium graveolens* or *nodiflorum*) is celery, although σέλινον is also used of parsley (*Apium petroselinum*), to which it is related: see *LfgrE*; A. Davidson (ed.) (2006: 579).

(52) The formula κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα (in the asphodel meadow) (11.539, 573; 24.13) of the pleasant Hades may, in the barren Hades, have been κατὰ σφοδελὸν λειμῶνα (in the ashy meadow): see Reece (2009: 261–71).

(53) Pliny, *NH* 20.44; Güntert (1919: 171–2).

(54) The cave suggests an entrance to the underworld: see Güntert (1919: 29–36, 167); W. S. Anderson (1963: 81–2); Davies (2002: 35–6).

(55) *Il.* 4.461, 503, 526; *Il.* 6.11; *Il.* 13.575; *Il.* 14.519; *Il.* 16.316, 325; *Il.* 20.393, 471; *Il.* 21.181.

(56) *Il.* 5.553; *Il.* 16.502, 855; *Il.* 22.361.

(57) In the opening lines of Book 5, Dawn leaves the bed of the mortal Tithonus (5.1–2), a son of Laomedon and brother of Priam: for his genealogy, see *Il.* 20.230–41. Dawn asked Zeus to make him immortal, but forgot to ask for him to be ageless too, and cast him off when he no longer pleased (*h. Ven.* 218–38). She also carried off the beautiful Cleitus to live with the gods (15.249–51).

(58) M. L. West (1997: 410–12) compares Calypso to Siduri and Ištar, who asks Gilgameš to become her (immortal) husband. In reply he lists her ill-starred mortal lovers, ending with with Išullānu, who rebuffed her, since her offer amounted to death: *Gilgameš* 6.1–79 = George (2003: i.618–23: see also 473–4). Against the assumption that Near Eastern parallels are 'models' for their Homeric counterparts, see Kelly (2008b).

(59) For knitted 'kredemnons' issued as a comfort to British troops in the Second World War, see Alden (2010).

(60) Davies (2002: 35–6, at 36); M. L. West (2007a: 349–50).

(61) For transposition of 7.103–31 from Nausicaa's speech (6.255–312), where the lines probably followed 6.302, see M. L. West (2011: 264–76).

(62) Alcinous' garden may have similar connotations of death: it shares the zephyr (7.119) with the Elysian plain (4.567–8); identical fruit trees hang over Tantalus' head in Hades (7.115–16 = 11.589–90). Strasburger (1998: 9–12) compares Odysseus' return from Scheria to Gilgameš's return from consulting Ūta-napišti in his distant paradise. The Phaeacian ship is turned to stone, so that it can never provide escort again, and Gilgameš destroys the Stone Ones, his ferryman's crew, so that his journey can never be made again: *Gilgameš* 10.102–8 (= George (2003: i.685, and see also 501–2)).

(63) Cf. 4.354; 15.403; 19.172; *Il.* 6.152; *Il.* 11.711. See Fenik (1974: 16–17).

(64) See Besslich (1966: 63–4); Fenik (1974: 16–17).

(65) Odysseus repeats what Calypso told Hermes about his arrival: 5.131–3 ≈ 7.249–51; 5.135–6 ≈ 7.256–7.

(66) 7.258 = 23.337: Odysseus uses the same trick with his wife: he wanted only to go home, and Calypso was never a serious rival to Penelope: see Fenik (1974: 12–13).

(67) As at 15.420–1. See also n. 107.

(68) Most (1989a: 27–9).

(69) On the fairy-tale motif of the hero's marriage to the daughter of the king of the spirit world, see Radermacher (1915: 46); Hölscher (1988: 116–17); Davies (2002: 32 n. 115). On marrying a native princess as a civilized form of colonial encounter see Dougherty (2001: 130–4).

(70) αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε, δίδου δ᾽ ὅ γε θυγατέρα ἥν (he detained him there, and gave him his daughter) (*Il*. 6.192 = *Il*. 11.226, where Kisses married his daughter to his sister's son, Iphidamas).

(71) ἀπολόγημα (plea in defence) (Plato, *Cra*. 436C); ἀπολογία (speech in defence) (Plato, *Phd*. 63D; *Ap*. 24B; *Phdr*. 267A); ἀπολογοῦμαι (speak in defence) (Plato *Phd*. 69D; *Ap*. 24B, 30D): see Most (1989a: 28–9 n. 65).

(72) For the *apologos*' bias in favour of its narrator, see Pucci (1998: 150–4); Clay (2002: 79–81).

(73) See Danek (1996: 19–21).

(74) See Buffière (ed.) (1962) for Heraclitus, *Homeric Allegories* (probably first century AD); Woodhouse (1930: 43); G. de F. Lord (1965); Niles (1978); Lamberton (1986 esp. 221–32); Most (1989c).

(75) Segal (1962); Austin (1975: 131–53); Bergren (1983); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (eds) (1988–92: ii.7–11); E. Cook (1995: 49–65); (2009); Reinhardt (1996).

(76) Goldhill (1991: 37–68); Pucci (1998: 131–77).

(77) To elaborate on E. Cook (1995: 68): twelve days for the journey from Ismarus to the Lotus-Eaters (9.74–5 + 9.82–3); three days with the Cyclops; a month with Aeolus (10.14); nine days to come within sight of Ithaca (10.28–9) and presumably another nine to be driven back to Aeolia; seven days from Aeolia to the Laestrygonians (10.80–1); a month and a half for the adventures after the return from Hades; five days to build the raft (5.262–3); eighteen days to come within sight of Scheria (5.278–80); two days in the sea (5.388–90); three days in Scheria and on the Phaeacian boat. However, Pindar, *Nem*.7.20–3 says Odysseus' story is *more* than his experience.

(78) Anticipation: 1.7–9, 68–75; 2.17–20; 8.448; 10.503–40; 20.18–21; 23.251–3, 310–41. Cross references: 11.100–15; 12.37–141. Recall: 9.164–5, 197–211; 10.199–200, 435–7;

12.209–12; 20.18–21; 23.251–3, 310–41.

(79) See Pucci (1998: 143–5); J.-U.Schmidt (2003: 31).

(80) Correlations: see Whitman (1958: 288–9); Germain (1954: 668–70); Niles (1978); Most (1989a). Mirroring: Nagler (1977); Scully (1987) (doubling); E. Cook (1995: 74–80).

(81) See Bergren (1983, esp. 58); Most (1989a), (1989b); Wyatt (1989: 240, 247); Scodel (2004b: 54).

(82) On the influence of epic about Heracles on Homeric epic, see Danek (1998a: 247–50) on 11.601–35. Hesiod, *Th*. 992–1002; *Cat*. fr. 68 and Pherecydes F105 *EGM* i.332 are the earliest references to the golden fleece of Phrixus' ram. For the influence of an early Argonautica on Odysseus' return, see this chapter, §§9.5 and 9.10: for an attempt to reconstruct it, see Dräger (1993: 357–60).

(83) Woodhouse (1930: 43–4); Whitman (1958: 288); Niles (1978); Most (1989a); E. Cook (1995). Reinhardt (1996: 72) arranged them in two cycles: 1) Lotus Eaters, Cyclops, Aeolus, Laestrygonians; 2) Circe, Hades, Sirens, Scylla, cattle of the Sun, storm at sea, Charybdis.

(84) See Most (1989a: 21–3); de Jong (2001: 221–7); Bakker (2013: 20–35, esp. 33, Table 2.2).

(85) Strasburger (1998: 10 with n. 47) compares Odysseus' falling asleep (10.31; 12.366–72) with Gilgameš's failure to stay awake on the way back from Ūta-napišti (*Gilgameš* 11.209–46 (= George (2003: i.716–19, and see also 521–2)). To Strasburger's list, add Odysseus' sleep on the Phaeacian ship (13.73–4, 79–92, 117–24).

(86) Mistrust and divisions: 9.43–4, 224–30, 492–500; 10.34–46, 429–45; 12.271–303. Lack of restraint: 9.45–6, 94–7, 501–5, 551–7; 10.46–9; 12.339–98. Failure to stay together: 9.171–6, 193–6; 10.92–6, 100–4, 203–9. On Odysseus' difficult relationship with his men, see Rutherford (2009: 167–71); de Jong (1992: 2 (on 9.44), 3 (on 9.228), 6 (on 12.295, 339)).

(87) See Most (1989a: 22–8).

(88) Herodotus 7.110.

(89) See Newton (2005); Tsagalis (2012: 331–5 with table comparing Ismarus, Thrinacia, and the Egyptian raid); Bakker (2013: 5–6).

(90) I follow J.-U. Schmidt (2003: 35–6) in taking the storm as evidence of Zeus' displeasure at the raid on Ismarus: *contra*, see Newton (2005). However, Odysseus' plans to recoup the suitors' depredations by raiding (23.356–7) are not cast in a negative light.

(91) See Strasburger (1998); Davies (2002); and, with comparative material, Hölscher (1988: 106–11).

(92) Vegetation: 5.69, 72–3; 7.127–8; 9.107–11, 132–5, 357–8. Trees: 5.63–4; 7.112–21; 9.118. Springs and streams: 5.70–1; 7.129–31; 9.140–1.

(93) Aristarchus believed that Homer knew of the *Argo*'s voyage: see Severyns (1928: 180) and Strabo 1.2.38. The *Iliad* refers to Jason's union with Hypsipyle on Lemnos: *Il*. 7.467–9; cf. *Il*. 21.40–1; *Il*. 23.746–7. An early epic tradition about the quest for the Golden Fleece is summarized in Hesiod, *Th*. 992–1002 (see also *Cat*. frs 40; 68; 138; 150–7; 241; 254–6; perhaps also frs 27–8); the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus (*FGrHist*. 451 = *PEG* i.108–12); the anonymous *Carmen Naupactium* (*PEG* i.123–6): for discussion, see Vian (ed.) (1976: xxvi–xxxi); Hunter (ed.) (1989: 12–16). Meuli (1975: ii.593–676) = (1921: 1–118) (and also Schwartz (1924: 262–5); Merkelbach (1969: 202–6); M. W. Edwards (1990: 315–16, 321); Kullmann (1991: 449–53), (1992: 125–9); Griffin (2001: 368–9); Danek (1998a: 252–7); M. L. West (2005)) argues for an early Argonautica circulating in the form of an oral epic. Hölscher (1988: 170–85) (and see also Eisenberger (1973: 193–7)) would draw the line at a crew of early 'Argonauts' like those listed in Apollonius Rhodius 1.20–228 with Sch. Proleg. C (= Wendel (ed.) (1935: 4–6)); Apollodorus 1.9.16; Hyginus, *Fab*. 14. The *Argo* metope on the Sicyonian treasury (560 BC) at Delphi (Schefold (1966: pl. 63a) and Stesichorus 2a, 3, and 4 Finglass, suggest to Hölscher that these later catalogues of Argonauts draw on the traditions about participants in the funeral games for Pelias. For the crew of Argonauts as both secondary and relatively early, see Davies (2002: 7–12).

(94) See n. 15 and Goold (1977); Reinhardt (1996: 66–9); S. West (1981: 170–2), (2012); Reece (1994); Marks (2003: 219); M. L. West (2005); Heitsch (2006: 18–32).

(95) *h. Cer*. 372. See Page (1973: 3–21); E. Cook (1995: 56).

(96) For the Cyclops story as folk tale, see W. Hansen (1997: 449–51).

(97) Presumption is the nearest I can get to a consistent term for ἀτασθαλίη, which conveys 'overconfidence', 'disinhibition', 'following impulse', 'overestimating one's own powers', 'ignoring warnings', 'trampling on people's rights': see Nordheider *LfgrE*; Finkelberg (1995b); Cairns (2012).

(98) Reinhardt (1996: 87); Fenik (1974: 208–30); Clay (1983: 229–30).

(99) ἰοδνεφὲς εἶρος ἔχοντες (with violet-dark wool) (9.426): cf. the black victims required for sacrifice to the powers of Hades: 10.572; 11.32–3. On the Cyclops as a Death demon, see Davies (2002: 27–30): on his cave as the underworld, see Burgess (1999: 180).

(100) E. B. West (2005: 156) sees the origin of the *Cyclopeia* in 'an Indo-European cautionary tale of the warrior who attempts to reap for himself the rewards of piety that rightly belong to the priests'. In her reading, the Cyclops corresponds to the priests.

(101) On wind sellers and wind magicians, see Page (1973: 74–8); W. Hansen (1997: 454–5). For a bag of winds on Rathlin Island, see UFTM R81–52 recorded by Linda Ballard from Thomas Cecil, and for a Danish legend along similar lines (attested since at least the fifteenth century) see W. Hansen (1997: 455 with n. 20). For the motif, see Thompson (1955–8)

C322.1. Rollinger (2014) argues that the ἀσκός (bag) had its origins in the inflated skins used to cross rivers or canals in Mesopotamia, even if their use was not fully understood elsewhere. The rush of air escaping when it was opened would drive the inflated hide backwards: logically, when the crew untie the bag, Odysseus is driven back to Aeolus.

([102]) 7.50, 102, 148, 188, 232; 8.38, 61, 66, 76, 98–9, 248, 429, 473.

([103]) Or 'the steep citadel of Lamos, Telepylon Laestrygonia'. According to Page (1973: 33–8), the obscurity of Τηλέπυλον indicates the extreme antiquity of the story, but Hölscher (1988: 145) translates it as 'Ferntor', the Far Gate (to the Other Side); or the gate to Hades: see Radermacher (1915: 17), or the gate through which the Sun passes each morning at dawn. Hermes leads the souls of the suitors through the corresponding Ἠελίοιο πύλαι (gates of the Sun) in the west (24.11–14): see Nakassis (2004: 224–5).

([104]) For the narrow harbour surrounded by cliffs, Stephanos Byzantius s.v. Ἀρτάκη (= Billerbeck (2006: 266)). M. L. West (2005: 47–53, with figs 1 and 2) identifies it with that at Balaclava in the Crimea.

([105]) Apollonius Rhodius 1.936–1011: see Klausen (1834: 23–6); Kirchhoff (1879: 287–8); Kranz (1915: 103); Meuli (1975: 655–6) = (1921: 89–91); Lesky (1948: 54) = (1966: 58); Kullmann (1992: 127); E. Cook (1995: 70–2); Clay (2002: 81–3); M. L.West (2005: 47–9).

([106]) Deilochus fr. 7 *EGM* i.75; ii.217–19: see Vian (ed.) (1976: 29–30); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.47–8) on 10.80–132; Danek (1998a: 197–9) on 10.81–132.

([107]) Finsler (1918–24: ii.326–7) suggests Lamos, Telepyos, Antiphates, and Artacie may be names taken from the early Argonautica. There was a spring called Artacie on Arctonesus, near Cyzicus, in the legend of the Argo (Alcaeus fr. 440 LP; Apollonius Rhodius 1.957; Callimachus, fr. 109 Pf.), but see also Alpers (*LfgrE* s.v. Ἀρτακίη) and Eisenberger (1973: 149–51). A town near Cyzicus is called Artace: Herodotus 4.14, 6.33; Scylax 94; Strabo 13.1.3, 14.1.6, (a mountain) 12.8.11. For meeting by a spring, cf. 7.18–20; 17.204–14; *h. Cer*. 98–110; Campbell (1964: 86) (the well as a place to see local girls); Kakridis (1971: 151–2); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 167) on 7.18–20 with examples: *TrGF* iii.131–2 (Amymone); Genesis 24.11–21, 29.9–12; Samuel 9.11; John 4.6–15.

([108]) For the folk tale type, see Page (1973: 28–31).

([109]) Alpers *LfgrE* s.v. θείνω; Hölscher (1988: 146 and 335 n. 24); Davies (2002: 26).

([110]) See M. L. West (2007b). Nagy (1999: 206) argues 'from the overall plot of the *Odyssey*' that Odysseus came to the Aeaean island while wandering in the far west: then he went to Hades, and came back to find Aeaea in the far east, the abode of the Dawn where the Sun rises (12.1–4). On the geography, see also M. L.West (2005: 44–5). Hesiod, *Th*. 1011–16 locates Circe's island μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων (in a remote corner of the Holy Isles) in the north-west of Greece.

([111]) Page (1973: 51–69, 124–5 nn. 12–36) compares Circe's transformation of men into animals with Ištar's transformations of her lovers when she is tired of them (*Gilgameš* 6.42–79 (= George (2003: i.620–3 and see also 473–4)). See Radermacher (1915: 5–9) for further examples.

([112]) See n. 37.

([113]) Segal (1968: 425–6, with n. 14); Brilliant (1995: 167–8) discuss the obvious sexual significance of the sword.

([114]) The various senses of μέτρα (measures) in the phrase ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου (the path and measures of your route) (4.389 = 10.539) associate the physical distance to be covered with the prophet's knowledge of Odysseus' return, the metrical units of his speech, and the poet's composition: see Purves (2010: 77–80).

([115]) Greek Anth. 9.792.1 (Antipater of Thessalonica 85) (= Gow and Page (eds) (1968: i.65); Diodorus Siculus 4.39.3, 4.85.6; Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* 740E, 740F; Marcus Aurelius 9.24.1; Eustathius 62.39 on *Il.* 1.117 (= van der Valk (ed.) (1971–87 i.100.17)): see Crane (1988: 109 n. 3). In the fourth-century BC pseudo-Platonic *Minos* 319D, Socrates recalls Minos *Ὀ*δυσσείας ἐν Νεκυίᾳ (in the *Nekyia* of the *Odyssey*).

([116]) Aristarchus read Κερβερέων (Cerbereon); Crates (and Aristophanes *Ran.* 187; Sophocles fr. 1060 *TrGF* iv.620) Κερβερίων (Cerberion); others χειμερίων (cheimerion) or κεμμερίων (cemmerion): Sch. HPV on 11.14 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.479)); Von der Mühll (ed.) (1993: 193) on 11.14. Huxley (1958); Dakaris (1973: 142); Danek (1998a: 217); and Ogden (2001: 44) argue for the *Chimerians* near Ephyra in Thesprotia, where the river Acheron empties into lake Acherousia, and then the sea: Thucydides 1.30.3, 1.46.3–4 (see Gomme (1945: 180–1) on 1.46.4); Pausanias 1.17.5. The hypothesis of the *Odyssey* refers to a λίμνη Νεκυοπομπόν (lake which sends up the dead), where Odysseus learned what was to happen to him: Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.5.24).

([117]) Cf. the pits dug by Eidothea to conceal Menelaus and his companions (4.438–40), and the 'channel' or trough dug by Gilgameš to get down to the subterranean Apšu (the mouth of the rivers at the head of the Gulf, where the Tigris, Euphrates, Karum, and other rivers of Elam debouch into the sea): *Gilgameš* 11.287–90 (= George (2003: i.720–3 and see also 519–20, 523–6)).

([118]) 'Sine gaudio autem ideo ille dicitur locus, quod necromantia vel sciomantia, ut dicunt, non nisi ibi poterat fieri: quae sine hominis occisione non fiebant: nam et Aeneas illic occiso Miseno sacra ista conplevit et Ulixes occiso Elpenore.' (Now that place is said to be joyless, for the reason that necromancy, or ghost-raising, could be done only there, and could not be done without the killing of a man; for Aeneas fulfilled those rites by killing Misenus, and Odysseus by killing Elpenor): Servius on *Aen.* 6.107. See Crane (1988: 95–6). Ogden (2001: 140–1 with n. 33) suggests that Circe contrived Elpenor's death to facilitate Odysseus' consultation.

([119]) The soul leaves the body at death, and everything else is cremated (11.219–21): the soul in Hades is an εἴδωλον (simulacrum) of its former self. In the older practice of inhumation, the dead retain physical existence: see Tsagarakis (2000: 105–19) for the *Nekyia*'s two views of the afterlife.

([120]) 15.244–7; Hesiod, fr. 25.34–8 MW, and see Ameis-Hentze (eds) (1893–5: ii.124) on 10.493; Sophocles, *El*. 836–41; Euripides, *Supp*. 925–7; Statius, *Theb*. 8.1–21, 90–207; Apollodorus 3.6–8; 1st Vatican Mythographer 2.50.5–7 (= Zorzetti (ed.) (1995: 87)). Amphiaraus was deified, and had an oracle at Oropus in Attica: Pausanias 1.34.

([121]) See Ogden (2001); Bremmer (2015, esp. 128–9). The Persian magi were called νεκυομάντεις (necromancers): Strabo 16.2.39; for their νεκυομαντεῖαι (oracles), see also Photius, *Bibl*. 94.75b.20–6. According to Clement of Alexandria *Protr*. 2.11.2–3, ἄδυτα Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν νεκυομαντεῖαι σκότῳ παραδιδόσθων (the innermost sanctuaries (not to be entered) of the Egyptians and Etruscans give oracles of the dead in darkness).

([122]) Plutarch, *Cimon* 6.4–6.

([123]) Pausanias 9.39.4–14.

([124]) Pausanias 9.30.6 (Herodotus 5.92η2–4). A building of the third century BC with a large, vaulted subterranean chamber was identified with the Thesprotian nekyomanteion by Dakaris (1962); (1973); (1986): see also S. West (1981: 171–2); Mitra (2003: 137–8 n. 15). For a different view, see Baatz (1979), (1982), (1999), followed by Ogden (2001: 19–21). J. Wiseman (1998) considers the nature of the building unresolved.

([125]) The comrades Perimedes and Eurylochus (11.23), who assisted with the sacrifices, are forgotten, and cannot be thought to hear this warning: S. West (2012: 127).

([126]) Poseidon's continuing anger comes as a surprise: Zeus was confident (1.77–9) that it would abate: see S. West (2012: 128).

([127]) See W. Hansen (1972: 14–15), (1997: 442–6, 456–7).

([128]) Page (1955: 39–40).

([129]) Thus Anticleia is sometimes said to 'frame' the consultation with Tiresias: Besslich (1966: 60); Fenik (1974: 89–90).

([130]) S. West (1981: 172), (2012: 129).

([131]) *P.Oxy*. VIII.1086.11–18.

([132]) Achilles, absent in Troy, does not protect Peleus in his old age (*Il*. 24.486–9, 538–42). Odysseus will rescue Laertes from a similar position (1.189–93): see Griffin (1987b: 47); Schein (1995: 12); Rutherford (2001: 134–5).

(133) Matthiessen (1988: 32); de Jong (2001: 282); Hirschberger (2001: 148); S. West (2012: 130).

(134) Some scholars regard the catalogue as an interpolation: von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884: 147–51); Von der Mühll, 'Odyssee', *RE* Suppl. 7 (1940: 726–7); Focke (1943: 217–22); Bowra (1962: 45); Lesky, 'Homeros', *RE* Suppl. 11 (1968: 811–12). For the catalogue as belonging to the overall concept of the poem, see van der Valk (1935: 100); Büchner (1937: 107); Reinhardt (1996: 117–21); Heubeck (1954: 33–5); Eichhorn (1965: 76–7 n. 54); Erbse (1972: 27–8). Webster (1958: 246–7) thought it genuine and of extreme interest to Ionians of Mycenaean descent: see also Tsagarakis (2000: 81–3, 89).

(135) Hirschberger (2001: 132, 145–6); Doherty (1993: 8–9); (2008).

(136) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 30.35 = 11.240; fr. 31.2–3 = 11.249–50; fr. 33a.12 = 11.286. Entries in the *Nekyia*'s catalogue begin ἴδον (I saw) (11.235, 260, 266, 271, 321, 326), εἶδον (I saw) (11.281, 298), εἴσιδον (I looked upon) (11.306). The Hesiodic *Catalogue* is called *Ehoiai*, because many entries begin with ἠ οἵη (or such as): see I. Rutherford (2000: 83–5).

(137) For the Hesiodic *Catalogue* as the source for 11.225–30, see von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884: 147–8); Pfeiffer (1937: 1–16); Page (1955: 35–8); Kirk (1962: 237); Theiler (1962: 22 n. 96); Dihle (1970: 151); Merkelbach (1969: 177 and 188 n. 2); M. L. West (1985: 32–3 with n. 7); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.90–1) on 11.225–332. For Odysseus' performance of the catalogue as competition with the poet-narrator, see Bakker (2013: 7–10). For possible relationships between the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and 11.225–330, including an early version of the *Catalogue of Women* as the model for the *Nekyia*'s catalogue, see I. Rutherford (2000: 89, 93–6); (2012: 161–7).

(138) Page (1955: 36–8).

(139) *Il*. 2.816–77; *Il*. 5.382–404; *Il*. 9.121–56, 264–98; *Il*. 14.315–28; *Il*. 19.243–8; *Il*. 23.288–351; *Od*. 2.120; *Od*. 5.118–29: see Oehler (1925: 17–22); Kakridis (1972); Matthiessen (1988: 32–3); Minchin (2001: 75–6, esp. n. 5).

(140) *Cypria* Argumentum 27–9 (*PEG* i.40). See Oehler (1925: 31–4); Heubeck (1954: 89–90); Davies (1989: 42–3); Sammons (2010: 55, 91). Elsewhere Antiope's father is Nycteus: Pherecydes F124 *EGM* i.341; Sch. H on 11.260 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.494)).

(141) De Jong (2001: 282); cf. Page (1955: 36); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.91) on 11.225–332.

(142) See Danek (1998a: 231) on 11.225–330.

(143) Zenodotus omitted 11.245 (Sch. H on 11.245 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.493)), a formulaic line condemned by Aristarchus, but defended for its decency by van der Valk (1949: 260–1).

(144) There is a river Enipeus near Salmone in Pisatis (Strabo 8.3.32), and another in Thessaly (Thucydides 4.78.3–4). Since Tyro is sent to the house of Cretheus before her encounter with

Poseidon, Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 30 clearly intends the latter, but there must have been a version of the myth in which she was ravished in the Enipeus in Pisatis, probably by Enipeus: see M. L. West (1985: 142–3).

(145) This is a closed reading of 11.236–59, from what I assume to be a male point of view. Doherty (2008) argues that Nausicaa might see her encounter with Odysseus as an idyll of courtship. For closed and open readings of the story of Tyro, see Doherty (1993: esp. 5–7).

(146) ἴσχεο μηδ᾽ ὀνομήνῃς (take care not to mention my name) (11.251). The example of Io (Herodotus 1.1.2–3) suggests that (Phoenician) sailors were notorious.

(147) 11.286 = Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 33.12.

(148) The cattle had been stolen from Pero's grandmother, Tyro: Pherecydes F33 *EGM* i.295–6 = Sch. V on 11.287 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.498–9)).

(149) In Pherecydes' account (see n. 148) the lord of Phylace is Phylacus, and not his son, Iphiclus, as in the *Odyssey*: see Heubeck (1954: 21–2); Danek (1998a: 294) on 15.223–56. (The grandsons of Phylacus fight at Troy: *Il*. 2.705; 13.698.) Pherecydes relates that in the prison of Phylacus Melampus overheard woodworms telling one another that the roof beam had been eaten through and was about to collapse: he asked to be carried out and the roof did fall in. Phylacus was impressed and offered to release him and give him the cattle if he could cure Iphiclus of his sterility. Melampus obliged, and drove the cattle back to Pylos; see also Apollodorus 1.9.12–13; Pausanias 4.36.3; 10.31.10 (Pero appeared in Polygnotus' *Nekyia* painting in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi: see Buitron-Oliver and Cohen (1995: 38–41 and pl. 14)). The story must have been included in the Hesiodic *Melampodia* (Hesiod fr. 270–9 MW): see Gantz (1993: 186). The unnamed noble seer (μάντις ἀμύμων) undertakes the challenge also in Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 37 MW.

(150) πέδησε (bound) (11.292); δεσμοί τ᾽ ἀργαλέοι (troublesome bonds) (11.293); ἔλυσε (released) (11.297); εἶχε βίῃ (held him by force) (15.231); δεσμῷ ἐν ἀργαλέῳ δέδετο (had bound in a troublesome bond) (15.232).

(151) Doherty (1995a: 116–17 with n. 73); Danek (1998a: 294–5) on 15.223–56; Harrauer (1999: 135–9).

(152) Harrauer (1999: 137–8) argues that the ἔργον ἀεικὲς (unseemly deed) for which Melampus punishes Neleus (15.236) is not appropriation of property, but attempted murder by imposing a bride price he expected to result in the death of any who attempted to pay it.

(153) Heubeck (1954: 19–22, 29–32); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.95) on 11.291–7; Thornton (1970: 58–61); de Jong (2001: 282–3) on 11.287–97.

(154) Büchner (1937: 107–9); Winkler (1990: 165n.); Doherty (1991a: 145–73), (1993: 9), (1995: 66–7 with n. 5, 110–13); Doherty (ed.) (2009: 254–5 with n. 18); de Jong (2001: 282); Hirschberger (2001: 144–6); Sammons (2010: 74–93, esp. 89–92). *Contra*: Osborne (2005: 16–17), who finds 'a general suggestion of female responsibility in Odysseus' catalogue'.

([155]) Aristophanes, *Thes*. 549–50 (and see also von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884: 150)); Epimenides, fr. 3 *EGM* i.82 and ii.470–1.

([156]) Propertius 3.19.11–28: see Hopman (2012a: 219); Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1.283–340: Phaedra, Byblis, Myrrha, Pasiphaë, Aerope, Clytemnestra, Creusa, Idaea: see Hollis (ed.) (1977: 91–2); Hopman (2012a: 221).

([157]) Cameron (2004: 253–303); Hutchinson (2006: 126) on Propertius 4.4.39–42.

([158]) Epicaste hangs herself (11.277–9); we do not know if Phaedra (11.231) hanged herself in the early tradition as she does in Euripides' tragedy. Ariadne is killed by Artemis on the testimony of Dionysus (11.324–5); Maera is killed by Artemis (11.326 with Sch. V on 11.326 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.505)) = Pherecydes F170b *EGM* i.360–1). Megara (Euripides, *Heracles* 1000) and Procris (11.321; Apollodorus 3.15.1) are killed by their husbands. Alcmaeon killed his mother, Eriphyle, on the instructions of his father, Amphiaraus (Apollodorus 3.6.2; 3.7.5).

([159]) On the corrupting nature of Polynices' bribe to Eriphyle, see Lyons (2012: 30–4).

([160]) On the skills and techniques for performance of lists and catalogues, see Minchin (1996), (2001: 79–99).

([161]) On the intermezzo as an interpolation, see Focke (1943: 140–4); Merkelbach (1969: 174 n. 2, 190); to link the *Odyssey* to an originally independent Book 11: Page (1955: 32–5). For the intermezzo as essential to the effect of the remainder of the *Nekyia* and closely related to both the catalogue of heroines and to its Phaeacian context, see Büchner (1937: 109–11); Mattes (1958: 80–92); Besslich (1966: 131–5); Erbse (1972: 27–8); Eisenberger (1973: 178–81).

([162]) Odysseus' self-interruption is quite different from interruption of a bard by a character: e.g. Penelope (1.328–44); Telemachus and Peisistratus (4.17); Alcinous (8.83–103, 537).

([163]) Parry (ed.) (1987: 456–8) (written 1935); Loukatos (1981: 93); Doherty (1991a: 147); Danek (1998a: 231–2) on 11.328–84; Minchin (2007a: 242–3); S. West (2012: 130).

([164]) De Jong (2001: 284). The *Odyssey* itself has a tendency to suspend action while another thread is developed: see Fenik (1974: 61–104); Rabel 2002.

([165]) See n. 22.

([166]) For comparison of Odysseus with Achilles, see Rüter (1969: 252–3); Thalmann (1984: 167–9); A. T. Edwards (1985: 43–69); Finkelberg (1995a); Schein in Schein (ed.) (1996: 11–13); Scodel (1998b: 184); Schein and Rutherford in Finkelberg (ed.) (2011: 4–7, 581–3).

([167]) S. West (1981: 172), (2012: 131–7) argues that Odysseus is no longer raising ghosts as at a nekyomanteion, but, like Heracles, has made the descent to Hades (11.623): see also van der Valk (1935: 118–21); Kirk (1962: 236–7). No further reference is made to the blood: Vermeule (1979: 29). Rohde (1925: 39); Büchner (1937: 111–19 at 112); Page (1955: 21–51 at 26) and

Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.111) on 11.568–627 insist that Odysseus remains at his standpoint by the trench, as implied by 11.628. For the view that the *Nekyia* alternates between ghost-raising and a descent into Hades, see Danek (1998a: 245–6) on 11.568–600; Tsagarakis (2000: 11–13, 26–44, 105–9).

([168]) See Rüter (1969: 252–3); Nagy (1999: 35); Finkelberg (1995a: 11). In life, Achilles was subordinated to the fabulously wealthy (*Il.* 9.122–57) Agamemnon. The θῆς on a poor estate was often driven out after the farmer had used him to get the harvest: Hesiod, *WD* 602, and see Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.398) on 11.488–91. On θητεύω (to be a labourer) as a synonym of ἀθλεύω (toiling at ἀέθλα, the term used for Odysseus' experiences: 1.18; 4.170, 241; 23.248, 261, 350), see Finkelberg (1995a: 3 and 12 n. 13).

([169]) See n. 132.

([170]) See A. T. Edwards (1985: 63–4).

([171]) Pindar, *N.* 7.34–42; *Pae.* 6.99–120; Euripides, *And.* 993–1006, 1073–5.

([172]) According to Sch. Q on 11.542 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.519)), they told of their sorrows, but this is based on confusion between εἴρω (tell) and εἴρομαι (ask): see Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: i.400) on 11.542.

([173]) *Il.* 2.768–9; *Od.* 11.469–70, 550–1; Pindar, *N.* 7.27: see Nagy (1999: 27, 29–32, 36, 49–50, 53–5, 57–8).

([174]) Patroclus: see esp. *Il.* 17.106–39, 229–45, 274–87, 356–65, 626–753. Achilles: *Ilias Parva* fr. 2 (*PEG* i.76); *Aethiopis* Argumentum 16–18 (*PEG* i.60). Sch. A (Aristonicus) on *Il.* 17.719 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: iv.426)) refers to Odysseus' defence of Ajax who was carrying Achilles' corpse. See also Sch. H on 11.547 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.519)); Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.5.

([175]) Achilles' armour was a gift from Hephaestus to Peleus on his wedding day (*Il.*18.84–5: cf. *Il.* 17.194–6). (For Hephaestus' other gifts to Peleus, see Paton (1912) and Thompson (1955–8: D1381.3.3.1840; D1428.2.; B.184.1.1).) The gift-giving appeared on the chest of Cypselus: Pausanias 5.19.7–8. Because the armour was impenetrable (*Il.* 16.793–804; *Il.* 22.320–7), its possession was disputed after Achilles' death. The contest for it must be older than the *Iliad*: see Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: iv.333–6). The poet's innovation in having Patroclus wear Achilles' armour (*Il.* 16.40, 130–44) means that Achilles and Hector fight each other in armour made by Hephaestus.

([176]) *Aethiopis* Argumentum 23–4 (*PEG* i.69); fr. 5 (*PEG* i.71); *Ilias Parva* Argumentum 1 (*PEG* i.74); Pindar, *N.* 7.23–30; *N.* 8.21–32; *I.* 4.35–8; Sophocles, *Aj.* 815–65; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6–7: see Kullman (1960: 79–84); Segal (1981: 127–9); Loraux (1987: 12–13); Finkelberg (1988: 37 n. 38). Berlin PM VI 3319, a Proto-Corinthian aryballos of about 700 BC shows Ajax slanting across a vertical sword: see Gantz (1993: 629–34).

([177]) Rutherford (2013: 122); Thalmann (1984: 167).

([178]) Aristonicus regarded these lines as an interpolation which undoes the effect of Ajax's silence: see Ameis-Hentze (1872–6: ii.111–12) on 11.565; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884:141–2). According to de Jong (1992: 5) on 11.565–7, they help Odysseus to save face after the cool encounter with Ajax.

([179]) Carnuth (1869: 108) on 11.547; Sch. HT on 11.568 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.520–1)): see also von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884: 199–226); Schwartz (1924: 319); Von der Mühll (1938: 8–9); *RE* Suppl. 7: 727; Page (1955: 26–7); Bowra (1962: 45); Kirk (1962: 236–7); Lesky (1967a: 125–6); Merkelbach (1969: 177, 189–90); Eisenberger (1973: 183–91). See n. 167.

([180]) Diodorus Siculus 4.63.4; Pausanias 9.31.5; Apollodorus 2.5.12; Virgil, *Aen*. 6.393–7; Hyginus *Fab*. 79: cf. Hesiod, fr. 280 MW. According to Rohde (1925: 39–41), the exceptional punishments of Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus are included out of interest. For the term 'Hades of Minos', see Page (1955: 46).

([181]) See also Lucretius 3.984–94; Virgil, *Aen*. 6.595–600; Horace, *Car*. 2.14.8; 3.4.77–9; 3.11.21–2; 4.6.2–3; Hyginus, *Fab*. 55; 1st Vatican Mythographer 1.13 (= Zorzetti (ed.) (1995: 8)); 2nd Vatican Mythographer 104 (= Bode (ed.) (1834: i.110)); Sourvinou-Inwood (1986: 37–40).

([182]) Artemis shot Tityus with an arrow for the attempted rape: Pindar *P*. 4.90–2 (160–3); Sch. BDEGQ on Pindar *P*. 4.90 (160a); Drachmann (ed.) (1966–9) ii.121 (= Pherecydes F55 *EGM* i.307). According to Apollodorus 1.4.1, he was killed by Apollo and Artemis. His tomb was shown at Panopeus in Phocis: Pausanias 10.4.5. He came from Phocis, but had a ἡρῶιον (hero shrine) on Euboea (Strabo 9.3.14) where Alcinous took Rhadamanthys, the brother of Minos (*Il*. 14.322), to see him (7.323–4).

([183]) As also Horace, *Ep*. 17.65–6; *Sat*. 1.1.68–9; Ovid, *Met*. 4.458–9; *AP* 16.89.

([184]) Tantalus' crime is variously given: see Gantz (1993: ii.531–6).

(A)) His wish to live in the style of the gods was granted, but he can get no pleasure from anything set before him: *Nosti* fr. 4 (*PEG* i.96), for fear that the rock above his head may fall at any minute: Archilochus 91 *IEG*; Alcman 79 *PMG*; Alcaeus, fr. 365 LP 276; Pindar, *I*. 8.9–10; Pherecydes F38 *EGM* i.300; Plato, *Cra*. 395d; Hyperides, fr.173 Kenyon. The torments of the Homeric *Nekyia* are combined with the rock by Apollodorus, *Epit*. 2.1; Hyginus, *Fab*. 82; Polygnotus (Pausanias 10.31.12).
(B)) He served the gods a meal of his son's flesh: Pindar, *O*. 1.37–55; Sch. ABCEQ on Pindar *O*. 1.40a (= Drachmann (ed.) (1966–9) i.29–30); Euripides, *IT* 386–8; *Hel*. 388–9; Lycophron 152–5; Sch. on Lycophron *Al*. 152 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: ii.70–1)); Ovid, *Met*. 6.403–11; Hyginus, *Fab*. 83; Servius on Virgil, *Georg*. 3.7.
(C)) As a man sharing the table of the gods, he could not hold his tongue, and is punished by the fear that the rock over his head is about to fall: Euripides, *Or*. 4–10; Sch. on Euripides, *Or*. 7 (he is placed between heaven and earth so that he can hear no more of the gods' conversation); Lucian, *Salt*. 54.3; S*acr*. 9.10; Cicero, *TD* 4.16.36.

(D)) He stole nectar and ambrosia to give to his age group. Zeus bound his hands and suspended him from a mountain: Sch. V. on 11.582 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.523)), where the source is given as Asclepiades, the first-century BC historian of scholarship at Mycleia in Bithynia.
(E)) He took charge of a golden dog stolen from Zeus' shrine on Crete by the Milesian Pandareus, son of Merops. Tantalus swore, when Hermes came for the dog, that he did not have it, but Hermes found it: Pausanias 10.30.2; Sch. V on 19.518, Sch. QV on 20.66 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.682–3, 688)); Sch. DEHQ on Pindar, *O*. 1.91a (= Drachmann (ed.) (1966–9) i.37–9); Antoninus Liberalis 36. A sixth-century black-figure Siana cup by the Heidelberg Painter (Louvre A478) shows a man (Pandareus?) fleeing followed by a dog: a central winged figure (Lyssa?) is followed by a man (Hermes?) running up with a leash, and two women: Schefold (1992: 72, fig. 84).

([185]) A) Orion was a mortal lover of Eos until Artemis killed him (5.121–4) when he fell in love with her (Sch. HPQ on 5.121 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.254–5)). The gods pitied him and made him into a constellation (Aratus, *Phaen*. 634–46; Nicander, *Ther*. 13–20; Eratosthenes *Cat*. 32; Sch. A on *Il*. 18.486 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: iv.532)); Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb*. 3.27; Sch. on Germanicus, *Aratea* (= Eyssenhardt (ed.) (1866: 309)). Orion is associated with a violent assault against Opis, one of the Hyperborean maidens: Apollodorus 1.4.3–5; Sch. PQT on 5.121 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.255)).

(B)) For the possible crime of Tityus, see n. 182; for his torments, 11.576–9 and n. 181.
(C)) For the possible crime of Tantalus, see n.184.
(D)) Bethe (*RE* 2nd series: vv. 374–5 s.v. Sisyphus 3) lists the various crimes ascribed to Sisyphus in later sources:

(1)) He betrayed the river god Asopus, whose daughter, Aegina, was abducted by Zeus: Apollodorus 3.12.6; Pausanias 2.5.1; Sch. on Lycophron *Al*. 174 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: 84)); Sch. A on *Il*. 6.153 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.157)).
(2)) He cheated death: Alcaeus, fr.38 LP.
(3)) He revealed the plans of the gods to mankind: Servius on *Aeneid* 6.616.
(4)) Brigandage: Sch. on Statius *Theb*. 2.380.
(5)) He impregnated his niece, Tyro, and punished her when she killed her two sons by him: Hyginus, *Fab*. 60, 239, 254.

([186]) Scodel (2002a: 154). *Contra*: Bethe, *RE* 2nd series, v. 374; Danek (1998a: 246–7) on 11.568–600.

([187]) For verbs introducing the heroines, see n. 136.

([188]) εἴσιδον (I beheld) (11.582, 593); εἰσενόησα (I discerned) (11.572, 601).

([189]) Büchner (1937: 113).

([190]) Minos' brother, Rhadamanthys, is not a judge in Hades before Plato, *Ap*. 41a.

([191]) See nn. 182 and 185.

([192]) Combellack (1965: 53).

([193]) Page (1955: 48 n. 6), and see n. 184 (A) and (C).

([194]) Alcaeus, fr. 38 LP; Theognis 702–12. Pherecydes F119 *EGM* i.339 records that when Zeus abducted Aegina, daughter of Asopus, Sisyphus informed her father. Zeus was angry, and sent Thanatos to him, but Sisyphus bound Thanatos, and no one could die until Ares released him and handed Sisyphus over to him. Sisyphus, however, had instructed his wife not to perform funeral rites, and Hades sent him back to reproach her. Of course, he did not return to Hades until he died of old age, and Hades gave him a rock to roll in case he ran away again.

([195]) Ancient scholars regarded these lines as interpolated by Onomacritus in the sixth century: see Heitsch (1972: 8–10); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.114) on 11.601–27. *Il.* 18.117 insists that Heracles did not escape death. The *Odyssey* can require its audience to entertain apparently conflicting realities: see Schein (2002: 92–3); Versnel (2011: 148–9). A Heracles happily married in heaven is not irrelevant as a pattern for Odysseus: see Andersen (2012: 150 and n. 40).

([196]) See Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: iv.299) on *Il.* 15.639–43. ἄεθλοι: dangerous and difficult tasks (*LfgrE* 1 γ: 153). See also *Il.* 8.363; *Il.* 15.30, 639; *Il.* 19.133, and *Il.* 19.114–24 for why Heracles had to perform them.

([197]) For ἄεθλοι (contest, ordeal, or labour: Muhsal (*LfgrE* 1 a)) of Odysseus's experiences (1.18; 4.170, 241): see Doherty (1995a: 167 n. 16); Finkelberg (1995a: 3 and 12 n. 13); Thalmann (1998: 140). The term is etymologically related to ἀθλεύων (labouring: *LfgrE*). Andromache imagines her son ἀθλεύων for a master when Hector is dead (*Il.* 24.734): see Chantraine (1984–90: i.21). For ἄεθλοι of the trials facing Odysseus and Penelope (1.18; 23.248, 261, 350–1), most notably the bow contest (19.572), see Schein (2002: 92): here the term may be translated as Leiden (sufferings: *LfgrE* 1b). See G. P. Rose (1969b: 400–2) for twenty-three instances of ἀέθλος in the sense of 'athletic contest' (*LfgrE* 3) in the *Odyssey*.

([198]) See Willcock (1964), (1977); Bremmer (1988).

([199]) For interpretations which take Heracles' baldric at face value, signifying his status as one of the most violent and powerful heroes of the older epic tradition, see Danek (1998a: 249) on 11.568–600; Crissy (1997: 49–51).

([200]) See Germain (1954: 249–52); Whitman (1958: 300); Reinhardt (1996: 90–9); Segal (1968, esp. 420); Doherty (1995a: 135–6 with n. 17).

([201]) Κυανέαι πέτραι (Dark rocks): Hecataeus, *FGrHist.* 1F82 = 18b *EGM* i.130–2; Strabo 3.2.12, or Συμπληγάδες (Clashing rocks): Euripides, *IT* 260, 1389; *Med.* 1263; *Andr.* 795; Strabo 1.2.10, 3.2.12.

([202]) Ivory *seremokaraapi* (siren heads) are mentioned in Linear B as decoration on the arm of a chair at Pylos: Mühlestein (1957: 152–6). Their island was Ἀνθεμόεσσα (Flowery): Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 27 MW. Homer uses the dual (12.52, 167, and νωϊτέρην (of us two) (12.85)), so there must be only two (as in Sophocles, *TrGF* iv fr. 861), but later there are three: Θελξιόπη or Θελξινόη, Μόλπη, and Ἀγλαόφωνος (Enchanting Voice, Song, Splendid-Sounding): Sch. on Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.892 (= Wendel (ed.) (1935: 298)).

([203]) *LIMC* 6/1 s.v. Odysseus G, nos 151–60, 163, 165, 167–8, 171–7, 183–4; 6/2 pls 632–6; Buitron-Oliver and Cohen (1995: 30–4); Neils (1995: 178–81); Davies (2002: 26).

([204]) See Page (1973: 83–90 and 126–9); Doherty (1995a: 135–9), (1995b); Schein (1995: 20–1); Ledbetter (2003: 26–34). Pindar (*Pae*. 8.71, 75–9 Snell) calls them Κληδόνες (Charmers) (κηλέω = θέλγω (charm)).

([205]) In Alcman 80 *PMG* Circe applied the wax.

([206]) τερπόμενος can refer to sexual pleasure: *LfgrE* s.v. τέρπω 1bδ.

([207]) Simonides 595 *PMG* describes what seems to be the background calm for the Sirens' song. Γαλήνη (calm) prevails as Odysseus approaches Scheria (5.391, 452), Telepylus (10.94), and as the Phaeacian ship approaches Ithaca (7.319).

([208]) See Pucci (1998: 2 n. 2 and 131–2).

([209]) Halliwell (2011: 91–2 with n. 111). Their song negates *kleos*: Segal (1994: 100–6); Doherty (1995b: 84–5). Alcman 30 *PMG* explicitly compares the Sirens with Muses. His *Partheneion* 1.98 *PMG* calls them goddesses: see Doherty (1995b: 89, 90 n. 15).

([210]) Pucci (1996a: 192–4) detects an appeal to Odysseus' claim to advise Achilles (*Il*. 19.219). For the Iliadic texture of 12.184–91, see Segal (1996: 213–18); Schein (1995: 21); Pucci (1998: 1–9).

([211]) This work, of the fourth century AD or later, is heavily influenced by the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, but not in the Sirens episode: M. L. West (1983: 37); Vian (ed.) (2002: 193–5).

([212]) Lycophron, *Al*. 712–16; Apollodorus, *Epit*. 7.19; Hyginus, *Fab*. 125.141; *LIMC* 6/1 s.v. Odysseus G no.155; 6/2 pl. 632, no. 155, a red-figure stamnos of 475–460 BC. On Orpheus in this context, see Meuli (1975: 656–9), followed by Merkelbach (1969: 204). Eisenberger (1973: 193–8) questions Meuli's hypothesis that the suicide of the defeated Sirens was already part of an early Argonautica.

([213]) See M. L. West (2007b). Mimnermus 11–11a *IEG* knew of Jason's journey to the city of Aëetes where the sun's rays are stored in a golden chamber by the edge of Oceanus, and his return with the fleece; see also Herodotus 7.193. Pherecydes, F100 *EGM* i.329–30 says the fleece was kept on the Αἰαίη νῆσος (Aeaean island) in the river Phasis (included in Hesiod's catalogue of rivers: Hesiod *Th*. 338–45 at 340).

([214]) The Persians regarded Paris' abduction of Helen as tit for tat (ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα) for Jason's abduction of Medea: Herodotus 1.2.1–1.3.2.

([215]) Pindar *P*. 4.207–10; Apollonius Rhodius 2.531–647; Apollodorus 1.9.22–3. See M. L. West (2005: 40, 57–9); Hopman (2012a: 27).

([216]) Hesiod, fr. 241 MW; Hecataeus F18 *EGM* i.130; Pindar *P*. 4.251.

([217]) See Meuli (1975: 663–73) = (1921: 100–13); Merkelbach (1969: 202–3); M. L. West (2005: 45): *contra*, Eisenberger (1973: 157–8); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: 51–2) on 10.133–574. For Medea as the Argonauts' adviser, see Lesky, *RE* Suppl. XI: 795–9; Vian (ed.) (1976: xxvii–xxviii); Danek (1998a: 213) on 10.508. Later accounts: Apollonius Rhodius 2.391–407; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon*. 4.553–624; Apollodorus 1.9.22; Hyginus, *Fab*. 19.

([218]) Later accounts make a dove flying through unscathed the signal for Jason to sail through: Sch. V on 12.69 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.533–5)): see Danek (1998a: 255) on 12.55–72.

([219]) On the encounter with Scylla, see Hopman (2012a, esp. 28–34), (2012b) (Scylla paired with Cyclops episode); Rutherford (2013: 123–4).

([220]) For θρῖναξ as an alternative name for the ἀθηρηλοιγός (chaff-ruin, winnowing-shovel), as the locals will call the oar Odysseus is to plant in the ground far inland to placate Poseidon (11.121–30), see Olson (1997). Thrinacia is Winnowing-Shovel island. On the test, see E. Cook (2009: 127); J.-U. Schmidt (2003: 37–8).

([221]) αὐλιζομενάων (penned in) (12.265) is used also by Herodotus 9.93.1 of the flocks of the Sun at Apollonia in the Ionian gulf.

([222]) Fenik (1974: 212) is misleading on this point: 'Odysseus…never tells his followers…just *why* they should stay away from Helios' cattle': the men *are* told why they should stay away from the cattle, but not until they have landed on the island: see Olson (1995: 203–17).

([223]) ἤλυξα ἑταίρους (I managed to escape my companions) (12.335): *LfgrE* s.v. ἀλύσκω 4: zu entrinnen suchen.

([224]) If Odysseus was asleep on another part of the island, he can only infer what Eurylochus said to the crew.

([225]) Olson (1995: 212); see also Friedrich (1987: 390–1).

([226]) See Bakker (2013: 106); Kahn (1978: 49); Vernant (1979).

([227]) The vulgate (preferred by van der Valk (1949: 136)) reads ἔκταν ἑταῖροι (my companions killed), perhaps to exonerate Odysseus from the guilt admitted in ἔκταμεν ἡμεῖς (that we had killed), the reading of Aristarchus.

([228]) Hölscher (1939: 51–2); Danek (1998a: 264–5) on 12.374–90.

([229]) νήδυμος ὕπνος (refreshing sleep) (12.366) has become νηλεῖ ὕπνῳ (ruthless sleep) (12.372): see de Jong (1998:129).

([230]) Erbse (1986: 243–4).

([231]) Dodds (1951: 32); Fenik (1974: 209); Friedrich (1987: 377–8).

([232]) Warnings: 2.141–51, 152–76; 18.125–50; 20.345–57. See Pfeiffer (1960: 15–17). The suitors and Aegisthus are guilty of a crime: see Heubeck (1954: 83–6); Kullmann (1985); Segal (1992: esp. 507–10). The crew have ignored warnings, failed to endure, and broken their oath: Schadewaldt (1960, esp. 874); Reinhardt (1996: 99–102); Segal (1994: 215–18); E. Cook (1995: 111–27); Olson (1995: 203–17); Danek (1998a: 262) on 12.426–46.

([233]) Focke (1943: 247–54, esp. 248); Heubeck (1954: 81–7); Fenik (1974: 210–13); Clay (1983: 229–31).

([234]) Andersen (1973); Friedrich (1987: 392–4); Danek (1998a: 263) on 12.260–425.

([235]) Segal (1994: 195–227, esp. 225).

([236]) Bakker (2013:102), and see, for example, *GDI* 5040.28 from Crete: αἰ δὲ κα σίνηται [τοὺς καρποὺς] ἀποτεισάτω τὰ ἐπιτίμια ὁ σινόμενος (and if someone damages [the crops] let the one who does the damage pay the fine).

([237]) Literary evidence: flocks of the Sun at Taenaron in Laconia: *h. Ap.* 410–21; cattle sacred to Apollo stolen from Pieria in Thessaly: *h. Merc.* 14, 18, 68–86, 94–141, 397–412; Kahn (1978: 48–50); Alcyoneus, a giant on the isthmus of Thrace, had probably stolen his cattle from the Sun: Sch. on Pindar *I.* 6.47 (= Drachmann (ed.) (1966–9: iii.254–5)); sacred cattle at the temple of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi in Arcadia: Polybius 4.18.10, 4.19.4; herds sacred to Artemis at Hyampolis in Phocis: Pausanias 10.35.7; cows of Persephone at Cyzicus: Porphyry, *Abst.* 1.25.8–9; about 3,000 sacred cows at Engyon in Sicily: Diodorus Siculus 4.80.6; cattle of the Sun in Elis: Theocritus 25.129–40; cattle of the Sun at Gortyn in Crete: M. Servius on Virgil, *Ec.* 6.60; see Kranz (1915: 101–2); Chandezon (2003: 286–7).

Epigraphic evidence: sheep at the sanctuary of Athene Alea at Tegea: *IGIDS* (4th edn) i. (= Chandezon (2003: 33–40) no. 6); cows and mares (later joined by ewes and goats) at Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi: Chandezon (2003: 54–69) nos 11–14; cows at the Asclepieion at Morrylos in lower Macedonia: Chandezon (2003: 96–102) nos 20–1; ewes sacred to Apollo on Delos: Chandezon (2003: 114–16) nos 25–7; cows and cowherds sacred to Athene at Ilion: Chandezon (2003: 186–8) no. 48; animals at Dictynna's sanctuary at Polyrrhenia on Crete: *IC* ii.xi.3.

([238]) Herodotus 9.92–5. For motifs shared with the Cyclops story, see E. Cook (1995: 84–5); Griffiths (1999); Bakker (2013: 101).

([239]) Chandezon (2003: 289).

([240]) Griffiths (1999: 173) believes that the widely circulating Cyclops story was pressed into service as an *aition* for the cult at Apollonia. Radermacher (1915: 23–6) gives further comparative examples. See also Friedrich (1987: 395 n. 48).

([241]) See Sch. B and V on 20.356 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.694)); R. B. Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 234) on 20.356–7; Gainsford (2012) against the view mentioned by Heraclitus, *All.* 75.1–7; Plutarch, *De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet* (= *Moralia* 19.931F); Ps. Plutarch, *De Homero* 108 (= Kindstrand (ed.) (1990: 53)); Eustathius 1895.1–5 on 20.357 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.241)), and held by some in antiquity that Theoclymenos refers to a solar eclipse. Schoch (1926) identified it with the eclipse of –1177 IV 16 whose Mittagspunkt was near Corfu: see Oppolzer (1887) no. 74 and pl. 2. Schoch's arguments are of course rejected by Dörpfeld (1926); Austin (1975: 250–1); Baikouzis and Magnasco (2008); Bakker (2013: 95, 109–12). See also M. W. Haslam's comments on *P. Oxy*. 3710.36 (p. 107).

([242]) For comparison of Poseidon's complaint with that of Helios, see Fenik (1974: 209); Friedrich (1987: 397–400). For modern Greek stories of ships turned to stone, see W. Hansen (1997: 455–6 with nn. 21–3).

([243]) Names in -νοος, such as ᾿Αλκίνοος (Alcinous) and ᾿Αντίνοος, may come from the root νέομαι (return safely), rather than from -νοος (mind): Baumbach (1971: 174–5). Even Alcinous' name seems to promise 'Brave Return' (rather than 'Brave Mind', as Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.309) on 6.11–12).

Para-Narratives in the Odyssey: Stories in the Frame
Maureen Alden

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The Oresteia Story in the Odyssey

Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

Telemachus is encouraged to follow the example of Orestes' return from abroad to take revenge on his mother's suitors. (Orestes' matricide is downplayed, so that he offers a pattern which does not compromise Telemachus' moral standing.) Agamemnon is trapped in an ambush and murdered at a feast by a trick of his wife's to achieve a cross-over parallel with the suitors, who are tricked (by Penelope), ambushed, and murdered at a feast. The fish-and-net simile used of the suitors' bodies lying in the hall parodies Agamemnon's traditional murder in the bath tangled up in a cloth. Penelope's instructions for the care of her guest, the disguised Odysseus, parody the bath, textiles, and bed/bier which later appear in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

Keywords: return, Oresteia, revenge, matricide, murder, trick, bed, ambush, bath, net

At the end of the *Odyssey*, the Greek heroes of the Trojan War gather in Hades. Achilles commiserates with Agamemnon on his most pitiable death (24.24–34), and the murdered king points to the difference between their fates: Achilles perished at Troy, but his spectacular funeral honours ensured that his κλέος (reputation) would endure forever (24.37–94). However, the κλέος Agamemnon secured by victory in the war was wiped out when he was murdered on his arrival home:

> αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τί τόδ᾽ ἦδος, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσα;
> ἐν νόστῳ γάρ μοι Ζεὺς μήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον
> Αἰγίσθου ὑπὸ χερσὶ καὶ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο.

But what pleasure can I have in the fact that I survived the war?
For on my return, Zeus plotted baleful destruction for me
at the hands of Aegisthus and my accursed wife.
24.95–7

The news of his famously disastrous return has reached even remote Ithaca (3.193–5), and must be at the heart of the ᾽Αχαιῶν νόστον…λυγρόν (the baleful return of the Greeks) (1.325–7) sung by Phemius to please the suitors.[1] The poet and his characters repeatedly use it as an alternative narrative model[2] for the events of the *Odyssey*, perhaps most explicitly when Athene rebukes Telemachus' pessimism about the prospect of his father's return:

ῥεῖα θεός γ᾽ ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαώσαι.[3]
βουλοίμην δ᾽ ἂν ἐγώ γε καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσας
οἰκαδέ τ᾽ ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι,
(p.78) ἢ ἐλθὼν ἀπολέσθαι ἐφέστιος,[4] ὡς ᾽Αγαμέμνων
ὤλεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ Αἰγίσθοιο δόλῳ καὶ ἧς ἀλόχοιο.
Easily could a god, if willing, bring a man home safe even from a great distance.
I would rather, even if I suffered much distress,
come home and see the day of my return,
than come and perish at the hearth, as Agamemnon
perished by a trick on the part of Aegisthus and his wife.
3.231–5

This is the first in a series of hints that Clytemnestra was involved in a trick: see this chapter, §4. Although these passages attribute the killing of Agamemnon to both Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, the poet emphasizes the guilt of either or both as the speaker and the situation may require.[5] When Agamemnon contrasts Penelope with his own wife:

οὐχ ὡς Τυνδαρέου κούρη κακὰ μήσατο ἔργα,
κουρίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν…
not as the daughter of Tyndareus plotted evil deeds,
when she murdered her wedded husband…
24.199–200

it is Clytemnestra who kills the king, with no mention of Aegisthus' part in the deed, but elsewhere the killer is Aegisthus, without reference to Clytemnestra as his accomplice:

τόφρα δὲ ταῦτ᾽ Αἴγισθος ἐμήσατο οἴκοθι λυγρά,
κτείνας ᾽Ατρεΐδην, δέδμητο δὲ λαὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ.
And while all this was going on, Aegisthus plotted baleful deeds at home,
after murdering Agamemnon, and reduced the people to subjection under him.
3.303–4[6]

The multiple significances of Agamemnon's murder and Orestes' revenge emerge gradually, and are set against the events of the *Odyssey* as they unfold. The para-narrative of Agamemnon's return frames the action of the *Odyssey*, which opens with a divine perspective on the folly of his murderer.

(p.79) 1. Zeus: the Example of Aegisthus

The action begins in a divine assembly:

> μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος[7] Αἰγίθοιο,
> τόν ῥ᾽ Ἀγαμεμνονίδης τηλεκλυτὸς ἔκταν᾽[8] Ὀρέστης.
> For he [Zeus] remembered in his heart the flawless Aegisthus,
> Whom the son of Agamemnon, far-famed Orestes, slew.
> 1.29–30

Zeus observes that men blame the gods for their troubles, when in fact they bring suffering ὑπὲρ μόρον (beyond what is due) on themselves σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν (by their own presumption) (1.34). Then he turns to Aegisthus, a particular example of ἀτασθαλίη,[9] who ὑπὲρ μόρον defied a divine warning not to marry the ἄλοχον μνηστήν (already married wife)[10] of Agamemnon, and kill him on his return (1.35–6):

> ...ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἴπομεν ἡμεῖς,
> Ἑρμείαν πέμψαντες ἐΰσκοπον Ἀργεϊφόντην,
> μήτ᾽ αὐτὸν κτείνειν μήτε μνάασθαι ἄκοιτιν,
> ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταο τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρεΐδαο,
> ὁππότ᾽ ἂν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἧς ἱμείρεται αἴης.
> ὣς ἔφαθ᾽ Ἑρμείας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ φρένας Αἰγίσθοιο
> πεῖθ᾽ ἀγαθὰ φρονέων· νῦν δ᾽ ἁθρόα πάντ᾽ ἀπέτεισε.
> ...since we told him beforehand,
> sending Hermes, the watchful slayer of Argus,
> not to kill him [Agamemnon] nor to court his wife,
> 'For there will be vengeance from Orestes for the son of Atreus
> when he comes to manhood and longs for his own country.'
> So said Hermes, but he did not persuade the mind of Aegisthus
> with his good advice. And now he has atoned for all of it at once.
> 1.37–43

But Athene is concerned for Odysseus, whom the nymph Calypso detains against his will, and she proposes sending Hermes to Ogygia with instructions for his release (1.84–7); she will go to Ithaca, to make Telemachus give a **(p.80)** solemn warning to his mother's suitors. Then she will send him to Pylos and Sparta[11] to seek news of his father and win κλέος (1.87–95).

The poet's audience will be accustomed to para-narrative *exempla* which repeat the elements of the events being narrated,[12] and will easily see that if the gods were prepared to send Hermes to warn the scheming Aegisthus not to follow through on his bad intentions, they should be all the more willing to send Hermes to help Odysseus.[13] They will probably also make a connection, however inexact, between Aegisthus' marrying Agamemnon's wife (γῆμ᾽ ἄλοχον μνηστήν) (1.36) and Athene's allusion to Penelope's μνηστήρεσσιν (suitors) (1.91): since the audience know that Odysseus is alive (1.13–15, 48–59, 74–5), they will probably identify the suitors with ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι (anyone else who would do such a thing) (1.47) as court another man's wife.[14] They may have heard other versions of Odysseus' return, but his defeat of the suitors is a fact crucial to the tradition and cannot be altered.[15] Yet they are invited to compare the story of Agamemnon, murdered on returning home by his wife's new husband, with that of Odysseus, who has yet to return home, and whose wife has

suitors.[16] If Penelope remarried, Odysseus too, might be murdered on returning home by his wife's new husband; and Telemachus might take revenge on his father's murderer, like Orestes. Alternatively, Odysseus himself could be coming home to take vengeance, like Orestes. The audience do not know, at first, how to relate Agamemnon's return to Odysseus' homecoming.[17] What they certainly do know is that the eventual success of the latter will be heightened by contrast with the dismal events of the former. The comparison is further complicated by the plan to send Telemachus abroad, allowing him to return as a potential avenger, like Orestes (1.41),[18] but going abroad will allow the suitors to set an **(p.81)** ambush for him (4.669–72, 700–2, 771, 778–85, 842–7), as Aegisthus set an ambush for Agamemnon (4.529–31).[19] The audience's fears for Telemachus are allayed by the dream figure Iphthime, which reveals that he is under Athene's protection and will not fall victim to the suitors' ambush (4.805–7, 825–8): this is shortly confirmed by Zeus himself (5.25–7), and ensured by Athene's warning (15.27–35).

2. Athene: Orestes as Avenging Son

'Mentes' (the goddess Athene, disguised as Odysseus' Taphian guest-friend) soon arrives at the palace in Ithaca, on the pretext that 'they said' Odysseus was home (1.194). In answer to his visitor's enquiries (1.224–9), Telemachus explains that the men feasting so arrogantly (1.227) are suitors of his mother:

> ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι…
> τόσσοι μητέρ᾽ ἐμὴν μνῶνται, τρύχουσι δὲ οἶκον.
> for as many best men as rule in the islands…
> so many are courting my mother, and they are eating me out of house and home.
> 1.245–8

'Mentes' advises (step 1) telling these suitors the next day to go home (1.274), and sending his mother, if she wants to be married, back to her father's house (1.275–8): either they will comply (A), or they will not (B). If they comply (A), well and good, but if they do not (B), Telemachus should (step 2) go to Pylos and Sparta to find out from Nestor and Menelaus if his father is still alive (1.279–87): either Odysseus will be alive (C) or dead (D). If he finds out that his father is dead (D), he should (step 3–D) heap up a funeral mound for him and give his mother to another husband (1.291–2):[20] if (C) he learns that his father is still alive, he should wait a year (1.287–8), and if his father has still not come home at the end of that time, he should (step 3–C),

> φράζεσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
> ὅππως κε μνηστῆρας ἐνὶ μεγάροισι τεοῖσι
> κτείνῃς ἠέ δόλῳ (E) ἢ ἀμφαδόν (F)…
> consider then, in your mind and in your heart,
> how you may kill the suitors in your palace,
> whether by a trick (E) or openly (F)…
> 1.294–6[21]

(p.82) Telemachus is convinced (D) that his father is dead, and is painfully conscious that if Odysseus had died at Troy, his κλέος, and that of his son, would have been assured by a military funeral: as it is, however, the Harpies have snatched him away ἀκλειῶς (without

reputation) (1.241). Athene suggests that κλέος could still be achieved if only Telemachus would imitate Orestes:[22]

> ἢ οὐκ ἀΐεις οἷον κλέος ἔλλαβε δῖος Ὀρέστης
> πάντας ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἔκτανε πατροφονῆα,
> Αἴγισθον δολόμητιν, ὅ οἱ πατέρ᾽ κλυτὸν ἔκτα;
> καὶ σύ, φίλος, μάλα γάρ σ᾽ ὁρόω καλόν τε μέγαν τε,
> ἄλκιμος ἔσσ᾽, ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἐῢ εἴπῃ.
> Or do you not know what glorious reputation godlike Orestes acquired
> Among all mankind when he killed his father's murderer,
> The scheming Aegisthus, who killed his illustrious father?
> You too, my friend, for I see that you are handsome and big,
> be strong, so that someone of men born after you may speak well of you, too.
> 1.298–302

Orestes assumed responsibility for his father's *oikos* and acted in its interests: Telemachus too, should assume the headship of his father's household and act in its interests, even in a far more ambiguous situation.[23]

3. Nestor: Orestes as (Avenging) Son

The pattern of Orestes' revenge is elaborated at the courts of Pylos and Sparta. Nestor ends his catalogue of Greek returns from Troy with Agamemnon's death:

> Ἀτρεΐδην δέ καί αὐτοὶ ἀκούετε νόσφιν ἐόντες,
> ὥς τ᾽ ἦλθ᾽ ὥς τ᾽ Αἴγισθος ἐμήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοι κεῖνος μὲν ἐπισμυγερῶς ἀπέτεισεν.
> You yourselves have heard, though dwelling far away, about Agamemnon,
> How he came, how Aegisthus plotted his wretched fate.
> But surely, he too, has paid the penalty to his cost.
> 3.193–5

Nestor has heard of the problems in Ithaca (3.212–13), and clearly thinks of Orestes' revenge as an example for Telemachus: **(p.83)**

> ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ παῖδα καταφθιμένοιο λιπέσθαι
> ἀνδρός, ἐπεὶ καὶ κεῖνος ἐτείσατο πατροφονῆα,[24]
> Αἴγισθον δολόμητιν, ὁ οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα.[25]
> How good a thing it is for a man who dies to leave a son,
> Since he [Orestes] too punished his father's murderer,
> The wily Aegisthus, because he slew his renowned father.
> 3.196–8

and perhaps for Odysseus too:

> τίς δ᾽ οἶδ᾽ εἴ κέ ποτέ σφι βίας ἀποτείσεται ἐλθών;
> who knows if one day he will come and punish their violent deeds?
> 3.216[26]

However, Telemachus fears that such revenge is beyond him:

αἴ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσήνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθεῖεν
τείσασθαι μνηστῆρας ὑπερβασίης ἀλεγεινῆς…
ἀλλ᾽ οὔ μοι τοιοῦτον ἐπέκλωσαν θεοὶ ὄλβον,
πατρί τ᾽ ἐμῷ καὶ ἐμοί· νῦν δὲ χρὴ τετλάμεν ἔμπης.
If only the gods would clothe me in such power
as to punish the suitors for their grievous transgression…
But the gods did not allot such good fortune
to my father and myself: now we must endure it, at any rate.
3.205–9

Telemachus must realize that a fate like Agamemnon's might befall him too, when he returns to Ithaca: Eurycleia warned that the suitors might kill him by a trick if he went to Pylos (2.367–8). He takes up Nestor's (3.198) and Athene's (3.235) references to treachery, asking Nestor to explain how the king died, and where was Menelaus at the time, since Aegisthus managed to kill a man far better than himself (3.248–50). At this point, he seems to take Aegisthus as a pattern for how someone weak, as he considers himself to be, might kill the suitors. Nestor explains that Aegisthus attempted to seduce Agamemnon's wife in the king's absence, at first without success: the queen φρεσὶ κέχρητ᾽ ἀγαθῇσι (had proper moral feeling),[27] and Agamemnon had entrusted her to **(p.84)** the care of a bard.[28] But Aegisthus removed the bard to a deserted island,[29] and Clytemnestra followed Aegisthus to his palace (3.263–75).[30] Agamemnon returned without his brother (who was driven off course to Crete and Egypt), and was killed by Aegisthus, who went on to rule for seven years in Mycenae (3.304–5): in the eighth year, however, Orestes returned from Athens[31] and punished his father's murderer (3.306–7). Menelaus came home from Egypt on the day of the public funeral of μητρός τε στυγερῆς καὶ ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο (his hated mother and the weakling, Aegisthus) (3.310–12). Orestes had evidently killed not only Aegisthus, but Clytemnestra as well: μητρός τε στυγερῆς suggests that she shared Aegisthus' guilt.[32] Homer must have known about the matricide, which appears in Hesiod and the early artistic record,[33] but the Oresteia paradigm is not an exact fit for the *Odyssey*, where certain characters are not shy of hinting that Penelope could be at fault in failing to dismiss the suitors, and where Telemachus will not be avenging a dead father. To kill your mother is a monstrous crime in anyone's book: Orestes' matricide brings his moral standing into question, and it is therefore played down in the *Odyssey* so that he can be retained as a paradigm for Telemachus.[34] For obvious **(p.85)** reasons, Nestor says nothing about Orestes' pursuit by the Furies, although that too is known at an early date.[35]

The bard whom Agamemnon appointed to watch over Clytemnestra served as the conscience of the queen, who was also subject to the μοῖρα (fate) of 3.269. Penelope, by contrast, seems free[36] to choose between remaining loyal to Odysseus or marrying a suitor (Chapter 4, §1.6). Nestor's Oresteia has an eye on Penelope's potential for defection while her son is away. There is no other authority for Clytemnestra's bard, about whom nothing is known except that he was removed,[37] and only then did Clytemnestra, whose *nom parlant* means 'renowned for being wooed', yield to Aegisthus. Penelope is similarly famous for being wooed, and her suitors were recently mentioned (3.206–7, 212–13). She has remained steadfast for a long time, but with no one to watch over her while Telemachus is away, she might yield to one

of her suitors.[38] If she does, and Odysseus comes home in her son's absence, he might be murdered like Agamemnon. Menelaus returned too late to protect or avenge his brother, and Nestor counsels Telemachus to avoid his example and return quickly to Ithaca to protect his house and possessions:

> καὶ σύ, φίλος, μὴ δηθὰ δόμων ἄπο τῆλ᾽ ἀλάλησο,
> κτηματά τε προλιπὼν ἄνδρας τ᾽ ἐν σοῖσι δόμοισιν
> οὕτω ὑπερφιάλους, μή τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγωσι
> κτήματα δασσάμενοι, σὺ δὲ τηϋσίην ὁδὸν ἔλθῃς.
> and you too, my friend, do not wander long far from home,
> leaving in your house your possessions and such arrogant men,
> lest they devour everything
> and divide up your possessions, and you make your journey in vain.
> 3.313–16

Proteus had urged Menelaus to hurry home, but he delayed to heap up a funerary mound for his brother in Egypt (4.584), as if to make absolutely sure that he would play no part in Orestes' revenge.

(p.86) 4. The Tricks of Women

Nestor describes Aegisthus as δολόμητις (tricky-guileful), a term used also of Clytemnestra.[39] According to Athene/Mentes, Agamemnon ὤλεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ Αἰγίσθοιο δόλῳ καὶ ἧς ἀλόχοιο (perished by a trick on the part of Aegisthus and his wife) (3.235), and Menelaus says that the ἄλλος (other man) who killed Agamemnon did it λάθρῃ, ἀνωϊστί, δόλῳ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο (by stealth, unexpectedly, by a trick of his deadly wife) (4.92).[40] Odysseus too, describes Agamemnon's death as a trick of Clytemnestra's (11.439), but the trick is never specified, despite various attempts to pin it down:[41] it seems to oscillate between the ambush Menelaus says Aegisthus set for Agamemnon (4.531), and an undefined, and probably therefore very well-known, trick which strengthens the inexact parallel being developed between Clytemnestra's trick on her husband and Penelope's trick (δόλος) (2.93; 19.137; 24.128) on her suitors. Clytemnestra's sister, Helen, is also prone to trickery: she puts a drug into the wine (4.220–6),[42] a method the suitors fear Telemachus may use to get rid of them:

> ...ὄφρ᾽ ἔνθεν θυμοφθόρα φάρμακ᾽ ἐνείκῃ,
> ἐν δὲ βάλῃ κρητῆρι καὶ ἡμέας πάντας ὀλέσσῃ.
> so that he might bring life-destroying drugs from there
> and put them in the mixing bowl and kill us all.
> 2.329–30

and the audience may wonder who is to be the victim of this trick of Helen's. Menelaus deliberately presents her as unreliable (see Chapter 5, §5), and her attempt to make the men inside the Wooden Horse betray themselves (4.271–89) is surely an example of a woman's trick against men, of a kind with her sister's unspecified trick against Agamemnon, and Penelope's trick which duped her suitors (2.91–110).

(p.87) 5. Putting to Bed in an Ambush

On his return to Ithaca, Telemachus repeats to his mother Menelaus' opinion of the suitors, who κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῃ | ἤθελον εὐνηθῆναι, ἀνάλκιδες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες (wanted to be bedded in the bed of a dauntless man, being weaklings themselves) (17.124–5 = 4.333–4: see Table 7). The positive use of ἄναλκις (weakling) is restricted in the *Odyssey* to the suitors (4.334 = 17.125) and Aegisthus (3.310).[43] The motif ἐν εὐνῃ εὐνηθῆναι (to be bedded in the bed) is repeated in the ambush (λόχον) (4.395, 441)[44] of Proteus, when Eidothea ἑξείης δ᾽ εὔνησε (put to bed one after another) (4.440) Menelaus and his companions under sealskins: this ambush is described as a δόλος (4.453), and a δολίη τέχνη (deceitful device) (4.455), a phrase Menelaus later repeats of Aegisthus' ambush of Agamemnon (4.529). Telemachus also repeats Menelaus' simile (4.335–40 = 17.126–131) comparing the suitors to fawns which an incautious doe (Penelope) has put to bed ἐν ξυλόχῳ...κρατεροῖο λέοντος (in the lair of a mighty lion) (4.335–6). (The sentiments result from Menelaus' experience of domestic interlopers.) ξυλόχος (lair) is syncopated from ξυλό-λοχος (ambush in a wood), like ἀμφορεύς (amphora) from the longer form ἀμφιφορεύς (amphora),[45] so the simile too, features the motif of λόχος (ambush). The connection between putting to bed and ambush is felt also through the adjective πυκινός (well put together), used of both λόχος (ambush):

> ἠμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινόν λόχον ἤδ᾽ ἐπιθεῖναι[46]
>
> both to open [the trap door of] the well put together ambush [i.e. the Wooden Horse] and to set it to
>
> *11.525*

and (metrically identical) λέχος (bed):

> ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε οἱ στόρεσον πυκινὸν λέχος, Εὐρύκλεια,
>
> ἐκτὸς ἐϋσταθέος θαλάμου, τόν ῥ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐποίει·
>
> ἔνθα οἱ ἐκθεῖσαι πυκινὸν λέχος ἐμβάλετ᾽ εὐνήν,
>
> κώεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα.
>
> but come, make up the well put together bed for him, Eurycleia,
>
> outside the firmly built bedchamber, which he himself made:
>
> set out the well put together bed for him there and strew bedding on it,
>
> fleeces and mantles and shining blankets.
>
> *23.177–80*[47]

(p.88) Odysseus famously reacts with horror to these orders, and demands to know τίς δὲ μοι ἄλλοσε θῆκε λέχος; (who has set my bed elsewhere?) (23.183–4): the same verb (θεῖναι) is used of setting up an ambush and a bed. If an ambush can be described as a δόλος (trick) (4.453), and the poem makes a connection between λέχος (bed) and λόχος (ambush) through

putting to bed in an ambush, we may have the clue to Clytemnestra's δόλος (trick): we shall return to the bedclothes later.

6. Aegisthus' Ambush (4.520–37)

Menelaus tells Telemachus the fate of Agamemnon as he learned it from Proteus.[48] Agamemnon reached home, but his arrival was reported to Aegisthus by the paid σκοπός (lookout) posted for the purpose (4.524–8). Aegisthus set an ambush of twenty men in his house, ordered a feast to be prepared, and went to invite Agamemnon. He killed him δειπνίσσας, ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ (after entertaining him at table, as one kills an ox at a manger) (4.535).[49] None of Agamemnon's followers survived (4.536), nor any of the twenty ambushers. We have already seen (Chapter 2, §4.5) correspondences between Aegisthus' σκοπός (lookout) and the suitors' σκοποί (lookouts) watching for Telemachus as he sails home (16.365), and between Aegisthus' twenty ambushers and the suitors' twenty ambushers.[50] In Menelaus' account, Agamemnon comes home quite publicly, as if to resume his former position there. He suspects no danger (οὐκ εἰδότ᾽ ὄλεθρον) (4.534). His fate is an obvious warning to Telemachus to be careful what peril may await him on his return to Ithaca, but it also looks forward to the care Odysseus will later take not to appear in public *in propria persona* as soon as he is back in Ithaca. By comparing Odysseus' and Agamemnon's approaches to return, the poem invites us to judge their characters and intellectual standing, although it should be remembered that Agamemnon does not have the benefit of warnings such as Odysseus had from Teiresias.

Athene/Mentes says Agamemnon was killed ἐφέστιος (at the hearth) (3.234), an ambiguous word, which might mean that he was killed in his own palace, or that he was killed on the verge of getting home, without quite achieving his *nostos*. The second meaning would tally with Menelaus' account, in which Aegisthus invites Agamemnon to *his* house,[51] where he has set an **(p.89)** ambush. The locale of an ambush is chosen by the ambusher as an accomplice, and one's own house is a most efficient accomplice, as Aegisthus here realizes. The motif of ambush in one's own house (albeit without use of the specific term λόχος (ambush)) is repeated in Hephaestus' trap for Ares (8.266–366: see this chapter, §9 and Chapter 7, §2). The Cyclops traps Odysseus and his men in his cave, but falls victim to a counter-δόλος when Odysseus makes him drunk and blinds him. From these examples Odysseus has learned how the house can be accessory to an ambush, and he infiltrates his own house in disguise, and kills his wife's suitors as they dine: the *mnesterophonia* is organized by the narrative pattern of planning, concealment, and attack which marks the ambush.

7. Agamemnon and his Companions (11.385–466)

When Alcinous asks Odysseus

> εἴ τινας ἀντιθέων ἑτάρων ἴδες, οἵ τοι ἅμ᾽ αὐτῷ
> Ἴλιον εἰς ἅμ᾽ ἕποντο καὶ αὐτοῦ <u>πότμον ἐπέσπον</u>
> if you saw some of your godlike companions who, together with yourself,
> went to Troy in a company and there <u>met their fate</u>
> 11.371–2

Odysseus promises to tell him, not quite what he asked, but the

> κήδε᾽ ἐμῶν ἑτάρων, οἳ δὴ μετόπισθεν ὄλοντο,
> οἳ Τρώων μὲν ὑπεξέφυγον στονόεσσαν ἀϋτήν,
> ἐν νόστῳ δ᾽ ἀπόλοντο κακῆς ἰότητι γυναικός.
> the troubles of my companions, who perished later,
> who escaped the mournful battle of the Trojans,
> but perished on their return by the will of a wicked woman.
> 11.382–4

Achilles and Ajax, the other heroes of the Trojan War whom Odysseus meets in Hades, did not perish by the will of a wicked woman,[52] and Odysseus' announcement has the structure of a proem which introduces the story of the homecoming of Agamemnon and his followers. Agamemnon appears, on cue, surrounded by ὅσσοι ἁμ᾽ αὐτῷ | οἶκῳ ἐν Αἰγίσθοιο θάνον καὶ πότμον ἐπέσπον (all those who died with him in the house of Aegisthus and met their fate) (11.388–9). The significance of what he has to say is heightened by Odysseus' mistaken questions:[53] did Poseidon raise a storm against you at sea, or did hostile men do you mischief when you were driving off cattle or sheep on land, **(p.90)** or were you fighting about a city and women (11.399–403)? Agamemnon denies all these possibilities (11.406–8) before revealing the truth:

> ἀλλά μοι Αἴγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε
> ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένῃ ἀλόχῳ οἰκόνδε καλέσσας,
> δειπνίσσας, ὡς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.
> but Aegisthus, after devising death and doom for me,
> killed me with the help of my deadly wife, after inviting me to his house,
> after entertaining me at table, as one kills an ox at a manger.
> 11.409–11

His companions too, were slaughtered like pigs

> ἢ γάμῳ ἢ ἐράνῳ ἢ εἰλαπίνῃ τεθαλυίῃ
> either for a wedding, or a communal dinner, or a sumptuous private banquet
> 11.415

(This set of possibilities was encountered earlier in Athene's enquiry about the suitors' feast:

> εἰλαπῖνη ἦε γάμος; ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ᾽ ἐστὶν.
> is it a private banquet or a wedding?—since this is at any rate not a communal dinner.
> 1.226)

It was a scene of such carnage as even the battle-hardened Odysseus could never have witnessed: Agamemnon and his companions lay around the wine bowl and the laden tables (11.419–20), δάπεδον δ᾽ ἅπαν αἵματι θῦεν (and all the floor ran with blood) (11.420b). Their slaughter at the feast which becomes a shambles creates a reverse image parallel with Odysseus' slaughter of the suitors, where δάπεδον δ᾽ ἅπαν αἵματι θῦεν (all the floor ran with blood) (11.420b = 22.309b = 24.185b), and their corpses lay in the hall (24.187) amid the embossed cups (22.9–11), the overturned tables and spilled food (22.19–21).

Most pitiable of all was the voice of Cassandra,[54] Agamemnon's war prize,[55] whom Clytemnestra slew[56] over her dying husband (11.421–4). **(p.91)** The prominence Agamemnon gives to his concubine, Cassandra, is probably intended to warn Odysseus not to anger Penelope in the same way.[57] He blames Clytemnestra's failure to close his eyes and mouth (11.424–6), and condemns her ἔργον ἀεικές…κουριδίῳ τεύξασα πόσει φόνον (ignominious deed…having brought about the murder of her wedded husband) (11.429–30).

When Odysseus reflects on the suffering caused to all the Greeks by Helen, and to Agamemnon by this trick of her treacherous sister, Clytemnestra (11.436–9), the ghost drives home the paradigm:

> τῷ νῦν μή ποτε <u>καὶ σὺ</u> γυναικί περ ἤπιος εἶναι
> μηδ᾽ οἱ μῦθον ἅπαντα πιφαυσκέμεν, ὅν κ᾽ ἐῢ εἰδῇς,
> ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἶναι.
> But now, therefore, do not <u>you too</u> ever be gentle even with your wife
> or tell her all your counsel, which you know well,
> but tell her one thing, and let another be hidden.
> 11.441–3

Since there is no trusting women, Odysseus should return κρύβδην, μηδ᾽ ἀναφανδά, φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν (secretly, not openly, to your native land) (11.455).

8. Odysseus' Ambush

Agamemnon thought he would come home ἀσπασίως (with joy) to his children and household (11.430–2),[58] but when Odysseus returns to Ithaca, he is more cautious, as Athene observes:

> <u>ἀσπασίως</u> γάρ κ᾽ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν
> ἵετ᾽ ἐνὶ μεγάροισ᾽ ἰδέειν παιδάς τ᾽ ἀλοχόν τε·
> σοὶ δ᾽ οὔ πω φίλον ἐστὶ δαήμεναι οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι,
> πρίν γ᾽ ἔτι σῆς ἀλόχου πειρήσεαι…
> for another man who came home after wandering would go
> <u>with joy</u> to see his children and his wife in the palace:
> but for you it is not yet pleasing to search them out and learn by inquiry,
> not before you make trial of your wife…
> 13.333–6

(p.92) When the goddess warns him that for three years Penelope's suitors have been lording it in his house (13.376–81), he declares that she has saved him from the fate of Agamemnon:

> ὢ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ ᾽Αγαμέμνονος ᾽Ατρεΐδαο
> φθείσεσθαι κακὸν οἶτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔμελλον,
> εἰ μή μοι ἕκαστα, θεά, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.
> O no, indeed it was likely that I should perish in my home
> with the evil fate of Agamemnon, son of Atreus,
> if you, goddess, had not rightly told me everything.
> 13.383–5

He clearly equates the suitors of his own wife with the adulterer who seduced Clytemnestra. The period of the suitors' supremacy in his house corresponds to the period of Aegisthus' rule at Mycenae after killing Agamemnon. Aegisthus set an ambush and sprang it at the feast (δαίς) he had ordered (4.530–1): he killed the returning husband δειπνίσσας (when he had entertained him at table) (4.535, 11.411). Odysseus, the returning husband, reverses this pattern: with his accomplice, Athene, he kills the suitors at the dinner they have prepared, a very sumptuous one, ἐπεὶ μάλα πόλλ᾽ ἱέρευσαν (since they had sacrificed very much) (20.390–1):

> δόρπου δ᾽ οὐκ ἄν πως ἀχαρίστερον ἄλλο γένοιτο
> οἷον δὴ τάχ᾽ ἔμελλε θεὰ καὶ καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ
> θησέμεναι...
> but there would be no other supper more unwelcome
> than that which the goddess and the mighty man
> were soon to set...
> 20.392–4

The verb used of setting this metaphorical supper is that used of setting an ambush (see this chapter, §5).

Agamemnon's reappearance in the second *Nekyia* uses straightforward repetition to underline the reverse analogy between his death and that of the suitors, who arrive in the asphodel meadow to find Achilles with Patroclus, Antilochus, and Ajax gathered round him. Odysseus saw their ghosts in the first *Nekyia* (24.15–18 ≈ 11.467–70). Agamemnon approaches as he did in the first *Nekyia*:

> [ἦλθε δ᾽] [ἤλυθ᾽] ἔπι ψυχὴ ᾽Αγαμέμνονος ᾽Ατρεΐδαο
> ἀχνυμένη· περὶ δ᾽ ἄλλαι ἀγηγέραθ᾽, ὅσσοι ἅμ᾽ αὐτῷ
> οἴκῳ ἐν Αἰγίσθοιο θάνον καὶ πότμον ἐπέσπον.
> There came the spirit of Agamemnon, son of Atreus,
> grieving: and around him were gathered all those who died with him
> in the house of Aegisthus, and met their fate.
> 11.387–9 ≈ 24.20–2

(p.93) He asks the newly arrived Amphimedon, his guest-friend,[59] how so many young men came to perish, following his initial question with the same mistaken questions as Odysseus asked him in the first *Nekyia* (24.109–13 ≈ 11.399–403). Amphimedon launches into a litany of complaint (24.121–90), beginning with Penelope's treatment of her suitors:

> ἡ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἠρνεῖτο στυγερὸν γάμον οὔτε τελεύτα,[60]
> ἡμῖν φραζομένη θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν.
> and she was neither refusing hateful marriage, nor was she making an end,
> but devising death for us and black doom.
> 24.126–7

She delayed marriage by the δόλος of undoing her web, but was found out and forced to finish it (24.128–46). And then (καὶ τότε δή) (24.149) Odysseus came home,[61] and plotted with Telemachus in the swineherd's hut (24.149–54): no one saw through his disguise when he

came to the palace (24.156–60), and with Telemachus' help, he removed the weapons from the hall and fastened the bolts (24.165–6). (Amphimedon omits to say that the suitors were able to obtain weapons during the fight (22.142–6).) He told his wife to set the trial of the bow (24.167–9),[62] and shot the arrow through the iron (24.177). Then he began shooting at men: Antinous was the first (24.179), and with divine assistance (24.182) the rest were killed too. They fell victim to a woman's trick: they were conspired against, ambushed, and murdered at their feast. Agamemnon was caught by a trick of his wife (3.234–5; 4.92; 11.439), although nobody says what it was, to achieve a closer fit between the king of Mycenae and the suitors, caught by Penelope's trick of the web: the murder of the suitors in the second *Nekyia* balances out Agamemnon's murder in the first. To underline the reverse analogy, Agamemnon lauds the faithful Penelope, who duped her suitors, in contrast with the treacherous Clytemnestra κουρίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν (who killed her wedded husband) (24.200). He congratulates Odysseus (ὄλβιε Λαέρταο πάϊ) (blessed son of Laertes) (24.192) who has attained the best κλέος and a genuine νόστος through his wife, Penelope.[63]

(p.94) 9. *Odyssey* and *Oresteia*

It is time now to consider the murder of Agamemnon as presented in the *Odyssey* and in the chronologically later version of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. It will become clear that the *Odyssey* is aware of, and influenced by, the version of Agamemnon's murder which we find recorded for the first time by Aeschylus, but the poem's practical requirement to dispatch multiple suitors cannot use that pattern. The *Odyssey*'s version, in which Agamemnon is murdered with his companions at a feast, makes a parallel with the murder of the suitors at their feast, but it does not follow that no other versions of Agamemnon's death were in circulation when the *Odyssey* was composed. The poem's account of Odysseus' homecoming shares many elements with the homecoming of Agamemnon in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, but arranges, develops, and assigns them differently: in the *Odyssey*, the suitors are entrapped rather than the returning husband, but their entrapment shares aspects of the perverted funerary ritual which enables Clytemnestra to kill Agamemnon in the version found in Aeschylus' trilogy.[64] To understand this, we need to look briefly at funerary ritual, and funerary baths in particular.

Before Hector's corpse is given back to Priam, Achilles orders his female servants to attend to it (*Il*. 24.582):

> τὸν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν δμωιαὶ λοῦσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίωι
> ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνα.
> so then the maidservants washed him and anointed him with oil,
> and around him they cast a fair robe and a shirt.
> *Il*. 24.587–8[65]

Hector's dead body is bathed, anointed, and dressed by women very much as the living Telemachus is bathed, anointed, and dressed by Nestor's daughter, Polycaste:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λοῦσέν τε καὶ ἔχρισεν λίπ᾽ ἐλαίῳ,
> ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνα.
> but when she washed him and anointed him richly with oil,

she cast around him a fair robe and a shirt.
3.466–7

This is the typical pattern of baths in the *Odyssey*.[66] Andromache, waiting for Hector to return from the battle, orders her maids: **(p.95)**

ἀμφὶ πυρὶ στῆσαι τρίποδα μέγαν, ὄφρα πέλοιτο
Ἕκτορι θερμὰ λοετρὰ μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντι.
to set the great tripod over the fire, so that there would be
hot water for Hector when he returned from the battle.
Il. 22.443–4[67]

A bath is part of the reception of the returning warrior: it is the preliminary to a feast. It is also part of laying out a corpse: Achilles orders his companions ἀμφὶ πυρὶ στῆσαι τρίποδα μέγαν (set the great tripod over the fire) (*Il.* 18.344) to heat water for Patroclus' funeral bath. They wash him, anoint him, lay him on a bed (ἐν λεχέσσι), and

...ἐανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν[68]
ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καθύπερθε δέ φάρει λευκῷ.
...covered him with fine linen
from head to foot, and from above with a white robe.
Il. 18.352–3

In the *Oresteia*, Clytemnestra famously attends the returning king in the bath and throws a φᾶρος (robe) over him at the wrong time: i.e. *before* anointing him, and while he is still crouching

δροίτηι περῶντι λουτρὰ κἀπὶ τέρματι
φᾶρος περεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ᾽ ἀτέρμονι
κόπτει πεδήσασα ἄνδρα δαιδάλωι πέπλωι.
in the bath tub while he had his bath and at the end
she spread the robe over and about him like a tent
and hobbling her husband in an endless variegated garment, she cut him down.
Aeschylus, *Eum.* 633–5[69]

The king's dead body is later seen wrapped in the φᾶρος (robe) (1492, 1580), with the bath now acting as a bier (1539–40).[70] A calyx crater (Boston 63.1246) by the Dokimasia painter, dated to the 470s–450s BC, shows Agamemnon naked, with a sword wound in his chest, entangled in a web-like textile without holes for head and arms,[71] but we have no certain evidence for **(p.96)** his death in the bath until Aeschylus' trilogy, first performed in 458 BC. However, it would be difficult for an audience to comprehend the cryptic references in Cassandra's anticipatory vision[72] if the death-in-the-bath story were not already known.

Cassandra sees the textile in which Clytemnestra entangles Agamemnon as a net: δίκτυόν τί γ᾽ Ἅιδου; (some net of Hades?), amplified in the next line of her vision as ἄρκυς (staked purse or tunnel net, into which the hunted animal is driven).[73] Orestes makes the same association between δίκτυον (net) and ἄρκυς (tunnel net) when contemplating the robe in which his father was killed (Aeschylus, *Cho.* 999–1000). The fabric[74] is so strongly identified as

Clytemnestra's murder weapon that it is easy to forget that she kills Agamemnon with a σπάθη (sword or, more likely, weaver's batten for striking home the weft to close up the web).[75] She appears with his body and describes what she did:

> ἄπειρον[76] ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων
> περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν.
> An endless net, like a fish net,
> I throw around him, an evil wealth of dress.
> Aeschylus, *A*. 1382–3, trans. Fraenkel

(p.97) The *Odyssey* uses a fish and net simile to describe the bodies of the suitors, lying in Odysseus' hall:

> τοὺς δὲ ἴδεν μάλα πάντας ἐν αἵματι καὶ κονίῃσι
> πεπτεῶτας πολλοὺς, ὥς τε ἰχθύας, οὕς θ᾽ ἁλιῆες
> κοίλον ἐς αἰγιαλὸν πολιῆς ἔκτοσθε θαλάσσης
> δικτύῳ ἐξέρυσαν πολυωπῷ· οἱ δέ τε πάντες
> κύμαθ᾽ ἁλὸς ποθέοντες ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι κέχυνται.
> he saw them all fallen in the blood and dust,
> many of them, like fishes, which the fishermen
> have drawn out onto the curved beach out of the hoar-grey sea
> with a net of many meshes, and they all
> lie piled up on the sand, longing for the waves of the sea.
> 22.383–7

Δόλος is the term properly used of bait for fish:

> ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἐπὶ προβόλῳ ἁλιεὺς περιμήκεϊ ῥάβδῳ
> ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ εἴδατα βάλλων
> ἐς πόντον προΐῃσι βοὸς κέρας[77] ἀγραύλοιο,
> ἀσπαίροντα δ᾽ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἔρριψε θύραζε
> ὣς οἵ γ᾽ ἀσπαίροντες ἀείροντο προτὶ πέτρας.
> as when a fisherman on a jutting rock with a very long rod
> throws down food as bait for the little fishes
> and drops into the sea the horn of an ox from the farm enclosure,
> and then, seizing the gasping creature, flings it forth,
> so they were carried off gasping to the rocks.
> 12.251–5

Δόλος is used of the trap in which Hephaestus catches adulterers (8.276, 317), the δεσμοὶ ἀπείρονες (bonds without exit) (8.340) which descend on the bed where Ares sleeps with the smith god's wife. It is used repeatedly of the web (2.93; 19.137; 24.128) by which Penelope tricks the suitors; she tells them she is weaving it ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (since godlike Odysseus is dead) (2.96; 19.141; 24.131), to be a winding sheet (ταφήϊον) for Laertes (2.99; 19.144; 24.134). The web as δόλος is the first thing Amphimedon mentions when asked how the suitors arrived in Hades. As well as repeating Penelope's own terms for it (φᾶρος, ταφήϊον, σπείρον; robe, winding sheet, shroud) (24.132, **(p.98)** 134, 137), he emphasizes the textile's great size: μέγαν ἵστον (great loom) (24.129, 139, 147); περίμετρον (beyond measure)

(24.130), a feature it shares with Clytemnestra's ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον (endless net) (Aeschylus, *A*. 1382), which she spread over and about her husband, like a tent—or shroud).[78]

Amphimedon's complaint that the corpses of the suitors lie ἀκηδέα (uncared for) in the hall (24.187)[79] is a further element in common with the death of Agamemnon in the *Oresteia*. In the *Odyssey*, Clytemnestra refused Agamemnon's corpse even the most perfunctory services, to close his eyes and mouth (11.425–6), and in the *Oresteia* she buries him οὐκ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν (not with wailing) (Aeschylus, *A*. 1554).[80] The chorus see Agamemnon's αἷμ᾽ ἄνιπτον (unwashed blood) on the textile which has become his funeral robe (Aeschylus, *A*. 1455–60):[81] Amphimedon complains that the relatives, who would γοάοιεν (wail) for the suitors' deaths and wash their bodies, do not even know that they are dead (24.187–90).

Penelope's instructions for the care of Odysseus include bath, textiles, and εὐνή (bed/bier)[82] (all of which are later featured in the *Oresteia*):

> ἀλλά μιν, ἀμφίπολοι, ἀπονίψατε, κάτθετε δ᾽ εὐνήν,
> δέμνια καὶ χλαίνας καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα
> ...
> ἠῶθεν δὲ μάλ᾽ ἦρι λοέσσαι τε χρῖσαι τε.
> But wash him off, ladies-in-waiting, and set down a bed for him,
> A corded bedstead with mantles and shining blankets
> ...
> And bathe and anoint him very early, before break of day.
> 19.317–20

These could as well do duty as instructions for bathing and laying out a corpse. Even the timing (before dawn) suggests funerary ritual: it is at night (*Il*. 24.600) that the body of Hector is bathed, dressed, laid on a bier (*Il*. 24.582–90), and covered with a cloth (*Il*. 24.580–1), and Patroclus, too, is similarly laid out at night (*Il*. 18.343–55). Penelope immediately follows her instructions with reflections on mortality: ἄνθρωποι δὲ μινυνθάδιοι τελέθουσιν (men come into being as lasting only a short time, and the reputation they leave behind depends on their deeds) (19.328–34).[83] **(p.99)**

> Not surprisingly, Odysseus would have none of it:
> οὐκ ἔθελ᾽ ἐν λέκτροισι καὶ ἐν ῥήγεσσι καθεύδειν
> He did not want to sleep on a bed, under blankets.
> 20.141

He has an aversion to coverings:

> ἠ τοι ἐμοὶ χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα
> ἤχθεθ᾽...
> κείω δ᾽ ὡς τὸ πάρος περ αὔπνους νύκτας ἴαυον.
> indeed, mantles and shining blankets
> have been hateful to me/have weighed me down...
> I would like to lie as I passed sleepless nights before.
> 19.337–40

His dislike of such woven textiles must here arise from his situation as returning husband, because in his beggar's disguise he tells Eumaeus a long story to get a mantle to sleep under (14.468–506), and he did not protest at Penelope's offer of a mantle and shirt if she found what he said to be true (17.550–1, 557–8). But now there is no escape, and when he eventually beds down in the porch (ἐν προδόμῳ)[84] on an untanned oxhide, with fleeces for coverings (20.1–3), Eurynome drops a mantle over him as he sleeps (20.4, 143). He is not very keen on washing, either, or having women touch him, especially his feet (or legs):

> οὐδέ τί μοι ποδάνιπτρα ποδῶν ἐπιήρανα θυμῷ
> γίνεται· οὐδὲ γυνὴ ποδὸς ἅψεται ἡμετέροιο
> ...
> εἰ μή τις γρηῦς ἐστι παλαιή, κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα
> ...
> τῇ δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν φθονέοιμι ποδῶν ἅψασθαι ἐμεῖο.
> Water for washing of the feet does not at all correspond to the wishes of my heart:
> Nor will a woman touch my foot
> ...
> Unless there is some ancient old woman, with excellent sense
> ...
> I would not begrudge her to touch my feet.
> 19.343–8

The wife normally handles the body as she bathes it for funeral. Clytemnestra προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ᾽ ἐκ χερὸς ὀρέγματα (stretches forth hand after hand and reaches out) (Aeschylus, *A*. 1111–12). Eurycleia finds Odysseus' scar when **(p.100)** she strokes (ἐπιμασσαμένη) his leg with the palms of her hands (χείρεσσι καταπρηνέσσι) (19.467–8). Agamemnon's feet/legs are hobbled in the *Oresteia* by the robe thrown over him: νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον (foot/leg-wrapping of the corpse) (Aeschylus, *Cho*. 998); ποδιστῆρας πέπλους (feet/leg-hobbling robes) (Aeschylus, *Cho*. 1000); πεδήσασ᾽ ἄνδρα δαιδάλωι πέπλῳ (after hobbling him in a variegated robe) (Aeschylus, *Eum*. 635). The basin Eurycleia uses to wash Odysseus' feet is a λέβης (19.386, 469), exactly the vessel into which Agamemnon falls in Cassandra's vision:

> τύπτει· πίτνει δ᾽ <ἐν> ἐνύδρωι τεύχει.
> δολοφόνου λέβητος τέχναν σοι λέγω.
> She strikes: he falls in a vessel of water.
> It is the device of the murderous cauldron I am telling you.

Aeschylus, *A*. 1128–9 (see also 1539)

Cauldrons are notoriously dangerous, as Minos and Pelias could testify.[85] Eurycleia lets Odysseus' leg fall into her basin (19.469) when she recognizes his scar, but the basin falls over, and the water is spilt (19.469–70). In the *Odyssey*, violence is offered not to the man being washed by the woman, but to the woman washing the man: Odysseus seizes Eurycleia by the throat (19.480) and threatens to kill her (19.489–90) if she betrays him. On one level Odysseus is reluctant to bathe because a bath would undo his disguise,[86] but the bed and bath ordered by Penelope are closely associated with her reflections on mortality, and seem to refer

to and parody a theme (Agamemnon's killing and laying out) of the traditional story on which Aeschylus drew for the *Oresteia*. Murder in the bath tangled up in a cloth works very well as a means of dispatching a single victim (such as Agamemnon in the *Oresteia*), but it is impractical for the disposal of large numbers (the suitors), which are better dealt with by ambush at a feast: the *Odyssey* has Agamemnon murdered at a feast almost certainly to achieve a parallel with the murder of the suitors at a feast. The poet's use of the theme of δόλος, of the fish and net simile, and the funerary associations of the bath and bed(clothes) proposed for Odysseus suggest that he is consciously referring to a version in which Agamemnon died in the bath, swathed in a mantle at the hands of his treacherous wife.

Notes:

(1) Garvie (ed.) (1986: ix); Olson (1995: 30).

(2) 1.29–43; 1.298–300; 3.193–5, 248–75, 303–12; 4.90–2, 512–37; 11.387–439; 24.20–2, 95–7, 192–202: see Katz (1991: 18, 30); Slatkin (1996: 227–9).

(3) Aristarchus preferred (Sch. MHQ on 3.231 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.140)), 'A god, if he will, can even at a distance save a man': see S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.174) on 3.231.

(4) ἐφέστιος ('at the hearth' or 'on the verge of getting home'). We are later told that Agamemnon was killed in Aegisthus' house (4.532–3; 11.409–11; 24.22). In Aeschylus' version, he is killed in his own house.

(5) There was no canonical version: see Eisenberger (1973: 181 n. 79); Hölscher (1967: 11–12) (for the view that the poet of the *Odyssey* knew no other version of Agamemnon's homecoming than that known to Aeschylus), (1988: 308–9); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.102) on 11.405–34; Danek (1998a: 97 and 235–7) on 4.91–2 and 11.406–34. In Hyginus, *Fab*. 117 and Servius on Virgil, *Aen*. 11.267 Agamemnon was killed while participating in animal sacrifice: Orestes' murder of Aegisthus while he is sacrificing (Euripides, *El*. 784–843) is appropriate revenge.

(6) See also 1.300; 3.194.

(7) Untadelig (flawless): *LfgrE* 4a. See Danek (1998a: 40–2) on 1.29–30 and 1.32–43 for ἀμύμων indicating versions where Aegisthus appeared in a neutral light as avenger of his father, Thyestes (see Vogel-Ehrensperger (2012: 17–18)). (Thyestes seduced Atreus' wife, and Atreus deceived Thyestes into eating the flesh of his own children: Aeschylus, *A*. 1191–3, 1219–22.) ἀμύμων can be taken in the sense of 'handsome' (*Il*. 2.674): Bellerophon too, frequently called ἀμύμων (*Il*. 6.155, 190, 216; Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 43a.82 MW), was too handsome (*Il*. 6.156–7) for his own good: see Amory (Parry) (1973: 23–5, 123–4).

(8) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 23a.29–30 MW mentions Orestes' revenge. See nn. 18 and 34 below.

(9) In terms of para-narrative, Aegisthus' ἀτασθαλίη (presumption) is comparable to that of the suitors: see Table 4.

(10) Vogel-Ehrensperger (2012: 10 n. 116).

(11) See Danek (1998a: 47–9 and 93–4) on 1.93 and 3.286–302: see also Chapter 2 n. 15 in this volume.

(12) Létoublon (1983: 21–3).

(13) Olson (1990: 60–1), (1995: 27–8).

(14) Odysseus complains αὐτοῦ τε ζώοντος ὑπεμνάασθε γυναῖκα (you courted my wife behind my back when I was alive) (22.38): see Dodds (1951: 32–3); Hölscher (1967: 7); Katz (1991: 172).

(15) 'It is not possible to undo the inherited myths, I mean such as Clytemnestra dying at the hands of Orestes, and Eriphyle at those of Alcmeon, but the poet must be imaginative and handle the traditional facts well': Aristotle, *Po*. 1453b 22–6.

(16) For the parallels Odysseus/Agamemnon, Penelope/Clytemnestra, Telemachus/Orestes, Suitors/Aegisthus, see Oehler (1925: 29–31); d'Arms and Hulley (1946); Davies (1969: 238); Thornton (1970: 1–15); Andersen (1992: 15–16). For a more comprehensive picture, see Olson (1995: 24–42).

(17) See Hölscher (1967: 11–12); Olson (1990), (1995: 26–9); Katz (1991: 28–9); Danek (1998a: 97) on 4.91–2.

(18) Orestes is said to return from Athens (3.306–7), although Zenodotus read ἀπὸ Φωκήων (from Phocis) (Sch. HMQ on 3.307 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.149)), as in Aeschylus, *Cho*. 563–4 (and see Garvie (ed.) (1986: 196–7) *ad loc*.), 674, 678; Sophocles, *El*. 45, 670, 759, 1442; Euripides, *El*. 18. Orestes' revenge on Aegisthus begins to appear on shield bands from the early sixth century BC: see *LIMC* 1/1 372 s.v. Aigisthos nos 2, 3, and 10; *LIMC* 1/2 pl. 287; Kunze (1950: i.8 IC, 168–9 with ii. pl. 6 IC); Schefold (1966: 94–5 with fig. 44); Prag (1985: 10 with pls 6a and 6b).

(19) See Katz (1991: 30, 46–8, 59, 72–4, 82–3, 171).

(20) 1.291–2 ≈ 2.222–3.

(21) On Athene's advice as a 'logic tree', see Olson (1995: 71–4) (who bases his analysis on Peradotto's (1990: 63–75, esp. figs 3 and 4, p. 68, p. 70) analysis of Teiresias' prophecy (11.100–37)); Danek (1998a: 57–8) on 1.271–96.

(22) See Garvie (ed.) (1986: xi); Hölscher (1967: 4–5), (1988: 300–3); Olson (1995: 28–9).

(23) D'Arms and Hulley (1946); Austin (1969: 47); G. P. Rose (1967); Katz (1991: 33–8); Olson (1995: 28–37, 75–6, 87–8).

(24) Cf. Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 23a.29:...ἀπε[τείσατο π]ατροφο[ν]ῆα. Nestor is less cautious than Athene/Mentes, who advised Telemachus to play Orestes' role after determining that

Odysseus is dead: see Martin (2000: 55).

([25]) 1.300 = 3.198. 3.199–200, repeated from 1.301–2, were athetized by Aristophanes and Aristarchus: see Sch. HMQ on 3.199–200 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.137–8)).

([26]) Cf. Athene/Mentes, of Odysseus: ἤ κεν νοστήσας ἀποτείσεται, ἦε καί οὐκί (whether he, returning home, will take revenge or not) (1.268): cf. also Zeus' remarks (5.24; 24.480).

([27]) Cf. Agamemnon's verdict on Penelope: ὡς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπείῃ (how proper was the moral feeling of blameless Penelope) (24.194): see Katz (1991: 45).

([28]) According to Athenaeus 1.14b and Sch. EM on 3.267 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.142–3)), the bard was to dilate on the virtues of men and women, and keep the queen's mind from low thoughts. See S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.176–7) on 3.267; Katz (1991: 44 n. 43); Andersen (1992).

([29]) The bard's removal from Mycenae extinguishes κλέος (reputation) there, but Phemius survives to perform at Odysseus' return (23.130–40, 143–4): see Andersen (1992: 19–20).

([30]) When Tyndareus forgot to include Aphrodite in his sacrifices, she caused his daughters to be twice-married and thrice-married husband-deserters: Stesichorus 85.3–5 Finglass, and see Davies and Finglass (2014: 319–25). (The motif (Thompson (1955–8) Q223.3) is first attested at *Il*. 9.533–9: see Davies (2010).) Clytemnestra left Agamemnon for an inferior (χείρον᾽) husband: Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 176 MW. The suitors, too, are χείρονες (inferior) (20.82; 21.325–6), and Telemachus blames his mother for honouring χείρονα (the inferior) (20.132–3).

([31]) See n. 18.

([32]) Cf. Stesichorus 180 Finglass; Pindar, *P*. 11.17 Finglass, and see Davies and Finglass (2014: 484–6, 503–7). For the artistic record, see *LIMC* 1/1 s.v. Agamemnon nos 91, 92, 94; *LIMC* 1/2 pl. 202; Furtwängler (1906: i.393 no. 24 and ii. pl. 113.6 and pl. 114.10); Kunze (1950: i.10 (IVd), 167–8 with ii. pl. 18 IVd); Richter (1956: 1–2 with pl. 1); Vermeule (1966); Davies (1969: 224–38); Fittschen (1969: 189–91); Brize (1980: 16); Prag (1985: 1–3, with pl. 1, pl. 2a, b, and c).

([33]) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 23a.27–30; Agias of Troizen, *Nostoi* Argumentum 17–19 *PEG* i.95; Pindar, *P*. 11.37 SM. See *LIMC* 1/1 s.v. Alexandros no. 52, Aigisthos nos 19 and 20; *LIMC* 1/2 pls 20 and 290; *LIMC* 6/1 s.v. Klytaimestra nos 20, 29, and 42; *LIMC* 6/2 pl. 36); Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco (1954: 269–88 with pls 44–5, 86–8); Schefold (1966: 95 with pl. 80); Fittschen (1969: 187–91 and pl. 17); Giuliani (1979: 67–71, with figs 10 and 11, and pl. 18.1 and 2); Prag (1985: 11–13, 35–8 with pls 7a and b, 23a and 25c).

([34]) The Homeric poems avoid reference to killing within the family: ὡς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἀδικεῖν γονεῖς· διὸ οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ φόνου τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας φησίν (sc. γ 309–10), Sch. AT on *Il*. 9.456 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.497): see Griffin (2001: 375 with n. 38). 3.309–10, which refer to the funeral feast Orestes gave for his mother and Aegisthus, were absent from some ancient editions, but Aristarchus took them to signify that both Clytemnestra and Aegisthus

were killed: Sch. MQRT on 3.309–10 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.149–50)). See Kunst (1924–5: 26); Lesky (1967b: 14–15); Hölscher (1967: 7–8); Garvie (ed.) (1986: xi–xiii); S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.60); Andersen (1992: 25).

(35) Stesichorus 181a.14–24 Finglass: see Davies and Finglass (2014: 509–10 *ad loc.*); Pherecydes fr. 134 *EGM* i.346; Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco (1954: 289–300 with pls 36 and 39); Prag (1985: 12–13 with pl. 28B).

(36) See Scully (1981); Katz (1991: 41).

(37) For the view that Clytemnestra's bard is a new element in the *Odyssey*, see Danek (1998a: 92) on 3.267–71.

(38) Kunst (1924–5: 26); Katz (1991: 45); Olson (1995: 35).

(39) Aegisthus is δολόμητις five times 1.300 = 3.198 = 3.308; 3.250; 4.525: Clytemnestra once (11.422).

(40) Cf. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφῶς (because the deceit was clearly the woman's part): Aeschylus, *A*. 1636.

(41) e.g. 'Klytaimestra for her part will be hidden until the trap is sprung....Admittedly, such a role does not give her quite the duplicity we might have imagined from the words of Athena/Mentes in Book 3, or those of Menelaus at 4.91–2 (where he laments his brother's demise at Aegisthos' hands through the treachery of an accursed wife) but perhaps the notion of treachery refers simply to her adultery, or else to the planning of her husband's death in advance of the actual event': Gantz (1993: ii.666). See also Danek (1998a: 236–7) on 11.406–34.

(42) Cf. ὡς δὲ φάρμακον| τεύχουσα καμοῦ μισθὸν ἐνθήσει πότῳ (preparing a drug, she will insert a requital for me into the drink): Aeschylus, *A*. 1260–1: see Fraenkel (ed.) (1950: iii.582) *ad loc.*

(43) See Steiner (ed.) (2010: 92) on 17.125. Odysseus uses the term of himself as a negative possibility (9.475).

(44) Expressed also in λοχησάμενος (lying in ambush), 4.388, 463.

(45) See Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: i.246, 277) on 2.349 and 4.335.

(46) See Chapter 8, n. 109.

(47) The λόχμη πυκινή (well put together lair) (19.439) in which the boar lies may be an extension of the association of λόχος and λέχος.

(48) Chapter 2, §4.5 with nn. 45 and 46.

(49) 4.535 = 11.411. Cf. Heracles' crime of killing Iphitus at table (21.22–30).

(50) λόχος (ambush): 4.531; 16.463. λοχάω (to lie in ambush): 4.670, 847; 13.425; 14.181; 15.28; 16.369; 22.53. The suitors plot a second ambush of Telemachus (16.371–406; 17.79–80; 20.241–7; 22.53) when their first attempt (4.659–74; 842–7) fails: see A. T. Edwards (1985: 18–24; 27–41).

(51) See n. 4.

(52) See de Jong (2001: 286) on 11.382–4.

(53) Kakridis (1949: 108–20).

(54) Cf. Aeschylus, *A*. 1444–5, and see Fraenkel (ed.) (1950: iii.684) *ad loc*.

(55) She replaces the concubine Chryseis, whom Agamemnon preferred to his wife (*Il*. 1.29–31, 113–15). On Agamemnon's selection of the most beautiful of Priam's daughters for himself, see Taplin (1990: 280–1).

(56) Clytemnestra appears killing Cassandra on an early seventh-century BC bronze strip from the Argive Heraion: *LIMC* 1/1 s.v. Agamemnon no. 87 (lower register); Vermeule (1966: 13 no. 3); Schefold (1966: 44 with pl. 32c); Fittschen (1969: 187); Prag (1985: 58–9 with pl. 37a). A bowl of the second century BC (Berlin PM4996) (*LIMC* 1/1 s.v. Agamemnon no. 93) shows Clytemnestra (labelled) with drawn sword grasping Cassandra (labelled) by the hair: a male figure attacks Agamemnon (labelled), who wears a garland on his head and holds a cup in his hand. Three men (labelled Alkmeon and Mestor: the other name is missing) find their exit blocked by armed warriors (labelled Antiochus and Argeios). The inscription reads [ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΙΗΤΗΝ] Α[ΓΙΑΝ] | ΕΚ ΤΩΝ [ΝΟ]ΣΤΩΝ | ΑΧΑ[Ι]ΩΝ ΘΑ | ΝΑΤΟΣ ΑΓΑ | ΜΕΜ[ΝΟ] | ΝΟΣ (according to the poet Agias, from the *Returns of the Achaeans*: the death of Agamemnon): Sinn (1979: 101 (MB36) with 99 fig. 7 no. 4). If the reconstruction of the inscription is correct, the bowl shows that in the *Nostoi* of Agias, Agamemnon died as described in 4.529–37 and 11.409–34.

(57) Danek (1998a: 233–4) on 11.406–34. Phoenix's father, Amyntor, does great damage by flaunting a concubine in his wife's face (*Il*. 9.449–51). Laertes stayed out of Eurycleia's bed to avoid his wife's displeasure (1.429–33).

(58) Significantly, he did not expect to be welcomed by his wife. This may be explained by his interest in other women (see nn. 55 and 57), and his sacrifice of Iphigenia, mentioned already by Hesiod (as Iphimede) *Cat*. fr. 23a.15–26.

(59) Amphimedon's father entertained Agamemnon and Menelaus when they came to Ithaca (24.104) to persuade Odysseus to take part in the war (24.115–19). He is named only in the battle with the suitors (22.242, 277, 284) and the second *Nekyia*: for the view that he is an invention by the poet of the *Odyssey*, see Danek (1998a: 476–7) on 24.102–19.

(60) 24.126 ≈ 1.249 = 16.126.

(61) Not 'on the very same day' as she finished it, although the text suggests that Amphimedon wrongly synchronizes the completion of the web with Odysseus' arrival: see Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: 376–7) on 24.147–90; Danek (1998a: 484–5) on 24.147–90.

(62) Amphimedon is under the misapprehension that Penelope plotted with Odysseus in full knowledge of his identity, but on the instruction to set the bow contest, the ghost is not entirely wrong: Penelope institutes the bow contest for her own reasons, but Odysseus tells her not to delay it (19.584). See Kullmann (1995: 49–51) and Chapter 4, n. 89 for discussion and bibliography.

(63) Nagy (1999: 36–9).

(64) On perverted funerary ritual in the *Oresteia*, see Seaford (1984), (1994: 338–44, 369–72).

(65) Cf. *Il.* 16.669–70.

(66) Seaford (1984: 248). The pattern recurs at 4.49–50; 8.454–5; 10.364–5; 17.88–9; 23.154–5; 24.366–7: see Arend (1933: 124–6). On the antiquity of bathing formulae, see Reece (2009: 273–9).

(67) Andromache is weaving a δίπλαξ (double mantle). Seaford (1984: 339) argues that her occupations at the moment of Hector's death evoke funerary ritual.

(68) καλύμματα of funerary coverings: Sophocles, *El.* 1468: Seaford (1984: 253 with n. 44).

(69) See Fraenkel (ed.) (1950: iii.647–50) on Aeschylus, *A.* 1382.

(70) Alexiou (2002: 5, 27); Seaford (1984: 250), and see Fraenkel (ed.) (1950: iii.730–1) on 1539 and 1540.

(71) *LIMC* 1/1 s.v. Agamemnon no. 89; *LIMC* 1/2 pl. 201; Vermeule (1966) with pls 1; 2 fig. 3; 3 fig. 4. The murder may also be shown on a Cycladic relief pithos from Thebes of the second quarter of the seventh century BC (Boston 99.505) (*LIMC* 1/1 s.v. Aigisthos no. 1; *LIMC* 1/2 pl. 286; Kunze (1950: 157 n. 3); Schefold (1966: 48 with pl. 36b); Fittschen (1969: 188, 191); Davies (1969: 238 n. 1, 256–7 with fig. 16); Prag (1985: 32–3, with pl. 22a)), where the central figure may be in a λέβης (cauldron), by analogy with the man sitting in a λέβης on metope 32 at Foce del Sele (*LIMC* 5/1 s.v. Iason T77; Zancani-Montuori and Zanotti-Bianco (1954: 350–4); M. Schmidt (1977: 265–75 with pl. 71.1).

(72) τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν | λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα· πῶς φράσω τέλος; (The husband of thy bed | —thou hast washed him clean in the bath, and then—how shall I tell the end?) (Aeschylus, *A.* 1108–9); μελαγκέρωι ἐν πέπλοισιν λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι | τύπτει· πίτνει δ' <ἐν> ἐνύδρωι τεύχει (in a garment she has caught him, with black contrivance of the horned one, and strikes; and he falls in a vessel of water) (Aeschylus, *A.* 1126–8, both trans. Fraenkel).

(73) Aeschylus, *A*. 1115–16. ἄρκυς is used in the sense of purse net or tunnel net by Xenophon, *Cyn*. 2.4–9; 6.5–10: see Fraenkel (ed.) (1950: iii.505) on Aeschylus, *A*. 1116; Garvie (ed.) (1986: 328–30) on Aeschylus, *Cho*. 998–1000.

(74) Also identified as πέπλοι (woven coverings, robes) (Aeschylus, *A*. 1126, 1580; *Cho*. 1000; *Eum*. 635); ἄπειρον (an endless net) (Aeschylus, *A*. 1383); εἵμα (cloth) (Aeschylus, *A*. 1383); ὕφασμα (textile) (Aeschylus, *A*. 1492).

(75) See Garvie (ed.) (1986: 102, 289–90, 331–2) on Aeschylus, *Cho*. 232, 889, and 1010–11. I am advised by Mr William Odling-Smee F.R.C.S. that two or three hefty blows on the head with a heavy blunt instrument would produce the shower of blood from Agamemnon's mouth (Aeschylus, *A*. 1389–90). Textiles as a woman's weapon: Sophocles, *Tr*. 1051; Euripides, *Med*. 784–9, 1159–221.

(76) An ἄπειρον (like ἀτέρμονι (Aeschylus, *Eum*. 634 cited above)) can be a garment without an exit, i.e. without places for the head and arms: Euripides, *Or*. 25–6; ἡ γὰρ Κλυταιμνήστρα χιτῶνα ὕφανεν οὔτε ταῖς χερσὶν οὔτε τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔκδυσιν ἔχοντα, ὅπως μὴ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀμύνασθαι δύναιτο τοὺς φονεύοντας (for Clytemnestra wove a shirt without exit holes either for the hands or the head, so that Agamemnon would not be able to defend himself from his murderers) Sch. on Euripides, *Or*. 25 (= Schwartz (ed.) (1887–91: i.100)); Apollodorus, *Epit*. 6.23 (ἄπειρον); Lycophron, *Al*. 1099–1122; Sch. on Lycophron, *Al*. 1099 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: ii.329)); Seneca, *Ag*. 875–905, esp. 888–9; 1st Vatican Mythographer 2.45 (= Zorzetti (1995: 83–4)): cf. Aeschylus, *Pr*. 1078 and Ibycus 287.3–4 *PMG*: see Fraenkel (ed.) (1950: iii.649–50); Gantz (1993: ii.675–6).

(77) Iris plummets into the sea like a lead weight attached to a piece of horn on a fishing line (*Il*. 24.80–2): Sch. AbT (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: v.535–6) on *Il*. 24.81) explain the (hollowed-out) horn as protection for the line above the hook, although it has also been explained as 'an artificial bait of horn, hollow at the upper end into which a [lead weight] was inserted to sink it: it had hooks of bronze attached to it; it was thrown out, allowed to sink, and drawn rapidly through the water': 'it attracts the fish by its glitter and motion' (Haskins (1891: 238–40)). This may explain μελαγκέρωι μηχανήματι (by the black horn device) (which Fraenkel translates as 'a device of the black-horned one') (Aeschylus, *A*. 1127).

(78) Seaford (1984: 253 n. 45). For a seventh-century BC example of what a ταφήϊον might look like, see von Hofsten (2011: 17–18 with fig. 1–10).

(79) According to Kullmann (1995: 50), he seems not to know that the suitors' corpses have been carried out into the porch by the maids (22.448–50), but the expression ἐνὶ μεγάροισ' (in the halls) can be metonymous for the whole house.

(80) The failure to give Agamemnon proper funerary dues recurs throughout the *Oresteia*: Aeschylus, *A*. 1541–50; *Cho*. 8, 189–91, 431–2, 511; *Eum*. 565.

(81) Seaford (1984: 249).

([82]) εὐνή = marriage bed: Sophocles, *Ant*. 1224; = bier: Euripides, *Supp*. 766; Seaford (1984: 251).

([83]) Alexiou (2002: 42) records similar reflections in a funerary context.

([84]) On guests sleeping in the porch, see Lloyd (2004: 76–8).

([85]) Pelias is boiled in a cauldron by his daughters: Diodorus Siculus 4.51.5–52.5; Apollodorus 1.9.27; Pausanias 8.11.2–3. Minos is killed in his bath by the daughters of Cocalus: Diodorus Siculus 4.79.1–3 (but no daughters are mentioned here); Apollodorus, *Epit*. 1.15; Sch. on Pindar, *N*. 4.95a 11–15; Ovid, *Ibis* 289–90. An Argive shield band from Olympia (B 4964) shows a man (Pelias?) in a cauldron flanked by two women (his daughters?): see Bol (1989: 77, 99, 155–6 with pl. 72, no. CXXVIIβ).

([86]) Chapter 5, §4.2.

Para-Narratives in the Odyssey: Stories in the Frame
Maureen Alden

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Penelope

Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

Penelope emerges favourably from comparison with Clytemnestra and Helen, the main paradigms of infidelity in the present, and with the *Nekyia*'s catalogue of past heroines. The vulnerability of these ladies to seduction, corruption, and deception argues for taking Odysseus home, but the Phaeacians detain him abroad like Melampus in his catalogue. Penelope's weaving was an antidote to the Dionysiac forces which threaten to put a suitor in Odysseus' place, but when it is completed, she fears that she may kill her son in a maenadic frenzy, like Aedon who was turned into a nightingale. Her state of mind is demonstrated by her grief for the pet geese destroyed by an eagle in a dream told to her disguised husband. Her journey down to the storeroom and return with the covered basket containing the axes for the bow contest mimics the Arrephoria, and marks her transition from seclusion to marriage.

Keywords: infidelity, seduction, corruption, Nekyia, deception, weaving, marriage, dream, nightingale, Arrephoria

Penelope is the subject of stories told by male narrators, who compare her wisdom and exemplary fidelity with the qualities of other women, both in former times and in the present. She does not begin to relate narratives in her own voice until Odysseus has returned to Ithaca, where, in his beggar's disguise, he is part of the audience for all but one of the stories she tells, whether in public or in private audience. Her subjects include ostensibly autobiographical incidents, such as Odysseus' instructions to remarry (18.259–73) and her deception of the suitors by unravelling her web (19.137–56), but also mythological allusions to the daughters of Pandareus (19.518–23, 20.66–78), and the mantic imagery of her prophetic dreams

(19.535–53; 20.88–90). As the end of the poem approaches, narratives by her and about her interlace with events of the primary narrative to evoke the transition paradigms of end of year festivals and initiation rites in which she and her husband are the key players. Her attitude towards her suitors can be enigmatic,[1] and until they are all killed by Odysseus, there is always the chance that she may choose one as a new husband. In practice, however, Penelope remains loyal until Odysseus returns to punish them. She is the exception to the pattern of all other women, past and present, who cannot be trusted because they are so easily duped and corrupted, and who are therefore a threat to the security and stability of the household. Unlike so many heroines of the past and present, Penelope has no inclination to take other lovers nor can she be tricked or induced into accepting them.

1. Patterns for Penelope

Antinous compares Penelope allusively with Tyro, Alcmene, and Mycene, heroines of former times, among whom she has no rival for fine handicraft (ἔργα περικαλλέα) and excellent judgement (φρένας ἐσθλὰς) (2.117 = 7.111). To this formulaic praise, he adds κέρδεά θ᾽ (and shrewdness) at the beginning of the next line, explaining that the heroines of old did not have νοήματα **(p.102)** (intelligence) like Penelope (2.118–22). His mini-catalogue serves as a priamel to increase her fame. Mycene is the daughter of Inachus and wife of Arrestor,[2] who is said to be the father of Argos Πανόπτης.[3] Paternity of this Argos is also attributed to Agenor[4] or to the river god Inachus.[5] The double paternity of Argos suggests that Mycene could be his mother, and might have had a divine lover in the tradition, as did Tyro and Alcmene.[6] Penelope is superior because, unlike these ladies, she has not been deceived into accepting a convincing replica in place of her husband.[7] She avoids the example of noble women of her own generation, most notably Clytemnestra and Helen, whose sexual disloyalty is detrimental to their husbands' honour.[8] In the palace of Odysseus, the potential for sexual misconduct is displaced from the queen onto the slave women (in particular Melantho (18.321–5; 19.65–92)), who sleep with the suitors, diverting suspicion from Penelope.[9] The frailty of the noble Clytemnestra and Helen in sexual matters is treated by the poet with far more decorum than that of women at the lower end of the social scale, where the most flagrant example of the danger posed to a royal household by the sexual misconduct of women is probably that of the nursemaid who abducted Eumaeus.[10]

1.1. Eumaeus' Nursemaid (15.415–84)

As far as Eumaeus is concerned, women, even virtuous ones, are liable to be corrupted by sex. He is generalizing from the particular anecdote he relates to Odysseus about his nurse in his father's house in Syrie: she was tall, beautiful, and skilled in handicrafts, but her mind was corrupted by a crafty Phoenician sailor who seduced her while she was doing the laundry: beguiled by his promise (15.435–8) to restore her to her father's house, she ran away with the sailors, bringing Eumaeus with her for them to sell.[11] She believed what she **(p.103)** wanted to hear, and did not question the motives of the sailors promising to take her home. When Artemis slew her seven days later out at sea, the crew threw her overboard (15.478–81). She was easily led astray, according to Eumaeus. But if the same story were told from the nursemaid's point of view, she would probably command much more sympathy, since she had been abducted from her home in Sidon by Taphian pirates, who sold her to Eumaeus' father (15.425–9). Peradotto infers, from Eumaeus' offhand generalization, man-to-man, that the

unreliability of women, when their bearings are confused by sexual matters, is a cultural given which nobody would question: he points to the same pattern in accounts of Clytemnestra, the extreme counter-example to Penelope.[12]

1.2. Patterns from the Present: Clytemnestra

According to Nestor, Clytemnestra was certainly a woman of good character (φρεσὶ γὰρ κἐχρητ᾽ ἀγαθῇσι) while she remained under the protection of the bard to whom Agamemnon entrusted her (3.265–8), but her resistance was worn down by the determined seduction of Aegisthus, who kept on charming her with words (θέλγεσκεν ἔπεσσιν) (3.264). When Fate ordained that the queen should yield, he deported the bard to a desert island, and Clytemnestra went with Aegisthus to his house of her own accord (3.269–75). Nestor says nothing of her part in Agamemnon's murder, but like Eumaeus' nursemaid, Clytemnestra came to a bad end after her seduction: with Aegisthus, she fell victim to the vengeance of Orestes, who arranged a funeral feast for his mother and her lover (3.306–10).[13] Agamemnon explicitly compares his wife unfavourably with Penelope (11.444–51). His diatribe in Hades about Clytemnestra's crimes (11.405–34, 452–3) is prefaced by Odysseus' catalogue of heroines of olden days: none of them did anything to rival her culpability.

1.3. Patterns from the Past: the Heroines of Olden Days (11.225–330)

Ostensibly the main reason for Odysseus' going to Hades was to consult Tiresias (10.490–5),[14] who tells him that he will kill the suitors who are **(p.104)** wasting his livelihood (11.115–20), but he also learns from his mother that Penelope remains loyal, and that Telemachus enjoys the estate and gives the banquets appropriate to his status (11.181–6). When Odysseus takes leave of his mother, Persephone sends a parade of heroines of former times to throng round the blood in the trench, and he questions each in turn (11.225–34) (see Chapter 2, §9.7.3).[15] This catalogue of heroines (see Table 3), in which short elaborative narratives are scattered into what is essentially a list,[16] is presented as if nothing else was to be expected. It is told so briefly and allusively that the poet must have assumed his audience would be familiar with the material.[17] It postpones what the audience might well be expecting to hear about: Odysseus' reunion with the veterans of the Trojan War. Odysseus saw many more women (11.328–9), but names only fourteen of them. Any additional information he gives is primarily genealogical: the lady's father, her divine lover (if any), her mortal husband, her children.[18] His catalogue provides a wealth of paradigmatic famous women of the past against whom to evaluate the merits of Penelope.[19]

1.3.1. Tyro (11.235–59)

First comes Tyro,[20] one of the three heroines of olden times immeasurably surpassed in Antinous' estimation by Penelope (2.120).[21] Tyro was the daughter of Salmoneus, king of Elis, and his wife, Alkidike.[22] Her husband was Cretheus, but she fell in love with the river god Enipeus, whose form Poseidon took when he made her the mother of Pelias and Neleus (see Chapter 2, §9.7.3).[23] **(p.105)** Identification of her divine seducer may bring her fame,[24] but not necessarily glory: she so much wanted one particular lover that she allowed herself to be duped into accepting an impostor who looked like him.

1.3.2. Antiope (11.260–5)

The audience is expected to understand the narrative significance of the second heroine, Antiope, of whom Odysseus says only that she was the daughter of the river/god Asopus (in Boeotia), and mother by Zeus of Amphion and Zethus, the fortifiers of Thebes.[25] Different traditions relate that the pregnant Antiope ran away from her father (Nycteus rather than Asopus, according to Apollodorus 3.10.1) and married/was seduced by Epopeus of Sicyon, the father, with Zeus, of her children.[26] Nestor's catalogue of troublesome women related how Epopeus seduced Antiope, the daughter of Lycurgus, and was besieged and killed by her paternal uncle, Lycus, who also exposed her twin sons:[27] they were rescued by a herdsman.[28] Antiope is probably cited as an example of a wife seduced into accepting a divine impostor as her lover, like the next heroine in the catalogue.

1.3.3. Alcmene (11.266–8)

Alcmene was the only surviving child of Electryon, king of Mycenae: her nine brothers were all killed by Taphian sea raiders (Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 193). She was a byword for her devotion to her husband, Amphitryon, king of Thebes:

> ἣ δὲ καὶ ὣς κατὰ θυμὸν ἑὸν τίεσκον ἀκοίτην,
> ὡς οὔ πώ τις ἔτισε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων.
> and she, even so, always honoured her husband in her heart,
> as never yet did any one of female women pay honour before her.

Hesiod, *Sc*. 9–10

although he had killed her father (Hesiod, *Sc*. 11–12). Odysseus says nothing of Iphiclus, her son by Amphitryon, but briefly mentions her as the mother of Heracles (11.266–8). Her story must have been well known: Zeus includes Alcmene in the list of his many conquests when he tactlessly tries to impress Hera (*Il*. 14.323–4). The Hesiodic *Scutum* and Pherecydes give more detail: Amphitryon had to go into exile in Thebes for slaying his father-in-law, **(p.106)** Electryon, in a quarrel over cattle. Alcmene went with him, but would not allow him into her bed, not because he had killed her father, but because she wanted him to avenge her brothers, slain by the Taphians and the Teleboans. While Amphitryon was away at war, Zeus made her the mother of Heracles: she conceived the other twin, Iphiclus, by Amphitryon, who returned on the same night.[29] Zeus may have seduced Alcmene with presents: the chest of Cypselus showed her accepting a necklace and a cup from a man in a shirt whom Pausanias took to be Zeus in the form of Amphitryon.[30]

1.3.4. Megara (11.269–70)

In company with Alcmene is her daughter-in-law, Megara, daughter of Creon and wife of Heracles (11.269–70). The audience was expected to understand Megara's inclusion in this catalogue from these facts alone. The few details we have from other sources are not much help in determining her narrative significance: in the *Cypria*, Nestor related Heracles' madness,[31] in the course of which, according to Stesichorus and Panyassis,[32] he killed his children and, according to Euripides, their mother.[33] The *Cypria* juxtaposes the madness of Heracles to the story of Oedipus, and in Odysseus' catalogue, Megara is mentioned immediately before the mother of Oedipus, Epicaste.

1.3.5. Epicaste (11.271–80)

Epicaste, the mother of Oedipus, μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν (committed a great crime) (11.272) when, in ignorance of who he was, she was married to her own son, who had slain his father. The gods soon brought these things to light, and Oedipus ruled on in Thebes,[34] but Epicaste hanged herself, leaving Oedipus to **(p.107)** suffer all the pains a mother's *erinyes* can inflict (11.274–80). Τὰ περὶ Οἰδίπουν (the story of Oedipus) in Nestor's catalogue in the *Cypria*[35] must have dealt with all this. Accounts vary as to the number of Laius' wives and their relationship to Oedipus: for example, a scholiast to Euripides records an account in which Laius married Eurycleia, daughter of Ecphas, who bore him Oedipus, and other versions in which Laius married two wives in succession, Eurycleia and Epicaste.[36] It is not clear whether the wife of Laius married by Oedipus was always understood to be his mother rather than his stepmother.[37] Pherecydes calls the mother of Oedipus 'Iocaste' (her children, Phrastor and Laolytos, died in battle), and records that in time he married a second wife, Euryganeia, who bore him Ismene and Antigone, Eteocles and Polynices:[38] this would mean that Oedipus' children were not also his siblings. However, in Odysseus' version, the *erinyes* are avenging the crime of full-blown incest against Epicaste by her son, who has also murdered his father. The theme of incest against a mother may be a distant echo of the story of Telegonus, who in the lost *Telegony* was the son of Circe by Odysseus: he killed Odysseus and set up with Penelope.[39]

1.3.6. Chloris: the Story of Pero (11.281–97)

The account of Chloris, the beautiful youngest daughter of Amphion, king of Orchomenus (11.283–4), and wife of Neleus,[40] mentions only the most famous of her sons,[41] and mainly concerns her daughter, Pero, τὴν πάντες μνώοντο περικτίται (whom all the neighbours wooed) (11.288), rather as all the neighbours are wooing Penelope.[42] Pero was won by the seer Melampus, who went **(p.108)** to Thessaly to fetch the cattle of Iphiclus, without which Neleus would not give his daughter in marriage. Melampus (who is paradigmatic for Odysseus) was imprisoned abroad, but eventually managed to return home and win Pero (who is paradigmatic for Penelope) (see Chapter 2, §9.7.3). Odysseus' catalogue achieves a closer correspondence between Melampus and Odysseus, and Pero and Penelope, by suppressing the detail given later in the poet's own voice: κασιγνήτῳ δὲ γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο πρὸς δώμαθ᾽ (and he led the woman home for his brother) (15.237–8).

1.3.7. Leda (11.298–304)

Leda, daughter of Thestius and sister of Althaia,[43] must be cited as another heroine seduced into taking a god for her lover, although nothing is said about Clytemnestra, her daughter by Tyndareus,[44] or Helen, her daughter by Zeus.[45] Instead Odysseus speaks about Leda's sons, Castor and Polydeuces,[46] honoured by Zeus to the extent that, although they are buried in their own land of Sparta (*Il.* 3.243–4), day by day they alternate in Hades between life and death, and have acquired honour equal to that of the gods (11.301–4).

1.3.8. Iphimedeia (11.305–20)

Iphimedeia, the wife of Aloeus, alleged (φάσκε) that she had lain also with Poseidon, to whom she had borne two sons, Otus and Ephialtes,[47] the tallest men on earth, and the most handsome after Orion. They grew prodigiously, attaining by the age of nine a width of nine

cubits and a height of nine fathoms. They threatened to pile Mount Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa to reach heaven, but Apollo destroyed them before their beards grew.[48]

1.3.9. Phaedra (11.321)

Towards the end of his catalogue Odysseus lists, each in a single line, two groups of three heroines. Phaedra and Procris are merely named in the first of **(p.109)** these (11.321), and it is hard to avoid the inference that their names alone would suffice to evoke their histories in the minds of Homer's audience. Later sources associate them with infidelity and betrayal, suggesting that they, like most of the others, are mentioned for purposes of comparison with Clytemnestra and Penelope.[49] Phaedra was the daughter of Minos and Pasiphae, sister of Ariadne, and wife of Theseus, to whom she bore Demophon and Akamas. She fell in love with her stepson, Hippolytus (prompted by Aphrodite in Euripides' surviving play, *Hippolytus*), and when he rebuffed her, accused him falsely to his father, showing a broken door and torn clothing.[50] In Euripides' lost play[51] she made the accusation in person, but in that which survives she hangs herself,[52] leaving a letter to incriminate Hippolytus. Aristophanes makes her a paradigm of shamelessness and compares her with Penelope: μίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν εἴποις τῶν νῦν γυναικῶν Πηνελόπην, Φαίδρας δ᾽ ἁπαξἁπασας (you would not call a single woman Penelope nowadays: they are all Phaedras).[53] Phaedra's inclusion in the catalogue may be another echo of the *Telegony*, in which Telegonus, Odysseus' son by Circe, set up with Penelope.[54]

1.3.10. Procris (11.321)

The story of Procris was apparently well known: she was the daughter of Erechtheus and Praxithea (or of other Attic kings, or of the Thessalian Iphiclus).[55] Eos, the Dawn, fell in love with her husband, Cephalus.[56] When he rejected her, Eos advised him to try his wife's fidelity, changed him into a stranger, and sent him, laden with presents, to Procris, who was tempted by the presents and yielded to the stranger. He then revealed himself to be her husband,[57] and she fled to Crete, where Artemis gave her a dog and a spear, and sent her back, disguised as a youth, to Cephalus. He promised to love the youth in return for the dog and spear. Procris made herself known and they were reconciled, but Cephalus accidentally killed her with the spear.[58] **(p.110)** Apollodorus records that Procris accepted a golden crown from Pteleon and a dog and javelin from Minos as bribes to commit adultery.[59] Her seduction by her own husband, disguised as a wealthy man, has obvious connotations for Odysseus and Penelope.[60]

1.3.11. Ariadne (11.321–5)

Ariadne, the third heroine in this group, is the daughter of Minos and Pasiphaë, and sister of Phaedra. Dionysus may have been her lover until Theseus took her away from Crete: at any rate, before they reached Athens, Dionysus sent word to Artemis, who killed her in Dia, probably for infidelity to him. Hesiod knows her as the immortalized wife of Dionysus:[61] her grave was shown in Argos, in the temple of Cretan Dionysus.[62] She gave Theseus a ball of wool to help him to get out of the labyrinth,[63] or, according to Epimenides,[64] a crown of light which rescued him. The crown was a bridal gift from Dionysus, and was later set in the heavens, the *corona borealis*.[65] Theseus does not always abandon Ariadne on Naxos, as frequently happens in Hellenistic and Roman authors:[66] Pausanias knew a story in which she

was seized by Dionysus.[67] Her story was very well known, probably as an example of desertion of husband or lover for an inferior, one of the options facing Penelope (20.80–2). It was one of the examples in Nestor's catalogue.[68]

1.3.12. Maera (11.326)

In the last group of heroines, Maera and Clymene are merely named (11.326): the audience was expected to know something about them, but the ancient accounts vary. Maera was the daughter of Proitus[69] and Anteia. She used to go **(p.111)** hunting with Artemis. According to Pausanias, who saw her sitting on a rock in Polygnotus' famous painting of the *Nekyia* in the Lesche (clubhouse) of the Cnidians at Delphi,[70] she died while still a maiden, but the scholia cite Pherecydes for their account that Zeus somehow deceived her and she bore a child, Locrus: when she failed to come to the hunt, she was shot by Artemis.[71]

1.3.13. Clymene (11.326)

According to Hesiod, Clymene, daughter of Minyas and Euryale,[72] was the mother (by Phylacus, son of Deion) of Iphiclus, famed for his ability to run over standing corn without damaging it.[73] Pausanias, however, who saw her in Polygnotus' painting with her back to Procris, reports that in the *Nosti* she became the wife of Cephalus after Procris' death and the mother of his child, Iphiclus.[74] This would make her an example of a wife who remarries and has children after her husband's death, as the suitors, who insist that Odysseus must be dead, would like Penelope to do. Odysseus accuses Leodes of wanting σοὶ δ᾽ ἄλοχόν τε φίλην σπέσθαι καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι (my dear wife to follow you and bear you children) (22.324).

(The scholiasts had little to say about the significance of their blameless Clymene, and Merkelbach suggests that another heroine is intended,[75] perhaps Clymene, wife of Nauplius. Palamedes, son of Nauplius and Clymene, had exposed Odysseus' feigned madness when he did not want to go to Troy. Odysseus contrived to have Palamedes stoned, and Nauplius avenged his son by using false beacons to lure the ships returning from Troy onto rocks, but there is no real evidence for Clymene's part in these events.)[76]

1.3.14. Eriphyle (11.326–7)

Last of all, Odysseus mentions 'hateful' Eriphyle, who accepted precious gold for her dear husband (11.326–7). (Penelope could betray him in the same fashion.) Other sources tell us that Eriphyle was the daughter of Talos and Lysimache. Her brother was Adrastus, and her husband was the seer Amphiaraus, one of the Seven against Thebes, who had foretold his own death in the expedition and attempted to avoid it by going into hiding. Polynices **(p.112)** bribed Eriphyle with the golden necklace of Harmonia (wife of Cadmus, the legendary founder of Thebes) to betray her husband's hiding place,[77] and Amphiaraus was forced to take part in the expedition in which he was killed: ὄλετ᾽ ἐν Θήβῃσι γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων (he perished in Thebes for the sake of gifts to a woman) (15.247). Eriphyle's story was the paradigm of corruption by a bribe, and she was shown fingering her necklace through the fabric of her gown in Polygnotus' painting of the *Nekyia* in the Cnidian clubhouse at Delphi. Homer does not mention that she was slain by her son, Alcmaeon, for her treachery in sending his father to Thebes.[78]

If our knowledge of these heroines in later sources is anything to go by, they evoke Odysseus' awareness of the range of possibilities for what he might find on his return to Ithaca: Penelope might have been seduced by a god, like Tyro, Alcmene, or Antiope; she might have remarried, like Clymene; she could be involved in incest, like Epicaste; she might be corrupted by passion, like Phaedra, Maera, or Ariadne, or by gifts, like Procris or Eriphyle. (The poem emphasizes that Penelope is not swayed by the gifts her suitors bring (18.291–301).) The parade of heroines prefaces Agamemnon's account of how Aegisthus murdered him with his own wife's connivance: its effect is cumulative, creating the impression that of all the heroines of the past, not one κουριδίῳ τεύξασα πόσει φόνον (deliberately plotted murder against her wedded husband) (11.430); Clytemnestra's crime is without precedent.

1.4. Clytemnestra, the Non-pareille

Odysseus breaks off on the grounds that it is time for bed, whether he is to sleep on board ship or in the palace. Since he has so much to worry about at home, it would be a kindness to take him there without delay, but the Phaeacians miss the underlying point of his catalogue, and just enjoy his stories. They detain him as Melampus was detained. Arete (who may have taken the catalogue of heroines as a compliment to herself)[79] expresses **(p.113)** admiration of her guest's performance, as well as his looks and intellect, and urges the Phaeacians not to be in too much of a hurry to send him on his way, nor to be stingy in giving him gifts (11.336–41). Prompted by Echenous (11.342–6), Alcinous requests the stranger to delay his departure until the next day (11.350–2), and in the meantime to relate any meetings he had in Hades with his comrades from the Trojan War (11.370–2). The interlude (11.333–76) heightens the impact of Odysseus' resumed narrative, which he advertises with a sensationalist trailer promising events still more pitiful than those he has already narrated: the sufferings of his comrades who survived the war at Troy only to perish on their return by the will of a wicked woman (11.382–4).

He begins again with the appearance of Agamemnon and those who died with him (see Chapter 3, §7).[80] The king's pathetic ghost recognizes Odysseus immediately, and tries to stretch out his arms to him (11.391–4). The emotive expression[81] of Odysseus' pity invites the audience's sympathy before Agamemnon's shocking revelation that he and his companions were invited to a feast and murdered by Aegisthus with Clytemnestra's connivance (11.409–10). Aegisthus, who did the killing,[82] is mentioned merely to facilitate Agamemnon's vigorous denunciation of Clytemnestra. Odysseus joins in the condemnation by mentioning her in the same breath as another 'bad' woman, Helen, but makes clear that both women are instruments in the hands of Zeus (11.436–9).[83] (Of course, Agamemnon says nothing about his sacrifice of his daughter, Iphigenia (in the tradition as early as Hesiod),[84] which might vindicate his wife and make her action retaliation.) Clytemnestra's reception of her husband has already been discussed (see Chapter 2, §2 and Chapter 3), but in the *Nekyia* Agamemnon deliberately makes her a paradigm for Penelope, using his own wife's behaviour to justify condemnation of all women,[85] and warning Odysseus not to trust them (11.441–3). (This is why Odysseus disguises himself from Penelope.)[86] However, in denying that Penelope would ever be the cause of her husband's death, Agamemnon runs the risk of undermining the

paradigmatic **(p.114)** force of his own welcome from Clytemnestra as a possible pattern for that in store for Odysseus:

> ἀλλ᾽ οὐ σοί γ᾽ Ὀδυσεῦ, φόνος ἔσσεται ἔκ γε γυναικός·
> λίην γὰρ πινυτή τε καὶ εὖ φρεσὶ μήδεα οἶδε.
> but there will be no murder for you, Odysseus, at the instance of your wife:
> for she is too wise and knows well prudent counsels in her thoughts.
> 11.444–5

The example of Clytemnestra's treachery temporarily overwhelms that of Penelope's fidelity,[87] so that when Athene describes the behaviour of the suitors to Odysseus on his arrival in Ithaca, he reacts as if the goddess has just saved him from the fate of Agamemnon (13.383–5). Penelope draws the suitors to the house of Odysseus, and this in itself is enough to align her with Clytemnestra and Helen.[88] Although the goddess reassures him that Penelope waits out the miserable nights and days weeping in the palace, Odysseus will form his own opinion by observing her behaviour for himself (13.336–8).

1.5. Penelope and Clytemnestra in the Second *Nekyia*

In the eyes of the suitors (2.91–110; 24.126–46) Penelope is, like Clytemnestra, a deceitful woman at the heart of the household: Amphimedon's ghost even credits her with setting up the bow contest on Odysseus' instructions (24.167–9).[89] (He presents Penelope as a far more informed and deliberate helper to the disguised Odysseus than she actually is in the poem.) As perceived by the audience, however, Amphimedon's account vindicates Agamemnon's earlier exemption of Penelope (11.444) from the general rule that women cannot be trusted, and it is Agamemnon who has the last word on the woman who was not corrupted by sex: **(p.115)**

> ὡς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπείῃ,
> κούρῃ Ἰκαρίου, ὡς εὖ μέμνητ᾽ Ὀδυσῆος,
> ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου. τῶ οἱ κλέος οὔ ποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται
> ἧς ἀρετῆς, τεύξουσι δ᾽ ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν
> ἀθάνατοι χαρίεσσαν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ,
> οὐχ ὡς Τυνδαρέου κούρη κακὰ μήσατο ἔργα,
> κουρίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν, στυγερὴ δέ τ᾽ ἀοιδὴ
> ἔσσετ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους.
> how good was the character of blameless Penelope,
> the daughter of Icarius, how well she was mindful of Odysseus,
> her wedded husband. So the fame of her excellence
> will never perish, but the immortals will fashion
> a graceful song for wise Penelope:
> she did not plot wicked deeds, to kill her wedded husband,
> like the daughter of Tyndareus, who will have a hateful song
> among mortals.
> 24.194–201

Penelope's treachery towards the suitors brings κλέος (fame) to her husband, and Clytemnestra's plotting brings the reverse to Agamemnon.[90]

1.6. Patterns from the Present: Helen

Helen is notoriously ambivalent,[91] and far more difficult than Clytemnestra to place on a scale of delinquency. She is Telemachus' hostess in Sparta, interprets a favourable omen for him (15.160–78), and even gives him a wedding dress for his future bride (15.123–30). Her claim to have recognized and helped Odysseus on a spying mission to Troy (4.242–64) resonates with the private conversation between Penelope and the 'beggar' in Book 19, and anticipates Amphimedon's version of Penelope as a helper to the disguised Odysseus. (Penelope does not see through Odysseus' disguise, and any help she gives him by setting up the bow contest is unwitting. The motif of actively involved female helper, such as it is in the primary narrative, is transferred to Eurycleia.)[92] Menelaus counters Helen's rosy self-portrait with a story of how, escorted by a third husband, she tried to betray her first husband into revealing his presence in the Trojan Horse (4.271–89). (Penelope does not try to make **(p.116)** Odysseus betray his presence to the suitors: unlike Helen, she knows nothing of her husband's plan to rescue her, and cannot betray it.)

During the many years that Penelope waited for Odysseus, she had two options. She could (1) stay with Telemachus and keep all safe in the household, respecting her marriage and public opinion (16.75 = 19.527), or she could (2) be married to the best of her suitors (16.76–7, 19.525–7) and follow her new husband to his home.[93] From the viewpoint of the returning first husband, the latter would amount to desertion,[94] like that of Helen, who went to Troy

> παῖδά τ᾽ ἐμὴν νοσφισσαμένην θάλαμόν τε πόσιν τε.
> deserting my child, and my marriage, and my husband.
> 4.263

The suitors envisage a variant of the remarriage option, in which they kill Telemachus, divide up the possessions of Odysseus, and give his house to Penelope and her new husband:[95] this would pave the way for a murderous reception of the returning first husband like that set up for Agamemnon by Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. But Penelope does not in fact desert, and even when she says that she would go with the suitor who can string the bow of Odysseus, she is never obliged to do so, since the suitors cannot string the bow, and she is sent back to her quarters before it is put into the hands of her disguised husband. In practice, she remains with Telemachus and keeps the household until her husband's return.

She manages this in part by not believing the tales of foreigners, suppliants, and heralds who turn up in Ithaca claiming to have news of Odysseus (19.134–5). Eumaeus describes (14.126–30) her kind reception and detailed questioning of these travellers: he is sure that none of them would persuade her or her son[96] (14.122–3), although he concedes that some god, or perhaps a man, persuaded Telemachus to go to Pylos looking for news of his father (14.178–80). Penelope is not persuaded, even when Eurycleia tells her that the stranger is Odysseus, and that he has killed the suitors (23.6–9, 26–8). Her husband's return would be welcome, but seems incredible: some god must have killed the suitors, and Odysseus has perished far from home (23.60–8).[97] **(p.117)** Her pessimism has saved her from entertaining false hopes,[98] from believing what she is told, even when it is what she most wants to hear.

She maintains her reserve until she has angered (ὀχθήσας) (23.182) Odysseus into revealing that he built their bed around a living tree, which cannot be moved without cutting through the trunk (23.189–201).[99] This secret, known only to Odysseus, Penelope, and her maid, Actoris (23.225–30), is the sign (23.188, 202, 206) Penelope has been looking for (23.110) and she flings her arms around his neck and kisses him (23.207–8). She has always feared deception by an impostor:[100]

> αἰεὶ γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν
> ἐρρίγει, μή τίς με βροτῶν ἀπάφοιτ᾽ ἐπέεσσιν
> ἐλθών· πολλοὶ γὰρ κακὰ κέρδεα βουλεύουσιν.
> For my heart in my breast always shuddered
> lest someone of mortals would come and deceive me with words,
> for many men plot base tricks.
> 23.215–17

Not even Helen, whose name is a byword for infidelity, would have acted as she did if a goddess had not led her into error:

> οὐδέ κεν Ἀργείη Ἑλένη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
> ἀνδρὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλοδαπῷ ἐμίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ,
> εἰ ᾔδη, ὅ μιν αὖτις ἀρήϊοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
> ἀξέμεναι οἶκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδ᾽ ἔμελλον.
> τὴν δ᾽ ἦ τοι ῥέξαι θεὸς ὤρορεν ἔργον ἀεικές·
> τὴν δ᾽ ἄτην οὐ πρόσθεν ἐῷ ἐγκάτθετο θυμῷ
> λυγρήν, ἐξ ἧς πρῶτα καὶ ἡμέας ἵκετο πένθος.
> Not even Argive Helen, daughter of Zeus, would
> have mingled in love and bed with a strange man,
> if she had known that the warlike sons of the Achaeans
> would bring her back home to her native land.
> Though, to be sure, it was the goddess who stirred her up to the shameless deed:
> before that she did not devise in her heart
> the baneful folly, whence from the start came grief for us too.
> 23.218–24

Helen's desertion is the counter-example to Penelope's steadfastness, but in attributing responsibility for Helen's actions to Aphrodite, Penelope invites sympathy for a woman led into error by forces she could not be expected **(p.118)** to control. The passage has been athetized, probably by Aristarchus,[101] as spurious and contradictory since antiquity, on the grounds that the case of Helen is not truly parallel to that of Penelope.[102] It has also been defended,[103] and the comparison with Helen attributed to Penelope's unconscious temptation[104] or annoyance with Odysseus for having concealed his identity for so long,[105] or of having been foolish with respect to the suitors,[106] or of the need to exonerate herself for having come so close to marriage with one of them,[107] or much more probably, of mistrust of her own wishes and fear that they may blind her.[108] But it can also be argued[109] that Penelope feels herself open to reproach only for having withheld recognition from Odysseus: in this case her point would be that if Helen's folly should be pardoned because she was led to err by a goddess, then how much more deserving of forgiveness is she, Penelope, whose 'folly'

consists only in withholding recognition of her husband until she is quite certain of his identity. But while Penelope has not erred to anything like the same extent as Helen, the comparison between them may be closer than this would suggest. Like Helen, Penelope has experienced the promptings of a goddess: it was Athene who induced her to show herself to the suitors (18.158–62), and she even invited gifts from them (18.275–303). Gifts played a significant part in the corruption of Procris (11.321), Eriphyle (11.326–7), and Helen,[110] so Penelope may be anxious about her uncharacteristic appearance before the suitors, and soliciting of gifts, as witnessed by Odysseus. She represents her own 'error' as a lesser version of Helen's devastating error, aligning herself, at the moment of her acceptance of Odysseus, with Helen, the more ambivalent of the *Odyssey*'s two main paradigms of infidelity. But her situation was harder: the daughters of Tyndareus were spared the dilemma confronting Penelope at the opening of the *Odyssey*. **(p.119)** Helen had no reason to suppose, when she accepted Paris, that Menelaus would never return, nor was there anything to suggest, when Clytemnestra followed Aegisthus to his house, that her husband, Agamemnon, was not still alive at Troy.

2. Penelope: Interested Parties

2.1. Her Suitors

Since no one in Ithaca knows what has happened to Odysseus, it is not clear whether Penelope is wife or widow, but a group of young men have come to court her anyway (1.245–51 = 16.122–8): there are 108 of them, plus a number of hangers-on (16.246–53). At the assembly, Antinous speaks for the suitors, now already in their fourth year of waiting for Penelope's decision: he complains that she has encouraged all of them, making promises and sending messages to each, although her mind is on other things (2.91–2).[111] She has also tricked them into waiting for her to finish weaving a shroud for Laertes: only in the fourth year, after discovering (from one of her maids) that she was unravelling her work at night, did they compel her to finish it (2.93–110).[112] Antinous urges Telemachus to send his mother away to be married to the man whom her father chooses and who is pleasing to her: the suitors will eat up his livelihood and property until she makes her choice (2.113–28). They resent having been outwitted by Penelope (2.85–110), and plan to resolve the problem of Telemachus' new-found self-assertion by killing him as he returns from Pylos (4.660–73). When he eludes them, Antinous proposes to ambush him in Ithaca, divide up his property, and give his house to whoever marries Penelope (16.383–6). The plot is suspended when Amphinomus warns that the plans of the gods must be determined first (16.394–405),[113] and finally abandoned after an unfavourable omen (20.242–7). The suitors are interested in marriage with Penelope as a stepping stone to the kingship (15.521–2) after doing away with Telemachus (22.51–3),[114] but as rivals for her hand, they are divided among themselves.

(p.120) 2.2. Her Son, Telemachus

All Telemachus knows about his father at the start of the poem is that he is missing: Ἅρπυιαι ἀνηρέψαντο (the Storm-winds snatched him away) (1.241).[115] While he despairs of Odysseus' return (1.166–8, 413–16; 2.46–7), Telemachus intends to take possession of his father's house and lands (1.397–8),[116] and would like to inherit the kingship, despite the ambitions of the suitors (1.386–96). Although in the past he has joined the suitors at their feasts (2.305), he

has come to resent their presence in his house (2.312–16) and their consumption of his wealth, which the people of Ithaca do nothing to prevent (2.48–79, 239–41). He cannot comply with Antinous' demand (2.113–14) to send his mother away, because if she was forced to leave against her will, he would have to compensate her father, she would curse him, and public opinion would be against him (2.130–7).[117] But if the suitors continue their depredations in his house, he wants revenge (2.141–5). He is afraid that the suitors will destroy him (1.251= 16.128, 17.79–80), and that others plot against him too (16.134). He is aware of his isolation, with no brothers to support him (16.115–20). He knows Penelope cannot decide whether to remain as Odysseus' wife in the palace or accept one of the suitors (16.73–7). There is tension between him and his mother (1.356–9 = 21.350–3), whose refusal to leave denies him his inheritance (19.530–4). As far as he is concerned, his father's return would be the best resolution (16.149).

2.3. Penelope

Penelope wants to keep the suitors hanging on, and to wait for Odysseus to return, but if she turns out to be a widow, she cannot expect to remain indefinitely in her husband's house. Telemachus will inherit his father's status and property (1.386–98) and carry out his duties (11.185–7). Penelope's father and brothers urge her to remarry (15.16–17; 19.158–9), and she could go to her father's house for him to arrange it (2.113–14). She cannot be sent away against her will, however (2.130–7), and she is divided between the options mentioned above (§1.6): (1) remaining with her son and keeping her husband's house and possessions intact, and (2) going away with the best of her suitors (19.524–9). She maintains the position that Odysseus is no more likely to be dead than he is to be alive: she has insufficient evidence to decide on the **(p.121)** matter.[118] The suitors have been coming to the house of Odysseus for three years,[119] and she has given each one reason to hope (13.377–81). But for these three years she unravelled her web at night, to put off her choice of a husband until a day which was never to come, since she did not intend to finish the web. The longer she could remain in the house of Odysseus without making a decision, the more time she could gain for Odysseus to return, however slender the hope. But since the suitors made her finish the web, her strategy of delay is wrecked, and she has no more tricks (19.138–58). She is also concerned to protect her son, against whom the suitors now plot (4.675–767, 16.371–92): she confronts Antinous with their behaviour (16.409–33) but is met only with Eurymachus' hypocritical assurance that he will protect Telemachus (16.435–47). Telemachus is now a man, who evades his mother's protection,[120] going to Pylos and Sparta without her knowledge; he resents the waste of his estate caused by the suitors' feasts (19.159–61). In private Penelope longs for Odysseus to return to punish the suitors (17.163 (with reference to 157–9), 539–40, 546–7), and in public she criticizes their feasting, and invites them to court her with gifts (18.274–80). She has no confidence (19.312–14) in the reports that Odysseus is still alive,[121] and a new and undesirable marriage seems inevitable (19.571–2).

3. Dreams, Omens, and Stories

The resolution of this situation by the return of Odysseus and his punishment of the suitors is heralded by a network of signs of future events and divine intentions towards the characters.[122] Signs are seen in the behaviour of birds, especially birds of prey (οἰωνοί), which may be interpreted by experts (οἰωνοπόλοι) (augurs),[123] although ordinary people are quite

prepared to offer interpretation in the absence of a specialist.[124] There are other signs too: Odysseus prays for (and later rejoices in) a φήμη (significant utterance) from someone inside the palace, and a portent (τέρας) from Zeus outside it (20.100–1; 120–1): Zeus sends thunder (20.103) and the significant utterance comes from **(p.122)** the woman grinding corn who prays for the suitors' dinner today to be their last (20.116–19).[125] Even small things, such as Telemachus' sneeze (17.541–2),[126] can be taken as a favourable indication (17.542–7) of the eventual fulfilment of Penelope's prayer for Odysseus to return and take vengeance with his son on her suitors (17.539–40). There are counterparts in the Near Eastern tradition[127] for the *Odyssey*'s signs in natural phenomena, the behaviour of birds, message dreams, and symbolic dreams.

The gods use message dreams to warn the dreamer or command him to follow a course of action. The messenger may be a) the god conveying the message in his own form, or that of a person well known to the dreamer, or b) a figure sent by the god (and sometimes especially made by him) in the form of a familiar person, which acts as his spokesperson; c) the dead too may appear in their own form to convey a message to a dreamer.[128] The dream figure will enter and leave a bedroom by the keyhole.[129] A formulaic line tells how it stands by the head of the sleeper and addresses him directly:

> στῆ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν
> it stood over his/her head and spoke a word to him/her.[130]

It often asks if the dreamer is asleep[131] before delivering its message. There are even examples where the sleeper enters into dialogue with the dream figure (*Il.* 23.69–99; *Od.* 4.803–37), before it vanishes in a breath of wind,[132] and the dreamer awakes with a start.[133] It is perfectly possible, of course, for such a **(p.123)** dream to mislead, and for the god to use it as a deliberate means of deception. Dreams in which a god or some other impressive figure offers advice about what should or should not be done fall into Artemidorus' category of χρηματισμός, or oracle.[134]

3.1. Iphthime: a Message Dream

The poet relates in his own voice a message dream sent by Athene to Penelope, who has just learned that Telemachus has gone to Pylos and Sparta, and the suitors are plotting to kill him on his way home (4.700–2). The goddess makes a figure, an εἴδωλον in the form of Penelope's sister, Iphthime: it enters the bedroom through the keyhole, stands over the head of the sleeping queen, asks her if she is asleep, and reveals that Telemachus is to come home safely (4.796–807). The phrase it uses in addressing her, φίλον τετιημέναι ἦτορ (sorrowing in your heart) (4.804), is used of characters responding to a situation over which they have no control: Penelope feels unable to avert her son's death at the suitors' hands.[135] She grieves for him even more than for the lion-hearted[136] Odysseus (4.819–20), but her fears are assuaged by the dream's assurances: Telemachus is escorted by Athene, who pities Penelope's distress and has sent 'Iphthime' to comfort her. To the dream figure, as to no one else, Penelope unburdens her troubles over her missing husband and her son's journey (4.814–23), giving the audience a rare insight into her mind.[137] Although her request for news of Odysseus is rebuffed,[138] Penelope starts up from sleep cheered by the dream's encouragement (4.839–

41):[139] Telemachus' departure has upset the delicate balance she has been maintaining as she holds off the suitors until he reaches manhood and asserts his rights; the information that her son will return prevents her from making a decision about her marriage in his absence. Telemachus will not figure again in the action of the poem until Athene urges him to leave Sparta (15.1–26), but the dream's positive message counterbalances the threat represented by the suitors and their plot, and encourages Penelope (and the audience) to expect his return.[140] **(p.124)** The other kind of dream, the symbolic dream,[141] is much more like a para-narrative in that it presents a sequence of events which seems to be performed for the benefit of the dreamer, who may well be aware that a specific meaning is being impressed upon him. The information contained in the dream will always refer to future events, although its meaning may be veiled and require interpretation: Macrobius calls such dreams enigmatic.[142]

3.2. Birds in Omens and Similes

Birds of prey attack smaller birds in similes for Odysseus and Telemachus. When Odysseus reveals his identity to his son, they both weep like sea eagles or vultures robbed of their young (16.216–19); when they slaughter the suitors, they are like vultures swooping and killing smaller birds cowering on the ground (22.302–8).[143] Even when Athene has commanded the Ithacans to desist from fighting, Odysseus swoops like an eagle on the suitors' kin (24.538).[144] The same bird(s) of prey savage domestic or timid birds in omens of their approaching vengeance and in Penelope's symbolic dream of the geese.

3.2.1. The Eagles at the Assembly: the Prophecy of Halitherses

Telemachus tells Antinous at the assembly that if the suitors remain in his father's house, he will pray for them to be destroyed without penalty (2.141–5). Immediately Zeus causes two eagles to soar up from the mountain top: they glide down over the assembly with doom in their eyes, and tear with their talons all round their cheeks and necks, before flying off to the right by way of the houses and the city (2.146–54).[145] The prophet, Halitherses, interprets the eagles as an omen signifying that Odysseus is near by, plotting the destruction of the suitors and punishment for many others in Ithaca (2.161–9). His earlier prophecy that Odysseus would return unknown to all in the twentieth year is coming true (2.171–6). To divert potentially hostile attention away from Telemachus, he tactfully says nothing about there being two eagles in the omen, but the birds are rightly understood to anticipate the surprise attack on the suitors by Odysseus and his son.[146]

(p.125) 3.2.2. The Eagle and the Goose Cherished in the House: the Prophecy of Helen

As Telemachus and Peisistratus take leave of Menelaus, Telemachus wishes that he would find Odysseus at home in Ithaca on his return (15.156–9). Immediately, an eagle appears on the right clutching in its talons a white goose, a tame bird from the yard (ἥμερον ἐξ αὐλῆς). All the people are delighted as it flies off to the right in front of the chariot (15.161–4). Peisistratus diplomatically asks Menelaus if the omen is 'for you, or for us two' (15.167–8), but Helen interprets it to mean that just as the eagle bred in the mountains snatched up the goose cherished (ἀτιταλλομένην) in the house, so Odysseus, after many troubles and much wandering abroad, will come home and take vengeance on the suitors, or he is already home and brewing trouble for them (15.174–8). This eagle comes from the mountains, like those at

the assembly of Book 2, and the fate of the tame goose anticipates that of Penelope's pet geese destroyed by the eagle of her dream (19.535–53). Helen's interpretation of the omen and prediction that Odysseus οἴκαδε νοστήσει καὶ τείσεται (will return home and take vengeance) (15.177) anticipates the interpretation by the eagle of Penelope's dream: νῦν αὖτε τεὸς πόσις εἰλήλουθα, | ὃς πᾶσι μνηστῆρσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήσω (now I have come again as your husband, | who will fasten an unseemly fate on all the suitors) (19.549–50).[147]

3.2.3. The Hawk and the Dove: the Prophecy of Theoclymenos

On arrival in Ithaca, Telemachus suggests that Theoclymenos should stay in the house of Eurymachus, who is most likely to marry Penelope,[148] although Zeus knows whether he will perish before his wedding (15.513–24). Immediately[149] a hawk, Apollo's messenger, flies by on the right grasping a dove in its talons and plucking at it, dropping the feathers between Telemachus and the ship (15.525–8).[150] Theoclymenos immediately interprets what he has seen to **(p.126)** mean that 'no other family in the land of Ithaca is kinglier than yours: yours is the power forever' (15.533–4). His interpretation is completed when he tells Penelope that Odysseus is already in his native land (17.157–61), and repeats Helen's prophecy: ἀτὰρ μνηστῆρσι κακὸν πάντεσσι φυτεύει (he is brewing trouble for all the suitors) (15.178 ≈ 17.159).[151]

3.2.4. A Bird of Bad Omen

As they plot to kill Telemachus after failing to ambush him on his return from Pylos, the suitors see an eagle fly past on the left with a dove in its talons (20.242–3). Although no explicit interpretation is given, the omen leads Amphinomus to propose that they should abandon their new plot and return to their dining (20.243–56).

3.3. Penelope: Dreams, Comparisons, Decisions

The miniature dramas of the similes and omens, where small birds savaged by eagles and hawks signify the suitors destroyed by Odysseus and his son, lead naturally up to Penelope's dream of the geese, which she relates to the beggar after explaining her impossible situation. Shortly after telling it she dreams that Odysseus slept beside her as he was before he departed for Troy. The elements of a sequence in Books 18 and 19 (underlined below) are echoed in a slightly different order in Books 20 and 21:

a) Penelope wishes that Artemis would slay her	18.202–5
	20.61–90
b) Penelope appears before the suitors	18.206–303
	21.63–72
c) Penelope compares herself to the daughter(s) of Pandareus	19.518–23
	20.66–82
d) Penelope relates a dream (19.536–53) and takes it for false	19.560–81
(20.88–90)	20.87

e) Penelope announces her decision to set up the bow contest	19.572–81
fetches the bow and sets the contest	21.1–79

(p.127) 3.3.1. First Death-wish, Preparations for Marriage

Although Penelope has angrily confronted the suitors with their plots against Telemachus and their riotous behaviour (16.418–33), Athene inspires her to appear before them again, to inflame (πετάσειε, open up, enlarge) their ardour, and make her more honoured in the eyes of her husband and son (18.158–62).[152] The queen gives a forced laugh (ἀχρεῖον δ᾽ ἐγέλασσεν) (18.163),[153] before mentioning to Eurynome, the stewardess, her sudden impulse to show herself to the suitors. She intends to use the occasion to warn Telemachus against associating with them (18.164–8).[154] Eurynome, who clearly regards appearance before the suitors as a first step towards choosing a new husband, advises some repairs to her tear-stained complexion, but Penelope declines: her beauty was destroyed from the time 'he' (Odysseus)[155] embarked for Troy (18.178–81). Her refusal to adorn herself is a refusal to commit to the implications of the action she feels impelled to take: she holds back from remarriage even as she takes the first steps towards it. Her laugh comes at the moment when the goddess begins to manipulate her,[156] and she is sent to sleep while Athene administers the unwanted beauty treatment (18.187–96), the first of a series of evocations of ritual discussed below (§3.3.8 and 9).[157] As she awakes, the queen wishes that Artemis, the bringer of sudden death, would kill her straightway, so that she would no longer pine for Odysseus (18.202–5).[158] Attended by two maidservants,[159] she **(p.128)** goes down to confront the suitors, who are smitten with overwhelming desire at the sight of her (18.212–13).[160] She berates Telemachus for allowing them to maltreat the beggar (18.215–25).[161] She overheard (17.492–3, 501–4)[162] the violent incident in the hall when Antinous threw a footstool at Odysseus (17.462–5).[163] Telemachus did nothing (17.489–91), but Penelope prayed for Apollo to strike Antinous as he struck (17.494). Telemachus collaborated with Eurymachus and Antinous in approving Irus' fight with the beggar (18.61–5):[164] now he attempts to exonerate himself by protesting that it did not turn out as the suitors wanted (18.233–4).

3.3.2. Instructions to Remarry

Eurymachus pays Penelope a compliment: even more suitors would be feasting in the hall if all the Greeks could see her. She surpasses all women in beauty, stature, and intelligence (18.245–9).[165] But the queen once more insists that her beauty was destroyed when Odysseus sailed with the Greeks for Troy (18.251–3). When he left, she says, he gave her instructions:

> ὦ γύναι, οὐ γὰρ ὀΐω ἐϋκνήμιδας ᾽Αχαιοὺς
> ἐκ Τροίης εὖ πάντας ἀπήμονας ἀπονέεσθαι·
> ...
> τῷ οὐκ οἶδ᾽, ἤ κέν μ᾽ ἀνέσει θεός, ἦ κεν ἀλώω
> αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ· σοὶ δ᾽ ἐνθάδε πάντα μελόντων·
> μεμνῆσθαι πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος ἐν μεγάροισιν
> ὡς νῦν, ἢ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἐμεῦ ἀπονόσφιν ἐόντος·
> αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ παῖδα γενειήσαντα ἴδηαι,
> γήμασθ᾽ ᾧ κ᾽ ἐθέλῃσθα, τεὸν κατὰ δῶμα λιποῦσα.
> **(p.129)** κεῖνος τὼς ἀγόρευε· τὰ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.

νὺξ δ᾽ ἔσται, ὅτε δὴ στυγερὸς γάμος ἀντιβολήσει
οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς ὄλβον ἀηύρα.
Madam, I do not think all the well-greaved Achaeans
will return unscathed from Troy
...
Therefore I do not know if God will restore me or if I will be caught
there in Troy. But let everything here be a care to you:
be mindful of my father and mother in the palace
as now, or even more so while I am away.
But when you see our son growing his beard,
then marry whomever you wish, and leave your home.
So he spoke, and indeed all these things are now being accomplished.
There will be a night when hateful marriage
will be my lot, a ruined woman whom Zeus has robbed of happiness.
18.259–73

The expiry of the appointed time of waiting for the husband to return, and the moment at which the situation must be resolved, bear the stamp of folk tale.[166] But these instructions are not corroborated elsewhere in the epic, and they are sometimes regarded as an invention by Penelope to mislead the suitors. She would then avoid the appearance of inconsistency by her expressions of reluctance to take the irrevocable step.[167] It is equally possible, however, that Eurynome mentions Telemachus' beard (18.176) to remind the queen of real instructions given by Odysseus to remarry when Telemachus reaches maturity.[168] Penelope does not name the day of the wedding, or the successful suitor, but her complaint ἀλλὰ τόδ᾽ αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἱκάνει (but this dread grief comes on my heart and soul) (18.274) is that of one who will end up reluctantly complying with a request or command.[169] To mention these instructions to the suitors is to promise an end to the present uncertainty. However, Penelope is not inclined to remarry, and does not care for the suitors' method of courtship by consumption: it would be more appropriate for suitors of a noble woman to provide the livestock for a feast and bring her δῶρα (gifts) as well (18.274–80). And each man obediently sends off for **(p.130)** a personal gift.[170] The acceptance of presents (especially of jewellery) is a significant factor in undermining a woman's resistance to seduction, as exemplified by Helen[171] and a number of the heroines in Hades,[172] so that Penelope's invitation to bring her δῶρα could be taken to imply that she has simply abandoned all resistance. But Odysseus rejoices, and his reported thoughts reassure us that she does not mean quite what she seems to mean; he is sure that, as Athene told him earlier (13.381), νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοίνα (her mind is on other things) (18.283).[173] The phrase, used also of her promises and encouragement to the suitors by Antinous (2.92), is often taken to indicate that this time too she has something up her sleeve: Büchner,[174] for example, regarded the instructions as an invention to gain time by deceiving the suitors, and drawing their attention away from Telemachus: they are pacified by the prospect that one of them will be chosen, and do not realize that Penelope does not think them equal to the trial she will later impose on them, so that her promise to choose one of them as a husband is not serious. The text will certainly bear this interpretation, but nowhere makes explicit that the instructions to remarry are an invention, or that Penelope is sure that the suitors are incapable of success in the bow contest. The phrase νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοίνα never occurs with the mention of any specific 'other

things' that her mind was on, and it is best taken as generally indicative of a disparity between outward expression and show and inward thoughts and desires: 'her intention was otherwise'.[175]

On the other hand, since the text gives no positive indication that the instructions are fabricated, the quoted speech could be true, and Penelope, much against her personal inclinations, could be complying with Odysseus' instructions, and yielding to the overwhelming pressure to remarry.[176] **(p.131)** Papadopoulou-Belmehdi[177] even suggests that she has kept her pact with Odysseus a secret until this moment. Hölscher understands νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοίνα (18.283) to mean, not that Penelope is up to something else, but that she longs passionately for something else, for postponement, for Odysseus' return. If Odysseus were to come back and manage her life, she says, her glory would be greater: as it is, she grieves (18.254–6). In this reading, even as she embarks on the step which leads to a new marriage, she longs for the old marriage to continue and be confirmed by Odysseus' return.[178]

By dazzling the suitors into desiring her for herself, rather than as a means to obtain the kingship, Penelope inveigles them into accepting that her marriage will be virilocal: she will leave the house of Odysseus, and Telemachus will inherit his father's status and possessions.[179] She has made clear her objections to her suitors, and Odysseus is not angry at his wife's capitulation, because, whatever is going on in her head, in practice she has held out until his return: now, with Telemachus and Athene, who also know much more than Penelope and her admirers, he is already planning how to destroy the suitors and turn the preparations for his wife's remarriage to his advantage.[180] His pleasure in Penelope's solicitation of gifts would thus amount to approval of her exact compliance with his instructions, while confident that she will not have to go through with a marriage which is so much against her inclination. He could also take a certain satisfaction in his junior rivals being duped into giving gifts. But from Penelope's point of view (unless, in spite of her complaints, she enjoys her suitors' attentions)[181] the situation is far grimmer, and formal acceptance of courtship gifts marks an irrevocable step towards a marriage which is repugnant to her.[182] Antinous insists that she must not refuse the gifts, and that the suitors will not go away until one of them is chosen (18.285–9).

Katz considers the narrative of Books 18–21 to be governed by Penelope's alternatives of staying in the palace or marriage to a suitor (16.33–5; 19.524–31): the heroine makes no clear choice between them, and the text gives us no access to her ultimate intention.[183] We cannot assume that her attitude to her predicament and the suitors is exactly as it was while she was weaving and unweaving the web. She is committed to remarriage by referring to the instruction to take another husband when Telemachus has reached maturity, and by accepting gifts from the suitors, but any criticism on the part of the audience is forestalled by the favourable reaction of Odysseus (18.281–3).

(p.132) 3.3.3. Night Interval: the *Homilia*

After the suitors have left for the night (18.427–8), Penelope has a private conversation with the beggar. The dialogue in hostile territory between the beleaguered heroine and the disguised hero bears more than a passing resemblance to the private interview in Troy where

Helen learned all the plans of the Greeks after recognizing Odysseus in his beggar's disguise (4.250–6). The nocturnal setting and Odysseus' partial rejection (19.337–48) of Penelope's offered hospitality (19.317–20) evoke Priam's visit to Achilles at the end of the *Iliad* and his initial refusal to sit down (*Il.* 24.553).[184] The significant difference is that Achilles, the supplicated, controls the terms of his interview with Priam, whereas it is Odysseus, the *soi-disant* beggar, who is really in control in the *homilia* with Penelope. She does not discover her guest's identity or his plans, while he learns her dreams and inmost thoughts, and her intention to resolve her predicament by means of the bow contest.

Penelope gives far more information than she receives. She tells the stranger how, in the matter of the shroud for Laertes, she deceived her suitors by unravelling at night what she had woven by day (19.137–56). Now that the web is finished, she can think of no other way to evade marriage, and she is under pressure from her parents and her son to choose a husband and leave (19.157–61). Her attempts to discover the beggar's identity (19.104–5, 162–3) are frustrated by flattery and evasion (19.107–22), and then by a false tale that he is a Cretan king's younger son (19.172–202). He wins her confidence, and she begins to perceive him not as a beggarly stranger but as an honoured guest (19.350), to whom she will show all the marks of hospitality: a bed, a bath, and fresh clothes (19.317–22). Since a bath and fresh clothes would undo his disguise, the 'stranger' negotiates a compromise, a footbath from an old servant (19.343–8). The queen falls into a reverie (19.478–9), and does not register Eurycleia's dramatic recognition of her master (19.474–5) as she washes his feet (19.357–507).

3.3.4. Para-narrative: the Nightingale (19.518–29)

Penelope intends to ask her guest another brief question (19.509), but instead finds herself confiding that she lies awake at night while griefs cluster round her uneasy[185] heart, and vex her (ἐρέθουσιν) (19.516–17). Her emotional state **(p.133)** is like that of the daughter of Pandareus, who killed her own son,[186] Itylus, because she was out of her mind (δι᾽ ἀφραδίας),[187] and now laments for him, in the form of a nightingale concealed amid the green foliage, her lovely song alternately staccato and trilling:

> ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρηῒς ἀηδών
> καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο,[188]
> δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινοῖσιν,
> ἥ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυδευκέα[189] φωνήν
> παῖδ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ
> κτεῖνε δι᾽ ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος·.
> as when the daughter of Pandareus, the pale nightingale,
> sings melodiously when the season of spring is newly burgeoning,
> sitting in the thick foliage of the trees,
> often changing it, she pours out her voice with many variations,
> lamenting her dear son, the son of King Zethus, Itylus,
> whom long ago she killed with the bronze through being out of her mind.
> 19.518–23

Although formally an εἰκών (figure),[190] Penelope's comparison of herself with the nightingale is a para-narrative in miniature. The precise analogy with her situation has long baffled adequate interpretation. She herself compares the shifts of her divided emotions to the alternation of the nightingale's song: at one moment she wonders whether to stay with her son and keep the situation as it is (and that means the suitors will continue with their depredations and their plots against Telemachus) and at the next if she should marry whichever of the suitors is the noblest and offers most.[191] Telemachus confirms that her heart vacillates (δίχα θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει) between the two alternatives **(p.134)** (16.73–77: 16.75–6 ≈ 19.527–8).[192] His own wishes have changed: while he was still a child his needs dovetailed with her desire to be loyal to Odysseus as public opinion expected, but now that he is a man, he is angry at the suitors' depletion of his inheritance, and begs her to leave the house (19.530–4).[193]

Fränkel rightly argued that comparison of the nightingale's song with Penelope's alternating emotions cannot be the only point of the simile, whose full significance continues to elude us because our knowledge of the story is so incomplete.[194] Its abbreviated form suggests it was very well known, and its significance easily apparent to the poet's audience. Versions are found in many parts of the Greek world.[195] The scholia[196] and Eustathius[197] tell us that Aedon (Nightingale), the eldest daughter of King Pandareus, was married to Zethus (the fortifier of Thebes),[198] and had a son, Itylus (and perhaps a daughter, Neïs, not mentioned in Homer). Jealous of the many children of her sister-in-law, Niobe (the wife of her husband's brother, Amphion), Aedon plotted to kill one, but killed her own son by mistake (because he was not sleeping where she told him to) (or she killed her nephew first, out of jealousy, and then her own son, out of fear of punishment). Perhaps to avoid her husband's vengeance, she was changed into a nightingale, but still mourns her son continually.

The names can vary: Hesiod names Aedon's sister, Chelidon, as the daughter of Pandion (rather than Pandareus).[199] Chelidon appears named, facing a figure who must be Aedon, perhaps with the remains of Itylus between them, on a metope of the seventh-century temple of Apollo at Thermon.[200] In Attic tragedy, Sophocles' *Tereus* told how Pandion married his daughter, Procne, to King Tereus of Thrace, by whom she had a son, Itys. When she sent her husband to Athens to fetch her sister, Philomela, Tereus raped Philomela and **(p.135)** cut out her tongue. She depicted her sufferings in a tapestry[201] which she sent to Procne: the two sisters conspired to kill Itys and serve his flesh to his father in revenge.[202] When Tereus pursued them, the gods changed him into an *epops* 'overseer' (but often translated 'hoopoe'),[203] Procne into a nightingale, and Philomela into a swallow.[204]

The death of Itylus, the only son, at his mother's hands has led to the inference that Penelope fears that she could cause Telemachus' death if she continues to exasperate the suitors (4.700–1; 16.411–12, 418–23).[205] She has also been seen as ambivalent,[206] mentioning the nightingale as a veiled threat against her son[207] because she is unsure of her husband's continuing loyalty to her. If Telemachus is urging her to remarry, she might kill him in order to remain faithful to Odysseus; if she remarries, she must assume Odysseus is dead. She is, like the nightingale, suffering the consequences of her actions, but before she has even made her choice.[208] Her image of the daughter of Pandareus conveys a well-placed fear of doing

wrong and suffering for it,[209] because neither of Penelope's alternatives has much to commend it:[210] the deceptions which have allowed her to stay have already incurred the resentment of the suitors, and if she continues to stay she will incur Telemachus' anger:[211] if she leaves, her new husband could make a bid for the kingship and eliminate her son. Even if she is following Odysseus' instruction, remarriage entails the risk that he might return and punish her.

(p.136) An ancient audience, as Levaniouk[212] rightly argues, was probably familiar with several versions of the Itylus story, and would be aware of the fit between the para-narrative and Penelope's situation when she tells it. The frenzied Procne of tragedy, who deliberately kills her son out of hatred for her husband, at first sight invites only vague comparison with the thoughtful Penelope, who struggles to find the best way to protect her son, whether by remaining as Odysseus' wife or by marriage to a suitor. The Aedon of the scholia, however, is motivated not by anger at husband or son, but by resentment of her sister-in-law's fine family, with which her Itylus must compete alone. Her plot to reduce the pressure on him by killing her sister-in-law's eldest son comes adrift: Itylus sleeps in his cousin's bed, and Aedon kills her own son by mistake. She destroys the family line at a stroke, the very reverse of what she wanted to do. Levaniouk argues that by choosing this version of the story, Penelope indicates her desire to safeguard Telemachus and her fear[213] that she could bring about his destruction. He has become harder to protect, for he is grown up now, and like Itylus, who did not sleep where he was told to, acts independently of her.[214] He is her only child, the heir of Odysseus, as Itylus was Aedon's only child, the heir of Zethus. As Itylus had to hold his own against his numerous male cousins, so Telemachus must hold his own against the numerous suitors, only slightly older than he is, who hope, by marrying his mother, to have the position of Odysseus (15.522), which he would like to inherit (1.389–98). He explains their presence as the result of his having no brothers to rely on (16.115–16) and of his being the only son (16.119–21). Penelope, like Aedon, refuses to accept her son's weaker position in competition with a larger brood, but where Aedon achieved the reverse of what she wanted by her one deliberate murder, Penelope trusts to the random outcome of the bow contest,[215] which brings about the demise of the entire competition en bloc. Levaniouk's complex interpretation certainly works, but there is another, much simpler way to understand the comparison of Penelope to Aedon.

(p.137) The Homeric story of Aedon displays the same elements of frenzy, child-killing, and metamorphosis into a bird of the night[216] as the story of Leucippe, Arsippe, and Alcathoe, the daughters of Minyas of Orchomenos, who out of loyalty to their husbands abstained from Dionysiac celebration until vines and ivy began to twine round the looms at which they wove. In a frenzy, they tore apart Leucippe's son Hippasus, fled, and were turned into owls and bats.[217] These myths reflect the festival of the Agrionia, when women left their homes for nocturnal rites and murderous fantasies.[218] While she wove, Penelope could remain loyal to Odysseus, but since completing the web, she has had no antidote[219] to the Dionysiac forces which threaten to replace Odysseus with one of the suitors, and fears that, like Aedon, she may kill her child in a maenadic frenzy: Telemachus is certainly afraid his mother's suitors will tear him apart (διαρραίσουσι) (1.251 = 16.128). Penelope's comparison of herself to

Aedon alerts the audience to the Dionysiac pressures she has tried to resist, and to the end of year rituals evoked by her subsequent actions.[220]

3.3.5. Para-narrative: the Dream of the Geese (19.535–53)

Apart from remarriage, the only possibility for a resolution of Penelope's situation lies in outside intervention, ideally in the form of the return of Odysseus (17.163, 539–40; 18.254–5; 19.136). And indeed, a random outside intervention is depicted in the prophetic dream she goes on to recount, asking her disguised guest to give his opinion on it.[221] **(p.138)**

ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι τὸν ὄνειρον ὑπόκριναι καὶ ἄκουσον.
χῆνές μοι κατὰ οἶκον ἐείκοσι πυρὸν ἔδουσιν
ἐξ ὕδατος, καί τέ σφιν ἰαίνομαι εἰσορόωσα·
ἐλθὼν δ᾽ ἐξ ὄρεος μέγας αἰετὸς ἀγκυλοχήλης
πᾶσι κατ᾽ αὐχένας ἦξε καὶ ἔκτανεν· οἱ δ᾽ ἐκέχυντο
ἀθρόοι ἐν μεγάροισ᾽, ὁ δ᾽ ἐς αἰθέρα δῖαν ἀέρθη.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κλαῖον καὶ ἐκώκυον ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ,
ἀμφὶ δέ μ᾽ ἠγερέθοντο ἐϋπλοκαμῖδες Ἀχαιαί,
οἴκτρ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένην, ὅ μοι αἰετὸς ἔκτανε χῆνας.
ἂψ δ᾽ ἐλθὼν κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζετ᾽ ἐπὶ προὔχοντι μελάθρῳ,
φωνῇ δὲ βροτέῃ κατερήτυε φώνησέν τε·
Ἐθάρσει, Ἰκαρίου κούρη τηλεκλειτοῖο·
οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ᾽ ὕπαρ[222] ἐσθλόν, ὅ τοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται.
χῆνες μὲν μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ δέ τοι αἰετὸς ὄρνις
ἦα πάρος, νῦν αὖτε τεὸς πόσις εἰλήλουθα,
ὃς πᾶσι μνηστῆρσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήσω.᾽
ὣς ἔφατ᾽, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ μελιηδὴς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε·
παπτήνασα δὲ χῆνας ἐνὶ μεγάροισ᾽ ἐνόησα
πυρὸν ἐρεπτομένους παρὰ πύελον, ἦχι πάρος περ.
But come, give me your opinion on this dream and listen to it.
My twenty geese in the house eat grain
out of the water, and I delight in them when I look upon them.
A great eagle came from the mountain with a hooked beak
and he broke their necks for all of them and killed them. And they
(p.139) were piled in heaps in the halls, but he soared up to the brilliant sky.
But I was lamenting and keening although in my dream,
and fair-tressed Achaean ladies were collected around me,
as I mourned piteously that the eagle killed my geese (for me).
But he came back and sat on a jutting rafter,
and with mortal voice he restrained me and addressed me:
'Take heart, daughter of far-famed Icarios;
this is not a dream but reality, which will be accomplished.
The geese were your suitors, and I was the bird, the eagle,
formerly, but now I have come again as your husband,
who will fasten a shameful fate on all the suitors.'
So he spoke, but sweet sleep released me:
I looked around the halls and was aware of the geese
feeding on their grain by the bowl where they did before.
19.535–53

The dream falls into two parts and has two levels of significance. In the first part, an eagle kills the twenty pet geese Penelope keeps in the yard. She enjoyed watching these birds feed and weeps at seeing them slaughtered. The dream is certainly symbolic, and Pratt[223] argues that the twenty geese stand for Penelope's twenty years of faithful guardianship: from their destruction the queen infers that her husband is dead; the women who gather round her do so in order to lament him with her. But the dream Penelope says nothing to suggest that her husband is dead: she quite clearly states it is her geese she is lamenting: οἴκτρ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένην, ὅ μοι αἰετὸς ἔκτανε χῆνας (as I mourned piteously that the eagle killed my geese (for me)) (19.543). This dream contains its own interpretation in the second part, where one of its characters, the eagle, explains[224] to the weeping Penelope that what she saw in the dream was true: the geese were her suitors and he (the eagle) is now Odysseus, who will come back and destroy the suitors. She awakes, and the real geese are still pecking their corn from the bowl in the yard.

The disguised Odysseus confirms that the dream is an allegory[225] of the suitors' imminent destruction: he accepts the eagle's identification with her husband (19.548–50): **(p.140)**

> ὦ γύναι, οὔ πως ἔστιν ὑποκρίνασθαι ὄνειρον
> ἄλλῃ ἀποκλίναντ᾽, ἐπεὶ ἦ ῥά τοι αὐτὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς[226]
> πέφραδ᾽, ὅπως τελέει· μνηστῆρσι δὲ φαίνετ᾽ ὄλεθρος
> πᾶσι μάλ᾽, οὐδέ κέ τις θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξει.[227]
> Madam, it is not possible to give an opinion on this dream
> bending it in another direction, since in truth, surely, Odysseus himself
> has said how he will bring it to pass. Destruction is certainly looming for all
> the suitors, nor will any one avoid death and doom.
> 19.555–8

The dream simultaneously evokes a conspiracy between Odysseus and Penelope,[228] and negates it by virtue of being only a dream,[229] and one which, welcome though its events would be (19.569), Penelope is inclined to think is false, perhaps because she finds the geese still alive when she awakes, in apparent contradiction of the eagle's explanation:[230]

> ξεῖν᾽, ἦ τοι μὲν ὄνειροι ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι
> γίνοντ᾽, οὐδέ τι πάντα τελείεται ἀνθρώποισι.
> δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων·
> αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ᾽ ἐλέφαντι.
> τῶν οἳ μέν κ᾽ ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,
> οἵ ῥ᾽ ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε᾽ ἀκράαντα φέροντες
> οἳ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
> οἵ ῥ᾽ ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, βροτῶν ὅτε κέν τις ἴδηται.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ὀΐομαι αἰνὸν ὄνειρον
> ἐλθέμεν· ἦ κ᾽ ἀσπαστὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ παιδὶ γένοιτο.
> Stranger, surely dreams are inexplicable and hard to decide on,
> Nor are they in every case accomplished for men.
> For there are two gates of insubstantial dreams:
> the first pair is fashioned from horns, the second pair from ivory.
> Some of the dreams come through the gates of sawn ivory
> and they lead astray, bearing words that are unaccomplished,

> but others come forth through the gates of polished horns,
> and these are really accomplished, whenever someone of mortals sees them.
> But for my part, I do not think my dreadful dream
> came from there, though in truth it would be welcome to me and to my son.
> 19.560–9

Penelope does not think her αἰνὸν ὄνειρον (dreadful dream) (19.568) came through the gate of horns used by true dreams. Stanford translated αἰνόν as 'uncanny', because he thought 'dreadful' an inappropriate way to describe an **(p.141)** omen signifying Odysseus' return home to kill the suitors: on the other hand, αἰνόν could indicate Penelope's distress at the slaughter of the geese.[231] Eustathius points out the play on the two senses of αἰνός (dreadful) and αἶνος (riddle or veiled hint),[232] which invites her audiences, both internal and external, to look for a deeper meaning in her account of the dream even as she denies its significance.

Verbal correspondences set out in Table 6[233] underline the dream's anticipation of the destruction of the suitors. Eating is how they exert pressure on Penelope (2.123–4), and it is also the main activity of the geese. Penelope complains the suitors κατέδουσιν Telemachus' inheritance (19.534) and two lines later tells how the geese ἔδουσιν their grain. The slain geese ἐκέχυντο, lie piled up (19.539), and the poet compares the slain suitors with a catch of fish which κέχυνται, lie piled up, in the sand (22.387, 389). The dead birds lie ἀθρόοι, in heaps, in the yard (19.540), and the slaughtered suitors lie ἀθρόοι, in heaps, in the palace (23.50). The eagle interrupts Penelope's lament for her geese (19.544–63) as Odysseus interrupts Eurycleia's exultation over the slaughtered suitors (22.409–18). This dream brings to a climax the series of omens in which birds of prey attack smaller, less aggressive birds (this chapter, §§3.2.1–4).

It follows a series of favourable signs, which portend Odysseus' defeat of the suitors.[234] Athene assures him of her favour on his return to Ithaca (13.372–95); he is confident of the favour of Zeus and Athene (16.260–1, 282, 297–8); Melanthius, speaking to the returned Odysseus, wishes he were as sure that Telemachus would perish as he is that Odysseus will not return (17.251–3); the suitors wish that Zeus will grant the beggar whatever he desires after his victory against Irus (18.112–17); the supernatural light from Athene's lamp while Odysseus and Telemachus are removing the arms from the hall is a sign of victory (19.1–46).

The dream is told after the beggar has been repeatedly connected with Odysseus: Penelope orders Eurycleia to wash her master's…'contemporary' (ὁμήλικα) (when we were expecting her to say 'feet'), and adds that Odysseus' **(p.142)** hands and feet will be like the stranger's by now (19.358–9). Eurycleia comments on his similarity (form, voice, feet) to Odysseus (19.380–1). Penelope recognizes as a σῆμα (19.250) his accurate description of Odysseus' clothing when he set off for Troy, and the striking appearance of Eurybates, his right-hand man (19.225–48). He addresses her as γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος (revered wife of Odysseus, son of Laertes) (19.165, 262, 336, 583).[235] Eumaeus tells Penelope her guest is a paternal guest-friend of Odysseus, and claims to have heard that he is about to return with great wealth (17.513–27). Theoclymenos has sworn that Odysseus is already in Ithaca, plotting against the suitors (17.152–61). The stranger says Odysseus has gone to Dodona to learn whether he should return openly or in secret: his return is fast approaching (19.296–

307); he will be back before the suitors can string the bow (19.585–7); destruction is coming for all of them (19.557–8). These favourable signs of Odysseus' impending return make Penelope's rejection of the stranger's positive interpretation of her dream seem perverse:[236] Amory and Russo even suggest that she is protecting herself against further disappointment because she so much wants it to be true.[237]

Penelope's motives for telling her dream are much disputed. To the questions 'did she really have the dream?' and if so, 'when?', we can only say that nothing elsewhere in the poem confirms that she had it, but if the audience is meant to doubt what she says, they might expect an indication to that effect, like the indications that she misleads the suitors (2.91–2; 13.380–1; 18.282–3). And there is no such indication, even if a number of scholars have taken the dream to be fabricated during her reverie while Odysseus' feet are washed.[238] Felson-Rubin advises against taking an either/or position on the dream's veracity, listing the possibilities as (1) Penelope's fabrication, a lure to Odysseus (to abandon his disguise); (2) an accurate account;[239] (3) a dream Penelope actually had, but embellished to impress the attractive stranger (or her suspected husband).[240] (The possibility of embellishment would raise the further question, 'how was the dream embellished?') Since we cannot decide between these possibilities, they cannot be important, and we should look instead for what is achieved by making Penelope tell this dream to the stranger at this particular point.[241]

(p.143) She has been making promises to the suitors (2.91–2), whose attentions are bringing her great fame (2.125–6). Could she enjoy all this, and love to watch her suitors as she loves to watch the geese? Devereux certainly thought so: 'She cried over her geese for the simple reason that unconsciously she enjoyed being courted: a rapidly aging woman, denied for some twenty years the pleasures of sex and the company and support of a husband, would inevitably be subconsciously flattered by the attentions of young and highly eligible suitors.'[242]

Rankin believed that Penelope's pleasure in watching the geese means that she is 'secretly favourably inclined to the idea of marriage with one of the suitors, perhaps Amphinomus'.[243] Russo, too, believes that she is 'unconsciously less hostile to the suitors than her often voiced conscious attitude' and that 'on a level she cannot acknowledge, she enjoys being courted'.[244] Felson-Rubin does not even regard Penelope's pleasure in the suitors' courtship as 'unconscious':

> The dream-figure, Penelope, is baffling and psychologically complex. She takes delight in watching her geese (19.537: *iainomai eisoroôsa*) and grieves as she views their death. This implies that she is reluctant to relinquish her attachment to the suitors. Yet after eagle-Odysseus tells her 'now I am your own husband, come home,' she no longer mourns, in her dream: thus she is not disloyal, but she does relish her pet geese.... Penelope fashions the dream-figure poetically and tailors it to her audience, the enigmatically pleasing stranger (possibly her husband). With a single description she conveys to him that she values the presence of her suitors and will not automatically give them up: at the same time, she precludes his inferring that she would continue seeking the suitors' attention if she knew Odysseus were home.[245]

Penelope's motivation is frequently obscure[246] because the narrative simply does not explore her inmost thoughts[247] and perhaps because she is participating in simultaneous multiple marriage plots[248] with an interest in the suitors that belies her complaints about them.[249] But she *says* only that she **(p.144)** likes watching the *geese*, and mourns for them *qua* geese: she does not lament once she knows that the dream geese stand for the suitors.[250] The view that she has a secret, or unconscious, affection for the suitors has been criticized by Amory,[251] and more strongly by Rutherford: the idea that Penelope is quite pleased with the attentions of the suitors 'should be vigorously rejected: it is a flagrant example of the critical tendency to assume that something more devious, ambiguous or disreputable must be more interesting and make better poetry than what is morally and poetically direct and simple'.[252]

By relating this dream to the stranger, Penelope certainly, as Büchner indicated,[253] makes him aware of her hopes and desires: she would welcome the slaughter of the suitors, symbolized by the slaughter of the geese, but she does not think it will happen (19.569–71).[254] She has been telling the stranger that her mind is divided, but her reaction to the dream's interpretation (19.569) allows him to see (without revealing his identity) that if he kills the suitors, as he plans, it will be in accordance with his wife's wishes.[255] He takes the dream as an omen of the suitors' impending doom, but Penelope discounts it. She declares that she will set a contest and be married to the suitor who can most easily string Odysseus' bow, and shoot an arrow through twelve axes. Odysseus often did this, as the frequentatives ἵστασχ' and διαρρίπτασκεν make clear. Her interlocutor tells her to delay no longer: Odysseus will be there before the suitors can string the bow and shoot an arrow through the iron axes (19.584–7).[256] His words are ambiguous: they could mean Odysseus will return on the next day, the day of the bow contest, or that the indefinitely remote possibility of his return will be realized before the suitors manage to string the bow.[257] And it is by no means certain that any suitor will be able to do so.[258] If the comparative evidence is anything to go by, setting the contest of the bow is as clever a device on Penelope's part as her trick of making Odysseus reveal the secret of their immoveable bed. It was said of the Egyptian **(p.145)** pharaoh, Sesostris I, that his majesty 'need not repeat the act of killing, for there is no one who can deflect his arrow, nor one who can draw his bow'.[259]

Why Penelope tells the dream to the stranger cannot be separated from the issue of whether she has any inkling that the man in whom she is confiding is really her husband. This question has been debated since antiquity.[260] Harsh thought that her suspicions are aroused when Theoclymenos tells her that Odysseus is already in Ithaca (17.152–61), Eumaeus tells her the stranger is a guest-friend of Odysseus (17.513–27), and she has the favourable omen of Telemachus' sneeze after wishing for her husband's return (17.539–47). He thought that she becomes surer when the stranger describes Odysseus' clothing (19.225–43), and she invents the dream during the foot-washing to ask, 'Is it your intention to slay the suitors?' without arousing suspicion in the disloyal maids listening in the hall.[261] Amory criticizes Harsh for supposing that Penelope is so quickly certain of the beggar's identity, and for assuming that the dream is deliberate fabrication, and argues that she becomes gradually certain that the stranger is her husband, but does not accept her inner certainty for fear of making a mistake, and therefore her recognition remains subconscious. She believes that the dream is told to test this intuition by soliciting an omen, but even when the stranger confirms

the dream's internal interpretation, Penelope is still afraid to believe it.[262] Austin is close to Amory's position, believing that the bow contest is created by Penelope's subconscious to test her intuitions concerning the stranger's identity.[263] In the view of van Nortwick, Penelope is drawn to the beggar: she knows, and at the same time does not know, who he is.[264] But if she tells the dream as an invitation to the stranger to abandon his disguise and reveal himself as Odysseus, he does not take the bait.[265]

The question of whether Penelope is testing Odysseus with her account of a dream is one the poet does not address,[266] and I do not think it arises. The Harsh–Amory thesis requires reading between the lines and assuming the poet meant things he does not say. The theory of early recognition infers unexpressed unconscious motivation and subconscious intuition, neither of which can be substantiated. Penelope weeps for Odysseus after the *homilia* (19.603): she would not do this if she thought he was asleep in the hall. She would not wish to be dead so that she could meet Odysseus under the earth (20.61–82), **(p.146)** or be angry with Eurycleia for telling her that Odysseus has come home and killed the suitors (23.11–24), or surprised on learning who the beggar is (23.32–8), or slow to accept him as her husband (23.168–70), if she had recognized him as Odysseus during their conversation.[267]

3.3.6. Decision to Set the Bow Contest (19.570–81)

Penelope's decision to set the bow contest for the following day (19.571–81) has baffled some: 'it would be monstrous to suppose that Penelope, repeatedly assured that Odysseus' return is imminent, would set the contest for the next day unless again, she suspects that this stranger is Odysseus'.[268] Merkelbach believed that she had recognized Odysseus during the foot-washing scene and planned the contest with him. According to Büchner, she intended thereby to buy time and divert her suitors' attention from Telemachus, knowing that the task she set would be beyond their capabilities. Amory pointed out that the bow contest leaves the choice of husband to chance: if the omens are wrong, Penelope will marry the best of the suitors, but there is a good chance that none of them will be able to string the bow.[269] Failure would damage their standing,[270] but there seems to be no question of the condition 'if you cannot string the bow, then abandon your suit', and when they fail to string it, the suitors propose to try again the next day (21.259–68). For Russo, Penelope's decision to set the bow contest after such a long delay is influenced by the stranger's assurance that Odysseus will soon be back,[271] but to Penelope's knowledge, Odysseus has not come back, and marriage with a suitor looks inevitable. According to Katz, her conviction that her dream is not going to be realized (19.560–9) fulfils the narrative function of consigning the longed-for return of Odysseus to the realm of unreality.[272] Penelope's scepticism on the question of her husband's return has been growing, and is at its most intense when the portents suggest most strongly that he has returned.[273] Rejection of the dream's interpretation is consistent with her general mistrust of 'news' (14.121–3; 19.134–5), and any misgivings the audience may have about her decision to set the contest are smoothed over when Odysseus encourages her to go ahead with it (19.584). The audience was similarly reassured by Odysseus' **(p.147)** favourable reaction to Penelope's potentially suspect soliciting of gifts from the suitors (18.274–83). The implausibility of her decision to set the bow contest is the price paid for the convergence on the next day of (1) the contest to choose a bridegroom and (2) the wedding-like reunion.

3.3.7. Advice from a Metanast

Penelope does not tell her dream to the stranger to invite him to drop his disguise (which she has no reason to suspect) or to let him know that she welcomes the attentions of the suitors and will not willingly give them up: she would give them up with alacrity.[274] She is doing just what the poet depicts her as doing, no more, no less. She seeks the opinion of her wise (πεπνυμένος) and honoured guest (19.350), and trusts him with confidences in the way a royal host confides in a trusted metanast and asks his counsel. A metanast's place in his new community depends entirely on his host (8.208–11), and his absolute loyalty is expected, as Phoenix and Patroclus are expected to be entirely loyal to Peleus and Achilles (*Il.* 9.611–15; *Il.* 11.602–17; *Il.* 16.83).[275] The queen had a dream and wishes to know if she can trust its internal interpretation. She is considering the bow contest as a means to resolve her situation and invites the stranger's opinion on it. She will not necessarily go along with all he says. She rejects his positive interpretation of the dream, but acts on his encouragement to proceed with the contest. The plot requires her to set the bow contest so that Odysseus can be armed against the suitors: to allow him to save her from becoming the wife of a suitor, she has to risk the outcome of the contest. There is nothing strange or complicated about this interpretation, no reading between the lines or attribution of motivation which cannot be substantiated. The poet's audience knows, although Penelope does not, that the eagle's slaughter of the geese in her dream repeats the sign of the eagle with a goose in its talons, interpreted by Helen as an omen for Odysseus' return and vengeance on the suitors (15.160–78).

3.3.8. Second Death-wish and the (Other) Daughters of Pandareus

Penelope retires to her private apartments (19.600–4), where she wishes Artemis would slay her with an arrow (20.61–3), or that she would be snatched up by the storm winds (20.63–5), like the daughters of Pandareus:

> Ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρας ἀνέλοντο θύελλαι·
> τῇσι τοκῆας μὲν φθεῖσαν θεοί, αἱ δ᾽ ἐλίποντο
>
> **(p.148)** ὀρφαναὶ ἐν μεγάροισι, κόμισσε δὲ δῖ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη
> τυρῷ καὶ μέλιτι γλυκερῷ καὶ ἡδέϊ οἴνῳ·
> Ἥρη δ᾽ αὐτῇσιν περὶ πασέων δῶκε γυναικῶν
> εἶδος καὶ πινυτήν, μῆκος δ᾽ ἔπορ᾽ Ἄρτεμις ἁγνή,
> ἔργα δ᾽ Ἀθηναίη δέδαε κλυτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι.
> εὖτ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη δῖα προσέστιχε μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
> κούρῃσ᾽ αἰτήσουσα τέλος θαλεροῖο γάμοιο,
> ἐς Δία τερπικέραυνον,—ὁ γάρ τ᾽ ἐὺ οἴδεν ἅπαντα,
> μοῖράν τ᾽ ἀμμορίην τε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,—
> τόφρα δὲ τὰς κούρας Ἅρπυιαι ἀνηρέψαντο
> καί ῥ᾽ ἔδοσαν στυγερῇσιν Ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν.
> As when the storm winds caught up the daughters of Pandareus.
> The gods killed their parents and they were left
> orphans in the palace, but the goddess Aphrodite cared for them
> with cheese and sweet honey, and pleasant wine;
> and Hera gave them beyond all women
> beauty and wisdom, and chaste Artemis gave them stature,
> and Athene taught them to work famous handicraft.

> At the time when divine Aphrodite went to high Olympus
> to request the goal of flourishing marriage for the maidens,
> to Zeus, who delights in the thunderbolt—for he well knows all,
> what is fated and what is not fated for mortal men—
> then the Harpies snatched up the maidens
> and gave them to the hateful Furies to serve them.
> 20.66–78

The goddesses cared for the orphaned girls in the palace, where they worked at fine handicrafts, but their transition to marriage was aborted, and they were taken to serve the Furies under the earth. Heubeck[276] dismissed the passage as an 'Autoschediasma' (off-the-cuff invention), but it is much more than that.

In a fuller version by the ancient scholiast, three daughters of Pandareus are named: Aedon, Kleothera, and Merope. Aphrodite, Athene, and Hera are bringing them up while their parents are still alive. But Pandareus flees after stealing Zeus' golden dog: Zeus kills him, and sets the Harpies on his daughters. They snatch up the girls and give them to the Furies.[277] However, Danek[278] warns against supplementing Penelope's account from the scholia, because she provides all the details required to compare the fate of the maidens **(p.149)** with her own situation. She does not explain why the gods killed Pandareus and his wife: the significant facts are that the parents are dead, and the maidens are fed as orphans in the care of the goddesses. The points of correspondence are (1) as Odysseus seems to have disappeared, Penelope feels as if she has been 'orphaned' like the maidens; like them, she has lived in seclusion: she has beauty, wisdom, and skill at handicrafts; (2) as in the case of the girls, the decision to marry has already been taken; (3) the girls' marriages were aborted when the Harpies swept them away to attend the Furies, and sudden death is the only way Penelope can see of aborting her own (re)marriage.[279]

Johnston understands Pandareus' daughters to represent failed womanhood, because they perish before fulfilling their ability to marry and bear children. (Aedon, too, negates her childbearing capacity by killing her child.) If Penelope marries a suitor, she will destroy the family she has sought to preserve. Her nurturing capacities will be destroyed, like those of the daughters of Pandareus when the Harpies abducted them.[280] However, Persephone, the mythical bride of Hades, is also abducted and taken under the earth, but re-emerges to give fruitfulness and growth.[281] I think that we should regard the daughters of Pandareus as a paradigm for girls who fail to manage the transition from secluded maiden to married woman. There are other such paradigms, as we shall see.

3.3.9. Another Dream and a Journey with Covered Objects

> Careful consideration uncovers a whole series of strange correspondences, leading us to suspect a specific ritual structure underlying the *Odyssey*.

This is how Burkert introduces his exposition of ritual elements in Odysseus' adventure with the Cyclops,[282] but his observation could equally well introduce a demonstration of the 'strange correspondences' which the myth of the orphaned daughters of Pandareus points up between Penelope's completion of the web, the end of her seclusion, her preparations for the

bow contest at the festival of the new moon,[283] and the rituals performed by women and girls in end of year festivals—in particular, the Plynteria in the month of Thargelion, followed by the Arrephoria in the following month, Skirophorion.[284]

(p.150) The Plynteria was a laundry festival in the month of Thargelion (April/May) when, in strict secrecy, the Praxiergidae stripped the cult statue of Athene Polias of its gown and ornaments, and two maidens, the λουτρίδες (bathers) or πλυντρίδες (laundresses), sponged it and veiled it,[285] and washed its clothes. Then they gave it back a laundered robe and restored the ornaments.[286] Penelope is put to sleep while Athene gives her a beauty treatment. Her skin is left whiter than sawn ivory (λευκοτέρην δ᾽ ἄρα μιν θῆκε πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος) (18.196). Then she appears veiled (18.210), with an attendant on either side (18.211) before the suitors, who bring her a peplos and other adornments (18.291–301). The secrecy of the Plynteria is suggested by the immediate return of the veiled queen to her upstairs private apartments, accompanied by her two attendants, who put away the robe and treasures she has just been given (18.302–3). And statues are made (*inter alia*) of sawn ivory.

The Arrephoria came shortly after the Plynteria.[287] It marked the girl's transition from childhood to readiness for marriage after a period of seclusion.[288] At Athens, the *arrephoroi* were two little girls aged 7–11 chosen by the king archon, who had their living (δίαιταν) from the goddess for a certain time (χρόνον μέν τινα) on the Acropolis. There they began the work of weaving the peplos for the statue of Athene Polias at the Panathenaea,[289] supervised by the *ergastinai*.[290] In the last month of every year, when the weaving was finished, they performed a secret ceremony at night in which they were given something by the priestess of Athene to carry on their heads in covered baskets (κισταί) to a small shrine of Eros and Aphrodite in a cave on the rocky northern side of the Acropolis.[291] They went down to the shrine via a natural entrance to a steep stairway (the way down to the Mycenaean spring), and entered the precinct via an underground passage. They left what they had brought in the shrine and took something else, also covered up, which they carried back to the Acropolis.[292] Then they were dismissed, and in due course **(p.151)** replacement *arrephoroi* were brought to the Acropolis. The myth of Aglauros and Herse, the daughters of Cecrops, reflects the Arrephoria: the girls open the κίστη (box) entrusted to them, and see the child, Erichthonius, inside, with snakes: in a panic, they leap from the sheer north wall of the Acropolis. The girls are not allowed to know the secret in the box, yet they have to discover it, for the child concealed there symbolizes female fertility. The *arrephoroi* are sent underground to the shrine of Eros and Aphrodite as a symbolic encounter with these deities in preparation for marriage.[293] Now, if Penelope was snatched away like the Pandareids, or struck by Artemis' arrow, she would see Odysseus under the earth, and would not gladden the mind of a lesser man (20.79–82). And she confides to the goddess another dream, which certainly sounds like an erotic encounter:

> τῇδε γὰρ αὖ μοι νυκτὶ παρέδραθεν εἴκελος αὐτῷ,
> τοῖος ἐὼν, οἷος ᾖεν ἅμα στρατῷ· αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ
> χαῖρ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐφάμην ὄναρ ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὕπαρ ἤδη.
> for this night he slept beside me, like to himself,
> such as he was when he went with the army. But my heart rejoiced,

for I did not believe it was a false dream, but reality.
20.88–90

A dream of marriage may be a foreboding of death: both are transitions, and closely associated in traditional Greek poetry.[294] Like the *arrephoroi* and their mythical counterparts, the daughters of Pandareus, Penelope is isolated and feels 'orphaned' in the prolonged absence of her husband. Until recently she could take pleasure during the daytime in seeing to her own work and that of her handmaidens in the house (19.513–14), but now her weaving[295] is finished, laundered (24.147–8), and, as with the *arrephoroi*, the time has come for her to leave. Earlier, she went up (ἀναβᾶσα) to her ὑπερῶια (upstairs apartments) (19.600), and now, like the *arrephoroi*, she goes down the high stairway (κλίμακα ὑψηλὴν) from her chamber on her way to the furthest storeroom, where Odysseus' bow is kept (21.5–10). She carries the key with her, again like the *arrephoroi*, and does not bring it back. When it is inserted, the hinges creak like a bull bellowing in a meadow (21.48–9):[296] the doors fly open, and she **(p.152)** takes down the bow in its case (i.e. it is covered up). She sits down in the storeroom with the bow on her lap, and weeps (21.55–7) like a maiden in a tragedy contemplating marriage to Death.[297] She leaves the key behind and makes her way back to the megaron, carrying the bow and quiver with the arrows (21.58–60). She is followed by the attendants carrying the ὄγκιον (covered basket)[298] containing the great weight of iron and bronze for the contest (21.61–2): this will include the axes. In the hall she confronts the suitors with their dissoluteness in the house of a man who has been gone for a long time (21.68–70). She announces that she would go with the suitor who can most easily string the bow (21.75–9). Her phrases increase in length and express her longing attachment to the house to which she came as a bride, as she speaks of what she sees as her coming separation from it:

...νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα
κουρίδιον, μάλα καλόν, ἐνίπλειον βιότοιο,
τοῦ ποτε μεμνήσεσθαι ὀΐομαι ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ.
...abandoning this house
full of good things, to which I came as a bride,
which one day I think I shall remember even in my dreams.
21.77–9 = 19.579–81

Thus Penelope seems to give in to the suitors, and the transition paradigms of the Arrephoria and bride (of Death) underline the depths of her despair. But she will not be obliged to leave like the *arrephoroi* at the end of their time of seclusion, and she will not be snatched away to serve the Furies like the Pandareids. What she brings back from her journey as an *arrephoros* is the instrument of her deliverance. In setting the contest which seems to mark her capitulation, she puts a weapon into her husband's hands.

When he described how he had built the ingenious bedroom
Around that bushy olive-tree—their sign and secret—
The stone-work tightly set, the thatching weatherproof,
Double-doors well-hinged; how he had lopped off branches
And with his adze smoothed down the trunk and got it plumb
—The beginnings of a bed, the bedpost—and with his auger

Drilled the frame, inlaying silver, ivory, gold; and then
How he had interwoven thongs of ox-hide, coloured purple—
She believed at last in the master-craftsman, Odysseus,
And tangled like a child in the imaginary branches
Of the tree-house he had built, love-poet, carpenter.

Michael Longley, *Gorse Fires*

(London, 1991)

Notes:

(1) See Foley (1999: 142–57).

(2) Pausanias 2.16.4 = Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 246 MW.

(3) Apollodorus 2.1.3. citing Pherecydes; Ovid, *Met*. 1.624.

(4) Apollodorus 2.1.2.

(5) Apollodorus 2.1.3, citing Asclepiades.

(6) See Danek (1998a: 74) on 2.119–20.

(7) See Katz (1991: 4); Oehler (1925: 19 with n. 1); Sammons (2010: 59–63); Winkler (1990: 151).

(8) Penelope's coexistence with Helen and Clytemnestra in the epic tradition about Troy has led to their genealogical association. Helen is a daughter of Zeus in the Homeric tradition (*Il*. 3.199, 418, 426; *Od*. 4.184, 219, 227, 23.218: see Clader (1976: 47–54)). In other traditions, Timandra, Clytemnestra, and (after Zeus' intervention) Helen, the daughters of Tyndareus (Hes. *Cat*. fr. 23a.7–38), son of Oebalus (Hes. *Cat*. fr. 199.8; Pausanias 3.1.3–4) or of Perieres (Stesichorus 287 Finglass), are all unfaithful to their husbands. Icarius (whose daughter, Penelope, is the paradigm of fidelity) is another son of Oebalus (Apollodorus 3.10.4; Tzetzes Sch. on *Lyc*. 511 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: 184–5)); Sch. on Euripides, *Or*. 457 (= Schwartz (1887–91: i.150)); Sch. b on *Il*. 2.581 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.308)), or of Perieres (Stesichorus 287 Finglass, and see Davies and Finglass (2014: 574–5) *ad loc*.: see Gantz (1993: 181 and 216); Clader (1976: 35–8); M. L. West (1985: 96, 157, 180); Katz (1991: 54, 80, 185–7).

(9) Katz (1991: 130–2).

(10) Thalmann (1998: 70–4).

(11) She also stole three cups (15.466–70). The nurse, who had been trafficked, did to Eumaeus what had been done to her: see Crotty (1994: 173–4).

(12) Peradotto (2002: 6–8).

([13]) Clytemnestra did not allow Agamemnon to see his son: πάρος δέ με πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν (but before that she killed me) (11.453). Nestor does not say in so many words that Orestes slew her, and 3.306–10 is the only passage in Homer to connect Orestes with the murder of his mother.

([14]) For parallels between Saul's consultation of the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28) and Odysseus' encounter with Circe in Books 10–12, see Louden (2011: 198–221), who also compares the vision of 11.152–327 with similar visions in *Gilgamesh* 12, *Aeneid* 6, Plato's Allegory of the Cave (*Republic* 7.514a–516d), Scipio's Dream, and the Book of Revelation.

([15]) Doherty (1995a: 95–6), I. Rutherford (2000: 94), de Jong (2001: 281) on 11.225–330, and Hirschberger (2001: esp. 132–3 and 146–7) take φάτο (she said) (11.236) and φῆ (she said) (11.237) to imply that Tyro actually told Odysseus what he is telling the Phaeacians, and that the other stories, too, are told from the viewpoint of each heroine. However, this is not necessarily the case with εὔχετ᾽ (she (Antiope) boasted/claimed) (11.261) and φάσκε (she (Iphimedeia) alleged) (11.306), which can also be understood as part of what Odysseus wants to report about each: see Heath (2005: 393); Stenger (2006: 230 with n. 55); Sammons (2010: 85–9). The few words Odysseus devotes to Eriphyle hardly represent her viewpoint.

([16]) On such lists as (virtuoso) performance, see Minchin (1996); Sammons (2010: 11, 74–93).

([17]) Northrup (1980: 151–2); Danek (1998a: 230–1); S. West (2012: 130). See Hirschberger (2001) for a reconstruction of the traditional background to the catalogue of 11.225–330 based on the archaic epic fragments: *Nosti* frs 5, 6, 9 *PEG* i.96, 97, 98 and *Cypria* Argumentum 27–9 *PEG* i.40.

([18]) Genealogy is entertainment: Plato, *Hippias Major* 285 d–e.

([19]) I. Rutherford (2000: 93–6).

([20]) 'Miss Cheesy': Hunter (2012: 87).

([21]) On Antinous' list (2.116–22) and its relationship to the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* or *Catalogue*, see Sammons (2010: 59–63).

([22]) Hellanicus *FGrHist*. 323a F 23 = fr. 125 *EGM* i.200–1; Diodorus Siculus 4.68.3; Apollodorus 1.9.8.

([23]) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 30.24–35; fr. 31; fr. 32. (Tyro also bore three sons to her husband, Cretheus: Aeson, Pheres, and Amythaon (11.235–59).) *Tyro* was the title of two plays by Sophocles: *TrGF*4 Τυρώ A and B F648–69; see also Apollodorus 1.9.8; 1.9.11.

([24]) Doherty (1993), (1995a: 122).

([25]) Sch. Q on 11.262 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.494)); M. L. West (1985: 100–2).

([26]) Sch. H on 11.260 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.494)); Asius, fr. 1 *PEG* i.127; Apollodorus 3.5.5.

(27) *Cypria* Argumentum 27–9 *PEG* i.40: the text says Epopeus seduced the daughter of Lycurgus (probably an error for Lycus: see Gantz (1993: 484)). Antiope was taken prisoner and gave birth to her children at the roadside: Pausanias 2.6.1–4.

(28) *TrGF* 5.1(12) Ἀντιόπη F210, F223; Cicero, *De finibus* 1.2; Hyginus, *Fab*. 8.

(29) Hesiod, *Sc*. 1–56 MW; Pherecydes, fr. 13b *EGM* i.282–3. See also Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 193.19–20; fr. 248 MW). Alcmene's story is dramatized in Plautus' *Amphitryon*.

(30) According to Pherecydes fr. 13a *EGM* i.282, Zeus gave Alcmene a cup, but no impersonation of Amphitryon is implied. However, Pherecydes, fr. 13b *EGM* i.282–3 tells us that Zeus took the form of Amphitryon when he presented the cup to Alcmene as a war prize: see also Pindar, *Nem*. 10.13–18; Pausanias 5.18.3. On gifts (from outside the family) of metal to women as a form of sexual seduction, see Lyons (2012: 30–4).

(31) *Cypria*, Argumentum 28–9 *PEG* i.40.

(32) Stesichorus 283 Finglass: Panyassis, fr. 1 *PEG* i.174.

(33) In Euripides, Heracles slays his three children and Megara. He would have slain Amphitryon, too, if Athene had not thrown a stone at him: Euripides, *HF* 975–1009; Pausanias 9.11.2.

(34) Eventually he died in battle according to Sch. A on *Il*. 23.679 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: v.471)), and his funeral was attended by Mekisteus, son of Talaos, who defeated all the Cadmeians in the funeral games (*Il*. 23.678–84). Argeia, daughter of Adrastus, attended the funeral, as did all the women of Thebes (Hesiod, fr. 192; fr. 193 MW), implying that Oedipus' status was high at the time of his death. The heroes of the fourth age fought over his flocks (Hesiod, *WD* 162–3).

(35) Argumentum 26–9 *PEG* i.40.

(36) Epimenides *FGrHist*. 457 F13 = fr. 16 *EGM* i.100.

(37) Gantz (1993: 491–2).

(38) *FGrHist*. 3F395 = Pherecydes, fr. 95 *EGM* i.327. Pausanias 9.5.10–11 argues that if the gods made the state of affairs known forthwith (11.274), there was no time for Iocaste to have four children by Oedipus.

(39) *Telegonia*, Argumentum 16–20 *PEG* i.102–3.

(40) Neleus, son of Poseidon and Tyro, was driven out of Iolcus by his brother, Pelias, and went to Pylos according to Pherecydes, fr. 117 *EGM* i.338.

(41) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 33.9–11 names nine others before the three in 11.286. Neleus has twelve sons at *Il*. 11.692.

(42) Cf. 1.245–8:

> ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι,
> Δουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεντι Ζακύνθῳ,
> ἠδ᾽ ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσι,
> τόσσοι μητέρ᾽ ἐμὴν μνῶνται, τρύχουσι δὲ οἶκον.
> For as many nobles as rule over the islands,
> and in Dulichium and Same and in wooded Zacynthus,
> and as many as are lords in rugged Ithaca,
> so many are wooing my mother and consuming the property.

(43) Hesiod, *Cat*. 23a.4–5 MW.

(44) 24.199; Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 23a.9 MW.

(45) *Il*. 3.199, 418, 426; *Od*. 4.184, 219; 23.218, but daughter of Zeus and an Oceanid according to Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 24 MW. Hirschberger (2001: 141) attributes Leda's omission of her daughters to embarrassment: see also Doherty (1991a: 148, 157–8 with n. 31), (1995a: 97–8 with n. 28).

(46) *Il*. 3.236–8. Castor and Polydeuces are sons of Zeus according to Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 24 MW, but Castor is son of Tyndareus and Polydeuces of Zeus according to the *Cypria*, fr. 8 *PEG* i.49; Pindar, *Nem*. 10.80–2.

(47) See also Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 19 MW.

(48) Pindar, fr. 162 SM mentions a ladder reaching to heaven. Otus and Ephialtes also imprisoned Ares in a jar for thirteen months (*Il*. 5.385–91; Sch. bT on *Il*. 5.385b (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.60)). See Sammons (2010: 87–8). They died in Naxos according to Pindar, *Pythian* 4.88–9.

(49) Northrup (1980: 151–2); Stenger (2006: 232–6).

(50) Sch. V on 11.321 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.504)); Apollodorus, *Epit*. 1.17. Plutarch, *Thes*. 28.2: the story of Phaedra as found in the tragic poets does not conflict with that of the historians.

(51) *TrGF*5.1 (34) Ἱππόλυτος Α᾽ (Καλυπτόμενος) F428–47.

(52) Polygnotus' lost painting indicated this by placing her on a swing: Pausanias 10.29.2. Phaedra in Euripides' surviving play is a departure from the shameless figure of tradition.

(53) Aristophanes, *Thes*. 549–50.

(54) See n. 39.

(55) Hesiod, fr. 332 MW; Servius on Virgil, *Aen*. 6.445 (= Thilo (1878–83: ii.68)); Pausanias 10.29.3.

(56) *Epigoni*, fr. 5 *PEG* i.31; Pherecydes, fr. 34 *EGM* i.296–7; Sophocles, *TrGF*4 Πρόκρις F533; Euripides, *TrGF*5.2(71) Ὑψίπυλη F752h 1–5; Hellanicus *FGrHist*. 323a F22a = fr. 169 *EGM* i.222–3.

(57) According to Pherecydes, fr. 34a *EGM* i.296–7, Cephalus left Procris alone for eight years before returning to try her.

(58) Ovid, *Met*. 7.665–861.

(59) Apollodorus 3.15.1.

(60) Doherty (1991a: 158 and n. 35).

(61) Hesiod, *Th*. 947–9. (In Italy, she is honoured as Libera, wife of the wine god, Liber: see Hyginus *Fab*. 224; Ovid, *Fast*. 3.511–12.)

(62) Pausanias 2.23.7–8.

(63) Pherecydes *FGrHist*. 3F148 = fr. 148 *EGM* i.352–3; Diodorus 4.61.4; Apollodorus, *Epit*. 1.7; Plutarch, *Thes*. 17–22; Hyginus, *Fab*. 42–3; Nonnus, *Dion*. 47.265–418: 368, 385. Ariadne helps Theseus on Corinthian gold plaques of 650 BC from Olympia (Berlin Staatliche Museum GI 332, 336) *LIMC* 3/1 s.v. Ariadne no. 37, illustrated Schefold (1966: 39 fig. 7). The ball of thread appears in the lowered hand of a woman standing behind Theseus on a Boeotian skyphos of the mid-sixth century BC: see *LIMC* 3/1 s.v. Ariadne no. 35, illustrated 3/2 pl. 729.

(64) Epimenides *FGrHist*. 457F19 = fr. **3 *EGM* i.82. For the crown on shield bands (570–560 BC) from Olympia, see Kunze (1950: 12–13 (VIId), 132 and pl. 73 VII with Beilage 7, 5–6 (= Olympia B1643 = *LIMC* 3/1 s.v. Ariadne no. 34) and 10 (IVe), 131–2 and pl. 73 IV with pl. 18 IVe (= Olympia B1654)).

(65) Apollonius Rhodius 3.1001–4; Aratus, *Ph*. 71–2; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.459–60; *Met*. 8.176–82; Hyginus, *Astr*. 2.5.

(66) Pausanias 1.20.2; Catullus 64.50–250; Ovid *Her*.10; Plutarch *Thes*.17–22.

(67) Pausanias 10.29.4.

(68) *Cypria*, Argumentum 29 *PEG* i.40.

(69) Proitus, son of Sisyphus: *Nosti* fr. 6 *PEG* i.97.

(70) Polygnotus' painting is described in detail by Pausanias (10.28.1–31.12): see Buitron-Oliver and Cohen (1995: 38–41, and (for a reproduction of Stansbury-O'Donnell's reconstruction) pls 14 and 15).

(71) Pherecydes, fr. 170 *EGM* i.360–1.

(72) *Nosti* fr. 5 *PEG* i.96; Pherecydes, fr. 104b *EGM* i.331–2.

(73) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 62 MW; Sch. HQV. on 11.326 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.507)).

(74) Pausanias 10.29.6. See n. 70.

(75) Merkelbach (1969: 189).

(76) Apollodorus 3.2.1–2; *Ep*. 3.7–8; 6.7–11: see Northrup (1980: 158 n. 13).

(77) 11.326–7; 15.244–7; Pindar, *N*. 9.16–19; Sch. on Pindar, *N*. 9.35a (= Drachmann (ed.) (1966–9: iii.154)); Apollodorus 3.4.2; 3.6.1–2; 3.7.5; Diodorus Siculus 4.66.3; Hyginus, *Fab*. 73. She was shown on the chest of Cypselus clutching the necklace among the leave-takers as her husband departed for Thebes: Pausanias 5.17.7–8 (see also 9.41.2–3). On the implications of the necklace, see Lyons (2012: 30–4, 69–70, 91).

(78) Alcmaeon's matricide must have been narrated in the lost *Alcmaeonis* (*c*.600 BC) (see West *GEF* 10–11), and in Stesichorus' *Eriphyle*: see Davies and Finglass (2014: 346–8). According to Asclepiades *FGr.Hist*. 12F29, Alcmaeon was cured of madness after killing his mother, because he acted in defence of his father: see also Apollodorus 3.7.5–6; Thucydides 2.102.5–6; Diodorus Siculus 4.65.7; Pausanias 8.24.7–10; Ovid, *Met*. 9.407–10; Hyginus, *Fab*. 73; Gantz (1993: ii.506–8, 525–6).

(79) See Büchner (1937: 107–9); Winkler (1990: 165 n. *); Doherty (1995a: 66–8); I. Rutherford (2000: 93–6); Irwin (2005: 49–50); Stenger (2006: 231–2); Louden (2011: 210–11); S. West (2012: 129–31).

(80) Achilles and Ajax are discussed with Heracles in Chapter 6 as comparators for Odysseus.

(81) δάκρυσα ἰδὼν (I wept on seeing him); ἐλέησά τε θυμῷ (I pitied him in my heart) (11.395).

(82) 11.410, possibly contradicted by 11.453; 24.200.

(83) Büchner (1937: 108).

(84) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 23a.17–26 MW, where *Iphimede*, or her phantom, is said to have been sacrificed: see M. L. West (1985: 134).

(85) ὣς οὐκ αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο γυναικός, | ἥ τις δὴ τοιαῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶν ἔργα βάληται (so there is nothing more terrible or more shameless than a woman, whoever contemplates such deeds in her heart) (11.427–8); ἡ δ᾽ ἔξοχα λυγρὰ ἰδυῖα | οἳ τε κατ᾽ αἶσχος ἔχευε καὶ ἐσσομένῃσιν ὀπίσσω | θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ᾽ εὐεργὸς ἔῃσιν (but she, versed in baneful things, poured disgrace on herself and on the race of female women to come hereafter, even if one be virtuous) (11.432–4); οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν (there is no longer anything reliable in women) (11.456): see Doherty (1995a: 100–1).

(86) Murnaghan (1987: 121–2).

(87) Katz (1991: 48–53).

(88) Murnaghan (2009: 239 and n. 13); Zerba (2009: 309).

(89) Page (1955: 122–8). To Amphimedon, Penelope must appear to have co-operated with Odysseus in setting up the contest which secured him a weapon against the unarmed suitors (24.167–9): he is not entirely wrong, because Odysseus tells her not to delay it (19.584). Amphimedon describes events as they appeared to him: he is not drawing on an older version of the story; see Finsler (1918–24: ii.437–8); Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.418) on 24.167–9; Vester (1968: 429); Thornton (1970: 106–8); Eisenburger (1973: 272 n. 49); Moulton (1974: 162–3); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–9: iii.378–9) on 24.167–77; Goldhill (1988: 1–8), with bibliography. Alternatively, he highlights the story the *Odyssey* could have told but does not: Currie (2006: 19–23). In the poem as we have it, Penelope does not recognize Odysseus until after the fight with the suitors: see Murnaghan (1987: 52, 131–9); Louden (2011: 92–6), but Currie (2012: 197–8) argues for inconsistencies between 'surface' and 'deep' layers of narrative which orient the audience not only towards the version of the present poem, but simultaneously to another traditional version.

(90) Thalmann (1998: 186–7, with n. 30).

(91) On Helen's ambivalence, see Goldhill (1988), (1994: 60–6); Reichel (1999: 294–5); Worman (2001). For Helen as a goddess, see M. L. West (2007a: 230–2); for her beauty and charm, see M. L. West (1975a: 3–4); for her 'bad doggish' transfer of allegiance, see Franco (2014: 99–108, 224–6 with nn. 107–35).

(92) Andersen (1977: 8–9) compares Helen's and Eurycleia's recognitions of Odysseus.

(93) As envisioned by Odysseus (11.177–9); Athene (15.19–23); Telemachus (2.223, 16.33–5, 73–7; 20.341–4; 21.114–16), the suitor Agelaus (20.334–7), Penelope (18.269–70; 19.528–34, 577–81 = 21.75–9); the people of Ithaca (23.149–51).

(94) Telemachus' question to Eumaeus (16.33–5) shows that he too sees his mother's potential remarriage as desertion: see Katz (1991: 61–2).

(95) 2.334–6; 3.314–16; 4.667–72; 14.92; 15.28–30; 16.371–86; 20.215–16, 241–6; 22.219–21.

(96) Telemachus does not believe reports or prophecies (of his father's return): 1.414–16.

(97) See Ameis-Hentze (1893–5: ii-2, 127) on 23.82; Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.401) on 23.174–6; Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.331) on 23.174–6: Penelope recognizes the likeness to Odysseus of the man before her, but must still reckon with the possibility that he could be a god.

(98) See Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.92) on 19.309–16.

(99) For bed-building as a heroic exploit, cf. Gilgamesh's construction of a bed from a (felled) huluppu tree for the goddess Inanna: Noegel in Foley (ed.) (2009: 237).

(100) See Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.401) on 23.214 for ὦδ᾽ as an extension of ἐπεὶ ἴδον.

(101) Sch. V on 23.218 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.720–1)). This scholion also relates how Helen refused Paris until Aphrodite transformed him to look like Menelaus, in whose form he seduced her, but this is clearly an invention to achieve a parallel with Penelope, who fears being deceived into accepting a strange man as her husband: see Danek (1998a: 450) on 23.209–30.

(102) Kirchhoff (1879: 531–2); von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884: 84 n. 8); (1969: 71 n. 1); van Leeuwen (1911: 105); Finsler (1918–24: ii.434–5); Schwartz (1924: 332); Von der Mühll (ed.) (1993: 431) on 23.218–24.

(103) According to Ameis-Hentze (1893–5: ii-2.136) on 23.220, the idea that Helen went with Paris only because she thought she would always stay in Troy is an unhomeric thought: see also Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.401) on 23.218–24; van der Valk (1949: 194–6); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.336–7) on 123.218–24.

(104) Devereux (1957: 384); Pucci (1987: 89–94); Doherty (1995a: 49–50).

(105) Roisman (1987: 62).

(106) Van der Valk (1949: 194–6); Marquardt (1985: 44–6).

(107) Felson-Rubin (1996: 170–1), (1994: 39–40).

(108) Besslich (1966: 95 n. 20); Murnaghan (1987: 141–3) Danek (1998a: 450–1) on 23.209–30.

(109) Platt (1899: 383–4); Katz (1991: 182–91), with full discussion of earlier treatments, and bibliography; Goldhill (1994: 63–5).

(110) Paris gave Helen gifts when he visited Menelaus in Sparta, and Helen was left in charge while her husband went to Crete for the funeral of his maternal grandfather, Catreus: *Cypria*, Argumentum 13–16 *PEG* i.39.

(111) Perhaps her desire for Odysseus to return: see Hölscher (1996: 134–6). Antinous' view of Penelope's intentions is repeated with approval by Athene to Odysseus (2.91–2 = 13.381–2).

(112) 2.93–110 = 19.138–56 (where Penelope tells the ruse to the disguised Odysseus, adding that now she can think of no other stratagem) = 24.128–50.

(113) See Malkin (1998: 150) for the view that consultation of the oracle at Dodona is meant.

(114) Cf. 1.384–7. Papadopoulou-Belmehdi (1994: 153–60, esp. 157) compares Penelope's situation to that of an *epikleros*, the daughter of a family with no legitimate son, who must be married to her nearest male relative or a man adopted into the family as a son, so that her children become the heirs of their maternal grandfather: Penelope weaves for Laertes before her marriage like an only daughter who weaves in her father's house before her marriage.

([115]) 1.241 = 14.371, where the speaker is Eumaeus.

([116]) The suitors accept this (2.402–4), but when Telemachus goes to look for news of his father, they plot to kill him and give the house to his mother and her new husband (2.331–6; 4.843; 16.383–6). After an unfavourable omen, they revert to their original position (20.334–7).

([117]) Public opinion is hostile to Penelope's remarriage (16.75 = 19.527; 23.148–51).

([118]) Zerba (2009: 298–9).

([119]) Marquardt (1985: 34–5).

([120]) 2.270–80; 3.122–5; 19.19, 88, 159–61, 530–4; 20.310; 21.113–17, 125–9 indicate Telemachus' maturity. See Levaniouk (2008: 7–8).

([121]) Proteus saw him in Calypso's cave (17.140–7); Theoclymenos swears he is in Ithaca plotting destruction for the suitors (17.150–61); Eumaeus is told by his Cretan visitor that Odysseus is in the nearby land of Thesprotia (17.522–7).

([122]) See Podlecki (1967) and M. L. West (1997: 47–51; 185–90) for bird omens, ominous utterances and prayers, signs and portents, prophecies, and dreams.

([123]) Burkert (1996: 159).

([124]) Amphinomus interprets an eagle flying on the left as a bad omen for the suitors' plot (20.242–6).

([125]) See n. 284.

([126]) For 'sneeze omens', see Xenophon, *An*. 3.2.9; Catullus 45.8–9, 17–18.

([127]) Dodds (1951: 108–9); Oppenheim (1956: 186–206); M. L. West (1997: 47–51, 185–90); Noegel (2007: 191–234).

([128]) (a) Hermes, apparently undisguised, visits Priam in the quarters of Achilles (*Il*. 24.679–89). The scene follows the pattern of a dream, although Richardson (in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: vi.347)) *ad loc*. argues that Priam is not asleep. Athene takes the form of the daughter of Dymas, a friend of Nausicaa (6.22); (b) the deceptive dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon assumed the form of Nestor (*Il*. 2.20); Athene sent Penelope a dream figure in the form of her sister, Iphthime (4.795–8); (c) the ghost of Patroclus visits Achilles (*Il*. 23.65–101) to ask for burial. For dream figures, see Arend (1933: 61–3). For a Hittite example, see Oppenheim (1956: 198–9).

([129]) *Il*. 2.20a; *Od*. 4.802, 838: see Dodds (1951: 104–5); Oppenheim (1956: 234) for Akkadian and Sumerian parallels where dreams enter and leave by the pivot of the door and other small crevices; M. L. West (1997: 187).

([130]) *Il.* 23.68; *Il.* 24.682; *Od.* 4.803; 6.21; also of Athene visiting a wakeful Odysseus (20.32); of Eurycleia waking Penelope (23.4). Oppenheim (1956: 189) lists Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hebrew examples.

([131]) *Il.* 2.23; *Il.* 23.69; *Od.* 4.804: Dodds (1951: 105 and 122 n. 13) compares these passages to Bellerophon's incubation dream, Pindar, *O.* 13.67. Clytemnestra's ghost asks a Fury if it would like to go on sleeping: Aeschylus, *Eum.* 94. See Oppenheim (1956: 188 and 189–90) for Hebrew and Mesopotamian examples.

([132]) 4.838–9: Athene approaches Nausicaa ἀνέμου ὡς πνοιὴ (like a breath of wind) (6.20).

([133]) *Il.* 2.41; *Il.* 23.101; *Od.* 4.839: see Oppenheim (1956: 191).

([134]) Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1.2.5; Augustine, *De spiritu et anima* 25 (*PL* 40.798); John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus* 2.15; Nicephoros Gregoras, *Scholia in Synesium de insomnia* (*PG* 149.608A); Onulf, *Vita Popponis* 27.

([135]) Kelly (2007a: 182).

([136]) θυμολέοντα (4.814): Penelope is compared to a cornered lion (4.791–3): see H. Foley (2009: 193).

([137]) Minchin (2007a: 136–7).

([138]) Murnaghan (1995: 69) sees this as a device to redirect Penelope's concern away from her son and towards her husband.

([139]) For Near Eastern examples of similar comfort from a dream, see Oppenheim (1956: 191).

([140]) It also punctuates the poem's transition from affairs in Ithaca to Odysseus' escape from Calypso: see Kessels (1978: 83–9).

([141]) For the content of symbolic dreams in the Near East, see Oppenheim (1956: 206–17).

([142]) Stahl (1952: 90) on Macrobius 3.10.

([143]) Fränkel (1977: 80, 82) II.H.5; II.H.8; Moulton (1977: 137).

([144]) De Jong (2001: 53). For bird imagery relating to the hero's homecoming, see Moulton (1977: 135–9); as symbolic of Odysseus' revenge, see Rood (2006).

([145]) S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.141) on 2.152–4 interprets the birds' behaviour as a gesture of mourning. Eustathius 1439.21–4 on *Od.* 2.153 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.89)) rejects the idea that they tear at the faces and necks of those in the assembly: see also Podlecki (1967: 13).

([146]) By e.g. Thornton (1970: 53); S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.141–2) on 2.152–4; Noegel (2007: 201).

(147) Worman (2001: 35).

(148) Penelope's family pressed her to marry Eurymachus, who outdid the other suitors in gifts (δῶρα: see n. 170) and kept raising his offer of ἕεδνα (gifts to the bride's father by the groom) (15.16–18; 19.158–9): see Perysinakis (1991).

(149) Telemachus' remark is a deliberate attempt to provoke the omen: Austin (1969: 58–9).

(150) Omens like this are mentioned in the Šumma ălu tablets 64–79, an omen series whose standardized form dates to the mid-seventh century BC: 'Wenn…ein Falke einen Fang macht und von der linken Seite des Königs nach seiner rechten vorbeifliegt, wird der König, wohin er zieht, seinen Wunsch erreichen' (If a raptor seizes prey and flies before the king from the left side to the right, the king will achieve his desire where he is marching). 'Wenn…ein Falke einen Fang macht, seinen Fang mit seinem Schnabel zerbracht und vor den König hinfliegt, wird [der König], wohin er zieht, Sieg…über seinen Gegner erreichen' (If a raptor seizes prey and flies before the king and breaks (*parāru*) the prey with its beak, the king will achieve victory over his enemy where he is marching…): Nötscher (1929–30: ii. Tafel 79.2; 166–7, Tafel 79.7; 169); see also Noegel (2007: 203, 200). For an early fifth-century inscription from Ephesus with instructions for interpreting the flight of birds in exactly the style of the Mesopotamian omen texts, see Dittenberg (1915–24) no. 1167.

(151) Compare Halitherses: τοίσδεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φυτεύει| πάντεσσιν (he is planting murder and death for all these) (2.165–6).

(152) For the distinction between the idea put into Penelope's mind by Athene, and the goddess' intentions (disclosed only to the poet's audience) in doing so, see Besslich (1966: 139); Vester (1968: 430–1); Emlyn-Jones (2009: 221–4); Murnaghan (2009: 240–1); de Jong (2009: 79 n. 32). The goddess manoeuvres her into facilitating the plan to destroy the suitors: Danek (1998a: 349–50); Foley (1999: 152–3).

(153) Levine (1983: 172–7) (and see also Lateiner (2005: 95)) argues that this laughter indicates Penelope's confidence in her ability to fool the suitors. Alternatively, she is embarrassed or uncomfortable at the contradiction between her behaviour and her sense of shame: Besslich (1966: 139); Felson-Rubin (1994: 28–9). The exact meaning of ἀχρεῖον is uncertain: see *LfrgE*; Büchner (1940: 43); Merkelbach (1969: 12 n. 1). Its only other use in Homer is of Thersites' glance after a beating from Odysseus (*Il.* 2.269). Clay (1984) argues that it refers to uncharacteristic behaviour (Penelope's decision to appear before the suitors), but this explanation does not fit Thersites. Halliwell (2008: 95 n. 104) takes it to convey uncanny lightheadedness under Athene's influence.

(154) Her reproach to Telemachus is an indirect criticism of the suitors for their violent treatment of the beggar, but they ignore it; Besslich (1966: 138–41); Danek (1998a: 347–8) on 19.158–303.

(155) Characters sympathetic to Odysseus often avoid using his name, perhaps because of its inauspicious connotations: see Steiner (ed.) (2010: 184) on 18.181.

([156]) See Hölscher (1978: 61); Murnaghan (1995: 69–71), (2009).

([157]) 18.191–3 resemble *Il.* 14.170–2, where Hera's *toilette* produces similar results: Steiner (ed.) (2010: 186) on 18.191–3.

([158]) On the association between death and marriage, see Campbell (1964: 121); Alexiou and Dronke (1971); Danforth (1982: 74–90); Redfield (1982: 188–90); Jenkins (1983: 141–2); Goldhill (1986: 102–4 with n. 41); Rehm (1994); Seaford (1994: 53–65); Alexiou (2002: 58, 105–7, 109, 112–22, 152, 155–7, 178, 195–6, 230 n. 64). On death to avoid (re-)marriage, see Felson-Rubin (1994: 34–6 and 157 n. 52); Seaford (1994: 34–5).

([159]) 18.207: cf. 1.331, 19.601 (Penelope); 6.84 (Nausicaa); *Il.* 3.143 (Helen): see Nagler (1974: 64–73).

([160]) For similar reactions, cf. *Il.* 3.441–6 (Paris to Helen); *Il.* 3.154–60 (the Trojan elders to Helen) (and see Nagler (1974: 64–71)); 6.240–5 (Nausicaa to Odysseus, beautified by Athene (6.229–37)). Austin (1975: 214–17) and van Nortwick (1979) compare Nausicaa to Penelope, but Nausicaa's situation is closer to that of the suitors, since she is duped into hoping for a marriage which does not materialize. Newton (1987: 16), followed by Zeitlin (1995: 134), indicates that the suitors' response to Penelope (18.212–13) resembles that of the other gods to Aphrodite (8.334–43): Odysseus resembles Hephaestus, tending the fires (18.343–5) and being told to take lodgings in the forge (18.327–31).

([161]) This is the only time she reproaches Telemachus: see Minchin (2007a: 169).

([162]) She hears every word that passes in the hall κατ᾽ ἄντηστιν (through her listening place) (20.387–9).

([163]) Eurymachus (18.394–8) and Ctesippus (20.287–302) also throw things at Odysseus. For the Dionysiac aspect of such missiles, see Burkert (1983: 55, 185). For the suitors' abuse of Odysseus compared with similar abuse in wisdom literature, see Louden (2011: 216–17, 244–57).

([164]) Besslich (1966: 140–1) takes her reproach of Telemachus to include the suitors. She may change her mind on realizing the dangers faced by the beggar: for other interpretations, see Fenik (1974: 117–19); Austin (1975: 209–10); van Nortwick (1979: 274); Byre (1988: 163–5); Katz (1991: 89); Steiner (ed.) (2010: 191) on 18.221–5.

([165]) See Katz (1991: 132) for the resonance of Penelope's appearance before the suitors with Menelaus' tale of Helen's attempt to 'seduce' the Greek leaders.

([166]) Thompson (1955–8) N681 (husband (lover) arrives home just as wife (mistress) is to marry another); Hölscher (1996: 134, 137), (1978: 57–63); S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.56), with further bibliography; Alden (1997: 521–5 with nn. 29–35).

([167]) For the instructions to remarry as invention, see Stürmer (1921: 418–19); von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1969: 22) (who gives them as much credence as the beggar's travel

report); Woodhouse (1930: 83–7); Büchner (1940: 140–1); Focke (1943: 314); Reinhardt (1960: 20); Müller (1966: 121–2); Merkelbach (1969: 11–12); Fenik (1974: 119–20); Levine (1983: 174–7); Marquardt (1985: 39–41) (who argues that the reference to Telemachus' beard would be triggered by Eurynome's remark (18.175–6)); Winkler (1990: 147).

([168]) Steiner (ed.) (2010: 197) on 18.269.

([169]) Kelly (2007a: 182).

([170]) Δῶρα (gifts) in the form of jewellery and adornments to induce the bride to choose the giver: see Lacey (1966: 57–8). The suitors have been offering both δῶρα and ἕεδνα: see n. 148.

([171]) *Cypria*, Argumentum 13–14 *PEG* i.39, and see this chapter, §1.6.

([172]) See this chapter, §§1.3.3 (Alcmene); 1.3.10 (Procris); 1.3.14 (Eriphyle). Such gifts are never disinterested, and they are intended to seduce: see Lyons (2012: 30–4, 74–5); Franco (2014: 102–3, 106).

([173]) Merkelbach (1969: 11–12) thought Odysseus should be furious when Penelope coaxes gifts from her suitors. Katz (1991: 115–28, 153) argues that Telemachus and Odysseus repeatedly 'misread' her motivation to their own 'patriarchal' satisfaction. But we are on uncertain ground if we supplement the poem's incomplete account of Penelope's mind: see Lateiner (1995: 262 n. 37, 267 n. 47).

([174]) Büchner (1940: 139–47); Murnaghan (1987: 133).

([175]) See Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.80) on 18.283; de Jong (2009: 77–9), (2001: 450–1) on 18.250–83.

([176]) For the view that Penelope is sincere in her promise to remarry, and the instructions are authentic, see Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.309) on 18.257ff.; Page (1955: 125); Hölscher (1996), (1978: 59–64); Vester (1968: 430–2); Thornton (1970: 64–5, 112–14); Erbse (1972: 81–3); H. Foley (2003: 126–43); Emlyn-Jones (2009: 221–5); Felson-Rubin (1994: 54–5). Byre (1988: 72–3) argues (improbably) that Athene wants to incite Odysseus to punish the suitors by making him witness their menacing behaviour towards Penelope.

([177]) Papadopoulou-Belmehdi (1994: 153).

([178]) Hölscher (1996: 135–6); Seaford (1994: 56 n. 110).

([179]) Scodel (2001).

([180]) Danek (1998a: 349–50).

([181]) For the view that she does, see Devereux (1957: 381–3); Peradotto (1990: 84–5); Felson-Rubin (1994: 26, 28–9, 32–3, 41, 121–3, 154 n. 21).

([182]) Erbse (1972: 81–3); Murnaghan (2009: 240); Emlyn-Jones (2009: 221–4).

([183]) Katz (1991: 90–3, 115–20).

([184]) Currie (2006: 14) alludes in passing to Odysseus' resemblance (as suppliant) to Priam. For the *Odyssey*'s imitation and transformation of themes and incidents in the *Iliad*, see Rutherford (2001).

([185]) On ἀδινός (uneasy), see Dimakopoulou (2010: 57–66). On ἐρέθουσιν of Penelope's troubles here and when Telemachus went away (4.819–20), see Levaniouk (2011: 226–7).

([186]) Intra-familial killing in Homer: *Il.* 2.662 (Tlepolemus kills his father's uncle); *Il.* 15.336 (Medon kills his stepmother's kinsman); *Il.* 16.573 (Epeigeus kills a cousin); *Od.* 11.273 (Oedipus kills his father); *Od.* 19.552 (Aedon kills her son). Kin-killing is not explicit in the story of Meleager (*Il.* 9.529–99). Agamemnon's murder is mentioned many times in the *Odyssey*: see Seaford (1994: 11 and n. 43), and this volume, Chapter 3.

([187]) *LfgrE* 1.1714–15 translates δι᾽ ἀφραδίας as irrtümlich: erroneously. See also Dimakopoulou (2010: 106–7). For δι᾽ ἀφραδίας as 'because of a lapse in planning or attention' see Levaniouk (2011: 219).

([188]) The phrase is used of the swallow: Hesiod, *WD* 568–9.

([189]) Aelian, *NA* 5.38 gives πολυδευκέα (with many variations), explaining it as τὴν ποικίλως μεμιμημένην (the one making imitation in a varied way). The manuscripts have πολυηκέα (many-toned), explained by Sch. V on 19.52 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.684)) as πολλὰς μεταβολὰς ποιουμένην (making many changes). Van der Valk (1949: 82–3) points out that Hesychius π 2843 (Latte (ed.) rev. Hansen (2005: iii.141)) knows both: Nagy (1996: 7–58) argues that both are original, representing natural variants of oral composition.

([190]) ὡς (19.518, 524) marks the εἰκών (figure): Aristotle, *Rh.* 1406b 20–5; 1410b 17–20.

([191]) Ameis-Hentze (1893–5: ii-2.36) on 19.521; Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 192–3) on 19.518–24. Seaford (1994: 56) compares Aedon's indefinitely protracted grief with Penelope's liminal indecision on the question of remarriage.

([192]) Marquardt (1985: 39).

([193]) This will mean choosing another husband: see Lowenstam (1993: 233–4).

([194]) Fränkel (1977: 82) II.H.8; Danek (1998a: 386–7).

([195]) There are versions from (1a) Western Greece; (1b) Boeotia and Asia Minor; (2a) Megara (where Pandion has a heroon, and Tereus a tomb: Pausanias 1.41.6 and 1.41.8–9); (2b) Attica (a combination of the Megarian and Phocian traditions); (3) Asia Minor: see Thrämer (*RE* 467–74); Fontenrose (1948). The elements: (1) plot to murder certain children, (2) to be identified by where they sleep or the colour of their nightclothes, (3) sabotaged, (4) so that the

murderer kills his/her own child(ren), are found in other folk tales, too: see W. Hansen (2002: 301–5).

([196]) Sch. V1, V2 and B on 19.518 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.682–3)) locate the story in Thebes and refer to Pherecydes, fr. 124 *EGM* i.341–2. Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.100) on 19.518–24 suspects that the scholiasts invented this story as a consequence of misunderstanding ἀηδών (nightingale) (19.518) as a proper name, but see later in this section. On the importance of these scholia, see Kakridis (1929).

([197]) Eustathius 1875.15–24 on 19.518 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.215)).

([198]) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 182–3.

([199]) Hesiod, *WD* 568–9: see also Sappho, fr. 135 LP.

([200]) Sotiriadis (1903: 74, 90–1, pl. 5); Gantz (1993: i.239–41); *LIMC* 7/1: 529; 7/2 pl. 418 fig. 1: s.v. Prokne et Philomela. For later illustrations, see Munich 2638 9191 (510–500 BC), Villa Giulia 3579, and Louvre G147: *LIMC* 7/1: 527–9, 7/2 pls 418–20.

([201]) *TrGF* 4, frs 586 and 595.

([202]) The nightingale never sleeps, and the swallow only half as much as other birds, in punishment for this feast: Hesiod, fr. 312 MW (presumably from the *Ornithomanteia*: see Burkert (1983: 180)).

([203]) See Burkert (1983: 181, 183).

([204]) *TrGF* 4. fr. 580; Apollodorus 3.14.8; Demosthenes, *Epit*. 28; Eustathius 1875.3–14 on 19.518 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.215)). Philocles wrote a tetralogy under the title Πανδιονίς (daughter of Pandion): *TrGF* 1.24 (Philocles) F1. The nightingale is associated with lament: Aeschylus, *A*. 1136–49; *Supp*. 57–71; Sophocles, *Aj*. 625–33; *El*. 103–9, 147–9, 1075–7; *Trach*. 102, 962–3; Euripides, *Helen* 1107–16; *HF*. 1021–2; *Hec*. 336–8; *TrGF* 5.2 (72) Φαέθων F773.67–70; Aristophanes, *Av*. 207–24, 676–81; Horace, *Car*. 4.12.5. See further Oehler (1925: 92–4); Létoublon (2004: 89–93); Suksi (2001: 650–1). The story is best known from Ovid, *Met*. 6.424–674, where the sisters are reversed: Philomela becomes the nightingale and Procne the swallow, as in Hyginus, *Fab*. 45; Servius on Virgil *Ecl*. 6.78; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb*. 5.120; 1st Vatican Mythographer 1.4 (= Zorzetti (ed.) (1995: 4)). In Hyginus, Tereus becomes a hawk, as in Aeschylus, *Supp*. 60–7. The tragedy is variously located: in Thrace (Ovid *loc. cit*.); in Daulis (Thucydides 2.29.3; Strabo 9.3.13; Konon *FGrHist*. 26F31; Pausanias 1.5.4, 1.24.3, 1.41.8, 10.4.6; Nonnus, *Dionys*. 4.320–30); in Asia Minor (Antoninus Liberalis 11).

([205]) Marquardt (1985: 40); Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.100–1) on 19.518–24; Katz (1991: 92 and 145); Johnston (1994: 151); Papadopoulou-Belmehdi (1994: 137–44, esp. 141).

([206]) Austin (1975: 228–9).

([207]) Ahl and Roisman (1996: 234–5).

([208]) Anhalt (2002: 149–56).

([209]) Rood (2006: 7–8).

([210]) She wants to do what is best for Telemachus (Felson-Rubin (1994: 31)), but it looks as if every decision she could make would damage him (Danek (1998a: 387)).

([211]) See Felson-Rubin (1994: 109–23).

([212]) Levaniouk (2008), (2011: 213–28).

([213]) χλωρηΐς (pale), used of the nightingale (19.518), is most commonly associated with δέος (fear which roots you to the spot: see M. L.West (ed.) (1966: 216) on Hesiod, *Th*. 167): *Il*. 7.479; 8.77; 14.306; 17.67; *Od*. 11.43, 633; 12.243; 23.42; 24.450, 533: see Kelly (2007a: 117 no. 31 with n. 1); Dimakopoulou (2010: 114–18). The doubt inherent in **dwei*, the common Indo-European root of δέος (fear) and the numeral **dwei* (two), is illustrated by the association of δείδιμεν (we are afraid) with ἐν δοιῇι ([things] are in doubt [for the saving or the perishing of the ships] (*Il*. 9.229–30) (and cf. German *zweifeln* (to doubt) and *zwei* (two)): see Benveniste (1966: i.294–5); Dimakopoulou (2010: 48–50).

([214]) See Murnaghan (1987: 155–66).

([215]) As a background for the beggar's victory in the bow contest, the myth of Aedon and Chelidon is sinister for the suitors, but fortunate for Odysseus' followers: Létoublon (2004, esp. 87–8).

([216]) See Burkert (1983: 179–85), (1985: 163, 164).

([217]) Aelian, *VH* 3.42; Antoninus Liberalis 10.3 following Corinna 665 *PMG* and Nicander. See also Plutarch, *Q. Gr*. 299a–300a; Ovid, *Met*. 4.399–415; Aeschylus, *Xantriai TrGF* 3.F168–72; Burkert (1983: 168–74); Gantz (1993: 737 and 846 n. 8). Apollodorus 2.2.2 (= Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 131 MW) states that according to Hesiod, the daughters of Proitus of Argos were driven mad because they rejected the rites of Dionysus. Their madness is sent by Hera in Probus on Virg. *Ecl*. 6.48 (iii.2.345 Thilo-Hagen) and Philodemus on Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 132 MW (see Henrichs (1974)). The story in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* seems to be related to a myth that the women of Argos in the time of King Anaxagoras were driven mad by Dionysus after refusing to accept his rites: see M. L. West (1985: 78–9). Pausanias 2.18.4 speaks of the madness of the Argive women, and Nonnus 47.481–95 mentions their resistance to Dionysus.

([218]) Burkert (1985: 163).

([219]) Weaving is the antidote to maenadism, which destroys the household: see Seaford (1994: 332–3 with n. 13). Andromache twice abandons her weaving when she goes like a maenad to the city wall (*Il*. 6.388–9; 22.440–61): on the first occasion, Hector orders her to

return to it (*Il.* 6.490–1). But when instructed by Telemachus in identical terms (1.356–7 = 21.350–1 = *Il.* 6.490–1), Penelope does not go back to her weaving.

([220]) Burkert (1983:173–85) demonstrates that myths of frenzy and child-killing reflect part of a series of rituals leading to a fresh start and a new year, after a period of dissolution: see now Levaniouk (2011: 280–6), which appeared after this chapter was written. Austin (1975: 244–51) associates the return of Odysseus and the bow contest with the New Year and the return of the swallow.

([221]) ὑποκρίνεσθαι in this context means to give an opinion on the relevance of a dream, rather than to interpret it: see Else (1952: 81–5); Kessels (1978: 29–31, 97, 121–2 n. 44).

([222]) 19.547: the same distinction is made at 20.90: see also Aristides, *Or.* 48.18 (= Keil (ed.) (1958: ii.398)); Deubner (1900: 5); Chantraine (1984–90: ii.802 and 1157). Johansson (1889: 163) gives 'im Traume' for ὄναρ, and for ὕπαρ 'in der Wirklichkeit'. He explains the ρ as an adverbial ending similar to those found in χειμε-ρ(-ι-νός), Latin hiber(-nus), νύκτωρ, νυκ-τε-ρ(-ινός), Latin noc-tu-r(-nus), cf. hes-te-r-nus. He is followed by Prellwitz (1892: 333–4), who derives ὕπαρ from ὑπό + αρ, and ὄναρ from ἀνά (Aeolic ὀν) + αρ (see also Hermann (1918: 285)). Leumann (1950: 126) explains ὕπαρ, 'true dream', as an opposite to ὄναρ deliberately constructed by the poet, who was conscious of the Aeolic preposition ὀν (ἀνά) in ὄναρ and substituted the preposition ὑπό to create ὕπαρ: all later uses of ὕπαρ thus derive from the *Odyssey*. But Frisk (1950: 130–5) argues that the opposite of ἀνά (Aeolic ὀν) is not ὑπό, but κατά, making the opposite to ὄναρ not ὕπαρ but *καταρ. Frisk associates ὕπαρ with Hittite *suppar, 'sleep', 'dream'. ὕπνος is related to ὕπαρ, and came to be the word for sleep. ὄναρ was a special word for a false dream, related to ὄνειρος (O'Sullivan, *LfgrE* iii.706–7). Frisk accepts ὕπαρ as 'true dream' and ὄναρ as 'false dream' at 19.547 and 20.90 (cf. Chantraine (1984–90: ii.1157) ὕπαρ: rêve prémonitoire; ὄναρ: rêve trompeur), but considers that over time the sense of ὕπαρ came to mean 'Wirklichkeit', 'waking reality'. Hundt (1935: 105–9) prefers 'wache Wirklichkeit' for ὕπαρ, used ironically at 19.547: Odysseus is already present but Penelope is so disturbed by her dream that she does not recognize him. (At *Il.* 1.63 ὄναρ comes from Zeus and is not deceptive.) Kessels (1978: 186–9) follows Stanford (ed.) (1947–58: ii.337) in translating ὕπαρ as 'waking vision'. Van Lieshout (1980: 41–2), who argues that 19.547 gains in meaning if ὄναρ is translated as 'deceitful dream' and ὕπαρ as 'true dream', is contradicted by Caspars in *LfgrE* iv.730: ὕπαρ is the opposite of unreality, but not Wahrtraum as opposed to Trugtraum.

([223]) Pratt (1994).

([224]) Further examples of birds speaking with human voice: Hesiod, *WD* 202–12, Callimachus, *Hecale* fr. 260.55–61. For examples in traditional Greek poetry, see Promponas (1987: i.130–1). For long-absent relatives returning in bird form and speaking with human voice, see Athanassakis (1994: 127–9). The dream is categorized as symbolic by Oppenheim (1956: 210); as an omen confirming the bird omens of §3.2 above, and employing the punning of divinatory wordplay by Noegel (2007: 198–211); as an epiphany dream in which Odysseus

appears in the form of an eagle by Harris (2009: 50). For the eagle as symbolic of the bridegroom, see Athanassakis (1994: 124–6); Levaniouk (2011: 234–5 and n. 11).

([225]) See Hundt (1935: 90).

([226]) On the double force of αὐτὸς Ὀδυσσεύς (Odysseus himself), see Vester (1968: 428).

([227]) Penelope foretold the suitors' fate in these very words (17.547 = 19.558).

([228]) See nn. 89 and 111.

([229]) Currie (2006: 16–23).

([230]) See Kessels (1978: 127 n. 70) and Russo (1982: 9).

([231]) Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.338) on 19.568, but see Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.104) on 19.568.

([232]) Αἰνὸν δὲ ὄνειρον…ἢ τὸν αἰνιγματώδη παρὰ τὸ αἶνος, ὃς δηλοῖ ποτὲ καὶ το αἴνιγμα (A dreadful dream…or a riddle-like dream, akin to αἶνος, which would signify on occasion even riddle: Eustathius 1878.8–9 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.219)) on 19.568. Odysseus' story to get a cloak (14.468–506) is an αἶνος, explained by Sch. MV on 14.508 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.600)) as ὁ ὑποβεβλημένος λόγος (a tale containing a suggestion); see also van der Valk (1963–4: i.502 n. 497). For further examples of αἶνος in this sense, see Alden (2000: 31–7, 102–10, 199–207).

([233]) Noegel (2007: 204–5) sees further word play in the eagle's curved beak (ἀγκυλοχήλης) (19.538) echoing Odysseus' curved bow (ἀγκύλα τόξα) (21.264). However, some of his further examples depend on combining references: e.g. 22.375 mentions the μεγάρων (great halls), but not the suitors heaped up, and 22.389, where the suitors are heaped up (κέχυνται), does not mention great halls.

([234]) Amory (1963: 105); Podlecki (1967: 21). For dream interpretation as prediction of the future, see Louden (2011: 97).

([235]) See Harsh (1950: 11–12).

([236]) Schwartz (1924: 111); Woodhouse (1930: 83–8); Harsh (1950: 13); Page (1955: 124, 126); Kirk (1962: 246–7).

([237]) Amory (1963: 105–6); Russo (1982: 9–10), (2002: 227).

([238]) Büchner (1940: 149); Harsh (1950: 16); Vlahos (2007: 111).

([239]) Russo (1982) and Rozokoki (2001) accept without question that Penelope accurately reports a dream she had.

([240]) Felson-Rubin (1994: 4–5, 32).

([241]) Kessels (1978: 95–6); Katz (1991: 146–7); Latacz (1992: 82); Doherty (1995a: 142–4); Scodel (2001: 321).

([242]) Devereux (1957: 382); see also Georgiadès (1949: 742–5); Méautis (1960: 81–6); Hirvonen (1968: 149); van Nortwick (1979: 276 n. 22); Athanassakis (1987: 266), (1994: 123–4); Felson-Rubin (1996: 163–83), (1994: 32–3, 41, 122).

([243]) Rankin (1962: 622–3).

([244]) Russo (1982: 9).

([245]) Felson-Rubin (1994: 32): see also Murnaghan (1987: 131–2).

([246]) The most important passages are 2.87–92, where she sends messages and makes promises to each suitor; 2.93–110, 19.137–56, and 24.128–46, the trick of the web; 19.535–53, the dream of the geese; 18.202–5 and 20.61–90, her prayers for death; 21.55–60, her tears before the bow contest; 23.209–24, where she compares herself to Helen: see Felson-Rubin (1996: 168–82).

([247]) Winkler (1990: 154–61); Katz (1991: 115–20); Doherty (1995a: 40–54).

([248]) Felson Rubin (1996: 163–5), (1994: 1–7, 16–19, 25, 41–2).

([249]) ἐχθροὶ μὲν πάντες, ἐπεὶ κακὰ μηχανόωνται (they are all enemies, since they plot wicked things) (17.499). She hates them (4.684–7; 18.165) and the idea of marriage with one of them (18.272–3): she would rather die (18.202–5; 20.61–82); she prays for Odysseus to return and punish them (17.530–40); she relishes the prospect of their death (17.541–7).

([250]) See Kessels (1978: 93–5); Marquardt (1985: 43–5 and n. 12); Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 194–5) on 19.535–58; Pratt (1994: 148–9); Danek (1998a: 387–9) on 19.535–69. The present tense, ἰαίνομαι (I delight in), indicates ongoing delight in pet geese, whereas the aorist is used to relate the events of the dream.

([251]) Amory (1963: 136 n. 59).

([252]) Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 37).

([253]) Büchner (1940: 149).

([254]) Murnaghan (1987: 131–2), (2009: 240–1).

([255]) Latacz (1992: 83–4).

([256]) He makes no attempt to sustain his earlier story that King Pheidon will be sending Odysseus to Ithaca (19.270–90): Levaniouk (2011: 251).

([257]) Harsh (1950: 17). According to Büchner (1940: 150), followed by Murnaghan (1987: 133), Penelope can understand only the second possibility, but Felson-Rubin (1996: 163–71)

argues that she risks infidelity in setting the contest, and later asks Odysseus' pardon for having come so close to marriage with a suitor.

([258]) See Woodhouse (1930: 93–6); Büchner (1940: 149–50); Harsh (1950: 13); Amory (1963: 116); Peradotto (1990: 85).

([259]) See Simpson (ed.) (1973: 62); Walcot (1984: 360). A bronze sealing from Beth Shan shows the Egyptian pharoah, Ramses II, shooting arrows through bronze ingots in the shape of double axes to demonstrate his kingliness: see Morris (1997: 621–2 with fig. 1).

([260]) Seneca, *Ep*. 88.8.

([261]) Harsh (1950: 6–7, 9–13, 19); Winkler (1990: 153–4). See also Vlahos (2007: 111); Levaniouk (2011: 239–40).

([262]) Amory (1963: 103–6).

([263]) Austin (1975: 233–5).

([264]) van Nortwick (1979: 275–6); Latacz (1992: 79); Haller (2009: 399–400).

([265]) Scodel (2001: 323).

([266]) Katz (1991: 146–7); Doherty (1995a: 142–4).

([267]) Vester (1968: 420–1); Thornton (1970: 102–3); Combellack (1973: 37); Russo (1982: 7, n. 9); Murnaghan (1987: 131–9), (2009); Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 34–5); Seaford (1994: 32–3 with n. 7).

([268]) Harsh (1950: 13). But, as Thornton (1970: 102–3) indicates, the signs are not conclusive.

([269]) Merkelbach (1969: 5, 11–15); Büchner (1940: 147); Amory (1963: 106, 115–16). On Penelope's lack of control in the bow contest, see Murnaghan (2009: 234–5 and 240–1).

([270]) Scodel (2001: 323–4).

([271]) Russo (1982: 9–10).

([272]) Katz (1991: 145–8). Some critics, e.g. Besslich (1966: 21); Dimock (1989: 262–3), believe Penelope gives up at this point, while others, e.g. Felson-Rubin (1996: 175–9), (1994: 16–19, 23–4, 33–4), think she decides to take a calculated risk.

([273]) Kessels (1978: 97), Zerba (2009: 305–6, 310).

([274]) See n. 249.

([275]) See Alden (2012). For a slightly different view, see Martin (1992), followed by Tsagalis (2006: 113).

([276]) Heubeck (1986: 146).

([277]) Sch. QV on 20.66 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.688)). Sch. V and B on 19.518 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.682–3)) name the three daughters, and mention the theft of the golden dog. For discussion of an early black-figure cylix by the Heidelberg Painter (Louvre A478) illustrating the consequences of this theft, see Harrison (1991: 226–8).

([278]) Danek (1998a: 386–9) on 20.61–82.

([279]) Nagy (1999: 194–5; 201 §37 n. 3).

([280]) Johnston (1994).

([281]) On the abduction of the maiden and return of the bride as a married woman, see Campbell (1964: 132–8).

([282]) Burkert (1983: 130–4 at 131).

([283]) 20.155–6, 276–8; 21.267; Sch. V on 20.155 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.690)).

([284]) Perhaps the ritual role of the ἀλέτρις (corn grinder) is also evoked by the servant who prays that the suitors' meal today should be their last (20.105–19): see Robertson (1983: 280) and cf. Aristophanes, *Lys*. 643 with sch. *ad loc*.: see Henderson (ed.) (1987: 156) on 643–4; Hesychius a 2892 s.v. ἀλετρίδες (= Latte (ed.) (1953–66: i.102)); Sourvinou-Inwood (1988: 142–6).

([285]) Plutarch, *Alc*. 34.1.

([286]) Deubner (1932: 17–22); Parke (1977: 152–5); both corrected by Burkert (1985: 79 with 378 nn. 42–3; 228 with 439 nn. 5, 6, 8); Parker (1983: 26–8); Boutsikos and Hannah (2012: 235–6).

([287]) Burkert (1985: 228–9); Boutsikos and Hannah (2012).

([288]) On the seclusion of the unmarried girl, see Campbell (1964: 286–8).

([289]) At Argos, the peplos was woven for the statue of Hera: Callimachus, fr. 66; Burkert (1983: 163).

([290]) Dillon (2002: 58 and 312 n. 97).

([291]) See Broneer (1932), (1933), (1935), (1939, esp. fig. 1 for House of Arrephoroi, steep stairway east of the Erechtheion, and shrine below north fortification wall); Stevens (1936: 489–91).

([292]) Pausanias 1.27.4: neither the priestess nor the girls know what is carried: the things are ἄρρητα (unmentionable). See also Burkert (1985: 228–9); Dillon (2002: 57–60). (Robertson (1983) is confusing on the subject.) The end of the arrephoroi's duties coincided with a sacrifice of goats, the only time in the year goats were permitted on the Acropolis (Varro, *De*

re rust. 1.2.20; Burkert (1983: 152–3)). On the morning of the bow contest, Melanthius brings goats for the suitors' dinner (20.173–5), and Philoitius brings goats and a heifer (20.185).

([293]) Burkert (1966), (1983: 151 with n. 66); Versnel (2014: 107–8, 119); Kron *LIMC* 1/1: 284. For illustrations, see *LIMC* 1/1: 288–9, s.v. Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosus B.b 'Die Bestrafung der ungehorsamen Kekropiden' nos 14–22, and *LIMC* 1/2 pl. 212 nos 15–19.

([294]) See n. 158.

([295]) On Penelope's web as a masterpiece required of girls preparing for marriage, see Delcourt (1944: 169–79).

([296]) Zeus (in bull form) abducted Europa from the meadow where she was gathering flowers: Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 140 MW = Bacchylides, fr. 10 SM; Moschus, *Europa* 63–114. For the sexual significance of 'meadow', see Chapter 2, §9.9; for its association with Hades, Chapter 2, n. 52.

([297]) Cf. Aeschylus, *A*. 1313–14, 1322–9; Sophocles, *Ant*. 876–82, 891–4, 914–20; Euripides, *Hec*. 201–10, 411–18; *IA* 1211–51; *Tr*. 444–50, 458–61. On the association of death and marriage, see n. 158.

([298]) Laser (1968: 70), following Pollux 10.165 σκεῦος πλεκτὸν (plaited container), indicates it was made of wickerwork. Mader in *LfgrE* iii.486–7 argues that ὄγκιον (21.61) indicates a basket for transport of heavy items rather than a box for the barbs of arrows. The arrows themselves are in the quiver (21.60).

Para-Narratives in the Odyssey: Stories in the Frame
Maureen Alden

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Para-Narratives for Telemachus

Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

The poet's design for Odysseus' revenge on the suitors is projected in Athene/Mentes' story (A_1) of him standing fully armed at the outermost doors of the Taphian palace on a journey to fetch poison for his arrows. A story from Helen (B_1) explores the possibility of confiding the rescue plan to the heroine after being recognized by her in hostile territory and receiving a bath. However, Menelaus' account (B_2) of Helen's treachery towards the soldiers in the Wooden Horse by mimicry of their wives shows that the heroine may not keep the secret until the plan has been executed. (Penelope cannot therefore be a helper, or Eurycleia.) Menelaus repeats the framing lines of A_1 in a wish (A_2) that Odysseus would deal with the suitors as he did with Philomeleides, whom he threw in a wrestling bout: the motif is played out in Odysseus' wrestling match with Irus.

Keywords: poison, arrows, Taphian, doors, drug, bath, helper, Wooden Horse, treachery, mimicry

Since Odysseus sailed for Troy when his son was still an infant (*Od.* 11.447–50), Telemachus has never met his father, and fears that he has been lost at sea. He learns about him from the para-narrative tales of characters who knew him either before he left for Troy or in the course of the war itself. For the poet's audience, these stories anticipate (often with a twist) incidents from the coming narrative of Odysseus' struggle to recover his wife and former position, and invite speculation on how this will be achieved. The first, A_1, is allegedly an incident from Odysseus' early career before the start of the Trojan War.[1] It is picked up later by A_2, in which Menelaus wishes that Odysseus would deal with the suitors as he dealt with Philomeleides, a

wrestler who challenged the Greek heroes in Lesbos. We are meant to associate the two stories, because A_2 repeats the opening and closing lines which framed A_1. (A_2 is later repeated by Telemachus to Penelope, and although it is the same story, Telemachus' repetition is called A_3 for convenience; see Table 7.) In between A_1 and A_2 is a pair of stories, B_1 and B_2 narrated by Helen and Menelaus to Telemachus. We shall consider them in the order of their appearance in the poem: A_1, B_1, B_2, A_2, A_3.

1. 'Mentes'

As the suitors dance and listen to the bard (1.153–5), Telemachus converses with his recently arrived visitor (the goddess Athene in disguise), who identifies himself as Mentes, son of Anchialus, the ruler of the Taphians,[2] and an **(p.155)** ancestral guest-friend of Odysseus' family (1.187–8). He is on his way to Temesa, to exchange iron for copper (1.184).[3] He has heard that Odysseus is in the district and claims that he is detained on an island by dangerous and savage men (1.194–8):[4] he will not be long away from Ithaca (1.203–5). Mentes enquires the reason for the feast and the presence of the suitors (1.224–9), and is told that Odysseus did not come home after Troy fell, and the suitors consume his wealth to force Penelope into a new marriage: it will not be long before they tear apart the son of the first marriage (1.242–51).

2. A_1: Three Wishes i—Odysseus among the Taphians

In reply, Mentes wishes that Odysseus would appear at the palace gates armed with helmet, shield, and two spears, as when he first encountered him as a guest of the Taphians:

> ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ πολλὸν ἀποιχομένου ᾽Οδυσῆος
> δεύῃ, ὅ κε μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφείη.
> εἰ γὰρ νῦν ἐλθὼν δόμου ἐν πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι
> σταίη, ἔχων πήληκα καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δύο δοῦρε,
> τοῖος ἐὼν οἷόν[5] μιν ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτ᾽ ἐνόησα
> οἴκῳ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ πίνοντά τε τερπόμενόν τε,
> ἐξ ᾽Εφύρης ἀνιόντα παρ᾽ Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο·—
> ᾤχετο γὰρ καὶ κεῖσε θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ᾽Οδυσσεὺς
> φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρα οἱ εἴη
> ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν οὔ οἱ
> δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεοὺς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἐόντας.
> ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δῶκεν ἐμός· φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς·—
> τοῖος ἐὼν μνηστῆρσιν ὁμιλήσειεν ᾽Οδυσσεύς:
> πάντες κ᾽ ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε.
> How scandalous! Indeed you are very much in need of the absent Odysseus,
> who would lay hands on the shameless suitors.
> If only he were to come now and stand at the outer doors of the palace,
> **(p.156)** with a helmet and shield and two spears,
> such as he was when[5] first I saw him
> drinking and enjoying himself in our house,
> on his way back from Ephyra, from Ilus, son of Mermerus,—
> for Odysseus had gone there too on his swift ship
> in search of man-killing poison, so that he would have it
> to anoint his bronze-tipped arrows: but Ilus did not give it to him,
> since he stood in awe of the gods who live for ever.

> But my father gave it to him: for he loved him exceedingly.—
> Like this Odysseus would deal with the suitors,
> And they would all have a swift doom and a bitter marriage.
> 1.253–66

Mentes' speech is the first of a series of wishes[6] that Odysseus (or a son of his) would return and take vengeance on the suitors, and it suggests that even at this early stage of the poem, the poet's design for Odysseus' revenge is fully formed: it projects his image at the door (1.255) (he will fight the suitors in the doorway) (22.2, 76), armed as he will be in the latter part of the battle in his palace (22.101–2, 122–5); it refers to his murderous arrows in the context of a feast held on his return from a journey abroad, at which the speaker's father showed him the full extent of his affection.[7] The tradition of Odysseus as an archer[8] is quite independent of the *Iliad*, where τοξότα (archer) is a term of abuse (*Il.* 11.385).[9] His visit to Ephyra[10] for arrow poison may be invention, or may belong to a tradition of great antiquity,[11] but the scholiasts rightly regard it as the first stage in the poet's preparation of the audience for the slaughter of the suitors with the bow.[12] The arrows which Odysseus will use against them are repeatedly called ἰοὶ (22.3, 15, 82, 116, 119, 246), the plural of ἰός (arrow), **(p.157)** rather than the more usual word, οἰστός. Identical in sound and spelling is ἰός (venom).[13] Arrows tipped with poison are more likely to be fatal,[14] although their use was regarded in antiquity as a particularly dirty trick.[15] Ilus, son of Mermerus (Baneful),[16] refused to give Odysseus the poison, for fear of the gods, but Anchialus, Mentes' father, and a Taphian pirate,[17] did not scruple to provide it to a beloved friend (1.262–4). The story A_1 introduces an Odysseus who is armed to the teeth, and quite ready to resort to underhand methods if need be.[18] The series of three wishes that it begins is interrupted by a pair of stories from Helen and Menelaus, (B_1) and (B_2), which scrutinize another aspect of the problem in Ithaca.

3. Odysseus at Troy

At Sparta Helen and Menelaus entertain Telemachus and Peisistratus with a pair of stories of similar length, nominally about the kind of thing Odysseus did in the Trojan War. The stories build on 'Mentes'/Athene's story about Odysseus' ruthless determination, but they also explore conflicting possibilities **(p.158)** for what is to come when he returns to Ithaca, and offer paradigms for the heroine as helpmeet in the rescue attempt. The deliberate correspondences and repeated motifs require them to be taken as a pair, revealing the characters of the two narrators, and something of their relationship. They offer a cautionary tale for Telemachus' benefit, and although it is not always taken this way, the second story may be regarded as the sequel to the first.

When Helen identifies Telemachus as Odysseus' son, Menelaus reverts to Odysseus' sad fate, and they all begin to cry (4.183–8). Helen puts into the wine a drug to 'assuage sorrow and anger and induce forgetfulness of all troubles' (νηπενθές τ᾽ ἀχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων) (4.221). Someone who has drunk it will not be able to cry, even at the death of his father or mother, or the murder of a son or brother (4.225–6). It ought to prevent a listener affected by the events of a story from relating them to his own present circumstances.[19] The stage business with the drug alerts the poet's audience to the significance of the stories which

follow. Helen calls them μύθοι, in which the party is to take pleasure (μύθοις τέρπεσθε) (4.239). But μύθοι are deceptive.[20]

4. B_1: A Reconnaissance Mission in Troy (4.242–64)

Helen's story relates ἐοικότα[21] (things which are like [something]) (4.239), a single exploit typical of all the rest (οἷον τόδ᾽) (4.242), which represents the *kind of thing* Odysseus did, although not necessarily something he actually did: there is no guarantee that it is true. It concerns a spying mission to Troy:

> ἀλλ᾽ οἷον τόδ᾽ ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ
> δήμῳ ἔνι Τρώων, ὅθι πάσχετε πήματ᾽ Ἀχαιοί.
> αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας,
> σπεῖρα κάκ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ὤμοισι βαλών, οἰκῆϊ ἐοικώς,
> ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδυ πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν.
> ἄλλῳ δ᾽ αὐτὸν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἤϊσκε
> **(p.159)** Δέκτῃ,[22] ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἔην ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν·
> τῷ ἴκελος κατέδυ Τρώων πόλιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀβάκησαν
> πάντες·.
> But such a deed as this the valiant man endured and accomplished
> in the district of the Trojans, where you Greeks suffered hardships.
> He subjected himself to terrible blows,
> and cast sorry rags around his shoulders like a slave,
> and he stole into the city of the enemy with its wide streets.
> Disguising himself, he made himself like another man,
> Dectes, he who was nothing of the kind among the ships of the Achaeans.
> Identical to him, he stole into the city of the Trojans, but they took no heed,
> all of them.
> 4.242–50

Helen is describing events which take place after the death of Hector. They are at least related to the tradition, since Proclus' summary of the *Ilias Parva* refers to a spying expedition to Troy by Odysseus when Epeius had made the Wooden Horse:[23] Helen saw through his disguise, and plotted with him the capture of the city.[24] The episode is quite distinct from Odysseus' later visit to Troy with Diomede to steal the image of Athene (the Palladion).[25] However, the reconnaissance mission of the tradition differs in its details from Helen's story. According to Lesches, Odysseus persuaded Thoas, son of Andraimon, to make him unrecognizable by mauling him severely:[26] the self-inflicted wounds of Helen's version seem to belong to a different story shape, in which a distinguished warrior mutilates himself to attract the sympathy of the enemy and gain entrance to their besieged city, where he arranges for selected occupants to co-operate in its fall.[27]

(p.160) 4.1. Strategy Confided to a Fair Lady

So far, the protagonist has clearly been Odysseus, but now Helen introduces herself into the story, and it becomes harder to decide whose is the principal role:[28]

> ...ἐγὼ δέ μιν οἴη ἀνέγνων τοῖον ἐόντα,
> καί μιν ἀνειρώτευν· ὁ δὲ κερδοσύνῃ ἀλέεινεν.

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή μιν ἐγὼ λόεον καὶ χρῖον ἐλαίῳ,
ἀμφὶ δὲ εἵματα ἕσσα καὶ ὤμοσα καρτερὸν ὅρκον,
μή με πρὶν ᾽Οδυσῆα μετὰ Τρώεσσ᾽ ἀναφῆναι,
πρίν γε τὸν ἐς νῆάς τε θοὰς κλισίας τ᾽ ἀφικέσθαι,
καὶ τότε δή μοι πάντα νόον κατέλεξεν ᾽Αχαιῶν.
πολλοὺς δὲ Τρώων κτείνας ταναήκεϊ χαλκῷ
ἦλθε μετ᾽ ᾽Αργείους, κατὰ δὲ φρόνιν ἤγαγε πολλήν.
ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλαι Τρῳαὶ λίγ᾽ ἐκώκυον· αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ
χαῖρ᾽, ἐπεὶ ἤδη μοι κραδίη τέτραπτο νεέσθαι
ἄψ οἶκόνδ᾽, ἄτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἥν ᾽Αφροδίτη
δῶχ᾽ ὅτε μ᾽ ἤγαγε κεῖσε φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης,
παῖδά τ᾽ ἐμὴν νοσφισσαμένην θάλαμόν τε πόσιν τε[29]
οὔ τευ δευόμενον, οὔτ᾽ ἂρ φρένας οὔτε τι εἶδος.
...I alone recognized him in this guise,
and I kept on asking him questions, but he kept on astutely evading them.
But when I was bathing him and anointing him with oil,
I dressed him in robes and swore a powerful oath
not to reveal Odysseus among the Trojans
before he reached the swift ships and the huts,
and then he told me the whole plan of the Greeks.
And when he had slaughtered many Trojans with the long-edged bronze,
he went back to the Greeks, and brought much intelligence.
Then the other Trojan ladies were keening shrilly, but my heart
rejoiced, since already my inclination had changed and I desired to return
back home, and I was bewailing, after the event, the madness which Aphrodite
bestowed, when she led me there, away from my native land,
deserting my child, my bedchamber, and my husband,
who fell short in nothing, neither in wit nor in looks.
4.242–64

The story is told from Helen's point of view: she is the 'I' of the verbs in lines 250–64. References to Menelaus are in the third person (4.264), although he is listening too, and must be at least included in the 'you' of πάσχετε (you **(p.161)** suffered) (4.243). Odysseus had visited Troy with Menelaus on Helen's account on a previous occasion (*Il.* 3.205–24), but this time he infiltrates enemy territory in disguise, alone, and at great personal risk. Although Helen cleverly sees through his disguise, Odysseus (for a time) is even more clever in evading her questions (4.251). (If, as in other versions of this story shape, her questioning takes place in the presence of the Trojans, his position is particularly difficult, although the text leaves this point unclear.) Helen's oath induces him to reveal his plans, but he obtains the intelligence for which he came (4.258), and for good measure kills a number of the Trojans as he leaves the town (4.257).[30]

4.2. Is This Credible?

Bergren wonders how Telemachus and Menelaus would react to hearing that Helen bathed and dressed Odysseus, but if these personal attentions cause any unease, the text does not say so.[31] The story is full of logical flaws: to begin with, it is not very likely that a Greek deserter would be bathed by a lady of Helen's status: even Nausicaa's maids do not want to bathe

Odysseus in his bedraggled state (6.215–23). Bathing an honoured guest is a service usually performed by servants (4.47–50; 8.449–55; 17.87–9; 19.317; 23.154–5; 24.365–7) or young women (3.464–8),[32] but 'nowhere else in epic does a married woman wash a guest'.[33] A disguised Odysseus would not be likely to allow himself to be washed and given fresh clothes by Helen or anyone else:[34] he is afraid of being unmasked when Eurycleia washes his feet (19.388–91).

4.3. The Heroine as (Potential) Helpmeet

Helen's story of the spying mission to Troy prefigures events to come in Ithaca,[35] but has only two named characters, Odysseus and herself. As the following tables show, she does duty as a parallel for both Eurycleia:

Helen *recognizes* and *bathes* Odysseus (4.250–52).	Eurycleia *recognizes* Odysseus while *washing his feet* (19.379–81, 392–3, 467–75).
Odysseus evades Helen's questioning *astutely* (*κερδοσύνῃ*) (4.251).	Eurycleia attributes being silenced by Odysseus to the *astuteness* of his mind (πολυ*κερδείῃσι* νόοιο) (23.77).
Helen swears a great *oath*, not to reveal Odysseus' presence among the Trojans until he is safely back at the ships (4.253–4).	Eurycleia *promises discretion* (19.493–4).
Helen *rejoices when Odysseus slaughters Trojans* (4.259–64).	Eurycleia attempts to *rejoice over the slaughtered suitors*, but is swiftly cut short by Odysseus (22.407–12).

(p.162) and Penelope:

Odysseus has a *private interview* with Helen, who is to be rescued from her Trojan marriage.	Odysseus has a *private interview* with Penelope, whom he will rescue from marriage with a suitor.
Odysseus skilfully deflects Helen's *questioning* (4.251).	Odysseus deflects Penelope's *questioning* (19.103–360).
Helen gives Odysseus *fresh clothes* (4.253).	Penelope promises the beggar *fresh clothes* if she is convinced that he tells her the truth (17.549–50).
Helen *eagerly anticipates the Greek victory* which would rescue her (4.259–64).	Penelope *longs for Odysseus* to come home and save her from marriage with a suitor (19.136–7).

Through its anticipation of *recognition, bath, questioning*, Helen's story raises the unfulfilled possibility that Penelope will recognize Odysseus and co-operate with him in destroying the suitors.[36]

Helen is good at faces, and adept at seeing through a disguise.[37] She recognizes Odysseus in Troy instinctively and on sight just like his dog, Argos.[38] As she identifies Telemachus as the son of Odysseus (4.141–6), she calls herself κυνώπιδος (dog-faced, shameless) (4.145).[39] Odysseus evades her **(p.163)** questions (4.251), as he will evade Argos' display of recognition (17.301–4). The need to extract from her an oath not to reveal his presence in Troy until he is safely out again suggests she cannot otherwise be trusted, and may give him away. Helen is true to her oath. Even to her audience in Sparta, she does not say what the Greek plans were, nor what intelligence Odysseus took back to the Greek camp (4.258): presumably these details are not the point of the story, but it is sometimes assumed that Odysseus told her of his intention to deceive the Trojans into bringing Greek warriors into Troy concealed in the Wooden Horse.[40]

The narrative of events in Ithaca has no parallel for such trust in the heroine. Although Penelope confides her despair of her husband's return (19.312–16), and the inevitability of marriage with a suitor (19.571), Odysseus avoids any reciprocal confidences in her concerning his own intentions.[41] He threatens punishment if Eurycleia betrays his presence (19.485–90), and excludes his old nurse from all knowledge of his plans, in spite of her promises of discretion (19.493–4).

4.4. Should You Trust Her?

Helen presents herself as the woman who had Odysseus in her power, but did not betray him. But she damages her case when she describes how her heart rejoiced (αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ | χαῖρ᾽) over the men Odysseus killed, her inclination having changed (μοι κραδίη τέτραπτο) (4.260):[42] she eagerly anticipated her return to Greece and regretted the ἄτη (madness, delusion) which led her to desert her country, her child, and her flawless husband (4.261–4). The attribution of her actions to κῆρ, κραδίη, and ἄτη suggests a woman governed by emotion, and obscures the question of whether she went away with Paris voluntarily, or was the unwilling victim of abduction. It even sounds as if before the change in her inclination, she had been content to go along with the abduction. The simplest way out of responsibility for one's actions is to blame the gods, as Agamemnon blames Ἄτη for his appropriation of Achilles' prize (*Il.* 19.86–136) and as Helen blames ἄτη sent by Aphrodite. Whether Aphrodite is an 'outside compulsion or an externalization of Helen's own mixed **(p.164)** feelings',[43] it is certainly clear that such pressures may make a person unreliable in a tight corner. Helen transferred her allegiance away from Menelaus, and (in her story) wants to transfer it back again. In attributing her actions entirely to ἄτη and describing herself as κυνῶπις (dog-faced) (4.145), she appears irrational and inconsistent. Menelaus will exploit these traits in his answering story.[44]

5. B_2: Helen at the Wooden Horse (4.271–89)

His immediate verdict, that Helen has told her story κατὰ μοῖραν (as is fair and proper) (4.266) implies approval: she has indeed captured the qualities of the man she

commemorates.[45] 'A second story on the same theme is almost always regarded as a collaborative gesture…the couple are "doing" a version of togetherness.'[46] They co-operate in making the same point, but Helen does not come out of it well. Menelaus' story is designed as a parallel to Helen's: it even begins with the same line:

> <u>οἷον καὶ τόδ᾽ ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ</u>
> ἵππῳ ἔνι ξεστῷ, ἵν᾽ ἐνήμεθα πάντες ἄριστοι
> ᾽Αργείων, Τρώεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέροντες.
> ἦλθες ἔπειτα σὺ κεῖσε· κελευσέμεναι δέ σ᾽ ἔμελλε
> δαίμων, ὃς Τρώεσσιν ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι·
> καί τοι Δηΐφοβος θεοείκελος ἕσπετ᾽ ἰούσῃ.
> τρὶς δὲ περίστειξας κοῖλον λόχον ἀμφαφόωσα,
> ἐκ δ᾽ ὀνομακλήδην Δαναῶν ὀνόμαζες ἀρίστους,
> πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν·
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ Τυδεΐδης καὶ δῖος ᾽Οδυσσεὺς
> ἥμενοι ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀκούσαμεν, ὡς ἐβόησας.
> νῶϊ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω μενεήναμεν ὁρμηθέντες
> ἢ ἐξελθέμεναι ἤ ἔνδοθεν αἶψ᾽ ὑπακοῦσαι·
> ἀλλ᾽ ᾽Οδυσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένω περ.
> ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἀκὴν ἔσαν υἷες ᾽Αχαιῶν,
> ᾞΑντικλος δὲ σέ γ᾽ οἶος ἀμείψασθαι ἐπέεσσιν
> ἤθελεν· ἀλλ᾽ ᾽Οδυσεὺς ἐπὶ μάστακα χερσὶ πίεζε
> νωλεμέως κρατερῇσι, σάωσε δὲ πάντας ᾽Αχαιούς·
> τόφρα δ᾽ ἔχ᾽, ὄφρα σε νόσφιν ἀπήγαγε Παλλὰς ᾽Αθήνη.
> **(p.165)** <u>But such a deed as this too the valiant man endured and accomplished</u>
> in the Wooden Horse, where we all were sitting, the best
> of the Greeks, and bringing murder and death to the Trojans.
> And then you came on the scene—some god must have bidden you,
> one who wanted to hand out glory to the Trojans—
> and godlike Deiphobus was following you as you went.
> Three times you walked round the hollow ambush, touching it all round,
> and you invoked the best of the Greeks clearly, calling them by name,
> likening your voice to the wives of all the Argives.
> But I and the son of Tydeus and godlike Odysseus
> sitting in the middle heard you as you called.
> And we two both longed to make a start,
> either to come out, or to respond on a sudden from within,
> but Odysseus restrained us and checked us although we were eager.
> Then the other sons of the Achaeans were all silent,
> but Anticlus alone wanted to answer you straight out,
> but Odysseus pressed on his jaw
> relentlessly with his powerful hands, and saved all the Greeks,
> and he held him until Pallas Athene led you away.
> 4.271–89

This is the *Odyssey*'s first allusion to the Wooden Horse and the audience's knowledge of its purpose is assumed. Although Menelaus does not say so explicitly, the horse must be already in Troy, or at least at the gate: if it was still in the deserted camp of the Greeks, Helen would

be unlikely to go there. Menelaus' speech and his story are both explicitly[47] addressed to her: he uses the vocative, γύναι (Madam) (4.266), and she is the 'you' of the verbs (4.266, 274, 277, 278, 281). His story is a riposte to her tale.

5.1. A Dangerous Game

Helen cleverly recognized Odysseus when he entered Troy in disguise, but Odysseus even more cleverly recognized Helen's voice when she disguised it. Her mimicry of the voices of the wives of the occupants of the horse is bewildering to men already under stress, and Odysseus alone retains his nerve and prevents the sabotage of his plan, even when Helen imitates Penelope's voice. Her mimicry is mocked by the scholiasts as implausible, but Eustathius records that she received the gift from Aphrodite on the day Menelaus married her, so that, if he were ever unfaithful, she would be able to **(p.166)** call him back, in the voice of his new lover.[48] Her calls in the voice of each man's wife and her triple circumambulation of the horse as she touches it all over have been interpreted as a spell to make the heroes within betray their presence.[49] But her behaviour can be explained in less flattering terms: picking up Helen's characterization of herself as κυνῶπις (dog-faced) (4.145), Menelaus depicts her uninhibited show of greeting of the men inside. Dogs greet when it is not convenient: they go round and round things they want to investigate, as Helen goes round and round the horse. She knows who is inside, either instinctively or from Odysseus. She wants to play, when games are not appropriate. This is a dog-like Helen who threatens sabotage by a display of recognition like those of Argos and Eurycleia. She transfers allegiance indiscriminately, as a dog does to whoever feeds it: this is the point of Menelaus' cruel reference to Deiphobus, her third husband. Helen had claimed to want to transfer allegiance back to the husband she had deserted (4.260–4), but before that happened, she transferred it to another man, Deiphobus.

Anticlus was prevented from calling out from inside the horse only by Odysseus, who clapped a hand over his mouth until Helen was led away.[50] Anticlus' gullibility offers an example for Telemachus to avoid: the young man should not believe what a woman tells him (and he has just heard a story from Helen).[51] Anticlus is mentioned as if familiar to the audience, but the *Iliad* says nothing about him. Aristarchus athetized 4.285–9 on the grounds that Anticlus belongs to the Epic Cycle,[52] but the lines about him could have appeared also in Lesches' *Ilias Parva*,[53] and the *Odyssey* may be drawing on the same body of traditional myth[54] for the incident, which probably also inspired 19.479–80,[55] where Odysseus seizes Eurycleia by the throat when she has recognized him after handling him all over (πάντα ἄνακτ᾽ ἀμφαφάασθαι) **(p.167)** (19.475). The same word is used of Helen handling (ἀμφαφόωσα) the Wooden Horse all over (4.277). Penelope does not see Eurycleia turn to tell her that her husband is in the palace, for she is distracted by Athene (19.476–9), who also averts Helen's treachery towards the Greeks in the horse and leads her away (4.289). Eurycleia, as well as Penelope, is excluded from an active part in Odysseus' revenge: Odysseus accuses her of speaking out of turn (οὐδέ τί σε χρή) and declines her offer (19.500–2) to give him a list (καταλέξω) (19.497) of the disloyal serving women.

5.2. On Telling Your Plans to a Woman

Odysseus could reveal his identity and his plans to Penelope, as he did to Helen. Her story sets up the (false) expectation that Penelope will recognize him and together they will plot to

destroy the suitors. Menelaus' story shows the danger of trusting the heroine with advance knowledge of the rescue plan. In the event, Odysseus will resist the temptation to make himself known to Penelope. And nothing could be more unlike Helen's inappropriate calls than Penelope's reserve: even after Odysseus has killed the suitors, she remains so distant that he becomes angry (23.182, 209, 213); she embraces him (23.205–8) only when he has given unmistakable proof that he is her husband by describing the secret construction of their marriage bed.

Helen's and Menelaus' stories suggest an uneasy relationship, in which Menelaus struggles to assert himself over the wife whose abduction has shamed him. His Helen is not the helper to Odysseus she was in her own story, but the would-be wrecker of the plan to rescue her. His pointed reference to Deiphobus, her third husband (4.276), belies her compliment (4.263–4) on his own (lately discovered) looks and intelligence.[56] If the message of Helen's story is that the hero is recognized by a woman who helps him and keeps his secret, Menelaus' story demonstrates that she may not keep the secret for long enough, and may become a liability at any time. Taken as a pair, the two stories illustrate what comes of telling your plans to a woman. They reinforce the poem's generally misogynistic message that there is no trusting women (e.g. 11.427, 441–4, 456). They vindicate Telemachus' decision to keep his mother out of his plans (2.373–6), and warn him to resist future temptation to confide in her. A fair lady is best kept in the dark about the plan to rescue her, or she may go off like a loose cannon at any stage of the proceedings, as Helen does in Menelaus' story.

(p.168) 5.3. Keeping Women out of It

The two 'I's of the two juxtaposed stories present Telemachus (and the poet's audience) with two conflicting versions of the heroine, and no way of choosing between them, except that the story heard last will leave a stronger impression.[57] The young man finds that the storytelling session has made the situation even more painful, since his father's qualities did not save him (4.291–3). He seems to sense the sour atmosphere between the pair of narrators, and his proposal to go to bed (4.294–5) leaves Menelaus with the last word. His story ended with Athene's removal of Helen from the scene (4.289), and Helen seems to take his meaning and orders the servants to make up beds (4.296–9). She is not seen again until Telemachus is leaving (15.123–78). In the morning Menelaus has the private discussion with him that he planned all along (4.214–15). Telemachus acts on the impression he has been given of the heroine as a liability in any attempt to rescue her: on his return to Ithaca, he rejects his mother's greeting (17.41–3), evades her questions (17.44), and sends her about her business (17.48–51).[58] And when, at last, he tells her what he has learned, he foregrounds Menelaus' simile (4.333–40 = 17.124–31: see Table 7), about the foolish doe (Penelope) which has put her fawns (the suitors) to bed in a lion's den.[59]

6. A_2: Three Wishes ii—Wrestling with Philomeleides (4.341–6)

Telemachus' revelations about the behaviour of the suitors (4.316–21) cause Menelaus to exclaim, like Athene/Mentes, ὦ πόποι (how scandalous!) (1.253, 4.333): they are like fawns in a lion's den. And he wishes that Odysseus would deal with them as he dealt with Philomeleides on Lesbos (A_2). He repeats almost exactly the opening of Athene's wish that Odysseus would appear among the suitors armed to the teeth as once he appeared among the

Taphians (A_1) (with 1.255–7 cf. 4.341–2), concluding with the same two lines as the disguised goddess (1.265–6 = 4.345–6):

> αἰ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Αθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
> τοῖος ἐὼν οἱός ποτ᾽ ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ
> ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλομηλεΐδῃ ἐπάλαισεν ἀναστάς,
> κάδ δ᾽ ἔβαλε κρατερῶς, κεχάροντο δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί,
> **(p.169)** τοῖος ἐὼν μνηστῆρσιν ὁμιλήσειεν Ὀδυσσεύς:
> πάντες κ᾽ ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε.
> If only, father Zeus and Athene and Apollo,
> such as he was when once in well-built Lesbos
> he wrestled with Philomeleides, standing up to fight after a challenge,
> and he threw him down mightily, and all the Greeks rejoiced,
> like this Odysseus would deal with the suitors,
> and they would all have a swift doom and a bitter marriage.
> 4.341–6

Odysseus' prowess as a wrestler is supported in epic by his wrestling with Telamonian Ajax in the funeral games for Patroclus (*Il.* 23.708–39), and his offer to wrestle with the Phaeacians (8.206).[60] He could have wrestled with Philomeleides during a raid on Lesbos, like that of Achilles (*Il.* 9.129, 271, 664). We are not told why *all* the Greeks were in Lesbos, nor the occasion of Philomeleides' challenge. We are not even told who he was, whether because the listener is expected to know, or because the information is not important. According to Hellanicus, Philomeleides, 'a king in Lesbos, used to challenge travellers to wrestle with him. He challenged the Greeks when they put in at anchor, but Diomede and Odysseus killed him by a trick, and made his tomb an inn for strangers.'[61] In Menelaus' account, Philomeleides is thrown, but not killed, almost certainly to achieve a closer fit with Odysseus' wrestling bout with Irus, as we shall see. The audience has been wondering how Odysseus will take revenge on the suitors ever since Zeus invited the gods to plan his return (1.76–7), and Telemachus (1.163–5) and Athene (1.254–6) imagined his confrontation with them. Philomeleides' defeat is soon told, and Menelaus' brevity suggests the overthrow of the suitors could be equally swift if Odysseus took up a challenge to compete in wrestling.

7. A_3: Three Wishes iii—the Defeat of the Suitors

When, on his return to Ithaca, Telemachus repeats what Menelaus told him *ipsissimis verbis* to Penelope (17.124–46: see Table 7), the simile comparing the suitors to fawns in a lion's den sounds like criticism of her for the suitors' continuing presence in the house. The reported story of Philomeleides **(p.170)** (A_3: Table 7 (ii)) offers an example of her husband's success in a contest, and the reported interview with Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea (Table 7 (iv)), indicates that he is alive. It is not long before the disguised Odysseus takes up the challenge to wrestle, not with a champion put up by the suitors, but with their protégé, the beggar, Irus (18.13–31). The suitors expect Irus to defeat Odysseus until they see the latter's physique (18.67–74). He avoids killing his opponent 'lest the Achaeans recognize him' (18.94), but quickly knocks Irus down (18.66–99), and the onlookers' delight at the contest with Philomeleides (4.344) is repeated in the suitors' delight at the outcome of the fight (18.99–

100). When Telemachus prays for them to be reduced to the same condition as Irus, he begins with a line we have heard before:

> αἰ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
> οὕτω νῦν μνηστῆρες ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισι
> νεύοιεν κεφαλὰς δεδμημένοι, οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐλῇ,
> οἱ δ᾽ ἔντοσθε δόμοιο, λελῦτο δὲ γυῖα ἑκάστου,
> ὡς νῦν Ἶρος ἐκεῖνος ἐπ᾽ αὐλείῃσι θύρῃσιν
> ἧσται νευστάζων κεφαλῇ, μεθύοντι ἐοικώς,
> οὐδ᾽ ὀρθὸς στῆναι δύναται ποσὶν οὐδὲ νέεσθαι
> οἴκαδ᾽, ὅπῃ οἱ νόστος, ἐπεὶ φίλα γυῖα λέλυνται.
> If only, father Zeus, and Athene and Apollo,
> in this way the suitors in our halls
> would nod their heads after a thrashing, some of them in the yard,
> and others in the hall, and the joints of each had been undone,
> as now Irus, there, is sitting in the yard at the gates
> lolling his head like a drunkard,
> and he can neither stand upon his legs nor return
> home, wherever that is, since his joints have been undone.
> 18.235–42

His repetition of Menelaus' invocation of Zeus, Athene, and Apollo (4.341 = 17.132 = 18.235) connects his prayer with Menelaus' wish for the suitors to be overcome like Philomeleides, and marks the end of the sequence of wishes begun by Athene/Mentes' wish, A_1.

8. Misdirection and Resolution

Helen's story of an exploit by Odysseus in beggar's disguise primes Telemachus more readily to accept that the beggar he encounters in Eumaeus' cottage is his father.[62] As well as the picture of his father's qualities they construct for **(p.171)** Telemachus, the four para-narratives present the audience with possible tactics Odysseus might employ to deal with the suitors. Athene/Mentes envisages Odysseus looking impressive and confronting them in full armour, but slips in the more devious alternative of poisoned arrows (this chapter, §2). Helen's story (this chapter, §4) explores an undercover operation by the disguised hero assisted by a female helpmeet, but Menelaus' response (this chapter, §5) suggests that a female helpmeet is far too unpredictable to be any use. (Odysseus will have the assistance he requested (13.386–91) from Athene (13.393–6; 16.298; 19.23–43; 20.45–53, 345–6; 21.1–4; 22.205–40, 256 = 273, 297–9; 24.502–48), and all women must be removed (21.235–9, 350–3, 381–5) before his trap is sprung, just as Helen had to be taken away from the horse before that stratagem reached its climax.) The idea of violent confrontation is reintroduced with Menelaus' recollection of Odysseus' victory in an unarmed contest of strength (this chapter, §6), and the audience is left to think about this until the motif is played out when Odysseus wrestles with the suitors' resident beggar, Irus. Wrestling would be impracticable as a means to defeat the suitors, since one man could not fight multiple opponents unarmed. These para-narratives, with their hints and misdirections about the suitors' undoing, serve very much the same narrative purpose as mistaken questions, like those at *Il.* 6.376–80,[63] which divert the audience to possibilities which are then dispensed with. They invite speculation, intrigue curiosity, create suspense, and heighten the impact of the resolution when it comes. The

audience knows all the time that the suitors will be defeated, and these stories play on their interest in how this will be achieved.

> There were other separations, and so many of them
> That Argos the dog who waited twenty years for Odysseus
> Has gone on waiting, still neglected on the manure-heap
> At our front door, flea-ridden, more dead than alive
> Who chased wild goats once, and roe-deer; the favourite,
> A real thoroughbred, a marvel at picking up the scent,
> Who even now is wagging his tail and drooping his ears
> And struggling to get nearer to the voice he recognises
> And dying in the attempt; until like Odysseus
> We weep for Argos the dog, and for all those other dogs,
> For the rounding-up of hamsters, the panic of white mice
> And the deportation of one canary called Pepicek.

Michael Longley, Gorse Fires

(London, 1991)

Notes:

(1) For the pre-Homeric oral tradition, differing in detail from the Ionian *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and evidenced by inscriptions on vases and stone, see Notopoulos (1960); Snodgrass (1998: 127–50); Burgess (2001, with Appendices B and C, pp. 182–7). Odysseus' role in the *Iliad* may be explained by this tradition, and by the fame of his Ithacan shrine at Polis (where the earliest of the votive tripods dates to the ninth century BC: see Antonaccio (1995: 152–5); Waterhouse (1996: 310–13); Malkin (1998: 62–119); Marks (2008: 15, 96–100)).

(2) The island called Taphious in antiquity was identified as Taphos (Strabo 10.2.14), now Meganisi, lying about nine miles from Ithaca, immediately east of Leucas: see S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.88) on 1.105; Malkin (1998: 74). However, Leaf (1915: 171–92) argued that Taphos must lie outside the regions drawn into the Trojan War, suggesting Corfu as one of several possibilities.

(3) Temesa has been identified with Tamassos in Cyprus: see S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.100) on 1.184, and with Brettian Tamasa in southern Italy: Malkin (1998: 72–3), where Strabo (6.1.4–5) knew of abandoned copper mines.

(4) The fictional detention by 'savage men' (see Farron (1979–80: 67)) explains Odysseus' failure to hurry home.

(5) On οἷος...τοῖος...(such as <he was>...so...) see Oehler (1925: 37–8).

(6) 1.255–66 (A_1); 4.341–6 (A_2); 17.132–7 (A_3); but also 8.410–11, 465–6; 16.91–111; 19.309–11: see Wieniewski (1924: 120); Duckworth (1933: 23); Grossardt (1998: 117–20).

(7) Olson (1995: 160 n. 48).

([8]) 8.215–28; 14.225; 21.11–41. Odysseus hunts with a bow (9.156–8), and takes one with him to Circe (10.262).

([9]) See Suter (1993: 2–3). Odysseus takes no part in the archery at the funeral games (*Il.* 23.850–83). He uses a bow only to strike Rhesus' horses (*Il.* 10.513–14). The *Iliad* has few archers: Philoctetes, *Il.* 2.718; Meriones, 13.650–2; Dolon, 10.333; Teucer, 8.266, 309–15, 323–9, 12.349–50, 362–3, 370–2, 387–8, 400–2, 13.313–14, 15.442–51, 458–73, 16.510–11, 23.862–3 (where he competes with Meriones); Paris, 3.17, 6.322, 8.81–4, 11.369–98, 375–8, 505–7, 581–4, 13.662–72, 22.359–60; Helenus, 13.582–7; Pandarus, 2.827, 5.171–4, 245–6, 795.

([10]) Thesprotian Ephyra is probably meant: Meges wore a breastplate brought by his father from Ephyra by the river Selleis (*Il.* 15.529–31), which Aristarchus located in Thesprotia (Sch. A on *Il.* 15.531a (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: iv.117)): see also Huxley (1969: 61–2)); S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.108) on 1.257ff.; Papadopoulos (1990: 364–6); Malkin (1998: 128–9): *contra* Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: iv.287, 350) on *Il.* 15.531 and *Il.* 16.234–5, who locates the Ephyra of Meges' breastplate in Elis, home of Agamede, who knew all the poisons produced by the earth (*Il.* 11.737–41).

([11]) Dirlmeier (1966: 17–22).

([12]) Sch. EHMQ and T on 4.262 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.47–8)).

([13]) Schein (2002: 100).

([14]) Sch. EHMQ and Sch. T on 1.262 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.47–8)). See also Hölscher (1988: 71–2); Krischer (1992: 21); Louden (1999: 26); Clay (2002: 77–8); Schein (2002: 100). The *Iliad* suggests that arrows were commonly poisoned: when Pandarus violates the truce by shooting at Menelaus (*Il.* 4.112–40), Agamemnon immediately thinks that Menelaus will die of the wound (*Il.* 4.155), and Machaon sucks it out (*Il.* 4.218), as if the arrow is poisoned: Murray (1934: 130). It is only a scratch, though: despite *Il.* 4.135–7, where the arrow is said to penetrate Menelaus' armour, he cheers up when he sees that the binding (νεῦρον) and the barbs (ὄγκοι) remain outside the μίτρη (guard) (*Il.* 4.151). Pandarus boasts that Diomede will not long sustain his dart (*Il.* 5.104–6). Although S. West (1981: 175), following Schmiedeberg (1918: 14–25), suggests the use of an extract of black hellebore, the toxin may well be yew, which, like black hellebore, produces cardiac arrest. Τόξον (bow) (cf. Latin taxus, a yew tree (*OLD*), whose elastic wood is used for bows, and whose berries are poisonous: *OED* s.v. yew) gives τοξικός, 'of or pertaining to the bow' (LSJ[9]). The use of τοξικόν as an abbreviation for τοξικόν φάρμακον (poison for smearing arrows) had the effect of transferring the meaning 'poison' from φάρμακον to Latin 'toxicum', first as 'poison for arrows', and then as 'poison' generally (*OED*). *Taxus baccata* has populations in mountainous areas of Greece (Kassioumis et al. (2004: 27–38)): all parts (except the bright red aril which surrounds the seed) contain taxane, a toxin which causes staggering gait, muscle tremors, convulsions, dyspnoea, and death from cardiac failure: Tiwary, Puschner, Kinde, and Tor (2005). It is a calcium channel blocker: Tekol (2007). Catavolus, chief of the Eburones, poisoned himself with yew rather

than submit to the Romans: Caesar, *B. Gall.* 6.31. I am indebted to Mr William Odling-Smee F.R.C.S. for guidance on the effects of yew poison.

([15]) Bühler (1886: VII.90), *RE* (Suppl. 5: 227–8); Farron (1979–80: 61 n. 6); Goldhill (1988: 20).

([16]) Mermerus is the son of Jason and Medea: Apollodorus 1.9.28. The *Naupactia* recorded that he was killed while hunting on the Thesprotian mainland opposite Corcyra, where Jason settled: Pausanias 2.3.9.

([17]) The Taphians are slave traders and raiders: 14.452; 15.427; 16.426: see Suter (1993: 2–3).

([18]) See Olson (1995: 70–4); Clay (2002: 76–8).

([19]) Cf. the effects of song: Hesiod, *Th.* 98–103. The connection between story and drug has been made since antiquity: see Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 614 b–c, and Teodorsson (1989: 52) on 614b; Macrobius, *Sat. Conviv.* 7.18: Goldhill (1988: 19–24); Bergren (2009: 320–5); Thalmann (1984: 136, 147–8, 166); G. Walsh (1984: 16–19); Murnaghan (1987: 161–2 n. 23); Scodel (1999: 74–7); Lyons (2012: 67–9). Schmiedeberg (1918: 9–14) identified the drug as opium.

([20]) Detienne (1986: 47–51); Martin (1989: 11–18, 22–6).

([21]) See Dupont-Roc and Le Boulluec (1976) for its profusion of words based on ἐόικα (to be like): ἀ-εικελίησι (terrible, unseemly) (4.244); ἐοικώς (resembling), (4.245); ἤϊσκε (made himself like) (4.247); ἴκελος (like to) (4.249).

([22]) There was a Dectes in the Epic Cycle: *Ilias Parva*, fr. 6 *PEG* i.78, where the cyclic poet is said to have taken δέκτης as a personal name, rather than the otherwise unattested noun Aristarchus thought it was. But δέκτης as a noun meaning beggar contradicts Helen, who has already said Odysseus was disguised as a slave (οἰκεύς) (4.245). Aristarchus did not want to believe that Homer could draw on cyclic material, but see S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.209–10) on 4.246–9; Burgess (2001: 152–3); M. L. West (2013: 195–9).

([23]) Lesches, *Ilias Parva* Argumenta 1.15–17, *PEG* i.74–5: cf. Euripides, *Rhesus* 710–21. See also *LIMC* 6/1 s.v. Odysseus M a) 59 (p. 953) and 6/2 pl. 626 for Odysseus in disguise.

([24]) Euripides imitates this detail by making Odysseus reveal his presence to Hecuba, who spared his life and sent him out of the country: Euripides, *Hec.* 239–50.

([25]) Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.13 conflates these two visits to Troy: see Huxley (1969: 154).

([26]) Lesches, *Ilias Parva*, fr.7 *PEG* i.78. For the relationship between Thoas and Odysseus, see Marks (2003).

([27]) Thompson (1955–8) K2357; Herodotus 3.154–60; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 7.12–13 (= Woelfflin and Melber (eds) (1970: 326)); H. Rawlinson (1849: xvi); G. Rawlinson (1880: ii.533); Virgil, *Aen.* 2.57–198; Livy 1.53–4; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.690–710; Appian 5.9; Valerius Maximus 7.4.2;

Dionysios Halicarnassensis, *Ant. Rom.* 4.63; Frontinus, *Str.* 3.3.3. See Faraone (1992: 96–106).

([28]) See Goldhill (1991: 62); Minchin (2007a: 276–9), (2007b: 30).

([29]) Cf. *Il.* 3.139–40, where Aphrodite fills Helen with longing for her former husband, her city, and her parents.

([30]) See Dué and Ebbott (2010: 80–2) for comparable slaughter at the conclusion of a reconnaissance mission (*Il.* 10.483–98).

([31]) Bergren (2009: 326); Goldhill (1988: 21).

([32]) Lateiner (1995: 150).

([33]) Scodel (1999: 74–7 at 75).

([34]) Olson (1989b: 389).

([35]) Wieniewski (1924: 123–4) lists 4.240ff. as an example of προοικονομία (prefatory summary, LSJ[9]), or preparation for later action: see also Duckworth (1933: 25 n. 64); Eichhorn (1965: 44 n. 16); Erbse (1972: 95–7); Andersen (1977).

([36]) Olson (1989b: 391).

([37]) *Il.* 3.161–242, 386–97: see Roisman (2006: 15–20).

([38]) On the name (Flash), see Peradotto (1990: 111–14); (dog), see Franco (2014: 200 n. 85). For dogs, and Argos' place in the recognitions of Odysseus, see Goldhill (1988: 9–19). For further Homeric examples of fawning, see Faulkner (2008: 152).

([39]) Cf. κύντερον (more doggish, in the sense of shamelessly immoral: *LfgrE* ii.1592) of Clytemnestra (11.427) and κύνες (dogs) of the faithless maids (19.154). Helen calls herself κύων (dog) (*Il.* 3.344, 356) and κυνῶπις (dog-faced) (*Il.* 3.180; *Od.* 4.145). κυνῶπις is used by Hephaestus of Aphrodite and Hera (8.319; *Il.* 18.396), and by Agamemnon of Clytemnestra (11.424). Achilles uses κυνώπης (dog-faced) of Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.159): see Clader (1976: 46–7) for Helen, dogs, and Argos. On the artistic use of κύων (dog) in Homer, see Faust, (1970) esp.19 and 31; S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.203–4) on 4.145; Goldhill (1988: 15–17). On Helen's self-criticism, see Graver (1995); Ebbott (1999); Franco (2014: 103–5, 225 nn. 115–16) with further bibliography.

([40]) Sch. PQ on 4.256 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.199)). Odysseus was responsible for the stratagem which brought down Troy (22.230). Deiphobus tells how Helen raised a torch to guide the Greeks into the city: Virgil, *Aen.* 6.515–19.

([41]) For Amphimedon's mistake about this, see Chapter 4 n. 89.

([42]) Used of a sudden change of mind: *LfgrE* s.v. κραδίη 2aδ.

(43) Taplin (1992: 96–103 at 101): see also Scodel (2008: 116–17). Priam blames the gods for Helen's actions (*Il*. 3.164): Ebbott (1999: 14).

(44) For the *Odyssey*'s scapegoating of Helen, see Suzuki (1989: 57–91). On female narratives undercut by male narratives, see Doherty (1995a: 22–3).

(45) See Schmiel (1972: 467).

(46) Minchin (2007a: 276–9 at 277–8); see also (2007b: 31–2); Worman (2001: 30–4).

(47) Not implicitly, as Doherty (1995a: 84). Telemachus is not the addressee, but the story is for his benefit.

(48) Sch. BHMQT on 4.279 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.201)); Eustathius 1496.27–9 on 4.279 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.165)).

(49) Kakridis (1971: 45–9); Clader (1976: 34); Higbie (1995: 17–18); Scodel (1999: 75–7). Martin (2008: 126) suggests Helen may be lamenting the men inside the horse in the voices their wives would use to lament them, and that (unless resisted) the lament is a summons to death. But Helen wants to make them make a noise: an attempt in 1038 to bring down the city of Edessa by importing troops in boxes was foiled when the men in the boxes were overheard talking to one another: T. W. Allen (1924: 160).

(50) See also Apollod. *Epit*. 5.19. According to Tryphiodorus 476–86 (Livrea (ed.) (1982: 18–19)), Anticlus died under Odysseus' grip.

(51) See Felson-Rubin (1994: 133–4).

(52) Sch. HQ and H on 4.285 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.202)).

(53) Lesches, *Ilias Parva* fr. 26 *PEG* i.83.

(54) See S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.209–10) on 4.285–9, and Burgess (2001: 153). Andersen (1977: 7–12) regards the incident with Anticlus as likely to be an invention by the poet of the *Odyssey*.

(55) The name Eurycleia (Broad Fame) may be a reference to Anticlus (Anti-Fame): de Jong (2001: 103) on 4.285–7.

(56) Maniet (1947: 40); Beye (1972: 174); Schmiel (1972: 469); Clader (1976: 34–5).

(57) Clader (1976: 35); Doherty (1995b: 86).

(58) See Kakridis (1949: 50–2).

(59) Sch. E on 4.336 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.204)); Moulton (1977: 124 n. 17); Felson-Rubin (1994: 22 with 154 n. 20, 112 with 176 n. 9). The fawn on the brooch of Odysseus also signifies the suitors (19.226–31): see Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 169–70) on 19.226–31.

(60) Odysseus is a wrestler also at Sophocles, *Ph*. 431.

(61) *FGrHist*. 4F 150 (= *EGM* i. Hellanicus, fr. 150): οὗτος βασιλεὺς ὢν Λέσβου τοὺς παριόντας εἰς πάλην ἐκάλει, καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας δὲ προσορμισθέντας. ὃν Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Διομήδης δολοφονήσαντες τὸν τάφον αὐτοῦ καταγώγιον ξένων ἐποίησαν. Von Geisau, *RE* 19.2519–20, suggests the source may be the Λεσβικά or Τρωικά of Hellanicus, but see also Danek (1998a: 112) on 4.341–6.

(62) Sch. Q on 4.245 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.197)).

(63) Kakridis (1949: 108–20).

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Maureen Alden

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Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

The poem compares Odysseus with Heracles through shared epithets and exploits (including catabasis and archery), but the Heracles paradigm is discredited by Heracles' murder of his guest-friend Iphitus. The vignette of Odysseus' naming by his grandfather, Autolycus, identifies the source of the hero's ancestral cunning and motivates his visit as a young man to Parnassus, where he kills a boar when hunting with his uncles, thereby effecting his initiation into adulthood. The boar hunt test is the pattern for the bow contest: Odysseus corresponds in each to the marginalized initiation candidate. The lightly armed Odysseus who, like Apollo, kills young men with his arrows gives way in the fight with the suitors to a heavily armed hoplite figure whose divine model is Apollo Delphinios, who at the new moon of the new year presides over the ἀπέλλα (assembly) where young men make the transition into the community of adult men.

Keywords: Heracles, catabasis, archery, Iphitus, Autolycus, ἀπέλλα (assembly), boar hunt, initiation, Apollo, new moon

Only infrequently does the *Odyssey* use incidents from the lives of heroes of earlier generations, which are so common in the paradigms of the *Iliad*, to introduce a comparison or as patterns for imitation or avoidance.[1]

1. Heracles

A major comparator for Odysseus is Heracles: in making his shadow follow Odysseus, the poem takes its cue from the *Iliad*, whose hero, Achilles, is compared at several points with

Heracles.[2]

1.1. Catabasis

In Hades, the phantom of Heracles emerges from the terrified shades to confront Odysseus, his bow uncased, an arrow fitted to the string, looking about him ferociously (11.607–8), exactly as Odysseus will appear to the suitors when he has strung the bow (22.1–2).[3] The ghost evidently thinks they have much in common:

> ἆ δείλ', ἦ τινὰ καὶ σὺ κακὸν μόρον ἠγηλάζεις,
> ὅν περ ἐγὼν ὀχέεσκον ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο.
> Unhappy wretch, you too lead a wretched life
> such as I always endured under the rays of the sun.
> 11.618–19

(p.174) The tradition supports his view: for example, Heracles' killing of the triple-bodied Geryon and theft of his magnificent cattle[4] from the fabulous island of Erythia (reddish, so called because the island lay under the rays of the setting sun) is paralleled by Odysseus' blinding of the Cyclops and driving off of his flocks, and both stories are variants of the 'Conquest of Death' theme.[5] Eurystheus could think of nothing worse than sending Heracles to Hell to bring back the watchdog (11.623–5), but his journey to Hades is not invented for the *Nekyia*: in the *Iliad*, Athene complains that Zeus has forgotten that she assisted Heracles in his servitude to Eurystheus:

> εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τάδε εἴδε' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν
> εὖτέ μιν εἰς Ἀΐδαο πυλάρταο προὔπεμψεν
> ἐξ Ἐρέβεος ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Ἀΐδαο,
> οὐκ ἄν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα.
> for if, in the wisdom of my heart, I had had thoughts like this
> when he sent him to the house of Hades, the Gatekeeper
> to bring back out of Erebus the hound of hateful Hades,
> he would not have escaped the rapid torrent of the Stygian water.
> *Il.* 8.366–9[6]

But in the *Nekyia*, Odysseus goes one better: having told the Phaeacians that *he* went to Hades under his own steam and without a guide (10.501–5), he ensures that his predecessor is thoroughly outdone by making him receive assistance from Hermes as well as Athene (11.626).

1.2. Other Traits in Common

Heracles is compared with Odysseus on multiple counts.[7] Both Homer and Hesiod take the periphrasis βίη Ἡρακλείη (the Heraclean violence) from the **(p.175)** tradition of older Heraclean epic, and use similar periphrases for Odysseus and Telemachus.[8] In the *Telegony*, Odysseus had (like Heracles) numerous children from women and goddesses,[9] instead of the unilineal pattern of descent we find in the *Odyssey* (16.117–20). Both heroes are interested in food: Odysseus eats and drinks ἁρπαλέως (grabbingly) on the beach in Scheria and in the hut of Eumaeus (6.250; 14.110); he entreats the Phaeacians to let him eat and drink (7.215–21), and in the *Iliad*, he insists on a meal before the army fights (*Il.* 19.225–32). Heracles'

gargantuan appetite is well known.[10] Both Heracles and Odysseus are θυμολέοντα (lion-hearted) and πτολίπορθος (city sacker):[11] Heracles sacked Troy in the generation before the Trojan War (*Il.* 5.638–42), and Zeus was troubled by his subsequent sufferings, when Hera's anger drove him to the island of Cos, where he landed all alone (*Il.* 14.250–6, 15.24–8). Odysseus sacked Troy (8.492–5), and Athene is troubled by his subsequent sufferings (1.48–62, 5.491–3) when Poseidon's anger (1.68–75) drives him all alone to the islands of Calypso (5.110–11) and the Phaeacians (5.282–440, 7.244–55). The Homeric tradition uses the term ἄεθλοι (labours) of Heracles' labours and of Odysseus' tribulations.[12] Both are heroes of suffering and endurance: Heracles πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀνέτλη (endured much)[13] and Odysseus is πολύτλας (much-enduring).[14] Heracles' endurance is closely associated with his ἀτάσθαλα (criminal follies) (*h. Hom.* 15.6), a term also used of Odysseus' biggest mistake (10.437).

(p.176) 1.3. Archery

It is as archers that the two are most closely compared. Heracles' characteristic weapon in Homer is the bow (8.223–5, 11.607–8),[15] and he poisoned his arrows with the blood of the hydra.[16] Odysseus has a reputation in the *Odyssey* as an archer, and if we believe Athene/Mentes, he used poison from Ephyra on his arrows (1.259–64) (see Chapter 5, §2 with n. 14).

1.3.1. Archers of Past Generations: Heracles and Eurytus

Heracles is mentioned for the first time in the *Odyssey* at the Phaeacian games, when Euryalus provokes Odysseus to boast: τόξον οἶδα ἐΰξοον ἀμφαφάασθαι (I know how to handle the well-polished bow) (8.215);[17] I would be the first to shoot a man ἐν ὁμίλῳ| ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων (in a throng of enemies) (8.216–17). (δυσμενής (hostile) is regularly used of the suitors,[18] who will fall victim to Odysseus' bow.) As an archer at Troy, he was second only to Philoctetes (8.219–20).[19] All the same, *he* would not like to compete against men of previous generations:

> ἀνδράσι δε προτέροισιν ἐριζέμεν οὐκ ἐθελήσω,
> οὔθ᾽ Ἡρακλῆϊ οὔτ᾽ Εὐρύτῳ Οἰχαλιῆϊ
> οἵ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἐρίζεσκον περὶ τόξων.
> τῷ ῥα καὶ αἶψ᾽ ἔθανεν μέγας Εὔρυτος, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆρας
> ἵκετ᾽ ἐνὶ μεγάροισι· χολωσάμενος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων
> ἔκτανεν, οὕνεκά μιν προκαλίζετο τοξάζεσθαι.
> I shall not wish to fight with men of former times,
> neither with Heracles nor with Eurytus of Oechalia,
> who used to fight even with the immortals in archery.
> And therefore great Eurytus died suddenly, nor did he attain to old age
> **(p.177)** in his palace. For Apollo was angry and slew him,
> since he kept on challenging him to shoot with the bow.
> 8.223–8

The imperfect προκαλίζετο (kept on challenging) (8.228) suggests that Eurytus went on needling the god, who became angry and killed him: the implication is, 'Do not keep on, Euryalus, or you will end up dead.'[20]

We know of no occasion when Heracles challenged the gods to an archery contest, although, as the scholiast points out, he wounded Hera and Hades with his arrows (*Il.* 5.392–404) and was never punished for it.[21] Eurytus' challenge to the gods is even more obscure, and his death at Apollo's hands (8.227–8) is uncorroborated (except in authors who depend on the *Odyssey*),[22] suggesting that it is invented by the poet for particular effect.

Odysseus says he is anxious to avoid habitually fighting immortals, and the poems abound in mortals who contend with gods and suffer as a result.[23] For example, Thamyris, the Thracian bard, on his way from Oechalia, the city of Eurytus, met the Muses and boasted that he would win even if they themselves were to compete with him. They were angry, and maimed[24] him, took away his power of song, and made him forget his lyre playing (*Il.* 2.594–600).[25] Martin sees in the singer coming 'from Oechalia' a reference to the rival epic tradition about Heracles which is shut off by Thamyris' loss of his poetic powers: Polygnotus' painting of Hades in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi showed Thamyris blinded and dejected, with a broken lyre at his feet (Pausanias 10.30.8). Ford suggests that as the representative of earlier poetic tradition, Thamyris did not show the Muses the same deference as the poet of the *Iliad*, who invoked them at the opening of the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.484–92). Wilson sees Thamyris as a representative of performance in the kitharodic style in competition with the hexameter epic of Homer.[26] By making his character say that he would not want to contend with Heracles and Eurytus, the men of former generations, the poet **(p.178)** distracts attention from the fact that *he* is competing with the Heracles epics of previous generations, and his hero is in competition with Heracles.[27]

Much later in the poem (see this chapter, §1.3.2), we learn that Odysseus received his bow as a gift from Iphitus, who inherited it from his father, Eurytus. Soon afterwards, Iphitus was killed by Heracles (21.11–41). It would be a great coincidence if the *Odyssey* mentioned Heracles and Eurytus twice, expressly in connection with their skill in archery, without knowledge of the famous contest[28] in which Heracles (as guest) and Eurytus (as host) competed *with each other* in a bow contest to determine the husband of a bride. According to the Hesiodic catalogue, Eurytus of Oechalia had four sons, Deion, Clytios, Toxeus (Archer), and Iphitus, as well as a daughter, Iole.[29] Homer's Oechalia is either in north-west Messenia (*Il.* 2.595–6), or in Thessaly (*Il.* 2.730), although other places, notably Euboea, competed for the name and association with Eurytus.[30] The Οἰχαλίας ἅλωσις (*Sack of Oechalia*), a famous epic composed in the seventh century BC by Creophylus of Samos,[31] related how Heracles competed in an archery contest against Eurytus and his sons for Iole's hand.[32] The epic probably told the story as we know it from Sophocles' *Trachiniae*: Heracles, cheated of his bride and shamefully expelled from the feast, returned with an army and sacked the city, killing Eurytus and his sons.[33] **(p.179)** The requirements of epic probably explain the motifs of expulsion and return with an army which do not appear in vase painting.

Although the reason for Heracles' anger with Eurytus is not clear from surviving fragments of the *Sack of Oechalia*, it can be inferred from an amphora of the sixth century BC showing Heracles at the banquet with Eurytus and his four sons in the presence of Iole. The archery contest appears on the reverse: Heracles' arrows project from the target, and Iole stands near it as prize; Iphitus and another of the sons lie dead on the floor, and their horrified father

rushes towards Heracles, who continues to shoot his arrows.[34] Here the murder of Eurytus' sons follows immediately after the banquet and the archery contest. The *Odyssey* says nothing of all this, and its account of Eurytus slain by Apollo for presuming to compete with him is unknown in the artistic record.

We cannot assume, with Aristarchus and Eustathius, that Homer's silence indicates ignorance of Heracles' competition for Iole.[35] Eurytus must be well known to the audience as a famous archer, since there would be no sense in comparing Odysseus' skill at archery with that of a nonentity. 'The audience's knowledge of alternative possibilities allows the poet to build his narrative by deriving meaning not only from what the poem includes, but from what it conspicuously excludes.'[36] The unspoken echoes of Heracles' famous slaughter of Eurytus and his sons after being cheated of his prize in the archery competition at Oechalia resonate with their context in the primary narrative, **(p.180)** where Odysseus' participation in an archery contest in response to Euryalus' challenge could end in the slaughter of his Phaeacian hosts. They also pre-echo the bow contest for the hand of Penelope,[37] where the suitors (like Eurytus) do not want the beggar to have the bride, even if he can string the bow and shoot through the axes (21.285–342): he takes revenge (like Heracles) by killing them all.

1.3.2. The Bow of Eurytus

As Penelope is on her way to the storeroom to fetch the bow and quiver, the poet relates how Odysseus acquired them as a guest gift from Eurytus' son, Iphitus:

> ἔνθα δὲ τόξον κεῖτο παλίντονον ἠδὲ φαρέτρη
> ἰοδόκος, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἔνεσαν στονόεντες ὀϊστοί,
> δῶρα τά οἱ ξεῖνος Λακεδαίμονι δῶκε τυχήσας
> Ἴφιτος Εὐρυτίδης, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισι.
> There lay the back-bent bow and the quiver
> for the arrows, and many grief-laden arrows were in it,
> gifts which his guest-friend gave him when they met in Lacedaemon,
> Iphitus, son of Eurytus, like to the gods.
> 21.11–14

As a child (παιδνὸς ἐών) Odysseus was sent by his father and the elders to Ortilochus in Messenia to recover three hundred stolen sheep. There he met Iphitus, who was in search of twelve mares stolen with their mule colts:[38]

> τὼ δ᾽ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλοιϊν
> οἴκῳ ἐν ᾽Ορτιλόχοιο δαΐφρονος. ἦ τοι ᾽Οδυσσεὺς
> ἤλθε μετὰ χρεῖος, τό ῥά οἱ πᾶς δῆμος ὄφελλε·
> μῆλα γὰρ ἐξ ᾽Ιθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες ἄειραν
> νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι τριηκόσι᾽ ἠδὲ νομῆας.
> τῶν ἕνεκ᾽ ἐξεσίην πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἦλθεν ᾽Οδυσσεύς,
> παιδνὸς ἐών· πρὸ γὰρ ἧκε πατὴρ ἄλλοι τε γέροντες·
> Ἴφιτος αὖθ᾽ ἵππους διζήμενος, αἵ οἱ ὄλοντο
> δώδεκα θήλειαι, ὑπὸ δ᾽ ἡμίονοι ταλαεργοί·.
> They two met each other in Messene,.
> in the house of prudent Ortilochus. Odysseus went there

to recover a debt, which all the people owed him:
for the Messenian men carried off from Ithaca
in their many-benched ships three hundred sheep with their shepherds.
On account of them Odysseus travelled a long way on a mission abroad
(p.181) while still a child, for his father and the other elders sent him.
Iphitus, too, went to seek horses which were lost to him,
twelve mares, and hard-working mule colts under them.
21.15–23

It is of no interest (and therefore the poet does not tell us) whether Odysseus recovered the stolen flocks: it is enough that both men are trying to recover stolen animals. But we *are* told of the guest-friendship established by an exchange of weapons which gave Odysseus possession of the bow which Eurytus used to challenge Apollo (8.225–8), and which in the non-Homeric tradition belonged to the loser in the bride contest for Iole.[39] At the end of its paradosis from Iphitus, Eurytus' son, to Odysseus it is described as the μνῆμα ξείνοιο φίλοιο (memorial of his loving guest-friend) (21.40). It cemented a guest-friendship with the family of Eurytus and the victim of Heracles:

αἳ δή οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα φόνος καὶ μοῖρα γένοντο,
ἐπεὶ δὴ Διὸς υἱὸν ἀφίκετο καρτερόθυμον,
φῶθ᾽ Ἡρακλῆα, μεγάλων ἐπιίστορα ἔργων,
ὅς μιν ξεῖνον ἐόντα κατέκτανεν ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν αἰδέσατ᾽ οὐδὲ τράπεζαν,
τὴν ἥν οἱ παρέθηκεν·[40] ἔπειτα δὲ πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν,
ἵππους δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔχε κρατερώνυχας ἐν μεγάροισι.
Now these [the mares] hereafter became his murder and doom,
when he came to the strong-hearted son of Zeus,
the man, Heracles, acquainted with monstrous deeds,
who killed him in his house, for all that he was a guest-friend,
the scoundrel, nor did he respect the vengeance of the gods nor the table
which he put beside him, but nonetheless killed even him,
and kept the strong-hoofed horses himself in his palace.
21.24–30

Eurytus is certainly dead before this meeting (21.31–3), perhaps at Apollo's hands (8.227–8), so Heracles' aggression towards Iphitus is unmotivated:

τὰς ἐρέων Ὀδυσῆϊ συνήντετο, δῶκε δὲ τόξον,
τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἐφόρει μέγας Εὔρυτος, αὐτὰρ ὁ παιδὶ
κάλλιπ᾽ ἀποθνῄσκων ἐν δώμασιν ὑψηλοῖσι,
τῷ δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς ξίφος ὀξὺ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἔδωκεν,
ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος· οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ
γνώτην ἀλλήλω· πρὶν γὰρ Διὸς υἱὸς ἔπεφνεν
Ἴφιτον Εὐρυτίδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν,
(p.182) ὅς οἱ τόξον ἔδωκε. τὸ δ᾽ οὔ ποτε δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἐρχόμενος πόλεμόνδε μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν
ᾔρεῖτ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ μνῆμα ξείνοιο φίλοιο
κέσκετ᾽ ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, φόρει δέ μιν ἧς ἐπὶ γαίης.

> Enquiring for them, he [Iphitus] met with Odysseus and gave him the bow
> which formerly great Eurytus always used to carry, but he,
> when he died, bequeathed it to his son in the lofty palace,
> and to him Odysseus gave a keen sword and a stout spear,
> the beginning of affectionate guest-friendship. Nor did they
> two know each other at table, for before that the son of Zeus killed
> Iphitus, son of Eurytus, like to the gods,
> who gave him [Odysseus] the bow. But godlike Odysseus never
> took it when he went to war on the black ships
> but there, as a memorial of his loving guest-friend
> it used to lie in the halls, and he carried it in his own land.
> 21.31–41

The length of this digression, with its wealth of detail, is in proportion to the extreme significance of the object concerned: it provides a provenance for the bow which must await Odysseus in Ithaca to arm him against the suitors, and explains why he did not take his best weapon with him to Troy.[41]

Hölscher[42] regards the guest-friendship between Iphitus and Heracles as one of long-standing, dating from Heracles' visit to Eurytus in Oechalia, but there is no hint in the *Odyssey* of any such guest-friendship until Iphitus went to Heracles in search of the stolen mares and was killed by his host.[43] The poem is also silent on the tradition of the bow contest at Oechalia: its version of the murder of Iphitus is not found in any independent literary text: nothing suggests that the poet is following an old story.[44] Nor is there any representation **(p.183)** in the iconographic tradition of Iphitus being murdered in the poem's unspecified way by Heracles ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (in his house) (21.27), a phrase tellingly repeated of Odysseus' killing of the suitors (22.117; 23.57). Although the ethical positions of host and guest are thereby reversed, it is possible to read Heracles' murder of Iphitus (21.24–30) as an analogy with Odysseus' slaughter of the suitors in his house, while they are at table (22.11–21), in a dispute about women (22.37–40) and property (22.36).[45] On the other hand, Odysseus kills the suitors in retribution for crimes (22.35–41) against his house and his wife, but there is no suggestion of any crime against Heracles on the part of Iphitus. Danek and Andersen argue that Heracles apparently does not use his bow to kill Iphitus,[46] but in fact we are given no information at all on how Heracles killed him, except that (depending on how we read 21.28–9) it may have been at table.

The *Odyssey*'s version of the death of Iphitus, murdered in the house of the man who had stolen his mares, is probably chosen or invented to achieve a parallel with the murder of Agamemnon in the house of Aegisthus, the man who had stolen his wife, and with the suitors, who want to steal Penelope and kill Odysseus and his son (22.216). After stealing his wife, Aegisthus received Agamemnon in his house (4.532; 11.410) and killed him δειπνίσσας, ὡς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ (when he had feasted him, as a man kills an ox at a manger) (4.535 = 11.411). On this triangular reading, Heracles is aligned with Aegisthus and the suitors (with the significant difference that the suitors receive the beggar in *his* house); the stolen Clytemnestra and the potentially stolen Penelope align with the stolen mares; there are two potential victims, Telemachus and Odysseus. Heracles' murder of the young (and fatherless?)

Iphitus searching for his stolen mares seems analogous to the suitors' intended murder of the young Telemachus when he returns from his search for news of his father. (Telemachus pre-echoes καὶ αὐτόν (even him) (21.29) when he expresses his fear that the suitors will kill him: τάχα δή με διαρραίσουσι καὶ αὐτόν (soon they will rip even me apart) (1.251; 16.128).) Iphitus was killed at a meal offered by Heracles: Antinous' invitation to Telemachus: ἀλλά μάλ᾽ ἐσθιέμεν καὶ πινέμεν, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ (but let us eat and drink, as formerly we did) (2.305) indicates that the suitors, too, have been eating with their intended victim on a regular basis. When they fail to kill him on his way back from Pylos (4.659–72, 842–8; 15.28–30), they plot to do so in an ambush in the country or on the road (16.371–84; 20.240–2). Heracles kept the mares after he killed Iphitus, and the suitors intend, after they have killed Telemachus, to divide his property among themselves (16.384–6; 20.215–16). Heracles respected **(p.184)** neither the θεῶν ὄπιν (the vengeance of the gods) nor the table he set beside [Iphitus] (21.28–9):[47] similarly, the suitors οὐδ᾽ ὄπιδα τρομέουσι θεῶν (have no fear of the vengeance of the gods) (20.215).[48] Penelope complains: τοῦ νῦν...παῖδα [τ᾽] ἀποκτείνεις (now...you are killing his son as best you can) (16.431–2). She knows of both plots to kill Telemachus (4.700–1; 16.411, 431–3), and Odysseus also is well aware of Telemachus' fears that the suitors will kill him (16.128; 20.315). In the end, the suitors aim to kill both Odysseus and Telemachus (22.216) and imply that they will divide their possessions among themselves (22.221). Related in the voice of the poet-narrator, the paradosis of the bow discredits the comparison between Odysseus and Heracles introduced in the voice of Odysseus at the Phaeacian games and in the *Nekyia*: the poet-narrator condemns Heracles as σχέτλιος (scoundrel) (21.28) for killing Iphitus, as Odysseus calls the Cyclops σχέτλι' (you scoundrel) (9.351, 478) for being unashamed to eat his guests. It was their own σχέτλια ἔργα (wicked deeds) (22.413) which did for the suitors, too.

2. Growing up Unchronologically

The bow's paradosis has another important function, however. We have seen (Chapter 4, §3.3.9 with n. 295) that Penelope's web can be regarded as the masterpiece which must be completed by a girl preparing for marriage, and that her allusion to the daughters of Pandareus points to the ritual of the Arrephoria evoked in the main narrative as she descends to the storeroom to fetch the materials for the bow contest. As the end of the poem approaches, three flashbacks present crucial stages in Odysseus' growing up, although the order in which they are presented is not strictly chronological. We have been discussing one of these, his diplomatic mission abroad παιδνὸς ἐών (as a child) (21.21), in the course of which he obtained his bow. In chronological terms, the earliest is his naming by his maternal grandfather, Autolycus (19.399–412), and the latest is his journey to Parnassus, to his grandfather's home. On that journey, which is presented between the other two, Odysseus famously takes part in a boar hunt in the company of his maternal uncles.

(p.185) 2.1. Autolycus: the Naming Ceremony

An extended flashback, narrated in the poet's own voice, relates how Odysseus came by his name (19.399–412) and his scar (19.413–66).[49] As Eurycleia approaches her master to wash his feet,

...(A) αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἔγνω

> οὐλήν, (B) τήν ποτέ μιν σῦς ἤλασε λευκῷ ὀδόντι
> Παρνησόνδ᾽ ἐλθόντα, μετ᾽ Αὐτόλυκόν τε καὶ υἷας,
> μητρὸς ἑῆς πατέρ᾽ ἐσθλόν…
> …(A) immediately she recognized
> the scar, (B) which once a boar inflicted on him with its white tusk
> when he had gone to Parnassus with Autolycus, the noble father of his mother,
> and his sons…
> 19.392–5

The relative pronoun τήν (which) (19.393) is a bridge from the immediate present (A) of αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἔγνω (immediately she recognized) (19.392) to the past of (B) the hunting expedition on Parnassus where the scar was acquired (19.393–5). No sooner are we into (B), however, than it is interrupted by the questionable reputation of Autolycus, Odysseus' grandfather, who is made the excuse for (C), a vignette from an even more distant past complete with direct speech by its characters, Eurycleia and Autolycus:

> Αὐτόλυκος δ᾽ ἐλθὼν Ἰθάκης ἐς πίονα δῆμον
> παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα κιχήσατο θυγατέρος ἧς·
> τόν ῥά οἱ Εὐρύκλεια φίλοισ᾽ ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκε
> παυομένῳ δόρποιο, ἔπος τ᾽ ἔφατ᾽ ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζεν·
> 'Αὐτόλυκ᾽, αὐτὸς νῦν ὄνομ᾽ εὕρεο, ὅττι κε θεῖο
> παιδὸς παιδὶ φίλῳ· πολυάρητος δὲ τοί ἐστι.'
> τὴν δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ Αὐτόλυκος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησεν τε·
> 'γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς θύγατέρ τε, τίθεσθ᾽ ὄνομ᾽, ὅττι κεν εἴπω·
> πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγώ γε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ᾽ ἱκάνω,
> ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα βωτιάνειραν·
> τῷ δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς ὄνομ᾽ ἔστω ἐπώνυμον. αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε,
> ὁπότ᾽ ἄν ἡβήσας μητρώϊον ἐς μέγα δῶμα
> ἔλθῃ Παρνησόνδ᾽, ὅθι πού οἱ κτήματ᾽ ἔασι,
> τῶν οἱ ἐγὼ δώσω καί μιν χαίροντ᾽ ἀποπέμψω.'
> But when Autolycus came to the rich community of Ithaca,
> he found a child of his daughter newly born
> whom Eurycleia set on his lap
> when his supper was over, and she spoke a word and called him by his name:
> **(p.186)** 'Autolycus, find the name yourself now, which you would give
> to the dear son of your daughter. For he is much prayed for.'
> And Autolycus answered her and addressed her:
> 'My son-in-law, and my daughter, give him the name I say,
> for I have come here angry with/hated by many,
> men and women on the fruitful earth.
> therefore let him be "Odysseus" as his signifying name. But
> when he is a young man and comes to Parnassus,
> to his great maternal home, where, methinks, my possessions are,
> I will give him of them, and send him away rejoicing.'
> 19.399–412

Autolycus perversely takes up the negative sense of Πολυάρητος (Much Prayed For), interpreting it as Much Cursed, and gives the boy the ill-omened name Odysseus.[50] He wants

him to visit him at home on Parnassus when he reaches his majority (ἡβήσας) (19.410),[51] and promises gifts. And then another relative (τῶν ἕνεκ') (on account of which) (19.413), referring to the gifts, marks the forward time shift from (C) to (B_2), the extended narrative of the scar (19.413–66). We emerge back into the present (A_2) by means of yet another relative (τὴν γρηῦς...γνῶ) (which the old woman recognized) (19.467–8).[52] Thus from Eurycleia's first recognition of the scar (19.392) to the relative which refers back to it (19.467), we have the structure (A) (B) (C) (B_2) (A_2). This means that (C), the naming vignette (19.399–412), is contained in a double frame which marks it as a story of the utmost significance.[53]

Autolycus has a reputation outside the *Odyssey* as a thief: he burgled the house of Amyntor and stole the boar's tusk helmet worn by Odysseus in the *Doloneia* (*Il.* 10.262–71). Hesiod refers to his ability to make invisible whatever his hands touched.[54] The poet-narrator informs us that he ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο | κλεπτοσύνῃ θ' ὅρκῳ τε (surpassed men | in thievery and the oath) (19.395–6): **(p.187)** presumably he could frame an oath in such a way as to deceive, and thus avoid perjury. He was devoted to Hermes and under his protection (19.396–8). This brief character sketch assumes the audience's familiarity with a figure well known in the tradition.[55] Autolycus has his origins in the plebeian folk tale figure exemplified by the Wily Lad, Till Eulenspiegel, or Cearbhall Ó Dállaigh, whose outrageous deceptions and improbably daring tricks torment his victims and delight his audience.[56] The most widely accepted etymology takes his name as a compound of αὐτο (self) and λύκος (wolf), giving the meaning 'the Wolf himself', 'the very Wolf'.[57] This bears comparison with Lycophron, the 'Wolf-Minded' son of the tyrant Periander, and is appropriate for a thief and a trickster living in the mountains, who will oversee the initiation of a young man into the skills of the hunt.[58] Apollo Lykeios (Wolf Apollo) is the patron of youths who roam the wilds like wolves during their period of initiation, and Parnassus is his sacred mountain.[59] Alternatively, if the second part of the name comes from *λύκη (light),[60] the name Autolycus would mean 'the light him/itself'. Even if the wolf etymology is the one primarily felt by both ancient and modern commentators, *λύκη must be borne in mind.

Autolycus says he has come to Ithaca ὀδυσσάμενος ('receiving and giving hatred', or 'a curse') to many (19.407–8). He names his grandson Odysseus, which can be understood in both active and middle/passive senses.[61] ὀδυσσάμενος is an aorist participle. No present form is in use, but the present could be ὀδύσομαι, ὀδύσσομαι, ὀδύζομαι, or more likely ὀδυίομαι or ὀδύομαι, and the meaning seems to imply anger or hatred. Autolycus' alienation from society becomes the motivation for Odysseus' name. In the *Iliad*[62] ὀδύσασθαι is used in an active sense of divine displeasure: in the *Odyssey*, apart from this one usage by Autolycus, it is used exclusively of the undeserved anger of the gods against Odysseus.[63] Autolycus might well incur the anger of many people, **(p.188)** because he is a thief, and perhaps he gives this name to his grandson because he intends him to carry on this family tradition.[64] Odysseus introduces himself to the Phaeacians as the Autolycan trickster, Ὀδυσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν ἀνθρώποισι μέλω (Odysseus, son of Laertes, who am a care to all men for my tricks) (9.19–20), but he is at the same time the passive victim of divine wrath.[65] While the naming vignette certainly shows that Odysseus' trickery and deception are inherited from his grandfather, Autolycus, at the very simplest level the promised gifts provide a motive for him

to visit his grandfather when grown up, and to go hunting with his maternal uncles on Apollo's sacred mountain, where a visit to 'the light himself' sounds like a visit to Apollo.

2.2. The Boar Hunt

The boar hunt (B_2) is narrated in considerable detail, suggesting that no prior knowledge of the incident is assumed. The story has no existence independent of its context in Book 19.[66] Aristotle comments that the *Odyssey* does not relate everything that happened to Odysseus in a linear narrative, and the 'delayed information' about the scar has been postponed until the audience needs to know it.[67] No one noticed a scar on Odysseus' leg when he hoisted up his rags (18.66–8) to fight Irus, and 'as far as anyone within or without the story knows, Odysseus has no scar on his leg before xix.391'.[68]

Odysseus visits Parnassus in due course, and goes hunting with his uncles on the mountain. The narrative importance of the hunt is marked by a double introduction:

> ἦμος δ᾽ ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
> βάν ῥ᾽ ἴμεν ἐς θήρην ἠμὲν κύνες ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
> **(p.189)** υἱέες Αὐτολύκου· μετὰ τοῖσι δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
> ἤϊεν· αἰπὺ δ᾽ ὄρος προσέβαν καταειμένον ὕλῃ
> Παρνησοῦ, τάχα δ᾽ ἵκανον πτύχας ἠνεμοέσσας.
> When early-rising rosy-fingered Dawn appeared,
> they went to hunt, both the dogs and the sons of Autolycus
> themselves, and with them went Odysseus,
> and they approached the steep, forest-clad mountain
> of Parnassus, and quickly they reached its windy glens.
> 19.428–32

These lines provide a time reference for departure (dawn), and introduce the hunters (Odysseus and his uncles) and their destination (Parnassus). But we are immediately given another time reference (as the sun touches the fields), and told the order of the hunters (the beaters, preceded by the dogs, and followed by the sons of Autolycus; Odysseus is at the front with the dogs). This time their destination is the boar's thicket:

> Ἠέλιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας
> ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταο βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο,
> οἱ δ᾽ ἐς βῆσσαν ἵκανον ἐπακτῆρες· πρὸ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῶν
> ἴχνι᾽ ἐρευνῶντες κύνες ἤϊσαν, αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν
> υἱέες Αὐτολύκου· μετὰ τοῖσι δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
> ἤϊεν ἄγχι κυνῶν, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.[69]
> ἔνθα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐν λόχμῃ πυκινῇ κατέκειτο μέγας σῦς.
> Then the Sun was newly touching the ploughlands
> from soft-flowing deep-eddying Ocean,
> and the beaters came to the glen. In front of them, as usual,
> went the dogs, looking for traces, but behind them
> were the sons of Autolycus: godlike Odysseus went with them
> near the hounds, brandishing his long-shadowing spear.
> But there, in a dense thicket, was lying a mighty boar.
> 19.433–9

The description of the thicket is introduced by the relative τὴν μὲν…answered by τὸν δ᾽…(the boar, disturbed by the noise):

> τὴν μὲν ἄρ οὔτ᾽ ἀνέμων διάη μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων,
> οὔτε μιν ἠέλιος φαέθων ἀκτῖσιν ἔβαλλεν,
>
> **(p.190)** οὔτ᾽ ὄμβρος περάασκε διαμπερές· ὣς ἄρα πυκνὴ
> ἦεν, ἀτὰρ φύλλων ἐνέην χύσις ἤλιθα πολλή.
> τὸν δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν τε κυνῶν τε περὶ κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖϊν,
> ὡς ἐπάγοντες ἐπῆσαν…
> Neither did the force of the moist-blowing winds penetrate that thicket,
> nor did the brilliant sun strike it with its rays,
> nor did the rain ever penetrate right through, so dense was it,
> but in it was a very great scattering of leaves.
> and the pounding from the footfalls of men and dogs reached the boar,
> as they approached, driving on…
> 19.440–5

Odysseus is the first to rush at the boar, but the quarry evades him and gores his thigh. Even as the tusk penetrates his flesh, Odysseus strikes through the boar's right shoulder:

> …ὁ δ᾽ ἀντίος ἐκ ξυλόχοιο,.
> φρίξας εὖ λοφιήν, πῦρ δ᾽ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς,
> στῆ ῥ᾽ αὐτῶν σχεδόθεν· ὁ δ᾽ ἄρα πρώτιστος Ὀδυσσεὺς
> ἔσσυτ᾽ ἀνασχόμενος δολιχὸν δόρυ χειρὶ παχείῃ,
> οὐτάμεναι μεμαώς· ὁ δέ μιν φθάμενος ἔλασεν σῦς
> γουνὸς ὕπερ, πολλὸν δὲ διήφυσε σαρκὸς ὀδόντι
> λικριφὶς ἀΐξας, οὐδ᾽ ὀστέον ἵκετο φωτός.
> τὸν δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς οὔτησε τυχὼν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον,
> ἀντικρὺ δὲ διῆλθε φαεινοῦ δουρὸς ἀκωκή·
> κὰδ δ᾽ ἔπεσ᾽ ἐν κονίῃσι μακών, ἀπὸ δ᾽ ἔπτατο θυμός.
> …The boar came out against them from his thicket,
> with his back well bristling, and looking fire in his eyes,
> and he stopped close by them: and first of all Odysseus
> rushed, holding up his long spear in his stout hand,
> eager to strike him: but eluding him, the boar struck
> above his knee, and laid the flesh deeply open, charging
> with his tusk sideways, though he did not reach the man's bone.
> But Odysseus struck him, driving home through his right shoulder
> and the point of the shining spear went straight through,
> and he fell down in the dust, with a bellow, and his life fled.
> 19.445–54

Pierced by the boar's tusk as the animal is transfixed by his spear, Odysseus is both the giver and receiver of pain: ἡβήσας (when grown up) (19.410) is glossed by an anonymous scholiast with ὀδυσσάμενος (receiving and giving pain).[70] **(p.191)** Variants of his name (Οὐλίξης, Οὐλιξεύς) (Scarman) illustrate how closely his identity is bound to this incident.[71]

On returning to the house of Autolycus (19.458), Odysseus is showered with gifts by his grandfather, and sent home rejoicing (19.461). The scar becomes his identifying mark, well known to his family and its retainers: Odysseus identifies himself to Eumaeus and Philoitius, and later to Laertes, by showing the scar and describing how it was acquired (21.217–18; 24.331–5).

The initiatory exploit symbolically required of young men in Archaic societies when they come of age appears not only in the story of Odysseus' scar, but in Orestes' revenge for Agamemnon's murder ἡβήσας ἀπετείσατο πατροφονῆα (on coming of age, he took vengeance on his father's murderer),[72] the pattern held up as an example to Telemachus (1.298–300; 3.195–200). The scar story tells of a journey abroad on which the newly grown-up Odysseus passes a test of his courage and strength, and is personally enriched as a reward.[73] He is older than he was when he went παιδνὸς ἐών (while still a child) to Messenia to recover a debt (21.15–21).[74]

Hunting by oneself with nets at night is typical of the adolescent, whereas hunting in a group, with the spear, in daylight is in keeping with the hoplite ethos. A young man's first collective hunt in company with heroes, who may include his maternal uncles, is initiatory, although not a public ritual.[75] Killing a boar at close quarters with a spear permits the hunter to take his place among the men; among the Macedonians, the thirty-five-year-old Cassander was not allowed to recline with the men at dinner because, although not lacking in courage, he had still never killed a boar without the aid of nets.[76] Herodotus (1.37.2–3) describes the frustration of Atys when his father, Croesus, tries to prevent him from hunting the boar ravaging the Lydian countryside. An air of holiday and celebration pervades the hunters' return from the mountains, as if a test had been passed with flying colours.[77] It is the initiatory aspect of the boar hunt which explains why Odysseus is sent home rejoicing (19.461), and why his parents rejoice when he tells them how he received the wound (19.463–4). (Leg and thigh wounds are found on those who have dealings with the underworld, and on those who have been initiated.)[78]

(p.192) Thereafter we find a marked affinity between the hero and the wild boar, the most aggressive of beasts (*Il.* 17.21–2).[79] Odysseus wears a boar's tusk helmet (*Il.* 10.260–71). As the other Greeks flee, he stands firm like a boar coming out of a thicket (*Il.* 11.411–20): he wounds a Trojan in the shoulder (where he wounds the boar) (*Il.* 11.420–1) and is wounded himself (as the boar wounds him) (*Il.* 11.435–7).[80] The description of the boar's lair on Parnassus shares lines with the description of Odysseus' hiding place when he swims ashore on Scheria.[81] On his return to Ithaca, Odysseus goes first to Eumaeus (14.48–9), the swineherd, who feeds him on piglets (ἔθνεα χοίρων) (14.72–7), and has the best boar slaughtered for him in the evening (14.414–39).[82] On the way into town, Melanthius[83] asks where Eumaeus is taking this μολοβρός (wild boar piglet) (17.219).[84] Irus also refers to him as a μολοβρός whose teeth (tusks?) he would like to knock out (18.26–9).[85] Odysseus is identified, then, with the **(p.193)** animal he killed on the sacred mountain of Apollo,[86] and as the end of the poem approaches, the μολοβρός grows up fast.

The scar is the mark of a test passed in Odysseus' youth. The story of how it was acquired in an initiation long ago prefaces the initiatory elements in the narrative of Odysseus' heroic epiphany at the bow contest, when he strings the bow and shoots an arrow through the twelve axes. If we consider the boar hunt test as a pattern for the bow test, Odysseus seems in each case to correspond to the marginalized initiation candidate, who is banished and severely tried, eventually to emerge triumphant and with a new status: in the case of the boar hunt, as a grown man, and in the bow contest as the husband of Penelope and the king of Ithaca.

3. Apollo

The Odysseus who will kill the suitors is no ephebe in the process of initiation, but a veteran of the Trojan War, a married man with a newly grown-up son. At the start of the fight against the suitors, however, he strips off his rags[87] to appear as an ephebe early in the period of his initiation: a youth naked and lightly armed with the bow he was given as a child (21.21). The iconographic type of the naked youth came to designate Apollo at a very early date,[88] and Odysseus framed in the doorway with his bow is like a theophany of Apollo,[89] the kouros *par excellence*. He shoots the suitors in anger (22.34–41) as Apollo shot the Greeks (*Il.* 1.44–53) and the sons of Niobe (*Il.* 24.605–9). His arrows exhausted (22.119), Odysseus lays aside the bow and puts on a helmet, taking up a shield and two spears (22.122–5), which transform him into the hoplite warrior the ephebe becomes at the end of his initiation period. The divine model for this hoplite figure is Apollo Delphinios, who introduces into the community the young hoplites who have passed their tests, completed the ephebeia, and made the transition into manhood and official and political roles.[90] Odysseus appears in these guises when he is negotiating a transition— **(p.194)** from despised beggar to the key political role in Ithaca, the king and the returned husband of Penelope.

3.1. The Advent of Odysseus

And then the moon, like to a silver bow…

William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act 1, Scene 1

The disguised beggar swears a solemn oath to Eumaeus, and later Penelope:

> ἦ μέν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται ὡς ἀγορεύω
> τοῦδ᾽ αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ᾽ Ὀδυσσεύς,
> τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένοιο.
> Certainly, all these things are being accomplished as I say
> Odysseus will come here this very *lycabas*,
> While the old moon is waning and the new moon rising.
> 14.160–2 = 19.305–7

The word *lycabas* occurs in Homeric epic only at 14.161 and 19.306, and its meaning is disputed. In later Greek it meant 'year':[91] it could also mean 'month',[92] or even 'day' (19.306). Maas[93] explained it as 'the time when wolves run', from λύκος (wolf) and ἄβα (running), i.e. winter. More convincingly, it is explained as 'a going of the light', from *λυκ (light as in Latin *lux, lucis*) and βαίνω (I go): the dark night of the new moon.[94] The genitive case (τοῦδ᾽ αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος) means we are dealing with a *period within which* Odysseus will return, not a

point at which he will come. The reference in the following line to the old moon's waning and the new moon's appearance (19.307) indicates the *interlunium*, the dark period of 1.5–3.5 nights when no moon is visible: *λύκα βάντα (when the light is gone).[95] The *interlunium* ends with a festival (20.156, **(p.195)** 276–8; 21.258–9) identified by the scholiast as that of Apollo Noumenios (Apollo of the New Moon).[96] Odysseus' first night on Ithaca is characterized as σκοτομήνιος (dark and moonless) (14.457): it falls in the period of *lycabas*, when the light is gone and the month is drawing to its close.[97] (The weather is bad too (14.458), and cloaks and sheepskins are required as bedclothes.)[98] When, on the third night, the disguised hero declares that Odysseus will come 'this very *lycabas*', he must mean he will come before the new moon appears at the festival of Apollo Noumenios the following day.

3.2. Odysseus at Apollo's Festival

Apollo is always summoned to his festival from abroad, from Lycia or from the Hyperboreans,[99] and in the spring takes over his sanctuary at Delphi from Dionysus;[100] Odysseus is likewise abroad for a long period, and returns at the festival of Apollo, to take over from the suitors and their Dionysiac revels. In north-western Greece, Apollo is celebrated with assemblies at the new moon which brings in the new year.[101] The first month of the Delphian calendar is Apellaios, named for the festival Apellaia of the god Apellon/Apollo, at which grown-up young men are introduced into the assembly (ἀπέλλα) of the full adult community.[102] In Ithaca preparations are in hand for what might well be this festival: the heralds lead a hecatomb for sacrifice and the people of Ithaca assemble in the grove of Apollo (20.276–8), where the celebrations will last all day. Telemachus orders fine sacrificial victims (ἱερήϊα καλά) (17.600) to be brought to the palace, where the suitors are expected early for the festival (20.156), which they celebrate by sacrificing (20.250–1). Perhaps we should **(p.196)** think of the bow contest as a test of fitness for transition into the adult community: Telemachus would have strung the bow at his fourth attempt, if his father had not stopped him (21.124–9), and he fakes frustration, saying he is ἄκικυς (feeble) and νεώτερος (too young) (21.131–2), before making way for the (slightly older) suitors.[103]

A host of references to Apollo precede his festival at the new moon: the god is responsible for the omen which signifies Telemachus' succession to the kingship (15.525–34); he is repeatedly invoked with Zeus and Athene in support of Odysseus against the suitors and their kin.[104] Perhaps because Apollo is responsible for the sudden death of young men,[105] Melanthius prays for Apollo to kill Telemachus (17.251). Odysseus reminds Melantho that by the grace of Apollo (19.86) Odysseus has a son, Telemachus, whose notice presumptuous maidservants will not escape. Penelope prays for Apollo to strike Antinous (17.494): her prayer is answered when he is the first suitor to fall to Odysseus' arrows (22.15–20). On the dark night before the festival, all the light is provided by Odysseus: the torchlight reflected from his bald head (18.353–5) parodies the radiance of a theophany,[106] or perhaps refers to the eternal fire in Apollo's sanctuary.[107] Odysseus and Penelope (21.280; 21.338; 22.7) both believe Apollo will determine the victor of the archery contest. As the swineherd carries the bow to Odysseus, one of the suitors wishes that Apollo would favour the suitors, and Eumaeus would be eaten by his own dogs (21.363–6). The bow and the lyre, two of Apollo's τιμαί (special attributes),[108] are evoked as Odysseus strings his bow:

ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἀνὴρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδῆς
ῥηϊδιως ἐτάνυσσε νέῳ περὶ κόλλοπι χορδήν,
ἄψας ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐϋστρεφὲς ἔντερον οἰός.
As when a man skilled at the lyre and singing
Easily stretches the string around a new peg,
Fastening on both sides the flexible gut of a sheep.
21.406–8

(p.197) When he plucks the bowstring with his right hand to check the tension, it sings like a swallow (21.410–11) (associated with the coming of spring after the winter imagery which accompanies his journey from Ogygia to Ithaca).[109] Armed with the bow and framed in the doorway (22.1–3),[110] Odysseus invokes Apollo (22.7) before shooting his first arrow at Antinous. The suitors leap up from their seats when Antinous is shot (22.23), as the gods leap up when Apollo enters:

Μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο,
ὅν τε θεοὶ κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς τρομέουσιν ἰόντα·
καί ῥά τ᾽ ἀναΐσσουσιν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο
πάντες ἀφ᾽ ἑδράων, ὅτε φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει.
I shall remember, nor let me be forgetful of Apollo the far-shooter,
At whom the gods tremble when he walks into the house of Zeus:
And at his coming near, they all leap up
from their seats, when he strings his shining bow.
h. Ap. 1–4[111]

The *Odyssey* indicates its rivalry with the *Iliad* not least in the contrast between the doomed Achilles, the *Iliad*'s double of Apollo, and the eventually triumphant Odysseus, who is in many ways the *Odyssey*'s successful double of Apollo. Apollo kills Achilles who mirrors him,[112] whereas Odysseus successfully assumes Apollo's role as killer of young men.[113]

3.3. Purification and a New Beginning

Apollo is connected with the first month of the year, with birth, arrival, and a new beginning. Nothing is carried over: at the Babylonian new year festival, even the king is deposed, humiliated, abused, and finally reinstated.[114] As **(p.198)** Odysseus anticipates (16.274–7), the suitors abuse him, pelt him, and threaten to drag him out.[115] There is no new beginning without complete catharsis of the old order. Apollo is responsible for the expulsion of what is impure and the incorporation of proper elements into the community. In the context of a new beginning, such as the new year, it was customary on the day before the festival to drive out scapegoats from the pure centre of the community.[116] Irus was expelled from the palace on the day before the festival of Apollo: Odysseus dragged him outside, propped him up against the fence, and put a staff into his hand (18.100–3). The staff is the σκῆπτρον given to Odysseus by Eumaeus (17.199): its transfer to Irus is the investiture of a scapegoat. Odysseus also slaughters and removes the suitors (22.448) and the disloyal maids (22.457–73), and incorporates into the community proper elements in the form of Eumaeus and Philoitius, who have longed for his coming (14.137–44; 21.200–3, 209–10), and to each of whom he promises a wife, possessions, and a house near his own (21.213–16).[117] The palace is purified: the chairs

and tables are washed (22.452–3), the earth floor scraped with shovels and the scrapings taken outside (22.454–6), and the building is fumigated with fire and sulphur (22.481–2, 493–4).[118] Telemachus and the loyal servants bathe and put on fresh clothes (23.142–3), and Odysseus does likewise (23.153–5), emerging from the bath δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος (in form like the immortals) (23.163), his long hair curling like the hyacinth flower, an unmistakable reference to spring, which recalls Hyacinthus, Apollo's boy lover.[119] Like the liminal Apollo,[120] Odysseus is a controller of passages and borders. In the Wooden Horse, he controlled the door (11.524–5). He negotiated an exit from the Cyclops' cave (9.425–63) and from Hades (11.636–40); he negotiated the twin perils of Scylla and Charybdis (12.201–59, 431–46) no more than a bow shot apart (12.83–4, 102). He comes from the margins of the world to his home in Ithaca as Apollo comes from the Hyperboreans to the centre of the earth at Delphi. He sits on the threshold of his hall (18.17, 33, 110): he gives orders for the women to close its doors and for Philoitius to close the gates of the yard **(p.199)** (21.235–41). It is no accident that Telemachus and Leodes stand on the threshold when they try, and fail, to string the bow (21.124, 149), but like the archer, Apollo, or a lightly armed ephebe, Odysseus leaps onto the threshold of his hall and stands there to shoot his arrows at the suitors (22.2),[121] and like Apollo Delphinios, or a fully fledged hoplite, he fights them with hoplite weapons in company with other heavily armed men.

Notes:

([1]) See Jones (1992: 88) for restricted use of paradigm in the *Odyssey*.

([2]) Martin (1989: 228–30), with reference to *Il*. 2.594–600; *Il*. 5.638–42, 392–404; *Il*. 9.328–9: see also Herrero de Jáuregui (2011).

([3]) Cf. Bacchylides 5.71–6, and see Galinsky (1972: 14); Clay (1983: 93–4).

([4]) Hesiod, *Th*. 287–94; Stesichorus 17–20 Finglass; Aeschylus, *Heracleidae TrGF* IIIF74; *A*. 870; Euripides, *HF* 423; Aristophanes, *Ach*. 1082; Apollodorus 2.5.10. Geryon appears with his cattle on an ivory pyxis of the first quarter of the sixth century BC from Chiusi: *LIMC* 4/1, s.v. Geryoneus B7 no. 7; *LIMC* 4/2 pl. 105. His fight with Heracles (in which he is sometimes shown with an arrow in the eye or forehead) appears in art from the mid-seventh century: see *LIMC* 4/1 s.v. Geryoneus C nos 2–5, 8–16, 19; *LIMC* 4/2 pls 104–6; *LIMC* 5/1 s.v. Herakles IV.L, nos 2462–75, 2479–2502, 2505–7, 2512; *LIMC* 5/2 pls 84–9; Davies (1988).

([5]) Thompson (1955–8) R185.

([6]) Heracles' catabasis is mentioned also by Pindar, fr. 346 SM; Bacchylides 5.56–62. Stesichorus presumably told the story in his poem *Kerberos*: see 165 Finglass, and Davies and Finglass (eds) (2014: 461).

([7]) Clay (1983: 92–6); Martin (1989: 229–30); Danek (1998a: 151); Schein (2002, esp. 93, 96–7); Liapis (2006); Andersen (2012); S. West (2012: 129, 135).

([8]) βίη Ἡρακλείη: *Il*. 2.658, 666; 5.638; 11.690; 15.640; 19.98; *Od*. 11.601; Hesiod, *Th*. 289, 315, 332, 943, 982; *Sc*. 52, 69, 115, 349, 416, 452; *Cat*. fr. 25.18; fr. 33a.23, 25, 30; fr. 35.1. Cf.

ἱερὴ ἶς Τηλεμάχοιο (the holy strength of Telemachus) (2.409); κρατερὴ ἶς ᾿Οδυσῆος (the mighty strength of Odysseus) (*Il*. 23.720); ἶς ᾿Ηρακλῆος (the strength of Heracles) (Hesiod, *Th*. 951); ἶς βίης ᾿Ηρακλείης (the strength of Heraclean might) (Hesiod, *Th*. 332): see Burkert (1972a: 81); Schein (1984: 135–6, 164), (2002: 90–1).

(9) Telegonus from Circe, Polypoites from Callidice, the Thesprotian queen, Telemachus and Ptoliporthes or Arcesilaus from Penelope: Proclus Argumenta *PEG* i.101.1–103.20, Apollodorus, *Epit*.7.34–7: see Marks (2008: 84, 87–9); Tsagalis (2015).

(10) e.g. Euripides, *Alc*. 747–60 and see Burkert (1985: 211 and 430 with nn. 29–31). On the common trait, see Stanford (1992: 66–71); Finkelberg (1995a: 6); Rutherford (2001: 140).

(11) θυμολέοντα: Heracles: *Il*. 5.639; *Od*. 11.267; Odysseus: *Od*. 4.724, 814. πτολίπορθος: Heracles: Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 25.23; 229.17 MW; Odysseus: *Il*. 2.278; *Il*. 10.363; *Od*. 8.3; 9.504, 530 (both πτολιπόρθιος); 14.447; 16.442; 18.356; 22.283; 24.119. Heracles sacked Oechalia, Pylos, Cos, and Troy: Hesiod, *Cat*. frs 26; 35; 43a; 165.

(12) Heracles' ἀέθλοι: Hesiod, *Th*. 951; *Il*. 8.363; 15.30; 19.133; *Od*. 11.621–2. Odysseus' ἀέθλοι: 1.18; 21.73, 135; 22.5; 23.248, 350–1.

(13) *h*. *Hom*. 15.6: in all MSS except M.

(14) *Il*. 8.97; *Il*. 9.672; *Il*. 10.248; *Il*. 23.729, 778; *Od*. 5.171, 354, 486; 6.1; 7.133, 139, 177, 329; 8.199, 446; 13.250, 353; 14.148; 15.340; 16.186, 225, 258, 266; 17.280, 560; 18.90, 281; 19.102; 22.191, 261; 23.111; 24.176, 232, 348, 490, 504, 537; Sophocles, *Aj*. 956.

(15) A gift from Apollo: Apollonius Rhodius 1.88; Apollodorus 2.4.11. For Heracles' bow and arrows, see *LIMC* 5/1: 184. His club is first mentioned in Stesichorus 281 Finglass.

(16) As used against Geryon (Hesiod, *Th*. 287–92; Stesichorus 19 Finglass; *LIMC* 5/1: 5–6, 73–6), and the Centaurs (Apollodorus 2.5.4).

(17) The hemistich (≈ 19.586b) anticipates the slaughter of the suitors: Sch. QT on 8.215 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.373)), and see Andersen (2012: 141 n. 11).

(18) 2.73; 4.319, 822; 14.85; 15.387; 16.121, 234; 20.314; 22.234: Garvie (ed.) (1994: 283) on 8.216–17.

(19) Homer does not mention the story known to artists and later authors, that Heracles gave his bow (and arrows tipped with the Hydra's blood) to Philoctetes (*LIMC* 5/1: 128 and 5/2, pl. 120 nos 2909, 2912, 2914; 7/1: 378, s.v. Philoctetes C. nos 3, 4, 5, and 7; Sophocles, *Tr*. 1191–9; Diodorus Siculus 4.38.3–8; Ovid, *Met*. 9.229–38; Dio Chrys. *Or*. 52.15; Hyginus, *Fab*. 36; Servius on *Aen*. 8.300; 1st Vatican Mythographer 1.59.1–2 (= Zorzetti (ed.) (1995: 37)); Clay (1983: 92–3 and n. 71)). However, a reference to the wound which caused Philoctetes to be abandoned on Lemnos (*Il*. 2.716–26) surely hints at the role he and his bow were to play in the destruction of Troy: see Danek (1998a: 151) on 8.215–28. In Proclus' summary of the *Ilias Parva* (*PEG* i.74) Philoctetes killed Paris: see also Apollodorus, *Epit*. 5.8.

(20) On Euryalus' failure to reply, see Martin (1984, esp. 41, 44).

(21) Sch. Q on 8.224 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.374)). He did, however, fight Apollo for possession of the Delphic tripod: Apollodorus 2.6.2; see also Plutarch, *Moralia: De E apud Delphos* 6D; *De sera numinis vindicta* 12C; Pindar, *Olympian* 9.29; Cicero, *De natura deorum* iii.16.42; Hyginus, *Fab*. 32; Servius on *Aen*. 8.299.

(22) Apollonius Rhodius 1.88–9 and Hyginus, *Fab*. 14.8.

(23) *Il*. 5.440–2; *Il*. 6.130–40; *Il*. 24.602–17; *Od*. 4.499–511. The fates of Marsyas and Arachne show that it is κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν (bad policy to contend with the gods): Callimachus, *h*. 2.25 and F. Williams (1978: 35 *ad loc*.); Scodel (2004a: 6–7).

(24) Sch. B on *Il*. 2.599: πηρόν: ἔνιοι δὲ πεπρηρωμένον καὶ βεβλαμμένον αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν (pēros: according to some, this means incapacitated and wounded in his mind). For further discussion, see Wilson (2009: 50, 77–8).

(25) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 59.2 and 65 MW; Sophocles, *TGrF* 4 *Thamyris* 236a–45.

(26) Martin (1989: 228–30), (2001, esp. 30, 32); Ford (1992: 93–101); Wilson (2009: 48–59), who thinks that the poet is trying to suppress a rival view of the afterlife promoted by the Andanian mysteries at Messenian Oechalia, which began with sacrifice to Eurytus (Pausanias 4.3.10, 4.33.5).

(27) See Burkert (1972a: 80–2); Haubold (2005, esp. 94–5); *GEF* 19–20 on poems about Heracles before 700 BC. For the opposite view, that the Homeric epics do not usually criticize other heroes and traditions, see Scodel (2004a).

(28) Homer is familiar with much that he suppresses: Maehler (1963: 27 n. 1); Griffin (2001: esp. 369–70); de Jong (2004: 95); Krischer (1992: 20); Danek (1998a: 151–3 and 404–5); Schein (2002: 95).

(29) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 26.29–31 MW. Their names appear on Louvre E635 (see n. 33), where Deion appears as Didaion.

(30) North-west Messenia: Strabo 8.3.25 C.350 and 8.4.5. C.360 identifies an Oechalia in Arcadia near Andania with that of Eurytus: see also Pherecydes, *FGrHist*. 3 F82a; Pliny, *NH* 4.5.15; Steph. Byz. (s.v. Οἰχαλία); Pausanias 4.2.2, 4.33.4; Eustathius 298.25–8 on *Il*.2.596 (= van der Valk (ed.) (1971–87: 461)); Hölscher (1988: 68). Thessaly: Strabo 8.3.6 C.339; (near Trikka: 9.5.17 C.438; 10.1.10 C.448); Steph. Byz. (s.v. Οἰχαλία); Pausanias 4.2.3; Sch. QV on 8.224 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.374)). *CIL* 3.586.13 mentions a *monumentum Euryti* between Lamia and Hypata: see also Wilhelm (1905); *IG* 9.2. viii. corr. 7. For Oechalia as the village of Eretria in Euboea, see Hecataeus, *FGrHist*. 1 F28; Sophocles, *Tr*. 74; Strabo 9.5.17 C.438; 10.1.10 C.448; Pausanias 4.2.3; Pliny, *NH* 4.12.64; Pomponius Mela 2.108; Huxley (1969: 105).

([31]) Creophylus, frs 1–3 *PEG* i.161–4: see also Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 229.3–4 MW; Strabo 14.1.18. The epic was said to have been given to Creophylus by Homer in return for hospitality: Proclus, *Vita Homeri* 30–2 (Severyns (ed.) (1963: 71)). It was well known in the seventh century: Burkert (1972a: 80–5). The -ηος suffix which designates Eurytus as an inhabitant of Oechalia (*Il*. 2.596, 730, and *Od*. 8.224) belongs to a non-Iliadic epic tradition.

([32]) According to Pherecydes, *FGrHist*.3 F82a, Heracles wanted Iole for his son, Hyllus: see also Preller-Robert (1920–6: ii.583 n. 1).

([33]) The feast appears on Louvre E635, a column crater of *c*.600 BC from Cerveteri: *LIMC* 4/1: 118–19 and 4/2, pl. 62, s.v. Eurytus 1.1. Clement of Alexandria claims that Panyassis of Halicarnassus used Creophylus' material on the sack of Oechalia for his *Herakleis* (*Stromateis* 6.2.25 (= Matthews (ed.) (1974: 129 fr. 27)), on which see Huxley (1969: 178)). Three long fragments describe the feast at which Heracles became drunk and was ejected by his host, as in Sophocles, *Tr*. 263–8; Ion of Chios, *Eurytidae* (*TrGF* 1² 19 F10). The return with the army and sack are related by Apollodorus 2.7.7. The refusal and killing in Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 229.3–4 MW probably refer to Eurytus' refusal to give Iole to Heracles, and his death at Heracles' hands. Eurytus' fate varies: in Pherecydes, *FGrHist*.3 F82a, and Herodorus, *FGrHist*.31 F37, he escaped to Euboea, but his sons, including Iphitus, perished (cf. *LIMC* 5/1: 738–9, s.v. Iphitos nos 2–7 and 5/2, pl. 483, Iphitos 1.2; 1.3). In Sophocles, *Tr*. 359–65; Apollodorus 2.7.7, Hyginus, *Fab*. 31, 35; Servius on *Aen*. 8.291, Heracles kills Eurytus: see Huxley (1969: 105–6) and Hölscher (1988: 165): Eustathius 1899.36–8 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.246)) takes this version as later. In Diodorus 4.31.2–3 there is no archery contest, and Heracles' revenge for being refused Iole is the theft of Eurytus' mares. According to Apollodorus 2.6 and Eusthathius 1899.38–40 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.246)), the mares (Apollodorus says cattle) were stolen by Autolycus: Eustathius says he passed them on to Heracles.

([34]) Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional 10916 (by the Sappho Painter, 510–500 BC) (= *LIMC* 1/1: 861 and 1/2, pl. 687, s.v. Antiphonos 1 = 4/1: 118 s.v. Eurytos 1–3 = 5/1: 701–2 and 5/2, pl. 465, Iole 1.2); cf. *LIMC* 4/1: 118, s.v. Eurytus 1.7 and 4/2, pl. 62, a red-figure stamnos of 500–450 BC, where an arrow is shot into the target on Iole's breast. For Heracles fighting Eurytus and his sons, see New York Metropolitan Museum 12.231.2 (red-figure cup by Euphronius as potter, *c*.490 BC = *LIMC* 5/1: 739, s.v. Iphitus 1.2 and 5/2, pl. 483); Palermo Mus. Arch. Regionale V653 (red-figure cup by Epictetus as potter, 510–500 BC = *LIMC* 4/1: 118, s.v. Eurytus 4); Louvre G50, a red-figure hydria of 500–450 BC (= *LIMC* 3/1: 151 and 3/2, pl. 131, s.v. Bousiris 32); *LIMC* 5/1: 117–19, s.v. Eurytus 1, nos 3–8 and 5/2, pl. 62, nos 2, 5, 7. Vase painters seem to have followed a version in which the archery contest was immediately followed by the sack, after a quarrel broke out at the feast: D. Williams (1983: 138).

([35]) Sch. BQ on 21.22 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.696)) and Eustathius 1593.30–1 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.293)), followed by Friedländer (1907: 74) and Schischwani (1995: 253).

([36]) Slatkin (1991: 4).

(37) Krischer (1992: 20–1), and see n. 17 in this chapter.

(38) The mares were stolen by Autolycus, according to Apollodorus 2.6.1–2.

(39) Schein (2002: 95); Andersen (2012: 145–6).

(40) The subject of παρέθηκεν (put beside) is probably Heracles (Sch. B on 21.27 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.697)); Schein (2002: 95–8)), but it could be Iphitus (who would then have put the table beside Heracles when he was a guest in the house of Eurytus), as argued by Hölscher (1988: 67 and 328 n. 39).

(41) Kirchhoff (1879: XIV no. 35 and 293 no. 35) athetized 21.15–41 as interpolated. Blass (1973: 239–40) also athetized, arguing that since Messene did not belong to Sparta until after the first Messenian War (*c.*740–720 BC), the verses could not be earlier than the seventh century. But Sch. BQ and Sch. V on 21.13 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.696)) indicate that in heroic times Messene was part of Lacedaemon, and was not separated from it until after the return of the Heracleidae. This is supported by Sch. bT on *Il.* 5.544 and *Il.* 9.150 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.78, 430)): see Hölscher (1988; 68 and 328 n. 41). The bow's pedigree has a significant function in the poem, and should be regarded as integral.

(42) See n. 40.

(43) ξένον παλαιὸν ὄντα (although he was a guest-friend of long standing) (Sophocles, *Tr.* 262–3) refers to Heracles when he visited Eurytus and was thrown out, but imitates ὅς μιν ξεῖνον ἐόντα (21.27), where the mistreated guest-friend is Iphitus visiting Heracles: see Liapis (2006: 63–4). According to Pherecydes, *FGrHist.* 3 F82b (= *EGM* i.82b), Heracles killed Iphitus by throwing him off the walls of Tiryns when he came to look for his father's mares: see also Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.417–23; Sophocles, *Tr.* 269–80; Diodorus 4.31.2–3; Apollodorus 2.6.2; Preller-Robert (1920–6: ii.586), but this version of his death should not be used to supplement the information given in 21.11–41.

(44) The murder is 'either an *ad hoc* invention or a passage lifted from somewhere else': see Jones (1992: 80–1): *contra* Friedländer (1907: 74–5), Wellmann (*RE* 6.1361), and Schischwani (1995: 252–3).

(45) Crissy (1997: 43, 45, 50–1); Thalmann (1998: 175–7); Schein (2002: 94–8).

(46) Danek (1998a: 405) on 21.13–41; Andersen (2012: 148–50).

(47) Schein (2002: 96–7).

(48) Cf. Eumaeus' complaint about the suitors οὐκ ὄπιδα φρονέοντες (not thinking in their minds of vengeance) (14.82): even pirates fear ὄπις (vengeance) (14.88).

(49) The scar story is told from the narrator's viewpoint, not Eurycleia's: see Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 184) on 19.392: *contra* de Jong (1985). For other possible perspectives, see Doherty (1995a: 129, 155–7); Clayton (2004: 74–8).

(50) See Wüst's list of Greek, Latin, and Etruscan forms: *RE* 17/2 cols 1905–96 §§1–3; §5 presents the many etymologies of the name and its variants: all are finally unconvincing, and he concludes that Odysseus is a non-Greek name, although that does not preclude the force of the etymologies circulating in antiquity being felt: see also Peradotto (1990: 119, 124–46, 163–70).

(51) At sixteen to eighteen years of age. There were two stages of majority in classical Athens: puberty at age sixteen, and full majority at eighteen: see Vidal-Naquet (1986: 97–9, 143–4). Herodotus 3.50 records the reception of the sons of Periander by their maternal grandfather, Procles of Epidaurus, when they reached the age of majority at seventeen and eighteen: see Gernet (1955: 26–7). For the relationship between son and maternal grandfather, see Bremmer (1983).

(52) Auerbach (1953: 3–23) used the scar narrative (19.393–466) to illustrate his thesis that Homer is narrating, at any one time, the only and actual present. His view has been criticized by Köhnken (2009), who explains the scar story as information provided by the omniscient narrator at a time when the audience needs to know it—after the recognition, but before its effect—the 'delayed information' of n. 67 in this chapter. The flaws in Auerbach's thesis are well exposed by Lynn-George (1988: 8–27) and C. Segal (1994: 6–9). For a useful summary of earlier critics of Auerbach's work, see de Jong (2004: 22–3).

(53) Van Otterlo (1944: 146–8). See Gaisser (1969: 20–1) for analysis.

(54) Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 67b MW.

(55) Danek (1998a: 382–3) on 19.390–468.

(56) Some accounts make Hermes his father: Hesiod, *Cat*. fr. 64 MW; Pherecydes, *FGrHist*. 3 F120 (= fr. 120 *EGM* i.339–40). Cearbhall Ó Dállaigh has much in common with the Irish god Lugh, who is, like Hermes, a cattle thief: see Doan (1982: 54–6).

(57) See Beck in *LfgrE* s.v. Αὐτόλυκος; Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.331–2) on 19.394; Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.96) on 19.394; Clay (1983: 59); Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 184) on 19.394; Rutherford in Finkelberg (ed.) (2011: i.120).

(58) See Sourvinou-Inwood (1991: 246–61); Graf (2009: 112).

(59) See Versnel (1993: 315–19 with n. 89); Graf (2009: 120–2, 132). Parnassus is mentioned at every reference to the story of the scar: 19.394, 411, 431–2, 466; 21.220; 24.332.

(60) So also (a) the epithet of Apollo, Λυκηγενής (born in the light, not 'born in Lycia' as Sch. T on *Il*. 4.101 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: i.464)): see Graf (2009: 12)) (*Il*. 4.101, 119), and (b) λυκάβας (going of the light, *interlunium*) (14.161 = 19.306): see Usener (1896: 198–202) and this chapter, §3.1.

(61) See Beck in *LfgrE* s.v. ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι.

(62) *Il.* 6.138; *Il.* 8.37 = *Il.* 8.468; *Il.* 18.292. See also Hesiod, *Th.* 617.

(63) 1.62; 5.339–40, 423; 19.275–6.

(64) On Odysseus' Autolycan qualities, see Stanford (1992: 8–24); Russo (1993).

(65) On the name Odysseus to signify both a troublemaker and a victim of divine anger, see Sch. V on 19.407 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.681)) where ὀδύσσαμενος is glossed as μισηθείς (Hated), ὀργὴν ἀγαγών (Bringing Anger), and as βλάψας (Harming); Eustathius 1391.42 on 1.61 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.20)), 1567.62 on 7.63 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.259)), 1871.19 on 19.407 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.209)); see also Rank (1951: 51–65); Stanford (1952); Dimock (1963), (1989: 257–9); Köhnken (2009: 56–9); Clay (1983: 59–65); Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.97) on 19.407; Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 185–6) on 19.406–9, who also gives the link with ὀδύρομαι (grieve); Levaniouk (2011: 160). Eustathius 1871.27–8 on 19.407 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.210)) takes ὀδυσσάμενος at 19.407 in a strictly passive sense: παθητικῶς οὐ μὴν κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν (passive, certainly not active). See also Chapter 9, §3.7.4.

(66) Danek (1998a: 384–5) on 19.390–468.

(67) Aristotle, *Po.* 1451a 23–9. See Abramowiczówna (1980). On 'delayed information' introducing details at the moment when they give rise to a new element in the story, see Fraenkel (ed.) (1950: ii.38–9) on Aeschylus, *A.* 59 and (1950: iii.805) Appendix A; Macleod (ed.) (1982: 137) on *Il.* 24.574–5; Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 182–4) on 19.390–1.

(68) See Olson (1995: 155 with n. 36).

(69) The phrase recurs at 22.95, 97; 24.519, 522: see Segal (1994: 8–9). The motif is borrowed from Ajax in the duel with Hector (*Il.* 7.213): the boar hunt turns into a duel between Odysseus and the boar: Rohdich (1990, esp. 39–40). Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 187–8), elaborated by Petropoulos (2011: 116) points to the use of phrases found in the battle scenes of the *Iliad*: οὐτάμεναι μεμαώς (eager to strike) (19.449) appears also at *Il.* 21.68; λικριφὶς ἀΐξας (charging with his tusk sideways) (19.451) at *Il.* 14.463; κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον (through the right shoulder) (19.452) at *Il.* 5.46, 98; 11.507; 16.343; 22.133; 19.454 = 16.469 (the death of Patroclus' horse, Pedasus). The description at 19.433–4 of the newly risen sun touching the ploughlands appears also at *Il.* 7.421–2, where it prefaces not battle, but funeral.

(70) See Dimock (1989: 258), where no reference is given. The gloss on ἡβήσας (i.e. ὀδυσσάμενος) is omitted by Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.680) on 19.410, but printed by Maio and Buttmann (eds) (1821: 515) *ad loc.*

(71) See Peradotto (1990: 146), but for full discussion of the name, see Wüst, cited in n. 50.

(72) Hesiod, *Cat.* fr. 23a.29.

(73) Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1981: 137–9).

(74) In my view, Petropoulos (2011:120–3) is wrong to place the visit to Ortilochus chronologically later than the boar hunt: Odysseus was παιδνὸς (a child) when he visited Ortilochus (21.21); he is to hunt the boar ἡβήσας (on reaching his majority) (19.410).

(75) See Vidal-Naquet (1986: 118–19); Detienne (1973, esp. 303); Lonis (1979: 202 with 221 nn. 46, 47, 48); Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1981); Versnel (1993: 68–88 with nn. 136 and142); Barringer (2001: 154).

(76) Athenaeus 1.18a.

(77) On the celebrations after initiation into hunting, see Graf (2009: 112).

(78) Sch. on Aristophanes, *Eq*. 1368 (Theseus); Herodotus 6.134 (Miltiades); Apollodorus 2.5.12 (Heracles). On the significance of wounds in the foot and leg, see Bremmer (1979: 9–15). Pythagoras may have had an initiation mark on his leg: Sch. on Lucian, *Vita* 6 (= Rabe (ed.) (1906: 124)): ἐλέγετο γὰρ ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐντετυπῶσθαι τῷ δεξίῳ αὐτοῦ μηρῷ τὸν Φοῖβον (for Pythagoras was said to be imprinted on his right thigh with [an image of] Apollo). This may refer to the 'golden thigh' (Iamblichus *VP* (= Deubner (ed.) (1975: 140))), or perhaps a 'sacred seal' which Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 10.1076 records was burned into devotees with red hot needles: at the burial of the initiate, the dedicated part was covered with a golden plate: see Dodds (1951: 163 n. 43); Burkert (1972b: 159–60).

(79) Aristotle, *Hist. Anim*. 630a 2–3: see Clay (1983: 77 with n. 47).

(80) These passages may inspire the boar's shoulder wound: see Petropoulos (2011: 117).

(81) 5.478–80 ≈ 19.440–2; 5.483 ≈ 19.443: see Russo (1993), who takes the Phaeacian thicket as the pattern for the boar's thicket.

(82) See Olson (1995: 124–5).

(83) The name Melanthius (Black) may well have evoked the mythical conflict between the Black One and the Fair One such as that enshrined in the aetiological myth of the Apatouria at Athens, at which ephebes were received into the phratry: Hellanicus, *FGrHist*. 4 F125; Ephorus, *FGrHist*. 70 F22; Konon, *Diegesis* in *FGrHist*. 26 F 1, 39; Strabo 9.1.7 (393 C); Frontinus, *Strategemata* 2.5.41; Polyaenus, *Strategemata* 1.19; Pausanias 2.18.8–9, 9.5.16; Eusebius, *Chronicorum Canonum Liber Hf* (= Schoene (ed.) (1967: ii.56)); John of Antioch in *FHG* iv: 539 no. 19; Proclus, *in Timaeum* 21b (1.88.11–1.90.12) (= Tarrant (ed.) (2007: i.181–3)); Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 27.301–7; Michael Apostolios s.v. *Ἀπιὼν ἐς Ἀπατούρια* in Leutsch and Schneidewin (eds) (1958: ii.294); Michael Psellus, *De actionum nominibus* 40 (= Migne (ed.) (1866: cols 1017d–20a)); Tzetzes Sch. on Aristophanes, *Ra*. 798; Lycophron, *Alexandra* 767 with scholia (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: ii.66–7)); *Etym. Magn*. s.v. *apatouria* (Gaisford (ed.) (1848: cols 336–7)) and s.v. *koureotis* (Gaisford (ed.) (1848: cols 1522–3)); *Lexica Segueriana* s.v. *apatouria* (= Bekker (ed.) (1814–21: i.416–17)); Sch. on Aelius Aristides, *Or*. 1.118.20 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1829: iii.111–12)); Sch. on Aristophanes, *Ach*. 146; *Pax* 890; *Suda* s.v. *apatouria* (= Adler (ed.) (1928–38: i. no. 2940)), *Melanthos* (= Adler (ed.) (1928–48: iii.

no.458)), *melan* (= Adler (ed.) (1928–48: iii. no.451)), and *Xanthus* (= Adler (ed.) (1928–48: iii. no.8)): see Vidal-Naquet (1986: 109–12, 123–4 n. 15).

(84) For the term μολοβρός, see Aelian, *NA* 7.47; Hipponax, fr. 77. Melanthius may be mocking Eumaeus' role as swineherd (Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.287) on 17.219) or may refer to the omnivorous nature of beggars: *μολο- means dirt, and -βρος derives from βιβρώσκω (eat): see de Leeuw in *LfgrE*. Other possible meanings of μολοβρός are glutton, hairless, pest-ridden, diseased: see Steiner (ed.) (2010: 106) on 17.219.

(85) Sch. VQBH on 18.29 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.655)) and Eustathius 1835.47 on 18.29 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.165)) refer to a Cypriot law permitting teeth to be pulled from a pig found ravaging crops (as they do: *Il*. 9.540–2; Aelian, *NA* 5.45; Callimachus, *h*. 3.156).

(86) Russo (1993: 58); Levaniouk (2011: 166–89). Meleager was said to have dedicated the lance which killed the Calydonian boar in Apollo's temple at Delphi: Pausanias 2.7.7–8.

(87) On the ritual nudity of the ἐκδύσια (clothes off) at Malla and Dreros before conferring hoplite arms, see *IC* 1.9.1.11–12 (Dreros) (πανάζωστοι: unarmed); 1.9.1.98–100 pp. 84–5 (ἐγδυομένους: stripped), with Guarducci's comment (p. 87); 1.19.1.18 (Mallos) with Guarducci's comment (p. 232) (Cretan ἐσδυομέναν = ἐκδυομέναν). See also Antoninus Liberalis 17; Ovid, *Met*. 9.666–797; Pausanias 1.19.1, and Vidal-Naquet (1986: 117 with 127 n. 58); Burkert (1985: 261 with 449 nn. 5, 6, 7, 8).

(88) Burkert (1975: 18–19 with nn. 72–4); Hölscher (1988: 256).

(89) The cult statue of Apollo on Delos held a bow in the left hand: see Burkert (1985: 90).

(90) See Graf (1979), (2009: 110–11); Versnel (1993: 313–15, 329–34).

(91) Quintus Smyrnaeus 6.61–2; *IG* 5.2.325, 5.2.327, 5.2.472.5; *LfgrE* 1. See also Quintus Smyrnaeus 1.87, 2.599, 3.327; Apollonius Rhodius 1.198.

(92) Dio Chrysostom 7.84: see *LfgrE* s.v. λυκάβας 2.

(93) Maas (1926: 265).

(94) Ameis Hentze (1893–5: ii.41) on 14.161; Usener (1896: 198–9); Leumann (1950: 212 n. 4); Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.222–3) on 14.161–2. λύκη (Macrobius, *Sat*. 1.17.37) is morning twilight. The word survives in λυκόφως (Aelian, *NA* 10.26; Sch. bT on *Il*. 7.433 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.289)); Eustathius 689.21 (= van der Valk (1971–87: ii.490); Sch. on Aristophanes, *Ra*. 1385) and ἀμφιλύκη (*Il*. 7.433; Apollonius Rhodius 2.671; Oppianus Apamensis, *Cynegetica* 1.135; *AP* 7.583); *LfgrE* s.v. λυκάβας 3.

(95) If λυκάβας meant new moon day, as Leumann (1950: 212 n. 4), τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο (while the old moon is fading and the next is taking its place) (19.307) would be superfluous: see Vester (1968: 423 n. 27), followed by Eisenberger (1973: 263 n. 21). On the interlunar period, see Austin (1975: 244–7); Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.91–

2) on 19.306–7; Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 175) on 19.306. The last day of the month was called at Athens and Tenos ἕνη καὶ νέα (the old and new), referring to 'the old moon in the new moon's arms', when a thin crescent is illuminated by the sun, and the rest of the disk appears faintly visible in light reflected from the earth: see von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884: 53); M. L. West (ed.) (1978: 351–2) on Hesiod, *WD* 770.

(96) Sch. V on 20.155 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.690)). For the view that this is the new year festival, the new moon after twelve months suggested by λυκάβαντα δωδωκάμηνον (Nonnus 6.243; 38.114; 40.372), see von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1969: 43–4); Koller (1973); Austin (1975: 246–51); Hölscher (1988: 251–8); Levaniouk (2011: 203–5 with nn. 15 and 16; 274–86). Graf (2009: 19–20, 140).

(97) See Hoekstra in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.226) on 14.457.

(98) Cloaks: 14.460, 504, 520, 529. Sheepskins: 14.519. Bedclothes: 19.317–19. Odysseus asks to be close to the fire (17.572). According to Austin (1975: 242–5), followed by Louden (2011: 292–3), the bad weather means that the year is far advanced. (*Contra*: Focke (1943: 320–4).)

(99) From Lycia: Simonides 519 fr. 55a *PMG*; Servius on *Aen*. 4.143. From the Hyperboreans: Alcaeus 307 fr.1c. LP.

(100) Plutarch, *Moralia* (*De E apud Delphos*) 388E.

(101) Burkert (1975: 9–10); Graf (2009: 137–8).

(102) For assembly at the annual festival of *Ἀπέλλων*/Apollo, see Burkert (1975: 8–11, 15–17 and 19–21), (1985: 144–5); Versnel (1993: 57–8, 288–334, esp. 313–14); Graf (2009: 103–5, 137–8). ἀπελλάζειν = ἐκκλησιάζειν (to assemble), as in Plutarch, *Lyc*. 6.1.

(103) Hölscher (1988: 251–8).

(104) 4.341; 17.132; 18.235; 24.376. Late Archaic graffiti from Olbia indicate that Zeus and Athene were honoured in the *temenos* of Apollo Delphinios as the gods of the polis: Graf (1979: 9 n. 73).

(105) Apollo kills the sons of Niobe (*Il*. 24.605–6); Menelaus' helmsman (3.279–83); Rhexenor, the newly wed son of Nausithous (7.64–5); Eurytus (8.226–8); Otus and Ephialtes (11.318–19). The dead Hector looks like one slain by Apollo with his gentle darts (*Il*. 24.758–9): see Graf (2009: 13–14); Maronitis (2009: 84).

(106) Cf. *Il*. 8.76 (of Achilles: *Il*. 18.206, 214); *h. Ap*. 442, 445; *h. Cer*. 189; *h. Ven*. 174, and see Richardson (ed.) (1974: 210) on *h. Cer*. 189.

(107) Graf (2009: 94).

(108) *h. Apoll*. 131. The third is oracular power: see Clay (1989: 19).

([109]) The winter imagery includes windblown chaff: 5.328, 368–9; night frosts: 5.466–73; fallen leaves: 5.483–5; bitter storms: 5.292–6; 14.457–522: Austin (1975: 247). Fernandez-Galiano in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.202) on 21.411 is mistaken in dismissing Austin's use of the swallow similes, the nightingale (18.518), and references to spring (18.367; 22.301) to argue that Odysseus' return symbolizes the end of winter and the coming of spring. The song of the swallow also evokes the bloody associations of the myth of Aedon and Chelidon (see Chapter 4, §3.3.4), with sinister implications for the suitors: see Létoublon (2004).

([110]) See Chapter 8, §§3.2.6 and 3.2.7.

([111]) Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936: 200); M. L. West (1975b: 163); Nagler (1990: 348); Richardson (ed.) (2010: 81–3). (Altheim (1924: 431) compares Apollo here to the Heracles in the *Nekyia* (11.606–8).)

([112]) Apollo mirrored in Achilles: Burkert (1985: 152). Achilles' death at Apollo's hands: *Il.* 19.416–17; 21.277–8; 22.358–60; *Aethiopis* Argumentum 15–16 (*PEG* i.69); Pindar *Pae.* 6.75–91 Rutherford.

([113]) See Faraone (2003: 48 and 64–5 nn. 28–9); Graf (2009: 13–15).

([114]) Pritchard (1969: 334); Burkert (1985: 228 and 439 n. 4); Versnel (1993: 32–5, 80–7).

([115]) Abuse: 17.212–53; 18.1–110, 327–36, 350, 354–5; 21.397–400. Pelting: 17.458–88; 18.387–411; 20.288–303. Threat to drag him outside: 18.10–12.

([116]) Hipponax, fr. 5 (West); Aristophanes, *Ra.* 733. See Versnel (1993: 299–311 with n. 37); Bremmer (2000); Burkert (1979: 59–77); Parker (1983: 257–80); Graf (2009: 93–4).

([117]) Aristotle, fr. 507.30–2 (Rose) refers to freedom and citizen rights given to Eumaeus and his friends, and to the clan of Coliadae descended from Eumaeus, and the clan of Boucolidae from Philoitius.

([118]) See Burkert (1979: 68).

([119]) See Levaniouk (2011: 68 with n. 23). Apollo killed Hyacinthus by a throw of the discus: Hesiod, *Cat.* fr. 171.6–8; Euripides, *Helen* 1469–73; Apollodorus 3.10.3; Burkert (1985: 106–7). Odysseus' discus throw at the Phaeacian games makes the young Phaeacians cower (8.186–93).

([120]) Apollo controls the passages which connect and the borders which divide the impure world outside and the pure in the inner circle: see Versnel (1993: 299–302); Graf (2009: 92–3).

([121]) With 22.2 cf. *limen sali, sta berber* (leap on the threshold, stand there), the hymn of the Arval Brethren to Mars: see Versnel (1993: 301–2 with n. 43).

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Maureen Alden

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The Songs of Demodocus

Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

Demodocus' song of the quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles anticipates the quarrel between Odysseus and Euryalus at the Phaeacian games, and looks forward to Odysseus' dealings with the suitors in Ithaca. It is the first of three songs which meditate on the relative merits of μῆτις (stratagem) and βίη (violence) in dealing with adultery. The handsome Euryalus corresponds in the second song to the good-looking Ares, who is caught in adultery by the stratagem of Hephaestus, Odysseus' counterpart. Hephaestus entraps Ares, but fails to follow stratagem with violent punishment. The third song celebrates how Troy fell to Odysseus' stratagem of the Wooden Horse. He outdid Hephaestus, following his stratagem with violent punishment of the adulterer: while the Greeks plundered, he went with Menelaus, the wronged husband, to the house of Deiphobus, Helen's Trojan husband. Having punished the Trojans for adultery, Odysseus can do the same to the suitors in Ithaca.

Keywords: Odysseus, Achilles, quarrel, Ares, Euryalus, Hephaestus, Wooden Horse, Deiphobus, adultery, Demodocus

During Odysseus' second day with the Phaeacians, their bard, Demodocus, performs three songs. They suspend and illumine the primary narrative in a protracted meditation on the relative merits of μῆτις and βίη (stratagem and force). The Phaeacians can enjoy the full performance of all three, but the poet's audience hears a synopsis only of the first and third, which both mention Odysseus by name. In the first, he is in dispute with Achilles. The reason is never specified, but tension between them seems to be traditional, and the scholiasts think the dispute is about the means by which Troy would be taken. The second song relates how

Hephaestus caught Ares in adultery with his wife, Aphrodite. (The whole point of the Trojan War is to recover a wife stolen by an adulterer.) The lovers are caught by a stratagem. It anticipates the stratagem of the Wooden Horse, which enabled Odysseus to punish the adulterous Trojans and destroy their city in the third song. The doubled Trojan War motif in the first song and the third constructs an identity which he can assume with credit, that of the famous sacker of Troy, avenger of the wronged Menelaus.

1. The Quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles (8.73–82)

Demodocus sings first of a quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus:

> Μοῦσ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν
> οἴμης, τῆς τότ᾽ ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανε,
> νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλεΐδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
> ὥς ποτε δηρίσαντο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ
> ἐκπάγλοισ᾽ ἐπέεσσιν, ἄναξ δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
> χαῖρε νόῳ, ὅ τ᾽ ἄριστοι Ἀχαιῶν δηριόωντο.
> ὥς γάρ οἱ χρείων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
> Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ, ὅθ᾽ ὑπέρβη λάϊνον οὐδὸν
> **(p.201)** χρησόμενος. τότε γάρ ῥα κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχὴ
> Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς.
> The Muse urged on the bard to sing the famous deeds of men,
> from that song of which at the time the fame reached broad heaven,
> the quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles, son of Peleus,
> how they quarrelled once at a goodly banquet of the gods
> with vehement words, and lord of men Agamemnon
> rejoiced secretly in that the best of the Achaeans were in contention.
> For so Phoebus Apollo had informed him in an oracle
> in holy Pytho, when he stepped over the stone threshold
> to consult. For then, it seems, the beginning of evil was rolling upon
> the Trojans and the Greeks, in accordance with the counsels of great Zeus.
> 8.73–82

The song is an οἴμη (a path, in the sense of a path through a landscape, a fixed theme) (8.74), a technical term for an individual story within the poetic repertoire.[1] The fame of the Trojan War, and Odysseus' part in it, has preceded his arrival in Scheria. He praises this first song (8.489–91) when he asks Demodocus to pick up the theme at a later stage, and sing about the Wooden Horse (8.492–5). Alcinous seems to include the quarrel together with 8.500–20 under the title 'Calamity of the Argive Danaans and of Ilion' (8.578).[2] The fame of the οἴμη reached broad heaven (8.74), but our certain knowledge of it is confined to the scanty information given by the poet.

1.1. Invention?

Quarrels are a well-known theme of epic poetry,[3] and the quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles was a famous ζήτημα, or literary controversy, of ancient scholarship. The question hinges on whether the poet invented it and left it deliberately vague, or if it was so well known to the audience that explanation was superfluous. The resemblance of 8.75–81 to the opening lines of the *Iliad* led Marg to treat the quarrel as an invention of the moment, a pastiche in homage

to the *Iliad* and its central theme,[4] and **(p.202)** Nagy argued that the song refers to an alternative version of the *Iliad*, now lost.[5] It certainly displays many thematic correlations to the *Iliad* and verbal echoes of it: Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος (*Il.* 1.1) is echoed in the song's Πηλεΐδεω Ἀχιλῆος (*Od.* 8.75); Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν (*Il.* 1.7) is echoed in ἄναξ δ' ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (*Od.* 8.77). The verb δηρίσαντο (*Od.* 8.76) echoes ἐρίσαντε (*Il.* 1.6), and the phrase πήματος ἀρχή (*Od.* 8.81) recalls the phrase at the beginning of the *Iliad*, ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε (*Il.* 1.6). The beginning of grief for Trojans and Achaeans (*Il.* 1.2–5; *Od.* 8.81–2), the involvement of Apollo (*Il.* 1.8–9; *Od.* 8.79–82), and the will of Zeus (Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή) (*Il.*1.5) (Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς) (*Od.* 8.82) are shared themes.

Odysseus and Achilles are frequently at variance in the *Iliad*. In the embassy, Odysseus attempts to persuade Achilles to fight and accept Agamemnon's offer of compensation (*Il.* 9.225–306). Achilles rebuffs the embassy, saying that the Greeks should think of a μῆτις (stratagem) to defend the Greek ships (*Il.* 9.423–4: cf. 346–7). Aristarchus took φραζέσθω (let him (Agamemnon) take counsel) (*Il.* 9.347) as a sarcastic reference to the quarrel in Demodocus' first song: if Troy is to fall to stratagem, Agamemnon can manage without Achilles (who stands for βίη (force)), and look to Odysseus instead (who specializes in μῆτις).[6] When Agamemnon and Achilles are reconciled, Odysseus and Achilles immediately disagree on whether to eat before fighting (*Il.* 19.155–275). Even as he concedes the other's military superiority, Odysseus insists that Achilles should give way to him, because he is older, and knows more (*Il.* 19.217–20). They are traditional rivals: Achilles is the bravest of those who went to Troy, and Odysseus the most versatile.[7] Although we cannot be certain what was not in the ancient tradition, there is certainly a case for the invention of the quarrel in Demodocus' first song, where Odysseus and Achilles appear polarized in their traditional rivalry. The quarrel, followed later by the Sack of Troy, gives an epic shape to Demodocus' songs of the Trojan War. Even so, the resemblance of the first song's quarrel to the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles in the *Iliad* is probably better understood as competition with the *Iliad* rather than homage to it.

(p.203) 1.2. The Oracle (8.79–81)

The *Iliad* does not mention the oracle of *Od.* 8.79, and we know of no reference to it anywhere else. There was an ancient theory that Agamemnon wrongly understood it to refer to the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, when his own quarrel with Achilles was meant,[8] but no such mistake is mentioned in the report of the song, and the character Agamemnon is not usually so self-effacing: he would surely include himself among the ἄριστοι Ἀχαιῶν (best of the Achaeans) (8.78). Clay rightly argues that the misapprehension of the oracle lies with us, if we wrongly suppose it to refer to the famous quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles in the *Iliad*.[9] That quarrel is damaging to the Greeks (*Il.* 1.2, 255–8), but in Demodocus' first song we are told that Agamemnon rejoiced because the best of the Achaeans were quarrelling, for so (ὥς) the oracle at Delphi had told him…(8.77–9). The oracle enlists the unquestionable authority of Apollo in Delphi to underpin the traditional rivalry between Odysseus and Achilles. But what did it say? We are not told even part of its response. If we are so inclined, we can infer to what ὣς (8.79) refers: the scholiasts suggested that Agamemnon was consulting about the end of the war, and that would come when the best of the Achaeans

quarrelled.[10] We are also left in the dark about the reason for the quarrel. Rüter thought it concerned 'who is best?',[11] but in reality there is no way of telling. We are told only that it happened θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ (at a sacrifice) (8.76), and was vehement (ἐκπάγλοισ' ἐπέεσσιν) (8.77). We are not told the location of the sacrifice, or its chronological relation to the events of the *Iliad*. All we have is a comment by the narrator: τότε γάρ ῥα κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχὴ (for then, it seems, the beginning of evil was rolling on) (8.81). τότε γάρ must refer either to the time of Agamemnon's consultation of the oracle, or to the time of the quarrel.

1.3. A Specific Quarrel

The reference to 'the beginning of evil' (8.81) has encouraged placement of the quarrel near the beginning of the Trojan War.[12] Von der Mühll identified it **(p.204)** with an incident from the *Cypria*, where Achilles quarrelled with Agamemnon on the island of Tenedos before the Greeks arrived in Troy because he was last to be invited to a feast: καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὕστερος κληθεῖς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα.[13] He believed that the incident in Tenedos inspired a quarrel in Sophocles' lost *Syndeipnoi* (Feasters), where Odysseus takes Agamemnon's part and accuses Achilles of using the belated invitation as an excuse to get out of the war altogether.[14] But (although they preserve material which pre-dates the Homeric poems) the ancients placed the Trojan cyclic poems, including the *Cypria*, later than Homer, and Stasinos, one of its alleged authors, was said to be Homer's son-in-law.[15] The quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles would therefore have to come, not from the *Cypria* itself, but from one of its sources. But whenever it was, and whatever it was about, a quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles is not the same thing as a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles (even if Odysseus supported Agamemnon).[16] And ten years seems a very long time to wait for the end of the war which the quarrel on Tenedos is alleged to anticipate.

1.4. The πήματος ἀρχὴ (Beginning of Evil)

The phrase κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχὴ suggests a time when disaster is inexorably unfolding. The metaphor, which occurs only with πῆμα (evil), is borrowed from waves rolling in on the beach.[17] In Halitherses' prophecy of Odysseus' return it is associated with the endgame for the suitors:

> τοῖσιν γὰρ μέγα πῆμα κυλίνδεται...
> for a great evil is rolling out for them (i.e. the suitors)...
> 2.163

In the *Iliad*, Menelaus says of the dead Patroclus:

> ὅν κε θεὸς τιμᾶι, τάχα οἱ μέγα πῆμα κυλίσθη.
> whomever God honours, a great evil is soon rolled out for him.
> *Il.* 17.99

(p.205) Antilochus will know, when he sees the corpse

> ...ὅτι πῆμα θεὸς Δαναοῖσι κυλίνδει.
> ...that God is rolling out evil for the Greeks.
> *Il.* 17.688[18]

Patroclus' death anticipates the death of Achilles,[19] which is to follow soon after that of Hector (*Il.* 19.416–17; *Il.* 22.358–60; *Il.* 23.80–1). Achilles is not fated to sack Troy (*Il.* 16.707–9). Three lines substituted in some texts for *Il.* 20.30:

> οὐ μέν τοι μοῖρ᾽ ἐστὶν ἔτι ζῳοῦ ᾽Αχιλῆος
> ᾽Ιλίου ἐκπέρσαι εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον·
> πέρσει δουράτεός <θ᾽> ἵππος καὶ μῆτις ᾽Επειοῦ.
> For it is not fated while Achilles is still alive
> to sack the well-inhabited citadel of Troy:
> the wooden horse will sack it and the stratagem of Epeius.
> *Il.* 20.30a–c

may come from a cyclic epic, and support the tension in the tradition between Achilles and μῆτις (stratagem).[20]

We cannot tell whether the ancient commentators had more information on the quarrel that we do, but perhaps with the associations between endgame and κυλίνδεται in mind, they placed it towards the end of the Trojan War: Odysseus and Achilles quarrelled at a symposium after the death of Hector, with Achilles favouring courage, force, the physical (ἀνδρεία, βιάζεσθαι, τα σωματικά) and Odysseus intelligence, trickery, device and judgement, the spiritual (σύνεσις, δόλος, διὰ μηχανῆς καὶ φρονήσεως, τα ψυχικά) as the means to capture Troy.[21] This would agree with another comment from antiquity, that Apollo told Agamemnon that Troy would not be taken πρὶν οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν ᾽Ελλήνων μάχην ποιήσουσι (before the best of the Greeks join battle),[22] perhaps in reference to Philoctetes and Neoptolemus, who did not join the fighting until late in the war.[23] The quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles would thus mark **(p.206)** the beginning of the endgame of the war, the point when κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχὴ (the beginning of evil was rolling) upon the Greeks (8.81), as the plan of Zeus (*Il.* 15.65–71) was coming to its conclusion. According to Zeus, Troy is destined to fall through Athene's plans (*Il.* 15.70–1), but the goddess herself tells Odysseus that Troy was taken by *his* plan (βουλή) (22.230), a reference to his stratagem of the Wooden Horse. Demodocus' first and third songs are made to look as if they concern the start of the war's endgame and its grand finale, the Sack of Troy. The things we are not told about the quarrel probably do not matter much: its main point is its participants, Odysseus and Achilles symbolizing μῆτις and βίη, an antithesis so familiar to the poet's audience that he does not need to spell it out.

1.5. Audience Reaction

During the performance, out of αἰδῶς (shame, respect) for the feelings of his hosts (8.86),[24] Odysseus veils his head, so that his tears may escape notice (8.83–5). His reaction is noticed by no one but Alcinous (8.93, 95), who breaks off the performance because it distresses his guest (8.94–9). Interruption is a standard Homeric narrative technique that encourages both internal and external audiences to reflect analytically on the significance of what they have just been hearing,[25] but sighing, weeping, and groaning can also be a literary cue for inviting the sigher to relate his misfortunes.[26] If Odysseus is fishing for such an invitation, he is made to wait until Demodocus' third song has securely established his reputation as the conqueror of Troy.

2. The Second Song of Demodocus: Ares and Aphrodite (8.266–366)

Demodocus' second song uses divine characters for a theme of great antiquity which has its roots in folk tale,[27] an extra-marital affair between Ares and Aphrodite. When Hephaestus, Aphrodite's husband, is told about it by the Sun, he sets up a special, unbreakable net, so fine that even the gods cannot see it, and sets off for Lemnos. Ares sees him go, and immediately takes Aphrodite **(p.207)** to bed—but the net comes down and they cannot move. The Sun reports that the lovers are caught, and Hephaestus calls the gods to witness. They laugh and banter until Poseidon persuades Hephaestus to release the lovers on promise of payment of the fine for adultery. The gods sum up the moral of the tale:

> οὐκ ἀρετᾷ κακὰ ἔργα· κιχάνει τοι βραδὺς ὠκύν,
> ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἥφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς εἷλεν Ἄρηα,
> ὠκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν, οἵ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσι,
> χωλὸς ἐών, τέχνῃσι· τὸ καὶ μοιχάγρι᾽ ὀφέλλει.
> Evil deeds do not succeed: the slow overtakes the swift,
> as now Hephaestus, who is slow, has caught Ares,
> the swiftest of the gods who have Olympus,
> by his devices, although he is lame. Wherefore Ares has to pay the fine for adultery.
> 8.329–32

The length of the song and its position, framed between the first and the third, suggest it is of considerable importance. Like the other two, it starts off in reported speech (ὡς τὰ πρῶτ᾽ ἐμίγησαν) (that they first were mingled) (8.268), but slides rapidly into direct speech (πολλὰ δὲ δῶκε) (and he gave much) (8.269). Its characters use direct speech themselves, and the combined effect blurs the distinction between the poet and Demodocus as narrators.[28] It continues the meditation on the merits of force and stratagem introduced in the first song, but this time with a particular application—how to deal with adultery. It also reflects on its own immediate context, the quarrel which erupts at the Phaeacian games between the swift Euryalus and the self-confessedly slow Odysseus.

2.1. Context: the Quarrel with Euryalus

Euryalus is first mentioned at the end of a string of Phaeacian athletes leaping up to compete (8.111–17). He is introduced as βροτολοιγῷ ἶσος Ἄρηϊ (equal to Ares, bane of men), and the best-looking of the Phaeacians after Laodamas (8.115–16).[29] When Odysseus is reluctant to compete, Euryalus says that he is not an athlete, but a merchant captain. The hero is insulted, and warns him not to judge by appearances:

> οὕτως οὐ πάντεσσι θεοὶ χαρίεντα διδοῦσιν
> ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε φυὴν οὔτ᾽ ἂρ φρένας οὔτ᾽ ἀγορητύν.
>
> **(p.208)** ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνήρ,
> ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεσι στέφει· οἱ δέ τ᾽ ἐς αὐτὸν
> τερπόμενοι λεύσσουσιν, ὁ δ᾽ ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύει,
> αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν,
> ἐρχόμενον δ᾽ ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεὸν ὡς εἰσορόωσιν.
> ἄλλος δ᾽ αὖ εἶδος μὲν ἀλίγκιος ἀθανάτοισιν,

ἀλλ᾽ οὔ οἱ χάρις ἀμφὶ περιστέφεται ἐπέεσσι,
ὡς καὶ σοὶ εἶδος μέν ἀριπρεπές, οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως
οὐδὲ θεὸς τεύξειε, νόον δ᾽ ἀποφώλιός ἐσσι.
So it is that the gods do not grant pleasing gifts in all ways to men,
not physique, nor intelligence, nor eloquence.
For one man is weaker in appearance,
but God sets beauty as a crown upon his eloquence. And they
delight in looking on him, and he speaks without faltering,
with gracious reverence, and he stands out among the assembled people,
and as he goes about the town they look on him as a god.
But another in appearance is like the immortal gods,
but for him there is no grace to crown his words.
So in your case too, your appearance is distinguished, nor would even a god
make it otherwise, but you are useless[30] in respect of your mind.
8.167–77

The man who looks like a god but whose words lack grace obviously corresponds to Euryalus, and the man of insignificant appearance, honoured like a god for his rhetorical gifts, must stand for Odysseus, as Helen describes him in the *Teichoscopeia*: shorter than Menelaus but more majestic…no other mortal could compete with his powers in speaking (*Il.* 3.210–23).[31] The comparison belongs to the genre of 'the instruction of princes', and Odysseus uses it to demonstrate his superiority to Euryalus in verbal competition[32] and formal education. He disproves Euryalus' assumption with an extraordinary throw of the discus, and challenges the Phaeacians to compete with him in other military sports. Demodocus completes Euryalus' discomfiture by implicitly comparing him in his second song to Ares, who falls an easy victim to the δόλος (trick) (8.276, 281, 282, 317) and τέχναι (artifices) (8.327, 332) of Aphrodite's husband, Hephaestus.[33] (For another net δόλος, see Chapter 3, **(p.209)** §§5 and 9.) Odysseus is often called πολύφρονος (very wise),[34] an epithet used twice of Hephaestus in the song (8.297, 327). Odysseus also resembles the song's Hephaestus figure in terms of bad legs, craftsmanship, and reliance on stratagem.[35] He will not compete in a foot race, because his sufferings at sea have affected his legs (8.230–3). In the song, as in Odysseus' quarrel with the good-looking Euryalus, appearances are deceptive, and the beautiful Aphrodite cannot control her passion (οὐκ ἐχέθυμος) (8.320): her handsome (8.309–10) lover, Ares, is worthless (δειλός) (8.351).

2.2. Tradition or Invention?

The second song is never said to be inspired by the Muse, and with little evidence to corroborate the events related, it is sometimes regarded as an invention by the poet for this particular context. The connection of Ares and Aphrodite in cult and story is well known,[36] but a marriage between Hephaestus and Aphrodite less so:[37] in the *Iliad* and the *Theogony*, the wife of Hephaestus is one of the Graces.[38] If Hephaestus' marriage to Aphrodite is invented, its annulment by Hephaestus demanding back the bride price (8.318–19) preserves the mythological tradition.[39]

2.3. Comic Effects

The comedy of the song arises (as e. e. cummings saw)[40] mainly from divinities behaving in character: Ares tries to get the better of a god who **(p.210)** specializes in intricate devices; Aphrodite is only doing her job; and Hephaestus sounds like King Canute when he complains about it. The embarrassing predicament of the lovers is met with ribald laughter[41] and the mismatch between the glamorous Aphrodite and her lame (8.308, 311) husband adds to the amusement. Hephaestus takes the adultery so seriously that he wishes he had never been born (8.312), but the other gods just laugh, so his isolated, cuckolded indignation is comic too. The risqué subject matter was condemned in antiquity as inappropriate for poetry,[42] and Lucian mentions it in the context of pantomime.[43] However, the song is performed for an all-male audience assembled for athletic contests, so its material and rugby club jokes are not inappropriate.[44]

2.4. Echoes of the *Iliad*

The second song, like the first, displays similarities to the *Iliad* in language, subject matter, and repeated lines.[45] The gods laugh at Hephaestus (8.326, 343), as in the *Iliad* they laugh at him clowning as if he were a wine butler (*Il.* 1.571–600), a role usually assumed by an elegant figure, such as Hebe or Ganymede.[46] In the *Iliad*'s Δ **(p.211)** ιὸς ᾿Απάτη (Deception of Zeus), not even Helios is to see Zeus and Hera making love (*Il.* 14.344), but here he is the first to see Ares and Aphrodite in bed (8.271) and makes haste to inform Hephaestus. The handsome Ares in the bedroom echoes the *Iliad*'s scenes of the handsome Paris in the bedroom (*Il.* 3.421–448; 6.313–69).[47] And obviously, the motif of compensation for a sexual offence is shared with the *Iliad* (see this chapter, §2.12).

2.5. Para-narrative Significance

Adultery may be taken lightly by the gods, but among mortals it is in deadly earnest. Like the adultery of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite offers a thematic contrast to the primary theme of the loyalty of Odysseus and Penelope.[48] Athenaeus (5.192 d/e) took the entrapment of Hephaestus as a hint to Odysseus for the slaughter of the suitors, in that even the lame-footed could overcome the valiant Ares, whose fate is an 'indication to the actor', to one of the characters in the poem. Odysseus, the unrecognized stranger, finds that his Phaeacian hosts begin to speak spontaneously of the very things that concern him most,[49] as the song rehearses in miniature what could even now be happening in Ithaca, and the essential elements of his coming entrapment of the suitors. The dumb show in *Hamlet* similarly rehearses the events leading to Claudius marrying Gertrude and becoming king, and the 'tragic' history of Pyramus and Thisbe rearranges the elements of the trysts in the forest set up by the main characters in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The song of Ares and Aphrodite anticipates, in the world of irresponsible and hilarious divine comedy, the very serious situation awaiting Odysseus on his return to Ithaca.

2.6. Ares and the Suitors

Correspondences between Ares and Hephaestus in the song and the suitors and Odysseus in the primary narrative include such elements as the good **(p.212)** looks, addiction to pleasure, and mental blindness of the antagonist, and the hero's weakness, his intelligence, his return for revenge, and the possibility of material restitution. (Several of these

correspondences are found also in Aegisthus' para-narrative adultery with Clytemnestra.)[50] The primary narrative repeatedly associates Penelope with Aphrodite: as she leaves her chamber, she is compared to Artemis or Aphrodite (17.36–7 = 19.53–4); when Athene puts it into her head to appear before the suitors, she laughs (18.163), like laughter-loving (8.362) Aphrodite; Athene improves her looks with an ambrosial cosmetic such as the Graces use on Aphrodite (18.192–4: cf. 8.364–5); the suitors take one look and are smitten with desire (18.212–13), like Ares ἰχανόων (craving for) (8.288) Aphrodite.[51] Penelope's suitors bring personal gifts to influence her choice (18.291–301), as Ares won over Aphrodite with many gifts (8.269). Menelaus comments that the suitors are weaklings who want to get into a hero's bed (4.333–4), and in the song Ares gets into Hephaestus' bed (8.292, 296). Although Penelope is loyal,[52] the song confronts Odysseus with the troubling possibility of a wife conniving at adultery in the absence of her husband. It raises the question of whether going home is a good idea, and although it does not ask in so many words, 'Are you seriously rejecting marriage to our exquisite princess, and a home and possessions to match?' it certainly implies the questions, 'If you go home, what do you suppose you will find there?—everyone knows what unsupervised wives get up to, and even if you catch her in the act, what good will it do you?' And to clinch the argument, Hephaestus is shown being laughed at as a cuckold in a very unpleasant way.

2.7. Hephaestus and Odysseus

The comparison of Odysseus to Hephaestus gathers momentum in the latter part of the poem. Odysseus tends the fires in the palace (18.307–17; 343–4), and is told by Melantho to go to the smithy to sleep (18.328); he traps the suitors in his house (21.235–41) as securely as Ares is trapped in Hephaestus' bed;[53] he leaps onto the threshold to accuse them (22.1–2 and 35–41), as Hephaestus stands in the doorway to accuse the lovers (8.304–5). As the recognition between Penelope and Odysseus reaches its climax, his curling hair is compared to the work of a master craftsman taught by Hephaestus and Pallas Athene, who inlays gold with silver (23.159–62). When Odysseus **(p.213)** protests that his bed cannot be moved because he built it himself around an olive tree (23.184–201), he adds that he inlaid it with gold and silver (23.200), a task that requires the skills of a smith.

2.8. The Suitors as Adulterers

The song encourages the external audience to take an adverse view of the suitors, whose rudeness and bad manners would not adequately justify their punishment. A series of crimes is therefore imputed to them, to associate their behaviour with adultery and wrongdoing. Eumaeus complains that they do not want to court Penelope properly (οὐκ ἐθέλουσι δικαίως | μνᾶσθαι) (14.90–1). Penelope accuses Antinous, their ringleader, of dishonouring Odysseus' house, courting his wife, and killing his son as best he can[54] (16.431–2). Odysseus complains:

> ...μοι κατεκείρετε οἶκον
> δμῳῇσίν τε γυναιξὶ παρευνάζεσθε βιαίως,[55]
> αὐτοῦ τε ζώοντος ὑπεμνάασθε γυναῖκα.
> ...you were consuming my household,
> you were sleeping beside my serving women by force,
> you were courting my wife behind my back while I was alive.

22.36–8

ὑπεμνάασθε, in the case of an already married woman, means 'attempt to seduce'.[56] It is this underhand attempt at seduction that puts the suitors on a level with Ares, and also with Aegisthus, who courted Agamemnon's wife knowing the king was alive (1.39).[57]

2.9. Legitimate Courtship or μοιχεία (Adultery)?

However, the suitors are not entirely unjustified in courting Penelope. Her father and brothers seem to think that she should be married to Eurymachus, who surpasses the other suitors in gifts to influence her choice (δώροισι) and **(p.214)** in the gifts to be exchanged on marriage (ἕεδνα) (15.16–18).[58] She tells her suitors that before leaving for Troy, Odysseus gave her instructions to remarry when Telemachus' beard grew (see Chapter 4, §3.3.2). If these instructions were genuine, the suitors' courtship of Penelope when the time she was instructed to wait for Odysseus had passed would be permissible, as long as they had no reason to suppose that her husband was alive. Telemachus and Penelope are not always sure whether he is alive or dead,[59] and they use the phrase ἐπεὶ θὰνε δῖος ᾽Οδυσσεύς (since godlike Odysseus is dead)[60] but Penelope must still hope that he will return, because she repeatedly postpones any decision. Agelaus (20.328–33) concedes that Telemachus was right to restrain the suitors while hope remained that his father would return. But even if the suitors maintain that Odysseus is dead, their 'guilt is measured by the act' (courting the wife of a living man), not 'the circumstances or state of mind'.[61] They ignore warnings from Halitherses, the beggar, and Theoclymenos (2.165, 174–6; 18.143–50; 20.350–7) that Odysseus is alive and coming home. Their refusal to listen to elders and seers burdens them with guilt and justifies their slaughter. Odysseus does not concern himself with their intentions and what they thought: he cannot let them go unpunished without bringing shame on himself, and unless he does something heroic, the situation is comic.[62] If he does not kill the suitors, he will be a figure of fun, like Hephaestus.

2.10. The Suitors' Guilt

Odysseus' parting instructions are not mentioned until long after the audience has been encouraged to disapprove of the suitors, and to think of them as adulterers, 'men after women' in an unpleasant sense.[63] The external audience has known from the outset that Odysseus is alive on the island of Calypso (1.13–15), and that the suitors are courting the wife of a living man. Zeus' reflections on the fate of Aegisthus, who did just that (1.35–43), and Athene's endorsement of Orestes' revenge (1.47) before turning immediately to the predicament of Odysseus, imply that Penelope's suitors are as guilty as Aegisthus (see Chapter 3, §2).[64] Athene urges Telemachus, if he finds out in Pylos that his father is dead, to give his mother to a husband, and then to kill the suitors (1.289–92). She advises him to emulate Orestes' vengeance on his **(p.215)** father's murderer (1.295–302). Nestor and Menelaus also describe Aegisthus' crimes (3.255–310; 4.521–47), and give Telemachus the same advice as Athene (3.193–200). Athene advises Odysseus to kill the suitors for courting Penelope in his house for three years, and giving her gifts (ἕδνα) (13.376–8).

2.11. Ares' Penalty

Hephaestus declares that the lovers will stay chained together until he has received back from Aphrodite's father all the gifts he gave for his daughter's hand (8.318–20). By demanding return of the gifts, Hephaestus is divorcing his wife.[65] The adulterer's fine is also payable (8.332). Poseidon promises that Ares will pay it (or that he will pay it himself if Ares defaults), if Hephaestus will release the lovers (8.347–8). But if released, Ares is unlikely to pay the fine, and Poseidon is so powerful that Hephaestus would not be able to bind *him* (8.352) and force him to pay. Despite his fury (8.304), all Hephaestus can do is free the lovers from their chains (8.359). They go to their special sanctuaries: Ares to Thrace and Aphrodite to Paphos (8.361–6). (They could not get much further apart.) Hephaestus, who accepts the promise of material payment (μοιχάγρια) for adultery, is left looking foolish. Ares is immortal, so Hephaestus cannot kill him, but compensation does not restore the husband's prestige, and Hephaestus has not even obtained it: all he has is a promise, always a dubious prospect.[66] His uncomfortable realization that the gods are laughing at *him*[67] and his τέχνας (devices) as well as at the adulterers hardly amounts to triumph.[68]

2.12. The Suitors' Penalty

Hephaestus complains that in preferring Ares, Aphrodite ἀτιμάζει him (does not give him his place) (8.309).[69] In the primary narrative, ἀτιμάζω and ἀτιμάω (show no respect to) are used of the behaviour of the suitors towards Odysseus (21.99; 21.427; 23.28), his household (16.431; 21.332), and his family **(p.216)** (18.144; 24.459):[70] ἀτιμάζω is associated with the payment of compensation (14.163–4; 20.166–71; 23.28–31), implied or expressed (as τίνω). There is no indication that Hephaestus receives either restitution of his gifts (ἕεδνα) to Aphrodite's father, or payment of the adulterer's fine. The suitors' offer of recompense (ἀποδώσομεν: we will give back) (22.58) for their consumption of Odysseus' food and drink, with an additional τιμή (reparation) of twenty oxen apiece, together with bronze and gold until his heart is softened (22.55–9),[71] is τιμή analogous to the τιμή demanded by Agamemnon from the Trojans together with the return of Helen and the goods stolen with her.[72] But Odysseus will not hear of τιμή: the suitors will pay (ἀποτῖσαι) for their ὑπερβασίη (transgression) (22.64) by their deaths. Even their entire patrimony, and anything else they could add to it from elsewhere, would not compensate their insult to his τιμή (status plus possessions) (22.61–4).[73] The contrast with Hephaestus, who achieves nothing more than the promise of compensation for adultery, enhances the triumph of Odysseus, who rejects compensation and its attendant ridicule, kills his wife's suitors, and pays no penalty.

3. The Trojan Horse (8.500–20)

Demodocus' song of the quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles has proved his knowledge of events at Troy, and Odysseus invites him to take up the Trojan theme again at the evening feast. He sends the bard a choice cut of meat (8.474–83), and praises him for singing ὅσσ᾽ ἔρξαν τ᾽ ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ᾽ ἐμόγησαν ᾽Αχαιοί (all that the Greeks accomplished, and their sufferings and toils) (8.490). Now he asks him to switch (μετάβηθι)[74] (8.492) to the episode of the Wooden Horse:

> ἵππου κόσμον[75] ἄεισον
> δουρατέου, τὸν ᾽Επειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν ᾽Αθήνῃ,
> ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος ᾽Οδυσσεὺς

ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας, οἵ Ἴλιον ἐξαλάπαξαν.
(p.217) sing the sequence
of the Wooden Horse, which Epeius made with Athene,
which once godlike Odysseus brought into the acropolis as a trick
filling it with men who sacked Troy.
8.492–5

Odysseus leaves nothing to chance, but reminds the Phaeacians that Epeius[76] and Athene were responsible for making the horse (as also at 11.523), and that Odysseus brought it as a trick into the city with the Greek warriors inside it.[77] (Later tradition assumes that the idea came from Odysseus.)[78] The prominence Demodocus gives to Epeius' role is another dig at Euryalus, since it reminds the external audience of how Epeius defeated another Euryalus in the boxing match at Patroclus' funeral games (*Il.* 23.664–99): his generosity to his defeated opponent on that occasion[79] is echoed by Odysseus' restraint when challenged by Euryalus at the games in Scheria. The ambush in the horse underlies the claim at the beginning of the *Odyssey* that Odysseus was the sacker of Troy (1.2).[80] The question implied in Demodocus' first song, whether Troy would fall to force or stratagem, is answered by the sequence of the horse: it is indeed to stratagem and intelligence that the city falls. But Odysseus follows up the stratagem with extreme violence.

3.1. Narrative Performance

Demodocus' song agrees with what we know of the Wooden Horse from surviving summaries of the Cyclic Epics, except that it does not mention Sinon, the Greek who deceived the Trojans into taking the horse into Troy, and then let out the warriors inside.[81] It takes the form of a summary in **(p.218)** reported speech, suggesting the standardized sequence of events which a bard would commit to his repertoire, and on which he could extemporize in performance. In the first part, Demodocus begins from the point where the Trojans have already dragged the horse inside the citadel and are debating what to do with it:

...ὁ δ᾽ ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο, <u>φαῖνε δ᾽ ἀοιδήν</u>,
ἔνθεν ἑλών, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐϋσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν
βάντες ἀπέπλειον, πῦρ ἐν κλισίῃσι βαλόντες,
᾽Αργεῖοι, τοὶ δ᾽ ἤδη ἀγακλυτὸν ἀμφ᾽ ᾽Οδυσῆα
εἵατ᾽ ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ κεκαλυμμένοι ἵππῳ·
αὐτοὶ γάρ μιν Τρῶες ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσαντο.
ὣς ὁ μὲν ἑστήκει, τοὶ δ᾽ ἄκριτα πόλλ᾽ ἀγόρευον
ἥμενοι ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν· τρίχα δέ σφισιν ἥνδανε βουλή,
ἠὲ διατμῆξαι κοῖλον δόρυ νηλέϊ χαλκῷ,
ἢ κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν ἐρύσαντας ἐπ᾽ ἄκρης,
ἢ ἐάαν μέγ᾽ ἄγαλμα θεῶν θελκτήριον εἶναι,[82]
τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν·
αἶσα γὰρ ἦν ἀπολέσθαι, ἐπὴν πόλις ἀμφικαλύψῃ
δουράτεον μέγαν ἵππον, ὅθ᾽ εἵατο πάντες ἄριστοι
᾽Αργεῖοι Τρώεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέροντες.

...But starting up, he began from the goddess and <u>revealed his son</u>g,
taking up the story from the point where the main body of the Greeks

> embarked in their well-benched ships and were sailing away, after setting fire to their huts,
> but the others already sat round illustrious Odysseus
> concealed in the horse in the agora of the Trojans.
> For the Trojans themselves drew it into the acropolis.
> So there it stood, and the Trojans in confusion were discussing it at length
> sitting round it. And the counsels that were finding favour were divided in three ways,
> whether to cut through the hollow timber with the pitiless bronze,
> or to drag it to the summit and cast it down from the rocks,
> or to leave it there to be a great offering to the gods,
> and then it was in just that way that it was going to be accomplished.
> For the city was fated to be destroyed when it enclosed
> the great Wooden Horse, where sat all the noblest
> Greeks, bringing murder and death for the Trojans.
> 8.499–513

φαῖνε δ᾽ ἀοιδήν (he revealed his song) (8.499) indicates the song's reported nature and prefaces the whole performance, as well as introducing the Trojan **(p.219)** assembly's deliberations. The external audience already knows how Odysseus entered Troy, first as a beggar, and later in the horse (4.242–58; 271–89). The Wooden Horse is the supreme illustration of the hero's capacity to infiltrate the enemy's stronghold by deception, even securing their unwitting assistance. It mirrors Odysseus' present situation among the Phaeacians, who held an assembly that morning (8.4–42) to decide what to do with him. They are entertaining him like a Trojan Horse in their midst, although they are about to suffer for helping him.[83] And the Trojan Horse motif is repeated in Ithaca, where Odysseus infiltrates his own palace, which has become the suitors' stronghold, and is tolerated and promoted (after his fight with Irus) to resident beggar. The verbs ἐρύω and βάλλω used of the Trojans dragging the horse up to the height of the citadel (8.504) and of possibly casting it down (8.508) are also used by the suitors, who threaten to drag the beggar, and throw him out.[84] Like the Trojans and the Phaeacians, the suitors co-operate with the 'Trojan Horse'. Most of them give to Odysseus when he begs for food. They do not notice his removal of weapons from the hall (19.1–33), and do not prevent the bow being put into his hands.

Demodocus continues:

> <u>ἤειδεν</u> δ᾽ ὡς ἄστυ διέπραθον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
> ἱππόθεν ἐκχύμενοι, κοῖλον λόχον ἐκπρολιπόντες.
> <u>And he sang</u> how the sons of the Achaeans sacked the city
> pouring out of the Horse, having first left their hollow ambush.
> 8.514–15

In the third part, the Greeks disperse through the town, with Odysseus and Menelaus making their way to the house of Deiphobus. (Deiphobus became leader of the Trojans after Hector's death, and married Helen after the death of Paris: he thus replaces Paris as the adulterer to be punished):[85]

> ἄλλον δ᾽ ἄλλῃ <u>ἄειδε</u> πόλιν κεραϊζέμεν αἰπήν,

αὐτὰρ ᾽Οδυσσῆα προτὶ δώματα Δηϊφόβοιο
βήμεναι, ἠΰτ᾽ Ἄρηα, σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Μενελάῳ.
And he sang of how, this way and that, they plundered the steep city,
but Odysseus went to the house of Deiphobus
like to Ares, with godlike Menelaus.
8.516–18

(p.220) The account of their terrible fight there[86] is punctuated by φάτο (he said) (8.519):[87]

κεῖθι δὴ αἰνότατον πόλεμον φάτο τολμήσαντα
νικῆσαι καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ μεγάθυμον ᾽Αθήνην.
And there, he said, having dared to engage in the most dreadful deeds of war
he won on that occasion too, with the help of great-hearted Athene.
8.519–20

Odysseus' businesslike killing of many Trojans at the end of his earlier spying mission (4.257) is repeated in the song's dreadful fighting at the house of Deiphobus. Here Odysseus is compared not with the Hephaestus of the previous song when he goes to find the adulterer, but with Ares (8.518), no handsome lover boy this time, but the ruthless god of war. Odysseus undid the Trojans by stratagem, and punished Deiphobus' adultery by violent means. What he has done once, he could do again. Ares will decide between him and the adulterous suitors, too, when

ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσι μένος κρίνηται Ἄρηος.
the might of Ares judges in my palace.
16.269

3.2. Odysseus' Weeping

In asking Demodocus to sing of the Wooden Horse, Odysseus requests an episode in which he takes the starring role as the successful avenger of adultery. Greeks, whether collective or individual, are the subjects of all the verbs in Odysseus' request for the song (8.492–5), and he naturally thinks of the horse from the Greek point of view. But Demodocus presents, with equal detachment, first, the Trojans deliberating within their acropolis on what to do with the horse, and then the Greeks spilling out of it. Nothing is said about the reaction of the Phaeacians, but Odysseus dissolves into tears (τήκετο) (8.522) like the widow of a warrior killed while defending his city:

ὡς δὲ γυνὴ κλαίῃσι φίλον πόσιν ἀμφιπεσοῦσα,
ὅς τε ἑῆς πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσῃσιν,
ἄστεϊ καὶ τεκέεσσιν ἀμύνων νηλεὲς ἦμαρ·
ἡ μὲν τὸν θνήσκοντα καὶ ἀσπαίροντα ἰδοῦσα
ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγα κωκύει· οἱ δέ τ᾽ ὄπισθε
κόπτοντες δούρεσσι μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὤμους
εἴρερον εἰσανάγουσι, πόνον τ᾽ ἐχέμεν καὶ ὀϊζύν·
τῆς δ᾽ ἐλεεινοτάτῳ ἄχεϊ φθινύθουσι παρειαί

(p.221) as a woman mourns her husband, falling upon him,
who is slain before his city and his army,

> as he wards off the pitiless day from his city and his children.
> She sees him dying and gasping out his life
> and embraces him, with high-pitched keening. And from behind
> the attackers belabour her back and shoulders with their spears
> and drag her off to slavery, to bear toil and misery.
> And her cheeks are withered in her most pitiable grief.
> 8.523–30

There are two ways of looking at this response, and both are equally valid. Rutherford writes:

> It needs the eloquence and the compassion of a Homeric poet to open the springs of pity in Odysseus and to make him see that the victory he won all those years ago has become a matter for history and poetry: that the profits which he gained have slipped through his fingers; and above all that his own sufferings and his own separation from wife, child and home are not *more* important than the sufferings of the Trojans, but mirror images of them (as is brought out by the marital theme in the simile).[88]

An audience that weeps is a mark of success in performance.[89] The Sirens sing of the Trojan War (12.189–90), but not like this: Demodocus moves Odysseus to experience the fall of Troy also from the perspective of the defeated Trojans,[90] and to weep with the vanquished, in whose misery he has been so intimately implicated. This grieving Odysseus is the antithesis of the relaxed Odysseus of the artistic record, who enjoys Achilles' muffled-up grief at the loss of Briseis.[91] His cunning, which accomplished the ruin of Troy, was the instrument of fate (8.511), and all he has achieved by it is ten years of wandering, which have prepared him to see events at Troy in this new light.

On the other hand, we have already said that to weep can be an invitation to ask one's identity: Odysseus' second flood of tears leads Alcinous to ask who he is,[92] and where is the home to which the ship must take him (8.550–6). Why does he weep at hearing Ἀργείων Δαναῶν ἠδ᾽ Ἰλίου οἶτον (The Disaster of the Argive Greeks and of Ilium) (8.578)? Did he lose a kinsman by marriage at Troy, or perhaps a companion? Alcinous seems to have forgotten Odysseus' allusion to his record at Troy (8.219–20), but his questions open the way for the hero to claim the glorious identity of its conqueror and relate his subsequent sorrows.

Notes:

(1) For οἴμη, see Führer *LfgrE*: 'Gang, Pfad, Garn' (way, path, thread), and Ford (1992: 40–3 and n. 78).

(2) For 8.75, 267, and 492–3 as 'titles' for Demodocus' songs, see de Jong (2001: 195).

(3) Apart from the *Iliad*'s quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, and the wrath of Meleager (*Il*. 9.529–99), the Atreidae quarrel after the fall of Troy (*Od*. 3.134–50); Odysseus and Ajax quarrel over the arms of Achilles (*Od*. 11.543–8); Thersites habitually quarrelled with Odysseus and Achilles (*Il*. 2.211–22): see Marks (2005).

(4) Marg (1956: 16–29); Rüter (1969: 247–54); Macleod (ed.) (1982: 1–8), (2001: 303); Clay (1983: 96–107, 241–6); Finkelberg (1987), (1998: 145–8); Taplin (1990: 109–12); Rutherford

(2001: 135–7 with n. 32): *contra* Maehler (1963: 27 n. 1); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 249); Danek (1998a: 142–50) on 8.73–82; D. F. Wilson (2005: 3, 17–18 n. 5); Hunter (2012: 97).

(5) Nagy (1999: 13–65, esp. 23, 43); Rinon (2006: 209–11). See also Broeniman (1996) for a distorted Phaeacian *Iliad*.

(6) Sch. A on *Il.* 9.347a (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: ii.471)) but Kullmann (1960: 271–2) is doubtful about the reference. On μῆτις and βίη, see Olson (1989a); Thornton (1970: 43–5); Nagy (1999: 42–9); Clay (1983: 96–107, 241–6); Broeniman (1996); Marks (2005: 22–3); D. F. Wilson (2005). For competition between Achilles and Odysseus, see Lowenstam (2008: 25–7, 34).

(7) Plato, *Hp. Mi.* 364c–370a.

(8) Sch. HQV on 8.75; Sch. HQ on 8.77 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.361–2)). See also Porphyry on 8.78 (= Schrader (ed.) (1890: 72–3)); Calhoun (1939: 11 n. 25); Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: i.333) on 8.76 ff.; Rutherford (2001: 136): *contra* Nagy (1999: 23–5).

(9) Clay (1983: 105).

(10) Sch. HQV on 8.75 (= Dindorf (1855: i.361–2)); Marg (1956: 23–4); Clay (1983: 98); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 254) on 8.81–2.

(11) Rüter (1969: 249).

(12) Marg (1956: 23–4); Rüter (1969: 248); Finkelberg (1987), (1998: 145–7); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 254–5) on 8.81–2.

(13) *Cypria* Argumentum 51–2 (*PEG* i.41); see also Aristotle, *Rh* 1401b 17–19: Von der Mühll (1976: 148–54), followed by Kullmann (1960: 100, 272).

(14) *TrGF* iv, Σύνδειπνοι F566. Achilles seems to retaliate in *TrGF* iv, Σύνδειπνοι F567: see Clay (1983: 99).

(15) Tzetzes, *Chil.* 13.636–42; Huxley (1969: 124).

(16) Pearson (ed.) (1917: ii.199); Preller-Robert (1920–6: iii.2.1, 1138); Clay (1983: 98–100 and n. 88); Danek (1998a: 147).

(17) *Il.* 11.307; *Od.* 1.162; 5.296; 9.147; 14.315.

(18) Diomede must have a similar foreboding when he says to Odysseus of Hector's assault after Agamemnon's retreat: νῶϊν δὴ τόδε πῆμα κυλίνδεται, ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ (he is rolling out this evil for us two, mighty Hector) (*Il.* 11.347).

(19) See Nagy (1999: 63); Alden (1983); Lowenstam (2008: 33–5).

(20) Sch. T on *Il.* 20.30 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: v.7, 30a)); Bolling (1925: 187); Edwards in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: v.290) *ad loc.*

([21]) Sch. HQV (and E) on 8.75, and Sch. BE on 8.77 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.361–2)); Eustathius 1586.25–8 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.283)). On the dispute over tactics, see also Athenaeus 1.17e; Kullmann (1960: 271 n. 2). Von der Mühll (1976: 150) (in my view wrongly) rejects the scholiasts' timing of the quarrel (after the death of Hector), because Eustathius 1586.23–33 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.283–4)) does not specify that this was when the quarrel happened.

([22]) Sch. E on 8.80 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.363)).

([23]) *Ilias Parva* Argumentum 7–9 (= *PEG* i.74); *Cypria*, fr. 21 (= *PEG* i.57).

([24]) Cairns (1993: 111). The ideal response is to be pleased and moved: Macleod (2001: 303–6); Walsh (1984: 3–6); Cairns (ed.) (2001: 26–7).

([25]) Parry (ed.) (1987: 456–7) (date of writing 1935); Fenik (1974: 104); Rabel (2002: 77–8).

([26]) Sch. Q on 8.43 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.359)); Heliodorus 1.8.41–3; 1.18.4–7; Most (1989b, esp. 118–27).

([27]) S. Thompson (1955–8: Q434.1; Q241; K1563). See Jahn (1891: 239–44); Petersmann (1981: 52); Alden (1997: 521–4, nn. 29–36); Konstantakos (2012) with comprehensive bibliography.

([28]) M. W. Edwards (1987: 20–1, 40); Goldhill (1991: 51); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 295); Beck (2005: 214–17).

([29]) To call someone handsome is to accuse him of weakness or cowardice: Fenik (1968: 155). εἶδος ἄριστε is used of Paris, *Il.* 3.39, 13.769; cf. also *Il.* 3.45, 54–5, and *Il.* 5.787, 8.228, 17.142.

([30]) Albertz and Motzkus *LfgrE* s.v. ἀποφώλιος 2.

([31]) This contradiction between appearance and ability is part of the duplicity of μῆτις: Detienne and Vernant (1978: 22–3).

([32]) Martin (1984: 44–6); Pratt (1993: 86–7); Thalmann (1998: 149–50). With 8.171–3 cf. Hesiod, *Th.* 86 and 91–2. Euryalus' brief, sneering speech (8.159–64) certainly compares unfavourably with Odysseus' magisterial reproof: Sch. Q on 8.167 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.367)).

([33]) Demodocus is present at the games (8.106), and the aptness of his choice is explained by his having heard the exchanges between Odysseus and Euryalus: Sider (unpublished paper at the American Philological Association 1990, kindly made available by the author, and cited by Doherty (1995a: 163 n. 5)). *Contra*: Scodel (2002a: 86–7).

([34]) 1.83 = 14.424 = 20.239, 329 = 21.204.

(35) G. P. Rose (1969a: 6–14, 179); Braswell (1982); Olson (1989a); Lowenstam (1993: 157–65); Alden (1997: 514–15 n. 9); Bierl (2012: 124–32).

(36) *Il.* 5.355–63; 21.416–17; Hesiod, *Th.* 933–37; Pindar, *P.* 4.87–8; Aeschylus, *Supp.* 664–6; *Th.* 105, 135–40; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1269b 27–9; the Cypselus chest: Pausanias 5.18.5. See Burkert (2009: 32 n. 6); Gantz (1993: 79–80); *LIMC* 2/1 s.v. Ares C: 482–3, nos 45–58, ill. *LIMC* 2/2: 362 fig. 55; 364 fig. 57, fig. 60; 164 fig. 59, and Aphrodite IIID1: 123–5, nos 1285–1317, ill. *LIMC* 2/2: 367, Ares 83, 90; 365, Ares 68; 368, Ares 96; 259, Apollon 844; 257, Apollon 828; 137, Aphrodite 1391; 129, Aphrodite 1300; 371, Ares 114; 364, Ares 61; 260, Apollon 861a; 138, Aphrodite 1400; 370, Ares 109; 371, Ares 119. At Sparta there was a temple of Aphrodite Areia: Pausanias 3.17.5. For other associations of Ares and Aphrodite in cult, see Farnell (1896–1909: ii.653–5, 745 n. 96); Burkert (1985: 220, 436 nn. 35–8).

(37) 8.266–366, where Demodocus makes Aphrodite the wife of Hephaestus, is followed by Plato, *R.* 3.390C 6–7; Sch. to Aristophanes, *Pax* 778; Apollonius Rhodius 3.36–8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 148; Ovid, *Met.* 4.171–2; *Am.* 1.9.39–40, 2.17.19; Juvenal 4.10.311–14, 7.25; Servius on *Aen.* 8.373; Nonnus *D.* 29.328–30. No representation reliably shows Aphrodite as the wife of Hephaestus: Gantz (1993: i.76); *LIMC* 2/1: 125–6.

(38) *Il.* 18.382; Hesiod, *Th.* 945; Sch. HQT on 8.267 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.378–9)).

(39) See Burkert (2009: 32–3 n. 7); Braswell (1982: 135–6); C. G. Brown (1989: 283 n. 2); Hunter (2012: 99–100).

(40) e. e. cummings (1962: 27). The poem's moral is 'soldier, beware of mrs smith'.

(41) If Hephaestus invites the gods to witness ἔργα γελαστά (things worth laughing at) (8.307), the reading of all the manuscripts, of Sch. H on 8.307 and of Aristarchus and Herodian too (Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.384)), he wants jeering laughter to humiliate the lovers (see C. G. Brown (1989)): if, on the other hand, we read ἔργ᾽ ἀγέλαστα (things that are not funny), the reading of Sch. BHQ on 8.307 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.307)), Eustathius 1599 on 8.307 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.300)), *Etymologicum Magnum* 224.47 (= Sylberg (ed.) (1816)); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 301–2) on 8.307, he is expecting ribald laughter at the situation, but such laughter makes his dishonour worse: see J. W. Schmidt (1998: 215, 217); Halliwell (2008: 77–86 with bibliography in n. 70).

(42) See Sch. to Aristophanes, *Pax* 778; Sch. T on 8.332 (= Dindorf (1855: i.386)); Plato, *R.* 3.390C. Xenophanes 21B11 DK condemns unedifying material in Homer and Hesiod: see also Gladstone (1858: ii.461–5); Halliwell (2008: 82 n. 75). For a summary of modern opinion that the song is an interpolation, see Burkert (2009: 32 n. 3). Bolling (1925: 238–40) condemned the ribald exchange between Apollo and Hermes (8.334–43) omitted from many ancient editions for subjective reasons (Van der Valk (1949: 260)), but vindicated as Homeric by Stanford (1947–58: i.338); Burkert (2009: 35–6); Apthorp (1980a: 87–91); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 293–4); Bierl (2012: 116–17 n. 21), and many others.

(43) Lucian, *Salt*. 63; cf. *D. Deor*. 21. Eustathius 1598.62 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.300)) mentions Ares' lookout going to sleep.

(44) Austin (1975: 161); Doherty (1995a: 74–5).

(45) 8.326 = *Il*. 1.599; 8.274 combines approximately the first four feet of *Il*. 18.476 with the Adonaid of *Il*. 18.379; 8.275 = *Il*. 13.37; the address line 8.349 ≈ *Il*. 18.393 and *Il*. 18.462, where the person addressed (Thetis) is feminine (τήν δ᾽) (and her). See Burkert (2009: 38) for *Il*. 21.416–26, where Ares and Aphrodite lie on the ground together in the battle of the gods; Lesky (1961: 38–9); Usener (1990: 198–9) for *Il*. 14.212 (where Aphrodite cannot refuse Hera the κεστὸν ἵμαντα which makes its wearer irresistible) = 8.358, where Hephaestus cannot refuse Poseidon's offer to pay Ares' fine.

(46) Sch. bT on *Il*. 1.584 and T on *Il*. 1.588 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: i.156–7)); see Burkert (2009: 34–5) and Halliwell (2008: 61–3 with n. 30) on the gods resolving a painful situation by laughing at Hephaestus. The deformed or disabled could be used as popular entertainers at drinking parties: Lucian, *Symp*.18, and see Garland (1995: 32–4). Thersites (called γελωτοποιός (laughter-maker, jester) (Plato, *Resp*. 10.620c)) is similarly bald and misshapen (*Il*. 2.217–19), and becomes the butt of mocking laughter (*Il*. 2.270): cf. the suitors' mocking laughter at Odysseus and his bald head (18.354–5); Halliwell (2008: 69–77).

(47) See n. 29.

(48) See Burkert (2009: 40); Rüter (1969: 62–3); Andersen (1977: 13), (1987: 9); Macleod (ed.) (1982: 3–4); C. G. Brown (1989: 291); Olson (1989a: 139–41); Hölscher (1988: 271); Maronitis (1992: 66–7); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 294); Rinon (2006: 211–12, 216, 220). Penalties for adultery may be death or other corporal punishment, and/or a fine: see Latte (1968: 284, 301 (Drakon), 304, 306–7, 312).

(49) Fenik (1974: 12).

(50) G. P. Rose (1969a: 6–14); Clarke (1989: 55).

(51) Newton (1987: 15–16); Zeitlin (1995: 134).

(52) 11.181–3, 444–6; 13.336–8. On Penelope as a type of wifely fidelity, see Gladstone (1858: ii.488–9); Newton (1987: 18–20); Olson (1989a: 141); Petersmann (1995: 83–5); Katz (1991: 170–82); Zeitlin (1995). Her loyalty is symbolized by the immovable bed.

(53) See Newton (1987) and Lowenstam (1993: 157–65, 224–6) for amplification.

(54) The suitors plan to murder Telemachus: 2.332–6; 4.667–72, 842–7; 16.363–406; 20.240–6; 22.53, 216.

(55) Odysseus' complaints at 16.108–9 and 20.318–19 of rough treatment of the maids appear belied by 20.6–8 and 22.424–5, 444–5, causing some to regard 22.37 as spurious: Heubeck

in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.227 on 22.37). The suitors commit adultery in the ancient sense *inter alia* by seducing the disloyal maids: see Alden (1997: 525–6).

(56) Schmidt *LfgrE* s.v. μνάομαι 1a, and cf. Sch. V on 22.38 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.707)), where it is glossed ὑπεφθείρετε: you were corrupting gradually.

(57) Katz (1991: 172).

(58) See Chapter 4, nn. 148 and 170.

(59) Telemachus: 2.131–2; 4.109–10. Penelope: 20.207–8; 21.69–70.

(60) 1.396; 2.96; 19.141; 24.131: cf. Telemachus: 2.46; Eurymachus: 2.181–2.

(61) Fenik (1974: 217–18).

(62) Adkins (1960: 55).

(63) Chantraine (1984–90: ii.703–4) explains μνάομαι (to seek in marriage) as a different present tense of μιμνήσκω (to have in mind). O'Nolan (1978: 25) associates μνα-στηρες (suitors) with Irish *mnà* (women), interpreting the word as 'men after women'.

(64) S. West in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.113 on 1.293ff.).

(65) Lacey (1966: 58 and 64). ἕδνα are mentioned also at 11.116–17, 15.16–18: see Perysinakis (1991).

(66) As may be inferred from the inscription ἐγγύη πάρα δ᾽ ἄτη (disaster is close to pledging) on the Alcmaeonid temple at Delphi: Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: i.341) on 8.351–3.

(67) See n. 41.

(68) *Contra*, Andersen (1977: 5–18 at 13).

(69) To be rejected in favour of another means a loss of τιμή (honour): cf. 6.283–4, where Nausicaa imagines the rejection of her Phaeacian suitors in favour of Odysseus: see Garvie (ed.) (1994: 152) *ad loc.* The maidservants ἀτιμάζουσι (dishonour) Odysseus by sleeping with the suitors: 16.317; 19.498; 22.418.

(70) A.T. Edwards (1985: 57 and n. 36).

(71) Although D. F. Wilson (2002: 77 and 198 nn. 23–4; 91 and 201 n. 68) implies that Eurymachus offers ποινή (punitive compensation), he never uses the term.

(72) If the τιμή is not forthcoming, the Greeks will exact a ποινή: *Il.* 3.284–91. cf. *Od.* 14.70, 117. See Fernández-Galiano in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.231–2 on 22.57–9).

(73) Adkins (1972: 6–7).

(74) 'To move along' on the οἴμη (path) of song: Ford (1992: 42–4); Führer *LfgrE* s.v. μεταβαίνω II 10b.

(75) On the meaning of κόσμος (order) and κατὰ κόσμον as 'point by point': Schmidt *LfgrE* s.v. κόσμος 1b and 2; Finkelberg (1998: 124–30); Ford (1992: 120–4); Halliwell (2011: 83–92, esp. 87 and 91).

(76) Horse-man: see Stanford (1992: 257–8 n. 10). Epeius, according to Quintus Smyrnaeus 12.329–34, entered last and drew up the ladder after him. He knew how to work the trapdoor, and sat by the bolt. 11.530–1 has Odysseus in control of the door, as later Tzetzes, *Posthomerica* 672–5 (= Lehrs and Dübner (eds) (1840: 32)).

(77) The Syrian walled city of Joppa fell like this to Thutmoses III when soldiers were sent in in baskets as 'tribute': Simpson (ed.) (1973: 81–4); Morris (1997: 603). For the view that Demodocus, in making the Trojans drag the horse into the citadel (8.504), is correcting the statement that Odysseus brought the horse to the acropolis (8.494), see E. J. Harrison (1971).

(78) Quintus Smyrnaeus 12.23–83, 104–56, 218–443, 539–85, 13.21–59; Tryphiodorus 57–541; Tzetzes, *Posthomerica* 629–75 (= Lehrs and Dübner (eds) (1840: 31–2)); Tzetzes, Sch. on *Lyc*. 930 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: i.299–301)); Virgil, *Aen*. 2.13–267; Hyginus, *Fab*. 108; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum* 5.9 and 5.11–12; Apollodorus, *Epit*. 5.14–21 (= Frazer (ed.) (1976–89: ii.228–36)). See also Bethe (1922: ii.253).

(79) Howland (1954–5); Franko (2005–6).

(80) A. T. Edwards (1985: 31–2); Hölscher (1988: 57).

(81) *Iliou Persis* Argumentum 2 (= *PEG* i.88); *Ilias Parva*, fr. 16 (= *PEG* i.79); Apollodorus, *Epit*. 5.15, 19; Virgil, *Aen*. 2.57–198, 258–9; Quintus Smyrnaeus 12.360–88: see Gantz (1993: ii.646–50); Horsfall (2008: 93–4) with bibliography; Hunter (2012: 88–90). For the view (based on 8.494) that Odysseus accompanied the horse into Troy, rather than sitting inside it, see J. W. Jones (1965**)**.

(82) The options in Proclus' summary of the *Iliou Persis* (*PEG* i.88) include burning it.

(83) They are under threat of punishment from Poseidon for giving safe conduct to travellers (8.564–71). The authenticity of the passage (which recurs with slight differences at 13.172–8) has been questioned (see Hainsworth in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: i.383) on 8.564–71), but Rinon (2006: 222–3) rightly sees irony in the Phaeacians' ignorance that they are about to suffer for helping Odysseus.

(84) ἔρυω: 17.479; cf. 18.10. βάλλω: 18.84; 20.382: cf. 21.307–9.

(85) Euripides, *Tr*. 959; Dictys, *Bellum Troianum* 4.22; Sch. T on 8.517 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.397)).

(86) The house of Deiphobus is burnt and Deiphobus himself killed and mutilated by Menelaus: Dictys, *Bellum Troianum* 5.12; Quintus Smyrnaeus 13.354. Helen delivers him into the hands of his killers: Virgil, *Aen*. 6.494; Hyginus, *Fab*. 240.

(87) Goldhill (1991: 52–4); Danek (1998a: 156–7).

(88) Rutherford (2009: 173).

(89) Plato, *Ion* 535e.

(90) See Goldhill (1991: 52–4); Nagy (1999: 101); Macleod (ed.) (1982: 4–5); Griffin (1987b: 57); Pucci (1987: 221–2); Rohdich (1987); Taplin (1990: 110–11); Halliwell (2011: 88–90). For a similar 'reversed simile' (23.233–9), see Moulton (1977: 129–31).

(91) See Muellner (2012) on Odysseus' relaxed attitude in the depiction of the embassy on Berlin Antikensammlung F2326 (*LIMC* 443 s.v. Achilleus).

(92) See this chapter, §1.5 and n. 26. The first weeping (8.83–5, 92–5), undeveloped and lacking a conclusion, heightens the effect of the second: Fenik (1974: 102–3).

Para-Narratives in the Odyssey: Stories in the Frame
Maureen Alden

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The Cyclops

A Polyvalent Para-Narrative

Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

Odysseus' blinding of the Cyclops by a combination of μῆτις and βίη continues the debate on the qualities needed for success initiated in the songs of Demodocus. The uncultivated Cyclopes reflect a reversed image of their relatives, the super-civilized Phaeacians. The mirror of the *Cyclopeia* simultaneously reflects the suitors (Model A) and Odysseus himself (Model B). In Model A, the suitors parallel the Cyclops as Odysseus' adversary. No One is the false name by which Odysseus tricks the Cyclops: the suitors fear no one. Their consumption of Odysseus' flocks and herds corresponds to the Cyclops' consumption of Odysseus' companions. Both they and the Cyclops are killed while under the influence of wine. In Model B, Odysseus returns, like the Cyclops, to find intruders consuming his resources. Odysseus confronts the suitors from the doorway of his hall in a near theophany parodied by the blinded Cyclops in his cave doorway.

Keywords: Cyclops, mirror, μῆτις, βίη, No One, suitors, flocks, herds, wine, doorway

The poet has adapted a story already famous at the time the *Odyssey* was composed[1] to fashion the *Cyclopeia*, a mirror reflecting a counter-image of its Phaeacian audience, and refracting for the poet's audience a true split image at once of the suitors and of Odysseus himself. It is also a reply to the meditation on μῆτις (stratagem) and βίη (force) in the songs of Demodocus: this time the tension between them is played out in Odysseus' blinding by μῆτις

of a cannibal Cyclops called Polyphemus. The blinding angers Polyphemus' father, Poseidon, to whom the Phaeacians are also related: Periboia (daughter of Eurymedon, ruler of the giants) lay with Poseidon and bore Nausithous, the father of Rhexenor and Alcinous. Rhexenor's daughter, Arete, was married to her uncle, Alcinous (7.56–66). Thoosa, the daughter of Phorcys, lay with Poseidon and bore Polyphemus (1.71–3),[2] who is therefore the half-brother of Alcinous' father: see Figure 8.1. The Cyclopes were stronger than the Phaeacians (βίηφι δὲ φέρτεροι ἦσαν) (6.6) and drove them out of their former territory, Hyperia (6.6–8).[3] Odysseus makes common cause with his Phaeacian audience by telling them how he injured the Cyclops, a member of the race at whose hands they had suffered.

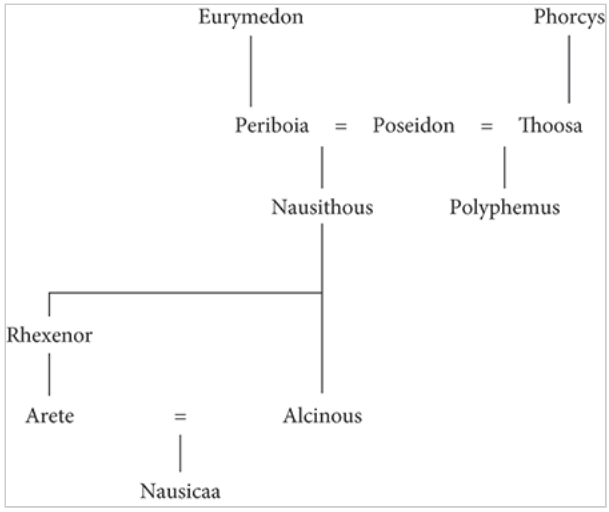

Figure 8.1. The Cyclops' family tree.

(p.223) Hellanicus mentions three races of Cyclopes: those who walled Mycenae, those around Polyphemus, and the gods themselves.[4] Hesiod's Cyclopes are the divine craftsmen Brontes, Steropes, and Arges, who supply Zeus with thunder and lightning.[5] They are called Cyclopes οὕνεκ᾽ ἄρα σφέων | κυκλοτερὴς ὀφθαλμὸς ἕεις ἐνέκειτο μετώπῳ (because one round eye lay in the middle of their forehead).[6] A one-eyed giant will be easier to blind, but while his eye is repeatedly referred to in the singular (9.333, 383, 394, 397), the *Odyssey* never explicitly says that the Cyclops has only one eye. (Early representations show the head in profile, with the visible eye in the usual place: it is not clear if there is a second eye.)[7] Presumably the Phaeacians know from experience that Cyclopes are monocular, and the external audience is probably already familiar with stories about them.[8] The Cyclops' name, Polyphemus, means Much-Famed, or 'the one of the rich φήμη':[9] it is shared with one of the Lapiths (*Il.* 1.264), and it is also used as an adjective of the Ithacan bard Phemius (22.376), and of the Ithacan marketplace (2.150).

(p.224) 1. A Para-Narrative of μηῆτις and βίη

The *Cyclopeia* displays many of the elements we saw in Demodocus' song about divine adultery: μῆτις, which in the song was the property of the smith Hephaestus, is here represented by Odysseus (9.414, 422),[10] and βίη, represented in the song by Ares, is here represented by the Cyclops (9.476). Poseidon, who supports Ares (βίη) in the song by standing surety for his fine, intervenes on the side of βίη here too, when he hears the Cyclops' prayer for Odysseus to be punished (9.536). Like the song of Ares and Aphrodite, the Cyclops story functions on one level for the poet's audience as a pattern for the means to defeat the suitors: μῆτις will more than compensate for inferior physical force, but must be harnessed to βίη to achieve an effective victory.

In Demodocus' song of the Trojan Horse (8.499–520), the strength of Troy's inhabitants was harnessed to drag the horse full of armed Greeks *into* their city (8.504). The horse was a manufactured device and an apparent gift, which exploited the Trojans' helplessness under the influence of wine.[11] In the *Cyclopeia*, Odysseus intoxicates the Cyclops with an apparent gift of extra-strong wine, and exploits his temporary incapacity to blind him with a manufactured device. The Cyclops cannot be killed, because his strength must be harnessed to open the door for the intruders to get *out* of his cave.[12]

1.1. Sophistication and Simplicity

Homer's Cyclopes are shepherds. They neither plant nor plough, but their land of its own accord bears wheat, barley, and grapes (9.107–111), as in the Golden Age of Hesiod.[13] They hold no assemblies for counsel or justice (9.112), and live in caves on the mountain tops (9.113–14). They dispense justice to their wives and children individually (9.114–15).[14] Their world is the antithesis of agriculture and the Greek pattern of settlement in πόλεις **(p.225)** (cities).[15] As a son of Poseidon and the nymph Thoosa (1.71–3), Polyphemus is not strictly a kinsman of the Cyclopes, and does not even belong among them.[16] He lives alone, even more solitary than his neighbours (9.188–9). The assembly held by Odysseus before he meets him (9.171), his comparison of the Cyclops' staff to the mast of a ship (9.321–4), and the sophistication inherent in the similes of the shipwright's drill and the tempering of iron in cold water when the heated staff is plunged into his eye (9.384–6, 391–3) all help to establish the contrast between the civilized Greeks and the rustic Cyclops.

1.2. Eat and Be Eaten

Odysseus relates his arrival by night at an island, inhabited only by wild goats. In the morning, he and his crew dine liberally on the goats,[17] and wash them down with plenty of wine looted in the sack of Ismarus (9.159–65). Odysseus' curiosity is aroused by smoke rising on the mainland opposite, and by the sounds of sheep and goats (9.166–7). He takes one ship across to the mainland, where a cave is sighted with a yard of stones set in the earth and fenced around with pines and oaks. Odysseus chooses twelve men to visit the cave with him. Full of anticipation that he may meet a savage οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας (ignorant of justice and unwritten laws) (9.213–15), he takes with him a bottle of the exceptionally strong wine he received from Maron, the priest of Apollo in Ismarus.[18] When they reach the cave, its owner is out in the pastures with his flocks (9.216–17). His establishment is organized as a dairy, full of milk pails and crates of cheese (9.219, 223). Lambs and kids wait in pens for their mothers to come back (9.219–20). The companions urge Odysseus to steal the cheeses, lambs, and kids, and escape back over the water (9.224–7). As narrator, Odysseus admits this would have been wiser, but as a character in his story, he insists on staying to meet the owner, to see if he will give him a guest gift (9.228–9).

The men settle down to the cheeses, and wait for the proprietor to arrive (9.231–2). He comes towards evening, bringing a huge bundle of firewood (9.233–4). He drives the ewes and nanny goats into the cave and closes the entrance with a huge stone. Then he goes through his evening routine, milking the animals (9.244–9). Spying his visitors in the light of the fire, the giant asks **(p.226)** the usual questions, 'Who are you and where are you from?' adding 'Are you pirates?' as if in reference to their raid on his larder. Odysseus attempts to inspire

respect[19] by revealing that he and his crew are comrades of Agamemnon, famous for the sack of Troy, and for killing many people. He presents his party as suppliants and hints at the gift due to a guest. The gods must be respected, and Zeus is the avenger of guest-friends. But the Cyclops does not react to the mention of Troy, and considers the Cyclopes better than gods (9.275–8). He seizes two men and eats them,[20] washing them down with unmixed milk (9.297).[21] Then he goes to sleep on the floor. Odysseus checks his impulse to kill the Cyclops, because no one else can move the stone which traps them in the cave (9.303–6).

1.3. Revenge

In the morning, the giant breakfasts on two more men before leaving for the pastures with his flocks, and replacing the stone in the doorway to keep his prisoners inside (9.314). Odysseus is left plotting vengeance (9.316–17). He finds a stake of olive wood, obviously intended for the giant's use as a staff when it has dried out (9.319–21): the men compare its size to the mast of a ship (9.321–4). (Olive trees are too short and crooked to make good masts, so the olive wood must be thematic, symbolizing the influence of Athene.)[22] A sharp instrument, Odysseus' sword, perhaps (9.300), or the knife Polyphemus used to joint his victims (9.291), is used to smooth a length of this stake and sharpen it at one end. The point is hardened in the fire. The men draw lots to decide which four will grind it in the monster's eye when he is asleep (9.331–2). (It is not clear how they know who will not be eaten. Of the twelve who accompanied Odysseus to the cave, eight remain at this point, and two **(p.227)** more will be eaten in the evening. Four are required to drive the stake into the monster's eye, but two are left over with nothing to do.[23] Other versions of the story[24] use the lot to determine the order of consumption, not who should take part in the blinding.)

In the evening the Cyclops drives his animals, males and all, into the cave, whether by his own idea, or prompted by a god (9.337–9). He eats two men as before, and Odysseus offers him a cup of Maron's wine. The Cyclops asks for more:

> δός μοι ἔτι πρόφρων καί μοι τεὸν οὔνομα εἰπὲ
> αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα τοι δῶ ξείνιον, ᾧ κε σὺ χαίρῃς.
> Kindly give me more, and tell me your name
> Right away now, so that I may give you a guest gift in which you may rejoice.
> 9.355–6

Odysseus serves him three times with the powerful liquor, and makes him drunk. He tells the giant a false name, Οὖτις (No One) (9.366–7). The Cyclops offers as a guest gift that he will eat No One last, and passes out, vomiting up his grisly supper. The sharpened stick is heated in the fire and Odysseus and his men push it into the Cyclops' eye.[25] Odysseus twirls it as a shipwright makes a drill run, using a leather strap (9.383–6). The eye hisses like an axe or an adze which a blacksmith plunges into cold water to temper it (9.391–4).

The cave echoes with terrible groans, and the other Cyclopes come to ask what is the matter:

> ἦ <u>μή τίς</u> σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλαύνει;
> ἦ <u>μή τίς</u> σ᾽ αὐτὸν κτείνει δόλῳ ἠὲ βίηφι;
> surely <u>no one</u> is driving off your flocks against your will?

> surely no one is killing you by a trick or by force?
> 9.405–6

He replies:

> ὦ φίλοι, Οὖτίς με κτείνει δόλῳ οὐδὲ βίηφιν.
> O my friends, No One is killing me by a trick or by force.
> 9.408

(p.228) He meant to say Οὖτις (No One) with the recessive accent of a proper name, but he was in no condition for flawless elocution, and, as Odysseus hoped,[26] the other Cyclopes thought that he had said οὔτις (no one, instead of Οὖτις, No One). And so his friends advise:

> εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τίς σε βιάζεται οἶον ἐόντα,
> νοῦσόν γ᾽ οὔ πως ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι,
> ἀλλὰ σύ γ᾽ εὔχεο πατρὶ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.
> well then, if no one is hurting you, and you're on your own,
> there is no way to avoid madness from almighty Zeus,
> but at any rate, say your prayers to your father Poseidon.
> 9.410–12

And away they go, leaving Odysseus to exult in the symmetry of Οὖτις/ οὔτις (No One/no one). Elsewhere Homer always uses the negative οὐ when the indicative follows εἰ (if), so εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τίς σε βιάζεται (if really no one is hurting you) (9.410) introduces a further level of ambiguity into the Οὖτις (No One) trick: μή τις (no one) in the questions of the other Cyclopes (9.405–6) will sound very similar to μῆτις (stratagem), the quality for which Odysseus is famous,[27] and which *is* presently hurting Polyphemus. This is why Odysseus exults (ἐμὸν δ᾽ ἐγέλασσε φίλον κῆρ) (my dear heart laughed) at how his name and his μῆτις ἀμύμων (immaculate stratagem) deceived the Cyclops (9.413–14).

The blinded ogre removes the stone and sits in the doorway, feeling with his hands in case the men try to escape. To get past him, Odysseus resorts to tying the sheep together in threes: using the withies from the giant's bedding, he ties a man under the middle sheep of each threesome, and he himself curls up and clings under the belly of the ram of the flock. The giant even strokes the backs of the sheep as they leave the cave with their burdens, but he fails to investigate underneath them. He talks affectionately to the ram, wishing it could tell him where that οὐτιδανὸς Οὖτις (that good-for-nothing No One) is (9.460).[28]

Once outside Odysseus orders the sheep to be driven onto the ship.[29] As the crew row away, he calls out to the Cyclops that Zeus has punished him for eating his guests (9.479). The ogre hurls a mountain peak, which falls into the sea and drives the ship back towards him (9.485–6). Although the men rebuke Odysseus for provoking the giant (9.494–9), he cannot refrain from taunting the blinded Cyclops, telling him his name, his father's name, and where he is from (9.504–5). He has not really registered that the father to whom his victim was advised to pray is Poseidon (9.412). In giving his identity, Odysseus is **(p.229)** trying to intensify his triumph: Polyphemus must know by whom, and for what, he is afflicted.[30] This is why Odysseus throws away the cover provided by the Οὖτις/μῆτις trick.

1.4. A Far-Reaching φήμη (Prophetic Utterance)

On hearing Odysseus' name, everything falls into place for the bewildered Cyclops: he remembers the prophecy of the seer Telemus, that Odysseus would deprive him of his eye.[31] He expected someone big and powerful to blind him by force, but in fact an insignificant good-for-nothing has blinded him when he was drunk. He will give Odysseus a guest gift all right, and he will ask the Earth Shaker to give him an escort too, of a kind he will not like, for the Cyclops' father is Poseidon (9.507–21). Repeating Odysseus' name, father's name, and country (9.530–1),[32] the Cyclops prays that he may never reach home, or, if it is his fate[33] to do so,

> ὀψὲ κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας ἑταίρους,
> νηὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίης, εὕροι δ᾽ ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ.
> let him come late, and in bad case, with the loss of all his companions,
> on a foreign ship, and let him find troubles in his house.
> 9.534–5

Poseidon hears the prayer (9.536). The next rock the Cyclops hurls at the ship drives it towards the safety of the island (9.542).

1.5. A Failed Sacrifice

The men divide up the stolen sheep and give the Cyclops' ram to Odysseus. He sacrifices it to Zeus, but to no avail: the god is already plotting against him:

> ...ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐμπάζετο ἱρῶν,
> ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε μερμήριζεν,[34] ὅπως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι
> νῆες ἐΰσσελμοι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι.
> **(p.230)** ...but he regarded not the sacrifice,
> but he was pondering how they would come to grief, all
> my well-benched ships and my trusty companions.
> 9.553–5

Odysseus cannot know that Zeus disregarded the sacrifice because he did not wish to interfere with the intention of his brother Poseidon (1.68–79), but 'The listener is to know that not only will Zeus not oppose the fulfilment of the Cyclops' curse, but will actually work towards its fulfilment.'[35] Zeus' plotting has been variously explained: for example, Reinhardt considered Odysseus hybristic in assuming a divine mandate to punish Polyphemus, and in crowing over the blinded Cyclops.[36] Friedrich accuses Odysseus of perversity: 'it must greatly irritate Zeus that such a claim should be made by a man who, by entering the Cyclops' abode in his absence and helping himself uninvited to his food (ix 231–2), was the first to violate the very code he now boasts to have vindicated.'[37] (Modern vernacular versions of the Cyclops story suggest a tradition where no blame is attached to the visitors who help themselves to the absent owner's food.)[38] Fenik explains the conflict between Zeus' remark that mortals bring their troubles on themselves (1.33–4) and his plotting against Odysseus (9.554–5) in terms of two different kinds of Zeus, one fair and the other malevolent.[39] But ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐμπάζετο ἱρῶν (but he regarded not the sacrifice) represents Odysseus' perception of Zeus' reaction, and not the poet's authoritative account of it. While Odysseus might reasonably be expected to sacrifice to

Zeus in thanksgiving for his escape, he also knows that Zeus went on to destroy his ship and his companions (12.405–19), which leads him to think that the sacrifice failed to avert the catastrophe.[40] If Odysseus does anything 'wrong' in the Cyclops' cave, it will not be a moral offence, as Reinhardt and Friedrich thought, since there is no condemnation of the raid against the Cicones per se, but only of the folly of the companions who stayed on feasting in Ismarus when they should have left (9.43–6). Eurylochus has a point when he accuses Odysseus of ἀτασθαλίη (criminal folly) in hanging about to see the Cyclops, and bringing trouble on his companions (10.430–7).[41] Odysseus' wrongdoing in the Cyclops episode consists in going after a gift for himself alone, and betraying his **(p.231)** obligation to look out for the safety of his men. Particularly serious are his tactical errors in not driving off the sheep and stealing the cheeses before the Cyclops came back, and in giving his name and enabling the Cyclops to pray for the destruction of his companions.

2. The Phaeacians (Reversed) in the Mirror

The Phaeacians think that they, like the Cyclopes, are particularly close to the gods (7.201–6).[42] Their ships travel to their destinations concealed in mist without the direction of a helmsman (8.557–62): Odysseus' ships were shrouded in mist when a god guided them to the island opposite the Cyclops' cave (9.142–8). When he arrives in the country of the Cyclopes, Odysseus is preoccupied with exactly the same issues as concern him on his arrival in Scheria:

> ἢ ῥ᾽ οἵ γ᾽ ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
> ἦε φιλόξεινοι καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;
> are they overbearing, and savage, and not just,
> or are they hospitable, and is their mind pleasing to the gods?
> 6.120–1 = 9.175–6[43]

His resolve to test the Cyclopes, τῶνδ᾽ ἀνδρῶν πειρήσομαι (I shall find out about these men) (9.174), echoes his resolve to test (πειρήσομαι) the Phaeacians (6.126).

The Phaeacians like feasting, music and dance, changes of clothing, hot baths, and comfortable beds (8.248–9, 262–5, 433–57). Their hospitality and gift-giving are lavish.[44] They have city walls (7.44–5); a built harbour (7.43); a palace with servants, kitchen garden, and vineyard;[45] sanctuaries and temples of the gods (6.266, 291); places of assembly (7.44; 8.16); wonderful ships.[46] They know about the Trojan War (8.74–82, 489–521, 581). The Cyclops, by contrast, is unconcerned with the gods (9.273–8). He lives in isolated squalor, without agriculture (9.107–11), ships (9.125–30), assemblies (9.112–15), or company of any kind, except his flocks. He offers the reverse of hospitality **(p.232)** (9.287–93 etc.), guest gifts (9.369–70), and safe conduct, although he knows what the terms mean (9.517–18). His personal habits and table manners leave much to be desired (9.373–4): he never washes, or changes his clothes, and sleeps on the ground with the animals (9.298, 371). He does not react to the mention of the Trojan War (9.263–5).

Odysseus is slow to reveal his identity to both Phaeacians and Cyclops. The Cyclops demands to know his visitors' identity as soon as he notices them (9.252–5), but Odysseus' reply is vague (9.263–71).[47] When the Cyclops returns to the question (9.355), Odysseus tells him:

> Οὖτις ἐμοί γ᾽ ὄνομα· Οὖτιν δέ με κικλήσκουσι
> μήτηρ ἠδὲ πατὴρ ἠδ᾽ ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι.
> my name is No One: they call me No One,
> my mother and my father and all my other companions.
> 9.366–7

as if in reference to Alcinous' request:

> εἴπ᾽ ὄνομ᾽, ὅττι σε κεῖθι κάλεον μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε,
> ἄλλοι θ᾽ οἳ κατὰ ἄστυ καὶ οἳ περιναιετάουσιν.
> tell your name, which your father and mother used to call you there,
> and others who live in the town and those who dwell round about.
> 8.550–2

and in contradiction of his observation:

> <u>οὐ</u> μὲν γάρ <u>τις</u> πάμπαν ἀνώνυμός ἐστ᾽ ἀνθρώπων,
> οὐ κακὸς οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλός, ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται,
> ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τίθενται, ἐπεί κε τέκωσι, τοκῆες.
> for <u>no one</u> of men is completely anonymous,
> neither base nor noble, from the day when he is born,
> but parents bestow names on all, when they are born.
> 8.552–4

It is as Οὖτις (No One) that Polyphemus announces his guest to the other Cyclopes: ὦ φίλοι, Οὖτίς με κτείνει δόλῳ οὐδὲ βίηφιν (o my friends, No One is killing me by a trick and not by force) (9.408). We have seen this pattern before, when Alcinous introduced his guest to the other Phaeacians as οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅς τις (I know not who) (8.28).[48] Both Cyclops and Phaeacians have been warned of impending disaster. As the Cyclops recognizes the fulfilment of the prophecy he received long ago from the seer Telemus, that Odysseus would rob him of his eye (9.507–12), he exclaims,

> **(p.233)** ὢ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δή με παλαίφατα θέσφαθ᾽ ἱκάνει
> O alas, most certainly indeed the decrees of fate uttered long ago are overtaking me
> 9.507

This is exactly what Alcinous says (13.172) as he sees the ship turned to stone on its way back from Ithaca in fulfilment of the prophecy that Poseidon would become angry with the Phaeacians for giving safe escort to all (8.564–6). When disaster strikes, both the Cyclops and the Phaeacians pray to Poseidon (9.526–36; 13.185–7). They both suffer as a result of their encounter with Odysseus, despite the extreme differences in their behaviour towards him.

3. The Cyclops in the Mirror

If the *Cyclopeia* is a mirror which shows the Phaeacians a reversed image of themselves, the poet's audience can also see a split image of Odysseus as he reclaims his rightful place in Ithaca. In the first fragment of this image, the suitors correspond to the Cyclops and Odysseus is equated with his narrative self in the *Cyclopeia*: the second fragment presents Odysseus as

a grim reflection of the Cyclops, who returned late and alone, to find his cave infested with intruders making free with his food.[49]

3.1. Model A: the Cyclopeian Suitors

Odysseus' defeat of Polyphemus in the *Cyclopeia* is the major paradigm for his triumph over the suitors. In this reading, the suitors parallel the Cyclops as representative of βίη, and Odysseus disarms them by μῆτις (as he disarmed the Cyclops) before turning βίη on them (as he turned βίη on the Cyclops). The reading is validated by Odysseus' recollection, on the morning of his fight against the suitors, of how he endured worse when the Cyclops ate his companions, but μῆτις led him out of the cave where he thought he would die (20.18–21).[50] On arrival in Ithaca, Odysseus once again asks himself the questions he asked when preparing to visit the Cyclops:

> ἢ ῥ᾽ οἵ γ᾽ ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
> ἦε φιλόξεινοι καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεοῦδής;
> are they overbearing, and savage, and not just,
> or are they hospitable, and is their mind pleasing to the gods?
> 9.175–6 = 13.201–2

(p.234) A long trail of verbal and other correspondences align the Cyclops very firmly with the suitors as the adversaries of Odysseus.

3.1.1. νήπιος (Foolish)

Edmunds[51] regards Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclops as a struggle to see who will turn out to be νήπιος, a word usually translated as 'foolish' or 'mentally deficient', and finds that when used of adults it tends to refer to someone disconnected from the past and the future, who may even be about to die. Odysseus describes his men as μέγα νήπιοι (great fools) when they ignore his advice to leave after their initial victory in the raid on Ismarus (9.43–4). After their improper feasting there, they become food for the improper feasts of the Cyclops. Polyphemus calls Odysseus νήπιος (9.273) for expecting guest-friendship from him, and later hopes Odysseus will be νήπιος and attempt to walk out of the cave among the sheep (9.418–19). In the event, however, it is Polyphemus who is νήπιος (9.442), when he does not realize that Odysseus' companions are tied underneath the sheep. The suitors too are νήπιοι (22.32) in thinking Odysseus has killed Antinous by accident, and do not realize that they are all doomed to die. At the end of the slaughter, the herald Medon supplicates Telemachus[52] and blames the suitors as νήπιοι for their failure to respect him (22.370). Eupeithes, the father of Antinous, dies in the folly (νηπιέῃσι) (24.469) of the attempt to avenge the suitors' deaths.

3.1.2. ἀθεμίστια (Lawlessness)

Θέμις (what is right) refers in Homer to appropriate behaviour towards the gods in terms of such things as libations, but it is also used of the treatment of guests, lamenting for a husband, making a reply etc.[53] The Cyclopes are introduced as ἀθέμιστοι (lawless) (9.106): τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες (they have neither assemblies giving counsel, nor established customs) (9.112).[54] Instead, each Cyclops governs (θεμιστεύει) his wives and children, without regard to anyone else (9.114–15).[55] In Odysseus' absence, Ithaca has been similarly lawless, and Aegyptius says that the assembly called by Telemachus is the first since

Odysseus left for Troy (2.26–7). In his appeal to the Ithacans for help, Telemachus invokes Themis, who convenes and dismisses assemblies (2.68–9). The long-delayed assembly is described as πολύφημος (polyphemos, many-voiced) (2.150), the name by which his **(p.235)** neighbours call the Cyclops when they assemble outside his cave. Polyphemus does not pasture his sheep in company with anyone else, but apart from the rest ἀθεμίστια ᾔδη (he knew lawless ways) (9.189, 428). Odysseus is expecting to find someone ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας (savage, knowing well neither justice nor established customs) (9.215). The Cyclops gives Odysseus no guest gift, ἥ τε ξείνων θέμις ἐστιν (which is established custom for strangers) (9.268).[56] At home in Ithaca, Odysseus distinguishes which suitors are ἐναίσιμοι οἵ τ᾽ ἀθέμιστοι (seemly, and which lawless) (17.363) by the measure of whether they will give to a beggar. The 'good' suitor, Amphinomus,[57] is advised not to be ἀθεμίστιος (criminal), but to enjoy whatever gifts the gods provide, and return to his home before Odysseus comes (18.141–50). Ctesippus, the suitor who taunts Odysseus with the ξείνιον (guest gift) of a cow's foot (20.296–300), is described as ἀθεμίστια εἰδώς (knowing lawless ways) (20.287), like Polyphemus: Ctesippus' lawless ξείνιον echoes the Cyclops' ξείνιον to eat No One last.[58]

3.1.3. ὑπερφίαλοι (Excessive)

The Cyclopes are ὑπερφίαλοι (excessive) (9.106), a term repeatedly used of the suitors:[59] Tiresias warns Odysseus that he will find ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους (men who are excessive) in his house (11.116). The adverb ὑπερφιάλως (monstrously, excessively) is pejoratively associated with their feasting (ὑβρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως) (with excessive arrogance), their pleasure in the wrestling match with Irus, and their indignation that Odysseus might be allowed to try the bow.[60]

3.1.4. Crimes: ἀναίδεια, ὕβρις, ἀτασθαλίη (Shamelessness, Arrogance, Criminal Folly)

The Cyclops claims to be mightier than Zeus and the other gods (9.274–8), and disregards them. The suitors are similarly confident that they are stronger: they argue that their superior numbers justify their behaviour, and it will be worse even for Odysseus if he takes them on (2.244–51).[61] To Polyphemus, **(p.236)** Odysseus claims that he and his party are suppliants, and urges: αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς (respect the gods, my brave friend) (9.269). Zeus Ξείνιος is the avenger of suppliants (9.270–1), but even so the Cyclops does not scruple (οὐχ ἄζεο) (9.478) to eat his guests.[62] The hospitality of guest-friendship epitomizes αἰδώς (respect), and in their failure to observe its rules the suitors 'are little better than the Cyclopes, the ἀθέμιστοι (lawless ones), who have put themselves beyond the pale of acceptable human conduct'.[63] The vices of ἀναίδεια, ὕβρις, and ἀτασθαλία[64] (shamelessness, arrogance, and recklessness) are all attributed to the suitors in their role as the villains of the *Odyssey*. As soon as they appear, their behaviour scandalizes Athene/Mentes:

> ὥς τέ μοι ὑβρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως δοκέουσι
> δαίνυσθαι κατὰ δῶμα. νεμεσσήσαιτό κεν ἀνὴρ
> αἴσχεα πόλλ᾽ ὁρόων, ὅς τις πινυτός γε μετέλθοι.
> they seem to me to be overbearingly arrogant
> as they feast in the palace. A sensible man who came amongst them
> would be angry at seeing their many outrageous acts.
> 1.227–9

MacDowell explains ὕβρις as 'expending energy in a useless manner', and this is supported by Michelini's demonstration that plants are said to be hybristic when they produce foliage without fruit as a result of gross feeding, rather like the suitors feasting ὑβρίζοντες (in a useless manner) (1.227).[65] The suitors do not work (2.127–8) and pass their time in board games, feasting, and tame athletic contests (1.106–7, 4.625–7, 17.167–9): the consequence of their idleness is ὑπέρβιος ὕβρις (exceedingly violent arrogance) (1.368).[66] Odysseus is said to avoid their ὕβρις (17.581). He attempts to warn Antinous with a tale of how he came to destitution when he led a gang of pirates ὕβρει εἴξαντες (yielding to arrogance) (17.431), but Antinous projects his own ἀναίδεα (shamelessness) onto the beggar: ὥς τις θαρσαλέος καὶ ἀναιδής ἐσσι προΐκτης (what a bold and shameless beggar you are!) (17.449). Even the other suitors are indignant at his behaviour: οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα πάντες ὑπερφιάλως νεμέσησαν (but they were all excessively angry with him) (17.481), warning him that the beggar might be a god, come to witness ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην (the arrogance of men and their obedience to laws) (17.484–7). The suitor Eurymachus rhetorically proposes that the beggar should serve for wages building **(p.237)** walls and planting trees on his estate (18.357–64). Odysseus welcomes the idea of a contest of endurance in any kind of work against Eurymachus, who is arrogant (μάλ᾽ ὑβρίζεις) (18.381), because he has dealings with few men, and with no one of quality: that is why he thinks himself a great (or big: μέγας) (18.382) man. (The Cyclops, who lives alone in a remote place (οἶος, ἀπάνευθεν) (9.188–9), has much the same problem.) Odysseus tells Eumaeus how he wishes

> ...θεοὶ τεισαίατο λώβην,
> ἣν οἵδ᾽ ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται
> ...the gods would avenge the outrageous behaviour
> and presumptuous deeds which these men perpetrate in their arrogance
> 20.169–70

Telemachus anticipates the time when his father μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφήσει (would lay hands on the shameless suitors) (20.386).[67]

3.1.5. Prophecy and Warnings

Polyphemus had not expected the fulfilment of Telemus' prophecy that he would be robbed of his eye to come about by the agency of the ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καὶ ἄκικυς (insignificant good-for-nothing pipsqueak) (9.515) who got the better of him by underhand methods. The suitors are not afraid of the beggar, although they have been warned by the seer, Halitherses, that Odysseus is coming home, and is already nearby, plotting murder and doom for them all (2.162–76). Amphinomus pays no heed to the 'beggar's' warning, that Odysseus will not be long away, and will take bloody revenge (18.143–50). The suitors ignore Theoclymenos' visionary warnings that their doom is near at hand (20.351–7).

3.1.6. No One in the Cave and the Palace

When Odysseus introduces himself to the Cyclops as Οὖτις (No One), the poet's audience will perhaps remember that Eurymachus, speaking on behalf of the suitors, told Telemachus <u>οὔ τινα</u> δείδιμεν ἔμπης (we are afraid of <u>no one</u>) (2.199), and recognize the verbal play on the object of the suitors' fear. The word play is no accident, and Odysseus will later justify the suitors' deaths by indicating that they respected the rights of οὔ τινα (no one):

τούσδε δὲ μοῖρ᾽ ἐδάμασσε θεῶν καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα·
<u>οὔ τινα</u> γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
(p.238) οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο.[68]
τῷ καὶ ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐπέσπον.
divine fate overcame them, and their wicked deeds,
for they habitually respected the rights of <u>no one</u> of mortal men,
neither base nor noble, whoever might unluckily run into them.
For that reason, and for their criminal follies they met an unseemly death.
22.413–16

When he met the Cyclops, Odysseus presented himself as an anonymous veteran of the Trojan War, in which many people were killed. He supplicated the shepherd: τὰ σὰ γοῦνα | ἱκόμεθ᾽ (we have come to your knees) (9.266–7). The scene is played out again on the shore in Ithaca where Odysseus supplicates (13.231) Athene (disguised as a young shepherd) (13.221–5) for information on the country to which he has come. She responds exactly as Polyphemus did when Odysseus asked him to reverence the gods:

νήπιός εἰς, ὦ ξεῖν᾽ ἢ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας
you are a fool, stranger, or you have come from far off
9.273 = 13.237

Once again Odysseus claims to be a veteran of the Trojan War (13.262–3). This time, he claims to have killed Orsilochus, son of the Cretan leader Idomeneus: on both occasions the reference to killing is intended to deter violence on the part of the shepherd. But the goddess knows Odysseus and reveals herself (13.287–9): together they plot the destruction of the suitors (13.376–439). The first stage is Odysseus' physical transformation into a nobody, an apparently harmless beggar (13.430–8). When Odysseus eventually arrives at his palace in this anonymous disguise, the suitors have as little interest in his identity as the Cyclops, who does not even ask his name until the wine of Maron begins to work on him (9.355). The suitors never ask his name at all, and Odysseus gives his real identity only when he has strung the bow, shot Antinous, and the suitors are in his power (22.35–41).

3.1.7. Aggressive and Trangressive Eating

The Cyclops has no interest in providing the hospitality his guests have been hoping for (9.267–8). Although his cave is full of animals and cheeses, he eats his visitors, two at a time: his guest gift will be to eat their leader, No One, last (9.369–70). He offers nothing to the gods. He kept on eating (ἤσθιεν) (23.313), and Odysseus had to put a stop to it before they were all devoured. As far as Telemachus is concerned, the suitors φθινύθουσι ἔδοντες οἶκον ἐμόν (are **(p.239)** withering my house by eating) (1.250–1 = 16.127–8). He twice requests them to set up a rota of feasts in one another's houses, where they would consume their own possessions (1.374–5; 2.139–40), but they prefer to batten on the house of Odysseus. There is no reciprocity in their feasting, as Athene/Mentes immediately notices:

τίς δαίς, τίς δὲ ὅμιλος ὅδ᾽ ἔπλετο; τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ;
εἰλαπίνη ἦε γάμος; ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ᾽ ἐστιν.
What feast is this? Who are these people here? What has this to do with you?
Is it a mess celebration or a wedding feast?—because this is no *eranos*.[69]

1.225–6

We have a parallel for the lavish and protracted entertainment of suitors in the bride's household in Cleisthenes of Sicyon, who entertained the suitors of his daughter, Agariste, for a whole year.[70] But the entertainment of Penelope's suitors has gone on for more than three years (2.89; 19.151–2; 24.141–2),[71] and it is organized, not by the host, but by the suitors themselves, who intend its length and scale to force Penelope into marriage while there is still something left for Telemachus to inherit:

τόφρα γὰρ οὖν βίοτόν τε τεὸν καὶ κτήματ᾽ ἔδονται,
ὄφρα κε κείνη τοῦτον ἔχῃ νόον, ὅν τινά οἱ νῦν
ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖσι θεοί· μέγα μὲν κλέος αὐτῇ
ποιεῖτ᾽, αὐτὰρ σοί γε ποθὴν πολέος βιότοιο.
ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ ἔργα πάρος γ᾽ ἴμεν οὔτε πῃ ἄλλῃ,
πρίν γ᾽ αὐτὴν γήμασθαι Ἀχαιῶν ᾧ κ᾽ ἐθέλῃσι.
So long will they devour your substance and possessions,
As long as she clings to this idea which the gods now
Put into her heart: she is making a great reputation for herself,
But for you, at any rate, regret for a great deal of substance.
And we will go neither to our farms nor anywhere else
Until she marries whomever of the Achaeans she wishes.
2.123–8

The consumption of Odysseus' herds must be halted before his vast wealth is completely destroyed. At a time when wealth is measured in cattle,[72] he is richer than twenty other men (14.98–9). He owns twelve herds of cattle, sheep, **(p.240)** pigs, and goats on the mainland (14.100–2; 20.187), while in the islands he has more herds of cattle (20.209–12) and in Ithaca eleven herds of goats and Eumaeus' pigs (14.15–20, 103–8), perhaps 6,000 animals in total. The suitors are consuming eleven goats and one pig every day from the herds in Ithaca: more than 4,300 per year.[73] They have been playing the lord (κοιρανέουσι) (13.377)[74] in the palace for three years, and giving instructions for animals to be ferried in for them to eat (20.213–14). The goatherds in Ithaca too must send in their best animals every day (14.105–6). For the last feast of the suitors (20.147–22.288), Eumaeus brings three pigs (20.162–3), and Melanthius brings goats (20.173–5); a heifer and more goats are brought by Philoitius (20.185–6). The animals are slaughtered in quantity (ἀδινὰ) (1.92), and the suitors sit about on the hides (1.108). Eurymachus threatens Telemachus

χρήματα δ᾽ αὖτε κακῶς βεβρώσεται, οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἶσα
ἔσσεται...
Moreover, your wealth will be fatally consumed, nor will it ever be equal...
2.203–4

After a period of this large-scale consumption, the herds of pigs in Eumaeus' care are certainly not equal, for there are 600 females and 360 males, the rest having been slaughtered for the constant feasting (14.13–20). Eumaeus resents the labour of fattening swine for these interlopers to eat (14.41–2, 417): the woman who must grind corn for their

bread also resents the labour (20.105–119). Penelope points out that in spite of all the food at their disposal at home, they prefer to consume that of another:

> αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ κτήματ᾽ ἀκήρατα κεῖτ᾽ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
> σῖτος καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ· τὰ μέν τ᾽ οἰκῆες ἔδουσιν,
> οἱ δ᾽ εἰς ἡμετέρου πωλεύμενοι ἤματα πάντα,
> βοῦς ἱερεύοντες καὶ ὄϊς καὶ πίονας αἶγας,
> εἰλαπινάζουσιν πίνουσί τε αἴθοπα οἶνον
> μαψιδίως.
> Their possessions lie untouched in their houses,
> food and sweet wine: the house slaves eat them,
> but they come regularly to our house every day,
> sacrificing oxen and sheep and fat goats,
> they feast and drink the sparkling wine
> wantonly.[75]
> 17.532–7

(p.241) The verb ἱερεύειν (to sacrifice) is used of the suitors slaughtering animals for their feasts,[76] but in sacrifice, the thigh bones would be burnt on the altar of the god, covered with a layer of fat to produce the κνίση (smoke, savour) due to the immortals,[77] and we do not hear of the suitors doing this. Odysseus smells κνίση from the banquet in his house, but there is no suggestion that it is for the gods' benefit. Only once is a real sacrifice considered by the suitors: Antinous proposes delaying the bow contest until the following day, 'when we have served thigh bones to Apollo of the famous bow' (21.267–8). They are dead before they can do it.[78]

In the Homeric poems, the most common terms for a meal in the sense of the simple consumption of food are δεῖπνον and δόρπον, and both are used of the Cyclops eating Odysseus' companions.[79] A feast, however, is a δαίς, derived from δατέομαι (I divide up).[80] Sharing food is the essence of a feast, whether the shares are equal, to reinforce the equality of the company (8.98; 16.479; 19.425), or whether a special cut of meat is given as a γέρας (portion of honour) like that which Odysseus sends to Demodocus (8.474–81). δατέομαι is used also of dividing up land between the members of a social group, or between cities, or of dividing up an inheritance (14.199–210), or booty, and of the 'division' of carrion by the dogs and birds which tear it apart between them.[81] δατέομαι is the term used by the suitors when they are considering dividing up Odysseus' property[82] as if it were booty or carrion. Athene/Mentes (3.315–16) and Nestor (15.12–13) warn Telemachus that the suitors may eat all his wealth in his absence by dividing it among themselves (μή τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγωσι | κτήματα δασσάμενοι).[83] The suitors are thus equated with eaters of carrion which want to consume Odysseus' wealth completely,[84] as they would consume the flesh of a corpse. The animal nature of their eating is indicated by δαρδάπτειν (14.92; 16.315), used of jackals tearing a stag to pieces (*Il.* 11.479), and βιβρώσκειν (2.203), also used of a lion devouring its prey (22.402–3) and of Hera, who would like to devour raw Priam and all the Trojans (*Il.* 4.35–6). When the **(p.242)** meat before the suitors is defiled (φορύνετο) with the spurt of αἵματος ἀνδρομέοιο (human blood) from Antinous' nostrils when he is shot with the arrow of

Odysseus (22.15–21), their feeding is levelled with the godless, cannibal meals of the Cyclops on ἀνδρόμεα κρέα (human meat) (9.297, 347, 374).[85]

3.1.8. The Account νήποινον (without Reparation)

Telemachus complains that the suitors ἀλλότριον βίοτον νήποινον ἔδουσιν (eat up the substance of another man without reparation) (1.160). The adverb νήποινον indicates their immoral consumption[86] of Odysseus' property and the labour of his household (1.377; 2.142; 14.377, 417; 18.280). Levy[87] equates the penalty for destroying another's substance with the penalty for murder: he regards the suitors' feasts as symbolic murder. We are looking, though, not at symbolic murder, but at the likelihood of real murder: Telemachus is convinced that they will tear even his person apart (με διαρραίσουσι καὶ αὐτόν) (1.251). (Penelope shares his fears (4.740–1)). They plot to kill him on his way back from Pylos (4.669–72, 842–7). When he eludes them, Antinous proposes a second attempt, accompanied by a division of Telemachus' estate (16.383–6). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Telemachus looks forward to a time when

> νήποινοι κεν ἔπειτα δόμον ἔντοσθεν ὄλοισθε.
> you (suitors) would perish in our house without subsequent payment of blood money.[88]
> 1.380 = 2.145

The suitors are killed for their transgressive eating, and no blood money is paid by Odysseus, or vengeance taken on him by their relatives.[89] The verb used of Odysseus' anticipated settling of account with them, ἀποτείσομαι (I shall exact vengeance) (13.386),[90] is also used of settling his account with the Cyclops: εἴ πως τεισαίμην (if somehow I would exact a penalty) (9.317); ἀπετίσατο ποινὴν ἰφθίμων ἑτάρων, οὓς ἤσθιεν οὐδ᾽ ἐλέαιρεν (exacted a penalty for his stalwart companions, whom he (the Cyclops) ate, nor did he have pity on them) (23.312–13).

(p.243) 3.1.9. Dionysus in the Cave and the Palace

The ὠμοφαγία (raw flesh eating) of Dionysiac ritual is evoked by the Cyclops' feasts on raw human flesh.[91] As Odysseus offers him Maron's especially strong wine, he accuses the Cyclops of raving, another aspect of Dionysiac ritual:

> σὺ δε <u>μαίνεαι</u> οὐκέτ᾽ ἀνεκτῶς.
> But you are <u>raving</u> in a fashion no longer to be endured.
> 9.350

Wine is a pleasant necessity of daily life in the *Odyssey*, and features in most meals and social occasions. It is a regular component of a packed lunch,[92] and is even used for infant feeding.[93] It can, however, lead to loss of inhibition and control:

> κέκλυθι νῦν Εὔμαιε καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι,
> εὐξάμενός τι ἔπος ἐρέω· οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει,
> ἠλεός, ὅς τε ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ᾽ ἀεῖσαι
> καί θ᾽ ἁπαλὸν γελάσαι καί τ᾽ ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκε,
> καί τι ἔπος προέηκεν, ὅ πέρ τ᾽ ἄρρητον ἄμεινον.

> Listen now, Eumaeus, and all you other companions,
> to what I want to say: for wine eggs me on
> and confuses me: it has set even very sober men singing
> and makes them laugh feebly and dance,
> and lets slip a word which would be better unsaid.
> 14.462–6

Elpenor was οἰνοβαρείων (drunk on wine) (10.555) when he fell off Circe's roof and broke his neck: his ghost admits that drinking led to ἄτη (delusion):

> ἆσε με δαίμονος αἶσα κακὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος.
> an evil fate from God deluded me, and wine without limit.
> 11.61

Drunkenness is despised, not pitied, and to call someone οἰνοβαρές (drunk with wine), as Achilles calls Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.225), is an insult. Odysseus fears being said by the maids to weep βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἴνῳ (when I have overcome my wits with wine) (19.122). When Odysseus, in his beggar's disguise, asks to try stringing the bow (21.281–4), Antinous tells him a cautionary tale of the Centaur Eurytion, who φρένας ἄασεν οἴνῳ (deluded his wits with wine) (21.297) and οἰνοβαρείων (21.304) did wicked deeds which caused him to be thrown out of the Lapith wedding feast (21.298–302). The story is told to imply that Odysseus would never have asked to string the bow if he had not been drunk, but the manner of Antinous' death will establish that **(p.244)** it is he who is the drunkard (22.9–11), not Odysseus. Drink is the downfall of the suitors, as of the Cyclops. Wine might have been introduced into the *Cyclopeia* to achieve a parallel with the suitors' drinking. (It may be inspired by the liquid 'medicine' for eyes sometimes used in the folk tale: the 'medicine' theme appears also in the simile φαρμάσσων (treating) the axe or adze by tempering it in water (9.391–3).)[94] Wine is recognized as a cause of quarrels: the Greeks were drunk (3.139) at the assembly where Agamemnon quarrelled with Menelaus. When Eurymachus' footstool accidentally hits the wine steward (18.394–8), and the suitors admit νῦν δὲ περὶ πτωχῶν ἐριδαίνομεν (now we are quarrelling over beggars) (18.403), Telemachus rebukes them:

> δαιμόνιοι, <u>μαίνεσθε</u> καὶ οὐκέτι κεύθετε θυμῷ
> βρωτὺν οὐδὲ ποτῆτα.
> Gentlemen, <u>you are raving</u>, and no longer do you conceal within yourselves
> your food and drink.
> 18.406–7

μαίνεσθαι is exactly the Dionysiac term Odysseus used to scold the Cyclops (9.350). Telemachus is referring to the progressive intoxication of the suitors, but Polyphemus in 'the disgusting stage of drunkenness'[95] bears out what he says in the most literal sense:

> φάρυγος δ᾽ ἐξέσσυτο οἶνος
> ψωμοί τ᾽ ἀνδρόμειοι· ὁ δ᾽ ἐρεύγετο οἰνοβαρείων.
> from his throat streamed wine
> and gobbets of human flesh: and he belched, drunk with wine.
> 9.373–4

Telemachus removes the weapons from the hall ostensibly to protect the suitors:

> μή πως οἰνωθέντες ἔριν στήσαντες ἐν ὑμῖν
> ἀλλήλους τρώσητε καταισχύνητέ τε δαῖτα
> lest you become drunk on wine and set up a quarrel among yourselves,
> and wound one another, and disgrace the feast
> 16.292–3 = 19.11–12

Their last feast before the bow contest takes on a Dionysiac aspect, as Athene

> ἄσβεστον γέλω ὦρσε, παρέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα.
> οἱ δ᾽ ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελώων ἀλλοτρίοισιν,
> αἱμοφόρυκτα δὲ δὴ κρέα ἤσθιον· ὄσσε δ᾽ ἄρα σφέων
> δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, γόον δ᾽ ὠΐετο θυμός.
> **(p.245)** stirred up unquenchable laughter, and led their wits astray.
> And they were laughing with jaws that seemingly belonged to others,
> and were eating meat defiled with blood, but their eyes
> were filled with tears, and their heart imagined crying out.
> 20.346–9

This is a more terrifying tendency to laughter and tears than that arising from mere drunkenness (14.465; 19.122). The bloody meat before them (20.348) suggests a cannibal feast,[96] or the ὠμοφαγία (eating of raw flesh) of Dionysiac ritual. The suitors laugh (20.358, 374) even after Theoclymenos' ecstatic prophecy,[97] in which he sees the walls of the palace running with blood and the courtyard full of ghosts (of the suitors) hastening down to Hades (20.351–7), while the sun is eclipsed and a dark mist descends (20.356–7).

Odysseus shoots Antinous just as he is raising his cup to drink (22.8–16). The image of Antinous with the arrow in his throat and the cup in his hand recalls the blinding of the Cyclops as we know it from vase paintings, where the Cyclops is shown with the stake in his eye and the cup in his hand.[98] The mess of food and wine which Antinous spills onto the floor (22.19–21) takes us back to the mess of wine and gobbets of human flesh on the floor of Polyphemus' cave (9.373–4). Eurymachus, the other leader of the suitors, spills food and drops his cup onto the floor when he is shot through the liver by an arrow (22.83–8).[99]

3.1.10. Boasting

Odysseus claims that Ζεὺς τείσατο καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι (Zeus and the other gods punished) (9.479) Polyphemus for eating his guests, but makes the mistake of **(p.246)** advertising his own role in the proceedings (9.502–5). He does not repeat the mistake by boasting over his punishment of the suitors, and prevents Eurycleia from raising a cry of triumph over the slaughtered men (22.407–16).

3.1.11. δόλῳ οὐδὲ βίηφιν (by a Trick, and not by Force)

Odysseus manages to blind the Cyclops by μῆτις and not by force (9.408), as Polyphemus complains: ἐπεί μ᾽ ἐδαμάσσατο οἴνῳ (when he overcame me with wine) (9.513–16). Teiresias prophesies that Odysseus will kill the suitors ἠὲ δόλῳ ἤ ἀμφαδὸν[100] (either by a trick, or openly) (11.120). When Odysseus finds himself in Ithaca, he invites Athene to devise a μῆτις

(stratagem) (13.386) to pay back the suitors for their behaviour. The beginning of the bow fight against them is certainly a μῆτις, even if it later turns into an open (ἀμφαδόν) fight when Melanthius brings the suitors weapons from the storeroom (22.144–6). The apparently peaceable purpose of the bow contest beguiles them into allowing the seemingly insignificant Odysseus to be armed with the weapon, especially when Penelope reassures Antinous that the stranger does not expect to take her home and make her his wife (21.314–17). Even when Odysseus has strung the bow (22.12–14), the suitors have no inkling of the danger they are in, and suppose that Odysseus shot Antinous by mistake (22.27–33). When they realize his intention to kill them all (22.65–7), they draw their swords and attempt to push him from the doorway (22.75–6, 91).

3.2. Model B: Odysseus as the Returning Cyclops

The second fragment of the Cyclopeian mirror reflects Odysseus as a returning Cyclops.[101] Odysseus and his men enter the Cyclops' cave in the absence of its owner, and help themselves to the cheeses they find there. They divide among themselves the owner's sheep which carried them out of the cave (9.548–9). The suitors likewise enter the house of Odysseus in the absence of its owner and make free with his food, intending to divide up his property among themselves.[102] Viewed from this angle, the suitors correspond to Odysseus and his party in the *Cyclopeia*, as intruders in a house where they take food. The Cyclops' flocks of sheep and goats correspond to the flocks and herds of Odysseus (see this chapter, §3.1.7). Athene's disguise as a shepherd when she **(p.247)** meets the hero on his arrival in Ithaca (13.221–5) is the 'professional identity of Odysseus' most deadly adversary', the Cyclops, and in giving Odysseus the appearance of a beggar to make his entry into Ithacan society, she recreates his role as No One in the cave.[103] But her bloodthirsty anticipation of the blood and brains of the suitors spattering the ground (13.394–5) recalls the blinded Cyclops' conversation with his ram, in which he anticipates No One's brains streaming in different directions across the floor of his cave (9.458–9).[104] Thus we have an alternative, and equally valid reading, which aligns Odysseus, the returning master who finds his house full of suitors, with the returning Cyclops, who finds his cave full of intruders in the form of Odysseus and his men. Odysseus follows the example of the Cyclops, but only up to a point and with significant differences.

3.2.1. πήματα οἴκῳ (Troubles in his Household)

The beginnings of this reading are found in the Cyclops' prayer to his father, Poseidon, that the departing Odysseus may never reach home, or if he does, that he arrive late and alone, and find troubles in his household (9.530–4). Polyphemus wishes on Odysseus exactly what happened to him: he returned alone to his cave with his flocks from the pasture in the evening, at supper time (he is carrying a bundle of firewood ἵνα οἱ ποτιδόρπιον εἴη (so that it would be there for him to prepare his supper) (9.233–4)), to find it full of πήματα (troubles) in the form of Odysseus and his men, who have entered in his absence (9.216), lit a fire, sacrificed (ἐθύσαμεν), and feasted on his cheeses (9.231–2). His return to his cave late and alone anticipates Odysseus' return to his palace in Ithaca late and alone. Like Polyphemus, Odysseus sets off for his house ποτὶ ἕσπερα (towards evening) (17.191), ὅτε δὴ δείπνηστος ἔην

καὶ ἐπήλυθε μῆλα | πάντοθεν ἐξ ἀγρῶν (when it was dinner time and the flocks were coming back from every direction from the fields) (17.170–1, cf. 212–14). Within, the suitors

> ...ἱέρευον ὄϊς μεγάλους καὶ πίονας αἶγας,
> ἵρευον δὲ σύας σιάλους καὶ βοῦν ἀγελαίην,
> δαῖτ᾽ ἐντυνόμενοι.
> ...were sacrificing great sheep and fat goats,
> they were sacrificing rich hogs and a cow from the herds,
> preparing their feast.
> 17.180–2

The ὄϊς μεγάλους (great sheep) recall the sheep big enough to carry a man (9.429) in the cave of the Cyclops.

(p.248) The Cyclops enters his cave suspecting nothing, and goes about his normal routine as the owner of the place: he does his round of milking as if alone and unobserved. He does not see his guests at all until he lights the fire (9.250–1). Odysseus, on the other hand, is aware before he goes into his palace in Ithaca that men are feasting inside: he comments on the savour of the meat and the song of the lyre coming from within (17.269–71). He has had plenty of warnings.[105] Eumaeus goes in first (17.324), and Odysseus enters alone, not as the master of the house, but as an anonymous vagrant:

> πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιος ἠδὲ γεροντι,
> σκηπτόμενος· τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ περὶ χροῖ εἵματα ἕστο.
> like a wretched beggar and an old man,
> leaning on his staff, and he wore pitiable garments on his body.
> 17.337–9

3.2.2. The Arming Scene

Odysseus begs from the intruders, and his request to Antinous, δός φίλος (give me something, my friend) (17.415), echoes Polyphemus' request for more wine, δός μοι ἔτι πρόφρων (kindly give me some more) (9.355). The Cyclops was drunk when Odysseus attacked him with the sharpened olive stake, but Odysseus is a returning Cyclops with more sense: he allows his own unwanted visitors to get drunk themselves. His weapon starts off in the hands of the intruders, but Eurymachus cannot string the bow, and Antinous proposes putting off the contest until the next day, ordering the wine steward to fill the cups for a libation (21.259–68). Odysseus, δολοφρονέων (devising a trick), flatters the suitors to gain possession of the bow when they have drunk deep (21.275–84). As he anticipated (21.232–3), they object to what they regard as his impudent request, but Eumaeus still gives him the bow (21.378–9). This time it is the Cyclops figure who is armed, and the intruders who are drunk.

3.2.3. θέμις in a Microcosm

Each Cyclops θεμιστεύει (governs) his children and his wives (9.112–15), and the cave is a microcosm in which the Cyclops, until he is blinded, assumes complete control without fear of consequences. In the sealed hall of his palace Odysseus, too, assumes absolute control. But his society is more complex, and there are consequences: a murderer must go into exile for killing one man, whereas Odysseus is aware that he and his helpers have killed the ἕρμα

πόληος **(p.249)** (the stay of the city), i.e. the best young men in Ithaca. They must expect their kin to seek vengeance (23.117–22).

3.2.4. The Community Misled

Odysseus tricked the Cyclops into misleading his neighbours about what had happened in the cave: he told him that his name was Οὖτις (No One), so that when the other Cyclopes came to investigate the groans from inside the cave, Polyphemus told them that No One was hurting him, and they thought that he was alone, and nothing was happening to him. Odysseus, as Cyclops figure, deliberately and intentionally uses the sounds from within the hall to mislead passers-by into thinking that no slaughter has happened inside: that is why he gives orders for the bard to perform and for dancing in the hall, to give people outside the impression that there has been a wedding, and to delay the news of the massacre until he can reach the safety of his farm (23.133–9).

3.2.5. Feeding the Lions

Menelaus predicts to Telemachus that Odysseus will return and ravage the suitors as a lion ravages fawns left to sleep in its den (4.335–40 = 17.126–31: see Table 7). The savage beast which returns to its lair to devour the small helpless creatures it finds there is redolent of the Cyclops, who is compared to a lion when he eats the men he finds in his cave:

> ἤσθιε δ᾽ ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, οὐδ᾽ ἀπέλειπεν
> ἔγκατά τε σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα μυελόεντα.
> He was eating like a mountain-bred lion, nor was he leaving
> The entrails and the flesh and the marrow bones.
> 9.292–3

After the slaughter of the suitors, Odysseus is again compared to a lion, almost as if he had eaten them:

> εὗρεν ἔπειτ᾽ Ὀδυσῆα μετὰ κταμένοισι νέκυσσιν
> αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον ὥς τε λέοντα,
> ὅς ῥά τε βεβρωκὼς βοὸς ἔρχεται ἀγραύλοιο·
> πᾶν δ᾽ ἄρα οἱ στῆθός τε παρήϊά τ᾽ ἀμφοτέρωθεν
> αἱματόεντα πέλει, δεινὸς δ᾽ εἰς ὤπα ἰδέσθαι·
> ὣς Ὀδυσεὺς πεπάλακτο πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὕπερθεν.
> Then he found Odysseus among the slaughtered corpses,
> Spattered with blood and gore like a lion
> When he comes after eating an ox from the farm.
> And all his breast and his cheeks on both sides
> **(p.250)** Are bloody, and it is terrible to look him in the face.
> So Odysseus was spattered on his arms and legs.
> 22.401–6[106]

The use of ἀνδρόμειος (human) (a term otherwise confined to the Cyclops' human titbits (9.297, 347, 374)) of the blood which spurts from Antinous' nostrils (22.19) connects Odysseus' victim with the victims of the Cyclops.[107] The Cyclops is a cannibal in the fullest sense. We find an attenuated form of eating people[108] in Odysseus' dealings with the suitors

when their favourite, Melanthius the goatherd, is mutilated, and the severed parts thrown for the dogs to eat raw.

3.2.6. The Cyclops in the Doorway

The Cyclops uses a stone at night to block the entrance of his cave (9.240–3, 340): it is so big that twenty-two four-wheeled wagons could not move it from the threshold. It was not in place in the daytime when the giant was away in the pastures and Odysseus and his men entered the cave: only when the Cyclops wants to trap his visitors inside does he close the entrance during the day (9.313–14). It is closed when he eats two of Odysseus' companions on the first evening in the cave, and the hero realizes that no one else can move the stone (9.304–5). The giant has control of the door, and to escape, they must exploit his need to unblock the doorway to let out the sheep. The Cyclops removes the stone in the morning after he has been blinded, but sits in the doorway himself, groping with his hands in case anyone should try to get out among the flocks. Since he feels only the backs of the sheep, he is outwitted by Odysseus' stratagem of tying his men underneath them. In the stratagem of the Wooden Horse, Odysseus controlled the door:

> αὐτὰρ ὅτ᾽ εἰς ἵππον κατεβαίνομεν, ὃν κάμ᾽ Ἐπειός,
> Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι, ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πάντ᾽ ἐτέταλτο,
> [ἡμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν λόχον ἠδ᾽ ἐπιθεῖναι,]...[109]
> But when we went down into the horse, which Epeius made,
> The best of the Argives, and all responsibility had been laid on me,
> Both to open the trap door of the well put together ambush and to set it to...
> 11.523–5

(p.251) At home in Ithaca, he is very careful to secure control of the door of his palace before his battle with the suitors. Eumaeus is to tell the women to bar the doors of the hall (21.235–6); we hear the instruction repeated in full to Eurycleia (21.381–2), and see it carried out (21.387). Philoitius is to bar the doors of the courtyard and tie a cable round the bar (21.240–1), and we see this done too (21.389–91). The quiver-lid simile used of the Cyclops replacing his door stone anticipated this moment.[110] Moreover, the women are not to approach the door even if they hear thumping and groans from within (21.237–9, 383–5). Odysseus' precaution of instructing the women not to open the doors from outside to investigate suspicious noises surely harks back to the awful possibility that the neighbouring Cyclopes who came to investigate Polyphemus' screams might have opened the cave by removing the stone *from the outside*: what prevented them was Polyphemus' belief that his guest's name was No One, so that when he told them No One was hurting him, they thought he was delusional.

With his back to the door and armed with the bow, Odysseus traps the suitors in his hall almost as effectively as Polyphemus could trap Odysseus and his men in the cave.[111] Although the Cyclops sat in the doorway of his cave to prevent their escape, Odysseus outwitted him by getting his men past him under the sheep. The suitors have no such μῆτις at their disposal, and vainly hope to push Odysseus from the doorway by force (22.75–6, 90–1). But his arrows will not last indefinitely, and he is afraid he will be dislodged from the threshold (22.106–7). Variety is added to this 'Horatius and the bridge' situation[112] when Telemachus fetches

armour and weapons for his father, himself, Eumaeus, and Philoitius from the storeroom (22.108–15).

The Cyclops had only one door to defend, but Odysseus has two, and in case the point should be missed, the Cyclops principle, a strong man defending the narrow space of a doorway and holding off large numbers (22.138), holds good also in the case of Eumaeus' defence of the ὀρσοθύρη (side door, 22.126–30) leading to the lane round the palace. The ὀρσοθύρη is defended because it is the only (22.130) way by which the suitors could get out and raise the alarm. Melanthius is sure that one man could defend it (22.138): from the ὀρσοθύρη, the courtyard could be reached, but the goatherd thinks it would bring one too close to Odysseus in the doorway.[113] Melanthius brings armour **(p.252)** and weapons from the storeroom for the suitors, too, having climbed through the window slits of the hall (ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο) (22.143).[114]

3.2.7. Theophany in a Doorway

When the suitors reproach Antinous for failing to show hospitality to the stranger, they raise the possibility that he might be a god in disguise (17.483–7), 'able to exact punishment and bestow rewards according to absolute justice'.[115] The gods shed a radiant light about themselves when they appear to men,[116] and this aspect of theophany is parodied by the light of the torches reflected off Odysseus' bald head when he acts as lamp-lighter for the suitors (18.353–5). The threshold has a sacred character: it is a place of refuge for the distressed, and a favoured spot for theophanies.[117] On first entering his palace, Odysseus sits in his beggar's disguise framed in the doorway on the threshold of the hall (17.337–40). Disguised gods can appear momentarily transfigured as they stand in a doorway, like Demeter in the house of Celeus:

> ...ἡ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐπ᾽ οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσὶ καὶ ῥα μελάθρου
> κῦρε καρή, πλῆσεν δὲ θύρας σέλαος θείοιο.
> ...but she [the goddess Demeter] trod with her feet on the threshold, and indeed her head reached the cross beam, and the doorway was filled with her divine radiance.
>
> *h. Cer.* 188–9

Athene too, appears in the porch on the threshold of the yard (1.103–5, 120) when she first visits Telemachus, disguised as Mentes, the family friend. The blinded Polyphemus, sitting in the doorway of his cave, and feeling with his hands in case his prisoners try to escape (9.415–18), is a pathetic parody of a theophany in a doorway. But Odysseus, when he leaps onto the threshold of his house, shedding his disguise and flinging off his rags:

> αὐτὰρ ὁ γυμνώθη ῥακέων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς
> ἆλτο δ᾽ ἐπὶ μέγαν οὐδὸν ἔχων βιὸν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην
> But Odysseus of the many wiles, stripped of his rags,
> leaped onto the great threshold, holding his bow and the quiver
>
> *Od.* 22.1–2

(p.253) resembles a god appearing in a doorway to mortals,[118] as the image of a god would appear through the doorway of a temple.

3.2.8. The *Cyclopeia* with Corrections

The end of the fight against the suitors resembles Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclops, but with corrections. Polyphemus ignored Odysseus' supplication and his appeal to respect the gods (9.266–9). Odysseus rejects Leodes' supplication for mercy, because he must often have prayed to have Penelope as his wife (22.310–25), but he accepts the supplication of Phemius (the bard) when Telemachus intercedes for him, and for Medon (the herald), too (22.356–60). Vernacular versions of the Cyclops story often feature the hero escaping from the cave by putting on a sheepskin that he finds lying inside, or the skin of a sheep which he kills for the purpose.[119] This element of the tale is parodied when Medon and Phemius escape past Odysseus, the Cyclops figure blocking the doorway of the hall (22.375–6, 378): on hearing Telemachus' appeal on their behalf, Medon emerges from his hiding place under a chair, still covered in the ox hide under which he was concealed (22.362–4). Odysseus greets his appearance with a smile of *déjà vu* (22.371). He refers to the bard as πολύφημος (polyphemus) (of widespread fame) (22.376) in a pun on his name, Phemius, and a conscious allusion to this rehearsal of his own escape from the Cyclops, Polyphemus. He sends the bard and the herald outside, but Cyclops-like, he will toil in the house at whatever he must (κατὰ δῶμα πονήσομαι ὁττεό με χρή) (22.377), echoing the Cyclops toiling at his chores (πονησάμενος τὰ ἃ ἔργα) (9.250, 310, 343).

4. The Intelligent Cyclops

Brelinski points to Odysseus' adoption of Polyphemus' might and brutality in his dealings with the suitors and their kin, and to the danger he poses to the people of Ithaca, who have lost so many sons on his account (2.15–20; 24.527–9). As he rightly says, Odysseus' bloodlust (24.537–8) has to be stopped by Zeus with a thunderbolt (24.539). He concludes that Odysseus must embody the struggle between power and restraint in his own noble person, and be finally integrated into the nascent and more egalitarian community of the polis.[120] This ultimately political conclusion is ingenious, but it **(p.254)** does not take into account the poet's exploitation of the device regularly used in the folk tale of the Cyclops, that of allowing the hero to tell on his own terms the story of his encounter with the giant.[121]

4.1. Argument

The story of the Cyclops is part of Odysseus' account to the Phaeacians of his adventures since leaving Troy, his *apologos*. We saw in Chapter 2 that the stories of the *apologos* have an argument function: broadly speaking, they argue that the Phaeacians should not detain Odysseus, but take him home. Through the Cyclops story, Odysseus argues that the Phaeacians should take him home because he punished terribly a host who detained him. On the other hand, the story also illustrates that prophecies (such as that mentioned by Alcinous, that the Phaeacian practice of offering safe conduct would one day anger Poseidon) (8.565–9) are likely to be fulfilled, as was the prophecy that Odysseus would rob the Cyclops of his eye (9.507–12). It warns the Phaeacians that the narrator has incurred the enmity of their patron, Poseidon: perhaps they should think twice before helping him.

4.2. Debate in Para-Narrative

For the internal (Phaeacian) audience, and also for the poet's audience, the Cyclops story addresses matters raised in the songs of Demodocus, notably the question of whether return

is desirable, given what could be going on at home:

> **V.** *The second song of Demodocus concerned a lover who visited while the master was away, courted his wife with gifts (8.269) and seduced her. But the master suspected as much, came back unexpectedly, and caught the lover in a trap.*

These elements, with a slightly different cast, have already been introduced to the poet's audience in the stories of Nestor and Menelaus about Agamemnon:

> **W.** *Aegisthus visited Agamemnon's wife, beguiled her with words (3.264), and seduced her while the king was away. Agamemnon suspected nothing, came home openly, was invited to dine by Aegisthus, and murdered in an ambush amid the wine cups at the feast (4.531).*

The poet's audience is aware that a similar pattern has been set up in the palace of Odysseus, but does not yet know how it will be resolved: **(p.255)**

> **X.** *Suitors have been visiting Odysseus' home while he is away. As well as courting his wife (1.245–8), they are eating (1.144–9 etc.). They have set an ambush to kill Telemachus on his return from Pylos.*

By the end of Book 8, the poet's audience has been presented with two possible patterns for Odysseus' return:

a. Will he be suspicious, like Hephaestus, and catch the suitors?
b. Will he suspect nothing, and walk into a trap, like Agamemnon?

When he begins his *apologos*, Odysseus has been told what happened to Agamemnon (11.409–34). He also already has quite a lot of information on what to expect at home:

> **Y.** i. *He will come home late and alone (9.534; 11.114).*
> ii. *He will find troublesome suitors in his house (11.115–17).*
> iii. *They are eating his livelihood (11.116).*
> iv. *He will kill them, openly or by a trick (11.120).*

In his Cyclops story, Odysseus includes a number of elements from **Y**:

> **Z-i.** i. *The Cyclops comes home late and alone (9.233–4).*
> ii. *He finds troublesome intruders in his cave (9.252, 515–16).*
> iii. *They have been eating his livelihood (9.231–2).*

He combines these elements with others from the pattern of Agamemnon's return (**W** above):

> **Z-ii.** iv. *The Cyclops returns openly to his cave, and goes about his business, suspecting nothing (9.233–49).*
> v. *The intruders appear to entertain him (with wine), and he is blinded by a trick at the feast.*

The story demonstrates Odysseus' keen awareness of what could befall him in Ithaca. If he returns home openly and tries to go about his business, he will be vulnerable to duplicitous attack, like Agamemnon and the Cyclops. By implication, Odysseus will return incognito and unexpectedly; he will be suspicious and deceptive, like Hephaestus (**V**), and he will catch the suitors in a trap.

Notes:

(1) Burkert (1979: 153 n. 11). Representations from the first quarter of the seventh century BC showing the blinding of a Cyclops suggest the artists are not necessarily following the *Odyssey*'s version: Burgess (2001: 94–114). See W. Hansen (1997: 449–50), (2002) for adaptation of folk tales in the *Cyclopeia*.

(2) Thoosa belongs to the same generation as the Graiai, the Gorgon, Echidna, and Typhon (Hesiod, *Th*. 270–336): see Segal (1992: 495–8).

(3) The island opposite the Cyclopes cannot be Hyperia, as argued by Clay (1980), because the Cyclopes had no ships (9.125–30) and could not have plundered the Phaeacians if they had lived on the island. Instead of migrating to faraway Scheria, the Phaeacians could have moved to the fertile island, out of reach of the Cyclopes: if it had been cultivated, it would have furnished them with all crops in due season (9.131–5), and its harbour was good (9.136–9).

(4) Hellanicus, fr. 88 (= *EGM* i.188).

(5) Hesiod, *Th*. 501–5.

(6) Hesiod, *Th*. 143–5, but Mondi (1983: 31–5 with n. 57) argues convincingly that these lines are a learned contamination of the tradition in which Cyclopes (with two eyes) are smiths and wall-builders with the *Odyssey*'s one-eyed, pastoral cannibal Cyclops, Polyphemus. See also Aristeas, fr. 6.1 (= *PEG* i.152): ὀφθαλμὸν δ᾽ ἕν᾽ ἕκαστος ἔχει χαρίεντι μετώπῳ (each has one eye in his graceful forehead). Euripides' Cyclops has two pupils in his one eye: Euripides, *Cyc*. 462–3.

(7) Burgess (2001: 98–101).

(8) On gaps in the Cyclops story, see Scodel (1999: 136–9).

(9) φήμη is prophetic utterance, as in Aegyptius' speech at the Ithacan assembly (2.35). For φήμη as unintentionally prophetic, as in the speech of the servant grinding corn (20.105) when Odysseus has prayed for a φήμη (20.100), see Bakker (2002), (2013: 121).

(10) The stake used to blind the Cyclops glows in the fire like metal (9.375–9) and a simile of tempering iron is used as it is plunged into his eye (9.391–4). For smith metaphors used of Odysseus, see Chapter 7, §2.7. For versions of the Cyclops story where the hero really is a smith, see Frazer (ed.) (1976–89: ii.421–30) nos 10, 11.

(11) Herodotus 1.207.6–7 and 211–12; Virgil, *Aen*. 2.265.

(12) Ahl and Roisman (1996: 115) suggest that the ram which carries Odysseus out of the cave resonates with both the Trojan Horse, the engine which carried him into Troy, and the stake he used to blind the Cyclops. Priam compares Odysseus to a ram (κρίος) as he chivvies the ranks at Troy (*Il.* 3.196–8). Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.4.1 uses κρίος of battering rams.

(13) Hesiod, *WD* 117–18. See Calame (1977a) for the Golden Age and savagery as the two alternatives to civilization.

(14) Aristotle, *Pol.* 1252b.22 cites this passage as an illustration of social organization in the earliest times.

(15) Burkert (1983: 134); Mondi (1983: 25–6).

(16) Aristotle, fr. 172 (= V. Rose (ed.) (1967: 134)) questioned how the Cyclops could be a Cyclops, since neither his mother nor his father was a Cyclops.

(17) On the boundless supply of meat, normally a strictly limited commodity, see Bakker (2013: 60–4).

(18) 9.195–215 parody the arming scenes identified by Arend (1933: 92–7). The wine is a weapon which emphasizes Odysseus' civilized qualities: Calame (1976: 328). Its protracted description (9.204–11) relates to its potency: O'Sullivan (1987: 23 n. 223).

(19) Besslich (1966: 33–6).

(20) The comparison with a mountain lion (9.292) suggests raw eating, although Homer never explicitly says the Cyclops ate his victims raw: Segal (1974: 299 n. 21). Schein (1970: 74–5), Eisenberger (1973: 137 n. 25) and E. Cook (1995: 105–6) argue that raw eating is more savage than cannibalism of cooked flesh. It is also more Dionysiac and appropriate to its context, which is to feature wine and frenzy. The giant is sometimes depicted roasting his victims, but the artists may not be following the Homeric version: see Röhrich (1962: 61 n. 6). The bundle of firewood (9.233–4) implies cooking, but the Cyclops might have preferred men raw. O'Sullivan (1987: 23–4 n. 28) insists that ὁπλίσσατο (9.291) implies cooking because cooking is certainly implied by ὁπλίζοντο at 16.453. 'Mahlzeit für sich zubereiten' (to prepare a meal for oneself) (Abbenes *LfgrE* s.v. ὁπλέω, ὁπλίζω) does not settle the matter. However, ὁπλίσσατο δόρπον/δεῖπνον is used only of the two cannibals, the Cyclops and the Laestrygonian king preparing their meals (9.291, 311 = 10.116), and I assume they did not cook them.

(21) Page (1955: 7–8) indicates that ἄκρητον (unmixed) is more usually applied to wine, with which the Cyclops is familiar.

(22) As at 5.236, 477; 23.190–204: Calame (1976: 323 n. 14); E. Cook (1995: 106–8); Danek (1998a: 183–4).

(23) O'Sullivan (1987: 18–19) rightly castigates Page (1955: 12–13) for his objections to their survival: since the Cyclops eats two men on the first evening, and then two for breakfast and

two more in the evening (two plus four, or a multiple of four), Page's requirement for the survival only of the four who are to blind the giant cannot be met.

(24) e.g. Frazer (ed.) (1976–89: ii.416–18) no. 7; E. B. West (2005: 138–9).

(25) The narrator must be aware of a version where the instrument of the blinding is a metal spit, which would glow red hot in the fire. According to Page (1955: 11), followed by Bowra (1962: 52–3), the green stake would not glow in this way, but E. Cook (1995: 104–5 n. 32) claims that fire-hardened olive wood glows red when heated. The giant would end up just as blind if the sharpened stake was pushed cold into his eye.

(26) Heitsch (1972: 8–9).

(27) Stanford (1939: 104–5); Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: i.361 on 9.408); Podlecki (1961: 130–1); Schein (1970: 79–80); Austin (2009 at 104–6).

(28) Stanford (1939: 105), following Eustathius 1634.49–50 on 9.369 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: i.349)) notes echoes of Οὖτις/οὔ τις in οὐτιδανὸς Οὖτις (9.460).

(29) Taking the sheep is σύλησις, spoliation, of an enemy defeated in battle: Danek (1998a: 186).

(30) Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1380b.22–5. On revealing his name, see Danek (1998a: 187–8); Bakker (2002: 145–6).

(31) Bergren (1983: 49–50); Dimock (1989: 113).

(32) Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: i.364 on 9.504); Podlecki (1961: 132); C. S. Brown (1966); Beye (1972: 180). Although Macrobius omits it, line 531 appears in all manuscripts until the fifteenth century.

(33) Cf. 5.41–2, 114–15; 13.131–3. Where two alternatives are expressed in a prayer, it is the weaker and less desirable outcome that we expect to be fulfilled: Scodel (1999: 107–8).

(34) Von der Mühll (ed.) (1993), following the papyri and most of the manuscripts. Other editions, including Allen, print the reading ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα μερμήριζεν (but was pondering) recorded by the H scholiast as a variant on 9.554 (Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.442)).

(35) Eisenberger (1973: 145).

(36) Reinhardt (1960: 66–9), but Fenik (1974: 216–23) argues that the moral pride which Reinhardt attributes to Odysseus is a Christian concept alien to the Greeks: vengeful deities commonly persecute the heroes of Greek epic.

(37) Friedrich (1991: 26).

(38) Lianides (1961: 45 n. 2); Dawkins (1974: 13 and 16).

(39) Fenik (1974: 211, 216).

(40) E. Cook (1995: 122–6), following Jørgensen (1904: 366–7); Bergren (1983: 49–50); Segal (1994: 212–14).

(41) Donlan (1998: 61–2); On Odysseus' stupidity in these matters, see Scodel (1999: 50–1). The roles of Odysseus and his men are reversed when the men want to put in at Thrinacia, from which sounds of cattle can be heard: see Chapter 2, §9.12.

(42) For similarities between the Cyclopes and the Phaeacians, see Clay (1983: 125–32); Ahl and Roisman (1996: 95–121). For the Phaeacians as a counter-image of the Cyclopes, see Segal (1962: 33).

(43) See this chapter, §3.1.

(44) 6.191–3; 7.172–96, 317–26; 8.398–411, 438–41; 11.339–41; 13.10–15.

(45) 7.84–132. The silver statues of dogs made by Hephaestus to guard the golden doors of Alcinous' palace (7.91–4) are perhaps related to predecessors of the dogs guarding the cave of the Cretan Cyclops figures, the Τριομάτες (Three-eyed monsters): Spyridakis (1961–2: 110 no. 5 and 113); E. B. West (2005: 153 n. 71).

(46) 6.268–72; 7.43; 8.34–8, 556–63.

(47) On the protocol, see Nestle (1942: 58–62); Fenik (1974: 20–1); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.28) on 9.252–5; Reece (1993: 131–43); E. Cook (1995: 103).

(48) Besslich (1966: 33–6, 69).

(49) The first fragment is model A and the second model B in Alden (1993).

(50) Oehler (1925: 29).

(51) S. T. Edmunds (1990: 60–73), followed by Bakker (1997: 35–6).

(52) On the three supplications at the end of the *mnesterophonia*, see Gould (1973: 80–1); Pedrick (1982: 133–4); Crotty (1994: 121–9, 151–6); Dreher (2006: 55–6); Naiden (2006: 3–4, 11).

(53) e.g. 3.45; 9.268; 14.130; 16.91.

(54) Hermann *LfgrE* s.v. ἀθεμίστιος, ἀθέμιστος.

(55) Schmidt *LfgrE* s.v. θέμις 5; Long (1970: 135 and n. 48).

(56) Schmidt *LfgrE* s.v. θέμις 1a. Odysseus has a right to expect a ξεινήϊον (guest gift) (9.267): Podlecki (1961). The exchanges he requests are based on δίκη (justice): Calame (1976: 327). But Scodel (1999: 137–8) argues that it is illogical to expect a guest gift from a host anticipated to be savage (9.213–15).

(57) Amphinomus would not assent to the suitors' plot against Telemachus unless the gods approved it in an oracle (16.400–5).

(58) See Alden (1993: 92 passage 5); Brelinski (2015: 5 n. 9).

(59) 1.134; 2.310; 3.315; 4.774, 790; 13.373; 14.27; 15.12, 315, 374; 16.271; 18.167; 20.12, 291; 21.289; 23.356. In Nausicaa's description, the Phaeacians too are ὑπερφίαλοι (6.274).

(60) 1.227; 18.71; 21.285.

(61) E. Cook (1995: 104).

(62) ἄζομαι (have scruples about, shrink from) is very close to αἰδέομαι (feel shame at): Sieveking *LfgrE* s.v. ἄζομαι B.e.α; Cairns (1993: 136).

(63) Long (1970:130–9) at 139. On the *Cyclopeia* as a perversion of hospitality, see Reece (1993: 130–43).

(64) For the suitors' ἀτασθαλία, see Table 4, and Chapter 9, §3.4.

(65) MacDowell (1976: 21) and Michelini (1978), followed by E. Cook (1995: 142 n. 55). Fisher (1992: 166–76) argues for an additional element of recklessness and contempt for others.

(66) ὕβριν ἔχοντες (displaying arrogance) (4.627; 17.169).

(67) The phrase is repeatedly used when the punishment of the suitors is contemplated: 1.254 ≈ 13.376 ≈ 20.29 = 23.37 ≈ 20.39 ≈ 20.386. See Cairns (1993: 106–7).

(68) 22.414–15 = 23.65–6.

(69) Meal to which each contributes his share.

(70) Herodotus 6.126–30. See Seaford (1994: 53–61).

(71) See S. West in Heubeck et al. (eds) (1988–92: i.57). Bakker (2013: 85–8, 92–5) bases his claim that they have been feasting for one year on the 360 boars kept by Eumaeus (14.16–20), and sees a correspondence with the year-long feast given to Odysseus and his companions by Circe, but 360 boars would not support the suitors for a year, because they never stop at one victim, or even two (14.94): see Erbse (1972: 122).

(72) *Il.* 6.235–6; *Il.* 21.79; *Il.* 23.703, 705; *Od.* 1.429–31; *Od.* 22.56–7. See Saïd (1979: 11 and 42 n. 16).

(73) Erbse (1972: 122), based on 14.96–108 and 14.13–20; Yamagata (1994: 28); E. Cook (1995: 148). Bakker (2013: 104–5) argues for fifty animals per herd, based on 14.13–15, but these lines refer to twelve sties, each to hold fifty sows: the boars outside would add to the number, as would natural increase.

(74) Also 20.234.

(75) 17.534–8 = 2.55–9, where Telemachus makes a similar complaint.

(76) 2.56; 14.28, 94; 17.180, 181, 535; 20.3, 250–1, 391. Cf. θύειν of killing the stall-fed calf in Luke 15.23.

(77) *Il.* 1.460; *Il.* 2.423; see Arend (1933: 67–8).

(78) Saïd (1979: 36–8).

(79) Other terms refer to the time of day when the meal is taken: δειελιήσας (having had supper) (17.599) derives from δείελος (late afternoon) (*Il.* 21.232) (M. Schmidt, *LfgrE*), and ἄριστον (*Il.* 24.124; *Od.* 16.2) refers to a meal at dawn (E. M. Voigt, *LfgrE*). δόρπον (evening meal) (9.291, 344) and δεῖπνον (a meal during the day, on arrival of guests) (9.311) are both used of the Cyclops eating Odysseus' companions: see Führer *LfgrE* s.v. δόρπον and δεῖπνον.

(80) Führer *LfgrE* s.v. δαίς 1 and 2a.

(81) Of dividing up land (6.10; 15.412): see Führer *LfgrE* 1c. Of dividing an inheritance: *LfgrE* 1b. Of equal (*Il.* 17.229–32; *Il.* 18.511; *Il.* 22.118–21) and unequal (*Il.* 1.368–9; *Il.* 9.331–3; *Il.* 11.696–705) division of booty: *LfgrE* 1a. Of 'division' of carrion (*Il.* 22.354; *Od.* 18.87; 22.476): *LfgrE* 1c.

(82) 2.335, 368; 3.315–16; 15.12–13; 16.385.

(83) Cf. 2.368 and 20.216.

(84) Saïd (1979: 23–4).

(85) Saïd (1979: 40–1); Reece (1993: 174–5). For a different reading, see this chapter, §3.2.5.

(86) Beck *LfgrE* s.v. νήποινος 2.

(87) H. L. Levy (1963: 152).

(88) Beck *LfgrE* s.v. νήποινος 1.

(89) Eupeithes, the father of Antinous, leads the attempt to avenge their deaths (24.422–37; 24.469–71), but is killed by Laertes with help from Athene (24.516–25). Further consequences are averted by Athene's intervention (24.531–2) and Zeus' thunderbolt (24.539–40).

(90) 1.268; 3.216; 5.24 = 24.480; 11.118; 13.193 = 22.64; 17.540.

(91) See Seaford (1994: 290–3, 296).

(92) 3.479; 5.165; 6.77.

(93) 16.444; 20.69.

(94) Austin (1983: 34 n. 10). For liquid medicine for eyes, see Frazer (ed.) (1976–89: ii.408–9, 411, 419, 425, 427).

(95) Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.235 on 14.463–6).

(96) Bakker (2013: 94).

(97) Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.354 on 20.345ff.) compares it to Cassandra's horrific vision outside the palace at Mycenae: Aeschylus, *A*. 1072–1177.

(98) Touchefeu-Meynier (1968: 9–21 and pls I–V); S. P. Morris (1984: pl. 6); Schefold (1992: 294–7); Alden (1993: 85, 90); Burgess (2001: 98–105). *LIMC* 8/1 (suppl.) 1013–14: s.v. Polyphemos 1: no. 16* (= *LIMC* 6/1.156 s.v. Kyklops, Kyklopes no. 17) (illustrated *LIMC* 6/2 pl. 71 no. 17); no. 18* (illustrated *LIMC* 8/2 pl. 668, Polyphemos I. no. 18); no. 20* (illustrated *LIMC* 8/2 pl. 668, Polyphemus I.20); no. 27*bis**; *LIMC* 6/1, 957 s.v. Odysseus IIIB2 nos 67*, 90*. Those marked with * show the cup. Without cup: *LIMC* 8/1 (supp.) 1013–14 s.v. Polyphemus I: no. 15 (= *LIMC* 6/1, 956 s.v. Odysseus IIIB2 no. 88) (illustrated *LIMC* 6/2, pl. 627 no. 88) (Proto-Argive crater, Argos C149), no. 16 (illustrated *LIMC* 8/2, pl. 667, Polyphemus I no.16*bis*), no. 17 (illustrated *LIMC* 8/2, pl. 667, Polyphemus I no. 17), no. 19 (= *LIMC* 6/1, 156–7 s.v. Kyklops, Kyklopes II–1 no. 21) (illustrated *LIMC* 6/2, pl. 72, Kyklops, Kyklopes no. 21), no. 21 (= *LIMC* 6/1, 156 s.v. Kyklops, Kyklopes II–1 no. 18) (illustrated *LIMC* 6/2, pl. 72, Kyklops, Kyklopes no. 18), no. 22 (= *LIMC* 6/1, 157 s.v. Kyklops, Kyklopes II–1 no. 22) (illustrated *LIMC* 6/2 pl. 72, Kyklops, Kyklopes no. 22), no. 23, no. 24 (= *LIMC* 6/1, 157 s.v. Kyklops, Kyklopes II–1 no. 27) (illustrated *LIMC* 6/2 pl. 74, Kyklops, Kyklopes no. 27), no. 25 (illustrated *LIMC* 8/2 pl. 668, Polyphemus I no. 25), no. 26, no. 27 (illustrated *LIMC* 8/2 pl. 669, Polyphemus I no. 27).

(99) For the deaths of Antinous and Eurymachus as a pair, see Fenik (1974: 146–7).

(100) As Athene/Mentes advises Telemachus (1.296).

(101) See Alden (1993), (2000: 4–5): *contra* Andersen (2002). This chapter was written in 2006–7, but work has been delayed by illness and bereavement. I am pleased to see that Brelinski (2015) thinks along similar lines.

(102) See references in n. 82.

(103) E. Cook (1995: 153).

(104) Alden (1993: 86); Segal (1994: 222); and latterly Bakker (2013: 70–1); Brelinski (2015: 5).

(105) 11.115–17; 13.376–81, 396, 428; 14.90–108; 16.121–8, 243–53.

(106) On these and other lion similes in the *Odyssey*, see Brelinski (2015: 7–8 n. 19), with bibliography.

(107) Brelinski (2015: 5).

([108]) Saïd (1979: 27).

([109]) This line was missing from the text of Aristarchus, but occurred in his commentaries: van der Valk (1949: 260). Sch. H on 11.525 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.518–19)) wanted the line struck out as unsuitable because the task of controlling the door was the work of a doorkeeper. But the line appears also at *Il.* 5.751 and *Il.* 8.395, where νέφος (cloud) appears instead of λόχον (ambush). νέφος and λόχον may be variations on a word for door: Bowra (1962: 31–2). Despite Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.399) *ad loc.* the line should be kept.

([110]) Brelinski (2015: 5).

([111]) Alden (1993: 87–8) and latterly Bakker (2013: 71–2).

([112]) As the Romans appear to have observed: when Lars Porsenna, king of Clusium, marched on Rome in 508 BC, Horatius Cocles (the name is old Latin for 'born with one eye', and apparently Κύκλωψ in Greek: *OLD*) defended the Etruscan end of the Pons Sublicius while behind him his comrades demolished the Roman end: Polybius 6.55; Walbank (1957–79: i.740–1); Cornell (1995: 216); Wiseman (2004: 58–9). An archaic statue of a one-eyed man which stood in the Volcanal in the Comitium was thought by the Romans to represent Horatius.

([113]) De Leeuw *LfgrE* s.v. ὀρσοθύρη. Palmer (1948: 102) explains it as 'a little door through which one ascends to the upper floor'. He is followed by Wace (1951: 210); Bérard (1954: 23); and Chantraine (1984–90: ii.623).

([114]) ῥῶγες (from ῥήγνυμι, to break) seem to be some sort of opening in the wall, probably not a usual method of getting out: Bérard (1954: 23). Light or ventilation slits: see Markwald *LfgrE* s.v. ῥώξ.

([115]) S. Thompson (1955–8: iv.429) K1811; AT 750A-H; Burnett (1970: 24–5 and n. 8); Kearns (1982: 6).

([116]) *Il.* 8.76; *h. Ap.* 442, 445; *h. Cer.* 189. σέλας used also of Achilles, *Il.* 18.214; 19.17, 366. See Richardson (ed.) (1974: 210) on *h. Cer.* 189, but his references to *Od.* 19.17, 366 should be to the *Iliad*. Athene sheds golden radiance at 19.33–4.

([117]) See Ogle (1911); Tracy (1997: 364).

([118]) See Murnaghan (1987: 13 n. 20).

([119]) A skin lying in the cave: Frazer (ed.) (1976–89: ii.408): *Dolopathos*. The skin of an animal killed for the purpose of disguise: Frazer (ed.) (1976–89: ii.411).

([120]) Brelinski (2015).

([121]) Alden (1993: 89).

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Maureen Alden

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The First Person

Para-Narratives of Trial and Pity

Maureen Alden

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Abstract and Keywords

The lies told by Odysseus in Ithaca feature a realistic itinerary via Crete, Egypt, and Thesprotia, and probably preserve earlier traditions of his return which have given place to the fantastic tales presented as truth in the *apologos*. Lies to the suitors are told in the persona of a metanast beggar, adopting a moral tone in which raiding and ἀτάσθαλα are punished, just as the suitors will be punished for raiding the house of Odysseus. The lies, which are a way of testing loyalty and moral quality, are designed to appeal to their addressee: thus the dupe of the 'cloak' story is the Aetolian Thoas, to please Eumaeus, who was duped by an Aetolian. The earlier appeal to Nausicaa for pity and food is supported by lavish compliments and an impressive tale of a visit to Delos (to fetch the Oinotropoi, who were to provision the Greek army at Troy).

Keywords: truth, lies, metanast, Crete, Egypt, Aetolian, Thesprotia, cloak, testing, Delos Oinotropoi

From his meeting with Nausicaa on arrival in Scheria, to his meeting with his father at home in Ithaca, Odysseus tells stories in the first person to gain sympathy, information, and assistance[1] from the people he encounters. He can adapt to whatever the situation calls for. He is usually evasive when first asked to give an account of himself, and piques the curiosity of his auditors by introducing several narratives as his κῆδεα (troubles) (7.242; 9.12; 14.197).[2] He tailors the stories to his listeners' conscious and unconscious requirements, giving them

what they want without letting them realize he knows he is doing so.[3] The Fairyland stories of the *apologos* (see Chapter 2) are appropriate for his magical Phaeacian hosts, whereas more probable tales set against the background of the eastern Mediterranean are chosen to convince Eumaeus and Penelope, his hosts in Ithaca. In the latter part of the poem, the loyalty and calibre of various addressees are tested by their reactions to his false tales. He uses his own (see Chapter 2, §9) or an assumed identity, presenting himself as a μεταναστής (migrant, metanast)[4] far from home. Eumaeus and Penelope treat him as an honoured guest, but Antinous and Eurymachus abuse the metanast 'beggar' (17.446–65; 18.349–98), because he apparently has no one to defend him.[5] Alcinous, his Phaeacian host, is so impressed by the tale of shipwreck after escape from Ogygia (7.241–97) that he proposes to integrate the metanast into the community by a royal marriage (7.311–15).[6] Odysseus' tale of woe (6.162–74) to Nausicaa awakens similar hopes in the princess (6.242–5), but also secures the clothes and directions which were its principal object.

(p.257) 1. A Palm Shoot in Delos (6.162–7)

Awakened by the shout when Nausicaa and her attendants lose their ball in the river, Odysseus emerges from a bush to supplicate for her assistance. After the storm which wrecked his raft, he has spent more than two days in the water (5.388–9) and looks a mess (6.242), but in a courtly speech he compares the girl to Artemis,[7] imagines her parents' joy in her, and the pride of her future husband (6.150–9). He has never seen a person like her, and is overcome with awe, as he was once before at the sight of the new shoot of a palm tree in Delos,[8] by the altar of Apollo, where he went with an army at his back (6.162–4) on a journey which was to bring him many κήδεα (6.165). He begs her for clothing and directions to the town, and ends with prayers for her future happiness (6.178–85).[9] His speech is carefully designed to dispel her qualms about his unpromising appearance and persuade her to help. Religious considerations require a favourable response to supplication (6.149, 168–9), the mention of Apollo's altar at Delos conveys the speaker's piety, the claim to have led an army marks him out as a person of authority,[10] and the vague allusion to interminable suffering appeals to her solicitude and desire to protect:[11] indeed, these hints at a glamorous military past and unspecified tribulations combined with gallantry on an industrial scale can hardly fail to do the trick, and Nausicaa promises that her suppliant will lack neither clothing nor anything else (6.191–3). The maids are told that he must be looked after (6.206), and as well as clothing (6.178), she orders him food and drink, and a bath in the river (6.209–10). (He presents himself as a nobleman, who does not need to ask for food, which is implicit in hospitality.)[12]

(p.258) Odysseus tells the story of the visit to Delos to gain the assistance of a young person of a royal house whom he has met on the beach where he has recently arrived.[13] It has a particular point: a scholion by Aristarchus, citing Simonides,[14] tells us that Odysseus refers (6.164) not to a private army, but to the army of the Greeks which accompanied Menelaus and himself when they went to Delos to fetch the Oinotropoi,[15] the daughters of Anius (the priest king) and Dorippe. These girls, Oino, Spermo, and Elaiis, had from their great-great-grandfather, Dionysus,[16] the capacity to get food at will. The *Cypria* informs us that on their way to Troy, the Greeks landed at Delos, where Anius tried to persuade them to stay for nine years while his daughters supplied them with food, until it was time for Troy to fall, but they

declined his invitation and sailed away.[17] According to Ovid, Agamemnon demanded the girls from Anius to provide for the Greek army at Troy; when he refused, Agamemnon threatened force, and the Oinotropoi fled to Euboea and Andros, where Dionysus turned them into white doves.[18] A third version features a relief effort by the Oinotropoi to save the Greek fleet: the names of the envoys (Menelaus, Odysseus, Palamedes) and the places (Aulis, Rhoiteion) vary.[19]

Nausicaa's outing to the seaside to do her laundry was inspired by a dream instructing her to prepare for marriage (6.20–47). Washing clothes is elsewhere a context for sexual encounter: Eumaeus' nursemaid was seduced by a Phoenician sailor when she was doing the laundry on the seashore (15.417–22). When he came out from under the bush, Odysseus was going to mingle with (ἔμελλε μίξεσθαι) the girls (6.135–6), an ambiguous expression which can be used of hostile contact in battle, but also of sexual intercourse.[20] But never mind all that: the hero erupts into this erotically charged liminal **(p.259)** scene[21] with one idea in his head, and it is not sex, but food. He is compared to a lion driven by its belly to go after cattle, or sheep, or deer, a simile found also in the *Iliad* (6.133–4 ≈ *Il.* 12.300–1), except that in the *Iliad* the lion is driven to hunt not by its γαστήρ (belly), but by its θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ (haughty spirit).[22] There are girls here, and Odysseus wants food. His experience has been of girls who could generate food at will. Nausicaa cannot share his association of girls with food, but the audience can. The palm shoot (associated with young girls on the verge of marriage) (6.163) and Delos (6.162) (an implied reference to the Oinotropoi, but the island was also a place of athletic and musical contests)[23] represent two aspects of the same danger, that Odysseus could stay too long with the Phaeacians.[24] But the disparate interests of the hero (in food) and the youthful heroine (in a husband) create a comic effect (similar to that found in the Διὸς Ἀπάτη) (Deception of Zeus) (*Il.* 14.153–353): its rich irony stems from the urgency of the male hero's appetite, and the extraordinary dilatoriness of the girls in doing anything to satisfy it.

Although the girls have eaten what was in their lunchbox (6.97), Nausicaa orders her maids to give the suppliant food and drink (6.209), which she confidently expects they still have about them. When she adds the instruction for a bath (6.210), that is what the maids see to first, giving Odysseus a flask of oil after setting out clothes for him (6.214–15), and telling him to bathe in the river. It is usual for women to bathe, anoint, and dress a guest of high status,[25] but the naked stranger on the beach looks ἀεικέλιος (unseemly, of low status) (6.242).[26] The maids do not want to perform for a tramp a service usually accorded to the nobility, and there are issues of sexual propriety,[27] too: Nausicaa's maids know nothing about the man they are to bathe, and lack the protection of other people's awareness of what is going on. Odysseus tells the girls to keep their distance: he will anoint himself with the oil; he has not had ἀλοιφή (anointing) for a long time (6.218–20). (Anointing occurs in a variety of contexts, but certainly by the fifth century BC anointing can be **(p.260)** associated with sexual intercourse.)[28] When he emerges transformed from his bath, his hair curls like the hyacinth flower, and shines around his pale (silver) skin, as when a skilled artist[29] in metal pours gold around silver.[30] Nausicaa remarks (6.239–45) to her maids on the enhancement to the looks and apparent status of the hungry hero, keeping him waiting even longer for his dinner,[31] until she finally remembers to tell them again to give it to him (6.246), and the meal that was

promised thirty-nine lines before (6.209) finally arrives.[32] It is all over in a trice: Odysseus eats and drinks ἁρπαλέως (grabbingly). Quite apart from anointing, it is a long time since he had the food and drink which were the object of his story (6.249–50).[33]

2. Tales of Woe

In order to secure safe conduct to Ithaca, Odysseus presents himself to the Phaeacians as a friend and an object of pity (6.327; 7.151–2, 222–4). He tells Arete the κήδεα which the gods have given him (7.242): shipwreck and the loss of all his companions (7.250–2); washed up on Ogygia, he spent seven miserable years with Calypso, a divine goddess who loved him, and fed him, **(p.261)** and kept saying she would make him immortal (7.256–7), but in the end released him. He sailed away, and when his raft was wrecked, he still managed to swim ashore and supplicate Nausicaa on the beach (7.244–96).[34] His tale is designed to address the dangerous situation in which he presently finds himself: his seven-year detention by the amorous goddess stands for the possibility he fears of unwelcome detention by Nausicaa—but even if he is detained, the future will be like the past, and he will escape from her in the end, as he escaped from the goddess. As a veiled hint, his story seems to work, because Alcinous promises to have his visitor taken home the next day, if that is what he wants (7.317–28).

But the next day is actually spent in games, feasting, and performances by Demodocus. In the evening, when Alcinous insists that his guest must identify himself (8.550–86), Odysseus relates his (truthful) *apologos* (see Chapter 2, §§7–9.12). If he wants pity and assistance, he needs a tale in which dreadful things happen *to* him (only somehow he survives, although his companions do not). It must disarm the listeners' resentment of someone talking about himself at great length, and make them feel superior to the suffering wretch who is actually dominating their attention,[35] so he presents it as his κήδεα:

> σοὶ δ' ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμὸς ἔπετράπετο στονόεντα
> εἴρεσθ', ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος στεναχίζω.
> Your heart has inclined to ask about my groan-inducing
> troubles, with the result that my sorrow is increased.
> 9.12–13

His story is full of hosts who failed in their duty to feed their guest and send him on his way when he wanted to go, always the mark of a bad host (15.68–79). Some detained him too long, such as the Lotus Eaters, the Sirens, and Circe and Calypso: others wanted to eat him, such as the Laestrygonians, Scylla, and the Cyclops. Either way, they prevented him from getting home (as he fears the Phaeacians may prevent him), but the repeated lines

> ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι ἦτορ
> ἄσμενοι ἐκ θανάτοιο, φίλους ὀλέσαντες ἑταίρους.
> from there we sailed onwards, grieving in our hearts
> saved from death, but with the loss of our companions.
> 9.62–3 = 9.565–6 = 10.133–4; 9.62 = 9.105 = 9.565 = 10.77 = 10.133

which punctuate the episodes of his adventures demonstrate how he kept on trying. He makes sure to end (12.447–50) with Calypso, the amorous female **(p.262)** who, as he has already explained (7.244–86), detained him too long. When he interrupts his narrative, the

Phaeacians resolve to send him home the next day, laden with gifts (11.339–41, 350–2),[36] and Odysseus professes himself content: for the prospect of gain, he would delay a whole year (11.356–61).[37] Alcinous takes this as ironic and counters the obvious inference that his guest might (like the vagabonds mentioned later by Eumaeus) (14.124–32) be making up stories for what he can get:

> ὦ ᾽Οδυσσεῦ τὸ μὲν οὔ τίς ἐΐσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
> ἠπεροπῆά τ᾽ ἔμεν καὶ ἐπίκλοπον, οἷά τε πολλοὺς
> βόσκοι γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπους
> ψεύδεα τ᾽ ἀρτύνοντας, ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο·
> σοὶ δ᾽ ἔπι μὲν μορφὴ ἐπέων, ἔνι δὲ φρένες ἐσθλαί,
> μῦθον δ᾽ ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἀοιδὸς[38] ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας,
> πάντων ᾽Αργείων σέο τ᾽ αὐτοῦ κήδεα λυγρά.
> Odysseus, this indeed, as we regard you, we do not in the least believe you
> to be, namely a deceiver and given to stealing, like many of those
> numerous men the dark earth nurtures
> contriving lies from sources which no one could see.
> But in your case there is a shape to your words and good sense in them as well,
> and you have told your story knowledgeably, like a bard,
> the terrible troubles of all the Greeks and of yourself.
> 11.363–9

He is not too credulous in likening Odysseus to a poet as opposed to a liar,[39] nor is he deducing the truth of Odysseus' narrative from its form, or assuming that a story told by a poet must be true.[40] He appreciates the shape and coherence of Odysseus' narrative (in which he certainly did not represent himself as a natural truth-teller),[41] and does not think his guest is simply out for profit at the expense of his host, as Euryalus earlier implied (8.159–63). **(p.263)** Odysseus' two accounts to the Phaeacians of his wanderings since leaving Troy are 'true' in the sense that the first recounts in the first person events that have already been narrated by the poet or one of his characters,[42] and some of the events of the second are corroborated elsewhere by those who ought to know, namely the poet, Zeus, and Odysseus,[43] although the truth of the uncorroborated stories is not thereby guaranteed.[44]

3. False Tales in Ithaca

Odysseus' lies in the second half of the poem are cover stories[45] to protect his identity in a hostile environment: Tiresias warned that his house would be full of suitors courting his wife and wasting his property (11.115–20); Agamemnon advised him to return in secret (11.455) and not to trust Penelope (11.441–3).[46] Odysseus cannot rely on anyone he meets, or reveal his identity except after stringent testing. Except to Laertes, he has to lie,[47] fabricating identities (as he did in the Cyclops episode)[48] and explanations to test and convince a succession of addressees:

1. the disguised Athene (13.253–86);
2. Eumaeus, the loyal swineherd (14.191–359; 14.468–503);
3. Antinous, ringleader of the suitors (17.415–44);

(p.264) 4. Amphinomus, the suitor who might repent (but does not) (18.125–50);

5. Melantho, the disloyal maid (19.71–88);

6. Penelope (19.165–202, 221–48, 269–307, 336–42);
7. Laertes (24.256–79, 303–14).

Two of these stories are identified by the poet as lies (13.254–5; 19.203). They are all told in the context of an interactive recurrent pattern, a 'script', in which Odysseus, under a false identity, tests[49] his addressee by telling a misleading story.[50] One of the concerns of the script (one of its tracks) is to show the addressee's reaction to the story—and, in most cases, the speaker's reaction to that reaction. Odysseus' addressees divide into sympathetic characters who pass the tests (Eumaeus, Penelope, Laertes), and unsympathetic characters who do not (Antinous, Amphinomus, and Melantho). (An exception must be made for Athene, who is not deceived by Odysseus' best efforts.) Similar scripts are found in the Serbo-Croatian return songs,[51] where the unrecognized hero tells deceptive stories to a series of persons typically including his servant, his wife, and his mother, and their reactions indicate the degree of intensity of their affection for him. In the *Odyssey*, the reactions of Eumaeus, Penelope, and Laertes to news implying that the hero might be dead are presented in an ascending scale of affection[52] and emotional investment. Odysseus' reactions to their reactions are elaborated likewise in crescendo.[53] As the unrecognized returned master testing loyalty and behaviour, Odysseus is in a godlike position: as the suitors point out, the gods go visiting in disguise, so that they can witness both the arrogance and the good order of men (17.485–7).[54] But Odysseus' social equals, Penelope and Laertes, test him back, provoking reactions which display the degree of *his* affection for *them*.

The cover stories often display the same shape as the travellers' tales of the *apologos*—elements of the raid on Egypt (14.246–86), for example, appear also in the raid on the Cicones (9.39–61).[55] However, their itinerary via Crete, Egypt, Thrinacia, and north-west Greece is much more realistic,[56] and probably preserves the traces of competing versions which the poet has sidelined as lies in favour of the fantastic voyage peopled with witches and cannibals which **(p.265)** our *Odyssey* represents as true.[57] (The proem, in which Odysseus saw the cities of men, of which there are not many in the fantastic voyage, would fit this realistic return.)[58] The lies employ traditional motifs and adapt them to the changing situations Odysseus encounters in Ithaca. That to the armed shepherd Odysseus meets on arrival (the goddess Athene in disguise) is designed to deter any attempt at robbery: one of its incidents is later used to warn Antinous that liberality is an obligation and his present good fortune may not last. The lies are all carefully shaped to appeal to the addressee:[59] the themes of raiding and slavery, for example, are prominent in Odysseus' story to Eumaeus, but omitted from the lies told to Penelope, where they would be inappropriate to the noble identity assumed to appeal to the sympathies of the queen. To Penelope and Laertes, the hero claims to have entertained Odysseus in Crete on his way to or from Troy (19.185–202, 221–48; 24.256–79) so that they will trust him and repay his hospitality.[60] To the disguised Athene, to Eumaeus, and to Penelope, he claims to be a Cretan connected with Idomeneus,[61] and to have fought in the Trojan War,[62] but such claims might arouse suspicion if made to the more knowledgeable Antinous or Laertes,[63] and even Eumaeus complains that his guest is not the first traveller to bring the misleading news that Odysseus is on his way home (14.379–85). The lies have a semi-detached relationship with poetic reality, as indicated by the poet's comment ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα (he was uttering many a lie,

which he made seem like truth) (19.203).[64] The fabrications are told to be taken for truth, and they hint at the truth while concealing it. In the lie to Athene, for example, the speaker who claims to have fought at Troy (13.262–6) really did fight there. The crew really was lost after eating the Sun's cattle on Thrinacia, as the speaker claims (19.270–7).[65] When Eumaeus and Penelope are encouraged not to despair by the claim that Odysseus is alive and nearby (14.321–3; 19.270–2, 287–302), that bit, at least, is true.

3.1. The Lie to Athene (13.256–86)

The hero is asleep when the Phaeacians carry him ashore in Phorcys Bay and lay him on the sand, setting his treasures under an olive tree (13.116–24). When he wakes up, Odysseus does not recognize Ithaca (because Athene has brought down a mist[66] to cover the process of making him unrecognizable and informing him of the situation) (13.187–93). He asks himself the same questions as he did on the beach in Scheria and on the way to the Cyclops:

> ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἱκάνω;
> ἦ ῥ᾽ οἵ γ᾽ ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
> ἤε φιλόξεινοι καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;
> O no! to what land of mortals have I come this time?
> —are they arrogant and savage and not just,
> or are they hospitable and are their minds god-fearing?
> 6.119–21 = 13.200–2[67]

In a scene which echoes his meeting with Nausicaa,[68] the goddess Athene approaches, disguised as a princely young shepherd[69] armed with a javelin (13.221–5), but not much of a physical threat (13.223).[70] Odysseus supplicates, begging to be told to what country he has come (13.233–5). The shepherd–prince feigns surprise that he does not know the island, and describes it in a confusing and contradictory way (13.238–47), before naming it: the fame of Ithaca extends as far afield as Troy (13.248–9). In this way, the goddess tempts Odysseus πτολίπορθος (the City-Sacker) to identify himself and complete the reference.[71] Odysseus is indeed tempted (γήθησεν) (he rejoiced) (13.250), but πάλιν δ᾽ ὅ γε λάζετο μύθον (he bit back the word) (13.254): he has had plenty of warnings about the state of affairs in Ithaca,[72] he has no idea if he can trust the young man with the javelin, and his treasures make him vulnerable (13.208).[73] The lie he invents[74] anticipates the closing scenes of the poem. Its themes—Cretan origin; participation in the Trojan War; Phoenicians; ambush (cf. 14.217–21, 469–71); storm—all recur in his subsequent lies.

(p.267) 3.1.1. Past Precedent

The first part of the lie to Athene is designed (a) to explain why the speaker is exiled from home on a lonely beach, surrounded by treasures, and (b) to deter robbery or violence:

> Πυνθανόμην Ἰθάκης γε καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ,
> τηλοῦ ὑπὲρ πόντου· νῦν δ᾽ εἰλήλουθα καὶ αὐτὸς
> χρήμασι σὺν τοίσδεσσι· λιπὼν δ᾽ ἔτι παισὶ τοσαῦτα
> φεύγω, ἐπεὶ φίλον υἷα κατέκτανον Ἰδομενῆος,
> Ὀρσίλοχον πόδας ὠκύν, ὅς ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ
> ἀνέρας ἀλφηστάς νίκα ταχέεσσι πόδεσσιν,
> οὕνεκά με στερήσαι τῆς ληΐδος ἤθελε πάσης

Τρωϊάδος, τῆς εἵνεκ᾽ ἐγὼ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ,
ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων,
οὕνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ οὐχ ᾧ πατρὶ χαριζόμενος θεράπευον
δήμῳ ἔνι Τρώων, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλων ἦρχον ἑταίρων.
Yes, I used to hear of Ithaca even in broad Crete,
far away over the sea. And now I have come in person
with these goods: I left as much again behind with my children
and I am in exile, since I killed a dear son of Idomeneus,
swift-footed Orsilochus, who in broad Crete
was victorious in fleetness of foot among men who eat barley,
because he wanted to deprive me of all my booty
from Troy, on account of which I suffered pains in my heart,
experiencing the wars of men and the troublesome waves,
since, you see, I did not serve to oblige his father
in the district of the Trojans, but I commanded my men separately.
13.256–66

The lie recasts elements of several famous episodes of Odysseus' career. In evocation of the sufferings of Odysseus which occupied the first half of the poem (1.4), the Cretan speaker repeats the line (13.264)[75] used by Odysseus when telling the Phaeacians about his tribulations ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων (experiencing the wars of men and the troublesome waves) (8.183), a line also repeated by the poet-narrator at the end of his 'second proem'[76] when Odysseus is on the Phaeacian ship:

ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖσ᾽ ἐναλίγκια μήδε᾽ ἔχοντα,
ὃς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ᾽ ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν,
ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων.

(p.268) bearing a man wise as the gods are wise,
who in the past, it is true, suffered very many pains in his heart,
experiencing the wars of men and the troublesome waves.
13.89–91

These lines echo ἄνδρα…ὃς μάλα πολλὰ | πλάγχθη…πολλὰ δ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν (the man…who wandered very much…and he suffered many pains in his heart on the sea) (1.1–4), an echo which marks the end of Odysseus' adventures abroad as the poem turns to the trials which await him in Ithaca. The repetition of 8.183 in the lie (13.264) implies that the cause of Odysseus' troubles was the booty (13.263) carried off from Troy. The speaker subtly hints at his true identity while claiming to be from Crete, an island sufficiently far away for the young Ithacan shepherd to know little of its affairs, and not to be able to contradict what is alleged.[77] (If the expression 'all Cretans are liars', attributed to Epimenides, is pre-Odyssean, then the claim to Cretan origin is a broad wink at the audience.)[78] To establish superiority over the younger man, Odysseus poses as the father of a family who has made ample provision for his children (13.258). (Might these children avenge any attack on him?[79] Would they ever know he had been attacked?) He is a fugitive homicide[80] who killed the son of one of the foremost heroes of the *Iliad*, Idomeneus, king of Crete, when the youth wanted to appropriate his booty from Troy (13.262–5). He refused to serve as *therapōn* under

Idomeneus,[81] and led his own contingent in the war (13.265–6). In other words, the speaker is a killer, experienced in combat, a leader in the Trojan War, no respecter of anyone's status or position, and quite prepared to defend his booty again if necessary.[82] (The motifs of insubordination[83] and a dispute over booty echo, with variations, the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles in the first book of the *Iliad*.)

The addressee need not try to run away: it was no help to Orsilochus to be πόδας ὠκύς (swift-footed) (13.260–1). (This is the only occurrence in the *Odyssey* of the fixed epithet used in the *Iliad* exclusively of Achilles.) His fate **(p.269)** slots into the poem's background theme of conflict between a swift young man and the slow Odysseus figure,[84] exemplified in

1. the rivalry in the first song of Demodocus (8.75–82) between Achilles (whose speed and force failed to conquer Troy) and Odysseus (who eventually conquered it by the stratagem of the Wooden Horse) (8.500–20);
2. the quarrel between (the younger) Euryalus and Odysseus at the Phaeacian games, where Euryalus (who won the foot race) is obliged to compensate Odysseus with a handsome gift (see Chapter 7, §§2 and 2.1);
3. the second song of Demodocus, where the lame Hephaestus snares the swift Ares in bed with Aphrodite (8.266–317);
4. the Cretan speaker's quarrel with the younger, swift-footed Orsilochus, who is snared in an ambush and killed;
5. Odysseus' conflict with the suitors,[85] in which a whole generation of young nobles is snared in an ambush and killed.

3.1.2. Ambush

Orsilochus was not murdered in a fair fight, but in an ambush:[86]

> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ κατιόντα βάλον χαλκήρεϊ δουρὶ
> ἀγρόθεν, ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο λοχησάμενος σὺν ἑταίρῳ·
> νὺξ δὲ μάλα δνοφερὴ κάτεχ᾽ οὐρανόν, οὐδέ τις ἥμεας
> ἀνθρώπων ἐνόησε, λάθον δέ ἑ θυμὸν ἀπούρας.
> I struck him with the bronze-tipped spear as he was going home
> from the fields, after lying in ambush near the road with a companion.
> A very dark night covered the heavens, nor did any one of men
> see us, but I escaped notice when I took away his life.
> 13.267–70

Ambush is the trademark of Odysseus, the hero of the *Doloneia* and the Wooden Horse.[87] The name Orsilochus means Rouser of Ambush, but the speaker and his accomplice (σὺν ἑταίρῳ) ambushed (λοχησάμενος) (13.268) the Rouser of Ambush[88] near the road (ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο) as he was going down **(p.270)** from the fields towards the coast (13.267–8)—just as the addressee appears to be doing, in fact. The speaker and his addressee are near the road, because the Phaeacians put Odysseus' possessions ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ (out of the road) so that none of the wayfarers should plunder them before he woke up (13.123). The speaker has already killed one young man (like his addressee) who tried to rob him, and would not hesitate to kill another: he had an accomplice before, and might have one now. The night of the murder was

very dark, and there were no witnesses (13.269–70): no one would see if the speaker were to kill the young shepherd under cover of the mist (13.189).

The island of Crete in the tale stands for the island of Ithaca: the sons left behind in Crete correspond to Telemachus.[89] The *nom parlant*, Orsilochus, is a cipher for the suitors, who want to ambush Telemachus,[90] and would do the same to Odysseus[91] if they got the chance. Young Orsilochus, who wanted to appropriate the Cretan's goods (as the suitors want to appropriate Odysseus' property),[92] was ambushed and killed (as the suitors will be ambushed and killed). His killer had to flee the vengeance of his victim's family: Odysseus considers flight to Pylos or Elis after killing the suitors (23.117–22). Idomeneus, the head of Orsilochus' family, corresponds to Antinous' father, Eupeithes, who tries to take vengeance on Odysseus' family in Book 24.

3.1.3. Phoenician Safe Conduct

The story so far has been a boastful first-person narrative, man to man,[93] but the speaker has claimed his right as a suppliant to protection and help. Now he must explain why he, a well-dressed stranger in possession of many valuables, finds himself alone on a beach he cannot identify:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τόν γε κατέκτανον ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ,
> αὐτίκ᾽ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆα κιὼν Φοίνικας ἀγαυοὺς
> ἐλλισάμην καί σφιν μενοεικέα λῃΐδα δῶκα·
> τούς μ᾽ ἐκέλευσα Πύλονδε καταστῆσαι καὶ ἐφέσσαι
> ἢ εἰς Ἤλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσι Ἐπειοί.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοί σφεας κεῖθεν ἀπώσατο ἰὸς ἀνέμοιο
> πόλλ᾽ ἀεκαζομένους, οὐδ᾽ ἤθελον ἐξαπατῆσαι.
> κεῖθεν δὲ πλαγχθέντες ἱκάνομεν ἐνθάδε νυκτός.
> But when I had killed him with the sharp bronze,
> I went straightway to a ship, and I entreated the illustrious Phoenicians
> and I gave them booty in plenty.
> And I bade them to take me on board and put me ashore at Pylos
> or at holy Elis, where the Epeians rule.
> But truly, I tell you, the force of the wind drove them away from there,
> **(p.271)** very much against their will, nor did they want to deceive me.
> After straying away from there we arrived here by night.
> 13.271–8

He gives details of time, place, and motive. Immediately after the murder, he entreated some Phoenician sailors to take him to Pylos or Elis, and paid them handsomely in advance (13.273–5), implying that he could be equally generous in return for assistance from the young shepherd. Driven off course, the Phoenicians put in to Ithaca at night (13.278):

> σπουδῇ δ᾽ ἐς λιμένα προερέσσαμεν, οὐδέ τις ἥμιν
> δόρπου μνῆστις ἔην μάλα περ χατέουσιν ἑλέσθαι,
> ἀλλ᾽ αὔτως ἀποβάντες ἐκείμεθα νηὸς ἅπαντες.
> ἔνθ᾽ ἐμὲ μὲν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἐπέλλαβε κεκμηῶτα,
> οἱ δὲ χρήματ᾽ ἐμὰ γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἑλόντες
> κάτθεσαν, ἔνθα περ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισιν ἐκείμην.

οἱ δ᾽ ἐς Σιδονίην εὐναιομένην ἀναβάντες
ᾤχοντ᾽· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ λιπόμην ἀκαχήμενος ἦτορ.
We rowed forwards with great trouble into the harbour, nor was any
among us mindful of supper, although we were very keen to have it,
but we all disembarked just as we were from the ship, and we settled down to
sleep.
Then sweet sleep overcame me, since I was weary,
and they took my goods out of the hollow ship
and set them down, there where I was lying on the sand.
And they embarked for well-inhabited Sidon
and went away. But I was left behind, sorrowful in my heart.
13.279–86

His pose of sorrowing exile abandoned on the beach makes a bid for sympathy. Athene smiles at this impressive performance,[94] and strokes him, expressing concern and reassuring parental superiority[95] as she assumes the shape of a woman. Even a god would find it hard to outdo Odysseus in trickery (13.291–2) and even in his own country he clings obstinately[96] to deception and κλοπίων[97] (artful speeches), which he loves from the bottom of his heart (13.293–5). She pays him the compliment of identifying with him: he is the best of men at planning and speeches, and she is the best of gods at guile and cunning arts (13.297–9), but he still thinks she is mocking (κερτομέουσαν) **(p.272)** him, and he is not really in Ithaca (13.324–8). Again she admires his caution: she cannot desert a man who is ἐπητής…ἀγχίνοος καὶ ἐχέφρων (careful…ready of mind and shrewd) (13.331–2), and she dispels the mist to show him the Ithaca he knows (13.345–52). She promises support against the suitors (13.393–5), transforms her protégé into the appearance of a beggar (13.430–8), and sends him to the swineherd (13.404–11). Eumaeus is mentioned as if he was well known to everyone, but all we have so far heard about him is that the suitors thought Telemachus might have gone to him, rather than to Pylos (4.638–9). Revelations about Eumaeus come later, but for the time being, it is enough that Athene sends Odysseus to his steading:[98] he will be the intermediary for meetings with Telemachus and Penelope.

3.2. Eumaeus: Trial by Para-Narrative

Like Alcinous and Aeolus (10.14–16), Eumaeus becomes Odysseus' host[99] and serves as his audience for yet another traveller's tale, a para-narrative designed to secure sympathy, and assistance which is to culminate in safe conduct to the palace. It comes at the end of a series of exchanges in which Eumaeus, the host, is put to the test (as if by a god in disguise)[100] and induced to give information about himself and about the situation in Ithaca. The swineherd wants to know who his guest is, and to hear about his κήδεα (troubles) (14.47, 185),[101] but Odysseus answers simply with a prayer for the gods to give him what he most desires. Eumaeus is left to fill the silence, which he duly does: for the sake of Zeus, he is determined to be hospitable (14.56–9); the servants are afraid of the new masters (the suitors) (14.60–1); his old master, who would have done much for him (14.62–7), fought at Troy on Agamemnon's behalf, and has perished (14.68–71). Then Eumaeus prepares two piglets for his visitor to eat, explaining that the mature pigs are destined for the suitors' banquets (14.81): he describes the extent of his master's wealth in livestock and its reckless consumption by the suitors (14.81–108), who must have heard reports of his master's death

(14.89–90). Eumaeus has not yet named his master, and his guest probes for the name, in case he has news of him (14.115–20). But Eumaeus is dubious about 'news': plenty of beggars have brought false reports to Penelope for mercenary reasons. And he repeats that his master must be dead (14.133–7), leaving him to mourn the kindly Odysseus. Having let the name slip, he covers by adding that even now he hesitates to name his master, **(p.273)** out of respect (14.138–47).[102] His guest immediately swears that Odysseus is coming home this very *lycabas*[103] to take revenge for dishonour to his wife and son (14.158–64), underlining his 'veracity' by claiming to hate like Hell's gates the man who yields to poverty and retails deceit (14.156–7). (He recasts Achilles' complaint to the embassy (*Il.* 9.312–13), where the liar complained of could even have been Odysseus, if Agamemnon was not clearly intended.[104] Both here and in the embassy the attribution of lying to an imaginary figure distracts attention from any lies the speaker might be telling.) Eumaeus tries again: who is his visitor, and where is he from? This time he puts pressure on his guest, following the traditional questions with five more, demanding to know the beggar's city, his parents, what sort of ship he came in, the route it took, and who were the sailors (14.187–9). Odysseus can no longer avoid answering, but through these preliminary exchanges, he establishes that Eumaeus is trustworthy,[105] and would like to see his master come home (14.171–2) and the suitors punished (14.82–4). The stranger prayed for the gods to give Eumaeus what he most desired (14.53–4): it turns out that he looked to Odysseus for possessions, a house and estate, and a wife (14.62–7),[106] and these are the things which Odysseus will promise Eumaeus and Philoitius when he enlists their aid in the battle with the suitors (21.207–16).

3.2.1. The Cretan Lie to Eumaeus (14.199–359)

Odysseus' tale to Eumaeus[107] is a synthesis of storytelling motifs which mirror and refract the wanderings already described to Alcinous. If they had food and drink, and leisure,[108] he declares, he could spend a year telling the swineherd his κήδεα, but as it is, selection is implied and understood (14.196–8). **(p.274)** He impersonates an invented Cretan character, who has survived only with divine help[109] (which the 'real' Odysseus had to do without) (13.316–19): wedded to the warlike values of the *Iliad*, the character is useless outside a military context, unlike the mercurial Odysseus, who adapts like quicksilver to the rapid succession of threats and tight corners confronting him.[110] The 'Cretan' gives his father's name as Kastor (Beaver), son of Hylax (Barker) (14.204), perhaps in reference to Eumaeus' savage dogs, which nearly injured him (14.29–38).[111] He claims to be the son (by a slave woman) of a wealthy man: he enjoyed equal status with the legitimate sons until his father died. He was disadvantaged by his half-brothers in the division of the estate, but mended his fortunes by marrying a wealthy wife (14.199–211). (He makes common cause with Eumaeus,[112] whose careful husbandry and other efforts (14.5–24) have improved his lot.)

By temperament, he was a fearless warrior in ambush and open warfare, quick on his feet, but keener on seafaring and weapons than on work and husbandry (14.216–26). Before the Trojan War, he led nine raids by sea, always taking the choicest booty, but still leaving plenty for his men (14.229–34). (This Cretan has gone looking for trouble in the past, and is more likely to look for it again among the rowdy suitors in the palace than he is to stay and work alongside Eumaeus.)[113] He could find no way to avoid fighting under Idomeneus at Troy (14.235–9), a detail which may refer to Odysseus' traditional unwillingness to join the

expedition.[114] A month after returning from the war, he set off for a raid on Egypt (14.240–7).[115]

He feasted[116] his men at home for six days, embarked on the seventh, and reached Egypt a few days later. The men ignored his instructions to post lookouts and stay by the ships (14.259–61), but ravaged the fields, led off the women and children, and killed the men (14.262–5). When Egyptian reinforcements arrived, many of the raiders were killed or taken prisoner (14.266–72). The outline of the raid on Egypt thus resembles that of the raid **(p.275)** on the Cicones (9.39–61),[117] but the Egyptians' slaughter of the raiders bears out Eumaeus' point that those who go raiding must live in fear of divine punishment (14.83–8). The Greeks must have gone raiding at Troy (hence Odysseus' failure to return home): so did the Phoenicians who abducted Eumaeus from his home in Syrie[118] (15.403–84). The Cretan's pirates are based on the suitors, whose feasting in Odysseus' house Eumaeus compared to raiding without fear of divine punishment (14.81–2): the pirates are severely punished for plundering.[119] On the other hand, the Cretan (like Odysseus) went raiding but survived, even if in reduced circumstances: ἔτι γάρ νύ μοι αἶσα βιῶναι (for I am destined still to live) (14.359), he says at the end of his tale. Perhaps Odysseus, too, may still be alive, despite raiding at Troy.[120]

Zeus inspired the Cretan to abandon his weapons and supplicate the Egyptian king, who pitied him, took him home, and protected him from the other Egyptians, who wanted to kill him (14.273–82). Eumaeus is thus compared to the Egyptian king, because he too has pitied the Cretan (14.40–8, 55–8), taken him home (14.48–52), and protected him from the vicious dogs which wanted to kill him (14.37–8). The Egyptian king feared the wrath of Zeus Xenios (14.283–4), and the speaker implies that Eumaeus should fear the wrath of Zeus if he does not protect him as the Egyptian king did.[121] (But Eumaeus is also like Odysseus himself, who protected Antinous' father when the Ithacans wanted to kill him for raiding with the Taphians (16.418–33).)

The Cretan claims to have spent seven years in Egypt, where he gathered much wealth, to which the Egyptians all contributed (14.285–6).[122] (Collecting gifts is a correction of the speaker's former raiding.) In the eighth, he was persuaded by a deceitful Phoenician to go home with him to Phoenicia, where he was entertained for a year. Then the Phoenician inveigled him[123] onto a ship bound for Libya, allegedly to convey a cargo there, but actually to sell him: the Cretan was suspicious, but had no choice (14.287–98). They sailed past Crete into the open sea, where Zeus struck the ship with a thunderbolt, **(p.276)** drowning all on board, with the exception of the speaker, who survived by holding on to the mast (14.299–313). (A very similar thunderbolt destroyed Odysseus' ship and the last of his companions as they sailed away from Thrinacia in the *apologos* to Alcinous.)[124] The wicked Phoenician who tried to sell his guest into slavery is designed to appeal to Eumaeus, who was sold into slavery by Phoenicians as a child (15.403–84):[125] the chief culprit, his Phoenician nurse, came to a watery end like the Phoenician in the lie.[126] The bad end of the Phoenician slaver is also designed to forestall any idea Eumaeus may have of selling his guest across the sea, perhaps to King Echetus, the slave dealer on the mainland (18.84–7, 115–16; 21.307–9). Zeus (who

saved the speaker from the shipwreck, and would probably save him again) punished the Phoenician's evil treatment of the Cretan, and would punish any further mistreatment of him.

After nine days adrift, the Cretan swam ashore in the land of the Thesprotians, where King Pheidon (Sparer) took care of him when his son found him and brought him home. These compressed story elements are familiar: in Scheria, Nausicaa played the role of helper (6.110–315) now taken by the Thesprotian prince; in the *apologos* the role was enacted by the daughter of the Laestrygonian king (10.105–10); at home in Ithaca Athene performed the same part, disguised as a princely shepherd (13.221–440).[127] The role is soon to be assumed by Eumaeus, also a king's son (15.413–14), who will conduct his guest to the palace (17.9–11, 185–282).[128] Clothing is given by Nausicaa (6.144, 178–9, 214), the Thesprotian prince (14.320), and by Eumaeus too, even if only as a loan (14.510–22).

King Pheidon entertained Odysseus,[129] kept his fantastic treasures for him while he consulted the oracle at Dodona (14.321–30),[130] and swore that he would launch a ship to take him home (14.331–3). However, he sent off the Cretan first in a Thesprotian ship bound for Dulichium, where the sailors were to take him to King Acastus (14.334–6). But once out at sea, they took away his fine clothes, and gave him the rags he has on, intending to sell him **(p.277)** (14.339–43). They took a meal on shore at Ithaca, leaving him tied up in the ship, but the gods loosed his bonds, and he swam ashore and hid: his captors gave up trying to find him and sailed away, regretting the price they had lost (14.344–57). This last part of the tale explains how the speaker found his way to Eumaeus' farm in his present rags. The repeated motif of enslavement narrowly escaped invites Eumaeus to sympathize, and the discomfiture of the would-be slavers encourages him to believe that the gods really do punish wicked deeds (like those of the suitors) as he hopes (14.81–92).

3.2.2. The Cretan Lie (Politely) Exposed in Para-Narrative (14.379–85)

The tale has been building up to the information that Odysseus is alive and on his way home, and might (as is actually the case) return incognito, but Eumaeus does not take the hint.[131] He has already complained about beggars who offer false hopes (14.122–32), and (ironically) does not believe his guest's (true) assertion (14.321–33) that Odysseus is on his way home laden with treasure (acquired legitimately by collection) (14.323). That bit is οὐ κατὰ κόσμον (not correct) (14.363),[132] Eumaeus declares: what need has a man like his guest to lie (14.365)? In Ithaca, Odysseus is thought to have perished at sea (14.365–71)[133] and the news that he is about to return seems to Eumaeus like the kind of rumour all the other beggars have been circulating in the hope of receiving food and clothing. Indeed, he has not cared for questioning strangers:[134]

> ἐξ οὗ δή μ' Αἰτωλὸς ἀνὴρ ἐξήπαφε μύθῳ,
> ὅς ῥ' ἄνδρα κτείνας πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀληθεὶς
> ἤλυθ' ἐμὸν πρὸς σταθμόν· ἐγὼ δε μιν ἀμφαγάπαζον.
> Φῆ δέ μιν ἐν Κρήτεσσι παρ' Ἰδομενῆϊ ἰδέσθαι
> νῆας ἀκειόμενον, τάς οἱ ξυνέαξαν αἔλλαι·
> καὶ φάτ' ἐλεύσεσθαι ἢ ἐς θέρος ἢ ἐς ὀπώρην
> πολλὰ χρήματ' ἄγοντα, σὺν ἀντιθέοισ' ἑτάροισι.
> from the time when an Aetolian deceived me with a story,

who, after killing a man and wandering over much of the world,
came to my steading: I received him hospitably.
And he claimed to have seen him [Odysseus] among the Cretans at Idomeneus' house
mending his ships, which the whirlwinds had broken for him.
And he said he would come either in summer or in autumn,
bringing a lot of wealth, with his godlike companions.
14.379–85

(p.278) Eumaeus' brief anecdote echoes several elements of Odysseus' tale, while recasting others in a way already familiar to the poet's audience. His Aetolian visitor from the mainland near Ithaca is a narrative equivalent to his addressee, who claimed to have reached Ithaca from Thesprotia (also on the mainland near Ithaca) (14.315–35): thus Eumaeus implies doubt, without saying so, that his guest is from Crete.[135] The Aetolian was in exile for homicide (14.380):[136] like the Cretan, he came to Eumaeus' steading, where he was kindly received (14.381). The phrase πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀληθεὶς (after wandering over much of the world) (14.380) is an accurate summary of the travels in Crete, Egypt, Phoenicia, and Thesprotia which his Cretan visitor has just described to him. The Aetolian reported having seen Odysseus in Crete repairing his ships, which the wind had shattered (14.382–3).[137] Eumaeus seems to allude to the repackaged adventure (which probably sometimes belonged to Odysseus) in which some of Menelaus' ships were shattered on reefs near Phaestos, while others were carried to Egypt when he was driven off course at Cape Malea (3.286–300). (Odysseus too, was driven off course at Malea on his way home (9.80–1). The beggar will tell Penelope that Odysseus was driven off course at Malea on his way to Troy, and arrived in Crete in the harbour at Amnisos (19.185–202).)[138] Eumaeus associates the Aetolian with Idomeneus (14.382), with whom the Cretan claimed to have gone to Troy (14.235–8): the Cretan's other claim, that Odysseus is on his way home, with countless treasures (14.321–2), was also made by the Aetolian, who assured Eumaeus that his master would return towards the summer or the autumn with much wealth (14.384–5), although if the bad weather (14.457–8)[139] is anything to go by, these assurances have come to nothing. The companions the Aetolian said would accompany Odysseus (14.385) probably refer back to the Thesprotian companions the Cretan claimed would accompany him (14.332).[140] Eumaeus' para-narrative indicates, without saying so directly, his low opinion of his guest's extravagant claims. He warns him against trying to win favour with lies and charm (14.387): he is giving hospitality for the sake of Zeus Xenios, and does not want to be misled by a guest telling him what he would like to be the case (14.388–9). And he dismisses the Cretan's offer to be pushed off a cliff if he is found to be lying (14.398–400): he would not offend Zeus by committing such a crime (14.402–6).

(p.279) 3.2.3. The Trojan Lie (14.462–503)

Eumaeus is moved by his guest's misfortunes, but not convinced by his assertion, on the alleged authority of the Thesprotian king, that Odysseus is on his way home. The lie did not develop an Odysseus character to which the swineherd could respond, and his guest tries again, with another para-narrative, an αἶνος or veiled hint, featuring an Odysseus whose resourcefulness will be recognizable to his slave.[141] It is told to test Eumaeus (συβώτεω

πειρητίζων) (14.459),[142] and is built on the same traditional template as Agamemnon's πεῖρα (test) of the troops' loyalty at the beginning of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 2.48–210), when a deceitful dream led him to believe that Troy could be taken if the Greeks armed immediately and attacked it. He addressed his council in the very words now used by the fictitious Odysseus in the lie:

> κλῦτε φίλοι· θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν Ὄνειρος.
> Listen friends: a Dream from the gods came to me in my sleep.
> *Il.* 2.56 = *Od.* 14.495[143]

Agamemnon told his council what the dream had said (*Il.* 2.23–33 ≈ *Il.* 2.60–70), but added that he would first test (πειρήσομαι) the army by instructing them to abandon the war and escape with their ships (*Il.* 2.73–4). When he gave the order to flee, the men dashed for the ships (*Il.* 2.142–54), and would have sailed away if Athene had not instructed Odysseus to prevent them (*Il.* 2.179–81): at her command, βῆ δε θέειν, ἀπὸ δε χλαῖναν βάλε (he set off at a run, throwing away his cloak) (*Il.* 2.183) (both phrases repeated in the lie to the swineherd) (14.500–1). The cloak was retrieved for him by the Ithacan herald, Eurybates (*Il.* 2.183–4), while Odysseus went to Agamemnon for the sceptre, which he took with him to the ships (*Il.* 2.185–7), where he told the men that Agamemnon was testing them (πειρᾶται) (*Il.* 2.193). The lie assigns the roles differently and casts the elements differently: Odysseus' Iliadic ally, Thoas, is here the stalwart who unquestioningly obeys instructions, and Odysseus assumes his familiar role of deceiver, the part played in the πεῖρα by Agamemnon's deceptive Dream. As arranged in the lie, the story shape provides an example with which to compare the sense and loyalty of Eumaeus, as he is subjected to a test commonly applied in traditional literature: whether a host is prepared to give the best he has to an unexpected visitor (a king or god in disguise), even if it means going without himself.[144] In this case, the **(p.280)** unexpected visitor of the traditional motif is gently sent up, because he begins from the premise (implied by the poet-narrator (14.460–1)) that for his needs to be satisfied, someone is going to have to go without. The Cretan speaker invents a fiction about his participation in an ambush on a freezing night during the Trojan War. The starring role in his story is taken by Odysseus, who duped Thoas[145] into throwing off his cloak and running to the ships, so that the improvident speaker could take his cloak to sleep in.[146] By assigning the role of dupe to the Aetolian Thoas, the speaker redresses (at least in the story exchange) the wrong done to Eumaeus, who earlier complained of having been duped by an Aetolian (14.378–85). Of course, the swineherd may not know Thoas' ethnic identity, but the inventive and resourceful Odysseus figure is intended to be easily recognizable to him. The subtext of the fiction is 'I want your bedclothes.'

The ambush was led by Odysseus and Menelaus, and the Cretan went too, as a third, at their express command (14.471). (If Odysseus went, he could hardly stay away.) They crouched under their shields amid the reeds (δόνακας) (14.474) and undergrowth near the city: the terrain recalls Odysseus and Diomede's nocturnal ambush of Dolon in marshy ground near Troy.[147] The night came on, freezing, with ice and snow on a north wind (14.475–6): the Cretan repeats (14.475) the poet-narrator's phrase νὺξ δ' ἄρ' ἐπῆλθε (night came on) (14.457), suggesting to the external audience that the night of the ambush was rather like the night on which the story is told. The other men in the party slept under their shields in cloaks and

tunics (14.478–9), but the Cretan had forgotten his cloak[148] (14.480–2), and by the third watch of the night (14.483)[149] he could bear the cold no longer.[150] Odysseus was not far away (14.484)—how could he be? The Cretan knew him well enough to nudge him with his elbow (14.485) and set up a (ventriloquial) dialogue with his alter ego,[151] Odysseus, who told him to be quiet in case the others heard him (14.493). (They could not very well both speak at once.) Then Odysseus told the other men that he had had a divine dream, which left him feeling that they **(p.281)** had come too far from the ships, and that they needed a volunteer to run back to ask Agamemnon if he would send reinforcements (14.495–8). No sooner had he spoken than Thoas (whose *nom parlant* means Mr Double-Quick)[152] sprang up, throwing off his luxurious[153] cloak, and ran for the ships: the Cretan retrieved the cloak, and slept in it until dawn (14.499–502).[154] The layers of fabrication are five deep: 1) the poet-narrator uses the third person to introduce 2) the 'Cretan' narrator's invented story, 3) whose fictional character, Odysseus, invented 4) a fictional dream that 5) they had come too far from the ships, to induce Thoas, a fictional character in 2) to remove his cloak.[155]

The para-narrative is designed to suit the circumstances of its telling: the men (very improbably) went to sleep on their dangerous mission at Troy because sleep is in prospect when the tale is told: the Cretan forgot his cloak on the ambush because he has no cloak to sleep in now.[156] Newton regards the protective function of a cloak as rather like that of a shield: the other ambushers slept wrapped in their cloaks and covered by their shields (14.478–9), and Thoas would have had to throw off his shield as well as his cloak when he sprang up (but the shield is not mentioned, because the Cretan had not forgotten that) (14.482). Throwing away one's shield is the act of a deserter, and running for the ships indicates rout.[157] But Thoas was not a deserter: he was just tricked into throwing off his cloak, although he was obeying his superior officer and acting in what he believed were the best interests of his platoon. His reactions were as swift as his name implies, and he never imagined that an officer might deceive him.

Eumaeus is not taken in by the story, although he appreciates its purpose as an αἶνος (veiled hint) (14.508).[158] He neither gives up his cloak, nor goes to sleep like the fictitious ambushers at Troy, but puts Odysseus to bed under the *spare* cloak (that the story presumed he would not have) (14.518–22),[159] then arms himself (ὁπλίζετο) (14.526) with sword and cloak and νάκην **(p.282)** (goat skin).[160] Then he takes up two javelins to ward off dogs and men, and goes outside to mount guard over the pigs, which are sleeping in the shelter of a rock (14.531–3). Odysseus is pleased[161] at how the swineherd takes care of his property while he is supposedly away (14.526–7). The poet-narrator mentioned Eumaeus' good stewardship earlier (14.3–4), but Odysseus proves it by putting Eumaeus to a test which he passes with flying colours.[162]

3.2.4. The Test of Commitment (15.304–24)

Odysseus tests the swineherd (συβώτεω πειρητίζων) (15.304) a third time, by demanding a guide to take him to town, where he plans to beg from the suitors and work as their servant (15.308–24): if the swineherd really cares for him, he will urge him not to go (14.305–6). Eumaeus is most upset (μέγ' ὀχθήσας) (15.325), and warns that the stranger is courting embarrassment and worse: the servants of the suitors are all young, handsome, and well-

dressed, and it would be much better for his guest to wait for assistance from Telemachus (15.326–39). Odysseus expresses approval (Eumaeus has passed the test) with a prayer for the swineherd to be as dear to Zeus as he is to him (15.341–2). And he encourages him to talk about his own upbringing in the palace with Odysseus' sister, Ctimene (15.363–70), his royal birth and happy childhood (15.403–14), his abduction by his Phoenician nurse, herself the victim of trafficking (15.425–9), and how he was sold to Laertes by the Phoenician sailors with whom she ran away (15.415–84).[163] These extraordinary revelations make the poet's audience revise its previous assessment[164] of Eumaeus, and leave a modern audience with questions: is his extraordinary loyalty to Odysseus explained by his noble origin?[165]—or by the sudden death without **(p.283)** burial of his nurse, who betrayed her owner?[166] The nurse, who seizes the first chance she has of returning to her own family, makes Eumaeus' loyalty salient. The Cretan suggests that the swineherd's fate, to come to the house of a kindly master who gave him food and drink, is better than the wandering which has been his own fate (15.488–92), but his view of the matter is rather one-sided, and Eumaeus has not had much kindness since Anticleia died (15.358–79).

3.3. The Trial of Antinous (17.419–44)

The lies to sympathetic characters, Athene, Eumaeus, Penelope, and Laertes, are developed at some length, but lies to the suitors, Antinous and Amphinomus, and to the disloyal maid, Melantho, are noticeably brief and strongly moralizing in tone: the speaker makes an example of his fall from prosperity to warn his addressee of a coming reckoning. Odysseus tells the lie to Antinous on his first evening at the palace as he begs from the suitors. Antinous refuses to give him anything, even when told to do so by Telemachus (17.400). All the other suitors contribute (17.411–13), and on his way back to the threshold, Odysseus tries Antinous a second time (17.415),[167] remarking that he looks/seems like a king (βασιλῆϊ ἔοικας) (17.416), and therefore should give more than the others. Then he launches into a story[168] about himself, clearly recognizable to the audience as an abbreviated version of the raid on Egypt already told to Eumaeus, who is part of the internal background audience together with the suitors. There are small but significant differences. The speaker's wealthy origin and background are now simply a given (17.419–23): nothing is said about his acquisition of wealth by his own efforts, which is so prominent in the lie to Eumaeus (14.199–213). His description of the raiders as ληϊστῆρσι πολυπλάγκτοισι (roving pirates) (17.425) shines an unflattering light on the raid, which is otherwise identical to that in the lie to Eumaeus (17.427–41 = 14.258–72), except at the end: Zeus did not intervene in the pirates' defeat, and instead of accepting the speaker as a suppliant and allowing him to go collecting for seven years (14.273–86), the Egyptian king gave him immediately to a guest-friend in Cyprus, the ominously named Δμήτωρ (Tamer). And the speaker has come from there, suffering pains (17.442–4). With καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε…(once upon a time, I too…) (17.419), the 'beggar' sets himself on a level with Antinous, for whom his own career is a pattern. In his prosperity, the speaker was generous to vagabonds: by implication, Antinous should be similarly generous to him. **(p.284)** He went on a piratical raid to Egypt: Antinous seems (with the other suitors) to be on a piratical raid in the house of Odysseus; Eumaeus compared their behaviour to raiding (14.81–8), and Antinous' family has a history of piracy (16.424–9). When the raid on

Egypt went wrong, the pirates were killed or enslaved (17.440–1), and the beggar fell into the hands of the Tamer (17.442–4); Antinous too, could fall into the hands of the Tamer.

Offended, Antinous threatens the beggar with the kind of Egypt and Cyprus he will not like (17.447–9), provoking the retort that his brains do not match his outward form (εἰδεῖ) (17.454). This picks up ἐπεὶ βασιλῆϊ ἔοικας (since you seem/look like a king) (17.416): the beggar's story has been carefully set up as a test,[169] which Antinous fails by showing aggression towards the speaker instead of the sympathy[170] displayed by Eumaeus (14.361–2); far from behaving with the generosity of a king (like Eumaeus), Antinous will not give the beggar even what really belongs to Odysseus (17.456–7). Coming as it does after Antinous' hostile exchanges with Telemachus (17.397–408) and Eumaeus (17.375–91), the beggar's retort stings, and Antinous is angry: he throws his footstool, striking the stranger on the shoulder.[171] Odysseus protests that there is no ἄχος (grief) when a man is struck fighting for his goods or cattle, but Antinous struck him on account of the belly (17.473): it is not clear whose belly is intended, and while the beggar's need to satisfy his own hunger may be understood, gluttony on the part of Antinous is also implied, and his belly may bring him many troubles (πολλὰ κάκ') (17.474). Antinous threatens the beggar with dragging outside by his arm or leg (17.479–80), something Odysseus foresaw (16.274–7). The appalled reaction of the other suitors is expressed in an anonymous τις speech,[172] in which one of their number foresees dire consequences (οὐλόμεν'),[173] because the gods disguise themselves as men, assuming all sorts of shapes (as Odysseus has, although the anonymous suitor does not know it), and go about observing ὕβρις and εὔνομια (arrogance and just dealing) among men (17.485–7) (as Odysseus is doing at that very moment).

(p.285) 3.4. The Lie to Amphinomus (18.125–50)

Amphinomus, the suitor in two minds, is different: he offers the beggar (who has just won a fight with Irus) a cup of wine, and prays that he will be prosperous in future (ἐς περ ὀπίσσω) (18.122). In return for his kindness, the beggar advises him to go home before Odysseus returns: he warns of suffering in the future (ὀπίσσω) (18.132); he hints that Amphinomus' hopes for his interlocutor's future prosperity (ὄλβος) (18.123) were long since blighted: καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτ' ἔμελλον ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιος εἶναι (once upon a time, I too was on my way to being prosperous) (18.138); the many evils which Amphinomus can see afflict the beggar (κακοῖς ἔχεαι πολέσσι) (18.123) are projected onto a generalized Everyman (ἄνθρωπος) (18.130) to suffer in the future: κακὸν πείσεσθαι (he will suffer evil) (18.132).[174] Every type of persuasion is used to dissuade Amphinomus from his present course:[175]

i) *personal appeal* (18.125–9): Amphinomus seems very sensible (πεπνυμένος); the speaker has heard good reports of his father's quality and wealth, and can say to him ἐπητῇ[176] δ' ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας (you seem like a well-behaved man) (18.125). Therefore the speaker will tell him: σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καί μευ ἄκουσον (and you pay attention and listen to me) (18.129). The persona (an older man giving advice to a younger) and the admonition to mark and listen are typically used to preface advice in wisdom literature, and Hesiod introduces his instructions to his 'brother' with similar injunctions.[177]

ii) There follows a *generalizing gnomic preamble* (18.130–7) with embedded proverbs to establish the philosophical basis of the lie:[178] 'nothing is more insignificant than a man,[179] for he never thinks he will suffer in future as long as the gods are providing prosperity, but when they send adversity, he has to bear that too, although unwilling. That is what men are like.' The reversal from god-sent happiness (ἀρετή) (18.133) to its god-sent opposite (λυγρά) (18.134) is associated with thoughtlessness (18.132), which leads to ἀτάσθαλα (reckless acts) (18.139) by the lawless (ἀθεμίστιος) (18.141) (see iv below).[180]

(p.286) iii) Such generalizing passages are usually the preamble to a *particular example* (18.138–40), which here is retrospective, purportedly autobiographical, paradigmatic, and short: 'once upon a time, I too (καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε) (18.138, the phrase repeated from 17.419) was on my way to being prosperous, but I did many ἀτάσθαλα, yielding to violence and might, relying on my father and my brothers'. In the lie to Eumaeus, the speaker blamed promptings of the θυμός (heart) for making him set off on the Egyptian raid (14.246): in that to Antinous, an arbitrary Zeus was blamed (17.424–5): now the speaker himself takes responsibility for the ἀτάσθαλα (18.139) which have brought him to his beggarly condition. Zeus' humbling of the beggar might have persuaded Antinous to give up his arrogant ways in the fear that one day Zeus would decide to humble *him*, even if he had so far escaped. The beggar's example might persuade the less hardened Amphinomus to distance himself from the suitors, whose bad company implicates him in ἀτάσθαλα. The analogous bad company in the autobiographical para-narrative comprises the speaker's father and brothers, who take the place of the pirates in the lies to Eumaeus and Antinous:[181] the Egyptian raid is replaced by unspecified ἀτάσθαλα. Amphinomus is addressed as σύ (you) (18.128, 129, 146), and by second-person verbs (18.125, 128, 129, 147), which differentiate him from the suitors whose actions are described in participles in the accusative plural (18.143, 144).[182]

iv) This is followed by a *moral* (18.141–2): 'so let no man ever be[183] utterly lawless (πάμπαν…ἀθεμίστιος), but let him possess the gifts of the gods in quiet, whatever they give'. The suitors are being tested to reveal which are ἐναίσιμοι (just) and which ἀθέμιστοι (lawless) (17.363), like the Cyclopes (9.106): Ctesippus, who (like the Cyclops) throws a missile at Odysseus (20.299), is described as ἀθεμίστια εἰδώς (knowing lawless things) (20.287), like the Cyclops (9.189, 428). Amphinomus has been ἀθεμίστιος in keeping the company of the suitors, but he is not obliged to persist, and be utterly so: the suitors desire the property of another,[184] but Amphinomus could go home to what is rightfully his (18.142).[185]

v) The lie is rounded off with a *parainetic warning* (18.143–50): the suitors 'are laying waste the possessions and dishonouring the wife of a man who I think will not much longer be absent from his friends and his **(p.287)** native land' (18.144–5); these crimes are their ἀτάσθαλα (18.143).[186] (The lies have depicted comparable ἀτάσθαλα when the raiders laid waste the Egyptians' fields and dragged out their wives and children) (14.263–4; 17.432–3). Odysseus will come back (like the Egyptian king who came to deal with the raiders) (14.265–79; 17.435–41): he is very near. The speaker wishes a god would take Amphinomus home, so that he does not

meet Odysseus, whose confrontation with the suitors will not be bloodless (18.149–50).[187] But Amphinomus, for all his foreboding (18.153–4), does not go anywhere, but sits down again, destined by Athene to be killed by Telemachus' spear (18.155–8).[188]

3.5. The Lie to Melantho (19.71–88)

After the suitors have left the hall for the night (18.428), Penelope enters (19.53–9), to question the stranger (19.94–5), and the maids also come into the hall to clear up (19.60–4). Earlier, when Odysseus, in his beggar's disguise, told them not to tend the lamps in the hall, but to wait on Penelope (18.313–19) in her chamber (18.302–3), one of the maids, Melantho (the mistress of Eurymachus) (18.325), replied that he should go to the forge to sleep, in case someone stronger drove him out from the palace (18.327–36). Finding the beggar still in the hall, Melantho scolds him again: is he there to ogle the women?—and she tries to drive him out, with another threat (19.66–9).[189]

Odysseus protests with a counter-question: why does she attack him so angrily: is it because he is dirty, and badly dressed?[190] He is begging out of necessity: this is what wandering beggars are like (19.71–4). And he rebukes her with the tale he told Antinous: 'Once upon a time, I too, was prosperous and used to live in a wealthy house; many a time I would give to a beggar, whatever he might be like, and whatever he came in need of. I had lots of servants, and much else besides, whatever people have who are called prosperous. But Zeus ruined it all—for so he willed, I suppose' (19.75–80 = 17.419–24).[191] This brief account of lost prosperity provides the same paradigmatic warning as the earlier 'autobiographical' lies: one can suddenly fall **(p.288)** out of a very comfortable position.[192] Without more ado, he applies the paradigm to Melantho: 'therefore take care, madam, lest you too (τῷ νῦν μή ποτε καὶ σύ γύναι) lose completely the dazzling beauty in which you surpass the maids, if perhaps your mistress grows angry with you, and rages at you, or if Odysseus comes (for there is still room for hope),[193] or if he has perished, never to return, well, by the grace of Apollo he still has a son, Telemachus, who notices the maids in the palace ἀτασθάλλουσ' (when they do reckless deeds), since he is no longer of such an age (as to tolerate it)' (19.81–8). As the beggar lost his prosperous life, so Melantho could lose the beauty in which she is so confident.[194] The three possibilities marked by if (19.83, 84, 85) are all realized:[195] Penelope (who brought Melantho up) (18.322–5) *is* immediately angry with her (as if with a shameless dog) (κύον ἀδδεές) (19.90–5);[196] Odysseus *has* come back; Telemachus *will* punish the maids (22.457–73). It is no accident that this time the para-narrative gives no hint of wrongdoing on the part of the speaker. The rebuke is designed not least to convey to the listening Penelope the stranger's former status and authority. It establishes a sympathetic rapport between the queen and her disguised husband, who have both been provoked by Melantho's abuse.

3.6. Interrogation by Penelope

Penelope turns from Melantho to order a chair for the stranger (19.97–9): first of all she will interrogate him herself (19.104 = 7.237), asking the traditional questions τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; (Who are you and where are you from? Where is your city, and your parents?).[197] The stranger evades her questions, however, in favour of flattery: her fame reaches to heaven (cf. 9.20), and under her governance crops are abundant, flocks

multiply, fish are plentiful, and people thrive (19.106–14). As if a straight answer would dispel the perfect world created by her presence, he continues: 'therefore ask me other questions in your house, but do not ask my origin and my native land, in case you fill my heart even more with grief as I remember' (19.115–18). The queen replies that her good qualities were destroyed when Odysseus went to Troy: they would be greater if he returned. Since her trick to delay remarriage was discovered, she can find no way to put it off, and now she is under pressure from all sides to leave the house and take a new husband **(p.289)** (19.124–61). All this invites the stranger's sympathy and co-operation when she asks again: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς μοι εἰπὲ τεὸν γένος, ὁππόθεν ἐσσί (but even so, tell me your descent, and where you are from) (19.162).

3.6.1. The Cretan Lie to Penelope (19.165–202)

Since the queen is his social superior, Odysseus is obliged to give some sort of answer when Penelope asks him a second time who he is. His reply is full of ironic hints of his true identity. He asserts Penelope's relationship to him in his deferential address, ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος (revered wife of Odysseus, son of Laertes) (19.165), and repeats it later in their interview (19.262, 336, 583).[198] With rather less deference, he deflects her question with a protest question of his own:[199] 'Will you never leave off asking about my origins?' (19.165–6). This is followed by circuitous entrance talk like that used earlier to Queen Arete (7.241–3): for a long time he has been wandering to many cities of men (like the Odysseus of the prologue) (1.3–4), suffering, and what he is about to say will make his troubles worse than they are already. Nevertheless, he will say it (19.167–71). He begins his fictional life history with a conventional opening, Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἐστι (there is a land called Crete),[200] elaborating it with details of the island and its peoples (19.173–7),[201] before zooming in on Cnossus, and its legendary kings, Minos and Deucalion. His claim to be the son of Deucalion and the brother of Idomeneus, the Cretan leader who fought beside the Atreidae at Troy, completes the extraordinary progress he makes in his lies up the social ladder and into the bosom of the Cretan royal family.[202] A Cretan prince, even a younger son who stayed at home while his brother went to Troy, is likely to find favour with the noble queen.

Odysseus has been speaking for nineteen lines before he drops what he says is his name, Αἴθων (19.183).[203] Its significance is much discussed. In Mycenaean Greek, Ai-to is a man's name:[204] it is also the name of one of Hector's horses (*Il.* 8.185), and Agamemnon's mare is called Αἴθη (Fiery or Sorrel) (*Il.* 23.295). As a name for the Cretan king's son, it would mean Fiery, Shining, **(p.290)** but it is also a colour term, used of iron, oxen, lions, and of the αἰετὸς αἴθων (tawny or fiery eagle)[205] to which Hector is compared when he brings fire to the ships (*Il.* 15.690–4). Eagles, as Janko says,[206] are especially partial to geese in the *Odyssey* (15.161), and the adjectival name heralds the great Odysseus–eagle with hooked beak which breaks the necks of Penelope's suitor–geese in the dream she is soon to relate to Odysseus (19.536–53). The dream image of an eagle swooping on geese as they feed may well be inspired by the *Iliad*'s exquisite simile of water birds on which the eagle swoops:

> ἀλλ' ὥς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν αἰετὸς αἴθων
> ἔθνος ἐφορμᾶται ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομενάων,
> χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων...

> but as the tawny eagle swoops on the race
> of winged birds feeding beside a river,
> of geese or cranes or long-necked swans...
> *Il.* 15.690–2[207]

It was at home in Crete that Aithon entertained Odysseus, whom the wind forced to put in at Amnisos after driving him off course when rounding Cape Malea (19.185–9),[208] ten or eleven days after leaving Ithaca (19.192–3). After making the harbour with difficulty, Odysseus went to the city and asked for his guest-friend, Idomeneus, who was already on the way to Troy (19.188–91).[209] The speaker has already mentioned giving guest gifts to Odysseus (19.185); now he emphasizes that he entertained him and his followers for twelve days, supplying their wants by a levy on the people (19.194–202): this is designed to oblige Penelope to reciprocate the speaker's hospitality to her husband.[210] No explanation has been given of how a Cretan prince was reduced to the stranger's apparent destitution, but Penelope does not want to know that: she is more interested in hearing about her husband than her guest. She has mentioned severe pressure to marry (19.157–61), so her guest goes on talking about her husband, to make her resist a little longer. His opening remarks give the impression that he will tell her a reciprocal tale of woe about himself, but the only troubles he describes are those which brought Odysseus to Crete shortly after he set off for Troy—when her own troubles began (19.124–6). His story appears to corroborate the Aetolian's reported sighting of Odysseus **(p.291)** mending his ships in Crete (14.382–5), but the added detail of *when* he was seen there (a few days after leaving for Troy) seems to extinguish the hope offered by the earlier sighting. Penelope dissolves into tears, melting like snow in the spring when the zephyr blows as her husband's rhetoric breaks down her defences (19.204–7).[211] But Odysseus, who inwardly pities her distress, gives no outward sign of his emotional reaction: his eyes remain fixed like horn (19.209–12).

3.6.2. The Trial of the Stranger (19.221–48)

The queen asks the stranger to describe Odysseus' clothing and his companions, to test (πειρήσεσθαι) whether he is telling the truth (19.215–19).[212] Odysseus marks what he is about to say: after twenty years, it is hard to remember, but he will say it, as it floats before him in recollection (19.221–4). He describes in accurate detail Odysseus' clothes and brooch (19.225–35) (its design of a dog throttling a fawn echoes Menelaus' equation of the suitors with fawns (4.335–40), and anticipates their defeat).[213] He flags up the description just given with an attention line (ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν) (but I will tell you another thing, and you turn it over in your mind) (19.236), pretending not to know (although he knows very well) whether Odysseus was wearing these clothes when he left home, or was given them after he set sail by a comrade or a guest-friend (19.236–40). (After all, the guest gifts he mentioned when first he began to speak of Odysseus (19.185) were a sword, a double cloak, and a full-length tunic) (19.241–2).) Finally, he describes the striking appearance of Odysseus' round-shouldered, dark-skinned, curly-haired herald, Eurybates (19.246–8). Convinced by these accurate σήματα (signs), which were the goal of her test, Penelope believes *everything* he has said, and weeps in earnest for her lost husband (19.249–50).[214] Her distress is once more proof of her feeling for Odysseus. When she recovers her composure, she tells the stranger what he knows very well: *she* provided her husband with the

clothes just described, and pinned on the brooch as an ornament. (This is a moment Odysseus will remember.) But he will never come home, and it was an ill fate that took him to Troy (19.255–60).

(p.292) 3.6.3. The Trial of the Queen: Odysseus Alive in Thesprotia (19.269–307)

After his descriptions of Odysseus and Eurybates, the queen's attitude towards the stranger changes from pity to friendship and respect (19.253–4). Odysseus convinces her to hold out a little longer with the edited version of his lie to Eumaeus. After respectfully sympathizing with her predicament (19.262–7), he demands attention and insists, as he did to Eumaeus (14.192), on his veracity:...ἐμεῖο δὲ σύνθεο μῦθον | νημερτέως γάρ τοι μυθήσομαι οὐδ᾽ ἐπικεύσω (...listen to my speech | for I will speak truly, nor will I conceal anything) (19.268–9). He has heard that Odysseus is alive among the Thesprotians, and on his way home bringing much treasure acquired by begging (19.270–3). Penelope has been waiting to hear this ever since Eumaeus warned her that the stranger claimed that Odysseus was on his way home:

> ...στεῦται δ᾽ Ὀδυσῆος ἀκοῦσαι
> ἀγχοῦ Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν πίονι δήμῳ
> ζωοῦ· πολλὰ δ᾽ ἄγει κειμήλια ὅνδε δόμονδε.
> ...He makes a show of having heard of Odysseus
> near at hand in the rich country of the Thesprotians
> alive: and he is bringing many treasures to his home.
> 17.525–7: cf. 19.270–3

The 'true' detail that her husband's ship was lost after leaving Thrinacia because the crew killed the Sun's cattle (19.273–7) connects this lie with the 'truth' of the *apologos* (12.260–419).[215] The speaker puns on his true name in the detail that Zeus and Helios ὀδύσαντο (were angry with him, 'odysseused', from ὀδύ(σ)σομαι) (19.275–6).[216] He 'discreetly evades any reference to Calypso by combining two shipwrecks (12.403–50 and 5.313–23) into one',[217] declaring that Odysseus was washed ashore in the land of the Phaeacians, who would have brought him home long ago, but he wanted to collect by begging (i.e. not raiding) (19.278–84). In this respect, too, the lie hints at the truth: Penelope is aware that the stranger has been collecting by begging from the suitors (17.492–3, 501–4).

The source of the speaker's information is the Thesprotian king, Pheidon, who swore that he would launch a ship to take Odysseus home, only he sent the speaker away first (19.288–92 ≈ 14.331–5). He showed the speaker the **(p.293)** treasure Odysseus had collected, explaining that Odysseus himself had gone to Dodona to consult the oracle on whether to return openly or in secret (19.293–9 = 14.323–30). Odysseus is very near, and will not be long away (19.301–2). And the speaker swears, as he did to Eumaeus, that Odysseus will come this very *lycabas* (19.303–7 = 14.158–62): he seems to mean during the inter-lunar period before the Apollo festival of the next day.[218] If Penelope sees through the speaker's hints at his true identity, she gives no sign. She wishes his oath would come to fruition: then she would show him her generosity (19.309–11). She still does not believe that Odysseus will come back, nor that the stranger will get safe conduct home (19.312–16), but the stranger's lies achieve their requisite delay. After the interlude for the footbath, the queen (for whatever reason) plays

into his hands, asking her metanast to interpret a dream presaging her husband's return, and seeking his encouragement for her decision to set the bow contest the next day, when *lycabas* is over—and her husband, if the stranger is right, should be home.[219]

3.6.4. The Trial of the King (23.1–230)

Penelope does not believe, even when informed by Eurycleia (23.7–9), that Odysseus has returned and killed the suitors: she thinks that a god has killed them (23.63). She is less certain when the nurse claims to have recognized Odysseus by the σῆμα (sign) of his scar (23.74–7), and wonders whether to question her husband or embrace him (23.86–7). Sitting apart, she silences Telemachus' accusations of coldness: she and Odysseus will know each other by σήμαθ'...κεκρυμμένα (secret signs) (23.109–10). (The scar is not adequate proof that the stranger is her husband.) Odysseus smiles: Telemachus must let his mother test him (πειράζειν ἐμέθεν) (23.111–14). As the evening wears on, Penelope does not relent, even when Odysseus is bathed, dressed, and beautified (23.153–63). Exasperated, he tells Eurycleia to make up the bed for him to lie down (23.171–2). Penelope echoes his command, adding that the bed is to be made up outside the bedchamber: she says this πόσιος πειρωμένη (testing her husband) (23.181). The test provokes the required reaction: Odysseus forgets that he might be subject to a test, and indignantly demands to know who has moved his bed—which would be difficult, because there is a great sign (μέγα σῆμα) (23.188) in it, and it cannot be moved because he built it himself around the trunk of a living tree. Penelope recognizes the story of the bed's construction as the sign (σήματ' ἀναγνούσῃ) (23.206) she has been looking for, **(p.294)** and flings her arms around her husband.[220] She has not done so before because she feared being seduced by the stranger, as Helen was by Paris (23.218–24: see Chapter 4, §1.6). They retire to bed, where Odysseus replaces all the lies he told Penelope with the 'truth': a summary of all his wanderings since leaving Troy (23.310–43), only lightly edited to present himself in the most flattering light. Narration in the third person by the poet confirms the summary as truth,[221] and in consequence confirms the veracity of Odysseus' *apologos* to the Phaeacians.

3.7. The Trial of Laertes

The *Iliad* concludes with scenes of lament by, *inter alia*, a widowed wife and a bereaved father.[222] The *Odyssey* puts a twist on such scenes, as Penelope mourns her husband (19.204–9, 249–51, 603) only to find he has come back to her (23.205–96), and Laertes mourns the son he believes dead (24.315–17) before he realizes that he is standing in front of him. Aristophanes and Aristarchus described 23.296 as the πέρας (limit) or τέλος (end) of the poem,[223] and some scholars have concluded that what remains after that is the work not of Homer, but of a later poet.[224] But Aristarchus would hardly have continued writing explanations after 23.296 if he wanted to athetize what he was explaining, and the sentence which begins οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα (they then) (23.295) would lack a balancing clause and be incomplete. The Alexandrian scholars probably did not mean that 23.296 was literally the end of the poem: they used πέρας and τέλος in the sense of 'goal', 'purpose', 'consummation' of the poem's μῦθος (story), Odysseus' return and recovery of the wife for whom he was longing at the outset (1.13). We should not reject the remaining episodes,[225] which signal the poem's approaching end by the diminuendo of their minor-key doublets (24.1–204, 467–527) of

major themes such as the *Nekyia* and the battle against the suitors.[226] But there is no diminuendo in the emotional intensity of the scene between Odysseus and Laertes: in the *Odyssey*, as in the *Iliad*,[227] **(p.295)** the significance of the father–son relationship is overwhelming. The climax of the *Iliad* is Priam's supplication of Achilles and his appeal to the father–son relationship which Achilles prizes in equal measure: this is what the poem has been leading up to. The *Odyssey* has three 'father' scenes: Eumaeus greets Telemachus as a father greets his long-lost son: he kisses his head, both his eyes, both his hands, and weeps (16.14–21). Odysseus kisses Telemachus and weeps when he makes himself known to his son (16.190–1). Laertes has the strength only to fling his arms around Odysseus before he faints away (24.347–8). This is what the *Odyssey*, with its repeated references to Laertes,[228] has been leading up to. There may be a diminuendo in effusiveness, but there is certainly a crescendo in emotional intensity.

The 'Laertes motif'[229] is found also in the South Slavic return songs, where the hero's old mother leaves the house on the occasion of her daughter-in-law's wedding, and the returning hero finds her working in the vineyard, or meets her at the house door. He does not immediately reveal his identity, but tests his mother to make her reveal the intensity of her longing for her son. Only after he has successfully ordered his household affairs does he make himself known to her in a later scene. In these two-part reunions, recognition of her returned son leads to the mother's death. The son does not, as he does in the *Odyssey*, change his tactics in the same scene, at first disguising himself, then suddenly making himself known. In the *Odyssey*, the death required by the motif is that of the dog, Argos, who could never be deceived about his master's identity.[230] Odysseus' mother is already dead, but he meets his father in the orchard, where the old man faints, and nearly dies when Odysseus makes himself known. But Laertes recovers, and his happiness is completed by the competition in valour between his son and grandson (24.506–15). He fights beside them both against a common enemy (24.520–7).[231]

In the *Odyssey* as we have it, Odysseus meets his father when he has already revealed his identity to Telemachus and the loyal slaves, and after Penelope has accepted that the stranger who has killed the suitors is indeed her husband. (It is possible that in other versions of the poem, Odysseus had first met Laertes, perhaps on the way to the palace, and learned how matters stood from **(p.296)** him, rather than from Eumaeus.)[232] The testing of Laertes takes up time which could be spent preparing to confront the suitors' relatives, and it is no longer really necessary for Odysseus to conceal his identity when he misleads his father into thinking him dead.[233] In antiquity this deception was attributed to the need to protect Laertes from emotional shock: ἵνα μὴ τῇ αἰφνιδίῳ χαρᾷ ἀποψύξει ὁ γέρων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κύων ἀπώλετο (lest the old man should die of sudden joy, as the dog also died).[234] The scholiasts attribute to Aristotle the explanation that the dog, Argos, who was already very old, died because of his extreme pleasure at seeing his master again (17.290–327).[235] Eustathius too, ascribes the deception to the need to protect Laertes from the stress of a sudden transition from extreme grief to extreme joy.[236] (It must be said that the deception does not protect Laertes from such a sudden transition.) On the other hand, modern critics have found Odysseus' treatment of his father cruel and insulting:[237] Stanford even detected latent father–son antagonism,[238] although the deceit has also been justified as an intrinsic part of

Odysseus' nature,[239] or a traditional requirement,[240] or force of habit on the part of the poet.[241] The traditional motif of testing delays the moment when Odysseus makes himself known to Laertes, and thus heightens the emotional intensity of Laertes' recognition of Odysseus when it comes. Certainly, the poet is much more interested in showing the intensity of Laertes' emotional feeling for Odysseus than in motivating the testing which provokes its display.

When the suitors are safely in Hades, Odysseus arrives at his father's farm. He sends Telemachus, Eumaeus, and Philoitius into the farmhouse, informing them, perhaps misleadingly, that he intends to test his father (πατρὸς πειρήσομαι ἡμετέροιο) to see if he recognizes him (24.216–17).[242] He means, of course, that he is going to invent a story analogous to his own history to see whether Laertes can recognize the figure of his son in the analogy: if he can, Laertes might recognize himself in it, too. The hero gives his arms (which he **(p.297)** put on at 23.366) to the slaves, so as not to wear them in his father's presence (24.219). Dolius[243] (whom Penelope proposed to send to Laertes (4.735–8) against Eurycleia's advice (4.754–5) when Telemachus left for Pylos) is away, and no other slaves are about. Dolius is mentioned as if we were always expecting him to be there, but Odysseus will be alone with his father at their recognition, which, like previous recognitions (Telemachus, Argos, Eurycleia, Eumaeus, and Philoitius),[244] will be one to one.

3.7.1. How to Proceed?

Laertes' grief for Odysseus, and its expression in introversion and self-neglect, is a recurrent theme in the poem. His condition is as Athene and Anticleia described it: Laertes resembles Odysseus in his beggar's disguise. He remains in the country, avoiding the town. He has no bed, mattress, rugs, or bedclothes, but sleeps in the ashes near the fire with the slaves in the winter: in the summer he sleeps outside in the garden in a pile of leaves (1.188–93; 11.187–94). All this expresses a longing for his son such as brought Anticleia to her grave (11.195–203). Laertes is alone in his garden, digging round a plant. His shirt is patched and dirty, and he wears a goatskin cap, adding to the picture of his grief (πένθος ἀέξων). His leather leggings, which protect against brambles, and his gardening gloves which shield his hands from thorns (24.227–31), symbolize the protective shell in which he has enclosed himself in the absence of hope. His wretched clothes and manual labour reflect badly on his son: at a similar stage in the *Iliad*, Achilles says of his father οὐδέ νυ τόν γε| γηράσκοντα κομίζω (nor do I care for him in his old age) (*Il.* 24.538–42).[245] Odysseus weeps to see his father in this condition (24.234): he wept at the state of Argos, too (17.304). The son observes his father from the shade of a pear tree (24.232–4) and wonders whether to fling his arms round him and tell him how he has come home, or question him in detail and try him (πειρήσαιτο) (24.238). Finally, he decides to make a thorough trial of him with mocking words (κερτομίοισ' ἔπεσιν διαπειρηθῆναι) (24.240).

Mocking can involve withholding something the victim needs to know in order to make sense of the situation: Odysseus thinks Athene is mocking (κερτομεόυσαν) him when she does not tell him he is in Ithaca (13.326–8). In two passages in the *Iliad* when the gods taunt one another (*Il.* 4.5–6; *Il.* 5.419), κ **(p.298)** ερτομίος (mocking) is associated with ἐρεθίζειν (provoke), πειράομαι (test, try), and παραβλήδην (with a side meaning):

ἐπειρᾶτο Κρονίδης ἐρεθιζέμεν Ἥρην
κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσι, παραβλήδην ἀγορεύων.
The son of Cronus tried to provoke Hera
With mocking words, speaking out with a side meaning.
Il. 4.5–6[246]

The D scholia on this passage explain κερτομίοις as ἐρεθιστικοῖς, χλευαστικοῖς, ἢ ἀποτόμοις, τὸ κέαρ τέμνουσιν, ὅ ἐστι τὴν ψυχήν (provoking, derisory, or brusque, which cut the heart, that is the soul).[247] Führer translates it as 'nicht ernst gemeint' (not meant seriously),[248] although I think the scholia indicate a much nastier tone. Κερτομία (sarcasm) can cause offence and exploit the victim's ignorance of the true significance of what is happening. The suitors are addicted to it.[249] Παραβλήδην (with a side meaning) is explained as ἀπατητικῶς (deceptive).[250] As in his testing of Penelope (19.45), Odysseus' approach to Laertes includes an element of provocation (ἐρεθίζω): on the most generous construction, mocking words are to penetrate the mental carapace which defends Laertes from false hope, bring him back from despair,[251] and provoke him into making the effort that will enable him to fight against the suitors' kin and re-establish himself as a hero. (Agamemnon and Athene rouse Diomede to greater efforts by similar methods (*Il.* 4.370–400; *Il.* 5.800–13).)[252] A less favourable interpretation might be that Odysseus wants to see how his father will reciprocate alleged hospitality to his son, and how he will react to a tale which suggests that his son might be lost forever. The πεῖρα (trial) will involve a coded para-narrative, an analogy which, if interpreted in the right way, will allow Laertes to see through the mocking deception which simultaneously conceals and hints at the speaker's identity. But Laertes is in no condition to see through deception, and the πεῖρα, which gives him the impression that his son is dead, produces in Laertes a reaction of deep mourning. Odysseus has been trying to provoke a display of grief such as he provoked in Penelope (19.204–9, 249–51, 603). This time, however, he is taken aback by his own reaction to his father's distress, and is forced to abandon his **(p.299)** pretence (as he did not when his wife wept in his presence (19.204–12, 249–51)). He is obliged to allow himself to be tested by tokens of recognition: his scar, and the shared family memory of the trees in his father's garden.[253]

3.7.2. Clues: Outward Show and Reality—A/the Man

Laertes keeps his head down, and goes on hoeing as Odysseus approaches (24.242). The hero begins by 1) complimenting his father's skill as a gardener: there is not a fig tree, a vine, an olive tree, a pear tree, or a green herb which goes without care (ἄνευ κομίδης) (24.244–7), but the same cannot be said for the gardener, who is not to take offence when this is pointed out (24.248). He is old and his clothes are squalid and unseemly (24.249–50). It cannot be for lack of industry that the/his lord does not care for him (οὔ σε κομίζει) (24.251), and there is nothing of the slave about his height and figure: he looks like a king. Such a man ought, when he has bathed and dined, to sleep in a soft bed: that is the privilege of age (24.252–5). Thus Odysseus hints that he can see through the disparity between Laertes' royal person and his wretched clothing and lack of care. However, as if Laertes' servile status could safely be inferred from his outward show, Odysseus 2) patronizes him: but whose slave is he?—and whose orchard is he tending (24.257)? Is this really Ithaca? He was told it was by a man he met, who would not tell the details when the speaker enquired about a guest-friend, if he was

alive, or already dead (24.261–4). The stranger goes on to demand 3) that Laertes pay attention, for once upon a time he entertained a/the man—the dearest guest-friend who ever came to his house. (He echoes Penelope's unwitting declaration to her disguised husband that οὐ…πώ τις…ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν φιλίων ἐμὸν ἵκετο δῶμα (never did anyone…of foreign guest-friends come more welcome to my house) (19.350–1 ≈ 24.267–8).) The details given about this guest-friend evoke the figure of Odysseus: the position at the start of the line (24.266) of ἄνδρα (the man, the guest-friend whom the speaker entertained) replicates the pattern deixis of ἄνδρα (a/the man, i.e. Odysseus) of the first line of the poem.[254] The guest claimed to be from Ithaca, and said his father was Laertes, son of Arceisius. The speaker took him home and entertained him well, waiting on him suitably in his wealthy house, exactly as he earlier told Penelope he had entertained Odysseus (19.194–5 = 24.271–2). He gave him precious guest gifts. (An Odysseus in receipt of lavish gifts from his hosts is familiar to the poet's audience:[255] the seven talents of gold and the silver crater which the speaker gave his guest (24.274–5) also appeared in the list of Maron's gifts to Odysseus **(p.300)** (9.202–3).)[256] The gifts imply that reciprocity is now expected, but also serve to convince Laertes of the speaker's veracity: he will recognize in the tale his son's capacity to charm gifts from his hosts, and know, for example, how his son charmed Autolycus into giving him gifts (19.459–61), and Iphitus into giving him Eurytus' bow (21.11–38). Laertes' emotional reaction, κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβων (shedding a tear) (24.280), marks the success of Odysseus' approach.

3.7.3. The Bait Taken

Laertes disregards the disparagement of his own appearance, concentrating on what the stranger has said about Odysseus. His reply falls into three parts: 1) this is indeed Ithaca, but it is in the grip of arrogant and reckless men. Your hospitality and gifts were given in vain, but they would have been repaid if the guest-friend you are looking for were alive (24.281–6). But tell me truly: 2) how long is it since you entertained this guest-friend, my unfortunate son? (Laertes is sure that his son's body was eaten by fishes at sea, or animals on land. At any rate, his mother never mourned him, nor his father: his wife never keened for him as he lay on the bier) (24.288–96).) And 3) tell me this truly, so that I know: who are you, and where are you from? Where are your ship and your companions? Or did you come as a passenger on a foreign ship, put ashore by seamen who sailed away (24.297–301)?

3.7.4. Mocking Words (24.303–14)

Odysseus answers with the false identity for which he laid the ground in his claim to have entertained Odysseus (24.258–79). He begins with an assertion of veracity (24.303). He is from Alybas, the son of Apheidas, son of Polypemon (or Polypamon) and his name is Eperitus (24.304–6). Odysseus behaves as if he expects his father to decipher what these name analogies reveal about the speaker's identity and circumstances: decoded, the *noms parlants* would make the speaker come from Wander-town (Ἀλύβας, from ἀλαόμαι (wander) or perhaps ἀλύω (be distraught, wander about)). (Odysseus has come to Ithaca from Wandering.) He is the son of Lack-Care, or Don't-go-easy (Ἀφείδας), and both meanings are simultaneously intended with reference to Laertes.[257] **(p.301)** (Odysseus has already twice indicated Laertes' lack of care: αὐτόν σ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει (you lack good care) (24.249); ἄναξ…οὔ σε κομίζει (your/the lord does not care for you) (24.251), and Laertes does not go easy on himself (11.187–96; 24.226–31).) Lack-Care (Ἀφείδας) was the son of Much-Woe

(Πολυπήμων, from πῆμα (misery, woe)), or of Manygoods (Πολυπάμων, from *πά-ομαι (acquire)) (24.305).[258] In the former case, Much-Woe (that is, Laertes' sorrow at the plight of his family) has begotten Laertes in his present state of Lack-Care. The latter case is better supported by the text: Laertes, in his present state of Lack-Care, is descended from his former self, Manygoods. (Laertes had heaped up many possessions (2.102 = 19.147 = 24.137).) The false name which Odysseus gives himself, Man-of-Strife (Ἐπήριτος, from ἐπί + ἐρίζω (strive)[259] (24.306)) fits into the same spectrum of meaning as the etymology of Odysseus from ὀδύσσομαι (be angry with, incur hatred), on which the poem has punned throughout.[260] (Odysseus gave a clue by alluding to his potential for angering his addressee: σὺ δε μὴ χόλον ἔνθεο θυμῷ (do not store up anger in your heart) (24.248).)

There are drawbacks to the alternatives: Chosen, Picked Man (from ἐπάριτος, picked, chosen),[261] son of Unsparing (Ἀφείδας), grandson of Much-Woe or Manygoods, from Silver Town (ἐκ Σαλύβας)[262] is preferable etymologically, but makes two of the names arbitrary in the framework of the narrative as a whole.[263] Mader and Grossardt suggest that the name of the speaker's *father*, Unsparing, may refer to Odysseus' refusal to spare the suitors,[264] but this cannot be right, since *Laertes* had no part in their dispatch (24.376–82). Laertes could, however, be said to be Unsparing of himself:[265] Erbse, who, like Mader, translates Ἀφείδας as 'Sparsam', sees a reference to **(p.302)** Laertes' self-chosen poverty.[266] Laertes' interlocutor was driven off course from Sicania (perhaps Sicily) (24.306–7):[267] the poet's audience may see in this a reference to the suitors' failure to sell Odysseus into slavery in Sicily, as they were proposing only the day before (20.383).[268] His ship is moored away from the city. It is five years since he entertained Odysseus: the omens (a device to add conviction to the story and offer hope to the addressee) were good when they parted, and they hoped to meet again and exchange gifts (24.304–14). In reality, it is the poet's audience, rather than Laertes, who are to decipher these fiendishly difficult name analogies. There is more than one way to interpret them. This is the last of the false tales, and the poet seems to have delighted in making its coded references as perplexing as possible. It is hard not to think of Joyce: 'I've put in so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors arguing for centuries.'[269]

3.7.5. The Trial Abandoned

Laertes is simply too miserable for word games, and he fails to register the good omens: five years seems too long, and thinking his son's death confirmed, he groans and pours ashes over his head, exactly like Achilles mourning at the news of Patroclus' death (*Il.* 18.22–24a = *Od.* 24.315–317a). The poet describes Odysseus' internal reaction, a smarting in the nostrils presaging the tears he can hardly restrain (24.318–19).[270] No one else's grief for him made him react physically like this. Achilles employs κερτομία towards Priam (*Il.* 24.649), but although Priam's appeal is based on the claims of the father, he is not Achilles' real father, and Achilles' sarcasm towards him is not inappropriate: he remains Achilles' enemy. But Odysseus has not been direct with his own father, as he was direct when making himself known to Telemachus (16.187–212). He has assumed that he can have the upper hand over Laertes, but mockery of a father by a son is not appropriate: the father–son relationship requires respect, absolute frankness, and the kind of emotional commitment exemplified in the simile of the birds weeping over their stolen chicks when Telemachus and Odysseus recognize each other (16.216–19). Deeply moved by his father's sorrow, Odysseus is forced to

change his plan: he seizes Laertes and kisses him (as he did Telemachus) (16.190), declaring that he is his long-lost son, come home in the twentieth year. He explains that they need to hurry: he has killed the suitors. But Laertes ignores the suitors to focus on his son: he demands a sign to prove that his interlocutor is really Odysseus. In the supremely important father–son relationship, deception with **(p.303)** riddling analogies will not do, and Odysseus shows his scar, briefly explaining (24.331–5) how he got it (19.393–466),[271] a story he first told his parents on returning from his visit to Autolycus (19.464–6). Then he lists the trees Laertes gave him when he was little and followed his father round the orchard, asking for everything (24.336–44). The para-narrative incident, the last of the poem, takes him back into childhood, and takes Laertes back into his prime. An accurate account of the trees in a garden is a well-known recognition token,[272] but Odysseus' catalogue of the vines and fruit trees Laertes gave him momentarily reduces him to the child tagging along behind his father: by insisting upon intimate details of family history which no one else would know, the para-narrative proves beyond all doubt his relationship and obligation to the derelict old man before him. This is what Laertes has been waiting for.

> When he found Laertes alone on the tidy terrace, hoeing
> Around a vine, disreputable in his gardening duds,
> Patched and grubby, leather gaiters protecting his shins
> Against brambles, gloves as well, and to cap it all,
> Sure sign of his deep depression, a goatskin duncher,
> Odysseus sobbed in the shade of a pear-tree for his father
> So old and pathetic that all he wanted then and there
> Was to kiss and hug him and blurt out the whole story,
> But the whole story is one catalogue and then another,
> So he waited for images from that formal garden,
> Evidence of a childhood spent traipsing after his father
> And asking for everything he saw, the thirteen pear-trees,
> Ten apple-trees, forty fig-trees, the fifty rows of vines
> Ripening at different times for a continuous supply,
> Until Laertes recognised his son and, weak at the knees,
> Dizzy, flung his arms around the neck of great Odysseus
> Who drew the old man fainting to his breast and held him there
> And cradled like driftwood the bones of his dwindling father.

Michael Longley, *Gorse Fires*

(London, 1991)

Notes:

(1) Repath (2005: 254–7).

(2) Hunter (2014: 144) and Sch. T and HQ on 9.12, 9.14 (= Dindorf (1855: ii.405)).

(3) Most (1989b: 131–2); Minchin (2007b: 23–4).

(4) Martin (1992); Lateiner (1995: 188–9); King (1999); Kelly (2008a: 193, 197–8 and n. 61); Alden (2012).

(5) Leaf (ed.) (1900–2: i.418) on *Il.* 9.648.

(6) Cf. *Il.* 6.191–5; *Il.* 14.114–24.

(7) A comparison made also by the narrator (6.101–9).

(8) For the slender, upright leaf bud of the date palm, which shoots high above the open leaves before unfurling, and the association between young shoot and young person (*Il.* 17.53; *Il.* 18.56, 437; *Od.* 14.175), see Harder (1988); Alexiou (2002: 198–202). For the nexus between Artemis, the palm tree, and young girls on the verge of marriage, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1991: 127 n. 33). The palm tree clasped by Leto when she bore Apollo and Artemis was shown in the sanctuary in Delos: *h. Ap.* 117; Head (1911: 485); *IG* XI.2.199 A, line 80; Cicero, *Leg.* 1.2; Ovid, *Her.* 21.101–2; Pliny, *NH* 16.89; Plutarch, *Theseus* 21; *Quaest. Conv.* 724 A; Pausanias 8.48.2–3; Le Roy (1973: 263–86); Burkert (1985: 86 and 381 n. 20); Williams (1978: 19) on Callimachus *h.* 2.4.

(9) On blessing by the guest, see Reece (1993: 29–30, 37–8, 111, 141–2).

(10) Stanford (1947–8: i.313–14) on 6.149ff.; Fenik (1974: 19); Garvie (ed.) (1994: 124) on 6.164–5.

(11) Joyce (1972: 344, 355–6) captures this (im)maculately in Gertie MacDowell's (his Nausicaa) inmost thoughts on catching sight of 'the gentleman in black' (Bloom) sitting on the weed-grown rocks along Sandymount shore as the Men's Temperance recite the litany of Our Lady of Loreto: 'The story of a haunting sorrow was written on his face…The very heart of the girlwoman went out to him, her dreamhusband because she knew on the instant that it was him. If he had suffered, more sinned against than sinning, or even, even, if he had been himself a sinner, a wicked man, she cared not. Even if he was a protestant or a methodist she could convert him easily if he truly loved her. There were wounds that wanted healing with heartbalm…'

(12) Nestor (3.35–66), Menelaus (4.55–6), the Phaeacians (7.175–7), Circe (after unpleasant preliminaries) (10.370–6), Eumaeus (14.45–7), and Telemachus (1.139–43; 17.342–5) offer food spontaneously. For the meal provided to a newly arrived guest, see Arend (1933: 69–72); F. Williams (1986: 396); Reece (1993: 22–5, 62–3, 66–7, 103, 123–4, 148). Requests for food are appropriate only to the persona of a beggar (17.345–7, 350–2, 360–7, 415–18): see Reece (1993: 165–8, 177–8).

(13) For the type scene of assistance from a young person, see Fenik (1974: 31–5); Walcot (2009: 147–8); Reece (1993: 12–13, 146, 168–9, 194–5).

(14) Sch. EPQ on 6.164 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.308)) (= 537 *PMG*).

(15) On the Oinotropoi, see Severyns (ed.) (1928: 309–13); Gantz (1993: 577–8); Tsagalis (2008: 47–62). They appear on Apulian red-figure pottery *c.*340 BC: *LIMC* 7/1: 26–7, 7/2: pl. 20.

([16]) Dionysus > Staphylus > Rhoeo = Apollo > Anius = Dorippe > Oinotropoi: Diodorus Siculus 5.62.1–2; Apollodorus, *Epit*. 3.10; Sch. on Lycophron 570 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: 197–8)).

([17]) *Cypria*, fr. 29 *PEG* i.60. Oino made wine, Spermo grain, and Elaiis oil.

([18]) Ovid, *Met*. 13.652–74: see also Servius on Virgil, *Aen*. 3.80.

([19]) The Oinotropoi sailed with the fleet from Aulis: Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum* 1.23; Apollodorus, *Epit*. 3.10. Anius sent them to the Greeks at Troy in the tenth year of the war: Tzetzes Sch. on Lycophron 581, 583 (= Scheer (ed.) (1958: 200–1)); Sch. EPQ on 6.164 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.308)), with an indication that this story was found in the Κατευχαί of Simonides (537 *PMG*); Callimachus, *Aet*. 188 (Pfeiffer). See Tsagalis (2008: 51–5) for discussion of the rival traditions with further bibliography.

([20]) Garvie (ed.) (1994: 117) on 6.136. The same verb is ambiguous at 6.288: see LSJ[9] B.4 and Henderson (1991: 156).

([21]) Olson (1995: 180–1).

([22]) Fränkel (1977: 70, F14); Friedrich (1981: 121–4); Lonsdale (1990: 17, n. 29).

([23]) At the Pan-Ionian festival which flourished before the threat from Persia: see *h. Ap*. 30–44, 140–64 (and M. L. West (1975b)); Thucydides 3.104; Callimachus, *h*. 4.307–15; Richardson (ed.) (2010: 14 and 102) on *h. Ap*. 140–78.

([24]) Most (1989a); Reece (1993: 119–20); Danek (1998a: 132–4) on 6.162–5.

([25]) As at 3.464–6; 4.48–50; 5.264; 8.449–55; 10.361–5; 17.87–9; 19.317–20; 23.154–5; 24.365–7. Sch. QT on 6.221 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: i.312)) suggests that Odysseus refuses to be bathed because he is a ξένος (stranger) and the maids are παρθένοι (maidens): Stanford (1947–8: i.316) on 6.221 explains Odysseus' shame in terms of his filthy condition.

([26]) See Cairns (1993: 61). Odysseus similarly objects (19.343–5) to the disrespect of Penelope's maids and fears accusations of impropriety when she orders him a wash (19.317) followed by a bath in the morning (19.320): see R. B. Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 177–8) on 19.344–8.

([27]) See Cairns (1993: 125–6).

([28]) Aristophanes, *Lys*. 941. Dicaeopolis instructs a bridesmaid to tell the bride how to oil her husband's penis: Aristophanes, *Ach*. 1056–66: cf. ὑπαλειψαμένοις (oiled up) *Pax* 898 and ἐξάλειπτρον (alabastos, an unguent vessel) *Ach*. 1063: see Henderson (1972: 137 n. 18). Aristophanes, *Pax* 666 and *Lys*. 1184 make erotic puns on κίστη (box) (6.76): see Henderson (1991: 130).

([29]) Hair like the hyacinth flower is Apolline, and the reference to a skilled craftsman (6.232–5 = 23.159–62) suggests a statue χάρισι στίλβων (gleaming with graces) (6.237). The larger-

than-life cult statue of Apollo in Delos made in the sixth century BC held statuettes of the three Graces in its right hand, and a bow in its left: Callimachus, *Aet*. Fr. 114 (Pfeiffer); Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 95; Macrobius, *Sat*. 1.17.3; Pfeiffer (1960: 55–71 with pl. 1); Burkert (1985: 90–1, 384). Odysseus kills all the suitors, as Apollo and Artemis killed all the children of Niobe (*Il*. 24.603–9). The Apolline Odysseus sits apart from Nausicaa (6.236, and cf. 23.164–5), who has been compared to Artemis (6.102–8, 151–2), perhaps in reference to the separate temple built for Apollo on Delos in the second half of the sixth century.

(30) 6.230–5 = 23.157–62, just before Odysseus is recognized by Penelope. In both passages Odysseus is a potential bridegroom: see Besslich (1966: 91). Each is part of a sequence: lion simile (6.130–4; 22.401–6); bath (6.224–37; 23.153–63); artist simile (6.232–5; 23.159–62): see Friedrich (1981: 125–33). On the significant repetition with a twist, see Pucci (1987: 91–2); R. B. Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 56–7).

(31) For the motif of the hungry hero, see Aristophanes, *Pax* 741; Euripides, *Alc*. 747–64; for his being cheated of his dinner, see Aristophanes, *Vesp*. 60. When sexual gratification is interminably delayed, Kinesias complains he is getting a Heracles' supper: Aristophanes, *Lys*. 928.

(32) Compare the lengthy preliminaries to Hera's seduction of Zeus (*Il*. 14.166–345) and see Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–90: iv.168) on *Il*. 14.133–53: Odysseus' encounter with Nausicaa is a similar 'amusing virtuoso performance' by the poet.

(33) ἦ γὰρ δηρὸν ἀπὸ χροός ἐστιν ἀλοιφή (for anointing has been absent from my skin for a long time) (6.220) is echoed by δηρὸν γὰρ ἐδητύος ἦεν ἄπαστος (for he had been abstaining from food for a long time) (6.250).

(34) For his diplomatic divergences from the poet-narrator's version of these events, see Walcot (2009: 137); Kelly (2008a: 179–81).

(35) Most (1989b: 129–33).

(36) Gifts and compliments are customarily given to reward a bard and spur him on to relate more (1.370–1; 8.474–83, 487–98): see Minchin (2007b: 20).

(37) For the motif, see Fenik (1974: 167); Scodel (1998b: 181–2).

(38) For the status of bards, see Schuol (2006); for Odysseus' repeated comparison with them (17.514, 518–21; 21.406–9) see Moulton (1977: 145–52); Kelly (2008a: 178–9). Odysseus can spread his own fame, but takes no pleasure in it: see Murnaghan (1987: 151–5); Thalmann (1984: 170–3). On the difference between bardic and other narratives, see Scodel (1998b: 171–94).

(39) *Contra* Thalmann (1984: 172–3). The affinity between Odysseus the liar and the poet is found in Pindar, *N* 7.20–4: see Hölscher (1988: 220–2); Pratt (1993: 73–81); Carlisle (1999: 76–90); Kelly (2008a).

(40) *Contra* Walsh (1984: 6–14).

(41) His most notable lie for gain is the Οὖτις (No One) trick (9.364–7). He is represented as a deceiver in the embassy to reclaim Helen before the war (*Il.* 3.216–24); in the *Doloneia* (*Il.* 10.314–579); in Helen's story of his spying mission to Troy (4.244–64); in the Trojan Horse trick (4.271–89; 8.493–520): see Haft (1984: 299 n. 32). On positive qualities in a trickster, see Walcot (2009); Pratt (1993: 65–71, 92–3). On lying without compromising integrity in village society, see du Boulay (1974: 77–8, 81–3, 191–3).

(42) 7.244–66: cf. 5.130–6 + 5.149–224, 263–77; 7.267–88: cf. 5.278–493; 7.289–96: cf. 6.110–250: see de Jong (2001: 184–5) on 7.240–97, where Odysseus declares (7.297) that he has told the truth, but according to Todorov (1977: 61) 'Invocation of the truth is a sign of lying.' On the (un)reliability of Odysseus' self-representation to the Phaeacians, see Goldhill (1991: 47–8, 54–6); Doherty (1995a: 157–8); S. Richardson (1996: 396–7 with n. 5). On character-retelling of events narrated by the poet as a way of confirming his truthfulness and authority, see Kelly (2017) (forthcoming, and kindly made available by the author).

(43) The poet, in his third-person narrator's voice, says that the companions perished because they ate the cattle of the Sun (1.6–9); that the Cyclops killed Antiphus, son of Aegyptius (2.17–20); that Odysseus uses a knot learned from Circe (8.448). He summarizes (in the third person) Odysseus' edited account to Penelope of his adventures after leaving Troy (23.310–41). Zeus explains that Poseidon is angry because his son the Cyclops was blinded by Odysseus (1.68–71). Odysseus reminds himself how μῆτις (guile) brought him out of the Cyclops' cave (20.18–21); he reports to Penelope (23.251–3) Tiresias' instructions (11.119–32) to go on a further journey after returning home.

(44) Aristotle, *Po.* 1460a 18–25; Pratt (1993: 63–5); Clay (2002: 78–81).

(45) Like the similarly inventive lies told by Hermes to cover his theft of Apollo's cattle: *h. Merc.* 154–83, 260–77, 368–86. Lying is part of Odysseus' Autolycan heritage: Stanford (1992: 14–24); Clay (1983: 56–60, 68–83).

(46) Athene's instructions (13.308–10) warrant Penelope's exclusion from Odysseus' plans, but he knows his wife is loyal (11.181–3; 13.336–8, 379–81; 18.281–3).

(47) Walcot (2009: 143); S. West (1981: 170–1); Clayton (2004: 55). For charts showing recurrent motifs in the lies, see Haft (1984: 305–6); Alden (1992: 10); de Jong (2001: 596–7); Kelly (2008a: 184–5, Table 7.1).

(48) Hölscher (1988: 214–15).

(49) Odysseus is very keen on testing: 6.126; 8.205, 213; 9.174; 13.336; 14.459; 15.304; 16.305–7; 17.360–3, 413; 18.310–41, 369; 21.187–225, 282; 24.216–18, 221, 238–40.

(50) See Minchin (2001: 32–72); Gainsford (2003a).

(51) See n. 229.

(52) A motif better known from the *Iliad*: see Kakridis (1949: 11–61, 152–64); Schein (1984: 112–13, 126 n. 37, 174); Alden (2000: 179–80, 241–90).

(53) On elaboration of scenes (of hospitality) in crescendo, see Reece (1993: 190–6).

(54) See Kearns (1982); Reece (1993: 165–87, esp. 181–7, 192).

(55) See Clayton (2004: 65–6) and n. 117 below. The raid on Egypt shares elements also with the Laestrygonian episode (10.117–20: with 14.266, cf. 10.118): see A. M. Bowie (ed.) (2013: 201–2) on 14.258–72, and the Thrinacian episode: see Tsagalis (2012: 332–5).

(56) Suerbaum (1968: 174); Hölscher (1988: 215–17); E. L. Bowie (1993: 10); Reece (1994); Doherty (1995a: 157–8); Danek (1998a: 285–6) on 14.199–359. For alternatives, options, and rival traditions, see Malkin (1998: 120–55); Marks (2008: 83–111).

(57) For the opposite view, that the *apologos* is traditional, and the lies improvised, see Clayton (2004: 60–2).

(58) Alcinous expects Odysseus to have seen cities (8.572–6), and there are traces of versions in which he did (1.3; 15.491–2; 16.63–4; 19.170) or will (23.248–50, 267–8).

(59) Most (1989b: 131–2); Pratt (1993: 81–5); Minchin (2007a: 269–72 with n. 84), (2007b: 23–4).

(60) Cf. lines 14–26 of the ballad of the Return of the Long-Absent Husband cited by Kakridis (1971: 151–63). For obligation to the host incurred by accepting hospitality, see Reece (1993: 27); Foley (1999: 152–3).

(61) 13.256–86; 14.199–359; 19.165–202.

(62) Cf. 9.37–9, 259–66; 10.14–15; 11.167–9, 508–37, 543–65; 13.262–6; 14.235–42, 468–502.

(63) On contiguity, progression, mirroring, doubling, and omission in the lies, see Kelly (2008a).

(64) Pucci (1987: 192–3) explains the similarity between Hesiod, *Th*. 27 and 19.203 as quotation of one poem by the other, but ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα (plausible: see M. L. West (ed.) (1966: 163) on Hesiod, *Th*. 27) is probably a traditional phrase, since it is found also in Theognis 713: οὐδ’ εἰ ψεύδεα μὲν ποιοῖς ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα (not even if you were to make falsehoods like truth). Persuasive falsehoods associate Odysseus with the art of the poet: R. B. Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 165–6) on 19.203. See also Redfield (1973: 148–50); Thalmann (1984: 146–9).

(65) Hölscher (1988: 210–34, esp. 210–15).

(66) Clayton (2004: 56–9).

(67) 6.120–1 = 9.175–6 = 13.201–2.

(68) See n. 13.

(69) The sons of kings often serve as shepherds: Sch. V on 13.223 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.569)). However, Athene's disguise of shepherd prince also anticipates Odysseus' meetings with Eumaeus and Telemachus: see A. M. Bowie (ed.) (2013: 6–7).

(70) Cf. *h. Hom.* 7.1–6; *h. Ap.* 448–50. For the deception on both sides, see Fenik (1974: 35–40).

(71) Eustathius 1740.14 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.47)).

(72) Grossardt (1998: 49).

(73) Sch. Q on 13.262, Sch. D on 13.267 (= Dindorf (1855: ii.370, 371)); Eustathius 1741.33–5 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.49)); Clay (1983: 195–6), followed by Danek (1998a: 269) on 13.248–9.

(74) Treatments include Eustathius 1740.54–1741.49 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.48–9)); Woolsey (1941: 173–5); Trahman (1952: 31–43); Erbse (1972: 154–5); Walcot (2009); Maronitis (2004: 147–63); Clay (1983: 193–204); A. T. Edwards (1985: 32–3); Most (1989b, esp. 131–3); Pratt (1993: 90, 92); Grossardt (1998: 49–62); de Jong (2001: 326–8, 596–7). On lies for sheer concealment in a village context, see du Boulay (1974: 197–200).

(75) Grossardt (1998: 54–5). The line is used also of Achilles (*Il.* 24.8).

(76) Clay (1983: 190). The term 'second proem' is sometimes used for 5.105–11: see Gainsford (2003b: 6–11).

(77) Sch. V on 14.199 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.588)).

(78) 3B1.DK. See Clay (1983: 197 n. 22).

(79) So Sch. V on 13.267 (= Dindorf (1855: ii.571)); Eustathius 1741.33–4 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.49)); Meuli (1975: 615–16); Trahman (1952: 36): *contra* Grossardt (1998: 53 with n. 212).

(80) Homicide is a standard reason for exile: 15.272–3; 23.118–20; *Il.* 2.661–3; *Il.* 13.695–7; *Il.* 15.431–2; *Il.* 16.570–4; *Il.* 23.85–8. See Fenik (1974: 169 with n. 66); A. M. Bowie (ed.) (2013: 141) on 13.259. For comparison of this passage with the homicide Theoclymenos' exile, see Reece (1994: 163–4); Malkin (1998: 124 with n. 17).

(81) Idomeneus was a friend of Odysseus, and it is sometimes thought that the claim to have killed his son should find favour with the suitors: Sch. V on 13.267 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.571)); Eustathius 1741.28–33 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.49)); Meuli (1975: 615); Trahman (1952: 36), but since the suitors never speak of their friendship, there is no internal evidence for this view: Grossardt (1998: 53–4 with n. 214).

([82]) Eustathius 1741.33–40 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.49)).

([83]) Clayton (2004: 62–4).

([84]) Grossardt (1998: 55–9).

([85]) The suitors are not explicitly referred to as swift, but Grossardt (1998: 59 n. 235) infers it from 1.164.

([86]) The theme of ambush in the lies anticipates the ambush of the suitors: A. T. Edwards (1985: 32–7); Grossardt (1998: 80–2).

([87]) Andersen (1977); Clay (1983: 197); Haft (1984: 303); A. T. Edwards (1985: 19, 31–41); Dué and Ebbott (2010: esp. 62–3, 70–9, 106–19, 260–1, 283, 289, 297–9, 321); Kelly (2015: 322–4).

([88]) Grossardt (1998: 60 n. 242) indicates the discrepancies in the parallel drawn by Walcot (2009: 144–6) with *Il.* 4.391–8, where the owners of the *noms parlants*, Polyphontes and Maion, ambush Tydeus, whereas here Orsilochus, Rouser of Ambush, is himself the victim of ambush.

([89]) Grossardt (1998: 59–63).

([90]) See Chapter 2 n. 46.

([91]) 2.246–51; 22.216.

([92]) See Chapter 4 n. 95.

([93]) See Minchin (2007b, esp. 23–4).

([94]) On lies told out of mischief, see Stanford (1992: 19–20); du Boulay (1974: 191, 198); Clay (1983: 197–8). On Athene's delight in the fiction, see Pratt (1993: 72–3).

([95]) Levine (1982b: 101–2); Lateiner (1995: 83–4).

([96]) σχέτλιε (13.293) is used of those who display insupportable obstinacy: see Vanséveren (1998); Kelly (2007a: 309).

([97]) Scodel (1998b: 172) argues that her compliment undercuts Alcinous' protest that the Phaeacians did not think Odysseus ἐπίκλοπος (a sly fox) (11.364). Perhaps that was their mistake, and we are to admire artful speeches here.

([98]) Scodel (2002a: 155–60).

([99]) See Reece (1993: 145–64). For comparison of Eumaeus and Alcinous as hosts and audiences of Odysseus' tales, see Louden (1999: 50–68).

(100) See Kearns (1982); Murnaghan (1987: 11–14); Reece (1993: 146, 200, 204–5); Olson (1995: 218–23).

(101) Eumaeus enjoys reciprocal tales of woe: cf. 15.398–401; 17.515–21.

(102) 'I would not call him Odysseus, because that is what a stranger would do, nor δεσπότης (master), because he was not that to me. So I call him ἠθεῖος (Sir) because of his brotherly kindness': Eustathius 1754.52–5 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.66)). On Eumaeus' reluctance to use Odysseus' ill-omened (see Louden (1995: 34–7)) name, or anxiety that he has named him, see Austin (2009: 101–2); Fenik (1974: 28–30); Dimock (1989: 194); Clay (1983: 25–9); Olson (1995: 127–8); Danek (1998a: 281) on 14.138–47.

(103) On *lycabas*, see Chapter 6, §3.1. On the overlap between the Cretan in this lie and Theoclymenos, who also swears that Odysseus is coming home (17.152–61), see Reece (1994: 162–4).

(104) As suggested by *Il.* 9.344, 375: see Thornton (1978: 4); Taplin (1992: 69–71); E. L. Bowie (1993: 2); Griffin (ed.) (1995: 111) on *Il.* 9.312 and 312–13.

(105) The audience's approval of Eumaeus is encouraged by the poet's repeated apostrophe: 14.55, 165, 360, 442, 507: S. Richardson (1990: 170–4); Louden (1999: 62–5); M. Schmidt (2006: 126 n. 46 and 134).

(106) See Ahl and Roisman (1996: 170–2).

(107) See Trahman (1952: 38–40); Fenik (1974: 167–71); Doherty (1995a: 148–60); Olson (1995: 129–31); Grossardt (1998: 92–116); Minchin (2001: 209–13).

(108) Cf. 4.595; 9.2–11; 15.398–400.

(109) 14.273, 283, 300–12, 348–9, 357–8.

(110) On the Iliadic hero (based on Meriones), see Shewan (1911: 169); Haft (1984); Clay (1983: 84–8); King (1999); Tsagalis (2012: 325–6 n. 58). For the Cretan compared with the Odysseus of Attic tragedy, see Doherty (1995a: 150).

(111) Or a pun on καστόριαι κύνες, a breed of dogs (Xenophon, *Cyn.* 3.1): see Hoekstra in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: ii.207) on 14.204.

(112) For parallels between the Cretan and Eumaeus, see Grossardt (1998: 71–3).

(113) Olson (1995: 130 n. 25). The 'Cretan' later talks of working for the suitors (15.307–19).

(114) *Cypria* Argumentum 30–3 (= *PEG* i.40).

(115) On the exotic location, see Hölscher (1988: 215–17); Lane Fox (2008: 338–45). The raid may be compared and contrasted with the mission with the oar which Odysseus was to

undertake immediately after his revenge on the suitors (11.121–31): Grossardt (1998: 97–103); Walcot (2009: 148); Olson (1995: 130 n. 26).

([116]) For feasting before a harrowing adventure, cf. 9.85–6, 161–5; 10.182–4, 475–9 (missing from most manuscripts, and suspected by modern critics); 12.29–30.

([117]) See Meuli (1975: 615); Schwartz (1924: 69); Fenik (1974: 159–60, 168); Walcot (2009: 146–9); Emlyn-Jones (1986: 5–7); Fisher (1992: 157–8); Danek (1998a: 216–20, 269, 285–6) on 11.1–640; 13.256–8; 14.199–359; Grossardt (1998: 103–4). Olson (1995: 130–1) links the men's hybris in the Egyptian raid to that of the suitors.

([118]) A fairytale island in the west: Ameis and Hentze (eds) (1893–5: ii.86 on 15.403); Sicily: M. L. West (2014: 84 n. 40). For a setting in the east, perhaps Syria, see Lorimer (1950: 80–3); Hoekstra in Heubeck et al. (eds) (1988–92: ii.257) on 15.403.

([119]) King (1999: 76–7).

([120]) Dimock (1989: 189–98).

([121]) See Fenik (1974: 170–1).

([122]) Menelaus collected for seven years in Egypt (3.305–12; 4.81–5, 125–32, 227–32): he offers to take Telemachus collecting (15.80–5). After the loss of his Trojan booty, Odysseus spends seven years with Calypso before collecting gifts from the Phaeacians (8.387–420; 11.336–41, 351, 356–9; 13.10–19, 120–1, 215–19). The Cretan claims to have seen the gifts Odysseus collected from the Thesprotians (14.323–6; 19.272–3).

([123]) Ψεύδεα βουλεύσας (after he deceitfully plotted (Matthiessen, *LfgrE* s.v. βουλεύω 2b)) (14.296), a nice touch in a lying tale: Grossardt (1998: 71 n. 289).

([124]) 14.301–4 ≈ 12.403–6, and 14.305–9 ≈ 12.415–19. With 12.422–5, 447 cf. 14.310–13, 314: see Redfield (1973: 149–50); Fenik (1974: 168–9); Danek (1998a: 285–6) on 14.199–359; Grossardt (1998: 105–6 with n. 410).

([125]) Grossardt (1998: 70–3); Clayton (2004: 67); Kelly (2008a: 187).

([126]) The wicked Phoenician drowned: the Phoenician nurse who abducted Eumaeus died suddenly at sea, and was thrown overboard (15.478–81).

([127]) See n. 13.

([128]) He will be like a brother to Telemachus (i.e. like a son to Odysseus) (21.215–16). For conceptual appropriation of slaves into the master's family, see Thalmann (1998: 57–60, 96–100); M. Schmidt (2006: 124–5); M. L. West (2014: 237).

([129]) There must have been alternative versions of Odysseus' return, in which he arrived in Ithaca from Thesprotia: see Malkin (1998: 126–34); Danek (1998a: 215–20); Marks (2003), (2008: 97–92).

(130) Consultation at Dodona echoes the consultation of Tiresias in the *apologos*, and Menelaus' consultation of Proteus.

(131) For the opposite view (which I think mistaken), see Ahl and Roisman (1996: 173–81, esp. 176).

(132) On the irony, see Doherty (1995a: 149–50); Zerba (2009: 305–6).

(133) 1.238–41 = 14.368–71.

(134) This is a pose to add point to his story: he was very keen to question Odysseus (14.185–90).

(135) See Ahl and Roisman (1996: 176).

(136) See n. 80.

(137) See Chapter 2, n. 15.

(138) See S. West (1981: 171), (2012: 125). See also this chapter, §3.6.1; Chapter 2, §4.2 with n. 28; and Chapter 2, §9.1.

(139) On the lateness of the season, see Austin (1975: 243–5).

(140) A. M. Bowie (ed.) (2013: 212) takes 14.385 to refer to Odysseus' companions, but see Marks (2008: 90–2) on military repatriation of the hero at the head of a foreign army, as in the Theban saga or the career of the Pisistratids in historical Athens.

(141) Goldhill (1991: 42); Minchin (2001: 212–16).

(142) See A. T. Edwards (1985: 33–4); Olson (1995: 131–3).

(143) The scholiasts criticized the line's appearance in the *Odyssey*: Sch. A on *Il.* 2.56 (= Erbse (ed.) (1969–88: i.95)) and Sch. H on 14.495 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.599)).

(144) Thompson (1955–8) K.1811; K.1812; Q.451.2; Ovid, *Met.* 8.618–724; Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*; Kearns (1982); Murnaghan (1987: 11–14); Reece (1993: 47, 146, 182–4, 205); Olson (1995: 217–23).

(145) Thoas' bravery and reliability are exemplified at *Il.* 4.529–35; *Il.* 7.168–9; *Il.* 13.228–9; *Il.* 15.281–4: see Newton (1997–8: 152).

(146) See Oehler (1925: 22–3); Walcot (2009: 149–50); Andersen (1982); Thalmann (1984: 172); Brennan (1987); Murnaghan (1987: 108–10); Goldhill (1991: 41–2); de Jong (2001: 360–1) on 14.468–503, 508–17, 520–2; Scodel (2002a: 80); Minchin (2001: 209–16), (2007a: 217); Marks (2003: 214–16).

(147) Cf. *Il.* 10.465–7, where δόνακας (reeds) are mentioned. For comparison of the two ambushes, see Dué and Ebbott (2010: 76, 250, 349–50).

([148]) Muellner (1976: 96–7 with n. 43) sees a reference to the *Doloneia*, where Odysseus puts on no cloak (*Il.* 10.148–9, 260–71), but returns with Dolon's wolf pelt (*Il.* 10.459–66, 528–9).

([149]) Cf. *Il.* 10.252–3.

([150]) He was wearing a tunic (14.489), so he had more on than the waist cloth which is all Newton (1997–8: 149) allows him.

([151]) Odysseus' conversation with his externalized barking κραδίη (heart) (20.13–24) is comparable.

([152]) Appropriately, Μενέ-λαος stays with his people: see Grossardt (1998: 81 with n. 326).

([153]) It was φοινικόεσσαν—dyed with the most expensive purple dye from sea snails: see Burke (1999).

([154]) 14.503–6, which baldly state the request so carefully implied in the story, were rightly condemned by the Alexandrians: Sch. H on 14.503 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.600)).

([155]) See Lowe (2000: 145–7 with fig. 1); Andersen (1982: 18); Grossardt (1998: 77–8).

([156]) De Jong (2001: 360) on 14.468–503.

([157]) Newton (1997–8: 147–53). (Distinguished poets dropped their shields and saved their lives: Archilochus 5 *IEG*; Alcaeus 428 LP (and Herodotus 5.94–5; Strabo 13.1.38); Anacreon 381b *PMG*; Horace, *Car*. 2.7.9–10.) Running to the ships is commonplace for flight from battle in the *Iliad*: *Il.* 2.142–54; *Il.* 8.149; *Il.* 12.38; *Il.* 15.343–5, 390–407.

([158]) On αἶνος as a story with no claim to literal truth, see Verdenius (1962); E. L. Bowie (1993: 3). For αἶνος as praise of a patron, see Nagy (1999: 235–41).

([159]) Newton (1997–8: 153) is mistaken in thinking that Odysseus 'has told a perfectly good story and received nothing in exchange'.

([160]) Given that Eumaeus is not planning to go to sleep, J. G.-J. Abbenes *LfrgE* is surely mistaken in explaining νάκην (14.530) as an 'Unterlage zum Schlafen' (underlay for sleeping on). For animal skins as shields, see Pausanias 4.11.3 (νάκας), and Newton (1997–8: 149 with n. 16). They were perhaps stretched on a frame, like those carried by the fighters in front of the bucolic scene of the Theran ship fresco (Doumas (1992: 47–8 with pls 26, 28–9)), and on the silver siege rhyton from Shaft Grave IV (Karo (1930–3: no. 481); Leaf (ed.) (1900–2: i.572 fig. 10)). Eumaeus' goatskin νάκη may be much the same as the long λαισήϊα of untanned hide with the hair still on: Sch. bT on *Il.* 5.453 (= Erbse (1969–88: ii.69)); Sch. A on *Il.* 12.426 (= Erbse (1969–88: ii.69)); *LfrgE* s.v. λαισήϊον. Of the Cilicians in Xerxes' army, Herodotus 7.91 says λαισήϊα τε εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα (they carried rawhide screens instead of shields): see also Hybrias of Crete (909 *PMG*). For discussion, see Leaf (ed.) (1900–2: i.583); Lorimer (1950: 194–6); Buchholz et al. (eds) (1977: E52–3).

([161]) As he was when Eumaeus received him kindly (14.51–2).

([162]) For the view that Eumaeus fails the test (by putting onto Telemachus the primary responsibility to provide for the stranger on his return (14.512–17), see Ahl and Roisman (1996: 179–81). But 14.515–17 = 15.337–9, and are omitted from many manuscripts. I think Ahl and Roisman pay insufficient attention to Thoas' role as dupe when he throws off his cloak.

([163]) Doherty (1995a: 148, 151–2); Olson (1995: 135–7).

([164]) Minchin (1992: 259–66).

([165]) Eumaeus' situation illustrates the reversals and arbitrariness of fate: Thalmann (1998: 97–100, 288–9 with n. 40); M. Schmidt (2006: 130–3).

([166]) Scodel (2002a: 159).

([167]) προικὸς γεύσασθαι (17.413) means 'to make trial of [the Greeks] with impunity' rather than 'to taste with impunity': see Steiner (ed.) (2010: 130) *ad loc.*

([168]) On this lie as poetic performance, see Clayton (2004: 69–70).

([169]) See Emlyn-Jones (1986: 7–8); Goldhill (1991: 43–4).

([170]) The detail that he went of his own volition ἅμα ληϊστῆρσι πολυπλάγκτοισιν (with roving pirates) (17.425), i.e. with feared wrongdoers, prejudices the speaker's claim to sympathy.

([171]) On the risk Antinous takes in striking the beggar, see Olson (1995: 218).

([172]) On τις speeches (a) in the *Iliad* (Hector, *Il.* 6.459–61, 479; *Il.* 7.87–91; *Il.* 22.106–7; Agamemnon, *Il.* 4.174–82; Glaucus, *Il.* 12.317–21; Menelaus, *Il.* 23.575–8), see de Jong (1987: 76–9); Mackie (1996: 98–9); Beck (2008: 168–70); Graziosi and Haubold (eds) (2010: 209, 218) on *Il.* 6.454–63 and *Il.* 6.479; (b) in the *Odyssey* (Nausicaa, 6.275–84*; Odysseus (of his crew), 10.37–45; Eurymachus, 21.324–9*; Odysseus, 23.135), see de Jong (2001: 166–7) on 6.275–85, but she lists only those marked *.

([173]) οὐλόμεν' is either a vocative (Accursed) addressed to Antinous, or more probably a neuter plural answering καλ' (good things) in the previous line: see Steiner (ed.) (2010: 140) on 17.484.

([174]) See Grossardt (1998: 129).

([175]) Martin (1992: 21). Foley (1990: 259–61) analyses the lie as an untypical speech of thanks.

([176]) Vernünftig, sich gut benehmend (sensible, well-behaved): *LfgrE* s.v. ἐπητής. Athene approves of Odysseus because he is ἐπητής (13.331, and see this chapter, §3.1.3). Grossardt (1998: 129–30) contrasts Odysseus' comment on Antinous: βασιλῆι ἔοικας (you seem like a king) (17.416).

(177) Hesiod, *WD* 27, 107, 213, 274; Theognis 19–30. See Griffith (1983); Martin (1992); Fisher (1992: 159–60).

(178) Martin (1992: 27).

(179) Cf. *Il.* 17.446. 18.131, missing in most manuscripts, is probably interpolated from *Il.* 17.447.

(180) See Rutherford (2009: 175–6); Grossardt (1998: 130–1).

(181) See Fenik (1974: 224–5); Clay (1983: 227–9); Steiner (ed.) (2010: 177) on 18.139. Theognis 31–8 advises against bad company.

(182) For the three persons: speaker (I), addressee (you), and audience (or contrasting group) (they), see Griffith (1983).

(183) τῷ μή τίς...εἶη: a gentle or deferential imperative: Munro (1891: 271, §299).

(184) 2.235–6; 16.384–5; 17.456–7.

(185) Cf. *Il.* 9.400.

(186) Cf. 22.35–40. See Table 4 and Fisher (1992: 172–5).

(187) Cf. 24.532: see Grossardt (1998: 132).

(188) Odysseus is not aware that Athene intends to destroy *all* the suitors (17.360–4): see Doherty (1991b: 40); Olson (1995: 146–7 with n. 14).

(189) Melantho's abuse motivates Odysseus' reluctance to be washed by one of the younger women: Büchner (1931: 132); Köhnken (2009: 46); Olson (1995: 154 n. 32).

(190) On protest questions and counter-questions, see Minchin (2007a: 83, 137–9).

(191) For analysis, see Fenik (1974: 176–9); Felson-Rubin (1994: 55–6). Odysseus is telling the truth as part of a larger deception, in the interests of testing Penelope and the maids by disturbing them (ἐρεθίζω) (19.45): see Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.78–9) on 19.75–9.

(192) Grossardt (1998: 148).

(193) Odysseus enjoys the irony of dropping hints about his possible return: see Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.79) on 19.84.

(194) See Fenik (1974: 176); Doherty (1995a: 152 n. 53).

(195) See Grossardt (1998: 149 n. 536).

(196) Cf. 19.154, and see Redfield (1994: 194–5); Franco (2014: 99–101).

(197) 19.105 = 1.170 = 10.325 = 14.187 = 15.264 = 24.298.

(198) Theoclymenos is the only other person to address her in this way (17.152).

(199) A counter-question is usually asked of someone of equal or inferior status: Minchin (2007a: 134–5), (2007b: 28–9).

(200) See Chapter 2, §6 with n. 63.

(201) Cf. *Il.* 2.645–52: see Clay (1983: 86–9, 196–7); Haft (1984: 293–302).

(202) He began by defying and killing a son of Idomeneus (13.259–66). Then he was the son by a concubine of a wealthy Cretan, and went to Troy with Idomeneus as his equal (14.200–6, 237–9). Now he is Idomeneus' brother.

(203) Likewise, he spoke for eighteen lines before telling the Phaeacians his real name (9.19), there, as here, pointing out its fame. He gives himself a name in only one other lie, that to Laertes, where Ἐπήριτος (Man of Strife) is, like Αἴθων, a *nom parlant*. See this chapter, §3.7.4.

(204) Ventris and Chadwick (1956: 415).

(205) Edgeworth (1983: 33–40). Used of iron: *Il.* 4.485; *Il.* 7.473; *Il.* 9.123, 265; *Il.* 19.244; *Il.* 20.372; *Il.* 24.233; *Od.* 1.184; *h. Merc.* 180; oxen: *Il.* 16.487–8; *Od.* 18.372; lions: *Il.* 10.24, 178; *Il.* 11.548. Levaniouk (2000) favours 'fiery' and associates the term with the γαστήρ (belly) (15.344) which forces Odysseus to beg because he is hungry: Αἴθων is another name for the hungry Erysichthon: Hesiod, *Cat.* fr. 43a MW: see also McKay (1959).

(206) See Janko in Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: 303–4) on *Il.* 15.690–2.

(207) Cf. *Il.* 2.460–3. See Grossardt (1998: 153–5), and the version by Longley (2014: 21).

(208) For the dangers of Cape Malea, see Chapter 2 n. 28.

(209) See Danek (1998a: 364–5) on 19.172–202.

(210) See n. 60.

(211) See Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 166) on 19.205–7.

(212) For such recognition tokens, see Kakridis (1971: 151–3); Emlyn-Jones (2009: 217–19); Murnaghan (1987: 51–2).

(213) Cf. the simile of the vengeful lion robbed of his cubs (*Il.* 18.316–23): see Macleod (1982: 50 with n. 3). For another view of the brooch, see Felson-Rubin (1994: 58).

(214) Aristotle, *Po.* 1460a 18–26.

(215) Walcot (2009: 151).

([216]) The poem puns repeatedly on Odysseus' name: 1.62; 5.339–40, 423; 19.275–6: see Stanford (1952); Dimock (1963); Austin (2009); Peradotto (1990: 120–57); Goldhill (1991: 26): see Chapter 6, §2.1 with n. 65.

([217]) Stanford (1947–8: ii.328) on 19.270. See also Meuli (1975: 614); Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.90–1) on 19.271–87; R. B. Rutherford (ed.) (1992: 174) on 19.278–82; Griffin (1980: 64); Grossardt (1998: 162–3).

([218]) See Russo in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.92–3) on 19.306–7, and Chapter 6, §3.1.

([219]) For her motivation, see Katz (1991: 93–113, 116–20) with bibliography. See also Chapter 4, §3.3.6. The narrative requires Odysseus to obtain a weapon somehow.

([220]) On the reasons for the two parts of Penelope's recognition of her husband, see Kelly (2012) with bibliography. On the bed's significance, see Murnaghan (1987: 140–1); Minchin (2007b: 23).

([221]) See Kelly (2017, forthcoming).

([222]) See Pucci (1996b: 16–20).

([223]) Sch. MV Vind. 133; Sch. HMQ on 23.296 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.722)); also Eustathius 1948.49–51 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.308)).

([224]) Page (1955: 101–36); Kirk (1962: 204–8); Merkelbach (1969: 142–55); S. West (1989): *contra* Kelly (2007b: esp. 384–7, with bibliography).

([225]) Above all, Erbse (1972: 166–77), but see also Lord (1960: 177–85); Moulton (1974); Wender (1978); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.342–5) on 23.297; Foley (1999: 157–67). Sch. QV on 23.310–43 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.723)) objects to Aristarchus' athetesis of the summary.

([226]) Kelly (2007b).

([227]) Alden (2000: 251–3, 262–90).

([228]) 1.188–93 (and see de Jong (2001: 27) *ad loc.*); 2.96–102 = 19.141–7 = 24.131–7; 4.110–12, 735–54; 11.187–96; 15.353–7; 16.137–45; 22.184–6 (and see de Jong (2001: 532) *ad loc.*). The scene with Laertes forms the climax of the recognition scenes: Eustathius 1948.58–9 (= Stallbaum (ed. (1970a: ii.308)).

([229]) See Lord (1960: 177–82, 252–6), (1991: 240–1); Danek (1998a: 489–91); Foley (1999: 162–5); W. Hansen (2002: 201–11, esp. 206).

([230]) Argos is also 'the dog at the door': see Franco (2014: 42–5, 202 nn.104–6).

([231]) Goldhill (1991: 18–22). The *Iliad* has no comparable example of three generations from the same family taking the field at once. Like Laertes, Iolaus gets his wish to be rejuvenated:

Euripides, *Heracl.* 680–747, 849–63.

([232]) Lord (1960: 177–83); S. West (1989: 127); Danek (1998a: 490).

([233]) Treatments of this point are reviewed by Grossardt (1998: 180–97): see Danek (1998a: 487–92) on 24.205–412 for analysis.

([234]) Sch. Q on 24.240 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.730). For the view that the dog hung on just to see his master again, see S. West (1989: 140 n. 68).

([235]) Aristotle, fr. 177 Rose; Sch. Vd. on 17.329 (= Schrader (ed.) (1890: 124)).

([236]) Eustathius 1959.26–9 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.320)): see also Richardson (1984: 227–9), with Shakespearean parallels.

([237]) See, e.g. Page (1955: 112); Kakridis (1971: 160–1); S. West (1989: 125).

([238]) Stanford (1992: 60–2): see also Olson (1995: 161–83).

([239]) Wender (1978: 56–62); R. B. Rutherford (1985: 161–2); Hölscher (1988: 221); de Jong (2001: 576) on 216–349; M. L. West (2014: 301 with n. 248).

([240]) Lord (1960: 177–82); Grossardt (1998: 182–5); Foley (1999: 162–4); Gainsford (2003a: 48).

([241]) Focke (1943: 378); Fenik (1974: 47–50); Richardson (1984: 229); Hölscher (1988: 214); S. West (1989: 125).

([242]) See Heubeck (1981: 77–8); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (eds) (1988–92: iii.284) on 24.216–18.

([243]) On one slave named Dolius, rather than the two or three suggested by, e.g. Page (1955: 109); Erbse (1972: 238–9), see Stanford (1947–8: ii.420) on 24.222; Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (1988–92: iii.385) on 24.222; S. West (1989: 125), (2007: 5).

([244]) See Danek (1998a: 492–3) on 24.222–31.

([245]) On the obligation of a son to care for his father in old age after the transfer of the property, see Redfield (1994: 111–12).

([246]) Thornton (1970: 116). For the πεῖρα motif, see Heubeck (1981); Kelly (2014, esp. 37–8 with n. 28).

([247]) http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/id/eprint 1810. Scholia D in Iliadem secundum codices manu scriptos, ed. H. van Thiel (2000: 166).

([248]) *LfgrE* 1391.

([249]) See Lloyd (2004).

(250) Sch. bT on *Il.* 4.6 (= Erbse (1969–88: i.445)); Apollonius Rhodius 2.60, 448; 3.107, 1078: see Leaf (ed.) (1900–2: i.155) on *Il.* 4.6; Hunter (1988: 445–7); Hunter (ed.) (1989: 108) on Apollonius Rhodius 3.107.

(251) See Thornton (1970: 115–19); Heubeck (1981); Hooker (1986: 35); Murnaghan (1987: 26–33); Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (eds) (1988–92: iii.396–7) on 24.315–17.

(252) See Fenik (1974: 35–40); Alden (2000: 114–22).

(253) Erbse (1972: 100–9); Hölscher (1988: 241–2); Danek (1998a: 493–5) on 24.240ff.; Grossardt (1998: 194–7).

(254) Also of 13.89: see Kahane (1994: 58–62, with 147 Table II A).

(255) Pucci (1996b: 13); Henderson (1997: 96–7); Sammons (2010: 104–5).

(256) We should probably omit the dozen single cloaks, rugs, gowns, and shirts (24.276–7) repeated from Priam's ransom for Hector (*Il.* 24.230–1): see Von der Mühll (ed.) (1993: 447); S. West (1989: 141 n. 79). The four handsome craftswomen his guest coveted remind us of the craftswomen offered by Agamemnon to Achilles (24.278b = *Il.* 9.128b).

(257) See LSJ9 ἀφείδεω II. The meaning of Ἀφειδας is uncertain: Mader (*LfgrE* i.1701) gives several possibilities: (a) der nicht schonte (who did not treat with care, did not take it easy) (not attested before Sophocles, *Ant.* 414); b) Sparsamer, Sohn des Besitzreichen, in Anspielung auf den in freiwilliger Armut lebenden Vater (as Erbse (1972: 101)), doch wäre α-intens. kaum verstanden worden (Sparing, son of Manygoods, in allusion to his father living in self-chosen poverty, but α- intens. would hardly be understood); (c) der nicht sparen muß (as Wackernagel (1970: 250), der Freigebige (who must not stint…Generous) (not attested before Sophocles, *El.* 980).

(258) von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884: 70 n. 1); Leaf (ed.) (1900–2: i.184–5) on *Il.* 4.433: ὥς τ᾽ ὄϊες πολυπάμονος ἀνδρος ἐν αὐλῆι (like sheep in the yard of a very wealthy man).

(259) Eustathius 1962.2–21 (= Stallbaum (ed.) (1970a: ii.324)). See also Clay (1983: 61).

(260) See n. 216, and Mader *LfgrE* ii.632 s.v. ᾽Επήριτος 2.

(261) See Xenophon, *HG* 7.33–6; ᾽Επάριτοι in LSJ9; Wackernagel (1970: 250); Stanford (ed.) (1947–8: ii.423) on 24.304–5; Mader *LfgrE* ii.631–2 s.v. ᾽Επήριτος 1; Heubeck in Heubeck et al. (eds) (1988–92: iii.305) on 24.304–6; Grossardt (1998: 196–7).

(262) Cf. ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη (from Alybes, home of silver) (*Il.* 2.857). Strabo 12.3.20 considers a possible change of name from Chalybe, Chalybes, to Alybe, Alybes (or *vice versa*), connecting Alybe with Chalybe and its famous miners of iron in north-eastern Asia Minor. Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F203 located the Chalybes in Pontus, east of Sinope, around the river Thermodon. Herodotus 1.28 placed them west of the river Halys. Willcock (1978–84: i.215) on *Il.* 2.857, Kirk (ed.) (1985–93: 259) on *Il.* 2.856–7, and Buchholz (1999: 264)

connect Chalybe with the Halys river and the Hittites, major suppliers of silver to the Greek world: see *Gesamtkommentar* ii./2: 281 on *Il.* 2.857.

(263) See Peradotto (1990: 144).

(264) Mader *LfgrE* i.1701 s.v. Ἀφεῖδας 1; Grossardt (1998: 196).

(265) Danek (1998a: 494).

(266) Erbse (1972: 101); Mader *LfgrE* i.1701.

(267) Herodotus 7.170; Thucydides 6.2.2, 6.2.5; Erbse (1972: 213).

(268) Grossardt (1998: 181–2 n. 630).

(269) Cited by Ellmann (1982: 521).

(270) So Sch. V on 24.319 (= Dindorf (ed.) (1855: ii.731)).

(271) With 24.332–5 cf. 19.393–5.

(272) In the Greek ballad cited by Kakridis (see n. 60), the returning husband (when he has abandoned his false persona) must prove his identity to his wife. He lists the trees in the courtyard, then the silver lamp in the bedroom, but she remains unconvinced: only when he describes intimate marks on her body does she accept him as her husband. These traditional tokens of recognition are differently arranged in the *Odyssey*, where there are multiple recognitions: the identifying mark (the scar) appears on the husband's body, and is recognized by Eurycleia (19.393 = 23.74), Eumaeus and Philoitius (21.221), and Laertes (24.331); Penelope requires Odysseus to describe their immoveable bed (23.183–204) (the furniture of the bedroom, like the lamp etc. in the ballad); last of all, Odysseus lists the trees in the garden to his father (24.336–44).

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Maureen Alden

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Tables

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Table 1. Detention (usually on an island)

Menelaus on Pharos	ἔνθα μ’ εἐίκοσιν ἤματ’ ἔχον θεοί…	4.360	Menelaus to Telemachus
	ὡς δὴ δήθ᾽ ἐνὶ νήσῳ ἐρύκεαι οὐδέ τι τέκμωρ	4.373–4	Eidothea to Menelaus
	εὑρέμεναι δυνάσαι…		
	ὡς ἐγὼ οὔ τι ἑκὼν κατερύκομαι…	4.377	Menelaus to Eidothea
	ὡς δὴ δήθ᾽ ἐνὶ νήσῳ ἐρύκομαι οὐδέ τι τέκμωρ	4.466–7	Menelaus to Proteus
	εὑρέμεναι δυνάμαι…		
Odysseus on Ogygia	νύμφη πότνι᾽ ἔρυκε Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων	1.14	Poet–narrator
	τοῦ θυγάτηρ δύστηνον ὀδυρόμενον κατερύκει	1.55	Athene to Zeus
	ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι που ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ ποντῳ,		
	νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, χαλεποὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν, ἄγριοι, οἵ που κεῖνον ἐρυκανόωσ᾽ ἀέκοντα.	1.197–9	Athene/Mentes to Telemachus
	εἷς δ᾽ ἔτι που ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῳ	4.498	Proteus to Menelaus, of Odysseus held by Calypso
	ὅς τις ἔτι ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῳ	4.552	Menelaus to Proteus, of Odysseus
	…ἤ μιν ἀνάγκῃ	4.557–8	Proteus to Menelaus, of Odysseus held by Calypso
	ἴσχει…		
	…ὁ δ᾽ οὐ δύναται ἣν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι	5.15	Athene to Zeus
	ἦ μέν μ᾽ αὐτόθ᾽ ἔρυκε Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων	9.29	Odysseus to the Phaeacians
	ἣ δὴ μιν κατέρυκε, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι	23.334	Poet–narrator, of

			Odysseus to Penelope
Odysseus on Scheria	…ἕξει δέ μιν ἤματα πάντα	6.281	Nausicaa, of Phaeacian gossip, to Odysseus
	εἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλων γε μένοις· ἀέκοντα δέ σ᾽ οὔ τις ἐρύξει	7.315	Alcinous to Odysseus
Telemachus in Ithaca	ἀλλ᾽, ὀΐω, καὶ δηθὰ καθήμενος ἀγγελιάων	2.255–6	Leocritus to Mentor
	πεύσεται εἰν ᾽Ιθάκῃ, τελέει δ᾽ ὁδὸν οὔ ποτε ταύτην.		
Telemachus in Peloponnese	Νέστωρ αὖ κατέρυκε καθαπτόμενος ἐπέεσσι	3.345	Poet–narrator
	᾽Ατρεΐδη, μὴ δή με πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἔρυκε	4.594	Telemachus to Menelaus
	…σὺ δέ με χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐρύκεις	4.599	Telemachus to Menelaus
(p.309) Menelaus on Pharos	The gods were **keeping** me there for twenty days…	4.360	Menelaus to Telemachus
	Thus you are already **detained** a long time on the island, **nor can you** find an end…	4.373–4	Eidothea to Menelaus
	I am thus **detained**, against my will…	4.377	Menelaus to Eidothea
	Thus I am already **detained** a long time, **nor can I** find an end…	4.466–7	Menelaus to Proteus
Odysseus on Ogygia	the nymph, lady Calypso, divine of goddesses **was detaining him**	1.14	Poet–narrator
	His daughter is **detaining** the grieving wretch	1.55	Athene to Zeus
	but still alive, he is **detained** somewhere over the wide sea,		
	on a sea-girt island, and dangerous men are keeping him,	1.197–9	Athene/Mentes to Telemachus
	savages, who **detain** him somewhere against his will		

	But one, still alive, is **detained** somewhere over the wide sea	4.498	Proteus to Menelaus, of Odysseus held by Calypso
	who, still alive, is **detained** over the wide sea	4.552	Menelaus to Proteus, of Odysseus
	…and she **keeps** him	4.557–8	Proteus to Menelaus, of Odysseus held by
	by necessity…		Calypso
	…but **he cannot** reach his native land	5.15	Athene to Zeus
	She was **detaining** me there, Calypso, divine of goddesses	9.29	Odysseus to the Phaeacians
	she was **detaining** him there, longing for him to be her husband	23.334	Poet–narrator, of Odysseus to Penelope
Odysseus on Scheria	…she will **keep** him all his days	6.281	Nausicaa, of Phaeacian gossip, to Odysseus
	if, that is, you would stay willingly: but against your will, **no one will detain you**.	7.315	Alcinous to Odysseus
Telemachus in Ithaca	But I think he will hear his news sitting for a long time	2.255–6	Leocritus to Mentor
	in Ithaca, and he **will never accomplish** this journey		
Telemachus in Peloponnese	Nestor **detained** him again, addressing him with words	3.345	Poet–narrator
	Son of Atreus, don't **detain** me here for long	4.594	Telemachus to Menelaus
	…but you have been **detaining** me here for some time	4.599	Telemachus to Menelaus

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Table 2. θυμός (heart) in the *apologos*

9.33	ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν. (Odysseus of Calypso)

9.75	κείμεθ᾽, ὁμοῦ καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἔδοντες. (Odysseus and his crew after the first storm)
9.213–15	…αὐτίκα γάρ μοι ὀΐσατο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
	ἄνδρ᾽ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μεγάλην ἐπιειμένον ἀλκήν
	ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας. (Odysseus going to see the Cyclops)
9.277–8	οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ Διὸς ἔχθος ἀλευάμενος πεφιδοίμην
	οὔτε σεῦ οὔθ᾽ ἑτάρων, εἰ μὴ θυμός με κελεύοι. (Cyclops to Odysseus)
9.295	…ἀμηχανίη δ᾽ ἔχε θυμόν. (when Odysseus sees the Cyclops eat his men)
9.299–301	τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ βούλευσα κατὰ μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν
	ἄσσον ἰών, ξίφος ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ,
	οὐτάμεναι πρὸς στῆθος, ὅθι φρένες ἧπαρ ἔχουσι. (Odysseus, when Cyclops goes to sleep)
9.302–3	…ἕτερος δὲ με θυμὸς ἔρυκεν.
	αὐτοῦ γάρ κε καὶ ἄμμες ἀπωλόμεθ᾽ αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον. (Odysseus, when he realizes they cannot move the door stone)
9.318	ἥδε δέ μοι κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή (Odysseus decides to blind Cyclops)
9.424	ἥδε δέ μοι κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή (Odysseus decides to escape under the sheep)
9.500	ὣς φάσαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πεῖθον ἐμὸν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν (crew fail to persuade Odysseus not to taunt Cyclops)
9.501	ἀλλά μιν ἄψορρον προσέφην κεκοτηότι θυμῷ (introduces Odysseus telling Cyclops his name)
10.50–2	ἐγρόμενος κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα μερμήριξα,
	ἠὲ πεσὼν ἐκ νηὸς ἀποφθίμην ἐνὶ πόντῳ
	ἢ ἀκέων τλαίην καὶ ἔτι ζωοῖσι μετείην. (Odysseus, after crew open Aeolus' bag)
10.78	τείρετο δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν θυμὸς ὑπ᾽ εἰρεσίης ἀλεγεινῆς (crew after Aeolus banishes them)
10.151–2	μερμήριξα δ᾽ ἔπειτα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸ**ν**
	ἐλθεῖν ἠδὲ πυθέσθαι, ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἴθοπα καπνόν. (Odysseus before sending scouts to investigate Circe's palace)
10.248	…γόον δ᾽ ὤϊετο θυμός. (crew, when they learn they must go to Hades)

10.373	ἐσθέμεναι δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν· ἐμῷ δ᾽ οὐχ ἥνδανε θυμῷ. (Odysseus will not eat while his men are still in pig form)
10.378–9	τίφθ᾽ οὕτως, ᾽Οδυσεῦ, κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζεαι ἶσος ἀναύδῳ,
	θυμὸν ἔδων, βρώμης δ᾽ οὐχ ἅπτεαι οὐδὲ ποτῆτος; (Circe to Odysseus, when he will not eat)
10.406	ὣς ἔφατ᾽, αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γ᾽ ἐπεπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ (Odysseus when told to bring his men to Circe's house)
10.415	…δόκησε δ᾽ ἄρα σφίσι θυμὸς (crew left behind at the ship as glad to see Odysseus again as they would be to see Ithaca)
10.460–1	ἀλλ᾽ ἄγετ᾽ ἐσθίετε βρώμην καὶ πίνετε οἶνον,
	εἰς ὅ κεν αὖτις θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι λάβητε (Circe at start of year spent with her)
10.464–5	…οὐδέ ποθ᾽ ὕμιν
	θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ πέπασθε. (Circe: Odysseus and crew downhearted)
(p.312) 10.466	ὣς ἔφαθ᾽, ἡμῖν δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ ἐπεπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ. (Odysseus and crew agree to recuperate at Circe's palace)
10.550	ὣς ἐφάμην, τοῖσιν δ᾽ ἐπεπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ. (Odysseus persuades his crew to embark for Hades)
11.104–5	ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι μέν καὶ ὧς, κακά περ πάσχοντες, ἵκοισθε,
	αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλῃς σὸν θυμὸν ἐρυκακέειν καὶ ἑταίρων (Teiresias to Odysseus)
11.206	…ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει (Odysseus trying to embrace his mother's ghost)
11.562	…δάμασον δὲ μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμόν. (Odysseus to Ajax' ghost)
11.566	ἀλλά μοι ἤθελε θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι
	τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἰδέειν κατατεθνηώτων. (Odysseus in Hades)
12.57–8	ὁπποτέρῃ δὴ τοι ὁδὸς ἔσσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς
	θυμῷ βουλεύειν…(Circe to Odysseus on the route to Thrinacia)
12.218–19	σοὶ δέ, κυβερνῆθ᾽, ὧδ ᾽ ἐπιτέλλομαι· ἀλλ᾽ ἐνὶ θυμῷ
	βάλλευ, ἐπεὶ νηὸς γλαφυρῆς οἰήϊα νωμᾷς (Odysseus instructs helmsman to avoid *Planctae*)
12.266	…καί μοι ἔπος ἔπεσε θυμῷ
	μάντιος ἀλαοῦ, Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο (Odysseus while still out at sea on hearing the cattle of the Sun lowing)
12.350	βούλομ᾽ ἅπαξ πρὸς κῦμα χανὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι (Eurylochus preferring to

	risk the anger of the Sun)
12.414	κάππεσ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἰκριόφιν, λίπε δ᾽ ὀστέα θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ (Odysseus' helmsman, struck by the falling mast)
(p.311) 9.33	but she never persuaded the **heart** in my breast. (Odysseus of Calypso)
9.75	we lay, eating our **hearts** with both weariness and pain alike. (Odysseus and his crew after the first storm)
9.213–15	…for straightway my haughty **heart** intended
	to approach the savage man clad in great strength
	knowing neither laws nor established customs. (Odysseus going to see the Cyclops)
9.277–8	nor would I, to escape the wrath of Zeus
	spare you or your companions, unless my **heart** bid me. (Cyclops to Odysseus)
9.295	…but despair gripped my **heart**. (when Odysseus sees the Cyclops eat his men)
9.299–301	on one hand I planned in my proud **heart**
	to go closer to him, draw my sharp sword from beside my thigh,
	and strike him in the breast, where the diaphragm holds the liver. (Odysseus, when Cyclops goes to sleep)
9.302–3	…but another **heart** held me back.
	For there we too would have perished, a sheer destruction. (Odysseus, when he realizes they cannot move the door stone)
9.318	and this plan seemed best to me in my **heart** (Odysseus decides to blind Cyclops)
9.424	and this plan seemed best to me in my **heart** (Odysseus decides to escape under the sheep)
9.500	so they spoke, but they did not persuade my proud **heart** (crew fail to persuade Odysseus not to taunt Cyclops)
9.501	but I spoke back again to him in the anger of my **heart** (introduces Odysseus telling Cyclops his name)
10.50–2	waking up, I pondered in my blameless **heart**,
	whether, letting myself fall from the ship, I would perish in the sea
	or silently endure, and still be among the living. (Odysseus, after crew open Aeolus' bag)

10.78	and the **heart** of the men was worn down by the troublesome rowing (crew after Aeolus banishes them)
10.151–2	I pondered then in my mind and in my **heart**
	going to find out, since I saw smoke as from fire. (Odysseus before sending scouts to investigate Circe's palace)
10.248	…and lamentation rose in their **hearts**. (crew, when they learn they must go to Hades)
10.373	and she bade me eat: but it was not pleasing to my **heart**. (Odysseus will not eat while his men are still in pig form)
10.378–9	Why do you sit like this, Odysseus, like a man with no voice,
	eating your **heart**, and touch no food or drink? (Circe to Odysseus, when he will not eat)
10.406	so she spoke, but she persuaded my haughty **heart** (Odysseus when told to bring his men to Circe's house)
10.415	and it seemed to their **hearts** (crew left at ship as glad to see Odysseus again as they would be to see Ithaca)
10.460–1	but come, eat victuals and drink wine,
	until you get the **heart** back into your breasts again (Circe at start of year spent with her)
10.464–5	…nor ever is your **heart**
	in mirth, since you have suffered very many things. (Circe: Odysseus and crew downhearted)
(p.313) 10.466	So she spoke, and moreover she persuaded our haughty hearts. (Odysseus and crew agree to recuperate at Circe's palace)
10.550	So I spoke, and their haughty **hearts** were persuaded. (Odysseus persuades his crew to embark for Hades)
11.104–5	but still in truth, even so, albeit with terrible suffering, you would make it,
	if you are willing to restrain your **heart**, and that of your companions. (Teiresias to Odysseus)
11.206	…and my **heart** bid me take her (in my arms) (Odysseus trying to embrace his mother's ghost)
11.562	tame your might and your haughty **heart**. (Odysseus to Ajax' ghost)
11.566	but my **heart** in my breast wanted
	to see the souls of the other dead. (Odysseus in Hades)
12.57–8	by which way the route will be, but consider it yourself

	in your **heart** (Circe to Odysseus on the route to Thrinacia)
12.218–19	on you, helmsman, I lay this command: but cast it
	in your **heart**, when you ply the steering cables of the hollow ship. (Odysseus instructs helmsman to avoid *Planctae*)
12.266	…and into my **heart** came the dictum
	of the blind prophet, Teiresias (Odysseus while still out at sea on hearing the cattle of the Sun lowing)
12.350	I choose to destroy my **heart** [life] once and for all in the sea with my mouth open (Eurylochus preferring to risk the anger of the Sun)
12.414	He fell down from the deck, and his haughty **heart** left his bones (Odysseus' helmsman, struck by falling mast)

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Table 3. *Nekyia*: The Catalogue of Famous Women (11.235–330)

			Hesiod Cat.	Aeolid stemma	Antinous' mini-catalogue 2.120	Nestor's catalogue Cypria		
11.235–59	Tyro	Thessaly	fr. 30.25–35,	#	*		seduced (deceived) by Poseidon in form of beloved	analogy with Nausicaa
			fr. 31					negative pattern for Penelope
							(Enipeus)	
11.260–5	Antiope	Thebes	fr. 26,				seduced by Zeus	
			fr. 31a					
11.266–8	Alcmene	Thebes	fr. 193.19		*		seduced (deceived) by Zeus	(model of wifely virtue:
								Hesiod, *Sc.* 8–9)
								negative pattern for Penelope
11.269–70	Megara	Thebes				*	killed by husband	
							(Heracles)	
11.271–80	Epicaste	Thebes				*	incest, suicide	Epicaste negative pattern for Penelope

			Hesiod Cat.	**Aeolid stemma**	**Antinous' mini-catalogue 2.120**	**Nestor's catalogue Cypria**		Pero analogous to Penelope
11.298–304	Leda	Sparta	fr. 23a.5–12	#			seduced by Zeus	
11.305–20	Iphimedeia	Naxos	fr. 19	#			alleged she was seduced by Poseidon	
11.321	Phaedra	Attica					would-be adulteress	
11.321	Procris	Attica					(would-be) adulteress (for gifts)	
11.321–5	Ariadne	Attica				*	betrayer (of Dionysus for mortal)	
11.326	Maera	Corinth					?seduced by Zeus, slain by Artemis	
11.326	Clymene		entry lost	#			? remarried	negative pattern for Penelope
11.326–7	Eriphyle	Argos	entry lost	#			betrayer (for gift)	

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Table 4. ἀτασθαλίη (presumption), ἀτασθάλλων (acting presumptuously), and ἀτάσθαλος (presumptuous)

Subject	Speaker		Reference
Men in general (Aegisthus)	Zeus	…οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ	1.33–4
		σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε᾽ ἔχουσιν	
Crew	Poet–narrator	αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο,	1.7–9
		νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς ᾽Υπερίονος ᾽Ηελίοιο	
		ἤσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ	
	Odysseus to crew	εἴ κέ τιν᾽ ἠὲ βοῶν ἀγέλην ἢ πῶϋ μέγ᾽ οἰῶν	12.299–301
		εὕρωμεν, μή πού τις ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῇσιν	
		ἢ βοῦν ἠὲ τι μῆλον ἀποκτάνῃ…	
Odysseus	Eurylochus to companions	ὥς περ Κύκλωψ ἔρξ᾽, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο	10.435–7
		ἡμέτεροι ἕταροι, σὺν δ᾽ ὁ θρασὺς εἴπετ᾽ ᾽Οδυσσεύς·	
		τούτου γὰρ καὶ κεῖνοι ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.	
Suitors	Telemachus	αἳ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσήνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθεῖεν,	3.205–7
		τείσασθαι μνηστῆρας ὑπερβασίης ἀλεγεινῆς,	
		οἳ τέ μοι ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται	
	Telemachus to Eumaeus	κεῖσε δ᾽ ἂν οὔ μιν ἐγώ γε μετὰ μνηστῆρας ἐῴμι	16.85–6
		ἔρχεσθαι, λίην γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν ἔχουσι·	
	Odysseus to Telemachus	οἷά φατε μνηστῆρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάασθαι	16.93
	Penelope to Eumaeus	οὐ γάρ πώ τινες ὧδε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων	17.587–8
		ἀνέρες ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται	
	Odysseus to suitors	ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε νῦν μοι πάντες ὀμόσσατε καρτερὸν ὅρκον,	18.55–8
		μή τις ἐπ᾽ Ἶρῳ ἦρα φέρων ἐμὲ χειρὶ βαρείῃ	

Subject	Speaker		Reference
		ἣν οἴδ᾽ ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται	
		οἴκῳ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ, οὐδ᾽ αἰδοῦς μοῖραν ἔχουσιν.	
	Theoclymenos to Eurymachus	…τό κεν οὔ τις ὑπεκφύγοι οὐδ᾽ ἀλέαιτο	20.368–70
		μνηστήρων, οἳ δῶμα κατ᾽ ἀντιθέου ᾽Οδυσῆος	
		ἀνέρας ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάασθε	
	(p.318) Poet–narrator of Leodes	…ἀτασθαλίαι δέ οἱ οἴῳ	21.146–7
		ἐχθραὶ ἔσαν, πᾶσιν δὲ νεμέσσα μνηστήρεσσιν	
	Eurymachus to Odysseus	εἰ μὲν δὴ ᾽Οδυσεὺς ᾽Ιθακήσιος εἰλήλουθας,	22.45–7
		ταῦτα μὲν ἄσιμα εἶπες, ὅσα ῥέζεσκον ᾽Αχαιοί,	
		πολλὰ μὲν ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀτάσθαλα, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀγροῦ	
	Leodes to Odysseus	οὐ γάρ πώ τινά φημι γυναικῶν ἐν μεγάροισιν	22.313–17
		εἰπεῖν οὐδέ ῥεξαι ἀτάσθαλον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους	
		παύεσκον μνηστῆρας, ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι….	
		τῶ καὶ ἀταθαλίῃσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐπέσπον.	
	Odysseus to Eurycleia	οὔ τινα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,	22.414–16
		οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·	
		τῷ καὶ ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐπέσπον	
	Penelope to Eurycleia	οὔ τινα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,	23.65–7
		οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·	
		τῶ δι᾽ ἀτασθαλίας ἔπαθον κακόν….	
	Laertes to Odysseus	ξεῖν᾽, ἦ τοι μὲν γαῖαν ἱκάνεις, ἣν ἐρεείνεις,	24.281–2
		ὑβρισταὶ δ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι ἄνδρες ἔχουσι.	
	Laertes to	Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥ᾽ ἔτι ἐστὲ θεοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον	24.351–2

Subject	Speaker		Reference
(Phaeacian)	Euryalus		
Disloyal maids	Odysseus to Penelope	Τηλέμαχος· τὸν δ᾽ οὔ τις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναικῶν	19.87–8
		λήθει ἀτασθάλλουσ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλίκος ἐστίν.	
(Odysseus)	Penelope to Medon	κεῖνος δ᾽ οὔ ποτε πάμπαν ἀτάσθαλον ἄνδρα ἐώργει	4.693
Beggar	Odysseus	πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀτάσθαλ᾽ ἔρεξα βίῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ εἴκων	18.139
(p.317) Men in general	Zeus	…but they themselves in addition	1.33–4
		by their own **presumption** have troubles beyond their due	
(Aegisthus)			
Crew	Poet–narrator	for they perished by their own **presumption**,	1.7–9
		fools, who ate up the Cattle of the Sun:	
		but he took away their day of return.	
	Odysseus to crew	if we find either a herd of cows	12.299–301
		or great flock of sheep, let no one in base **presumption** kill any cow or sheep…	
Odysseus	Eurylochus to companions	just as the Cyclops confined us, when our companions came	10.435–7
		to his yard, and that rash fellow, Odysseus, rushed in:	
		for they too perished by his **presumption**.	
Suitors	Telemachus	If only the gods would bestow enough strength on me to punish the suitors for their troublesome violence, who, in contempt for me, are plotting **presumptuous** things	3.205–7
	Telemachus to Eumaeus	I would not let him go there among the suitors,	16.85–6
		for they have too much **presumptuous** arrogance	

		benefit.	
	Odysseus to Amphinomus	Such **presumptuous things** as I see the suitors plotting,	18.143–6
		laying waste the possessions and dishonouring the wife	
		of a man whom I say will not be long away from his family	
		and his native land…	
	Odysseus to Eumaeus	If only, Eumaeus, the gods would exact satisfaction for the outrage	20.169–71
		which these men are plotting as **presumptuous things**	
		in another man's house, and have no portion of shame.	
	(p.319) Theoclymenos to Eurymachus	…which no one of the suitors would escape or avoid,	20.368–70
		who in contempt for men, are plotting **presumptuous things**	
		in the house of Odysseus.	
	Poet–narrator of Leodes	to him alone were their **deeds** (*LfgrE* s.v. ἀτασθαλίαι 3)	21.146–7
		of presumption hateful, and he was angry with all the suitors	
	Eurymachus to Odysseus	If you are truly Odysseus of Ithaca and have come home,	22.45–7
		you have said these things justly, that the Achaeans did,	
		many **presumptuous things** in the palace, and many in the country.	
	Leodes to Odysseus	For I deny that I ever said or did anything **presumptuous**	22.313–17
		to any of the women in the palace, but I used to stop	
		the other suitors, whoever would do such things….	
		And so, by their **presumption**, they drew down on themselves an ignominious fate.	
	Odysseus to Eurycleia	for they honoured no one of earthly men,	22.414–16
		neither base nor noble, whoever came to them:	

	Laertes	Then there are still gods on lofty Olympus, father Zeus,	24.351–2
		if really the suitors have paid the penalty for their **presumptuous** arrogance.	
	Halitherses to Ithacans	who committed a serious crime in their base **presumption**,	24.458–60
		laying waste the possessions and dishonouring the wife	
		of the noblest man: for they thought he would never return.	
Eurymedon (Phaeacian)	Nausicaa	But he destroyed a **presumptuous** people, and perished himself.	7.60
Euryalus (Phaeacian)	Odysseus to Euryalus	Stranger, you spoke not a fair word: you are like a **presumptuous** man.	8.166
Disloyal maids	Odysseus to Penelope	Telemachus: no one of the women in the hall	19.87–8
		will escape his notice acting **presumptuously**, since he is no longer of such an age.	
Odysseus	Penelope	but by no means had he ever done anything **presumptuous** to any man	4.693
Beggar	Odysseus	I did many **presumptuous things**, yielding to my might and power	18.139

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Table 5. The motif of trial

Cyclops	Thrinacia	Odysseus in Ithaca	Euenius
	foreknowledge: animals not to be harmed		foreknowledge: animals not to be harmed
sheep	sheep and cattle	sheep, cattle, goats, pigs (14.100–4)	sheep
importance of number (9.440–2)	number constant (12.130–1)	Eurymachus threatens number will never be equal (2.203–4)	number must remain constant
milking animals penned at night (9.237–41)—in cave	milking animals penned (12.265)	lactating sows penned at night (14.13–16)	penned at night—in cave
grandson of Autolycus (the **Wolf**-Himself) got into cave (9.216–33)	grandson of Autolycus (the **Wolf**-Himself) lands on island + crew (12.305–11)	suitors get into palace	**wolves** got into cave
shepherd (Cyclops) went to sleep (9.371–3)	Odysseus went to sleep (12.338)	Odysseus went away	shepherd (Euenius) went to sleep
sheep driven off (9.464–5)	cattle driven off (12.353)	animals brought for sacrifice (14.105–8; 17.212–14; 20.162–3, 173–5, 185–8)	
sheep sacrificed (9.551–3)	sheep sacrificed (12.356–65)	suitors sacrifice huge numbers (14.93–4)	wolves killed *c.*60 sheep
shepherd blinded (9.375–97)	Sun threatens not to shine (12.383)	suitors killed, Melanthius (goatherd) mutilated	shepherd blinded
shepherd demands vengeance (9.528–35)	Sun demands compensation 12.377–83)	Odysseus offered compensation (22.55–59)	Euenius offered compensation
Poseidon hears, and persecutes Odysseus (9.536)	Zeus hears, and promises to sink ship with thunderbolt (12.385–8)	Odysseus rejects compensation in favour of killing suitors (22.61–7)	Euenius accepts compensation

Cyclops	Thrinacia	Odysseus in Ithaca	Euenius
Cyclops' prayer has force of prophecy			Euenius given the gift of prophecy
shepherd deceived (9.414)			shepherd deceived
companions perished as result of Odysseus' ἀτασθαλίη (criminality) (10.435–7)	companions perished as result of their ἀτασθαλίη (criminality) (1.7)	suitors perished as a result of their ἀτασθαλίη (criminality) (22.317, 416; 24.458)	

(p.321)

Table 6. Verbal correspondences between Penelope's dream of the geese and the downfall of the suitors

The Dream	The Suitors
	καὶ δή μ᾽ ἀρᾶται πάλιν ἐλθέμεν ἐκ μεγάροιο,
Χῆνές μοι κατὰ οἶκον ἐείκοσι πυρὸν ἔδουσιν	κτήσιος ἀσχαλόων, τήν οἱ κατέδουσιν Ἀχαιοί.
My twenty geese about the house eat grain. 19.536	and he even begs me to go back home from the palace, grieving for his property which the Achaeans are eating up for him.19.533–4
…οἱ δ᾽ ἐκέχυντο	κύμαθ᾽ ἁλὸς ποθέοντες ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι κέχυνται
	they lie piled up on the sand, longing for the waves of the sea 22.387
	…ὣς τότ᾽ ἄρα μνηστῆρες ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι κέχυντο. so now the suitors were lying piled up on one another 22.389
	νῦν δ᾽ οἱ μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπ᾽ αὐλείῃσι θύρῃσιν|
ἀθρόοι ἐν μεγάροισ᾽,……and they were piledin heaps in the halls…19.539–40	ἀθρόοι…
	now they are all in heaps by the doors of the yard…23.49–50

(p.322)

Table 7. Menelaus' report on Odysseus

A_2. Menelaus to Telemachus, Book 4	**A_3. As repeated by Telemachus to Penelope, Book 17**
(i) ὤ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῇ,	(i) ὤ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῇ,
ἤθελον εὐνηθῆναι ἀνάλκιδες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες.	ἤθελον εὐνηθῆναι ἀνάλκιδες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες.
ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἐν ξυλόχῳ ἔλαφος κρατεροῖο λέοντος	ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἐν ξυλόχῳ ἔλαφος κρατεροῖο λέοντος
νεβροὺς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθηνοὺς	νεβροὺς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθηνοὺς
κνημοὺς ἐξερέῃσι καὶ ἄγκεα ποιήεντα	κνημοὺς ἐξερέῃσι καὶ ἄγκεα ποιήεντα
βοσκομένη, ὁ δ᾽ ἔπειτα ἑὴν εἰσήλυθεν εὐνήν,	βοσκομένη, ὁ δ᾽ ἔπειτα ἑὴν εἰσήλυθεν εὐνήν,
ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφῆκεν,	ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφῆκεν,
ὣς Ὀδυσεὺς κείνοισιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήσει.	ὣς Ὀδυσεὺς κείνοισιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήσει.
4.333–40	17.124–31
(ii) αἴ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Αθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,	(ii) αἴ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Αθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
τοῖος ἐὼν οἷός ποτ᾽ ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ	τοῖος ἐὼν οἷός ποτ᾽ ἐυκτιμένῃ ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ
ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλομηλεΐδῃ ἐπάλαισεν ἀναστάς,	ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλομηλεΐδῃ ἐπάλαισεν ἀναστάς,
κὰδ᾽ δ᾽ ἔβαλε κρατερῶς, κεχάροντο δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί,	κὰδ᾽ δ᾽ ἔβαλε κρατερῶς, κεχάροντο δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί,
τοῖος ἐὼν μνηστῆρσιν ὁμιλήσειεν Ὀδυσσεύς·	τοῖος ἐὼν μνηστῆρσιν ὁμιλήσειεν Ὀδυσσεύς·
πάντες κ᾽ ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε.	πάντες κ᾽ ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε.
4.341–6	17.132–7
(iii) ταῦτα δ᾽, ἅ μ᾽ εἰρωτᾷς καὶ λίσσεαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ γε	(iii) ταῦτα δ᾽, ἅ μ᾽ εἰρωτᾷς καὶ λίσσεαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ γε
ἄλλα παρὲξ εἴποιμι παρακλιδὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀπατήσω·	ἄλλα παρὲξ εἴποιμι παρακλιδὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀπατήσω·
ἀλλὰ τά μέν μοι ἔειπε γέρων ἅλιος νημερτής,	ἀλλὰ τά μέν μοι ἔειπε γέρων ἅλιος νημερτής,

τῶν οὐδέν τοι ἐγὼ κρύψω ἔπος οὐδ᾽ ἐπικεύσω.	τῶν οὐδέν τοι ἐγὼ κρύψω ἔπος οὐδ᾽ ἐπικεύσω.
4.347–50	17.138–41
(iv) τὸν δ᾽ ἴδον ἐν νήσῳ θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντα*	(iv) φῆ μιν ὅ γ᾽ ἐν νήσῳ ἰδέειν κρατέρ᾽ ἄλγε᾽ ἔχοντα*
νύμφης ἐν μεγάροισι Καλυψοῦς, ἥ μιν ἀνάγκῃ	νύμφης ἐν μεγάροισι Καλυψοῦς, ἥ μιν ἀνάγκῃ
ἴσχει· ὁ δ᾽ οὐ δύναται ἣν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι·	ἴσχει· ὁ δ᾽ οὐ δύναται ἣν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι·
οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι,	οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι,
οἵ κέν μιν πέμποιεν ἐπ᾽ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.	οἵ κέν μιν πέμποιεν ἐπ᾽ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.
4.556–60	17.142–6
(p.323) A_2. Menelaus to Telemachus, Book 4	**A_3. As repeated by Telemachus to Penelope, Book 17**
(i) How scandalous! Certainly they wanted to go to bed	(i) How scandalous! Certainly they wanted to go to bed
in the bed of a dauntless man, when they themselves are cowards.	in the bed of a dauntless man, when they themselves are cowards.
As when a hind has put her new-born, unweaned fawns to bed	As when a hind has put her new-born, unweaned fawns to bed
in the lair of a mighty lion,	in the lair of a mighty lion,
and wanders out to the valleys and the grassy gorges	and wanders out to the valleys and the grassy gorges
grazing, but he, when he enters his den,	grazing, but he, when he enters his den,
fastens an unseemly fate upon both of them,	fastens an unseemly fate upon both of them,
so Odysseus will fasten an unseemly fate upon them.	so Odysseus will fasten an unseemly fate upon them.
4.333–40	17.124–31
(ii) Would that, father Zeus and Athene and Apollo,	(ii) Would that, father Zeus and Athene and Apollo,
such as he was when once in well-built Lesbos	such as he was when once in well-built Lesbos
he wrestled with Philomeleides, standing up to fight after a challenge,	he wrestled with Philomeleides, standing up to fight after a

and he threw him down mightily, and all the Greeks rejoiced,	challenge,
like this Odysseus would deal with the suitors,	and he threw him down mightily, and all the Greeks rejoiced,
and they would all have a swift doom and a bitter marriage.	like this Odysseus would deal with the suitors,
4.341–6	and they would all have a swift doom and a bitter marriage. 17.132–7
(iii) But these things which you ask me and for which you entreat, I would not	(iii) But these things which you ask me and for which you entreat, I would not
evasively say untrue things, away from the point, nor will I deceive you,	evasively say untrue things, away from the point, nor will I deceive you,
but of the things which the Old Man of the Sea told me truly no word will I hide or conceal. 4.347–50	but of the things which the Old Man of the Sea told me truly no word will I hide or conceal. 17.138–41
(iv) I saw him on an island, shedding hot tears* in the halls of the nymph Calypso, who keeps him by force, and he cannot come to his native land, for he has no ships with oars and companions by him who would escort him over the broad back of the sea. 4.556–60	(iv) He said that he saw him on an island, suffering grievous pains* in the halls of the nymph Calypso, who keeps him by force, and he cannot come to his native land, for he has no ships with oars and companions by him who would escort him over the broad back of the sea. 17.142–6

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Maureen Alden

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Para-Narratives in the Odyssey: Stories in the Frame
Maureen Alden

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